

ANIMA MUNDI:

OR, AN

Historical Narration

OF THE

Opinions of the ANCIENTS

Concerning

MAN'S SOUL

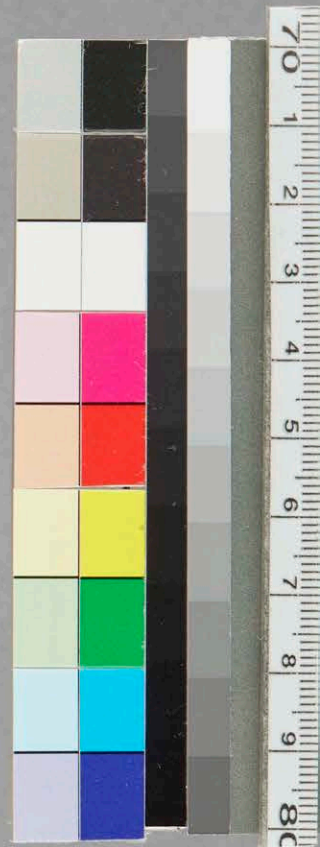
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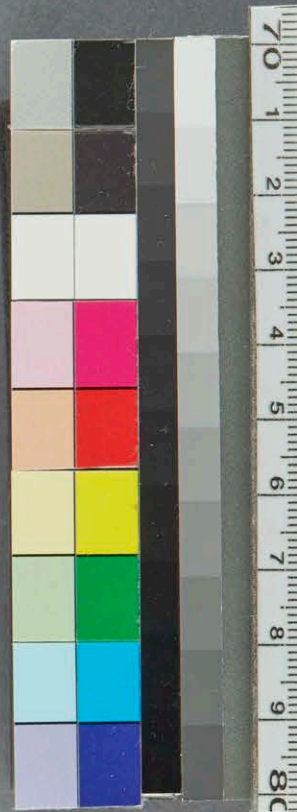
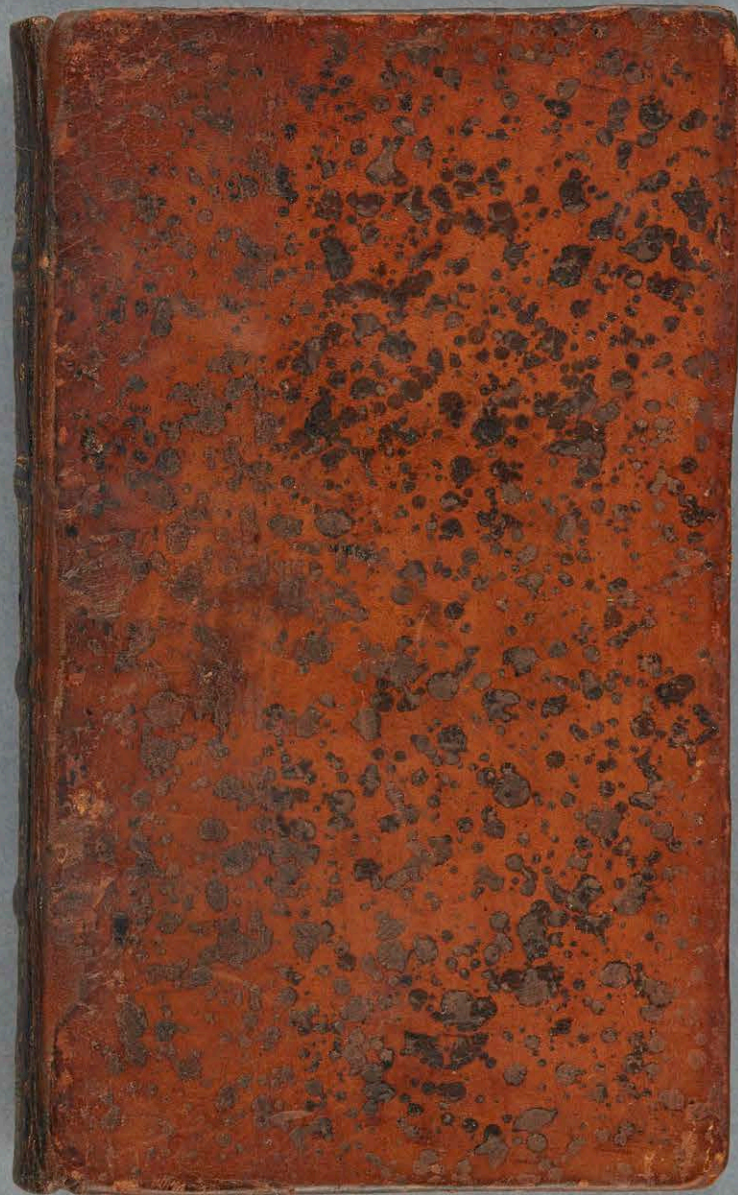
According to Unenlightened Nature.

By CHARLES BLOUNT, Gent.

*Qui Jovem principem volunt, falluntur nomine,
sed de unâ potestate consentiunt. Min.Fel.*

London, Printed in the Year, 1679.





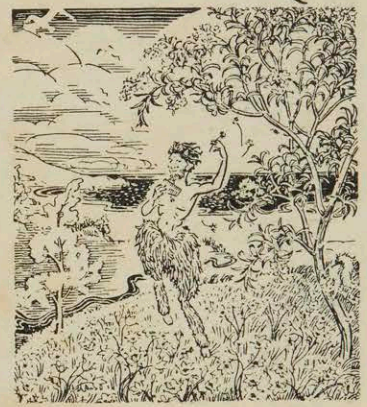
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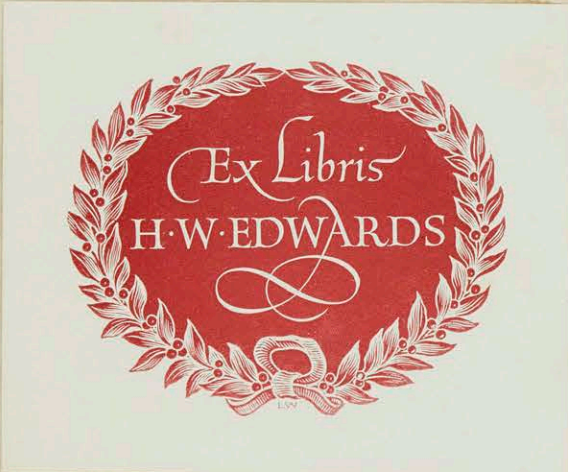
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31
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After this LIFE:

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*Qui Jovem principem volunt, falluntur nomine,
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London, Printed in the Year, 1679.

TO THE
READER.

Methinks I already behold some haughty
Pedant, strutting and looking down
from himself as from the Devils Mountain up-
on the Universe, where amongst severall other
inferiour Objects, he happens at last to cast his
eye upon this Treatise; when after a quibble or
two upon the Title, he falls foul upon the Book
it self, damming it by the Name of an Athe-
istical, Heretical Pamphlet: And to glori-
fie his own Zeal, under the pretence of being a
Champion for Truth, summons Ignorance and
Malice for his Seconds: But such a person
understands not wherein the Nature of Atheism
consists, how conversant soever he may other-
wise be in the Practise of it. It were Atheism
to say, there is no God; and so it were (tho'
less directly) to deny his Providence, or re-
strain it to some particulars, and exclude it in
reference to others. Such are Atheists, who

A 2 maintain

To the READER.

maintain such Opinions as these: And so are those Hereticks, who erre in Fundamentals, and continue obstinately in such errors. But the ignorant Vulgar People (whose Superstition is grounded upon the assimilating God with themselves) are apt to think that every one they Hate, are God Almighty's Enemies; and that whosoever differs from them in Opinion, (tho' in never so trivial a matter) are Atheists, or Hereticks at least: Not rightly considering the words of St. Peter, That in every Nation, he who feareth the Lord and worketh Righteousness, is accepted with him. And Minucius Felix says well to the same purpose, He is the best Christian, who makes the Honestest Man. Heresie is an act of the Will, rather than Understanding; a Lye, rather than a Mistake: And thus St. Austin expresses it, saying, Errare possum, Hereticus esse nolo. Heresie and Schism, (says the Ingenious Mr. Hales) as commonly now used, are two Theological Scare-Crows, with which they who uphold a Party in Religion, used to fright away such as making an enquiry into it, are ready to relinquish and oppose it, if it appear either erroneous or suspicious. For as Plutarch reports of a Painter, who having unskilfully painted a Cock, drave away all the Cocks and Hens he could find, that so the imperfection of his own Art might not appear, by comparing it with Nature

To the READER.

Nature: So Men for some ends, not willing to admit of any fancy but their own, endeavour to hinder all Enquiries by way of Comparison, that so their own deformity may not appear. Therefore if any Man blames me for comparing Christianity with Paganism, it shews nothing but his unworthy Distrust of the Sufficiency of that Religion he professes.

There are two sorts of Judges unto whom all Writers are obnoxious, viz. The Ignorant, and the Judicious. As for the Ignorant, they are such Men as I before was speaking of, than whose Approbation I dread nothing more: Simili simile gaudet, is a Maxim that holds true as well in all other things, as Physick; and there is nothing would make me have so ill an Opinion of my self, as to hear one of them commend me. But the other Judge, viz. the Man of Learning and Judgment, is the He I fear, and before him only will I arraign my self. Non-age is the general Plea for the First-fruits of Young Men, but that I disown; for he that thinks himself old enough to write a Book, can hardly excuse the folly that is in it, by calling himself Child: Nor have I ever seen a Piece that was written by one of 16 years of Age, which was fitting for one of 17 to read; such Writings being commonly like Poems that were made by Men when they were half Drunk, unintelligible to any persons but

To the READER.

such as are in the same condition. Therefore waving all such frivolous excuses, I shall first disclose those things which are most liable to censure, and then clear my self as well as I am able.

Perhaps there may be these three Exceptions taken against this Treatise, viz. my numerous Quotations, or Latine Sentences, my rambling from my Subject, and my uneloquent Stile.

First then, as for my many Quotations, whether in Latine or English, the Nature of the Discourse requires it. Were it a bare Moral Essay, wherein I made use of none but my own Fancy, there to come in with a dixit autem Dominus, or other such scraps of Latine, were to render my self ridiculous: But this being a Discourse of other Mens Opinions, they would be thought my own, tho' father'd upon the Ancient Heathens, did I not cite my Authorities from the Authors themselves; so that I am enforced to play the Pedant even in my own defence. And yet notwithstanding, I have had some Enemies, who were so disingenuous, as to cast that Reproach upon me when they saw this Discourse but in Embryo: So ridiculous as well as uncharitable, were their Censures. A Man that with diligent search and care should collect together the Statues or Pictures of divers eminent Persons, and expose them in some publick place to the view of all

To the READER.

all Spectators, would not thereby procure to himself the repute of a good Painter or Statuary; and yet certainly this Act of his were laudable, and in some measure obliging: But it would render him most immodestly arrogant, if among the Pourtraictures of those Eminent Men, he should erect his own. Now this would be my case, if while I present you with the Conceptions of great Philosophers concerning the Infinite Being, I should vent any part of my own inconsiderable Fancy among theirs: Wherefore expect it not, for I neither have Vanity nor Ability sufficient to erect an Opinion of my own; but acknowledge my self totally subdued under the commands of that Government, whereto Providence hath assign'd my Life. Besides, in this Tract is comprehended a Relation of various Sects contradictory the one to the other, so as I cannot be said to hold them all: Neither (as I know of) have I any where shew'd my self the least partial; but if one had stronger Arguments to justify their Opinion than the other, blame not me who deliver them but recitative, and am, as it were, their Amanuensis, without ever concerning my self with the intrinsic value of their Doctrines.

As to the second Exception, that charges me with rambling from my Subject, if this be an error, it is an error on the right hand, wherein I am but better than my word.

A 4. fancy

To the READER.

fancy is not so absolutely necessary in Authors, as in Husbands: And for my own part, when I have my Pen in my Hand, and Subject in my Head, I look upon my self as mounted my Horse to ride a Journey, wherein altho' I design to reach such a Town by Night, yet will I not deny my self the satisfaction of going a Mile or two out of the way, to gratifie my Senses with some new and diverting Prospect. He that always keeps at Home, and never goes so far as to the end of his own Parish, only once a Year in Procession, may be call'd a Good Husband, but God deliver me from such a Companion. I confess I cannot but both love Men and Books of a Rambling Fancy, for even their very Extravagancies are diverting: Now he that is of this Humour, will be sure to give me his Voice. However, in this I have honour to imitate (tho' imperfectly) the great Montaigne, whose Umbrage is sufficient to protect me against any one Age of Criticks.

Now for the third and last Exception, against my Stile; I was never so well accomplish'd as to study the jingling and Cadences of words, the happy Expressions, the more soft or harsh toned Syllables how to place them right; nor had I ever the modishness to search in the Looking-glass which words gave the most graceful motion to the Lips: No, I confess my only endeavour is to write and speak so as to be understood;

To the READER.

derstood; and as for Rhetorick, I leave that to those who delight more in the study of Words, than Nature of things. Rarely have I seen Orations full of Fancy, for Orators bring matter to words, and not words to matter; besides the Gravity of Philosophy would as ill become fine Language, as the Philosopher himself fine Cloaths.

These are the main Exceptions which I conceive may be urged against me: But if I have omitted any other, it proceeds from the abhorrence I have to read over that thing twice, which I my self have written. This Piece I am sensible cannot be altogether exempt from the evil Censures of some disaffected and interested persons; as for instance, the Fanaticks and others who pladed a Call from God to do the Work of the Devil, cutting off their Sovereign's Head, and are herein exploded for it; also all manner of Hypocrites, who counterfeiting the true Religion, are as much Traytors to Heaven, as those who counterfeiting Coyns, venting false Metal for true, are Traytors to the King. By such persons as these I expect to be condemned; but the Ingenious Reader (if impartial) will not esteem it less worthy, for its Sufferings under their Judgments: Since by the same Reason, he must also raise an outcry against the most sacred part of Philosophy, because Socrates suffered under it. There is

A § nothing

To the READER.

nothing so virtuous or pious, which a contrary Faction will not decry: As on the other side, there is nothing so mean or base, which has not from some Interested Persons received Adoration: even an Ape it self has not wanted Egyptian Syllogisms to back him, so long as thousands lived by extolling him. Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum. Great is Diana of the Ephesians. But not to persecute you with too long a Scotch Grace, before so short a Meal, pardon your coarse Entertainment, and you are welcome.

Vale.

Anima

To the READER

Anima Mundi:

OR, AN

Historical Narration

OF THE

Heathens Opinions of Man's
SOUL after this Life.

L

As the lustre of an Oriental Diamond is more clearly perceived, when compared with counterfeit Stones; so Christianity appears in its greatest Glory and Splendor, when compared with the obscurity of Paganism: the Deformity of the one, serving but as a foil to the Beauty of the other. Nor doth the
Di-

Divinity of our Scriptures ever better appear, than when compared with the Follies of the *Talmud*, the *Alcharon*, or the Constitutions of Heathen Law-givers; which is an infallible sign of their Excellency, that they so well bear the Test of comparison. Now upon these Considerations, *Arnobius*, *Minucius*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, and other Ancient Fathers of the first Centuries, undertook to vindicate their Religion to the Heathens; which is also the design of this Treatise. And if any one resents it otherwise, his want of Charity betrays his Irreligion, and shews him to be none of the best Christian, who thus whips the Fathers upon my back. Some Men there are whose Fancies, like weak Stomachs, turn the most wholesome Food into Corruption; and these are the Enemies I expect. In this Discourse I undertake only to declare the absurd and monstrous Doctrines of the Heathenish Superstition concerning this subject, as far as may shew the blind Conjectures which meer Nature presented to their Philosophers, yet not to all of them, but to those only which have been the most considerable. And here I have not omitted to produce the most powerful Arguments, which they made use of to justify their

their Vanities: Partly, as unwilling to fight against a Shadow; and partly, as knowing our Religion scorns to have them betray'd by a weak and disingenuous representation of either their Lives or Doctrines, Christianity being of it self able to foyl them, even in their richest dress.

To begin then with the Original of their Superstition: It did certainly proceed from some crafty discerning person, who having observed what is most dear to Mankind, thought by pretending himself able to assist in the preservation of that one particular, (whether he were so or no) he might thereby procure an esteem and credit in the World: which having once obtained, it would not be difficult under the pretence of other peoples good, to advance his own. Thus observing that in this World the Body is every mans chief Favourite, a wise *Hippocrates* comes and pretends to know what will conduce to its health: being assured that Mankind, that sets so high a value upon life and ease, would be largely bountiful to him who should be able to prolong and preserve either;



either; and from hence arises the Physician. In the same manner the Law-giver observing a notion of some future Being implanted in every mans heart, pretended to have some extraordinary way revealed to him from an invisible Power, whereby he was able to instruct the People how to make that future estate happy, if they would but pursue his directions: and the better to countenance such a Revelation, they have absented themselves from the World sometime before they divulged it. Thus *Minos* having for twelve years led a retired life in a Cave, at last came forth, and pretended to have spent all that time in conversing with *Jove*, whose Son he feigned himself to be; also that he had received from his mouth those Laws which he divulged to the People. Also *Numa Pompilius*, after he had for some time concealed himself in a Wood, appeared in publick, and prescribed those Laws to the *Romans*, which he pretended to have been delivered him by the Nymph *Ageria*. A like Stratagem was made use of by *Pythagoras*, who after two years retirement in a Den, feigned himself to be risen from the dead, preaching up Rewards and Punishments

to

*Primus in orbe
Deos fecit Ti-
mor.*

to the great terrour of the People, who in another Life, very much confided in his Doctrine, because he had told them of all things which had happended amongst them during the time of absence: A thing very easie for him to do, after he had been informed of the same from his Mother and Wife. Also *Zamolxis* (whom *Laertius* and *Herodorus* call, *Pythagoras* his Disciple, though *Suidas* and others oppose it) delivered those Laws to the *Scythians*, which he pretended to have received in a certain Cave, where he had been conversing with the Gods. Nor did *Epimenides* get himself less reputation, by his pretence of having slept fifty years. And last of all, *Mahomet* having in the same manner retired himself into the Mountains of *Arabia*, did there by the assistance of *Sergius* and two *Jews*, compose that fabulous Law which he after divulged unto the World, as coming from the Angel *Gabriel*, with whom he pretended himself very familiar. And thus we see with what Arts each Law-giver endeavoured to establish their Laws among men, thinking thereby to purchase that immortal Fame, which their Ambitions so much desired: For as one of the Ancients well observed, *Amari, coli, diligi majus im-*
perio



perio est. But oh the Impiety of these Heathens, who fathered all their Follies upon their Gods! not considering that whosoever speaketh in the name of the Gods intituleth them to whatsoever he publisheth, and consequently if his Doctrine be false, (as that of theirs must needs be, by reason of the absurdities found therein) intituleth the Deities to false Doctrines.

III.

The next thing I shall insist upon, is their impious Opinions concerning the Deity; which deserve the same reproof that a late ingenious and noble Writer gave a rigid *Prædestinarian*, affirming that God delighted in the death of mankind; *Speak worse of the Devil if you can*: For there was hardly any thing so mean or base, as was not by some of them revered for a Deity; nor any Vice so great, but some of their Gods were guilty of it. Wherefore *Origin* speaking of the *Agyptians*, says thus to *Celsus*: *When you approach their Sacred places, ye shall meet with stately Groves, Chapels and Temples with magnificent Gates; also with variety of mysterious Ceremonies: but when once you are*
entred

entred and got within their Temples, ye shall behold nothing but a Cat, or an Ape, a Crocodile, Goat, or Dog, whereto they pay the most solemn veneration. But of this I shall treat more at large in my discourse concerning Sacrifices, and therefore now will return to that Subject which the Title of my Book promises to treat of.

IV.

In the first place, to discover the foundation of their Opinion concerning the Soul, it was this, *Jovis omnia plena*; and of the World, *Mens agit molem*: They held God to be all in all, to be Infinite, and therefore but One; *Seneca* thinking that if there could be found any real thing, (though but an Atom) which were no part of God, or any place wherein God were not, then they could not esteem him to be Infinite, and every-where present, but thence excluded, and consequently limited; upon which account they denied a *Vacuum*. Hence also they did not conceive the World (as some now do) to be

a great Body by it self, set a part from the Infinite God, but to be signified under that name, whose Being was in part visible and exposed to our senses, and partly invisible as in its Spirituality, not perceptible by our gross corporeal Organs, otherwise than in its outward effects and productions: and that therefore

Euripides.
Horat.

Rom. 1. no more of the invisible things
19, 20. of God was known unto them, than what seemed of clear inference from the visible: that in plain meaning, the Spiritual part of the World was not by them discovered, further than was evidenced by its acting on the Corporeal part, whereof though in the common form of speaking, when they said *God*, they meant only the Spirit of God; and when they said *World*, they meant grossly the material Globe: Yet the more knowing sort of Heathens did by the *World* mean all corporeal Beings, both above and below, not allowing plurality of Worlds, but only one infinite Body, governed by the Divine Spirit, acting all in all. *Spiritus intus alit.* So as when they mentioned *Gods* in the plural number, they meant only divers faculties, which their Soul of the World
(viz.

(viz. God) had infused into several Creatures peculiar to them. Hence they called every particular a *Microcosm*, or Little World, in some sort the Progeny, or imperfect Copy of the Universe, as consisting of Body and Spirit; some more perfect, as Man, and all animated Creatures; others less, as Plants, Minerals and Stones: according as several mixt their bodily Temperaments were prepared to receive a more or less pure degree of the *Anima Mundi*: not allowing more Souls than one, altho men gave them divers names, according to the various kinds of Creatures so animated. And this some held too spiritual, to be any more defiled by any diseased, nasty or wicked Body, wherein it dwelt, than the Sun-beams by shining into a Dungeon or Pest-house.

V.

Now this Doctrine of the Soul seemed but ill to provide for Justice, either in this life or in another, however they allowed it Immortality in general, but undertook not for its disposal in any peculiar way; only that it lives here as long as it hath vigour enough in it self to draw and



and digest to its own support, fit and sufficient Nutriment out of the great World. But when its Organs are either enfeebled, or by some accident disordered, that it can no longer prey on the great World, than that preys upon it, and at death receives back its Body and Spirit into it self: by which alternative Emanation of the Universe into particulars, and their Restitution into the Universe, (without any annihilation) the World (say they) enjoys a perpetual rejuvenescency. They did by daily experience see *composita dissolvi*, and in their dissolution nothing perisht but that which was made up of the conjunction of those parts. As when by death the Body and Soul were parted, the man they thought was gone, but the Spirit remained in its Original, and the Body in its Earth from whence it came: and they when wrought again by Nature separately into new mixtures, entred into a new state of Being, which they supposed no way concerned or related unto the former, as we may see by the lines of the Poet:

Et

Et si jam nostro sentit de corpore, postquam
Distracta est animi natura animeque
potesas
Nitamen hoc ad nos, coitu, qui, conjugioque
Corporis atque anima consistimus uniter apti.
Nec, si materiam nostram conlegerit atas
Post obitum, rursusque redegerit, ut sita nunc
est:
Atque iterum nobis fuerint data lumina vita:
Pertineat quicquam tamen ad nos id quoque
saclum,
Interrupta semel cum sit retinentia nostri.
Et nunc nihil ad nos de nobis atineat, ante
Qui fuimus, &c.

Lucretii
 lib. 3.

But only thought themselves assured, and held for an eternal verity, that there never was, nor could be in Nature any Annihilation: however gross people when things disappeared, considered not that they were dissolved into their first Principles, but supposed them turned into Nothing: whereas if nature did admit of any Annihilation, the World, says *Ocellus Lucanus*, had long ago vanished. *Aristotle*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Averroes*, and others make the World eternal, and void of all corruption: for not being able to comprehend

hend whether the Egg or the Bird were first generated, since no Bird could be without an Egg, nor Egg without a Bird, therefore they conceived that the World, and the beginning of every begotten thing, together with the end thereof, must be by perpetual revolution sempiternal. So that this not admitting of any Annihilation, caused their opinion of the Worlds Eternity. And the Stoicks who believed a final Conflagration, did not believe any Annihilation, any more then of a Faggot, when it was burnt: but that there should be a new Heaven and a new Earth, or rather that the Almighty Wisdom would produce some new Fabrick unconceivable by us, who are not able to conceive any thing whereof we have no experience.

Euripides, as
the Translator
renders him.

*Genitum nihil emoritur,
Sed transpositum ultro citroque
Formam priorem alterat.*

For say they, as Nature cannot create by making something out of nothing, so neither can it annihilate by turning something into nothing: From whence (says Dr. *Hackwell*) it follows by consequence, that as there is no access, so
can

Hackwell's
Apol. lib. I.
cap. 4.

can there be no deminution in the Universe, no more than in the Alphabet, by the infinite combination and transposition of Letters, or in the Wax by the alteration of the Seal stamped upon it. *Ocellus Lucanus* upon this subject writes, That if any should conceive the World to have been made, he would not be able to find into what it is corrupted and dissolved, since that out of which it was made, was before the Universe, as that into which it shall be corrupted, will be after the Universe.

As for those things which are contained in the World, they have communion with the World; but the World hath communion with nothing else besides it self: for all other things have not such a nature as is sufficient of it self, but stand in need of communion with other things; as living Creatures, need respiration; the Eye-light; and the other Senses, their several objects: Plants need the juice of the Earth, for their growth: Nay the Sun, Moon, Planets, and fixed Stars, require a certain portion of the Universe; only the Universe stands in need of no other thing but it self. Now as Fire which is able to give heat to other things, is of it self

Ocell. Lucan.
lib. I.

self hot; so that which is the cause of safety and perfection to other things, must of it self be safe and perfect. Again, if the Universe be dissolved, it must be dissolved into something, or nothing: not into something, for the Universe would not then be totally corrupted, for something must be the whole Universe, or a part of it: nor will it be annihilated, for (says *Ocellus*) it is impossible that something should be made of nothing, or reduced into nothing. *Dr. Hackwell* hath well observed, that no Prophets ever foretold the end of the World would ensue till many years after their own deaths, being sure not to be proved Lyers: according to the Epigram,

*Cur mundi finem propiorem non facis? ut non
Ante obitum mendax arguerere? sapis.*

Owen upon *Napier*.

For they who prophesie the Worlds destruction, are upon sure grounds, viz. that till it comes to pass, it may be expected. *Josephus* speaking of the *Greeks* and other Nations, affirms, that every State and Kingdom have reported him that was the first Founder of them, to be the first of the World: each Nation reckoning their Antiquity

but from some great change which happened among them. And thus we are to understand the Original of the *Greek* History from *Inachus* the *Argive*; not that he was the Original thereof, as some make him; but because a most memorable alteration did then happen, some were so ignorant as to make that construction thereof. For my own part, I who believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God, do in this point, as in all others, resign up my poor Judgment to that sacred Oracle; but if I did not *Josephus* his Arguments would prove altogether uneffectual unto me. For after he hath in his discourse *Joseph. cont.* against *Appion*, spent many *Apion.* lines in magifying his Countmen the *Jews*, that they were the first Inhabitants of the Earth; He at the last does in a manner confess, that he dares not nevertheless compare the Monuments of the *Jews*, with those of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldees* and *Phenicians*, who dwell in such Countries as were not so subject to the corruption of the Air, and have carefully preserved the Records of their Countrey. Which is as if he had said, that for as much as no other Nations but the *Egyptians*, *Chaldees*



dees and *Phœnicians*, have certain Records of their Originals, therefore I will not with them contend for Antiquity, but only with such as have no Records to shew. Also in the same Treatise *Josephus* makes use of *Manethon*, when it is for his Advantage, and to justify the *Jews* Antiquity, but in other matters that are to his Disadvantage he rejects his Authority. But to return to the Heathen Opinion of the Soul.

VI.

The most plausible Arguments they had to justify their wicked Opinion of the Soul's Mortality, or unrewarded condition, proceeded from their Contemplation of Man, whose Body when he Dyes, they plainly saw was by putrefaction mingled with the Body of the World, from whence it was: And by the same reason they were so credulous as to believe his Soul mingled with the Soul of the World, from whence that was. Their Priests also agreeing herewith, (though in another form of words) taught, That in Death the Soul went to God who gave it, and the Body to the Earth of which it was
com-

composed: Therefore as when the Sun-beams shine into a dark Room, and enlighten it, you may easily exclude it from shining into the room, but can never intercept or cut those Beams off from their original, the Sun: The like relation they conceiv'd the Soul of Man had to the Soul of the World, whereto it ever hath an inseparable conjunction: The same also they held to be in all other Creatures, according to their several degrees of animation from one and the same general Spirit, and that by reason of its Spirituality such passage could be no more hindered, than the Walls of a Castle can hinder you from thinking what is within.

VII.

Ebcncora an *Arabian* Philosopher, observing that Nature makes no sudden transition from one extreme to another, and ever by some preparative degrees fitting them to be invested into one another; so he willing to advance the Soul into a more Cœlestial Condition, pretends that when it leaves the gross Carnal Body, it first mixes with some more subtil Body, (perhaps the Air) and so by being more and more refined, receives a



gradual Capacity of a Coelestial Condi-
 tion ; not considering that the Spirit, when
 it is in any thing, is much more spiritual
 than Air. But Hippocrates went further
 on this, who living in a Republick, and
 so perhaps having his Philosophy infected
 with their kind of Government, gives
 the Soul of all things a kind of reciprocal
 preferment and Recidivation, by Rare-
 faction and condensation of its Corporeal
 Nature. For he observing the dissolution
 of gross Bodies to be wrought by Fer-
 mentation intrinsick, which looses and
 ratifies them ; as also that they are com-
 pacted by Condensation, whereby the
 Soul becomes wrought again into ano-
 ther gross Body, and that the Spiritual
 doth ever Act and govern the Cor-
 poreal : He (I say) from these Ope-
 rations conceiv'd a kind of Alternative
 Reign in Nature, saying after his ob-
 scure manner, *Lux Jovi Tenebrae Plu-
 toni. Lux Plutoni Tenebrae Jovi* : Which
 much agrees with the *London-Virtuosi*
 in Sir *Hugh Plat's* time, who writes,
 That they held no Original Difference of
 Things, but Thick and Thin, not discern-
 ing that *res est*, *Divinum aliquid*, or Spi-
 ritual Nature, which Hippocrates observ'd
 to be in all Things.

VIII.

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 Nature. For he observing the dissolution
 of gross Bodies to be wrought by Fer-
 mentation intrinsick, which looses and
 ratifies them ; as also that they are com-
 pacted by Condensation, whereby the
 Soul becomes wrought again into ano-
 ther gross Body, and that the Spiritual
 doth ever Act and govern the Cor-
 poreal : He (I say) from these Ope-
 rations conceiv'd a kind of Alternative
 Reign in Nature, saying after his ob-
 scure manner, *Lux Jovi Tenebrae Plu-
 toni. Lux Plutoni Tenebrae Jovi* : Which
 much agrees with the *London-Virtuosi*
 in Sir *Hugh Plat's* time, who writes,
 That they held no Original Difference of
 Things, but Thick and Thin, not discern-
 ing that *res est*, *Divinum aliquid*, or Spi-
 ritual Nature, which Hippocrates observ'd
 to be in all Things.

Many old Philosophers of great Emi-
 nency, especially the *Platonists* in their
 Airy Discourses of Humane Souls, first in
 favour of their own, plac'd them in an
 higher form than those of ordinary Per-
 sons, and other Animals : Pretending
 that by frequent Philosophical Meditati-
 on, they so far refined themselves, as that
 after Death they remain'd in a kind of
 Astral, or (as term'd by later Times)
 Angelical Condition. As if bare think-
 ing could cause any real effect, in a Subject
 with whom all its Thoughts vanish. But
 those of the Vulgar, especially if Vicious,
 they also acknowledged to be Immortal,
 however to remain more or less Grieving,
 for the loss of that beautiful fruiti-
 on, according as they had led on Earth a
 Life more or less Vicious.

