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