Which Opinion (meer Nature, and
 unenlightned Reason being Judge) can't
 acquit it self of many Errours : First,
 They did not explain themselves, how
 they could be capable of a confin'd Lo-
 cality ; nor where, nor in what Sub-
 jects those Souls should remain, when



(30)
they left their Bodies. Moreover, all their Operations here seeming to be Organical, they wondered how Men could be supposed to see, when their Eyes are gone; or to Grieve, Rejoyce, or Think, when the Brain, the *medium* of thinking is turn'd to Dirt. Further, They grossly asserted, That those Departed Souls could have no knowledge of particulars, for that they are not discernable, but by our Bodily Senses, which represent them unto us; but they pretended their Knowledge to be only of Universals, whereas there are no such things really in Nature, they being only meer aggregate Terms, devised by our selves for conveniency of Discourse, to save the labour of enumerating Particulars. As when we say, *Mankind is Mortal*, that in effect signifies no more, but that *John* such-a-one, *Thomas*, *Robert*, *Peter*, &c. one by one, each particular Man Living is Mortal: But for as much as we cannot nominate all those Particulars, were constrain'd to include them in one term, *Mankind*: Whereas if every particular Man, Woman and Child were Dead, there would be no such thing as *Mankind* left, no not so

so much as notionally in Imagination, because there would not then remain one Man Alive to conceive such a Notion.

I X.

Others of later times, not taking the truly wise advice of *St. Paul*, to beware of *vain Philosophy*, have adventur'd to uphold the knowledge of Humane Souls after Death, not by Faith and the Scriptures, whose sacred Authority were the most proper support of that Belief, but out of the presumption of their own sufficiency, by the meer light of Natural Reason; and because this appears not easily intelligible, they endeavour to illustrate it by terms to Nature as unintelligible, telling us of the separate Souls intuitive knowledge, and that without help of the imaginative part, which is acknowledg'd to perish with the Brain, its seat and Organ. But Divinity is too sublime a thing to be tryed by the Test of our imperfect Reason, for that were to try God by Man, and in these matters may it justly be call'd Folly before God. 'Tis usually observ'd, That those who vent Doctrines which they

they are not able to evince, muffle them in obscure terms, as one may call a kind of Canting, like *Aristotle's Entelechia*, which no Body understood but himself. Thus this form of Intuitive Knowledge, without the help of Senses or Imagination, is utterly unconceivable to us, who in knowing make use of both. There is nothing that more betrays the Souls infinity, than Thought; as when in one minute a Man can think of the Northern and Southern parts of the World, and in one moment run over many thousand Leagues both of Sea and Land: But the chief Argument this point of their Philosophy relays upon, is a reflex knowledge, which we have in perceiving our selves to know: And this they will have to be done without help from the imaginative Representation; wherefore they say, the Soul may know, although that part be lost. But if we confidently mark this inward perception of our knowledge, it may perhaps be nothing but the inward experience, which our imaginative faculty gives us of what we know, and doth no more evince any separable faculty of the Soul, (as *Lucretius* observes) than the reflex and intrinsick perception of

of smart, which a Man's Foot gives him in a Fit of the Gout.

Now the Ancients thinking the Spirit of the World to be universally diffus'd through all things, not only Animals, but such as we call Inanimates, consider'd it so as that the various actions thereof, might not be unfitly compar'd to the Musick of a pair of Organs, where all the Wind comes from the Bellows, which being distributed into several Pipes, makes Musick so long as it remains in them, but so soon as it is pass'd through the Pipes, the Wind of each Pipe mixes with that of the others again, and then the Musick ceases: Thus they foolishly conceived to be infused into all Creatures, each of their Spirits from that of the World, and so to act according to the various Temperaments of those several Bodies, which they possess as long as they remain therein; but immediately when they pass through them, they mingle again promiscuously with one another into the Spirit of the World, from



from which they were sent, and their former Ways of Acting ceased.

Others there were that look'd upon the Soul to be to the Body, as we see Gunpowder is to the Gun, (if I may fitly illustrate in an Ancient Opinion, by a Modern Comparison) and that a Body without a Soul, is but a piece of Ordnance uncharg'd, useles to the Operation Nature assign'd it. Therefore when Men run Mad through over-much Wit, Knowledge, or Learning, they may not improperly be said to be over-charg'd: As on the contrary, the reason why Men *vasto corpore* are generally more heavy, dull and half-witted, may proceed from their being under-charged. As we see the same quantity of Powder which gives a Report in a Pistol, gives little or none in a Cannon, the disproportion of the Gun diversifying the Effects.

Some of the Ancient Philosophers having a vain Ambition of getting Eternal Fame, by railing some particular Sect of Philosophy, which might generally take amongst Men, set up for one of these Ways: Either to please the Voluptuous, who care for nothing, but Delighting their Senses without any further regard: Or by pretending to Futurity and Eternity to make a more Glorious Noise, and thereby thought to prevail more powerfully and universally, as over-awing the Timorous, and alluring the Ambitious: In which way they adapted eternal Terrors to Evil Doers, and everlasting Glory to the Virtuous. This they not improbably hoped would make their Sect to be admitted and cherish'd by Princes, as commodious to Government. Also this latter sort to compass their end, were necessitated to wrest their Doctrines of the Soul so far from meer Illuminate Nature, as one of the Ancients said, They deliver'd things more like Dreams, or Old Wives Tales, than Truths: And at length Posterity following their Ancestors like



Carriers Horses in a Track, without seeking out any new or better way, they received such Frenzies from one another, and improved them with such Dotages of their own, as surpass'd all Poetical Fictions, and instead of taking with the Vulgar, grew ridiculous. For in truth they needed as much and as weak credulity, as ever any vulgar Superstition did: But were not so craftily fitted to draw Vulgar Capacities to Honesty, or terrifie them from Vice, as other Superstitions were. Their news of separate Souls in Cœlestial Joys, or Infernal

Sext. Empir. Agonies, *Enumerus* the Atheist says most impiously, were as hard to prove as the *Elysian Fields*, *Acheron* or *Styx*, or *Pluto* with his Infernal Guard. All this would do little or no good upon the prophane Rabble, for they would say within themselves, if this be all, we will not for such Metaphysicks forbear any manner of pleasure or profit, how base soever. On the other side, should you hear *Mahomet* assuring the People, That if they would lead a Pious, Religious and Obedient Life in this World, they should hereafter live for ever in most pleasant Gardens, with variety of delicious Fruits, Beautiful Women, and high Affections,

with

with abilities renewed eternally: but if they led an irreligious life, and were disobedient unto his Doctrine, they should hereafter be delivered up to horrid Devils, who would for ever torment them in a Lake of material Fire and Brimstone: this Doctrine, when once by education, and the solemnity of publick Authority, implanted and upheld in the minds of men, proves far more prevalent with them, than the sublime notions of *Plato*, how well grounded soever: and as to an exact proof before natural reason: clear and not preposessed, perhaps *Plato* would not have much the odds of *Mahomet*; *Nihil est infelicius homine cui sua signenta dominantur.*

XII.

Many good Moral men, and some of the Fathers, as *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, &c. held the Soul to be *ex Traduce* from Father to Son, and that for these reasons: First, if every man hath a new Soul infused into him at his birth by God, and not lineally descended to him from *Adam* to *Eve*, how then can they

be



be guilty of, or suffer for Original sin?
 2. What means that place *Exodus 1. 5.* where tis said, *All the Souls that came from the loins of Jacob, were seventy Souls?* Also another place, *Gen. 46. 26, 27.* to the same purpose. 3. If the Soul be not *ex Traduce*, then Man the most perfect of all Creatures, were worse than a Beast, who begets both matter and form. 4. Every like doth not then beget his like, and error in Philosophy it self. 5. All that have Seed in themselves, do not propogate their kind. 6. Gods Command, *viz. Gen. 1.* the Creatures to increase and multiply, would be useles and of none effect. 7. God would infuse a Soul to be punished here and hereafter for anothers sin, *viz. Adams.* 8. God seems to concur to the act of Fornication, or Adultry, in that he furnishes their unlawful Issue with a Soul; and if a Man lye with a Beast, and beget a Monster half a Man and half a Beast, God will be thought to infuse a Soul into that unnatural conception, and it is a *Quaestio* what will become of that Soul hereafter? 9. If the Soul be infused, nothing is begotten; for the Body can't generate *per se*, any more than one House can of it self beget another, both the Body and the

the House being of themselves but dirt; Generation is not without the Soul. Lastly, Man begets not whole Man, for he consists of Body and Soul joyntly. These absurdies they inferred from that opinion of Gods infusing the Soul immediately into every man at his first Creation. This opinion of the Souls being *ex Traduce* (like the Body) from the Parents, is illustrated by the *simile* of lighting one Candle by another; and that according to Holy Writ, God first lighted *Adam*, from whom Posterity received their light, without diminishing one another thereby, any more than one Torch is diminished by lighting another. In a Candle if you observe it closely, you may plainly perceive how the flame, as it melts and draws in the Tallow into little bubbles, turns them into flame, which shines for a while, till its uppermost part having spent its oyle moisture, vanishes into Smoak and Air, the flame still renewing not in identity, but by successive renovation. In resemblance whereof, some thought the Soul out of the bodily Nutriment to make the Chyle, and turning that into Blood, out of that to make the animal Spirits, and of them the discourses



discursive Soul, which in an humane temperature seemed refined to a greater purity, than in the grosser constitutions of other Animals; likewise in them more than in Plants, [to greater or lesser perfection or duration, according to the different Temperaments more or less prepared to receive it: and they that held this Opinion, laid down for an infallible maxim, that *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur admodum recipientis*; and from hence say (they) it comes to pass, that some men are more ingenious, others more stupid. But generally they held, that men were more clearly rational, whilst other Animals are stupid and dull, yet all from one and the same original Spirit, varying only according to its different fuel. Just as Lamps, some shine brighter and some more dim, according as their Oyl or wick is better or worse. From hence (say they) it proceeds, that we often see as much difference between Men and Men, as there is between Men and Beasts, only as stupidity is most prevalent in Brutes, so is frenzy in men. Nor did the Heathens perceive any considerable difference betwixt us and other Creatures, than what is occasioned by
speech

speech and use of Letters, whereof they being ignorant, could only think of objects, noises, and what they felt, heard or saw, but could hold no mental discourses, as Men did who had the use of

Letters. Let us hear what *Mountaign* says on this subject. That *lib. 2. c. 12.* defect which hindreth communication between them and us, why may it not be in us, as well as in them? for we understand them no more than they do us; by the same reason therefore may they despise our ignorance, as well as we theirs: And we may as well think the *Chineses* Beasts, because we do not understand them. When I am playing with my Cat, (says he) who knows whether she hath more sport in dallying with me, or I in playing with her? we entertain one another with mutual Apish tricks, and if I have my hour to begin, or to refuse, so hath she hers. As we hunt after the tamer sort of Beasts, so do the wilder hunt after us: and therefore as Sheep or Oxen are made for Men, so (if you will credit *Mountaign*) are Men after a sort made for Lions, Bears, Wolves, Tigers; the weakest for the strongest. Such as keep or entertain Beasts, (as he
goes

goes on) may rather be called their
 Servants, than they theirs. *Democritus*
 was of the opinion, that Men have learn'd
 most of their Arts from dumb Creatures:
 as that the Spider taught us to weave,
 the Swallow to build, the Nightingale
 to sing, and divers Beasts the Art of
 Phylick. *St. Austin* in his dispute with
 the *Manichees*, seems to give Beasts
 the use of Reason. *Campanella* gives
 them some senses which we want. What
 (says he) makes the Cock to discover
 midnight and morning, as it appears
 he doth by his crowing? what teaches
 a Hen, before she hath had any experi-
 ence, to fear an Hawk, and not a Goose,
 or Peacock, far greater Birds? what
 makes the young Chickens more afraid
 of a Cat, than a Dog? or to strut and
 arm themselves more against the mew-
 ing of the one, than the barking of the
 other? what instructs the Wasps, Em-
 mets and Mice, to chuse the best Fruit
 and Cheese, without having tasted them
 before? and what teaches the Dog when
 he is sick, to flee to the Grass and the
 Stag, Elephant and Serpent certain
 Herbs, when they are wounded for cure?
 how many ways speak we Dogs, and
 they understand us? what

discipline may we learn from the Bees?
 what prudence from the Ants, in lay-
 ing up provision before-hand? or from
 the Swallows, who at the approach of
 Spring search up and down, and pry
 about the corners of the Houses, not
 without judgment and discretion, and
 from a thousand places select that which
 is most convenient for them to build
 with? and in that pretty, cunning con-
 texture of their Houses, would Birds
 chuse rather a round than a square form,
 did they not know the conveniency of
 it? what makes them take first Clay,
 and then Water, unless they guessed the
 moisture of the one, would mollifie the
 hardness of the other? would they floor
 their Apartments with Moss, did they
 not know, how much more soft and
 warm it would be for themselves and
 young ones? what makes them shelter
 themselves from stormy weather, build-
 ing their Cabbins toward the East, but
 that they know some winds are more
 healthful than others? why doth the
 Spider spin her artificial Web thicker
 in one place than in another, using
 sometimes one, sometimes another knot,
 had she not an excellent contrivance? Let
 us now consider Man, who as *Moun-
 taign*



taign faith) is the only out-cast
 forsaken Creature, naked on the
 Earth, having nothing to cover an
 arm himself withal, but the spoil of
 thers; whereas Nature her self hath
 cloathed and fortified all other Creature
 with skins, hair, wooll, stings, horns
 scales, feathers, talons, Claws, hoofs
 teeth, &c. instructing them in every
 thing requisite for their own preserva
 tion, as to swim, run, creep, fly, &c.
 but Man alone can neither feed, speak,
 nor shift for himself, unless taught by
 others.

*Tum porrò , puer ut sevis projectus
 undis
 Navita, nudus humi jacet infans , indignus
 omni.
 Vitali auxilio, cum primùm in lumina
 oras
 Nexibus ex alvo matris Natura profudit,
 Vagituque locum lugubri complet, ut aquum
 est
 Cui tantum in vita restat transire malorum.
 At varia crescunt pecudes, armantæ, feræ
 que.
 Nec crepitacula eis opus est, nec cuiquam
 hibenda est*

*Alma nutricis blanda , atque infracta lo
 quela
 Nec varias querunt vestes pro tempore
 biceli.
 Denique non armis opus est, non manibus
 altis
 Quæ sua veniunt , quando omnibus omnia
 large
 Tellus ipsa parit, Naturaque Dædala re
 rum.*

Lucret. l. 5. p. 222.

Some Authors are of an opinion, that
 Man is nothing but an Ape cultivated;
 others think, that as he is superiour to
 Brutes in some things, so is he inferi
 our in other. By the Law sin first came
 into the World, saith the Holy Scrip
 ture; wherefore if Man be the only
 Creature that hath knowledge of God,
 then (say they) he is the only Crea
 ture that sins against that God whom
 he knows: what Brute doth a worse
 thing than Man, when he goes into
 Foreign Wars, and for four pence or
 six pence a day murders men that ne
 ver did him wrong? Birds quarrel with
 one another either for meat, or females;
 and Men for Superstitions, or for some
 what that doth not at all concern them;
 and

Alma



and now which is the most rational Dispute? St. *Jerom* forgetting that it is said *Not a Sparrow falls to the Ground without God's Knowledge*, doth in his Exposition upon *Habakkuk* seem to limit God's Providence, and make it not to extend to Beasts, but only unto Men.

De Nat. Decur. Also *Cicero* writes to the same purpose, *Magni Curant parva negligunt.* But this was only to Complement the Great Ones: For as St. *Austin* says, *Deus maximus in minimis*: And as the excellency of the sight appears in discerning the smallest Object; so did he think the beauty of Providence most appear'd in governing regularly the smallest Atom. But to return to our Subject.

XIII.

Mens Natural Passions and Fears, which are not enlightned by judicious and calm consideration, nor repress'd by a sober Temper of Mind, did ever so tyrannize over them, that some (as now with us) do not lie alone, or go in the dark, for fear of Spirits; but this Timorousness is more Venial in the ignorant Heathen

than in us, who believe that Man bears the image of the Almighty; for what can be more absurd, than to think that the Devil when he pleases to make sport, can invest himself in the same shape with the Almighty's Favourite? But however, such Reports have given some Men an opportunity of shewing the power of their Zeal, to lay those Spirits which never were rais'd. The good Dæmon of *Socrates* was no other than his extraordinary Prudence and Wisdom, which ever dictat'd to him in all his Undertakings, both what to do, and what to avoid; nor did this good *Genius* fail him, save in the choice of his Wife *Zantippe*, at which time, if Matches were made in Heaven, he had certainly no Friends there. 'Tis thought there is a *deceptio visus*, wherewith Timorous People are possess'd, that oft-times make them believe they see things, which they do not: And he that believes there are such things, hath half seen them, and wants only *Brutus* his Waking Dream, to see such another Apparition, who instead of seeing what he is reported to have seen in a Dream, did only dream that he saw it, which very much differ.

The



The ingenious Dr. *Brown* is zealous for Apparitions and in a Reply to that shrewd Objection, That the Devil only appears to silly weak People, he says, That the Devil will not appear to the wicked, for fear of Converting them. But if this Argument held, he must never appear to any, for certainly his appearing can never advance his Kingdom, but rather the contrary. However, that God can raise up such things, no Man I think will question; but that he doth, so often as Men report, no Man is obliged to believe. Nor shall I be so Dogmatical as to assert the contrary, since there is an aerial Creation, and for ought we know every place is full of Invisible Spirits, which like the Wind are unseem, yet visible in their Effects and Operations. This Opinion of Spirits hath ever been received in the World, as we may learn from all Histories both Ancient and Modern and therefore I shall not be so positive in my Assertion as to give all Antiquity the lye. When I read of a Sceleton that appear'd in Chains to *Athenodorus* the Philosopher; and the same of *Cleonice*, that tormented *Pausanias* (who had slain her) as long as he

he liv'd; as also the Ghost of *Agrippina* did her Son *Nero*. *Alexander ab Alexandro* tells Lib. 5. cap. 23. us of several Houses in *Rome*, that were uninhabited on this occasion: But particularly one of his own, wherein both himself and his daring Companion, were severely frighted by an Apparition. Also *Cardan* (whom *Causabon* stiles, *Homo ventosi ingenii*) was for this very reason called *Mendacissimus*. He (though incredulous enough in other things) yet here seems too easie, for he not only believ'd such Apparitions, but affected to tell strange things concerning them: Which made his great Friend *Nodam*, (who extoll'd him in other things) to decry him in this. *Suetonius* also tells of a Spirit, that appear'd in *Caesar's* Camp, just before his passing the *Rubicon*, and in the form of an Handsome Young Man, snatching a Trumpet out of the hands of one of the Trumpeters, therewith threw himself into the River, and swam over, founding a March all the while: (Although Men may question, whether this were not a Stratagem us'd by *Caesar* to encourage his Men to proceed, the supposed Spirit being perhaps only a

C Young



Young Man that could Swim well, and found a Trumpet.) Therefore I shall not too confidently oppose a Doctrine, which hath been so long entertain'd in the World. But in all these matters it is good to be neither too Sceptical, so as to need burning before we are convinc'd that the fire is hot; nor too credulous, as those who see nothing but what is invisible, and believe nothing but what is incredible.

XIV.

Again, others whose *Idea's* were more chearful and vigorous, did frequently cast away their Lives, in hopes of being wrapt above the Skies; as the *Negroes* of *Guiney* use to do, who upon any dislike of their Condition, (thinking their Being no longer to be preserv'd than it is a Well-being) do often make away themselves, in hopes to go Dance with their Deceased Friends beyond the Mountains. The prodigious power of such Waking Dreams, have produc'd such horrid effects in Minds dark and susceptible of them, especially when they represent the *Idea's* of
Ter-

Terrour. As at this time we frequently see poor Old silly Women confess, and really imagine that they have convers'd with evil Spirits, in the shape of black Dogs, or have flown in the Air, and so have suffer'd for Witches, when perhaps *Bedlam* had been much fitter for them. Nor is a Man that is incredulous in the point of Witches, without some reason on his side. The ingenious *Bergerac* in his Satyrs saith thus: I have never heard any story of Witches, but it was said to be acted above an hundred Miles from the place it was told me; the laying the Scene at which distance, made me suspect the Relators aim'd to render it impossible for the curious to inform themselves of the truth; also that they were in the shapes of Cats, found in the midst of a Field. Without many Witnesses: the Testimony of one Person alone ought to be suspected in things miraculous: Near a Village; it was easier to cozen the Clowns: 'Twas a poor Old Woman; Necessity might make her lie, to get Money: She was old; Age weakens Reason, and makes Talk too much; or else she hath invented this Fable to entertain her Neighbours withal: Age decays the Sight; she took a Hare for a
Cat



Cat: Age makes fearful; she thought she had seen fifty for one. And 'tis much more probable, that any one of these things may happen, which are every day seen, than such an extraordinary accident. Again, the party thought to be a Witch, being some ignorant old Country-woman, hath not wit to disintangle her self from the intricate Questions which are put to her, whose understanding is so stupified with the imminent danger, that she is rendered incapable of making any pertinent answer to justify her self; which if she doth, men conclude the Devil speaks in her; if she saith nothing, they believe she is convinced by a guilty Conscience, and so she is presently condemned: Or for the better evidence whether she be a Witch or no, they cast her into the Water, where if she sinks she is drowned; and if she swims, she is convicted for a Witch. But would the Devil be such a Fool? He that could at another time give her the form of a Cat, can he not now give her the form of a Fly to escape in? No, say they, Witches looses their power when they are in the hands of Justice: But this is ill contrived, for it is not the way to encourage others to

serve

serve the Devil, for him thus to abandon his Servants in time of need; the old Serpent should be wiser than so. Besides it may be observed, that all these reputed Conjurers and Witches are generally beggarly and poor: Therefore is it probable that any persons should expose themselves, upon the hope to continue poor and odious, to misery both in this World, and that which is to come? How can it be admitted with reverence to the Divine Nature, that the Divine Nature, that the Divine Prophecy should cease and Witches so abound, as seems by their frequent excursions; which would make one think, the strongest fascination is incircled within the ignorance of the Judges, malice of the Witnesses, or the stupidity of the poor parties accused. These are the things which are urged against this Opinion.



(54)
upon reading *Plato's* Book of Immortality kill'd themselves, and so made more haste than good speed to enjoy those Pleasures. *Prob, mira stultitia & incredibilis audacia! spernunt tormenta presentia, dum incerta metuunt & futura, & dum mori post mortem timent, interim mori non timent, ita illis pavor & fallax spes solatio redivivo blanditur.* Whereby it appears, that in things which Nature hath not made our Reason capable of foreseeing, (as is the Souls future Estate) their strong belief is not alway a sign of Truth: for in some cases who so bold as blind Bayard? There never was any Sect so sottish and false, but may boast of its Martyrs. Let this be understood of corrupt, unenlightened Nature, that we may not confound Christianity with Paganism. Many good men have died to justifie, what *Vaninus* died madly to oppose; so contrary are mens persuasions. Some of the *Egyptians* died fighting for the Deity of Garlick, others for the Deity of Onions; so that a mistaken Martyrdom rather betrays the easiness of the Party, than the truth of his Cause. For to believe otherwise, were to do too great an honour

honour to those Atheists or Hereticks, who have suffered for their Irreligion under the Laws of Christianity. The Apostles suffered for the truth of what they saw with their own eyes; whereas many of the Heathens did but like Knights of the Post, affirm the verity of things they knew not, only had received by a Traditional hear-say from others, whose vain Opinion of their great knowledge filled them with pride, as being the only men which knew the secrets of Heaven: like *Asope's* Conjuror, they pretended to know all things which were done in Heaven and Earth, but was ignorant that his own House was on fire at home.

XVI.

The two primitive Essentials which constitute all compounded things, were by the Antient *Greeks* termed *Psyche* and *Hyle*, that is, *Spiritus* and *Materia*, Soul and Body. Both these they held, as considered in the single Natures, to be from all Eternity, and to continue to Eternity, which together united in one infinite, they held to be

God, whom they believed to be Maker of the World. Not by operation from without, as a Cook makes a Pye of several materials, which he hath gathered together, and being no part of him, can after it is made subsist without him: but by inoperation rather, resembling the Soul in a living Creature, which by its intrinsic, plastick vertue, forms the Animal with all its faculties and parts both internal and external, not being able to subsist without that Spirit which did first animate and inform it: however performed with no less trouble and concern to the *Anima Mundi*, than the hairs of our heads are to us: and to this inoperation of the Divine Nature *Virgil* alludes, saying,

*Principio Caelum ac Terras; composque liquentes.
Luceantque globum Luna, Titaniaque astra
Spiritus intus alii, totamque insusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

This,

This, I say, was an opinion generally received among the Heathens, only the wiser sort (so reputed) asserted, that God made all things of nothing but Himself; whom they acknowledge to be Infinite, and therefore could not imagine that there were any other real things besides him: supposing that if there were, then God must have been but one eminent thing among many others; which to speak or think, might be esteemed as great and sottish a blasphemy in Philosophy, as Religion: And to this purpose *Lucan* speaks,

Jupiter est quodcumque vides, &c. —

Also *Ovid*,

Presentemque refert qualibet herba Deum.

But the absurdity of this Opinion is already by several ingenious Pens made known unto the World: As,

The Answer to Mr. *Hobbs* p. 12. *Creed* p. 12. 23. I. if every thing be God, or a portion of God, some parts of the Deity must perceive what others do not.

G 5

2. Se



2. Several parts of the Deity (as Stones, Metals, &c.) must be void of understanding.

3. Idolatry were no crime, but only an amicable officiousness in one part of the Deity toward another. To which purpose *Athenagoras* writes, saying, If God and Matter be the same thing under various appellations, then were it no less than Impiety in us, to deny Divine honour to Stones, Trees or Metals.

Lastly, there would be no such thing as Virtue or Vice, Pain or Pleasure, unless you will make God to commit the one, and suffer the other.

XVII.

Now they who held this vain Opinion, termed every Creature (especially Man, who is esteemed the most excellent of all others) a *Microcosm*, or little World, as composed of *Ipsyche* and *Hyle*. Also *Moses* hath been thought to intimate as much, in saying, That in the beginning of the Creation, the Spirit moved upon the Waters; for so the *Rabbins* and *Cabalists* expound him. They say it was the

the *Ruah Elohim*, viz. The Spirit of God, which moved upon the Waters. *Hippocrates* seems likewise to agree with this Doctrine, asserting the beginning of Sublunary things to proceed from Fire and Water: But *Moses*, who was skilled in all the *Aegyptian* Learning, alludes perhaps to their *Hieroglyphicks*, wherein the figure of an *unit*, signified *God*; as a *Cypher*, stood for a *Non-entity*, i. e. for Nothing; the character of *Ten*, did signify the *World*: and in the old *Hebrew* Characters, as in our modern Figures, of a different shape, the figure of an *unit* placed before a *Cypher*, signified *Ten*, by which was meant the *World*, as I said: and hereby they expressed that God made the *World* of nothing. And perhaps in further Conformity herewith, he is said to make Man more excellent than other Creatures, after his own Image; that is, not in outward Effigies, or Features of face and limbs, but as the Universe composed of Spirit and Body. And so they held the *World* to be consisting of a Being partly comporerel and visible, and partly spiritual and visible: the visible or material part, by reason of its more or less gross and solid corporeity, is of it self more or less unfit for motion, but pro-



properly capable to receive the impulses of the more active spiritual part: And thus in the little World of Man, as long as his Spirit remains in him, it quickens his gross Body, carrying it up and down from the remotest parts of the Earth, contriving many projects, and working great things; however in a moment after that Spirit is gone, the Body is left a dull putried piece of Earth, and all his Thoughts perish.

But here give me leave to *Monthe- nize*, and so far to digress from my subject, as to acquaint you with a great dispute, which happened among the Ancients concerning Motion; for although, as I lately told you, there were some who thought the material part of the World unfit for motion, yet there were others of a contrary sentiment; and from hence arose the dispute concerning the motion of the Earth. *Aristotle*, *Ptolemy*, and *Tycho Brahe*, held that it was immovable, (especially the two former;) because they saw the Sun rise in one place, and set in another, as also their Houses stand

in the same place to day, as they did yesterday, they thought it an infallible truth that the Sun danced about the Earth, whilst that stood still to receive its Salutation. In opposition to this Doctrine there have risen up several men, both Ancient and Modern, who have affirmed the contrary; it hath been disputed for above these 2000 years. That the Globe of the Earth moved, was of old the opinion (if not of *Orpheus*) of *Thales*, *Aristarchus*, and *Philolaus* the *Pythagorean*, and is maintained by *Copernicus*, *Kepler*, *Zongomontanus*, *Origanus*, &c. They held that the Sun, like the Heart of Man, is placed in the midst of the Body of the Universe, as the most convenient seat to heat and animate the whole, and that the Earth moved about it.

1. For (say they) we do not place a Candle in the corner, but in the midst of the Room, when we would have it give most light.

2. Besides, the circular motion of the Planets round about the Sun, seems to argue that the earth doth the same, and the Sun stands still.

3. Further, it is more reasonable to believe, that the Earth which hath been of light and heat, should go to seek what it



wants, than that the Sun should go seek what it wants not: The Fire doth not turn before the Roast-meat, but the Roast-meat before the Fire.

4. Again, 'tis urged, Rest and Immobility is a more noble condition than Motion, wherefore more proper for the Sun a type and resemblance of God.

5. And then they observed, heavy things were kept up in the Air, only by virtue of motion, as a Stone mounted in the Air by a Sling; and therefore how do we know (say they) but that the Earth, like a Child's Humming-Top, may be kept up by its own motion, and the swiftness of that motion, like that of the Tops, might make it seem immovable.

6. They who deny the motion of the Earth, must also deny it to hang in *aquilibrio*, which were an absurdity.

7. Lastly, it may seem much more credible, that the Earth moves five Leagues in a minute, than that the eighth Sphere in the same time moves above forty millions; which it must do, if it be true that the extent of the Heavens be infinite: so that to have all the Heavens move round in twenty four hours, were to measure an infinite by a finite.

XIX. But

XIX.

But to return to *Anima Mundi*: The dullest sort of the Vulgar People used this word *Soul*, as we do that of *Materia Prima*, or the *Philosophers-Stone*; they thought it be some strange excellent Thing, but had no particular form'd Notion thereof: And so did not conceive of being Alive in any thing, beside their living Body; and as soon as that was in the Grave, *Actum est*, they were at an end. To which effect *Seneca* speaks,

Post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil, &c.

There were another sort clean contrary to them, as holding the Soul to be the Man; considering it, as inhabiting this Tabernacle of Clay, or cloath'd with this Mortal Body, which in death they shed, as the Stag doth his Horns, or the Snake her Hackle.

See

*Sed magis ire foras, vestemque relinquere ut
Anguis
Guaderet, pralonga senex aut cornua
Cervus.*

Lucret. lib. 3.

Whereupon the more easie sort advised with their Heathen-Priests, to learn what kind of Renovation they should have, when the time came. Which Priests aiming at their own Gain, and to render themselves necessary, did ever invent some Taste agreeable to that purpose: As *Varro* himself ingeniously confesses, That it is convenient, that the Vulgar should be ignorant of many Things that are True, and believe others that are False. *Quam veritatem qua liberetur inquirat: credatur ei expedire, quod fallitur.* Nay, and *Plato* himself, in his Republick, acknowledges: That for the Benefit of Mankind, it is often necessary to deceive them. So as it seems, their Religion serv'd but as a Curb, where-withal to rid the commonality. From whence we may observe, that the Religion of Nature, when corrected only by a Temporal Interest, doth but like *Antimony* prepared and made *Stitium*, become more Poisonous by its Correction and

aid Preparation. The *Pseudo-Fathers* of their Church, being such as brought Religion to their Interest, and not Interest to their Religion; fulfilling that Verse of the Poet's,

Atque ipsa utilitas justi prope Mater, &

Horat.

Nevertheless, there was others among them, who being more opinionated of their own Abilities, would not so easily suffer themselves to be imposed upon; but using their own Reason, consulted Nature upon that point; and in so doing, took our more usual way of searching Knowledge, a *Notioribus ad Ignotiora*: When finding their present Souls not to be kept in any separate Immaterial Estate, but all their Life long, to have been very agreeably lodged, and entertain'd in a bodily Subject, did conceive it probable, that they might in like manner be disposed of here-after.

XX.

Now this last sort of Men, as well in former Ages as at this day, are thought to be the most numerous and greatest part of Mankind; that is, the People that believe the Transmigration of Souls from one Body to another, which is by some restrain'd within the same Species, by others not: The Soul of a Tyrant, they thought after his death would go into a Lyon, Tyger, or some other Beast of Prey; because they equally thirst after Blood: and by the same Reason, the Soul of a Poet, into a Grasshopper, who sings till he starves. *Pythagoras* writes of himself, That he was first *Euphorbus*, then *Callidus*, then *Hermotimus*, then *Pyrrhus*; and last of all, *Pythagoras*. This Doctrine, as we may learn from the Holy Scriptures, and *Josephus*, had tainted not only the *Pharisees*, but *Herod* himself, and almost the whole Nation of the Jews; as appears, in that they held *Christ* to have been *Elias*, or one of the antient Prophets. Nay, some of the Apostles therefore,

Joseph. de
Bel. Jud.
lib. 2. 7.

(as *St. Cyril* observes) were misled by this Errour, as is evident by their Question, touching the Man that was born blind; *Master, Who did sin, this Man or his Parents?* For, How could they conceive, that he could sin before he was born, unless in some other Body which his Soul actuated before in another Life? But, what was more strange, many of the *Jews* thought *Christ* to be *St. John Baptist*, who had not then been dead full three Years. So as by this it may appear, that the Transmigration of a New Soul, was by them supposed to be, not only at the time of ones Birth, but sometimes in ones Life also; and this Conceit perhaps they might receive, from observing how strangely Men are often-times changed, either for better or worse, both in Mind and Body, from what they were before.

In Graeca Cantina.

Joh. 9. 2.

XXI.

This Progress of the Soul seem'd to many, to be better dispos'd for Reward and Punishment, when not restrain'd into any



any one species; but of more free Dissolu-
tion, and more suitable to that variety
wherein Nature delights, as better befit-
ting, and more approaching to its Infini-
ty: And by this Liberty, they thought
often pass'd from a Man to a Beast, from
thence to a Plant, and next to a Stone; if
the Circle were in the Descendent; But
if in the Ascendent, then its Progress
was from more gross Subjects to more Spi-
ritual ones; for, God is able of Stones, to
raise up Children unto Abraham. They
thought, that in Nature there was no
such thing as *Quies*, the very hardest
Stone in time mouldring into Dust; only
by a circular Motion, from Rarefaction
to Condensation, and from Condensation
to Rarefaction again; as the Poet in these
following Verses describes it:

*Resolut aq; Tellus
In liquidas rarefcit aquas, tenuatur in aurâ,
Aerâque Humor habet, dempro quoque pondere
rursus
In superos aer tenuissimus emicat ignes.
Inde retrò redeunt, idemque reuexitur ordo,
Ignis enim densum spissatus in aëra transit,
Hinc in aquas Tellus glomeratâ cogitur undè*
Ovid. Met. lib. 1. 521

The

The course which Nature takes in Go-
verning the World, is by one contrary
prevailing over another:
Thus the Moisture in the Air prevails over the Dry-
ness of the Fire, the Cold-
ness of the Water over the Heat of the
Air; the Dryness of the Earth over the
Moisture of the Water; and so the Moi-
sture of the Water over the Dryness of
the Earth; the Heat of the Air over the
Coldness of the Water; and the Dryness
of the Fire over the Moisture of the Air:
And thus the various Alterations are made
and produced out of one Extream into a-
nother, *Alternative*.

X X I I.

The most ingenious of this Sect (as if
they had met with some
blind Hint of the Evil An-
gels, cast out of Heaven)
supposed two Creations:
The first to have been Spi-
ritual, and that the Fall of those Evil An-
gels, occasion'd our Corporeal Crea-
tion; that so there might be Bodies of di-
vers Tempers, and duration, in whom
those

Cicero Nat.
Deor. Expian-
dorum scelerum
c. 11. 12.



those wicked Spirits (their Souls) should be, for expiating their Guilt included and according to their Merits, render sensible of more or less Pain and Grief whereof, in their Spiritual Condition not cloath'd with Flesh and Blood, they were incapable, as they conceived: For as the Body hath no Sense without the Soul; so they believ'd, the Soul could have no Sense without a Body: And they grounded upon Erroneous Observations; as *ex. gr.* If, say they, you take out your Eye-balls, you have as much Soul in you as you had before, but cannot see for want of those Organs; and the Soul will be devested of all its other Powers in operating, as well as in that of seeing, when it wants its Eye-balls. Which Errour proceeded from their not understanding of how much a Divine Nature and Power the Soul is, than the Body.

X XII

X XIII.
Now, by Men of this vain Opinion, our Sublunary Orb was esteem'd the only Hell; they thinking this World more proper, and better proportion'd to the Offences and Capacities of the wicked Soul, in our passionate and momentary Condition, than the Tradition of everlasting Torments, for acting those Vices which their Nature prompted them to: Or, as a Learned Gentleman of our own Nation expresses it, for not being found, when we are created sick. An Excuse so unlikely to procure our Pardon with *God*, that it should prove uneffectual with one of us, if a Man that had robbed and wounded us, should tell us, He was prompted thereunto by his Nature or Inclinations.

I do not find by their Writings, that they believ'd evil Actions so much to proceed from the Devil, as their own corrupt Natures;

Format enim Natura prius nos intus, &c.
Horat.

And



And therefore many of them thought that the only Evil Spirits which hurried Men to ruine, were their own Passions, *Love, Fear, Anger, Ambition, Revenge, Lust,* &c. which Passions are generally the causes of Mens Destruction, both in Lives and Fortunes. That Passion is an Enemy to the knowledge of the Truth, both in Discourse and Writing, we ourselves experience. God came not in the *Earthquake*, nor *Whirlwind*, but in the *still Voice*: And we shall never hear Reason deliver'd in Passion. But that which chiefly induc'd the Heathens, to impute all their Vices to their own corrupt Natures, was this; because they could hardly believe, that God would suffer a declared Enemy so far to prevail against him, as when he would have all Men saved, the Devil should so far over-rule, as through his instigation a Thousand Men should be Damn'd, for one that is Saved; which would happen, if all Vicious Persons were denied Salvation. But this Objection of theirs will be rendered vain, if we consider the Devil as God's Executioner, having no power but from above.

XXIV.

XXIV.

As for the aforementioned Doctrine of Transmigration, it abounds much at this day in *China* and both the *Indies*, especially the *East*, where the great swarms of Mankind live; besides vast numbers in *America* and *Africa*. As for the *Mahometans*, (who are no small part of Mankind) although they have a Religion, so craftily fix'd to vulgar capacities, as 'tis thought to be the most politick, and likely to spread and last, that ever was invented: Yet even among them they have a Sect or Heresie exceeding numerous, call'd by the *Arabians* *Altenasack*, which signifies those that hold *Transmigration of Souls*; and the whole *Mahometan* Superstition, (although it gives not the Soul a new Body in this Life) allows departed Souls new Bodies, fresh and lusty, in the life to come, without which, it could not enjoy their sensual Paradise, which the *Alchoran* promises them. But it still censures those of the *Altenasack*, for Hereticks, chiefly because they can't believe the everlasting and merciless Hell, esteeming it a thing that would rob God of his Attribute of Mercy, which they hold were not infinite (as all his Attributes must be) if in no measure it extended to the most wicked and wretched Creatures. Not considering how short soever a Man's Life is, it matters not, for he hath an offer made

D him,

him, either of eternal happiness or misery, and he might chuse either which he pleases. Nor is Eternal misery more disproportionate to a vicious life, than Eternal happiness to a virtuous; so that he plays but upon the square either way.

Now amongst those Heathens, there were a third sort of Men, whose fancy (as they themselves thought) was of very obvious experience, but seem'd to be stifled and suppressed, as neither suiting to the wishes of Men, nor conducive to the governing of them: And these are those which conceiv'd a Man to be neither Soul nor Body, but only the Result of their Conjunction, which vanishing, he was for ever unconcern'd and lost. Because that which in its best estate was esteem'd but a shadow upon Earth, they ignorantly supposed, must on the parting of the Body, whose shadow it was, be for ever lost. Yea, and as I shew'd before out of *Lucretius*, they held, that if the same Body could return upon Earth again, and be reunited to it, that might constitute a new Man, but of no concern to the former; no more than my shadow which I shall have next Year, will be to my this Year's shadow, although I have the same Body next Year, as I have this. And this *Chimera* of theirs, is by one of their own Writers compar'd to Clouds gathering together, under the representation of various

shapes,

shapes, as of a Castle, Gyant, Mountain, or the like: In which appearances they often produce real effects, as Thunder, Lightning, Winds, Rain, &c. till by their separation, the Gyant, Castle or Mountain vanish; as also the real effects soon pass away, but still the same Clouds remain, though in new Conjectures and Appearances: Which vain Opinion is expressed in these Verses.

*As Clouds in shape of Men dispers'd by Wind,
The vanish'd Men do leave the Clouds behind:
So: Man of Soul and Body made in one,
Which sever'd, each have Being, but he none.
Pure Natures mix, and part without decay,
But what from them results, quite fades away.
Thus in sad earnest, true th' old Proverb's sound,
A Man betwixt two Stools doth fall toth' Ground.*

XXV.

In answer to this wicked Opinion, I shall only recite that ingenious Argument which *Tertullian* long since used upon the same occasion. 'O Man, that makest this Objection to me, think what thou wast before Created; thou wast nothing, for if any thing, thou couldst not but remember it. Thou then that wast nothing before thy Creation, and when ceasest to live, shalt return to nothing, why canst thou not once again

D 2

be



' be brought out of nothing, by the will of
 ' the same Creator, who at first created thee
 ' of nothing? Will there come any new
 ' thing unto thee? Seeing he made no diffi-
 ' culty to create thee what thou wast nor,
 ' thou oughtest not to suspect, but that he
 ' can as easily re-make thee what thou wast.
 ' We see every day, the light after it hath
 ' lost its darkness, reassumes it; the Stars
 ' lose their light, and recover it again: Time
 ' begins at the same term it finished: Fruits
 ' drop off from the Trees, and yet come a-
 ' gain in their season: The Corn after its
 ' beard is grown long with age, falls to the
 ' Ground and corrupts, but it wants not its
 ' Resurrection; therefore why should we
 ' think, that Man should be less worthy of
 ' another life, than any of these things which
 ' are made but for his service? Although
 ' we cannot Mathematically demonstrate the
 ' same, any more than they can the contrary,
 ' yet the belief of the Resurrection, is, I am
 ' sure, more for the Honour of God, and safe-
 ' ty and happiness of Man.

XXVI.

Now these kind of Heathenish Souls,
 seem too Airy, to raise any Foundation,
 whereon to build the Principles of Vertue,
 or Moral honesty. One Motive which in-
 duced them to believe Mens Souls to be such
 Phantomes, was their observing Men to be
 so much delighted, and obstinately taken
 with

with the Fictions and fantastical Inventions
 of Poetry and Superstition; which have nei-
 ther truth, or so much as possibility in them,
 and therefore no fit Food for any thing that
 hath a real Being; but their waking Dreams
 are far from deserving credit upon this pre-
 tence, unless that be a sufficient Reason,
 which an ancient Writer delivers in these
 Words, *Credibile quia Impossibile*, according
 to that old saying, *Quanto absurdum, tanto
 melius.*

XXVII.

Epicurus perceiving the number of Sen-
 sual Men, to exceed by far that of the more
 Spiritual, laid the foundation of his Sect in
 sensual Pleasures, and held a Corporeal
 Soul, the better to fit it for those Corporeal
 Pleasures; and then to secure this *Anima* a-
 gainst those severe after-reckonings, the ap-
 prehensions whereof he perceived God and
 Nature had implanted in the Hearts of all
 Men, he gave it a *Quieta est*, by pretending
 that the Soul is extinct in Death, or at least
 to vanish into an eternal insensibility, as
 unconcern'd as if it had never been. The
 finer sort of Wits unwilling to fall so low,
 could not admit of this total mortality of
 the Soul, however they were so weak, as to
 acknowledge, that his Reasons seem'd very
 powerful to assert it. As first, to behold the
 Soul in its Infancy very weak, and then by
 degrees with the Body to grow daily more
 D 3 and

and more vigorous, till it arrives to its perfection, from which estate, together with the Body it declined, till the decrepitude of the one, and dotage of the other, made it seem to them probable, that they should both likewise perish together.

——— *Gigni pariter cum corpore & una
Crescere sentimus, pariterque senescere mentem.*
Lucret. lib. 3.

As also that the many abominable passions of Man's Soul, seem'd to be its Diseases, and to argue its mortality, as plainly as bodily Diseases do that of the Body; and that the imputing them only to the irascible or concupiscible parts, thereby hoping to keep the rational part safe, was, say they, as if one should fancy that an Ulcer in the Heart or Liver, could not by consequence destroy the Brain.

——— *Mentem sanari, corpus ut agrum,
Cernimus, & fieri medicina posse videmus.* Ibid.

Moreover, that in old age, Men felt their minds oppress'd with cares, to faint into a kind of despondency, and as fit for a Grave, as one that is tired with a long and wearisom Journey, is for a Bed; and even in its strongest Estate, a Fever, Apoplexy, or little bite
of

of a mad Dog, destroys all its most glorified, scientificall faculties.

——— *Corpoream naturam animi esse necesse est,
Corporeis quoniam telis, istuque laborat.*
Lucret. lib. 3.

The last Argument they held, was as vain as any of the rest, viz. They could not apprehend how two things of so different natures, as mortality and immortality, Body and Soul, should mix and associate together so long.

*Quippe etenim mortale eterno jungere & una
Consentire putare, & fungi mutua posse,
Desipere est, &c.* ————— Ibid.

By these and such like symptoms, they suspected the Soul to be of a mortal condition, although of a Divine off-spring: And as at the Siege of Troy, Sarpedon Jupiter's own Son was knock'd on the Head, as well as the ordinary Trojans; so they ignorantly thought the Soul (though of a Diviner extraction than the corporeal parts) might in such base company be crush'd, ——— *Simul aro fessa
fatiscit.* But these and the rest of their Arguments are soon answered, in laying all the fault on the Corporeal Organs, which being by Age or other disorders made to fail, caused a proportionable failing in the faculties. Whereupon they conjectur'd, that in a total
failing

failing of the Organs, occasion'd by Death, there must consequently follow an equal failing, as they thought, of the Faculties; as it fares with a Watch, which if it happens by fall or other Accidents, to have a Wheel broken, however the Spring remain intire, yet it becomes useles, and the Motions cease. These were the most plausible Arguments for their vain Opinion of the Soul's Mortality, which deserve rather the name of blind Conjectures, than convincing Arguments.

XXVIII.

The Nature of the Soul is so obscure, that the most discerning Philosophy could not tell what to make of it, some holding it to be Fire, others Water; some one thing, some another; and if they were so divided in the Nature of the Soul, how much more incapable were they to judge of the Soul's future estate? *Erasmus* concerning the Immortality of the Soul, saith, *Hoc mihi persuasit non humana Ratio sed Fides*. However, I think there may be much more said for the Immortality of the Soul, than can be urged against it. There is not any Opinion in the World, hath been more generally received in the Hearts of Men, than this of the Soul's future estate; and how should it have been so long rooted in our Minds, were there nothing of truth in it? Nature which makes nothing in vain, hath implanted in
Man

Man a desire of Immortality, which desire is vain, if he be not capable of it. Nothing is corrupted but by its contrary, and therefore that which hath no contrary (as the Soul) must be free from corruption. The Harmony of the World, which permits not things to pass from one extreme to another, without some mean, requires, that, as there are pure Spirits and Intelligences, which are immortal, and Substances corporeal and mortal; so there is a middle nature between these two, *Man*, call'd by the *Platonists* on this account, the Horizon of the Universe, because he serves for a link and *medium* to unite the Hemisphere of the Intellectual Nature, with the inferiour Hemisphere of the Corporeal Nature. Also since the Soul can know all sorts of Bodies, it must be consequently exempt from all corporeal Entity. As the Tongue to judge aright of saviours, must it self have none; the same may be said of the eye, to discern well of colours. To say that the Soul is mortal, because it acts only by the help of its Organs, were to draw a conclusion from an uncertainty, it being never yet prov'd, that the Soul can't act of it self without its Organs. The Law of all Nations, is the Law of Nature, and the belief of the Soul's Immortality, is a dictate of it: But the opposers are as rare as Earth-quakes, which (if there were no other Reasons (would be



a miserable Argument to prove the motion of the Earth. Remorse of Conscience, and God's Justice not punishing all Sins in this life, presupposes another. *Pomponatius* under pretence of defending the Soul's Immortality, hath fought against it; and professing himself a *Peripatetick*, hath in this particular, embraced the Sentiment of *Amylaldus*. *Epicurus*, saying, that although the Soul of Man should be mortal, yet Vertue would sufficiently recompence it self, thereby designing to render the belief of the Immortality of the Soul unnecessary. But supposing this to be true of Vertue, yet would it not be equally true of Vice, that they which addict themselves thereunto, are sufficiently punished by doing so. Nor was there ever yet such a Law-giver heard of, that established a constitution to punish a Man for Robbery, by forcing him to commit Adultery. *Cyrus* on his Death-bed, declared to his Two Sons, that he could never believe, that the Soul all the while it is contain'd in this mortal Body, should live, and afterwards die and be senseless, but rather after Death the Soul is most wife. An excellent Speech, and worthy of himself. If in the behalf of this Article, my Arguments prove not so effectual as at first I design'd them, my excuse may be the same as *Plato* made for himself upon the like occasion,

caſion, viz. 'tis ſufficient if any ſpeak but probably in ſo difficult a Subject.

XXIX.

There is an ancient Maxim in Philoſophy, viz. *Nilil eſt in Intellectu, quod non prius fuit in Senſu*. All our knowledge ariſes out of the Experience which our Senſes give us; and therefore a Man born thoroughly deaf, can have no apprehenſion of Muſick. But the Soul is of a Spiritual nature, and ſo in it ſelf utterly imperceptible by our Senſes; the Soul it ſelf alone, can reflect on its own acts and conceptions. 'Tis indeed very unſafe, any farther than it can be made appear we are guided by the clue of Divine Revelation, to gueſs and diſcourſe over boldly concerning the nature of the Soul, or peremptorily to determine of its future condition: Wherein among all the Ancients, *Pliny* hath been eſteemed the moſt cautious, who to direct our Prognofication therein, calls us back to obſerve the time paſt, and from thence to conjecture, what will become of us hereafter: According to that of the Tragædian, *Quævis quo jaceas poſt obitum loco? Quo non nata jacent*. As if the Wheel went rather round, than forward. As *Seneca* the Philoſopher, who blindly ſurmisd the Doctrin of future Joys, to be *magis optantium, quam docentium*; and by the ſame reaſon, the Terrours of the Infernal
Lake

Lake to be *magis timentium, quam probantium*. But every Man's Conscience tells him another Tale, & *surdo verberare credit*, objecting the Terrour of a Judgment to come.

XXX.

Yet for as much as in all Ages there were found some Monsters of Men, who having no sense of Divine Goodness, or Natural Justice, would confound all Humane Society, as not having in themselves any restraint, either from Nature or Religion. For such the Heathen Law-givers did wisely provide a *Pluto*, a Whip and a Gallows; of all which, the Gallows prov'd most effectual on those that were debauched, beyond all fear of punishment hereafter, so they could but escape in this life. And even among us, where the Light of the Gospel shines so bright, and where there is such excellent Preaching, a Man that frequents the Sessions-house, will soon find how great a share of our preservation we owe to the Publick Executioner.

XXXI.

The Heathen Philosophers (as I shew'd you) were much divided in their Opinions concerning the Soul's future estate, some held it mortal, others immortal. Of those that held the mortality of the Soul, the *Epicureans* were the chief Sect, who notwithstanding their impious Doctrines, yet

yet some of their lives were vertuous: *Cardan* had so great a value for their Moral Actions, that he appear'd in Justification of them. 'It appears (says he) by the Writings of *Cicero* and *Diogenes Laertius*, that the *Epicureans* did more religiously observe Laws, Piety, and Fidelity among men, than either the *Stoicks* or *Platonists*: and I suppose the cause thereof was, that (as *Galen* tells us) a man is either good or evil by custom, but none confideth in those, that do not profess sanctity of life. Wherefore they were compelled to use greater Fidelity, thereby the better to justify their profession: from which reason it likewise proceeds, that at this day few do equalize the fidelity of *Usurers*, notwithstanding they are most base in the rest of their life. Also among the *Jews*, whilst the *Pharisees* that confess'd the Resurrection, and the Immortality of the Soul, frequently persecuted *Christ*; the *Sadduces* who denied the Resurrection, Angels and Spirits, meddled not with him above once or twice, and that very gently too. Thus if you compare the Lives of *Pliny* and *Seneca*, (I do not mean their Writings) you shall find *Pliny* with his mortality of the Soul, did as far exceed *Seneca* in honesty of manners, as *Seneca* excels him in Religious discourse.



discourse. The *Epicureans* observ'd ho-
 nestly above others, and in their conversa-
 tion were usually found inoffensive and ver-
 tuous, and for that reason were often em-
 ploy'd by the *Romans*, when they could
 persuade them to accept of great Em-
 ploys; for their fault was not any want of
 ability or honesty, but their general desire
 of leading a private life, easie and free
 from trouble, although inglorious. For
 where Immortality is not own'd, there can
 be no ambition of posthumous Glory,
 such as excited Tyrants to commit those
 follies, which the Poet derides in these two
 lines:

—*I demens & sevas curve per Alpes*
Ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias. Juven.Sat.

Now such as these were none of the *Epi-
 cureans*, but they instead of those bloody
 Scenes of Gallantry, undertook to manage
 carefully the Inheritances of Orphans;
 breeding up at their own charge the
 Children of their deceas'd Friends, and
 were counted good men, unless it were
 in point of Religious Worship: For they
 constantly affirm'd there were no Gods,
 or at least such as concern'd not them-
 selves with humane affairs, according to
 that of the Poet,

Nec

Nec bene promeritis capitur, nec tangitur ira.
 Lucret.

Neither (as he goes on) doth the hopes of
 Immortality conduce to Fortitude, as some
 vainly suggest, for *Brutus* was not va-
 lianter than *Cassius*, and if we will con-
 fess the truth, the deeds of *Brutus* were
 more cruel than those of *Cassius*: For he
 us'd the *Rhodians* that were his Enemies
 far more kindly, than *Brutus* did those
 amicable Cities which he govern'd. In
 a word, though they both had a hand
 in *Cesar's* Murder, yet *Brutus* was the
 only Parricide. So that the *Stoicks* which
 believ'd a Providence, liv'd as if there
 were none, whereas the *Epicureans* who
 denied it, liv'd as if there were. This
 is that which *Cardan* urges (perhaps with
 an impious intent) in favour of the *Epicu-
 reans*, which is not at all convincing, nor
 will it serve to wipe off the deserved re-
 proach cast upon them. I esteem the *E-
 picurean* Philosophy like Gaming, even
 when manag'd with the greatest
 Art and cunning, to be but a *Cum ratione*
 rational kind of madness. Be. *insanire.*
 fides, however there might have
 been found some few good men of all
 Sects, how absurd soever, yet that must
 not go for a ruled case that the Sect is
 so,

so. That Opinion which conduces most to the good of Mankind, is to be encouraged. If these led such virtuous lives, while they were under the obscurity of Paganism and a wrong persuasion, how much more eminent would they have been, had they been guided by a true Light? Besides, all Historians agree not that Seneca was so vicious, and Epicurus himself so virtuous, neither Dion nor Laertius being altogether infallible.

XXXII.

The next Sect to the Epicureans in point of incredulity concerning the Soul, I conceive to be the Scepticks, who were by some esteemed not only the modestest, but the most perspicacious of all Sects. They neither affirm'd nor deny'd any thing, but *Min. Fel.* doubted of all things; *Omnia in rebus humanis dubia, incerta, suspensa; magis omnia verisimilia quam vera.* They thought all our knowledge seem'd rather like truth, than to be really true, and that for such like reasons as these.

1. They denied any knowledge of the Divine Nature, because, say they, to know adequately is to comprehend, and to comprehend is to contain, and the thing contain'd must be less than that which contains it; to know inadequately, is not to know.

2. From

2. From the uncertainty of the Senses, as *ex gr.* our Eyes represent things at a distance to be less than really they are: A straight stick, in the water seems to be crooked; the Moon to be no bigger than a Cheese; the Sun greater at Rising and Setting, than at Noon: The Shore seems to move, and the Ship to stand still; square things to be round at distance; an erect Pillar, to be less at the top. Neither do we know (say they) whether objects are really so as our eyes represent them to us; for the same *Sir W. Raleigh* thing which appears white to *out of Sext.* us, seems yellow to him that *Emp.* hath the Jaundice, and red to a Creature that hath red eyes; also if a man rubs his eyes, the figure which he beholds seems long or narrow: and therefore it is not improbable, but that Goats, Cats, and other Creatures, which have long pupils of the eye, may also think those things long which we call round: For as Glasses represent the object variously according to their shape, so it may be with our eyes: And so the sense of Hearing deceives: Thus the Echo or Trumpet sounded in a Valley, makes the sound seem before us, when it is behind us. Besides, how can we think that an Ear, which hath a narrow passage, can receive the same sound with that which hath a wide one? Or the Ear whose



whose inside is full of hair, to hear the same with a smooth Ear? Experience teacheth us, that if we stop, or half stop our Ears, the sound cometh not in the same manner, as when the Ears are open. Nor is the Smelling, Taft or Touch less subject to mistake: For the same scents please some and displease others; and so in our Tafts, to a rough and dry tongue that very thing seems bitter, (as in an Ague) which to the moist tongue seems otherwise; and so is it in other Creatures. The like is true of the Touch: For it were absurd to think, that those Creatures which are covered with Shells, Scales, or Hairs, should have the same sense in touching with those that are smooth. Thus one and the same object is diversly judged of, according to the various qualities of the Instruments of Sense, which conveyeth it to the Imagination; from all which the *Sceptick* concludes, that what these things are in their own nature, whether red, white, bitter or sweet, he cannot tell: for, says he, why should I prefer my own conceit in affirming the nature of things to be thus, or thus, because it seemeth so to me? when other living Creatures perhaps think it otherwise. But the greatest fallacy is in the operation of our inward senses: for the fancy sometime is perswaded, that it hears and sees what it doth not; and our Reasoning

is so weak, that in many disciplines scarce one demonstration is found, though this alone produces Science. Wherefore it was *Democritus* his opinion, that Truth is hidden in a Well, that she may not be found by men. Now although this Doctrine is very inconsistent with the light of Christianity, yet I could wish *Adam* had been of this persuasion, for then he would not have mortgaged his Posterity as he did, for the purchase of a Twilight-Knowledge. Now from these sinister observations it was, that they esteemed all our Sciences to be but Conjectures, and our Knowledge but Opinion. Whereupon doubting the sufficiency of humane Reason, they would not venture to affirm or deny any thing of the Soul's future state, but civilly and quietly gave way to the Doctrines, and Ordinances under which they lived, without raising or espousing any new Opinions. And in those times all the great Innovations and Embroilments among men, were set up by the *Stoicks* and *Platonists*, who were highly possess'd with the desire of Immortality and Gloty. Which thing being observed, did great violence in those days to the belief of the Soul's Immortality, making men the less willing to censure those for Atheists who doubted or denied it, but sociably to admit them into Business, and Trusts

of



of the highest importance. The *Chinians* have a Religious Sect call'd the *Naturalists*, who preach up publickly the Soul's Mortality. Also at this day in the *East Indies*, (where the greatest swarms of Mankind live, and those of many Sects and Religions,) it is found by our Merchants trading thither, that not only the far greatest number are of those which believe no other Rewards or Punishments for the Soul, except what it shall after death meet with, in a new Body upon Earth; but also they find by Commerce with them, that they are the most eminently remarkable for their honesty, above any of the other Sects. From whence *Possellus* observes, that few men can debauch Nature in themselves to such a degree, as to commit all the wickedness they were capable of, notwithstanding they believ'd no Reward or Punishment hereafter: For, says he, you must either acknowledge Superstitions unnecessary, or else defile your own Natures, and confess men to be worse than Beasts, who can live without those terrors, and yet not devour one another unless in cases of necessity.

XXXIII.

Thus if you seriously recollect the Heathen Opinions concerning the Soul's estate after Death, we shall find that the most inquisitive among them, had but a slender conceit

of the Soul's eternal condition, or at best they thought (as *Bernier* says the Inhabitants of *Indostan* believe,) that it would mix with the Soul of the World again: like Water taken out of the Ocean in a Bottle, and swims therein for a while, till by some accident or other being broke, it returns back to the Sea from whence it was taken; or else passing from one Body to another, and then in either case, its condition, whether good or bad, would be of no concern to its former Owner. Which made *Seneca* so little value his future state, as to speak of it with a *Quid mihi curæ erit Transfuga?* So that upon what I can find, they look'd upon Man to be made up of Soul and Body together; not Body without Soul, nor Soul without Body, but Man to be the Result of both, viz. Soul and Body. With whom (according to their vain Opinion) it fares after death, as with a *Parliament* after Dissolution, which being made up of three Estates, *Lords Spiritual*, *Lords Temporal*, and *Commons*, remains a *Parliament* whilst the King pleases to grant them his *Fiat*: But when the King gives his word to Dissolve it, the three *Estates* remain still, but the *Parliament* is gone. And thus they held Man to be the Result of Soul and Body, till God pleases to command his dissolution, after which the Soul and Body remain



remain in a separate Being, only that the *Man* as well as the *Parliament* is lost in the Dissolution. And to proceed further with this comparison, as the *Parliament* represents the Kingdom, of which they are a smaller part, so did the Heathens believe that *Man* in some kind represents the Almighty, of whom he is a portion. So by this, we may see the effect of all the impious Tenents, concerning the Soul's future Estate, was, that *Man* is but a Passenger in this Life, and the World his Inn till Sickness brings up the Reckoning and Death comes in, with an *All paid*.

XXXIV.

These were the most considerable Opinions of the Heathen Philosophers; yet as much as there was never any Sect but had some defect either in Theory or Practice. Some have thought it best not to espouse any, but to imitate the Bee, and to gather what is good out of each. Which was the way of *Potamon* of *Alexandria*, who (*Diogenes Laertius* records,) founded a Sect called *Elective*, which allow'd every one to choose what was best in all Philosophies. When I seriously reflect upon many of these gross erroneous Tenents, recited in this Discourse, I cannot but acknowledge with *Cicero*, That there is no Doctrine, how absurd and foolish soever, which hath not had some Philo-

sopher for its Champion; not that I have so mean an Opinion of Philosophy it self, (which is indeed the true knowledge of causes and effects,) especially the Moral part of it, as to believe it altogether unnecessary in the Government of Mankind. Some there be that have Damn'd all other Philosophers for *Epicurus* his sake, as thinking them no Friends to Religion. But such Persons do *ad pauca respicere*, and therefore judge accordingly: For though a lawful acquaintance with Events and *Phenomena* that appear on this Theatre of the World, would contribute much to free Mens Minds from the servitude of Superstition,

Arctis Religionum Animos nodis Lucr. lib. 1.
exsolvere; yet it would breed a *propè fin.*

sober and amicable belief of the Deity, as it did in the *Pythagoreans*, *Platonists*, and other Sects of Philosophers, if we may take their own Word for it. He is a superficial Philosopher who adheres to *Atheism*, as a Noble Philosopher speaks to this purpose: Philosophy and Religion being like two Wheels in a Watch, though they move contrary, yet are both conducive to the regular motion and government of Mankind.

XXXV.

Now to all these various Opinions, there have been opposed various Objections: As first, If the Soul be a portion of the Divine Spirit,

Spirit, inseparable from that its Original, and acted thereby, men would then indulge themselves, by thinking all the Evil they committed would go upon God's Score, rather than their own: *Et mallet emendari Deum, quam seipfos*: That all Industry were discourag'd, all blame or praise taken away. Therefore Tully calls this *Ignava Ratio*: Who blames the Sword for a murder, and not the hand that employes it? Nay, in Creatures sensible, if a Lion or a Serpent kills a man they but act according to their Natures. To all which their usual Answer was, by a constant allowing unto the Soul of Man a freedom of Will, not subject to be forced out of its own Conduct; Wherefore men are said to be tempted into vicious courses, but not dragg'd or compell'd. And besides this freedom, Nature (saith the Philosopher) hath implanted in the heart of man, before he debauches himself by evil customs, a harmless and kind disposition, not willing to destroy or hurt other men, unless it be upon an absolute Necessity, for his own Preservation: and then, when enforced by such Necessity, though he choose to do it, as of two evils the least, yet he cannot act it without regret, unless by evil Converse he hath poison'd that inbred Goodness which he brought with him into the World. And upon such, one may observe the Justice of Divine Vengeance; the courses these vitiated Spirits take, end
in

in Poverty, or some other misery, and so brings them either to a Prison, Hospital, or Gallows at home, or else to be slain in a Foreign War, wherein they ought not to have concern'd themselves. And thus we see Punishment was ever judg'd due to all free Agents, for depraving of their Natural Tempers; so true is that saying, When Man lost his Innocence, he lost his Happiness; and that of the Poet is no less,

— — *Semita certè*

Tranquilla per Virtutem patet unica vita.

Juven. Sat. 10.

So that others, who according to their natural Goodness led harmless and industrious Lives, enjoy'd a sweet calmness of mind, free from those Terrours which daily torment rapacious men; whereby, say they, it appears, that admitting their Tenent of the Soul's mortality were true, though nothing is less so, yet this were enough to deter men from Impieties, I mean the Punishment that attends the Wicked, and reward of the Good even in this life, unless obstructed by their own folly. But of this I have spoken before.

XXXVI.

Another objection wherewith the Philosophers were much perplex'd, (as indeed they had reason to be) was their want of Assu-
E rance

rance that the Soul should meet with future Justice, demanding withal, how then in this Life could the baser sort of Spirits be deterr'd from gainful Villanies, as might be acted in secret, and so never like to be discover'd, but to escape the Punishment of the Laws, and hatred of men, such as Perjuries, unsuspected Murders, concealing dead mens Trusts, and the like: especially those who by Stupidity and Immorality, have quite extinguish'd the Light of Nature in

Mont. Eff.
lib. 2. c. 12. their minds. In answer thereunto (Reason for the most part being like a Pitcher with two ears, that may be taken on either side) the Philosophers have adventur'd in this Subject, to take the Pitcher by the left ear, and rather than not justifie their Opinions, have (against all Reason) adventur'd to reply upon the things objected, with such fallacious Arguments as these:

1. They seem to question whether any Villany could be so secretly acted, as might not admit some hazard of being discover'd; and if so, then the danger of that might terrifie them into honesty. But grant (say they) that Vices may be carried on with such secrecy, as no mortal eye could discover; yet we find by a long and sad experience, that in those places, where by publick Institution men are taught to expect Divine Justice after death, as some of us from *Aeacus*: Nevertheless, such dull and

and debauch'd Persons, have seldom their minds so clear and sedate, as to weigh and regard those future accounts; or if they do, it is not till at the point of death, when they are past doing any more mischief, and that then the Apprehensions of *Elysium*, or the *Stygian Lake*, produces as little good to the Publick, as to themselves; Vice first leaving Them, and not they Vice. *Ibid.* More-
over, say they, if such persons would betimes recollect themselves, they might easily find, that no Humane wit could sound the depth of Nature; and therefore how can men assure themselves, but that God who hath found out this way of immersing a Spirit into flesh and blood, thereby to make it smart and grieve, which otherwise, in its pure Nature, it could not have done, according to their Opinions: How therefore (say they) do men know, but that the same Almighty Wisdom, even without a miracle, may use it so again? or take it into millions of other ways as natural to chastise it in a more afflicting manner, especially seeing this way hath so little purified it. These and many other blind Surmises, instead of Arguments, were they fain to make Use of, rather than acknowledge the belief of Immortality necessary; but no Argument is more fallacious than this of theirs, which flies from God's Power to his Will: For, *à posse ad esse, non valet consequentia*; and he who believes a



thing only because it may be true, may as well doubt of it because it may be otherwise. Besides, the very Heathen Laws themselves, as recorded by their own Historians, shew how much inferiour their Vertues were to ours. Which Law is more perfect, that which says, Thou shalt not kill; or that which says, Thou shalt not be angry? That which forbids Adultery; or that which turns the eyes from the object? That which forbids evil Actions; or that which forbids evil Speakings? That which commands us not to wrong others; or that which permits us not to revenge a wrong done to our selves? *Vos scelera admissa punitis, apud nos & cogitare peccare est*, says *Minucius Felix* to the Heathens. And with the same Arguments a modern most ingenious Poet, brings in *St. Catherine* vindicating Christianity from Paganism.

*'Tis true your Vertues are the same we teach,
But in our Practice they much higher reach.
You but forbid to take another's due;
But we forbid even to desire it too.
Revenge of Injuries, you Vertue call;
But we Forgiveness of our wrongs extoll.
Immodest deeds you hinder to be wrought;
But we proscribe the least immodest Thought.
So much your Vertues are in ours refin'd.
That yours but reach the Actions, ours the Mind.*

St. Cath.

By

By which we may see, how much more perfect our Laws are than theirs, how crooked they appear compar'd with our straight Rule; and those unripe Vertues they had, were meliorated by the Influence of Christianity.

XXXVII.

Another grand Objection to those Philosophers, who denied the Soul's Immortality, and by consequence, all future entertainment according to a vertuous or a vicious life, was grounded on their frequent observing of men eminent for Vertue, to live and dye in misery: whereas others notorious for Vice, lived and died in great prosperity. This put as well Philosophers, as also Saints to their wits end, till the latter took Haven at the Heavenly *Jerusalem*, and there shelter'd themselves against all fears: (but they are not within the reach of this discourse, which meddles with nothing but the vain conceits of men, who had not that Port to friend.) In answer to this unanswerable Objection, some of them, especially the *Stoicks*, would make us believe that Poverty, Contempt, a Dungeon, Nakedness, Ulcers, and rotting in the Streets, are not really evils, especially to a noble mind that can despise Fortune. But these Bravado's become only Mad-men, and whosoever is conversant in such Writings, doth only study to make himself a Fool: and perhaps the *French* have respect hereunto, when they call a learned

E 3.

Als

As *Un Philosophe*. Such a man's Character is ingeniously given us by *Horace*, in these three lines :

*Cum septem studiis annos dedit, insenuitque
Libris & curis, statuâ taciturnus exit,
Plerumque & populum risu quatit.* — *Horat.*

But to return to our Objections : There have been offer'd better Solutions than those of the *Stoicks*, (though not at all convincing to any Rational man :) As first, they surmise, That peradventure those Vertues which we take for sincere, may be counterfeit and mistaken, proceeding perhaps from some wicked motive. Thus the Souldier whose courage we admire for scaling a Wall, it may be (say they) he is moved by malice to murder some particular Enemy of his, or he knows not of a Mine ready to spring under him. Thus also when a Woman is prais'd for Chastity, perhaps either it is for want of Opportunity, *Castâ quam nemo rogavit*, or from some natural Defect in her Constitution, as Frigidity and Flegm, or else for fear of Conception, and from an unwillingness to have her Reputation lie at the mercy of a loose young man's tongue. Again, (say they) if you see an Officer refuse a Bribe, consider if he be not one of a plentiful Fortune, that covets Vulgar applause more than a Superfluity of Riches : Or consider whether the Bribe

were

were not small and inconsiderable, because many will hazard their Reputation, for Pounds, who will not for Pence : Or observe whether the time was secret and convenient, wherein the Bribe was offer'd : or, last of all, whether it was not refus'd out of a prospect of some greater Advantage, when he could not possibly receive both. As the *Banditti* will let pass a single Passenger, rather than by assaulting him miss the Booty of a whole *Caravan*. In which cases their Honesty proceeds *à metu, non moribus*. Nor is there any thing more frequent, than to see the wickedest of men highly to act Religion ;

*Zeal stands but Centry at the Gate of Sin,
Whilst all that have the Word pass freely in.*

Thus in our late Civil Wars, all the Villany which the Godly Party (as they nam'd themselves) committed, was by them call'd *the Work of the Lord*; and that Curse which the Scripture pronounces against them that do the Work of the Lord negligently, they pronounced against all such as refused to assist them in cutting off their Sovereign's Head. So the *Anabaptists* of *Germany* chose rather to wrest the Sense of God's holy Word, than want a Text to justify the Evil they committed : For in the minority of their Power, they had always in their mouths that humble Sentence of our Saviour's, *If men strike*

E 4
strike

Strike you on one cheek, turn the other; if they take your Cloak, give them your Coat also. But when they were grown an hundred thousand strong, then they fell to doing the Work of the Lord diligently, (as they called it) making Use of another of Christ's sayings, *Blessed are the meek*, (meaning themselves) *for they shall inherit the Earth*; and thus singing to the Lord a new Song, they plunder'd all Germany. Now these are they who do the greatest mischief to Religion: These are they whom the Lord Bacon calls the greatest Anticists, for that they are ever handling Holy things without feeling; and these are they that in a perverted sense, fulfil that saying of the Scriptures, *Godliness is great gain*: For by reason of their Impiety, seeing they can expect to receive little Benefit from our Saviour in the next World, they resolve to make what advantage they can of him in this. Like Jugglers, they carry only their coal of zeal in their Mouths, not being heated themselves, with what they go about to inflame others. But as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like a Man, so the near resemblance that Hypocrisie bears to Religion, renders it the more deformed. By which you may see, how little we can judge of Religion by outward appearance. Now in such like cases, when the searcher of Hearts afflicts them in this Life, we, who see the outside only, do foolishly question Divine Justice.

XXXVIII.

XXXVIII.

Another Reply which the Philosophers made to the aforesaid Objection, was this; That admitting the Vertues which Men so highly extol, were not hypocritical, but in earnest, yet (say the Philosophers) for ought we know, they are not in the ballance of Nature, of such weight and value as Men esteem them; but that it may fare with them, as Coyne made of Copper or Leather, which though by Proclamation it goes at a high rate in one Country, it will not do so in another, for want of intrinsick Value. A wise Roman did not guess much amiss at the gifts that were most prevalent with Heaven, when he declar'd to the Senate, *Non votis neque supplicationibus muliebribus auxilia Deorum parantur. Vigilando, Agendo, bene consulendo prosperè omnia cedunt. Ubi socordia tete, atque ignavia traderis, nequiquam Deos implores*. By which excellent words, he seems to mark out two above all other qualities of Mankind, as the most prevalent with God to obtain his Blessing, viz. Wisdom and Industry; for without Wisdom, Industry is but Labour in vain; and without Industry, Wisdom is but a bare thinking; and thoughts, though never so wise, unless put in execution, are but Dreams, which produce no real effect. Therefore: when *Aesop's* Clown having his Cart overthrow'n, desired aid of *Hercules*, to set it upright again; the *Dæmon* bids him set his

E. 5.

shoulders.



shoulders to the Wheel, and lift at it, and then much might be done. Also to the same purpose *Lucian* tells us, that *Jupiter* being often troubled with the impertinent Requests and Petitions of Princes, and Generals on both sides for Victory, to prevent any further Trouble of that kind, hath for the future decreed, That when ever Two Armies meet, the greater number shall overcome the smaller, provided the Conduct, Discipline, and Courage of both be the same. Furthermore, says the Heathen, if you observe the several kinds of misery among Men, and the Causes from which they proceed, you shall for the most part find the want of Wisdom, Industry, or both, to have been the cause. As for instance, when Men are taken with horrid Diseases, they usually come from an excess in eating or drinking, or from such things as with a careful observation, they might easily have perceived to be disagreeable with their health. Some are put to death for siding with a weak Faction; others are beggar'd by Gaming, and spending beyond their Revenue, or by not keeping a vigilant eye over it, but leaving the managery thereof to careles or false Servants. Again, others have been ruined by being bound for their dear Brethren over a Glass of Wine: Among these may be reckoned Princes, who are ever ruined by their Favourites, unless the Prince has the good fortune to ruine them first, being, like *Acteon*,
subject.

subject to be slain by their own Hounds. These and a million of other follies produce the ruine of most men, who still owe their fall to want of Wisdom: Insomuch, as the Ancients had an opinion, that the Gods before they brought any calamity upon a man, would first unwitting him, as to some particular occasion, and then punish his oversight; *Perdere quos vult Jupiter, hos prius dementat.* Whereupon, when Persons esteem'd pious and good natur'd, are upon these or the like Errors cast into Prisons, or other misfortunes, the fear-lest at another time the like may befall us, breeds a compassion which takes more notice of the misery, than the folly which occasion'd it. Hereto some may rejoyn, That they have observed several that for the greatest part of their Lives have been unblest, and poor, who by their Neighbours have been ever esteem'd pious, industrious, and of good Understanding. To which it is answered, It doth not often happen to be so: But whensoever it doth so fall out, if we narrowly mark their courses of life, it will not be difficult to perceive some notable foolish errors, which like Maw-worms destroy a man without any great outward appearance of Evil. Or else peradventure if they would enter scrutiny with their own hearts, they might find they had relied upon themselves or others, more than upon that Almighty goodness, which made
and



and preserves all things, being the only Root of all Prosperity; who by this desertion, having as much as in them lies, cut themselves off from that Root of Divine Providence, they become like Boughs set in a Chimney, which soon wither: And last of all, (say they) if Sickneses and Afflictions are sent us because of our Sins, what makes Brutes Subject to the same?

These are the chief Arguments that I find any where recorded by the Heathens, in defence of their wicked Opinions, which are answered by the impulses of every Man's own Heart; for the belief of a future state is implanted in every ones Nature, and this appears as well by the progress of Idolatry and Superstition, as of the true Religion: For no Religion of what kind soever, whether false or true, could have gotten so general a possession in the Hearts of Men, or have been so long entertained in the World, had there not been in Nature some sense of a future Being, which hath from the beginning made the generality of Men so apt to receive Religious Instructions of any kind whatsoever, without which Foundation to work on, even *Solon*, *Lycargus*, and *Numa* might soon have abrogated their own Laws in despair.

XXXIX.

XXXIX.

But to proceed, without any relation to the Soul's future account, I find by some of the wisest of the Ancients, that they thought they could never have too high an opinion of God's goodness; or too base of Man's wickedness; whose Vices nevertheless (since Nature doth nothing in vain (they esteem'd not altogether unnecessary to the well-governing of Mankind: For, says one of them, ' If from History or Experience, you ' but observe any one Age, you shall find it ' hath much the resemblance of a well- ' wrought piece of Tapestry, wherein is re- ' presented some great Action, as a Battel, ' which must not wholly consist of Generals ' or Commanders, but also of many com- ' mon Souldiers; some cutting of Throats, ' others slain or wounded, and trampled un- ' der Horses Feet: And yet notwithstanding, these miserable Wretches, nay, and the very Horses too, are as skilfully wrought, and made of as good Silk as the Generals themselves: But the Truth and Harmony of the ' Story requires this great inequality of Parti- ' culars, whose condition is fram'd with ' such regard to them, as may best serve to ' compleat the whole. Therefore (says he) ' in weighing the seemin^g unequal condi- ' tions of Men in this Life, it betrays a narrow- ' ness of Fancy, as well as Injustice, to judge ' of their Atomlike Merits or Demerits apart ' from.

‘from the Universe, wherein they have their
‘portion. And much to this Purpose *Arno-*
‘*brius* speaks.

XL.

Now to recollect and conclude these Ob-
servations, I cannot but wonder that the
Heathens (who being directed only by the
Light of Nature, and not acknowledging
any future Reward or Punishment,) should
be endowed with such Piety and Veneration
toward God, as in all their Writings it appears
they had, whose Providence though they
doubted for the life to come, yet they plain-
ly perceived in this, and Intituled him *Deus*
Optimus Maximus. Some indeed when they
mentioned him, chose rather to use the
word *Numen*, than *Deus*, as unwilling to
make him either Male or Female like one
of themselves, for they rever’d him as
the Sole, Infinite, Eternal Preserver of all
things.

XLI.

As for the manner of their Worship, and
the places wherein they celebrated their Hea-
thenish Rites and Ceremonies, that being a
Subject unnecessary in this Discourse to
trouble you with; I shall only give you
this short Account of it, which I find alrea-
dy collected to my Hands by
De Vanit. Scient. that Learned Satyrist *Cornelius A-*
grippa. ‘As for the Gentiles,
(saith.

‘(saith he,) there were some very eminent
‘for the Structures of their Temples; but
‘others there were who never made use of
‘any: Of which number was *Xerxes*, who
‘is reported to have Burnt all the Temples
‘about *Asia*, at the Request of his Magi-
‘cians, esteeming it no less than Impiety
‘to inclose the Gods in Walls. To the
‘same purpose *Zeno Citricus* disputed in
‘these Words: To build Churches and
‘Temples (saith he) is no way necessary,
‘for nothing ought to be accounted Sacred
‘by right, or esteemed Holy, which Men
‘themselves erect; neither among the *Per-*
‘*sians* of old, nor among the Primitive *He-*
‘*brews*, were there any Temples Dedicated
‘to Divine Service, till at last one was
‘Founded by *Solomon*, in which if any
‘think God can be included, he is repro-
‘ved by the Prophet *Isaiah*, *Heaven is*
‘*my Throne, the Earth my Foot-Stool, there-*
‘*fore what is the House thou buildest for me?*
‘And *Stephen* the Protomartyr adds, *Solo-*
‘*mon built an House, but the most High inha-*
‘*bits not in places made with Hands*. Al-
‘so *Saint Paul* himself exhorts the *Athe-*
‘*mans* to the same effect, telling them
‘that God dwells not in Temples made
‘with Hands, for being the Lord of Hea-
‘ven and Earth, he is not served by
‘Mens hands, he wants not their help.
‘Further.

Furthermore, *Origen* in his Writings against *Celsus*, saith, that for a long time after *Christ's* Death, there were no Churches built; and so far goes *Agrippa*. But I conceive, that however the Pagans did some of them refrain from erecting Temples out of Superstition, yet the Primitive Christians did it upon another account, *viz.* the Persecutions wherewith they were then oppressed. But afterward, when they had gotten Kings for their Nursing-Fathers, and Queens for their Nursing-Mothers, to favour their Righteous Cause, they either erected publick Houses commodious for Devotion, or converted those Magnificent Structures, the Stately Temples Dedicated to *Juno*, *Venus*, *Apollo*, with the rest of their Gods and Goddeses, to the Service of the true God: And indeed most of the Christian Churches, (as the Musk-melon from the Dunghil,) were raised out of the filthy Corruption and Superstition of Paganism.

XLII.

The next thing I shall touch upon, is the Politick Institution of the Heathen Ceremonies in times of their Publick Devotion. There is nothing hath a greater Influence over the Generality of Men, (especially the Vulgar,) than their Passions, and over their Passions, than Ceremonies, which have a great Influence upon their minds.

minds. What is the pleasure of a Lord Mayor's Show, Horse-Race, Play, or the like, but only the Pomp and Solemnities wherewith they are attended? Who would be ambitious of seeing the Lord Mayor without any Attendants? Of seeing Two Horses run against one another, with no other Company but the Grooms that ride them? Would any Person give Money, and stay in a Croud for three or four hours together with empty Stomachs, to see any of these Sights? Or would a Man rise at Four of the Clock in a Winter's Morning, riding Seven or Eight Hours together in the cold, for the uncertain expectation of seeing Nine or Ten couple of Dogs, run barking after a Fox, without any other Company than theirs? Who would buy such small pleasures at so dear a rate, were they not attended with other Ceremonies? and yet as they are now performed, we see people almost mad upon them. Which shews how prodigious an Influence they have over our Affections in all kind of Pleasures. Nor are they less prevalent in matters of Grief and Affliction, as well for the expelling as heightening of it. All thoughts of the future Cares and Inconveniences of a Married Life, are drown'd in the Sack-poffet, and for that time banished by the Ceremony of Company, Feasting and Musick, which are but the gilding of the Pill. Also in Death, what makes



makes it so terrible, (but as the Lord Bacon well observes,) the Solemnity of Friends weeping and mourning about the Death-bed? According to that saying, *Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa*. Now this being observed by the Ancient Lawgivers, (*viz.* how great an Influence such Pageant-tries have over the Minds of Men) it made them under pretence of decency of Worship, introduce all those vain superstitious Rites wherewith their Devotion was fill'd. Thus *Numa Pompilius* first instituted Ceremonies among the *Romans*, thereby to induce a rude, barbarous People, that had acquired a Kingdom by Violence, to the love of Piety, Justice and Religion. Thus he created the Order of Vestal Virgins to preserve the Fire in the Temple, and to do Sacrifice to the Goddess *Vesta*. Also he instituted Twelve Men of an Order called the *Salii*, who in painted Garments, were to sing Verses in praise of God *Mars*. Besides other Priests call'd *Feciales*, who were to punish Offenders, and sacrifice unto the Goddess *Bona Dea*. And the like course were the rest of the Law-givers fain to take in other Countries, and all little enough to uphold their Superstitions. Whereas true Religion, like true Beauty, appears best in an undress; and so doth Christianity, especially the Reformed Religion. But the ancient Heathenism, and Mahumetanism, are all one
Broth,

Broth, as the *Italian Proverb* expresses it: Both of *Humane Invention*, and disparaged with like Absurdities. Yet let us not in shunning *Charybdis*, fall into *Scylla*, and for fear of Idolatry, shew our ill Breeding in Divine Worship; a crime whereof too many are guilty, who pay much greater respect to their Landlord, than their God.

XLIII.

But to hasten to a Conclusion; Many of them were not a little over-aw'd by that old Verse of *Ennius*, *Desine fata Deum flecti sperare precando*: And this more evidently appears from these sacred Lines of *Juvenal* to the same purpose.

*Nil ergo optabunt homines? si consilium vis,
Permites ipsis expendere Numinibus, quid
Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris.
Nam pro jucundis aptissima quæq; dabunt Dii.
Charior est illis homo quam sibi. Nos animo-
rum.*

*Impulsu, & cæca magna; cupidine ducti,
Conjugium petimus, partumque Uxoris: at illis
Notum qui Pueri, qualisq; futura sit Uxor.*
Juven. Sat. 10.

And in another Place,

————— *Nocitura pecuniar.*

By

By which we may see, that the Devotion of all them, did not consist much in Prayers, further than *Thy Will be done*; and that rather by way of Acquiescence, than Petition: But all other enlargement of Request they declined, partly because they thought not the Deity flexanimous, to be won by intreaty, or bribed by Sacrifice; and partly, because they held it a Presumption in Man, to direct God what to do, and what to forbear, thinking that such a boldness would be but slenderly excused, by an additional clause of submission to his Will. And this made *Cardan* (who favour'd the worst Opinions of the Heathens) to symbolize with them in this; *Deum non flebti precibus, esset enim quasi unus è nobis, passionibus & doloribus obnoxius*. But certainly no Christian can write or speak in behalf of this Opinion, without his Conscience flying in his Face. For what can be greater relief to a Man, and comfort to him in affliction, than to have a God to flee to in his distres? The greatest ease in sorrow, is to have a Friend to break our mind to; and if so, how much greater relief and satisfaction must it be to an afflicted Man, to have a God who is so well able to counsel, direct and assist him, for his Friend, to communicate his case to? And therefore saith *Tertullian*, A Christian while he is at his Prayers, with his Hands lift up to God, is unsensible of all Punishment. Besides, the very

very thoughts that we have a Providence at all times to flee to, animates us with a new Spirit of boldness and resolution, which is no small assistant to our success: As for example, Take a Dog and mark what courage he assumes when he finds himself maintain'd by a Man, who (as my Lord *Bacon* saith) is to him as a God, or *Melior Natura*. And of the same Use is Confidence in God, for it animates us with that assurance as ever renders us successful. Neither were the Heathens (I mean the best and wisest of them) against all manner of Prayer, as we may learn from that Verse of the Poet;

Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.

But the chief and most commendable part of their Piety, consisted in a total and willing Resignation of themselves and their Concerns, unto that infinite Majesty, Almighty and All-wise Goodness, whereof they had continual experience.

*Quin damus id superis ———
Compositum jus, fasque animo, sanctosque recessus*

Mentis & incoctum generoso pectus honesto.
Perf. Sati

They conceiv'd, if they should presume to search

search into the Soul's future Estate, the knowledge whereof they thought God had reserved to himself, they should speed like *Ixion*, who making it his Request to lie with *Juno*, found himself deceiv'd, having in his Embraces only an empty Cloud. As for their apprehensions of Death, it appears many of them were more fearful of Dying, than of being dead: Like one that fears to draw his Tooth, yet wishes it was drawn. And to this purpose *Cicero* speaks in his *Tusculan Questions*, *Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihil existimo*. Alluding this reason for his Opinion, *Cur mortem malum tibi videri dicis, que aut beatos nos efficiet animis marentibus, aut non miseros sensu carentibus*. But this is a very fallacious Argument, which supposes our Souls must be either happy or senseless; the reason is obvious. Therefore others of them gave a more ingenious account, why they so little fear'd death, which was this: They look'd upon themselves to be like Dogs, who having a loving Master, and hearing him call them forth, immediately with cheartfulness leave the House, and follow him, not distrusting the goodness of that Master, who had ever before used them so kindly, still expecting the like Entertainment, although they knew not what it should be. Thus did they esteem death to be God's call unto them, to come out of this mortal Body; which they obey'd

with

with much assurance of the Divine goodness, that had kept and provided for them all their Lives long. And as at their Entrance into this Life, God had not made them capable of knowing how he would here provide for them, and yet they found by Experience he did; so they hoped it would fare with them in their Future condition, although in some new way whereof they had not yet any experimental knowledge. The sum of which Opinion is deliver'd in this Copy of Verses.

Pulsa malis Anima, & nequies fulcire Ruinam,
Imperii excussa suis, sibi consulit Exul:
Libertate data redeuntibus in sua Regna,
Congenerum res quæque sibi consortia quaerit,
Blandaque deseritur vite discorsque Tyrannus.
Ut Fabar exclusum fædo cui illuxerat Aniro
In Solem resilit, per quem vibratur in Orbem;
Sic tandem rediens divinæ particula Auræ,
Progeniem factura novam cum Numine fertur,
Irrequiesque alia ex aliis in fata vocatur.
At Infinitus Deus omnia in omnibus Unus
Analuit in formas sese quasi Proteus omnes.

Æternoque

*Aeternoque aeterna manent sua membra, perit,
nil,
Sed fit per veteres Mundo nova Scena Tragedor.*

*Nos pauca angusti sapimus, nostratia tantum
Experti; reliquis sua cur sensoria rebus
Remur abesse, quibus pateat nova gloria Mundi.*

*Exibo intrepide; Canis ut Venaticus, imis
Agnosceus Domini vocem, qui protinus illum
Evocat in campos; somnoque Domoque relicto,
Assilit excurritque alacris: sic Te, Pater Alme,
Expertus fidenisque sequar. Quo duxeris ibo.
Pythagoras Moriens*

And this was the Faith of the most virtuous and prudent of the Heathens concerning Death. But others being neither thus wise, nor thus good, were either transported with some vain Sect of Philosophy, or else weakly surrendred all their Reasons to the delusion of their Priests; who notwithstanding their fictitious Pretences, knew no more of Heaven, than the meanest of the People, as it evidently appears to any one, that shall compare their Devotion with Christianity. But their Philosophers, without any pretence of Inspirations extraordinary, adventur'd to address their Doctrines to humane Reason, as aiming altogether at vain-glory; whose Arguments must needs seem so empty and irrational to all discerning

Judgments,

Judgments, that instead of becoming glorious, they rendred themselves ridiculous. And thus, such as would not modestly repose themselves in the ignorance of the Soul's future state, which God had been pleas'd for the most part to conceal from them, became vain in their Imaginations, distracted between Philosophy on the one side, and Superstition on the other: And so had only this choice, whether they would be cheated by themselves, or other Men.

*Prudens futuri temporis exitura
Caliginosa nocte premit Deus.*

F

Great

Great is *DIANA*
OF THE
EPHESIANS:
OR,
The Original of
IDOLATRY,
Together with the
Politick Institution
OF THE
GENTILES SACRIFICES.

*Cum sis ipse nocens, moritur cur victima pro te?
Stultitia est morte alterius sperare salutem.*

L O N D O N,
Printed in the Year 1695.



THE
P R E F A C E:

Self-love, which like Fire covets to resolve all things into it self, makes Men they care not what Villany or what Impiety they act, so it may but conduce to their own advantage. And from hence it was, that the Heathens turn'd Religion into a Trade, wherein the most gainful was their Sacrifices: *Mendicantes vicatim Deos ducunt*; a God was then as fit an obj^t for Charity, as now a broken Arm, or a wooden Leg: Nor did they consider their Gods any otherwise, than for their own Interest. Now as Musick hath that Sympathetick power, to beighten that Passion which is most predominant in Mens Natures, whether of Mirth or Melancholy; so likewise Religion, if it meets with good Nature, it makes it better, but if with bad Nature, it makes it worse: Not

The Preface.

that true Religion is here to be blamed, but only those ill Constitutions, wherein the most Sacred Instructions turn soure. Obdurate Hearts are ever most sulj:Et to Atheism, whereas softer Natures are ever more inclined to Superstition; in which latter, Devotion is ever more prevalent than Judgment: For as Philosophy applies it self to Reason, so doth Religion to Passion; and therefore none are so successful, as those Fanatical sellers of words, who are most quarrelsome with their Pulpits: Whereby they have a double advantage; first, they appear more zealous to the World; and secondly, the Nonsense they deliver is not so easily discerned by the credulous Multitude, who are ever ravished with the Tone and Noise, and praise not the Lord but through the Nose.

The Immortal God is of too sublime a Nature, to be comprehended by us Mortals; wherefore no Men are so great Atheists, as those who make a livelihood by telling Lyes of his most Sacred Majesty: *Converso in precium Deo.* How many Religions are there in the World, which (though of contrary Principles to one another,) yet all pretend themselves derived

The Preface.

derived from one and the same Infinite Being? Therefore he who would be of the most excellent Faith, must try all, and then (as St. Paul advises) hold fast that which is best. He should do by the several Religions, as Potamon of Alexandria did by the many Sects of Philosophy, elect what was good out of each, and relinquish the bad. Now most Religions (excepting ours,) being tainted with the Interest of the Clergy, he must examine and consider them accordingly: For if a Porter should come and tell me, he had brought me such a Letter from my Father, and the first part of the Letter should teach Obedience to Parents, but the latter part of it should command me to give the said Porter half my Estate; in this case I should (notwithstanding the Testimony of his Brother Porters,) without some further demonstration, believe the Letter a Counterfeit; as also that the first part of it, which taught Obedience, was only to make way for the second and principal clause, viz. the giving the Porter Money.

Now most of the Heathen Priests were such Porters, and their Arcana Divinitatis

The Preface.

tatis but ridiculous Nothings, wherewith they deluded the Vulgar. As I have heard of a Country-Alehouse-keeper, who being a crafty Knave, devised this trick to get a ready vent for his Liquor: He gave out a report at several Market-Towns, that he had taken a monstrous Beast in such a Wood; whereupon many Country-people flock'd in to see this wonderful Beast, which out of policy he kept in the dark corner of a Room, withal advising the people not to approach too near him, for fear of danger: but this not satisfying the curiosity of one of the Clowns, who had drank higher than the rest, he runs in to this Monster, unties him, and brings him out into the light; where this Creature (which had occasion'd so many Lyes, quarrels and disputes about the Nature of him, whilst he remain'd in the dark) proved after all, to be nothing but a little Cur-dog in a Doublet: Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus. However, the man had his design in selling off his Liquor.

Such were the mysteries of the ancient Heathenish Religions, and what I have here written concerns them only: for when

The Preface.

when Christ came into the World, he deliver'd a Doctrine so pious, just, and necessary, that (even in its Infancy) its own merits supported it, without the assistance of Princes or Grandees. What is more reasonable than to forbear those Lusts which will ruine us both here and hereafter? or who but a mad-man would condemn that Law for unjust, which prohibits him from murdering himself? and Christ doth no more. Now if the Law be good, what must the Law-giver be? for such as the Fruit is, such must the Tree be also. Some have even among the Heathens been reported to have wrought Miracles, as Apollonius Tyanæus; others have deliver'd good Doctrines, as Plato, Seneca, Epictetus, &c. but what one man ever did both to that perfection, as Christ did? Many in all Religions have dyed to justifie their Opinions; but who like the Primitive Christians ever died to justifie the truth of Miracles, which they beheld with their own eyes? But this is unnecessary, for that I write not to Heathens, but Christians.

The general decay of Piety, hath in most Religions whatsoever proceeded from

The Preface.

the exemplary viciousness of their Clergy; (though perhaps less in ours, than in others; for I am unwilling to raise an unjust outcry against a good Air, because some few debauch'd persons dye in it. Should a Physician prohibit all Mankind from Wine, as poysonous, and presently he himself should drink some, I had reason to question the truth of his former opinion, and should have cause to believe, that he coveted to monopolize the best Wines for himself. What Heathen Priests could with any confidence prohibit Murther, when they themselves did so frequently sacrifice poor innocent men in their Temples? with what justice could that Priest, who assisted at the Rape of Paulina in the Temple of Apis, proscribe Adulteries or Rapes?

If Shepherds go themselves astray,
How should their Sheep e're find the way?
If he that Teaches, is to Learn,
How should the Scholar truth discern?

Vale.

THE

(1)

The Original of
IDOLATRY,

Together with the
Politick Institution
OF THE
GENTILES SACRIFICES.

The Proem.

A Discourse concerning Heathen Religions in general, were certainly a vast undertaking, and vain; it being too immense a labour for any one man, either by reading, sufficiently to comprehend the Ancient Idolatry, or by Travell through both the *Indies* to discern that off this Age. Nor would it be less vain, if possible.

possible to be attain'd: For all Superstitions are to the people but like several Sports to Children, which varying in their several Seasons, yield them pretty entertainment for the time, and when grown out of request, deserve no further consideration, but are still supplanted by new ones to the same purpose. Therefore to abbreviate my undertaking, after having touch'd a little upon the Original of Idolatry, I do in the rest of this discourse confine my self to one part of their Superstition, *viz.* their Sacrifices, and more especially their Sanguinary ones, as being the most horrid and brutish of all others: Also in them I observe only their seeming Rational and Politick Fundamentals, without mentioning the Sacerdotal particulars in the celebration of their fantastical Ceremonies, which are innumerable, though in effect but like the Ribbons on a Hobby-horse. Now if any Hypocrite to glorifie his own zeal, should pretend that a discourse of this nature does through the Heathen Sacrifices, reproach those of *Moses*, which resembled them but in outward appearance, he must retrieve himself from that error, if he rightly apprehends the difference: For the one justifies his Institutions as directed to the true God, and ordain'd as Typical by his appointment; whereas the other (*viz.* those of the Heathen) had neither of these Qualifications, and therefore

no

no more ought to be spared for their resemblance to those of the *Jews*, than a Criminal ought to be pardoned for wearing the same coloured Garments with the Judge. Moreover, for the further justification of this Treatise, I have the Holy Scriptures for my President, wherein we may often find recorded the Idolatry of the Ancient Heathens, *viz.* of such as sacrificed to *Baal*, and offer'd up Cakes to the Queen of Heaven: Therefore all further Apologies I shall decline, as unnecessary in so brief a Narrative.

Sect. I.

Before Religion, that is to say, Sacrifices, Rites, Ceremonies, pretended Revelations, and the like, were invented amongst the Heathens, there was no worship of God but in a rational way, whereof the Philosophers pretending to be Masters, did to this end, not only teach Virtue and Piety, but were also themselves great examples of it in their Lives and Conversations; whom the People chiefly follow'd, till they were seduced by their crafty and covetous Sacerdotal Order; who, instead of the said Virtue and Piety, introduced Fables and Fictions of their own coining; perswading the Vulgar, that as men could not by any natural abilities of their own, know the best manner of serving God, so it was necessary that He should reveal the same to his Priests in some extraordinary manner, for the better instruction of
the



the People. Whereupon pretermittin the Doctrines of Piety and Goodness for the most part, they introduced a Religious worship of their own moulding, which amused and suspended mens minds in great part, and at last made the people relie so much upon them, that they neglected their proper duties, consisting chiefly in the Sacrifices, Expiations, and Lustrations of their Priests; who finding they got more by the sins and ignorance of the common people, than by their virtue and knowledge, made divers things sins which otherwise were but indifferent, especially those things which mens natures could with the most difficulty resist: which observation produced this ingenious Copy of Verses from a Modern Author, no less eminent for his Wit, than for his Quality.

Oh wearisom condition of Humanity!

*Born under one Law, to another bound:
Vainly begot, and yet forbidden vanity,
Created sick, commanded to be sound.
What meaneth Nature by these divers Laws?
Passion and Reason self-division cause.*

Is it the mark or majesty of Power

*To make offences that it may forgive?
Nature her self, doth her own self bestower,
To hate those Errors she her self doth give:
For how should man think that he may not do,
If Nature did not sail and punish too?*

Tyrant

*Tyrant to others, to her self unjust,
Only commands things difficult and hard:
Forbids us all things which it knows is Lust;
Makes easie pains, impossible reward.
If Nature did not take delight in blood,
She would have made more easie way to good.*

*We that are bound by vows and by promotion,
With pomp of Holy Sacrifice and Rites,
To teach belief in good and still devotion,
To preach of Heav'n's wonders and delights;
Yet when each of us in his own Heart looks,
He finds the God there far unlike his Books.
Chorus Sacerdotum, Ld. Brook's Mustapha.*

They forbid some meats as unclean, which yet were wholsom; commanding others to be used, which yet must be offer'd or sacrificed, that so they might have their parts; allotting some days to labour, and others to idleness: of all which, and many more conspicuous in pomp and ceremony, they constituted themselves the Patrons and Precurers. To whom no men were so odious as your incredulous honest men; for if a man were incredulous and vicious, that was the greater honour to the credulous party; or if a man were credulous and vicious that did not any more reflect upon their Religion, than one man's being hang'd for dishonesty, scandalizes a Government, besides they might pretend his Faith was never sincere. But he that led an honest

virtuous

virtuous life, without any Faith for their Superstitions, he was the only person odious unto them, as a person that demonstrated unto the World how unnecessary the Priests and their Doctrines were to the propagation of Virtue. The Philosophers had their extravagancies in Natural, but they all agreed in Moral Philosophy; nor was Virtue any where better delineated, than by those ancient Philosophers, *Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, &c.* in so much that *Hierophanta*, or Teachers of Holy Doctrine, was a name anciently and primitively given to Philosophers. *Sit pura mente colendus*: A pure undefiled Spirit is the only Sacrifice which Philosophy commands them to offer unto God. But as that taught the knowledge of God in his Works, and a rational way to serve him, so the Doctrines of their Priests introduced not only impertinent, but also absurd and impious Tenents concerning God and Religion, withdrawing them as well from the use of their Reason, as from the study of Truth: not allowing them any knowledge of God, or Religious worship, but what themselves taught. Nay, they betray'd the people into the Adoration of many Gods, because thereby they acquired to themselves much greater advantages by adoring many Deities, and introducing several Worships of them, than they could have expected from the single worship of one Supreme.

preme God. All which serves but to confirm the verity of that Epigram, *Ut melius possis fallere, sume togam*. This Sacerdotal villany was well known to *Diogenes*, as we may learn from the Answer he made to the Priest who came to convert him to be of his Order, in hopes of *Elizium*: *Wilt thou (saith Diogenes) have me to believe that those famous men, Agesilaus and Epimanondas, shall be miserable, and that thou who art but an Ajs, and doest nothing of any worth, shalt be happy only because thou art a Priest?* So contemptible was their profession in that wise Man's opinion. But of this more hereafter.

II.

The Primitive Institution of Idolatry receiv'd its Birth from Princes, at whose charge it was afterwards Educated by Ecclesiasticks; the one made the Idol, and the other ordain'd the worship of it. And this we may learn from the Book of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, wherein it is said, *That the Father made the Image of the deceased Son, and the Son of the dead Father*. Thus *Ninus* after the death of his Father *Nimrod*, worshipp'd him by the name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, which in the *Punick* Tongue signifies God: (From whence I conceive that error of many Historians does proceed, who hearing of a *Nimrod* that after his death was adored by the name of *Belus*, presently misapprehended them to be two several persons, who

were



were really but one under two several names: And therefore we see *Africanus* begins his Chronicle with *Belus*.) Now the use of this Adoration, was to breed a veneration in the common People, not only for the Prince deceased, but likewise for all his Posterity, as Men of the *Jupitorean* Race. This Idol being therefore at first worshipped only in commemoration of some *Hero*, or gallant Person, as his Effigies, grew in time to be by Posterity revered as a God; and as his courage or prudence in his life-time, was conducive to the grandeur and glory of his Subjects, so they thought being dead, he was no less able to assist them; with which expectation they paid frequent Vows, Prayers and Sacrifices unto him, such as were ordain'd by their Priests.

III.

Now Idolatry being thus instituted by the Civil power, the Ecclesiastick was left to build upon that foundation, which presented them with a fit opportunity to introduce those Rites and Ceremonies, as might render them necessary in the performance of the same. For as Men who drink Healths, do it more for love of the Liquor, than for love of the Party whose Health they drink; so did the Heathen Clergy, under pretence of wishing well to others, enrich and advantage themselves: They not being like the Pastors of the Christian Church, who (according to

Christ's

Christ's Rule) ought to be like Sheep amongst Wolves; whereas the others were rather like Wolves among Sheep. Therefore we see with how great malice and violence they persecuted all such as opposed their impious Doctrines, when poor *Socrates* could not escape with his life, only because he preached up the belief of one Supreme God: From whence we may observe, that as pity is less culpable than malice, so in Superstition is incredulity less mischievous than credulity; the incredulous only pitying the credulous, whereas the credulous always envy the incredulous.

IV.

Now whenever these Priests wanted wit to delude the Vulgar, with ambiguous Answers of their own inventions, they repair'd to the Temples of their Gods, and there lay all that Night; telling the People at their return, how being half asleep and half awake, their God spake and reveal'd such and such things, which they were commanded again to deliver unto the People for their satisfaction, when any business of importance occur'd in the Commonwealth; speaking therein many times not so much their own sense, as the sense of the Magistrate, where there was occasion to abuse the People into any belief, that might relate to some publick good: In all which cases, the Magistrate seem'd first to believe them.



them. Also they had certain Books, which with much solemnity were consulted upon emergent occasions; such were the *Apollinis Libri*, as also the *Sibyllina Oracula*, which *Tarquinius* bought at so high a rate, and afterwards depositing them in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, might perhaps be there burnt together with the said Temple in *Syula's* time. The *Hetrusci* had likewise their Books of natural predictions called *Hauruspiciini, Fulgurales, & Rituales*; as also the *Romans* had theirs call'd *Augurales Libri*, wherein was contain'd most of their Religious Worship.

V.

The first Idolatry is thought to have come from *Egypt*, and that the *Aegyptians* in all probability began their Religious Worship from the Sun, or at least from the whole Machine of Heaven. The next to the *Aegyptians* were the *Hetrusci*, who proved their Doctrine by Antiquity and Universality, as also by Predictions. But the most ancient Religion next to the *Aegyptian* and *Hetruscan*, was that of the *Druids*, who were heretofore the Priests of *France, Germany*, and some parts of *England*. The School of these *Druids* flourished within less than one Hundred Years after the *Phoenicians*; and were destroyed, together with their Religious Worship, by the Emperor *Tiberius*. These *Druids* (besides some Opinions they held

held in common with the other *Gentiles*, concerning Worship due to the Heavens, Planets, and Stars) took certain Observations from Oaks, Galls, and Mistletoe, for their prognostication of the ensuing Year. The *Bardi* were a distinct Colledge in *England* from the *Druids*; they had little of the Philosopher or Vaticinator in them. The *Brachmans* were ancient Philosophers and Priests in the *Indies*, and continue so to this day; they hold the Transmigration of Souls with *Pythagoras*, which Opinion (as both *Apian* and *Clemens* affirm) he took from the *Jews*, and was therefore (say they) circumcised after their manner. The *Gymnosophists* were an ancient Sect of Philosophy and Divinity amongst the *Aethiopians*. The *Persians* following *Zoroaster*, acknowledged duplex principium, as the *Aegyptians* did; worshipping the Sun above, and the Fire beneath: They had anciently their Wise Men, or *Magi*. The *Thracians* communicated many of their Rites and Ceremonies to the *Grecians*. The *Scythians* and *Getes* had certain Priests and Philosophers instituted according to the manner of *Zamolxis*; who travelling into *Egypt*, brought home with him some of their Doctrines and Ceremonies. The ancient *Roman* Priests took many of their Laws and Ceremonies from the *Hetrusci*. The *Germans* and *Celtes* had their Priests which were called *Semnothei*. The *Goths* had their Priests

Priests call'd *Parabuscei* : And the *Africans* their Philosophers and Priests call'd *Arban-irei, Libyci, & Hispani*. Now in all these several Sects, there were not any two that agreed exactly in their Doctrines, although the fundamental design of all was the same, *viz.* the sharing of the Sheep; about which they did frequently quarrel with one another, in so much, that one of the Ancients said, He would avoid all controverted Points, until the Priests were agreed amongst themselves.

VI.

There is nothing does more endanger Religion, than Oblivion; therefore so long as *Jupiter* was preach'd up at all, they did not much concern themselves under what several Names, or several kinds of Adoration they worshipp'd him; such kind of disputes being but like a quarrel between little Children, who having got one Joynted-Baby amongst them, fall together by the Ears about the naming and dressing of it. For Heresies in Religion, are but like Ivy-Trees, which though at first they rend and cleave the Walls whereunto they grow, yet afterwards serve to uphold and support the same. Also the Magistrates did frequently connive at such Heresies, because they found the Authority of Religion so prevalent in Mens Minds, that their Clergy when well united among themselves, did oftentimes conceit

with

with the Secular power; which grew so dangerous, that they were contented to wink at the many divisions and absurdities amongst them: *Ne Sacra plus possent, quam Leges*. The chief and most eminent Office amongst the *Romans*, was that of the *Augurs*: The veneration and honour given unto them was so great, that they were look'd upon not only as the God's Interpreters, but also as Messengers and Agents betwixt them and Mankind. Besides, they were ever advanced to the Senate, and the rather, as is conceiv'd, because from the first foundation of *Rome*, until the change of the Government, Kings were *Augurs*, as not thinking it safe to disjoyn from the Regal power a discipline so full of Authority, as was that of an *Augur*; who were so highly esteem'd among the Ancients, that no Magistrate was chosen, nor business of importance done, till they were first consulted:

*Those who to Empire by dark paths aspire,
Still plead a Call to what they most desire.*

Mr. D.

Thus *Romulus* and *Numa* could receive their Scepters only from the *Augurs* hands, as *Titus Livy* informs us.

VII.

The Heathen Priests thinking it dangerous to teach any way to God which Men might go by themselves, without farther guiding and



and directing, (like Musicians who are unwilling to learn their Scholars to play by Notes, lest they might grow able to improve themselves without a Master,) did not as our Christian Pastors do, furnish the People with a Record of their God's Commands, whetby they might walk themselves without any other assistance; but on the contrary they instituted Lustrations, Expiations, and the like, which none but themselves could execute, and all was only to render the Clergy absolutely necessary to the People.

The Original of Sacrifices, seems to be as ancient as Religion it self; for no sooner had Men found out that there was a God, but Priests stept up and said, that this God had taught them in what manner he would be worshipped. As Religion therefore seems to have began most anciently in the Eastern parts, or, as some will have it, in *Egypt*; so did Sacrifices, which from thence were propagated to *Greece*, *Italy*, and other remoter parts. The number of Sacrifices, (says a learned Author) were among the *Egyptians* reckoned to be 666, which without all question were multiplied by the Priests of several Countries, where the said *Egyptian* Sacrifices were receiv'd. But what a madness was this, to think to flatter the Divinity with Inhumanity? to content the Divine goodness with the affliction of his Creatures,

and to satisfy the Justice of God with cruelty? A Superstitious Man serveth God out of fear, whereas the truly Religious serves him out of love. Superstition suffereth neither God nor Man to live at rest, as evidently appears by these Heathen Sacrifices. What could be more sottish or irrational, than to think that the slaughter of a poor innocent Creature, (who follow'd the simplicity of his own Nature, without ever offending God,) should be so grateful to the Deity, as thereby we might expiate our sins, and render a sufficient atonement for the most execrable villanies of Mankind? as if the Almighty Justice could be no otherwise appeas'd for the errors of the Wicked, but by the sufferings of the Innocent.

Now as Sacrifices were the most ancient and universal, so the greatest and most mysterious sorbs that ever were invented or imposed upon Mankind. What have Sacrifices to do with Sins? could none but their unenlightned Priests make peace between God and Man, when Sins were committed? was there no Address to be made to the Divine Majesty, but by their Intercession? were they the Courtiers of Heaven, and must they be first bribed, before Men could receive a Pardon for their Sins? an inward and hearty Repentance avail'd nothing amongst them. Neither can the Heathens be excused by saying, that at the same time

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when

when Sacrifices were offer'd, they might repent; for it doth so little appear that they commanded Repentance, as we can hardly find any mention thereof in their Religious Worship; however we may hope that God did work it in some of their Hearts; for we find in *Plato* and other Philosophers, sorrow for sin often enjoy'd; and we may read among the *Septem Sapientes* this Holy Precept, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*, which gives a brave entrance into the Christian Philosophy, as it stands recorded in Holy Writ. But this they ow'd to their Philosophy, and not Theology.

VIII.

The stupidity of these Heathen Sacrifices are sufficiently already exploded by *Lucian*, *Arnobius*, and others: The first condemning them as ridiculous, the latter as impious; for God will be serv'd in Spirit, and that which is outwardly done, is rather to glorifie our selves, than God. Yet however, as monstrous as their Doctrines and Sacrifices appear, they have been the chief support of the *Gentiles* Devotion for many Thousand Years, and in some Nations continue to this day. Perhaps melancholy Men might at first light upon this Frenzy, by observing how Nature had inevitably framed all Creatures to live by devouring and destroying one another; a Man eats not one Morsel, but he destroys an Animal or Vegetable life,

life, or at least prevents them from attaining that life, which otherwise they would have enjoy'd. Nay, we cannot walk one step, but probably we crush many Insects creeping under our Feet; and the same happens to other Creatures, the Life of each being by Nature made prædatory upon others.

Torva leana Lupum sequitur, Lupus ipse capellam;

Elorentem Cytisum sequitur lasciva capella.

Virg. Eclog.

Upon this consideration *Æsop's* Wolfe (being touch'd in conscience for the many Murders he had committed) vow'd never more to eat Flesh, till being almost famish'd, and espying a Hog in a Puddle, he was forced by an interpretation wiser than his Vow, to suppose the Hog a Fish, and so by devouring it, to save himself from starving. It was also found by experience, how many Millions of violent Accidents were ever ready at hand to destroy all things that had Life in them; whereas Preservatives were rarely to be met with: Nor could the very best Nourishment or Physick relieve Life any considerable time, and that also ever attended with some mischievous quality enclining towards Death; wherefore but like a small Parenthesis, intervening a long Discourse: Nor was the



longest estate of Life above a moment, compared with that of Death, which is for ever irrecoverable. Also the Sickneſs of one Man does often infect others, and extends to the deſtruction of many Thouſands: Whereas the Health of the ſoundeſt Body upon Earth, does not diffuſe it ſelf to the good of any but it ſelf.

IX.

So that by theſe, and ſuch like ſiniſter Obſervations, the deſtruction of things in being, appear'd to them to be more grateful to Heaven, than their preſervation: Whereupon Men raiſed unjuſt out-cries againſt the miſerable conditon of Humane life, laying that fault upon the Deity, which did proceed only from themſelves; and by this means fell to an unworthy Opinion of Cruelty in God: And therefore we ſee the Heathens for three or four eminent *Joves*, have many more *Vejoves*, or miſchievous ſuppoſed Deities. Nay, they erected Altars to moſt Diſeaſes and Vices, in hopes thereby to divert their infection from the People: As at this day many of the *Indians* do much more worſhip and conſult the Devil, for fear of miſchief, than they do the good Spirit which governs the World. But if it were poſſible for wiſe and virtuous Men to believe, that the Divine power delights in the ſlaughter and deſtruction of harmleſs Creatures which it ſelf hath made, they might

might perhaps ſuppoſe it to proceed, not out of cruelty, but rather as pleas'd to have them by a quick paſſage withdrawn from the ſufferings and lingering decays of long life, to be ſuddenly eſtabliſhed in an ever-laſting undiſturb'd peace and indolency; or rather, if from our ſtate of ignorance it were poſſible to interpret Heaven, we might imagine, that it has made all Creatures unavoidably to deſtroy one another, in as much as that power which governs the Univerſe, does perhaps contrive the preſervation and flouriſhing eſtate thereof, in a proportion as far exceeding its regard of particulars, as the whole Globe of the Earth exceeds the ſmalleſt Sand upon the Sea-ſhore. And as for particular individuals, *Corruptio unius eſt Generatio alterius*; whereby it comes to paſs, that not only their Life, but even their Death, helps to renew the World, and ſo tends to its continuation and proſperity. From hence now peradventure Men of airy Fancies might conceit, ſome reaſon why in Mankind and all other Sublunary things, when any one laſts longer than is ordinary for others of its kind to do, it is uſually puniſhed with Deformity and other Decays, for retarding (as much as in it lies) that meaſure of the World's Renovation, which would by its more early change, have accru'd thereunto.



These Thoughts unrectify'd, have even among Christians caused some Hereticks to think, that God has from the first Creation, infus'd into all perishable things, two internal Principles, the one Life and Preservation, the other Death and Destruction; also that according as either of these are more or less agreeably entertained, so is the Creature more or less vigorous and durable. Or peradventure they might more appositely have observed the rise and fall of things represented in the rotation of Wheels in a Chariot, whose several Spoaks are rais'd up, and cast down by one and the same mover, at one and the sametime, without any separate assistance: For so they thought that Infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, which is all in all, moves things by his immediate presence and inoperation, without any need of *Aristotle's* Intelligences, *Plato's* Dæmons, or other imaginary powers subservient: Nor that it merits a bad censure for destroying particulars, it being for an universal good.

X.

Now because the generality of Men are not thus Speculative or Philosophical in their Actions, but rather Crafty and Politick, as designing to themselves power amongst Men, and by consequence Riches and Honour, the most nervous and effectual consideration of the Gentiles Sacrifices must be taken that way.

way. Thus when Princes, who in the governing of Mankind, found it to be an unruly Creature, mischievous, and not capable to be guided by solid reason or truth, but totally subjected to the passions of hope and fear; how false and vain soever, it matter'd not, provided that things were well fitted and suitable to their Capacities: Wherefore they to encourage obedience and good works, held forth Gain and Preferment; as on the other side, to deter from disobedience and mischief, they ordain'd Forfeitures and Disgrace:

————— *Et ponere Leges,*
Ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis Aduiter,
Horat. Serm.

Yet in as much as *abundans cautela non nocet*, and seeing there were many clandestine Villanies so secret and undiscoverable, as could hardly be brought to an open conviction, for such, the Magistrate rais'd within them *Animo tortore flagellum*, viz. in their Consciences the fear of some future punishment; whereof for want of that true knowledge which we enjoy, they feign'd some of their own inventions, such as the *Stygian Lake*, and the like; which in as much as the goodness of God, and their present invisibility, rendred the lets credible, therefore the declaring them to be with material
G 4 Fire,

Fire, as also Eternal, did in good measure over-awe that Incredulity. From whence we may observe, how necessary and how natural is the belief of a Reward and Punishment hereafter; that even the unenlightened Heathens, as well for conveniency, as from the impulses of their own Natures, were forced to acknowledge it. So rational and so natural is that Article of our Christian Faith.

XI.

Now for the erecting of this Tribunal in the Minds of Men, they (not being enlightened from above) made use of Superstition, (the offspring of too much Honour, and too much Fear,) which being to be managed cunningly, and well fixing to vulgar capacities, they did little or not at all regard the satisfaction of clear rational Men. For first, the number of them is so small, as they are of no power; and then they are too wise to hazard their own Ruine for the instruction of Foolish Men, casting Pearl before Swine; knowing withall, that if any Man should be so vain as to oppose the common belief, the *mobile* would (as they did by *Socrates*.) oppress and decry him for an Atheist. Therefore the wisest among the Heathens follow'd this Rule in their Converse, *Loquendum cum vulgo, sentiendum cum sapientibus; Et si mundus vult decipi, decipiatur.* Our Saviour himself found

found how improper it was to unfold his Sacred Mysteries to the ignorant Multitude, and therefore explain'd not his Parable of the Sower, till he was alone amongst the Twelve, saying, *Unto you it is given to know the mystery of God: but unto them that are without, all these things are done in parables; that seeing they may see, and not perceive, and hearing they may hear, and not understand: lest at any time they may be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them.* He that hath ears to hear, let him hear, saith Christ, *Mark* 4. 11, 12. That is, not every one that can hear, but only such as are well able to digest and understand what they do hear. Now this kind of reservedness and secrecy being likewise observed by the most prudent of the Heathens, it made their Priests altogether neglect such thoughts, though never so wise, as being well assured that their Prudence would hinder them from discovering or interesting themselves in the vulgar Superstitions, how sottish soever. But nevertheless to fortifie themselves the better against any such Discovery, they ever decry'd Humane Wisdom, and magnify'd Ignorance; well knowing, that the seeds of their foolish Doctrine, would prosper nowhere but in barren Ground. Reason teaches that there is but one only supream God; but they taught the belief of many Gods. Reason teaches, that the Law of God, viz.

that Law which is absolutely necessary to our future happiness, ought to be generally made known to all Men; which theirs was not. Reason makes no difference betwixt their *Enthusiasticks*, and our Mad-Men. Reason expects some more convincing Argument to prove the infallible Divinity of their Laws, Inspirations, and Miracles, than an *ipse dixit*: And upon that Maxim of *Contra Principia non est disputandum*, Reason would reply, *Uno dato absurdo mille sequerentur*. Reason would suspect the power of their *Jupiter*, who had no way to reduce the *Trojans* to himself, but was forc'd to suffer his own Son *Sarpedon* to be knock'd on the Head by them. Reason would tell us that *Romulus* and *Rhemus* were Bastards, and that their Mother *Rhea's* pretence of being layn with by God *Mars*, was only a sham upon the credulous multitude, hoping thereby to save both her Credit and her Life. Again, when they desire me to give but the same Credit to the History of their Gods, as I do to other History, I will; but as well in their Religions, as in *Livy* or other prophane History, when I hear of an Ox's speaking, or a God's descending in a Cloud and shower of Gold, to lye with a Woman, in all such miraculous Narrations, my Reason desires to be further satisfy'd in the truth of them, than only by the report of the Author. *Proculus* tells us of *Romulus's* appearing

ing after his Death, and that he saw him all array'd in white, &c. but my Reason bids me *quere*, whether he had not some hand in his Murther, and thought by pretending *Romulus* to be taken up to Heaven, to clear himself to the People of that suspicion. *Apollonius Tyaneus*, is reported by *Philostratus* to have rais'd a Maid from the Dead, but Reason questions whether the Maid was not only asleep; for Sleep is the Image of Death. *Philostratus* also further telleth, that *Apollonius* vanished away out of the Emperor's presence; before a great number of People: But here Reason bids me observe, that although it is reported to have been done in the presence of a great number of People, yet I have but the Testimony of one Man for the truth of it, *viz. Philostratus*, and not the Testimony of all those People. The darkness of the Sun at *Julius Caesar's* Death, appears to Reason to be but an Accident, proceeding from some natural cause, and that it was no greater Complement to *Caesar*, than to any other Person in the World that died at the same Moment. There is nothing how impossible soever to be done, that is impossible to be believed; for two Men conspiring, one to seem Lame, and the other to cure him with a charm, will deceive many; but many conspiring, one to seem Lame, the other to cure him, and all the rest to bear witness, will deceive more.

Taus



Thus, when *Vespasian* is said to cure the Lame and the Blind, Reason reports the Story of it thus: That *Vespasian* observing how Kingdoms are preserved and augmented by Religion, pretending himself to have an immediate power from Heaven, and for that end corrupted two of his Subjects with Money, to feign themselves the one Blind, and the other Lame; whom he afterwards cured with much solemnity before the People. In the same manner the *French Kings* cure Men of the Evil; for the Physician first examines the Patient's Wound, and if he finds it incurable, then declares it is not the Evil: But if he finds it a Sore that is easie and likely to cure, then the Physician calls it the Evil, that so the King may have the credit of curing that, which would have done well of it self. These and many more such Impositions were put in practice by the Heathens, which for as much as Humane Reason detects, their Priests had great occasion to exclaim against it, as they did. Let us Christians from hence learn to esteem our Religion the more, which stands the Test of Reason, bidding us give a Reason for our Hope.

Furthermore, these grand Heathenish Impositions (the *Sacris initiati*, as they call'd themselves,) the better to prepare for the planting of their Idolatry in the minds of Men, did (under the pretence of speaking after

after the manner of men) pre-suppose their Gods to be originally of Flesh and Blood, attributing to them such passions and designs as are only incident to mortals: They made them of both Sexes, Gods and Goddesses; *Jupiter* had his Wife *Juno*, and either for variety, or when weary of her Curtaia-Lecture, he went to his Misses; but for a fuller entertainment in his Cups, they procured him a *Ganymede*: His Grave was also to be seen in *Crete*, as well as the Grave of any other person; and yet so fortitiously impious were they, as to believe this dead man to be the ever-living God. Nay, they made their Deities subject to those Vices which were acted but by the worst of men: in so much that nothing is more celebrated in *Jupiter*, than his Adultery; nor in *Mercury*, than his Fraud and Thefts, of whose praises in a Hymn of *Homer's*, the greatest is this: That being born in the morning, he had invented Musick by Noon, and before Night stoll away the Cattle of *Apollo* from his Herdsmen. Therefore in *Minutius* you may hear *Otharvius* telling *Calicius*, that the Heathens entertain'd such fabulous Notions of their Gods, as they usually ascribed such horrid things to them, as would be accounted scandalous and dishonourable to any good man:

Immon-

Immortalia mortali sermone notantes, Lucr.

The Heathens (says *Arnobius*) did by their Gods, as an Ass would do by *Cato*, whom if he were to commend to his fellow Asses, he would say he had delicate long Ears, could Bray very loud, and carry great Burthens; which being the most eminent qualities in Asses, they would attribute them to *Cato* when they meant to praise him: and just so did they impiously judge of their Gods; which an ingenious Physician observing, he would never give one of their Priest's Physick, till he was inform'd what opinion his patient had of Divine Vengeance; because if he magnify'd God's mercy, then he gave him something to purge Flegm; whereas if he extoll'd God's Judgments, then he gave him something to purge Choler. *Cardan* was so uncharitable as to think this Superstition (which did really sink under the ruines of Paganism) was like the River *Arethusa*, risen up again even among the Christians, saying, *Nos nebulones loquimur de Deo, tanquam de uno è nobis*. But this impiety is so far from being practis'd amongst us Christians of the Reformed Church, that Atheism it self would be as soon tolerated. *Plutarch* desired rather to be forgotten in the World, than remembered by the Name of the man that

that used to devour his own Children, as *Saturn* is reported to have done: and it is better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an one as is dishonourable to him, as the Lord *Bacon* well observes. Yet this was the Heathen Faith; for although they did not own themselves to be made after the Image of God, yet did they in their fond Imaginations make their Gods after the Image of men: which must needs occasion the same mutual likenesse.

XII.

Having thus therefore manured the Ground of Popular Understandings, wherein to sow the seed of Vulgar Religions, they sow'd thereupon such kind of Doctrines, as they judged best capable of reception, and most proper to each particular *Genius* of the time and people, according as they found them more or less rude or subtle, debauch'd or austere. Hence grew their Oblations, and Altars, whereon they were offer'd: these did always accompany their Prayers; for they supposing their Gods to be like the Eastern Princes, before whom no man might come empty handed, and perhaps because a great part of their Offerings fell to the Priest's share; therefore they soon left off *Numa Pompilius's* Institution, who according to the poverty of those times, ordain'd a little Cake and Salt with a few Fruits: and so *Pythagoras* appointed Honey, Frankincense,

cense, Fruits, Flowers, and other things, but always *incruenta*; till in process of time their Gods (or at least their Priests) grew so covetous, that they could not be satiated without the Blood of Beasts; whereupon men began to offer up Sheep, Oxen, and almost all manner of Beasts, to one God or other; who at length, like corrupt Judges, were not to be bribed but at high rates, especially where either the petitioner was a Rich man, or the Boon sued for very considerable, or the God one of the better sort: in such a case Sheep were despised, and nothing less than an Ox would be accepted. Thus by degrees they grew to such excess, that at length in case of a publick Pestilence, or upon some great Warlike undertaking, it was not unusual to offer *Hecatombs*, that is, an hundred Oxen, an hundred Sheep, and as many Swine, all at once upon a hundred several Altars. But to exceed all this, some grew to Sacrifice Men and Women: The ancient *Galli* used to feed a man sumptuously for the space of one year, and then upon a Festival day, they carried him out of the City and stoned him to death, as an Expiation for the Sins of the People. Also *Apollonius Tyaneus* thought to stop the Plague at *Ephesus*, by sacrificing a poor old Beggar. Nay, some went further than this, and sacrificed their own Children: thus *Agamemnon* upon his undertaking that

renowned

renowned War of *Troy*, offer'd up his only Daughter *Iphigenia*; and if he could have procured one of the Gods themselves, it is very probable he would have sacrificed him to *Jupiter* or *Mars*, for the better success in his enterprize.

We read in ancient History of many Heathens, who sacrificed their own lives to propitiate the Gods to their Countries: as *Coricus*, for the *Athenians*; *Menaccus*, for the *Cherbanians*; *Anchorus*, for the *Sydonians*; as also *Curtius* and the two *Decii*, for the *Romans*; whereof you may read at large in *Livy's* Eighth Book. Thus Humane Sacrifices grew every where so common, that in *Mexico* 20000 men in a year were frequently slain upon their Altars; for the more brutish and unnatural cruelties they used, the more prevalent they thought them with Heaven; and indeed they have usually been crown'd with the most success; perhaps supposing the intentional piety, to prevail above the unnatural act; or rather, that the general confidence of the Gods assistance to be thereby procured, might raise a more than ordinary vigour in the Souldiers minds, which is the chief cause of Victory. Therefore when they were ready to joyn Battel with the Enemy, it was usual to make some Vow to the Gods for their assistance; which when the other party understood, they always out-vow'd the former, in hopes there-

by



by to win the Gods from them, or at least to make the Souldiers believe they had: thus the *Crotoniate* in their War against the *Locrenses*, Vow'd to *Apollo* the tenth of the spoil, if he would give them victory: whereupon the *Locrenses* to outvie them, vow'd to the same God the ninth part, if he would be on their side, and that re-vie carried it. Also the *French* under the conduct of *Arifonicus* against *Flaminius*, vow'd to *Mars* a great Gold-Chain; but *Flaminius* to out-bid them, vow'd to erect a magnificent Trophy, and so prevail'd. Much like the story of a corrupt Judge, who being bribed with a Jar of Oyl, the other party came the next day and presented him with a fat Ox, whereupon he gave sentence for the Ox; and when the Oyl-man murmur'd, the Judge to excuse the business told him, that in the place where the Jar of Oyl stood, an Upruly Ox brake in and overturn'd it, so as it was quite forgotten. And many times their Prayers were in themselves so wicked and execrable, as could never hope for a reception, unless usher'd in with a very tempting Oblation:

*Da mihi fallere, da justum, sanctumq, videre,
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.*

Horat.

This Prayer one would think needed an *Hecatomb* at least to render it passable; but their

their Gods unwilling to let their Altars grow cold, would sometimes like Country Attorneys, rather take small fees than none at all, to assist them in their Frauds.

XIII.

Now as there were Sacrifices to obtain things of the Gods, and Peace-offerings to appease their supposed wrath and fury; so there were there others of thanksgiving, for benefits receiv'd: thus the *Thuri* made a solemn Sacrifice to the North-wind, for having dispers'd and sunk the great Fleet which *Dionysius* had sent to invade their Country. But these kinds of Sacrifices were most practis'd in private Families, and therefore may rather be call'd *Gemilitia* than *Sacra popularia*: of this sort were the *Sacra Claudia*, *Amilia*, *Juliana*, *Cornelia gentis*, &c. mention'd in *Tully* and others; which private *Sacra* were made perpetual by the Laws, and so recommended to Posterity. Now because they were not only chargeable, but to be continued from Age to Age as long as the said Family or Inheritance lasted, therefore Purchasers were glad *adire hereditatem*, or to get such a living as was not clogg'd with these entail'd Sacrifices; concerning which, you may find a merry passage in *Plautus*, where a Parasite brags that he had gotten an Inheritance *sine sacris, sine sumpta*, &c. but however, there were not so many of these Thanksgiving Sacrifices, as

of



of the other; for as much as all men are naturally inclin'd to cover and wish well to themselves, but few are so generous as when their turns are serv'd, to give thanks, especially if it put them to charge: for thus we see many men will be mighty charitable in giving their blessing, good advice, or ghostly counsel, who nevertheless will not part with a farthing of money. The base ingratitude of Mankind, is in a just proportion represented in the ten Lepers; where although the reward expected for their Cure, was only an honest acknowledgement in a few words, yet when they had all they desir'd, and needed no more, there was but one in ten would trouble himself so much as to come and say, Sir, I thank you.

XIV.

Men may wonder why the Heathen Clergy did so highly extoll Sacrifices, to appease Divine Wrath against Sinners, and so little mention or make use of Repentance: But the Reasons of most obvious conjecture were two: First, they could not but observe how fickle a creature man is, he seldom holds long in a humour or resolution, especially if it goes against the grain of his natural inclinations: so as in effect, most men do but like little Children, who having committed a fault, will (to avoid whipping) say they will do so no more, but do
it

again the next hour: this made Repentance seem to them but formal, if not hypocritical; and although the intention of amendment of life were for the time in some earnest, for *status semper incipit vivere*, and they may, like dying men in a dangerous fit of Sickness, vow to become new men: yet considering how frequent and certain their Relapses were, it seem'd almost a mockery, or at the best, such carelessness as hardly to be extenuate by the term of humane Frailty, but rather a downright defect of incredulity; and if so, it were then a very improper Oblation to be recommended from their Clergy, who lived by the incredulity of men. For certainly if men did really and seriously believe what they pretend, or what by fits they make themselves think they do believe, they could never live as they do; so that want of believing is the only thing which destroys all Religion, both true and false. The other and principal motive which induced the crafty Heathen Priests rather to promote Sacrifices, than Repentance, was for that they were to be managed by none but themselves; and so besides the great Profit they brought them, they also rendred them of absolute and perpetual use to the people; for they could never be laid aside, as being the only men who by their Oblations could mediate with Heaven for them: where-



as in Repentance they were altogether unconcern'd, a broken and contrite heart was a Peace-offering which every man could bring for himself, without the Priests assistance, or any gain accruing to them thereby.

XV.

Unless it were in *Japan*, I do not remember to have read of any place where they assumed the Office of Confessors, with power to absolve sinners; which peradventure if they had presumed to claim, and could have obtain'd, might have brought them in as great a Reverence as any kind of Oblation whatever; but they either thought not of it, or it may be those great Officers the *Censores Morum* would not admit thereof: for that it was ever found true, *Facile iter ad peccatum, ubi venalis est gratia*; especially Rich men would not care how vicious they were, knowing they had wherewithal to procure Absolution when they pleased: so that the Poor seem'd in a manner predestinate to damnation, or God's Enemies, as the *Turks* call them; who for that Reason will very seldom relieve them.

He that would ask, what the ancient Religion of the Heathens was? it may be answered him, that it was their Sacrifices; which varied according to the several manners of each Country. Now however all Sacrifices seem to be the invention of Priests, yet

the *Cruenta* especially; many Philosophers condemning them, but above all *Pythagoras*, who said, That men ought to permit no Sacrifice made with slaughter; and that the innocent were not to be slain for the Gods, such cruelty being rather likely to aggravate, than extenuate mens other sins; also that Altars were not to be imbrued with blood. *Porphyry* likewise saith, That in ancient times it was thought a great crime to kill any harmless innocent Beasts, they being intercommunioners with men on Earth: And many besides him were of that opinion; as thinking it enough to take from the Sheep her Fleece, from the Cow her Milk, and from the Ox his Labour, without robbing them of their lives. The killing of Animals in Sacrifice, was however thought to be very proper for feasting; they might also not without some good intention be offer'd to their Gods, as to whom they ow'd their Food. The matter of sacrifices in general, was Flesh, Fish, and Fowl, as also whatsoever did afford savoury and wholsom sustenance. But amongst all the *Cruenta Sacrificia*, the most ancient seems to be that of Swine, who for the trespass they made upon Agriculture, were offer'd to *Ceres* the Goddess thereof, as we may learn from this line of *Ovid*:

Prima Ceres arida garrisa est sanguine Porca.

Now

Now these *Cruenta Sacrificia* were used not only for Thanksgiving, but also for Expiation of their Sins; as likewise for assembling of the people together to make good Cheer, and bring in Roast-meat for the Priests: Nor were Feasts uneffectual for the upholding of the Worship of their Gods in the Minds of Men; since at all Entertainments, the Company are naturally apt to drink the Founder's health. Sacrifices, especially the *Cruenta* seem to have been first used among the *Aegyptians*, and from them derived to the *Hebrews*, as *Theodoret* confesses; observing only, that whereas the *Aegyptians* sacrificed either to Dæmons or Idols, the *Israelites* through the Divine permission were allow'd to offer them to God. *St. Jerom* also upon the words of *Jeremiah* (chap. 7. ver. 21.) saith, That God at last did allow the use of Sacrifices to himself, lest otherwise they should be made to false Gods: whereupon also he notes, that *Moses* never commanded the use of Sacrifices, but by the way of tolerating them after the *Israelites* were come out of *Aegypt*, where the sweetness of Sacrifices seems first to have been found out; for not only their Bellies, but also their Backs profited by them; *tunica pellicea*, or Coats of Skins being their usual Garments: for which reason the *Cruenta Sacrificia* were most esteem'd of all others.

There are many general things observable in all or most of their Offerings, and of mystical signification; as this: That although their Gods were notoriously guilty of Fraud, Rapine, and Violence, yet above all other Oblations they delighted most in Creatures meek and harmless, as Doves, Sheep, and Oxen; which were not only better Meat for their Priests, than Lyons and Tygers, or the like, but also served for an Emblem; to shew that soft and innocent Natures, were ordained for a prey to the fraudulent, rapacious and violent: In the observation whereof, the wise Spectators instructed themselves to their own advantage and safety. Much to this purpose was that saying of an Ancient Father, *Omnis nos sumus aut Corvi qui lacerant, aut Cadavera que lacerantur*; according to our English Proverb, he who makes himself a Sheep, becomes a prey to the Wolfe. Therefore *Mahomet* to make his Disciples all Wolves, delivers this Impious Doctrine, That he who forgives an Injury does well, but he who revenges it, does better; supposing that a constant Revenge for Injuries, would in time make Men more wary of committing them, and by consequence advance Morality. Also *Machiavell's* design being to render his Disciples so rapacious, that they might be able to encounter the



worst of Men, he is by the ingenious *Boccaline* in his *Parnassus*, resembled to a Man that driving a Flock of Sheep into a Corner, did there take out their own Teeth, and in their stead, gave each of them a set of Wolves Teeth; so that whereas before, one Shepherd was able to drive a whole Flock, now each Sheep hath need of a particular Shepherd, and all little enough too. Much to our purpose is it noted by *Plutarch*, that great Princes in their Shields, do ever give Creatures of Force and Rapine, as Eagles, Lions, Dragons, and the like, to teach them how to maintain their Grandeur: In resemblance whereof, *Henry* the 4th of *France*, had ever engraven upon his Ordnance this Motto, *Ratio ultima Regum*; but however for petty Princes, a Fox may be the better Emblem.

XVII.

These Sacrifices upon extraordinary occasions, were ever presented with wonderful Solemnity and Magnificence; for according to *St. Paul's* Observation, they holding we were the Off-spring of the Gods, might probably conjecture that our great delight which we take in solemn Shows and Musick, might be originally derived into our Natures, from the like Spirit in the Divine Original of Nature, of whom we proceed: And if so, then these kind of Solemnities seem proper Sacrifices to the *Genius* of Mankind, and by consequence, would at least take with Men, if
not

not with God. However, they were found to work two great effects upon the Peoples Minds: The one, of concern to Religion; the other, to the State. The concern as to Religion was, in raising a kind of Veneration and awful Terrour in the Spectators; which is a frame of Spirit most susceptible of Devotion, excluding all wandring, light and vain Thoughts. Therefore in the most ancient times, the chief part of their Divine Worship was celebrated in thick Groves; and afterwards when they erected Temples, many of them were of magnificent structure, but ever so gloomy and dark, as they were in the day time fain to make use of Lamps upon their Altars; for such a Light represents any Show much more splendidly than open day-light: As we plainly see in our Theatres, who but for that advantage, would never be at the charge of Lamps and Candles in the Summer time. These stately Representations of their Offerings, with the Priests fantastical Vestments and profound Gravity, was a kind of Acting their Religion as it were upon a Stage; and it sared also with that, as with *Opera's*, which ever take better Acted, than Read: *Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures, Quam que sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus.* The whole History of most of their Gods, was at the time of their several Festivals very splendidly Acted after the manner of publick Plays, and generally in
H 2. dumb



dumb-shows, without any Words at all ; as supposing every one from his Childhood acquainted with the Story by his Religious Education. These Shows upheld their fabulous Divinity many Thousand Years, perhaps much longer than if they had grounded it upon Argumentative Discourses and Syllogisms, which are knacks that either take not the multitude at all, or never hold them long : For either the Cares of the World stiffen them, or at best after a time, they grow as tedious as a Fiddler, that can play but one Tune. Besides, these frequent Representations were no less effectual to strengthen the Peoples Faith, than if they heard the Articles of their Faith daily rehears'd unto them ; which is the most prevalent way of Naturalizing a Religion to the People, how false soever ; since nothing is more frequent, than to have Men tell Lies (though of their own inventions,) so often, till in time they themselves grow to believe them true.

XVIII.

The other Concern, *viz.* of the State in those great Sanguinary Sacrifices, was by inuring the People to such horrid and bloody Sights, which though but of Beasts, yet doubtless tended much to the hardning of their Hearts against all apprehensions of Blood and Death, either in themselves or others ; rendering them fitter for the Wars,
and

and thereby more capable either of defending or enlarging their Empire. Upon this Consideration it is, that our Laws will not admit a Butcher to serve upon the Jury of Life and Death : Also at the Battel of *Edgehill*, it was generally observ'd, that one Foot-Regiment of Butchers, behaved themselves more stoutly than any other Regiment of either side ; and yet they had never before that time been flish'd in any blood but that of Beasts. To this purpose theretore the ancient *Romans* did much harden the Hearts of their Men, by using them to various other inhumane bloody Sights ; as, Gladiators slaughtering one another in their Amphitheatres ; and condemning Malefactors to be there torn in pieces by wild Beasts, for the diversion of the People ; which occasion'd the Primitive Church to prohibit the Christians all such bloody Sights, as not intending or approving of such hardness of Heart, but rather choosing to govern in the Spirit of Meekness and Innocence, hoping thereby to gain a greater submission : Whereas the Heathen Princes, (especially the *Romans*,) when they arrived to that Grandeur, as encouraged them into an ambition of conquering the Universe, desired, in pursuance of that wicked Design, to educate their People in such fierceness and inhumanity, as might fit them for that purpose. And the Heathen Priests (who



(who were certainly the wickedest and craftiest of Men) knowing how serviceable they might be to the Prince, as well as the Prince to them, in a despotick Government, soon discover'd their own interest, in being Contributors to that Design.

XIX.

* Now considering these things, and where all regard of God and Nature was laid aside, the use of their Sacrifices could not but be very pertinent; and apprehended that way, were not so absurd as by *Lucian* and other ingenious Persons they are represented to have been. The common People were so weak, as to be deluded into the belief of these Trumperies, by that fallacious Argument which all Superstitions have ever made use of, and indeed lies as well for one as another, (*viz.*) that the vulgar Faith was the safest. But however, the great and Prudent Men amongst them, were not so fortifick and blind, as not to discern the intrinsic worthlessness of their Superstitions, however they upheld them for worldly advantage; and therefore when a *Roman* General deferr'd to give the signal of a Batel, because the Southfayers Chickens forbore to eat; a Young Nobleman standing by, told him, He wondred he would omit so great an opportunity for so small a thing: To whom the General reply'd, These things seem small, but our Fore fathers by regard-

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ing these little things, have made this Commonwealth great. And to shew that when they were not under these politick Corruptions, but free to declare their own Judgments, their inward Devotion was more excellent than their outward Profession, observe what one of their own Poets delivers concerning Sacrifices:

*Non Bove mactato caelestia numina gaudent,
Sed quae praestanda est vel sine teste Fide. Ov.*

AN
APPEAL
FROM THE
COUNTRY
TO THE
CITY,

FOR THE
Preservation of His MAJESTY'S
Person, Liberty, Property,
AND THE
Protestant Religion.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year 1695.



AN
APPEAL
FROM THE
COUNTRY ⁱⁿ ^{adal} ^{Wo} th
TO THE
CITY, &c.

Most Brave and Noble Citizens,

AS the City of London is the great Metropolis and Soul of our once flourishing and glorious Kingdom, so it is no small Honour to you, the Inhabitants thereof, to be Citizens of so brave a City. Wherefore 'tis the Hopes of the whole Nation, that you have Spirits and Courage to act according to the Character you bear, that upon all necessary Occasions you may vindicate the just Concerns of your City: In them we are all involved; with you we stand, and with

with you we fall; your example directs our conduct, and they who desire to lay you in Ashes, are the only Persons who would Subvert our Religion and Property; for when you are once ruined, the next thing will be, *Up Ahab, and take possession.*

Now Gentlemen, before we represent to you the Estate of our Misery, and Ground of our Jealousies and Fears, 'tis our humble request, that those who have most Power amongst you, would so far trouble themselves, as to go to the top of your new rais'd Pyramid, and from thence take a Survey of that magnificent Pile of Building, whereof you are yet Masters: In which Posture, to intimate you with the *English* Spirits, be pleased to fancy to your selves these following Objects which you will infallibly see come to pass, when ever Popery prevails.

First, Imagine you see the whole Town in a Flame, occasioned this second time, by the same Popish Malice, which set it on Fire before. At the same Instant, Fancy, that amongst the distracted Crowd, you behold Troops of Papists ravishing your Wives and your Daughters, dashing your little Childrens Brains out against the Walls, plundering your Houses, and cutting your own Throats, by the Name of Heretick Dogs. Then represent to your selves the Tower playing off its Cannon, and battering down your Houses about your Ears. Also calling your

your Eye towards *Smithfield*, imagine you see your Father, or your Mother, or some of your nearest and dearest Relations, tied to a Stake in the midst of Flames, when with Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, they stream and cry out to that God, for whose Cause they dye; which was a frequent Spectacle the last time Popery reign'd amongst us. Fancy you behold those beautiful Churches, erected for the true Worship of God, abused and turned into idolatrous Temples, to the Dishonour of Christ, and Scandal of Religion; the Ministers of God's Holy Word torn in pieces before your Eyes, and their very best Friends not daring even to speak in their Behalf: Your Trading's bad, and in a manner lost already, but then the only Commodity will be Fire and Sword; the only Object, Women running with their Hair about their Ears, Men covered with Blood, Children sprawling under Horses Feet, and only the Walls of Houses left standing: When those that survive this fatal Day, may sigh and cry, Here once stood my House, there my Friend's, and here my Kinsman's: But alas, that time is past! The only Noise will then be, O my Wife! O my Husband! O my dearest Children! In fire, what the Devil himself would do, were he here upon Earth, will in his Absence infallibly be acted by his Agents the Papists; those who had so much Ingratitude and Baseness,



ness, to attempt the Life of a Prince so indulgent to them, will hardly be less Cruel to any of his Protestant Subjects.

*Wake drowsie Subjects, and prevent your Dooms,
Let England not be twice enslav'd by Rome.*

If the approaching Ruin of the Father could open the dumb Son's Mouth, then all that either are true Protestants, good *Englishmen*, or Well-wishers to the Interest of this Nation, have now the same reason to speak and complain, when, without a Miracle, our apparent Ruin is at hand, the Sword already hangs over our Heads, and seems to be supported by no stronger Force than that of one single Hair; his Majesty's Life. We in the Country have done our Parts, in choosing for the generality good Members to serve in Parliament; but if (as our two last Parliaments were) they must be dissolved or prorogued, when ever they come to redress the Grievances of the Subject, we may be pitied, but not blamed. If the Plot takes effect (as in all probability it will) our Parliaments are not then to be condemned, for that their not being suffered to sit occasion'd it. The Plot is now got so far out of our Enemies reach, that no subtle Evasion or Trick can ever hope to extinguish it; wherefore they must either suffer all to come out, or begin by Force to justify it, which we see they are going to do, by endeavouring.

deavouring to get those worthy and brave Commanders banished, who (as they think) are the most likely Persons to conduct and lead us up against any popish Army; the Wolf hath nothing more to do, but to destroy the Shepherd, and then fall upon the naked Sheep. But Gentlemen, be not dismayed, the Lord of Hosts will be on your sides; for so long as you fight his Cause, he will fight your Battles; and if God be for you, who dares be against you? Fear nothing, but as your Interests are united, so let your Resolutions be the same; and the first hour wherein you hear of the King's untimely End, let no other Noise be heard among you, but that of Arm, Arm, to revenge your Sovereign's Death, both upon his Murtherers, and their whole Party, for that there is no such thing as an *English* Papist, who is not in the Plot, at least in his good Wishes. Let not Fear of losing part by your Action, make you lose the whole by your Patience: Think not to fare better than the rest, by meddling less, for that Conquerors Promises are never kept, especially coming from that sort of People, whose Maxim it is, never to keep their Words with Hereticks. Wherefore, if ever a Popish Successor comes amongst you, let his Promises of keeping your Religion and Laws, or of his Conversion, be never so plausible, credit them not; for if you do, you will infallibly be deceived, and in time find them to be but like
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the Bait to a Mouse-Trap. Or if you think to bind and fetter him by Laws, that will be no better than the Wise Men of *Gotham's* hedging in the Cuckow; for when he (as all other Popish Kings do) governs by an Army, what will all your Laws signifie? You will not then have Parliaments to appeal to; he and his Council will levy his Arbitrary Taxes, and his Army shall gather them for him: Therefore you may much easter prevent the Distemper at first, than remedy it when it has once got a Head. Now Gentlemen, lest any amongst you should be ignorant, either of your Enemies, or their Designs, both against the King and Kingdom, be pleased to consider what follows, and then think how to prevent it.

Consideration I. First then, That you may know who are your Enemies at this time: They are young beggarly Officers, Courtiers, over-hot Church-men and Papists. The young Officer or Souldier his Interest makes him wish for a standing Army, not considering any further than his own Pay and Plunder, and so help us to ruin you that way. The Courtier endeavours to advance Taxes, oppresses the People by vast and illegal Impositions, when looking upon his Prince but as his Ox, he fattens him upon his Neighbour's Pasture, only for his own eating. Over-hot Church-men are bribed to wish well to Popery, by the hopes (if not of a Cardinal's Cap) yet

yet at least of a Command over some Abby, Priory, or other Ecclesiastick Preferment, whereof the *Roman Church* hath so great plenty. These are the Men who exclaim against our Parliaments Proceedings, in relation to the Plot, as too violent, calling these Times by no other Name but that of Forty or Forty one, when to amuse us, as well his Sacred Majesty, as his good People, they again threatened us with another Forty Eight, and all this done to vindicate under hand the Catholick Party, by throwing a Suspicion on the Fanaticks. These are the Gentlemen, who so magnifie the Principles of *Bishop Laud*, and so much extol the Writings of the late same spirited Prelate *Dr. Heylin*, who hath made more Papists by his Books, than Christians by his Sermons. These are those Episcopal Tantiivies, who make even the very Scriptures Pimp for the Court, who out of *Urim* and *Thummim*, can extort a Sermon, to prove the not paying of Tithes and Taxes to be the Sin against the Holy Ghost, and had rather see the Kingdom run down with Blood, than part with the least Hem of a Consecrated Frock, which they themselves made Holy. These are the Persons who commend *Dates* and *Bedloe*, but yet find fault with their Evidence, when by crediting some part of the Plot, and suspecting the rest, by speaking three words for it, and two against it, they cunningly endeavour to invalidate the whole.



whole. Lastiy, The chief and most dangerous of your Enemies are Papists, who to make sure of their own Game, allure all the three forementioned Parties to their side, by the Arguments aforesaid. Their Design is to bring in Popery, which they can no ways effect, but either by a Popish Successor, or by the *French Arms*: The first of these we may our selves prevent; and for the latter, if they conquer, they will undoubtedly conquer for themselves, and not for him that brought them in. And if we ever should be reduced to that Extremity, either to submit to the *French*, or to our own Popish Successor, every Man that hath any Brains or Generosity, will soon find it his Interest of the two, rather to submit to a Foreign Power, who hath not violated the Laws of Nature, in fighting against his own Subjects, and who will also be less revengful, and more likely to let us enjoy our own Religion and Liberties, than any Popish Successor will: Beside, 'tis natural for every noble Spirit to bear a Cudgelling from another Man's Servant with less regret than from his own; however, God deliver us from both.

Consid. II. In the next place, to discover to you how long this Plot hath been on foot, I must acknowledge that there is some coherence between the beginning of the late Civil Wars, and this our present Age; for as well then as now, the ambitious *Popish* and *French* Faction

were the chief, nay, the only Incendiaries which set us all in a Flame; the *Catholic Cause*, like the Chestnut in the Fable, hath ever since Queen *Mary's* Reign, been in the Fire: Wherefore, as the Fox made use of the Ape's, so both then and now the *Papists* make use of the *Episcopal* and *Court-Parties* Claw to take it out; the first of these they allure to their Assistance, by the Fright of *Presbytery*; the latter, by the apprehension of a *Republick*: Although nothing is less designed, or more improbable. Secretary *Wendebank's* many Orders (which stand recorded at this day) to secure the *Roman Catholics* from the Execution of all Penal Laws against them, in the late King's time, are a sufficient Evidence, that they then received no less Countenance than now; and for that vain Pretence of their Loyalty to the late King, nothing will appear more ridiculous, if we consider, 1. That they had no other Party to expect any Advantage from, for that no Government but Monarchy, can in *England* ever support or favour that Religion; neither (notwithstanding their many Offers) could they ever be entertained or received by the *Parliament-Party*, unless 'twas under a Disguise, which many for that purpose made use of: So as their Loyalty and good Service paid to the King, was meerly in their own Defence, well knowing, that the Foundation of those Commotions, was only in opposition



to their Party: Who as well then as now, had a desire to run the Hazard of a War. Secondly and lastly, Their Fidelity to their Sovereign appeared in its true Colours, when they were so earnest with *Oliver* to accept of the Crown; which shewed, that since nothing but a crowned Head could do good to the *Papish Religion*, they did not care who wore it, so long as it was but worn. Now in the acquainting you herewith, I do in effect shew you what is at this time acting amongst them, for 'tis the same Play, though an old one newly revived; and as that which the *Papists* then acted, was laid upon the *Fanaticks*, so was the like to have been done in this present Plot; in order whereunto, just before the Discovery of the same, they had seiz'd upon, and imprisoned one *Mr. Claypole*, for having (as they pretended) a design to Murther His Sacred Majesty; thinking, when it was once reported abroad, that he and the Old *Oliverian* Party, had a Conspiracy to take away the King's Life, then in the mean while the *Papists* themselves might safely do it (as we see they had at that time, *viz.* August 1678. resolved upon) and that then it would all have gone upon the *Non-Conformists* score; for however there was never any Person living more generous and obliging to the King's whole Party, than this very Man the Lord *Claypole* was, when he bore that Honour; yet he having Married

Oliver

Oliver Cromwell's Daughter, rendred him a Subject to put this Trick upon: Which by *Dr. Oates's* Discovery of the Plot, came to light, the Evidence against him vanished, and the poor Gentleman releas'd. Much such another Design was that of the *Papists* in *Scotland*, who first by their Counsels procured the poor Inhabitants to be oppressed, and then sending their disguis'd Priests and Emisaries amongst them, encouraged the poor silly Natives to Mutiny against those Oppressors, hoping yet by this second Stratagem to cast the Plot upon the *Presbyterians*: For not only *Dr. Oates* mentions this in his Evidence, but we all know the *Papists* themselves were so well assured of this Rising, before it happened, that at the Disbanding of this late *Papish* Army, many of the Officers and Soldiers had secret Orders not to sell their Horses, but to be in a readines, for that they should have occasion to use them again within a fortnight; and so it happened, for within less than a Fortnight after the Disbanding, the Rebellion broke out in *Scotland*: So well acquainted were the Authors of this mischief, with the time when it would happen. Now this Insurrection was in two respects advantageous to the *Catholick Party*; for first, among Foreigners and Strangers, who were not acquainted with their Intrigues, it seem'd to cast the Plot upon the *Non-Conformists*; and secondly, being beaten by

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the King's Forces, (whereof no other was to be expected) it might make both them and us less apt to rise upon any account whatsoever. But here give me leave to present you with one Observation, which is, that this had been a Fanatical Plot, the same Party would certainly have risen in England at the same time when their Brethren of Scotland were in Arms, the encouraging one another, being of more consequence to both, than the expectation of the others success.

Confid. III. After the *Catholicks* had thus brought the Father's Head to the Block, and sent the Young Princes into Exile, let us reflect upon their usage of them in France, and see whether the kindness that the *Catholicks* then paid to our King, was sufficient to bring us into that Misery wherein we are immers'd, by so entirely Espousing the *French* and *Papists* Cause, even almost to the destruction of the *Protestant Religion*, and ruin of all Christendom besides. Did their banishing of his Majesty, and slighting of him whilst he was amongst them, deserve this kindness at our Hands? What charitable Christians are we grown, thus to return good for evil? I must confess they did ever Treat his *R. H.* with some respect, as finding him to retain more favourable inclinations both towards their Religion and Government, than his gracious Majesty did; whose understanding

and wit, as it made him contemn their Superstitious Idolatry and Popperies, so did his civility and good Nature, render their Tyranny altogether odious in his sight: Besides, if his Majesty had then discovered in himself the least inclinations to *Popery*, it might in all probability have rendred the *Crown* of England unaccessible. However, I cannot ascribe great part of our present Calamities, to his Highnesses Education, in that arbitrary and *Popish* Government: With what eagerness have we assisted them in their Conquests, even to the Defamation of our own Honour, and Violation of our publick Faith with all the rest of Christendom? We first made Them an Idol, and now we worship it; we first taught them the Art of Navigation, and now are ready to strike nail to them our selves. Not any new Invention that is of use either in Building, Ships, or making Ordnance, can be discovered here, but immediately, we charitable *English* (for fear we should be too strong for them) must communicate it to our dear Brethren the *French*. Nor have we been altogether unkind to the rest of our Neighbours, when by procuring a general Peace, we have plucked the Thorns out of their feet, to put them in our own; made a Peace for them, in order to bring a War upon our selves. I confess, when I think how faithful we have been to the *French* in all these late

late Wars, as also how much Service our *English* Cannon (whereof we have too great plenty,) did them at their Siege of *Valenciennes*, I cannot but call to mind *Commines* Relation of *K. Lewis* the Eleventh's Bribing our *English* Council, paying at that time Yearly Pensions to the Lord Chancellor, Master of the Rolls, *Hastings* Lord High Chamberlain, Lord *Howard*, and all other Persons who had any power or interest with their Master King *Edward*; for if something of this nature did not prevail amongst us, His Majesty would never have adher'd to any but the *Dutch*, whose perpetual Interest it is, to keep the Crown upon his Head, for that nothing would so much advantage *France*, and ruin *Holland*, as to have *England* become a Common-wealth; when like *Rome* and *Carthage*, being continually clashing together, the *French* might in time ruin both.

confid. IV. Having but now mentioned *Commines*, give me leave to *Phil. Com. l. 5.* insert another Story of his, *c. 6. 8.* which may be very much to our purpose, to shew you that when God designs the destruction of a King or People, he maketh them deaf to all Discoveries, be they never so obvious. This account is concerning the Duke of *Burgundy*, who being at War with *Lewis* the XI. of *France*, entertained as his chief Minister and Favourite

Favourite the Earl of *Campobache*, upon whom he bestowed great Gifts, committing to his care his whole Concerns: But this Earl having no sense either of Honour or Gratitude, took the advantage of his Master's the Duke's troubles, and set up a resolution to destroy him. For which end and purpose, he began under-hand to Treat both with the Duke of *Lorain*, and with divers of the King's Officers that were Quartered in *Champaigne*, near to the Duke's Camp. Now to the Duke of *Lorain*, he promised so to order the matter, that this Siege of his Master's (the Duke of *Burgundy*) against *Nancy*, should take no effect; for he would take care that such things as were necessary either for the Siege or Battery, should be wanting: Which Promise he was able to perform, for that the principal Charge thereof was committed to him, neither had any Man so great Authority as he, in the Army under the Duke of *Burgundy*. But to the King's Officers he promised either to kill his Master, or take him Prisoner, demanding for his Recompence thereof, the Charge of those 400 Lances which he had then in keeping, with 20000 Crowns in ready Money, and some good Earldom in *France*. Now whilst the Earl of *Campobache* was plotting these Treasons, one *Cifron* a Gentleman belonging to the Duke, and that was acquainted with this Earl's Conspiracy, happened (in attempt-

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ing to relieve the Town of *Nancy*) to be taken Prisoner by the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was set down before it: Whereupon, this *Cifron* being condemned to die, in hopes of a Pardon, offered, that if the Duke would give him Audience, he would reveal a Secret to him which concerned his Life; whereof certain Gentlemen (to whom *Cifron* had told this) went to advertise the Duke, with whom at their Arrival, they found this Earl of *Campobache*, come hither (as was supposed) on purpose to be always ready, fearing lest *Cifron*, to save his own Life, should have any such intent to reveal the Conspiracy. The Duke returned this Answer to the Gentlemen, who brought him the Message, That the Prisoner used this delay, only to respice his own Death, and commanded them that he should discover what he knew to them; which way the Earl of *Campobache* well approved of. Upon this *Cifron* reply'd, that he would communicate it to no Man but the Duke of *Burgundy* himself: So that he was again by the Duke's special command led out to Execution; but in his way thither, he desired divers Gentlemen once more to acquaint their Master from him, that it was such a Secret that the Duke would not for a Dutchy but know. Many hearing this, went again to intreat the Duke to vouchsafe him a hearing; but this Treacherous Earl, keeping the Duke's Chamber Door, would not permit

permit these Gentlemen to enter, saying, that the Duke had resolved to hear no further from him; wherefore he dispatch'd away new Messengers to the *Provost*, to hasten his Execution. Thus was this *Cifron* Hang'd, to the utter ruin of the Duke of *Burgundy*, his House, and his Dominions; so infatuated was his Understanding. After this, our wicked Earl began to put in practice his Treachery, for the which purpose he agreed first with a *French Wakeman* or Physician, dwelling in *Lyons*, called Mr. *Simon of Parvia*; and afterwards with the King's Embassador in *Savoy*: Neither of which ways succeeding, he offer'd to flee with all his Forces from his Master to King *Lewis*; but the King detesting such Treasons of a Servant against his Master, sent by the Lord *Conte* to acquaint the Duke of *Burgundy* with it: But the Duke (as if he had been himself in the Plot against his own Life) was so sottish and stupid a Prince, that he receiv'd this second Warning with no more sense than the former, saying, *That if this Discovery were true, the King (being his Enemy) would never have advertised him thereof*; whereof he ever after that, loved the Earl rather better than before. But this folly of his was justly rewarded; for in a short time after, when the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Duke of *Lorain* were engaged, this Earl of *Campobache*, with many of his Forces, revolted to the Enemy,



whereby the Duke of *Burgundy's* Forces were routed, and he himself actually Slain. Never did Prince fall more unpitied than this Duke did; nor did his People know which most to blame of the Two, either he who began this Conspiracy by his Wickedness, or the Duke himself, who gave it success by his folly: The application of which Story, I shall leave for you to make.

Confid. V. There are Four several Arguments, which many times prevail with Princes, to be incredulous of all pretended Conspiracies against themselves. The First is drawn from their being in, or made privy themselves, to part of the Plot, but not the whole. The Second, From their own good Nature and Clemency. The Third, From the nature of the Evidence. And the Fourth, from the nature and interest of the pretended Conspirators. To begin then with the First: When the Prince hath been made acquainted with the Design of introducing a new Government, or new Religion, but not with the Design of taking away his own Life, this sometimes hath prevail'd with him not to believe, that the same Party with whom he himself is in a Conspiracy, should have any such other Plot against his Life. But this I hope is not our case; for that no Religion or Government can be so much for his Majesty's Advantage, as that which is established amongst us: Since in *Popery*, al-
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though his Majesty would be made absolute over his Subjects, yet his Slavery to the *Pope* would be so great, that as well his Liberty as his Revenues would be much less than now. For besides the vast Sums of Money that would then go from the Exchequer to the Church, I dare boldly affirm, that had his Majesty been never so absolute, he could not in this time have squeez'd more Money from the Subject, than he hath already received in his Taxes since his coming in; and that must have been done by a standing Army, which would make him odious, and eat up half his profit. 'Tis policy in the Prince not to take away all at once, but to leave a Nest-Egg, if he designs they should lay again; but for the Church of *Rome*, who ever reads our Chronicles will find, that no School-boys have been greater Slaves to their Masters, than many of our *English* Kings were to the *Pope*; and those who were above his Discipline, the *Romish* Church ever found some way or other to cut him off, either by setting his own People against him, as they did by King *John*, or by some infallible *Catholick* Poison, or by some bloody *Godfrey* Dagger. King *Edgar* for his Incontinency was enjoyn'd by *Dunstan* Abbot of *Glassenbury*, not to wear his Crown for Seven Years, to which he was forced to submit. King *Henry II.* to expiate the Murder of *Thomas Becket*, (committed to his Courtiers,) was
13 forced



forced to walk bare-footed Three Miles to visit his Shrine, and then to receive Four-score Lashes upon his bare back from the Monks. King *John* for opposing Pope *Innocent III.* was (after interdicting the Realm for Six Years and three Months,) forced to render his Crown to *Pandulphus* the Pope's Legat, and take it again in Fee Farm at the Rent of a Thousand Marks Yearly: Nor did this satisfie the Popish Malice, for he was at last Poysoned in *Swinsted* Abbey by one *Simon* a Monk. Furthermore, to let you see, that in the time of Popery, Princes lived not so peaceable as now, be pleased to observe, that betwixt the Conquest and our Reformation, Seven of our *English* Kings were Murthered, viz. King *John*, *Richard I.* *Edward II.* *Richard II.* *Edward V.* *Henry VI.* and *Richard III.* (not to mention the Emperor *Henry VII.* who was Poysoned in the *Eucharist* by one *Bernard* a Monk, nor *Henry III.* of *France*, stabb'd by *Clement* the Monk, nor *Henry IV.* of *France*, stabb'd by *Raviliac*, or those many Hundred Examples of this nature, which I could produce out of other Chronicles.) So that whatever Prince considers these things aright, I think he can have no Interest to introduce Popery, unless he desires either to be whipped by a Monk, or stabb'd or poyson'd by a Jesuit; for in such a case, 'tis the Jesuits that Govern, and not the King.

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Consid. VI. The second Motive which may incline a Prince to dis-believe the Report of a Plot, is from his own good Nature and Clemency, which makes him not expect any ill from those to whom he has been so kind. But this is a fallacious way of arguing, for a Prince who would preserve himself against Conspiracy, is to have an Eye rather upon those he has obliged, than those he has offended; for those that are offended, have not such frequent Opportunities, nor such easie Accesses to him as the other have; and for their Disposition, it is much alike, the Desire of Dominion being as great, if not greater, than the Desire of Revenge. We see therefore, that where any great Conspiracy has been made, it has been most commonly begun by such as were most familiar with the Prince, and most in his Favour; for so it was in the Conspiracy of *Perennius* against *Commodus*, *Plantianus* against *Severus*, *Sejanus* against *Tiberius*; all which were Favourites, and highly obliged by their several Emperors. So that whatever Prince trusts too much to the Friendship of his dearest Favourites, nay, to his own Brother, may sometimes find himself deceived. The Earl of *Campobache* (whom I mentioned before) had received Favours, sufficient to have obliged him more faithfully to his Master the Duke, than he afterwards proved. *Brutus* was as dear, and (many think) as nearly related

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related to *Caesar*, as any Brother, but yet we see he had a hand in his Murther. The nearer a Friend is, the nearer is he to be my Heir, therefore the more likely to wish my Death. Friends are oftentimes as dear to us as our Relations, therefore the Laws of Kindred may as well be violated, as the Laws of Friendship, then which, nothing is more usual. Who betrays you in your Bed? Your Friend, for your Enemy is not admitted to your House. Who betrays you in your Estate? your Friend, for your Enemy is not made your Trustee: So that nothing is more dangerous than a blind Friendship. The *Turks* well know, how much more prevalent Interest is amongst Brothers than Affection, which makes the Laws of their Empire take so severe a Course with the *Grand Seignior's* younger Brothers. How many Princes have been ruin'd by their next impatient Heirs, nay, even sometimes by their own Sons? That most prodigious Empire which *Tamberlain* the Great had acquired, how was it torn in pieces, and destroyed by a Division betwixt his Two Sons? Did not *Cain* kill *Abel*? And was not *Joseph* sold into *Egypt* by his Brethren? Had not *Agrippina* her *Wakeman*, wherewith she poysoned her own Husband, the Emperor *Claudius*? And was not she her self afterwards kill'd by her own Son *Nero*? If (as we often see) little petty Interests make one Brother wish the others

others Death, how much more prevalent will the interest of a Crown be? Nay, of Two Crowns, *viz.* one here, and another hereafter in Heaven, promised him by an old Fellow with a bald Pate, and a spade-Beard: *Si violandum est jus, violandum est Regnandi gratia.* And besides all this, when a Successor observes that the Life of one single Person, not only keeps him from Three Kingdoms, but also makes him, his Family, and whole Party, be Banished and Persecuted, you must needs acknowledge, that he lies under a great Temptation to violate the Sixth Commandment: Which things being considered, together with that Law which wipes off all Attainders, whether of Treason or Murther, by the Descent of the Crown, I cannot but think that a Prince's good Nature renders him secure only in his own Conceit, and not in Reality. We all know that his *R. H.* hath held Correspondence with Cardinal *Norfolk*, and other the Pope's Nuncio's, about introducing Popery; and we are likewise informed, that Popery was to be introduced by the King's Death: So how a Man could be privy to the Effect, without being acquainted with the Means, seems very prodigious.

Consid. VII. Thirdly, Most Princes believe or disbelieve the Information which is given them of a Plot, according to the Na-



ture of the Evidence, and Credit of the Informants. First, For the Nature of the Evidence, what is it? That they had a Design to Murther the King, and introduce Popery. What is there improbable in all this? Was there never any Prince murdered before by a Conspiracy? Was there never any Attempt before, to introduce into a Country a new Religion? Why then have we so many Laws made to prevent such a thing, if it seems so improbable ever to be done? When the *Romans* forbear to make any Law against Parricide, it was out of a Presumption that it would never be acted: But we all know, that these are things which the Papists have several times before attempted amongst us; witness the Gunpowder-Treason, the Invasion of the *Spaniards* in Eighty Eight, and their many Attempts both against Queen *Elizabeth's*, and King *James's* Persons. So that I cannot apprehend any thing strange in their Relation: The only Miracle that appears to me, is, that any one (but those that are in the Plot) should question the truth of it; especially when they consider the wonderful manner of its Discovery, wherein the Providence of God appeared most remarkable, that still as one Man's Evidence has been censured, a fresh Witness hath risen up to supply and strengthen the former. Had this Plot been a forged Contrivance of their own, they would

would at the very first Discovery of it, have had half a dozen, or half a score crafty Fellows, ready to have attested all the same things; whereas on the contrary (notwithstanding we are now on a burning Scent) we were fain, till here of late, to pick out by little, all upon a cold Scent, and that stained too by the Tricks and Malice of our Enemies: So that had we not had some such good Huntsmen, as the right Noble Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and our late secret Committee, to manage the Case for us, our Hounds must needs have been baffled, and the Game lost. In my whole Life-time, of all the Histories I have ever read or heard of, I do not remember to have met with any Action more bold or gallant, than was that of *Dr. Cates's* Discovery; for one single Man (as he did) to fly in the Face of so prevailing a Party as they were, without any Second to back him, to persist and justify his Evidence, after the many Discouragements were at first shewed him; to accuse Persons of that high Quality, Power and Revenge, when *Everard* had before been denied the Benefit of the Sun, and kept close Prisoner in a Dungeon for Four Years together, only for coming over to discover, that the Papists beyond Sea had a design to bring in Popery here: When Justice *Goafrey* had been murdered, only for acquainting the Council with what he told him; and yet for him to adhere to his
Infor-



Information, certainly nothing could be more bold or brave. How many, and how great discouragements hath this Discovery met with: First, When the Lord of *Danby* was so long acquainted with it, and concealed it time enough for the Plotters to convey away both their Persons and Papers. Secondly, the Visit of her *R. H.* to see the Princess in *Flanders*, at the first breaking out of the Plot, in which Voyage many Priests, Jesuits and Plotters made their Escape. Thirdly, The conveying away all *Coleman's* Letters, which treated of these Two last Years. Fourthly, The getting *Prance* to recede Three several times backward and forward from his own Evidence. Fifthly, The suffering Priests to have access, to tamper with the condemned Plotters in *Newgate*, to make them deny all, and with a Lye in their Mouths, dye as innocent as the Child unborn. Sixthly, These frequent Dissolutions and Prorogations of Parliaments, to prevent the Tryal of the Lords. Seventhly, Suffering Sir *Philip Floyd*, Clerk of the Council, at the Tryal of *Wakeman*, to come to testify against the King, in the behalf of the Prisoner, what he heard at the Council-Table, a place where all things that are done, ought to be kept secret, and so had this, had it not been in favour of *Wakeman*. Eighthly, The freeing *Wakeman*, and questioning the Truth of that very same Evidence, whereon the same Judge

Judge had hanged so many before: But however my Lord Chief Justice and the Jury had so good an Opinion of his Innocence, yet Sir *George* himself had not so, as appears by his flying away beyond Sea, so soon as ever his Tryal was over. These and innumerable other Discouragements hath the Plot met with, which being observed, together with the due Circumstances of the Evidence, I think no Man that is not in the whole, or part of the Plot himself, can doubt the Verity of it. Indeed at the first, many thought to cast a Suspicion upon what *Oates* and *Bedlow* informed, as being two Persons of an idle Life and Conversation; but how ridiculous is this? As if such Rogues would trust such a Villany with honest Men, or any but those that had been as bad as themselves; you might as well expect a Highway-man should go and acquaint my Lord Chief Justice, or my Lord of *Canterbury*, when he meant to commit the next Robbery; but a bad shift is better than none at all. So that from the Nature of the Evidence, or Credit of the Informants, no Man can take Exception against the Information, either of *Dr. Oates*, *Mr. Bedlow*, or any of the rest, to whom *Mr. Jennison* had lately given no small Credit, in discovering the four Villains, that (as *Mr. Oates* had said) were to have assassinated his Majesty at *Windsor*.

Consid.

Confid. VIII. The fourth and last Argument (which may sometimes prevail with the Prince to disbelieve any Report of a Conspiracy) is taken from the Nature and Interest of the pretended Conspirators; but neither of these Motives can pretend to influence our Prince into a Dis-belief of this Popish Plot: For first, as to their Nature and Principles, we all know, that in one of their own Councils, *viz.* the *Lateran*, were introduced those two Hellish Tenents of *murdering Kings*, and *eating their God*: But the Papists will tell you, that they do not murder Kings, for the Pope he first deposes them at *Rome*, and then if they kill him, they kill but a private Person: We all likewise know; that 'tis held an Act of Merit amongst them, to murder an Heretick, witness their Massacre of the poor Protestants at *Paris*; and to murder a Husband, a Brother, or any such near Relation that is an Heretick, the greater is the Merit, by reason of the Self-denial and Injury done to our selves, in the loss of so near a Friend; but to murder an Heretick King (especially where there is a Popish Successor) they hold to be the greatest of all Merits, even sufficient to canonize him for a Saint, by reason of the vast Advantage will thereby accrue to the Popish Religion, not doubting but that the rest of the Kingdom will, *Regis ad exemplum*, soon after turn Papists. Having thus therefore shewed them to be prepared with

with Principles, sufficient to undertake any such Villany, let us in the next place examine their Interest, as it stands at this time; where we shall find, that their Interest does unavoidably excite them to Murder his Sacred Majesty. For first, They know he cannot long subsist without a considerable Sum of Money, which he must receive, either from their Party, or from the Parliament: Now for them to supply him with so vast a Sum, is a Charge, that (you may well imagine) they would desire to get rid of if they could, though by the King's Death: On the other side, for the Parliament to supply him with Money, that they know cannot be done, but by taking off the Heads of their Faction, excluding their Succession, and consenting to such Laws as must of necessity ruin them: Besides, his Majesty hath already permitted the executing of so many of their Party, as they never can or will forgive it. All which put together, with the great Expectation they have from a Popish Successor, will make them vigorously and speedily attempt the King's Ruin, unless he suddenly prevents it, by adhering to his Parliament, and ruining them first. If his Majesty would be pleased for one Month to think himself *Henry VIII.* and we his Subjects for the same time (forgetting we are Protestants) do by the Papists, as they would do by us, were they in our Condition, what would become of *Portugal* and *Brussels*? Even
Roxie.

Rome it self would tremble at us. Something must speedily be done, and if we will not begin with them, they will begin with us: For all the Favour his Majesty can shew them, will not satisfie that greater Expectation which they have from a declared Popish King. So that nothing does more justifie the Plot than their corrupt Principles and present Interest; which will make them (being sure to have the succeeding King on their side) rather venture to push for it now, and run the Hazard of the Peoples Revenge, than suffer any longer the Inconvenience of an *English* Parliament, or danger of the next Successor being a Protestant.

Consid. IX. Having thus therefore shewed you the danger wherein his Majesty's Person now is, give me leave in the next place, to inform you Gentlemen, wherein is your greatest Danger, both in relation to your City and your selves: First then, as to your City, the chiefest Danger whereunto it is obnoxious, is that of Fire; for wheresoever the Jesuits Interest prevails, they will above all things desire the burning of *London*: First, because it is the only, the united Force able to withstand Arbitrary Government; and without that, Popery can never prevail. Secondly, It is the only Place, where by reason of their excellent Preaching, and daily Instruction in the Protestant Religion, the People have a lively Sense thereof, and doubtless will not
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part with it to pleasure a Prince; but perhaps rather lose their Lives by the Sword in the Wars, than by Faggots in *Smithfield*. Thirdly, It is too powerful for any Prince, that governs not by the Love of his People, which no Popish Successor can expect to do. We read in our *English* Chronicles, that *Henry* the Third of *England* threatened to burn the City of *London*, for their taking part with the Parliament and Barons, who at that time made War upon the King, for his too great countenancing of Foreigners. Also in our great Fire of *London* in —66, (if you will believe either Mr. *Bedlow's* Relation, or the Account which was then given in to the Committee of Parliament appointed for that purpose) many were actually taken a firing it, and brought to Authority; but all let slip away, and none hang'd for it, but one poor *French-man*, who contrary to the Judge's Perswasion, would violently accuse himself. There is one most eminent great Papist, who in the time of that Fire, pretended to secure many of the Incendiaries, but secretly suffered them all to escape: Who this Person was, is already mentioned by Mr. *Bedlow*; for a Popish King or a Popish Successor, cannot but rejoyce in the Flames of such a too powerful City. Secondly, the greatest Danger accruing to your Persons, as well as to the whole Kingdom, upon the King's untimely Death, will proceed from a Confusion and Want of some eminent



eminent and interessed Person, whom you may trust to lead you up against a *French* and *Popish* Army: For which purpose, no Person is fitter than his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, as well for Quality, Courage and Conduct, as for that his Life and Fortune depends upon the same Bottom with yours; he will stand by you, therefore ought you to stand by him. And remember the old Rule is, *He who hath the worst Title, ever makes the best King*; as being constrained by a gracious Government, to supply what he wants in Title; that instead of *God and my Right*, his Motto may be, *God and my People*. Upon the Death of *Alexander* the Great, when there was so great a Confusion amongst the Officers, about choosing a Successor to the Empire, no other Expedient could be found out to pacifie the Uproar of the Multitude, but the choosing of King *Philip's* illegitimate Son *Arideus*, who notwithstanding he was a Man but of reasonable Parts himself, might (as they thought) perform that Office well enough, by the help of his wife Protector *Perdiccas*. I confess, upon the News of his Grace's Banishment, the Countries were much surprized, and the more, for that we all knew they could have no Interest or Advantage by his Absence, till his Majesty was near his End. Which puts me in Mind of the Story that *Josephus* relates concerning *Herod*; viz. That *Antipater* (to secure

himself the Crown) having by his Treachery and false Accusations prevailed with *Herod* to banish his two innocent Sons *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, as also in his Life-time, to declare *Antipater* for his Successor, did rather that, the better to confirm his Title, to asperate *Herod* to put them both to Death; which was no sooner done, and *Antipater* freed from the Jealousie of their Succession, but he begins to think *Herod* himself had reigned too long: Wherefore entring into a Conspiracy with *Herod's* own Wife, as well with *Pharoas* and many others, he agreed to poison him; yet not being willing to be present himself at the Execution of it (for fear of some popular Tumult) he absented himself and went to *Rome*. But Providence discovering this Plot to *Herod*, soon after cost *Antipater* his Life; and may all such Traitors succeed accordingly.

These things (most worthy Citizens) I have presumed to offer to your Perusal, in respect that upon the Death of any King, your Lord Mayor (then in being) is the only Magistrate in the Kingdom that retains any Office of Power capable of serving the Subject: You are the Persons who must revenge your Sovereign's violent Death; which if ever it should happen, the Countries one and all would be ready to assist you: But Heaven



ven defend us from the Occasion; and
God preserve the King, and send your Ci-
ty to prosper; which is the constant and
hearty Prayer of,

Your Friend and Servant,

Junius Brutus.

Postscript,

AS well to justify part of my preceeding
Discourse, as to acquaint you with
the pernicious Tenents of the Church of
Rome, how dangerous they are both to
Princes and People, I have here inserted some
of their Canons, which all Papists are
obliged to believe and submit to.

Canons which the *Romish* Church holds,
to the Ruin and Dishonour of Princes,
are these which follow.

*The Emperor is the Bishop of Rome's
Subject, and the Bishop of Rome may
revoke the Emperor's Sentence in Tempo-
ral Causes.*

*Princes Laws, if they be against the
Canons and Decrees of the Bishop of Rome,
be of no force nor strength.*

*All Kings, Bishops and Noble-Men, that
believe or suffer the Bishop of Rome's De-
crees in any thing to be violate, be accursed,
and for ever culpable before God, as Trans-
gressors of the Catholick Faith.*

IV. The

Postscript.

IV. *The Bishop of Rome may excommunicate Emperors and Princes, depose them from their States, and dis-engage their Subjects from their Oaths and Obedience to them, and so constrain them to Rebellion.*

These and many more there are to the same purpose; wherefore that Prince, who thinks himself so weak as to need a Governour, who thinks himself too Rich, or desires to be a Slave to an old *Bardasso*, let him turn Papist.

More *Romish* Canons, fitting to be considered by all *Abby-landed* Men.

I. *The Goods of the Church may in no wise be alienated, but whosoever receiveth or buyeth them, is bound to Restitution, and if the Church have any Ground that is little or nothing worth, yet it shall not be given to the Prince; and if the Prince will needs buy it, the Sale shall be void and of no Strength.*

II. *It is not lawful for the Bishop of Rome to alienate or mortgage any Lands of the Church for any Cause whatsoever; except it be Houses in Cities, which be very chargeable to support and maintain.*

So that if any men (who have Estates in *Abby-Lands*) desire to beg their Bread, and

relinquish their *Habitation* and Fortunes to some old greasie bald-pated *Abbot*, *Monk* or *Friar*, then let him vote for a *Popish* Successor and *Popery*; for when once that Religion is established amongst us, these Canons will all come in play; and the *Pope* will then tell you (whatsoever he may pretend at first) that his Predecessor had no Right to give away what belonged to the Church. And this *Mr. coleman* well knew, when he promised himself no less than to be once Master of the *Earl of Bedford's* Estate; but unluckily the *Gallows* prevented it, in making him a *Saint* before his time.

He that desires to be further satisfied about these Canons, let him look into *Dr. Burnet's* late excellent History of the Reformation, and there he shall find the Original and Authentick Quotations, which were too tedious here to insert.

P R O E M.

May it please you, my Lords and Gentlemen,

THis Session of Parliament is of such high Importance to these Parts of the World, that Heaven seems to have committed the Universal Fate of Christendom to Your disposal; from whose Proceedings, both France, Spain, Germany, Holland, and this part of the Universe, must take their Measures: Nor will it be a Vanity in me to affirm the same thing of You, which heretofore Tacitus did of the Battavi, ' Who in the time of the Romans (saith he) were able to confer a Victory upon whatever Party they adhered to.

The Parliaments of England have ever been Formidable to their Neighbours; but You above all others seem to have been reserv'd by Providence, for those Great and Weighty Affairs which are now in Agitation as well at home as abroad,

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and



Proem.

and for which purpose You are here Convened. You only are able to cast out that Angel of Darkness, with his many Legions, who is at this time endeavouring to destroy our best of Kings and Governments: You only are able to Center this reeling Kingdom, which staggers and groans under the Plurisie of Popery, and which (if not now prevented) may in time attaint and corrupt the whole mass of English Blood: You only are able to preserve that so necessary Religion, and Sacred Property of our British Isle, by continuing as there now is) a Protestant Head, upon a Protestant Body; without which; our Prince would be no other than a Father-in-law to his People, and they Sons-in-law to him: besides, the incoherence would be as great and disagreeable, as to behold a black Indian Head, annex'd unto a white Body. Neither would such a conjunction be more Unnatural, than Inconvenient, since He that is arbitrary over the Soul, as in Popery, hath ever a co-equal power over Body and the Estate; which is evident from the examples of France, Spain, and other Popish Governments, where the Priest rides the Soul,

and

Proem.

and the Prince the Body: (a Tyranny as disagreeable to our Gracious Sovereign's Nature to impose upon us, as it would be insupportable for our English Spirits to bear.)

Now the Original of these Popish Villanies (as I humbly conceive) proceeds not more from their Sacerdotal Malice and Interest, than from their Laicks Ignorance and Servitude; without which, their Clergy would at the best be rendred but like Wolves without Teeth. Wherefore to devest their Priests of this power of doing ill, nothing would be more conducive than the propagating of Wisdom and Knowledge amongst the populace; since as Ignorance renders men obedient and susceptible of the meanest Slavery, so doth its contrary put all men upon their Guard: Omnes enim nos fumus, aut corvi qui lacerant, aut cadavera quæ lacerantur. Now for the more speedy effecting hereof, there hath never been discover'd any better expedient amongst men, than that of the Liberty of the Press, whereby whoever oppose the Publick Interest, are exposed and rendred odious to the people: as on the contrary, they who



Proem.

merit well of their Country, are ever recorded with Immortal Honour to Posterity. So that if Fame and Ambition (as all generous Souls must acknowledge) have so great an influence over the Minds of active men, what can be more reasonable, what can be more serviceable to the World, than that which hurries men into a necessity of acting Virtuously, or of forfeiting their so-much-desired Honour for ever? and such I take to be the consequence of a Free Press. From which consideration, since the late Act which laid that severe restraint upon Printing, is so near Expiring, my humble Address to Your Lordships, and to You Gentlemen of the House of Commons, is, that before You proceed to the Continuation of any thing of that Nature, You would condescend so far as to look down upon these ensuing Arguments, against any such Inquisition or Embargo upon Science, wherein You may happily find some Reasons, which (though not founded upon private ends, like those of our Adversaries) may yet prove sufficiently satisfactory to all, but that Dead-weight of Interest which opposeth us; and will not be converted, for that it is not for its Interest so to be.

This,

Proem.

This, My Lords and Gentlemen, is all from him who would Sacrifice his Life and Fortune for his King and Country, coveting no other Title of Honour whereby to be distinguished, than that of

Philopatris.

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A JUST
VINDICATION
OF
LEARNING,
AND THE
Liberty of the Prefs.

ALL Civilized People, as well Ancient as Modern, have ever had that veneration and deference for Learning, that almost no Nation, disengaged from Barbarism, wants its publick Donations, either of Magnificent Structures, or plentiful Revenues, for the Encouragement of Literature and Learned Men. Such Patrons and Admirers of Learning were the *Heroes* of old, that they seem to
K 5 contend



contend about nothing more, than to excel in their Liberality to the *Muses*: Thus we see *Alexander* the Great presented *Aristotle* with 8000 Talents, as also *Xenocrates* the Philosopher with 50 Talents; *Antiochus* likewise presented his Physician *Theombrotus* with 60000 Crowns; *Homer* for his Works receiv'd a Thousand Pieces of Silver from the *Candiots*; nor did that suffice, but Cities must fall together by the Ears for the Honour of his Birth: So liberal were the Ancients to all manner of Science; nor have our Modern Benefactors been inferior to them, as our two famous Universities may testify to Posterity. Yet notwithstanding all these Encouragements, Learning hath of late Years met with an Obstruction in many Places, which suppresses it from flourishing or increasing, in spite of all its other helps, and that is the *Inquisition upon the Press*, which prohibits any Book from coming forth without an *Imprimatur*; an old Relique of Popery, only necessary for the concealing of such defects of Government, which of right ought to be discover'd and amended. However, as our Government is not sick of the same Distemper, so need we not the same Cure, but rather the contrary: For as an ill Face cannot be too closely masqued, so neither can a good one be too much exposed.

That

That Books are of great use to a Government, is evident, First, For that they are the only Records of Time, which excite us to imitate the past Glories of our Ancestors. Secondly, We owe our manner or form of Divine Worship to Books alone. Thirdly, We owe our Philosophy or Contemplation of God in his Works, to the same Cause. For Mens Natural Abilities, like Natural Plants, need pruning by Study: Thus we see that Histories make Men wise; Poets, witty; Mathematicks, subtle; Natural Philosophy, deep; Moral Philosophy, grave; Logick and Rhetorick, able to dispute; all which Excellencies are to be acquired only from Books; since no Vocal Learning is so effectual for Instruction, as Reading; for that written Discourses are better digested, and support themselves better on their own weight, than Words disguised by the manner of Expression, cadence or gesture, which corrupt the simplicity of things; when also the suddenness of Pronunciation allows not the Audience time sufficient to reflect upon what was said. Moreover, Books flatter much less, and have more universal Precepts, than Discourse; which generally affects Complaisance, and gaining the Hearers good will: particularly in Morality, where great Persons are better instructed, and more plainly reprehended for their Faults by Books, than by Discourses. Books being therefore in the

main so useful to Human Society, I cannot but herein agree with Mr. *Milton*, and say, that (unless it be effected with great Caution) you had almost as good kill a Man, as a good Book; for he that kills a Man, kills but a Reasonable Creature, God's Image: whereas he that destroys a good Book, kills Reason it self, which is as it were the very Eye of God.

Having thus demonstrated how much the World owes to Learning and Books, let me not be altogether unmindful of *Faust* and *Guttenburg*, the promoters of both; who by their Ingenuity discovered and made known to the World, that Profound Art of Printing, which hath made Learning not only Easie, but Cheap; since now, any Person may accommodate himself with a good moderate Library, at the same Price, as here tofore *Plato* payed for Three Books of *Philolaus* the *Pythagorean*, viz.

Gell. lib. 5.
ch. 17.

Three Hundred Pounds. This was the Invention wherewith *Cardan* upbraided the Ancients, saying, *Antiquitas nihil par habet*. Nay, *Thuanus* goes higher, when speaking of the Inventors of this Art, he saith,

Subt. lib. 17.

Quibus plus debet Christianus orbis, quam cuiquam fortissimo-

Hist. lib. 25.

rum belli ducum ob propagatos fines patria unquam debuit. And truly so we do; but still provided,

provided, that the Inquisition upon it be removed, without which, this Art design'd at first for the Service of the Publick, will prove useful to none but the Licenser. Therefore in opposition to any such Restrainer, I shall here demonstrate the unreasonableness of any such License or *Imprimatur*.

I. From the Ancient usage as well of the *Greeks* as *Romans*, who were both highly eminent for Learning, and whom in this particular we need not be ashamed to imitate: We do not find amongst the *Greeks*, that their *Vetus Comedia* (which was so much censured for Libelling and Traducing Men by Name, as to be prohibited Acting on the Stage) was ever suppress'd from being read, but rather the contrary; for that *Plato* himself recommended the Reading of *Aristophanes* (the loosest of all those old *Comedians*) to his Royal Scholar *Dionysius*. Neither do we read any where, that either *Epicurus* or that Libertine School of *Cyrene*, or what the *Cynick* Impudence utter'd, with many other Sects and Opinions, which tended to Voluptuousness, and the denying of a Providence, were ever prohibited or question'd. Also amongst the *Latines*, we find *Lucretius* versifying his *Epicurean* Tenents to *Memmius*, without any molestation, and had the honour to be published a second time by *Cicero*, the great Father of the Commonwealth, although he himself disputes against that



that same Opinion in his own Writings. Neither do we read of any Decree against the Satyrical sharpness of *Lucilius*, *Catullus*, or *Flaccus*. Likewise in matters of State, the Story of *Titus Livius*, though it extoll'd and magnify'd *Pompey's* Party, was not therefore suppress'd by *Octavius Caesar*, of the other Faction. Nay, even in the times of Christianity, unless they were plain Inveclives against Christianity, as those of *Porphyrius* and *Proclus*, they met with no interdict till about the Year 400, in a *Carthaginian* Council, wherein Bishops themselves were forbid to read the Books of *Gentiles*, but Heresies they might read: Whereas others long before them, scrupled more the Books of Hereticks, than of *Gentiles*. And that the Primitive Councils and Bishops were used only to declare what Books were not commendable, passing no further Censure, but leaving to each ones Conscience to read, or to lay by, till after the Year 800, is already observed by Father *Paul*, that great unmasker of the *Tridentine Council*: After which time, the unsatiable Popes engrossed more and more every day, till *Martin* the 5th by his Bull, not only prohibited, but was the first that Excommunicated the Reading of Heretical Books: For about that time, *Wicklif* and *Hus*, growing formidable, were they who first drove the Papal Court to a stricter policy of prohibiting: Which Course, *Leo* the Tenth,

Tenth, and his Successors followed, until the Council of *Trent* and the *Spanish* Inquisition engendring together, produced these Two Monsters, an *Index Expurgatorius*, and a *Licensor*: When they enacted, that no Book, Pamphlet, or Paper should be Printed, till it were Approved and Licensed under the hands of Two or Three Gluttonous Fryers: So that in fine, there was never any such Inquisition upon Learning known in the World, till *Slavery* supplanted *Liberty*, and *Interest* Religion.

2. It is the greatest Affront and Discouragement that can be offer'd to Learning and Learned Men: For so far to distrust the Judgment and Honesty of one who hath but a common repute in Learning, (having never yet offended) as not to count him fit to Print his Mind, without a Tutor or Examiner, lest he should drop a Schism of Corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing Spirit, that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a Man, over it is to be a Boy at School, if we have only scap'd the Ferula, to come under the Fescu of an *Imprimatur*? When a Man writes to the World, he summons up all his Reason and Deliberation to assist him; he Searches, Meditates, is industrious in Consulting and Confering with his Judicious Friends; after all which, he takes



takes himself to be inform'd in what he writes, as well as any that writ before; if in this the most consummate act of his fidelity and ripeness, no years, no industry, no former proof of his Abilities, can bring him to the state of Maturity, as not to be still distrustful, unless he carry all his considerate diligence, all his midnight Watchings and Expence of *Palladian Oyl*, to the hasty view of an *Unleisured Licenser*, perhaps much his Younger, perhaps much his Inferior in Judgment, perhaps one who never knew the Labour of Book-writing, or perhaps one altogether ignorant of that Art or Science whereof the Author treats. When if he be not repuls'd or slighted, must appear in Print like a Puny with his Guardian, and his Censor's Hand on the back of his Title, to be his Bail and Surety that he is no Idiot or Seducer: This cannot but be a derogation to the Author and to the Book, as well as to the privilege and dignity of Learning. And what if the Author shall be of so Copious a Fancy, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his Mind after Licensing, while the Book is yet under the Press, which frequently happens even to the best of Writers, and that perhaps a Dozen times in one Book? The Printer dares not go beyond his Licensed Copy; so often then must the Author trudge to his Leave-

giver,

giver, that those his new Insertions may be view'd; and many a Journey will he make ere that *Licenser*, (for it must be the same Man,) can either be found, or be found at Leisure; in the mean while, either the Press must stand still, which is no small Damage, or the Author lose his most Correct Thoughts, and so send forth his Book Imperfect. How can any Man esteem himself Doctor enough to teach with Authority in his own Book, when he himself and all that he Writes must submit to the jurisdiction and censure of another?

3. 'Tis a great prejudice even to the Book it self, to come out under the partiality and ignorant approbation of a *Licenser*: Every Acute Reader upon the first sight of a Pedantick *License*, will be apt to misinterpret the Word (*Imprimatur*) and think it signifies no more, but that this Book is foolish enough to be Printed; when seeing it comes out under the wardship of another, he will be apt to say, I know nothing of the *License*, but that I have his own Hand for his Arrogance; who shall warrant me his Judgment? The State, Sir, replies the *Stationer*: But hath a quick return, The State shall be my Governours, but not my Criticks; they may be mistaken in the choice of a *Licenser*, as easily as this *Licenser*, in the choice of an Author: Whereunto he might also add from my



my Lord Bacon, *That such Authorized Books are but the Language of the Times.* For though a *Licenser* should happen to be more than ordinary Judicious, which will be a great hazard in the next Succession; yet his very Office and Commission enjoyns him to let pass nothing but what is vulgarly received already. Nay, if the work of any Deceased Author, though never so Famous in his Lifetime, come to their hand for License to be Printed or Reprinted; if there be found in the Book any one Opinion that thwarts the *Licenser's* Humour, whether it be of a Vacuum, Motion, Air, or never so inconsiderable a Subject; the Sense of that great Man shall to all Posterity be lost, out of the presumptuous Rashness of a pedantick *Licenser*. So that if these things be not seriously and timely reſented by them who have the Remedy in their power; but that *Licensers* are permitted to gnaw out the choicest periods of exquisite Books, and to commit such a Treacherous Fraud against the Orphan remainders of the Worthiest Men after Death, the more Sorrow will belong to that helpless Race of Men, whose Misfortune it is to have Understanding. Henceforth let no Man care to learn, or care to be more Worldly Wise; for certainly, in higher matters to be Ignorant and Sloathful, to be a common stedfast Dunce, will be

be the only pleasant Life, and only in request.

4. It is not only a reflection upon Books and particular Men, but it is likewise an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole Nation: I cannot set so small value for all the Invention, the Art, the Wit, the grave and solid Judgment which is in *England*, as to imagine that it can be comprehended in any Twenty Capacities, how good soever, much less that it should not pass except their Superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strained with their Strainers, and that it should be uncurrent without their Manual Stamp: Truth and Understanding are not such Wares as to be Monopolized and Traded in Tickets, Statutes and Standards. We must not think to make a Staple Commodity of all the knowledge in the Land, to Mark and License it like our Broad-cloth and Wool-packs: What is it but a Servitude, like that imposed by the *Philistines*, not to be allow'd the sharpening of our own Axes, but we must repair from all Quarters to Twenty Licensing Forges? Had any one written or divulged erroneous things, and scandalous to an Honest Life, misusing and forfeiting the Esteem had of his Reason amongst Men; if after Conviction, this only Censure were adjudged him, that he should never henceforth write but under the

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Authority of an Examiner; this could not be apprehended less than a disgraceful Punishment. Whence, to include the whole Nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a diffident and suspicious Prohibition, renders it no less than a National Disparagement; and so much the more, seeing Debtors and Delinquents may walk abroad without a Keeper, but inoffensive Books must not stir forth without a visible Jaylor in their Title: Nor is it a less Reproach to the Commonalty; since, if we be jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an *English* Pamphlet, what do we but censure them for a giddy, vicious, unthinking crowd; in such a sick estate of Discretion, as to be able to take nothing down, but through the Pipe of a *Licensor*. Now that this proceeds from the care or love of the Commonalty, we cannot pretend; since in those Popish Places where the Laity are most hated and despised, the same strictness and severity is used over them.

5. It reflects upon our Church and Clergy, of whose Labours we should hope better, and of the proficiency which their Flock reaps by them; than after all this Light of the Gospel, all this continual Preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincipled, un-edify'd and Laick Rabble,

as

as that the Whiff of every new Pamphlet should stagger them out of their Carechism and Christian walking. This may have much reason to stagger and to discourage the Ministers, when such a low Conceit is had of all their Exhortations, and the benefiting of their Hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turned loose to Three Sheets of Paper, without a License; that all the Sermons, all the Lectures Preached, Printed and vented in such Numbers and such Volumes, should not be Armour sufficient against one single Enchiridion Unlicensed: I am confident that a Kingdom governed by the Rules of Justice and Fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon the Rock of Faith and true Knowledge, cannot be so Pusillanimous. That all freedom of Writing should be thus restrained with the proud curb of an *Imprimatur*, must needs administer cause of doubt and discouragement to all Learned and Religious Men, who may justly suspect the Reason and Power of that cause which durst not stand a Tryal of Skill. Every Author writes either Truth or Falshood; if he writes Truth, why should he be oppressed or stifled? And if he delivers what is False, let him be confuted by Answer, whereunto every Author is subject; since no Cause ever suffered by being answered, only by Fire and Faggot. That Liberty



betty is the Nursery of Science, appears in that there is nothing hath so much clouded and discouraged the *Italian* Wits, as their *Inquisition*; which restraining all manner of Philosophick freedom, hath for these many Years produced nothing but obsequious flattery: In which Country the Famous *Galileo* was oppressed under the *Inquisition's* Tyranny, for thinking otherwise in Astronomy, than the *Dominican* and *Franciscan* Licensers thought.

6. This Licensing of Books, is one of the most dangerous and mischievous Monopolies and Oppressions our Government is subject to: Since, put the Case we were under an Evil Prince, (as now we are under a Good one) he paying his *Licenser* his Stipend, might influence him so far, as to make him License all Books against the Interest of the Subject, or to the Defamation of any publick Spirited Lords or Commoners; and to prohibit only such Books as are in the Vindication of such Persons who are for the Liberty and Property of the Subject: For that 'tis ever the Interest of a *Licenser*, above all, to regard the Favour of his Prince, (though to the prejudice and almost ruine of his Country.) Who pays him his Wages? His Prince. Who hath the Disposal of all Places and Offices of Preferment? His Prince. Then who should he study

study to please, right or wrong, but his Prince and Pay-master? that is, if he be such as most *Licensers* are, low-spirited Men, who consider nothing but their present Interest. Why should not I have the same freedom to Write, as to speak? If I speak any thing that is evil, I am liable to be punished, but yet I am never examined before I speak what I am about to say: So let not my Book be censured by one Interested Man alone in private, till it hath tried the publick Test; and then if there be any thing ill in it, I am ready to answer for it. Why must no Writing, either in the behalf of such great matters, as Liberty, Property, and Religion, or in the behalf of such small Trifles, as Funeral Tickets, Play-house Bills, City Mercuries, Hackney-Coach Bills, Quack-Doctors Bills, and the like, be Printed without a License? Is it for that the Subject of these Bills or Tickets are dangerous to the Government? or rather, that this Monopoly would be injured in its Prerogative, if the least Word or Letter be Printed without paying Toll to this *Licenser*. Heaven grant, that in time, there be not the same Restraint and Monopoly over Witty Discourse, as there is now over Ingenious Writing: Since by the same Reason, the Royal Jester may demand a Spell of Money for every Jest that is broken in Discourse, as well as the *License*

licenser doth expect a Reward for every Ingenious Piece or Jest, that is Printed in Books: When with more Gravity than Wit, having with great Study and Labour Corrected some such dangerous Author as *Thomas à Thumbis*; he from his Learned Grammatical Pen, which casts no Ink without *Latin*, drops forth that Lordly Word *IMPRIMATUR*; either because he judged no Vulgar Tongue was worthy to express so pure a Conceit, or rather perhaps, for that our *English*, (the Language of Men, ever famous and bold in the Atcheivements of Liberty,) will not easily find servile Letters enough to spell such an Arbitrary Presumptuous Word, as is that of *IMPRIMATUR*.

7. This trouble of Licencing doth very much prejudice and injure the very *Licensers* themselves in the Calling of their Ministry, if they will discharge that Office as they ought; because of necessity they must neglect either the one Duty or the other.

8. It robs us of that great Argument we make use of against the *Mahometans*; and that is worse, Popish Religion, *viz.* That Ignorance is the Mother of their Devotions; hence how can we justly brand their Religions, for being founded meerly upon their sick Ignorance; when we in the like manner

ner discountenance knowledge our selves? How can we upbraid Papists for not daring to permit their Common People to read the Bible, when we do the same thing in effect, by tying all Persons up to one Man's Exposition and Interpretation of the same, *viz.* the *Licenser's*, who will not permit any Exposition to come forth that thwarts his own particular Judgment. I am confident, that if the *Turk* or the *Pope*, could be assured to make all Men Expound the *Alcoran* and Scriptures, according to the sense of the *Musli* and *Conclave*, they would neither of them be against the Common Peoples reading them; so that we all Three aim at one and the same thing, only by different ways; and that is our mistake: For let their falsehoods use what artifice they can; yet we do in a manner Libel our own Truth, when by Licencing and Prohibiting, fearing each Book, and the shaking of each Leaf, we distrust her own strength: Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worst in a free and open Encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest oppressing, when it leaves all standers-by no room to doubt. *The punishing of Wits, enhances their Authority, and forbidden Writing is thought to be a certain Spark of Truth, that flies up in the Faces of them who seek to tread it out.* When a Man hath been

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working at the hardest Labour in the deep Mines of Knowledge, and hath furnish'd himself out in all Equipage, drawn forth his Reasons as it were in Battel-array, scatter'd and defeated all Objections in his way, summons his Adversary into the Field, offers him the advantage of Wind and Sun, if he pleases, only that he might try the matter by dint of Argument; for his Opponent then to skulk and lie in Ambuscade, to keep a narrow Bridge of Licensing, where the Challenger should pass; this, though it be courage enough in a Souldier, is but Weakness and Cowardice in the Wars of Truth. For Truth needs no Policies, no Strategems, no Licensings to render her Victorious; these are only the shifts and defences that Error uses against her power: So that if it once come to Prohibiting, there is nothing more likely to be Prohibited than Truth it self, even the very Bible; as we may see it is by the first Inventors of this Monopoly. To justify the Suppression of Books, some may Cite the Burning of those *Ephesian* Books by *St. Paul's* Converts; but that agrees not with our Case, for there it was not the Magistrate, but the Owners of the Books themselves, who burnt them in remorse.

9. And Lastly, Give me leave to tell you, that Licensing and Persecution of Conscience are Two Sisters, that ever go hand in hand together, being both founded upon
one

one and the same Principle: Therefore to Asperse the one, permit me to Defame the other. Now, although I allow no deference to those Religions whose Principles destroy Government, nor those Religions that teach ill Life (both which Errors the Papists are guilty of) *Yet I cannot but wish, that all Men would use one another so gently and so charitably, that no violent Compulsion should introduce Hypocrisy, and render Sincerity as well troublesome as unsafe.* It would be hard measure for any Man to blame that Chyrurgion who refused to cut off a Man's Head, only to cure a Wart or Pimple upon his Chin or Cheek: Now the Case is altogether the same, and we may as well decree a Wart to be Mortal, as a various Opinion in *re aliqui non necessaria* to be Capital and Damnable. I would fain know why is not any Vicious Habit as bad or worse than a False Opinion? Why are we so zealous against those we call Non conformists, or Hereticks, and yet at the same time dear Friends with Drunkards, Fornicators, Swearers, Intemperate and Idle Persons? I am certain that a Drunkard is as contrary to God, and lives as contrary to the Laws of Christianity, as any Heretick; and I am also sure that I know what Drunkenness is, but I am not sure that such an Opinion is Heresie, nor would any Man else be so dogmatical in these matters, did he not mistake confidence



for certainty. Faction and Heresie were things unknown in the World, till the increase of Interest, and abatement of Christian Simplicity; when the Church's Fortune grew better, her Sons worse, and her Fathers worst of all. Why should I hate Men because their Understandings have not been brought up like mine, have not had the same Masters, have not met with the same Books, nor the same Company, or have not the same Interest, or are not so Wise, or are much Wiser, and therefore do not determine their School questions to the sense of my Sect or Interest? I think they are in an Error, but they believe me to be in the wrong; if they Err, they do it not through Obstinacy, but Ignorance; and if God affords them his Patience, why should we not lend them ours? It was nobly and bravely answered (for a Heathen) of *Tamberlain* the Great, who (when his High-Priest desired him to reduce all that part of the World to one Religion) replied: *No, I will not; for that how (saith he) do I know but the same God, who hath delighted himself so much with the variety of all other things, as appears in Men, Beasts, Birds, Fish, Trees, Herbs, Flowers, &c. may not also delight himself as much in variety of Worship? Therefore I will punish none but such as aeny either a God or his Providence, and him will I put to Death.* Certainly 'tis very unreasonable for Men to press and pretend every

every Opinion in Matters of Religion, as necessary in so high a degree, that if they spoke Truth, or indeed Two of them in 500 Sects, which are now in the World, (and for ought I know there may be 5000) it is 500 to one but every Man is Damn'd; for every Sect Damns all but it self, and yet that is Damn'd of 499. and it is excellent Fortune then if that escape. All Wise Princes heretofore, till they were overborn with Faction, gave Toleration to different Sects, whose Opinions did not disturb the publick Interest: And not without reason; for that being restrained and made miserable, mutually endears the discontented Party, and so begets more hearty and dangerous Confederations against the oppressing Government.

Now how unreasonable soever such kind of Persecutions may appear to all tender-hearted Christians; yet if once a License prevails (when Men shall not be permitted to justify their Innocence to the World, 'tis greatly to be fear'd that these Mischiefs, and worse than these (if possible) will be the consequence of it. Having therefore thus plainly and at large demonstrated the inconveniences of a Licensing Press, give me leave to write upon the square, and shew you the Objections of our Adversaries, which without wrong to their cause, may be justly comprehended under one Head, and that is this.

Objection, If (say they) a Restraint be not laid upon Printing, and some Supervisors assigned over the Press; how then can we be secured from Libels against the King, the Church, the State and Private Men? As also from Popish Books of all sorts? Now this I take to be the only Material Objection, wherewith they can have any shew of a pretence to baffle and obstruct our design.

To which I *Answer*: First, That to expect any assurance that no such Books shall be written, is more than Mortal Man can give, since we see, that during this late Act, and should there be even a *Spanish* Inquisition erected amongst us; yet there are some Authors and some Printers so bold, that the one to vent his Humour, and the other for the Lucre of Money, would Write and Print such Books, in spite of the strictest enquiry, and in defiance of the severest Penalty; and these are the Authors that are most dangerous, and also most incorrigible, being Persons however that are more likely to be silenced by Liberty than by restraint: For experience hath already shew'd, that all such Acts will prove uneffectual as to them. Secondly, supposing any such Authors are taken and discovered; why, we need no other new Laws for the punishing of them (as I humbly conceive) than what are already in force: As for example, if any Audacious Villain shall Publish Treason, he is already liable to suffer.

suffer as a Traytor; or if he Writes Scandalous Reflections upon the Government, I presume he is by the present Laws of the Land subject to a Fine and Imprisonment. Again, if he publishes any Atheism, Heresie or Schism, he is liable to an Excommunication, and to be proceeded against accordingly in the Spiritual Court: Or if in his Writing he defames any particular Person, he is obnoxious to a *Scandalum Magnatum*, if he be a Peer, and to an Action upon the Case for Slander, if he be a Commoner. And last of all for Popish Books, *Quere* whether there be not *Statutes* already in force for the abolishing them, made 3 and 4 of *Ed. 6.* For although this *Statute* was once repealed by the 1 *M. 2.* yet that of the 1 *M. 2.* was likewise afterwards repealed by the 1 *Jac. 28.* So that I cannot apprehend wherein we have need of any other new Law of this Nature, unless it be to preserve to the poor Book-sellers their just and undoubted property of their Copies, which is their House and Land, they having the same Title for the one, as we have for the other.

Postscript.

Postscript,

Having thus therefore, my Lords and Gentlemen tender'd to your serious consideration these few Reasons against any such Inquisition upon the Press, I shall presume to offer but this one Proposal to your Judgment, and so conclude, viz. That if these fore-mentioned Arguments prove so uneffectual, as that your Prudence shall think fit to take some further care about the regulating of the Press; then if it be Enacted, that any Book may be Printed without a License, provided that the Printer's and the Author's Name, or at least the Printer's be Registred, whether or no this will not have all the good, but none of the bad Consequence of a Licenser? And that those which otherwise come forth, if they be found Mischievous and Libellous, shall be committed to the Flames, as also the Author to Condigne Punishment; but in this as in all other things, I humbly submit myself to your Supream Wisdom and Judicature.

A

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

K. W and the late K. J.

ON THE

Banks of the **B O Y N**,
the Day before the Battel.K. J. IF injur'd Monarchs may their Cause
explore,

An Uncle's, and a Father's Right is more.
Nature here pleads, your Blood is on my Side,
Each beating Pulse, and e'ry Vein ally'd.
What Feavor then has boyl'd you into Arms,
Is it Religion, or the Crown that Charms?
If a mistaken Zeal thus push'd you on,
'Twas hard to shake my Glas so nearly
done,
The ebbing Sand had little more to run.
If from my Daughter's Right your Claim
you bring,
She's too too early Queen, whilst I am King:
That

That Crime *Rome* blush'd to punish, you
pursue,
Make it your Glory, and your Conscience too.
A pious Parricide! when to your Wife
You pay a Victim of her Father's Life.
Your *Love* for *Her* appears in that to Me,
You praise the Fruit, and yet cut down the
Tree.

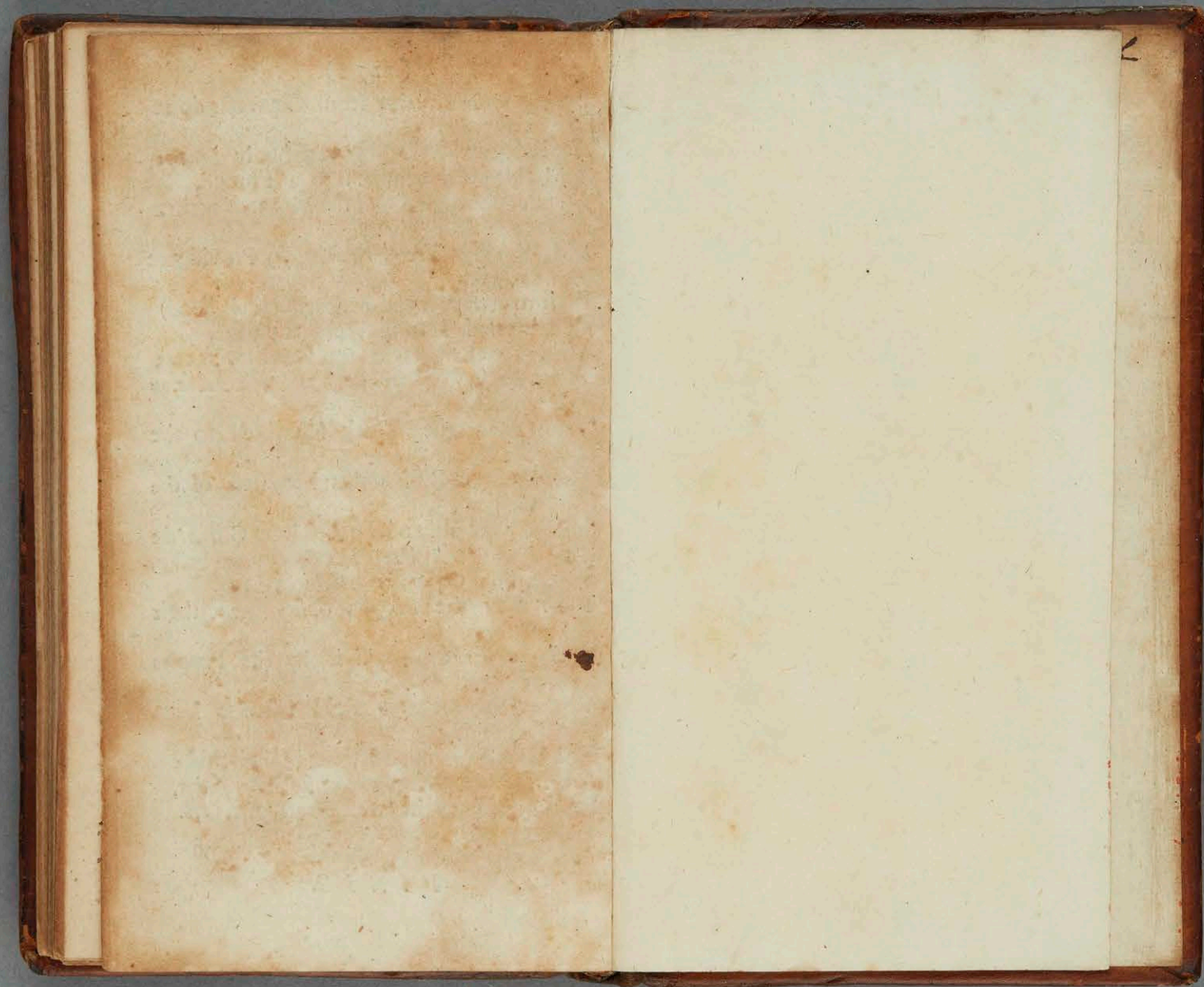
K. W. I took but up that Crown you durst
not Wear,
And am no less *Your* Conquerour than Heir.
If *Right divine* does e'r to *Crowns* belong,
They lose that *Right*, when once the *Kings* }
do wrong. }
Them Justice Sacred makes, *Law* makes }
em Strong. }
The Monarchy you justly once enjoy'd,
By the same Rule, as justly you destroy'd.
Titles to Crowns from civil Contracts spring,
And he who breaks the *Law* dissolves the
King.
Nor can you here a *Parent's Right* pretend,
Since *Publick Safety* knows no *Private Friend*.
Thus generous *Pompey* for his Country drew,
Forgot his *Julia*, and her *Cæsar* too.

K. 7. New Titles may be Scaffolded with
Laws;
And Frothy Monarchs, of the Mobbs applause,
Take up a Crown, on terms too mean to wear,
Then Boast themselves to be the Peoples Heir:
But

But they who Crowns from Contracts do re-
ceive,
Are Kings at Will, and govern but by *Leave*:
A Marble *Cæsar* pinnion'd to a Throne,
The People regnant, and the Monarch Stone.

K. W. When *Free-born Men* (by Providence
design'd
Both to preserve, and propagate their Kind)
Did first their Brutish Appetites pursue,
And Force alone was all the *Law* they knew;
When *Sense* was Guardian, and when *Reason*
Young,
'Twas then the Weak submitted to the
Strong.
Then, as the Bull walks Monarch of the
Ground,
So *Nimrod*, *Cyrus*, and the Rest were Crown'd:
For he who cou'd *Protect*, and Conquest bring,
Was from a Captain *ripen'd* to a *King*.
Thus they the Peoples *Safety* made their
Choice,
And Heav'n confirm'd it by the Peoples
Voice.
When you to *France* and Priests the *Laws*
betray'd,
The injur'd Nation call'd me to their Aid;
And in their *Choice* the noblest Title brings,
For Subjects are the surest Guard of Kings.

F I N I S.





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Judith Cowper



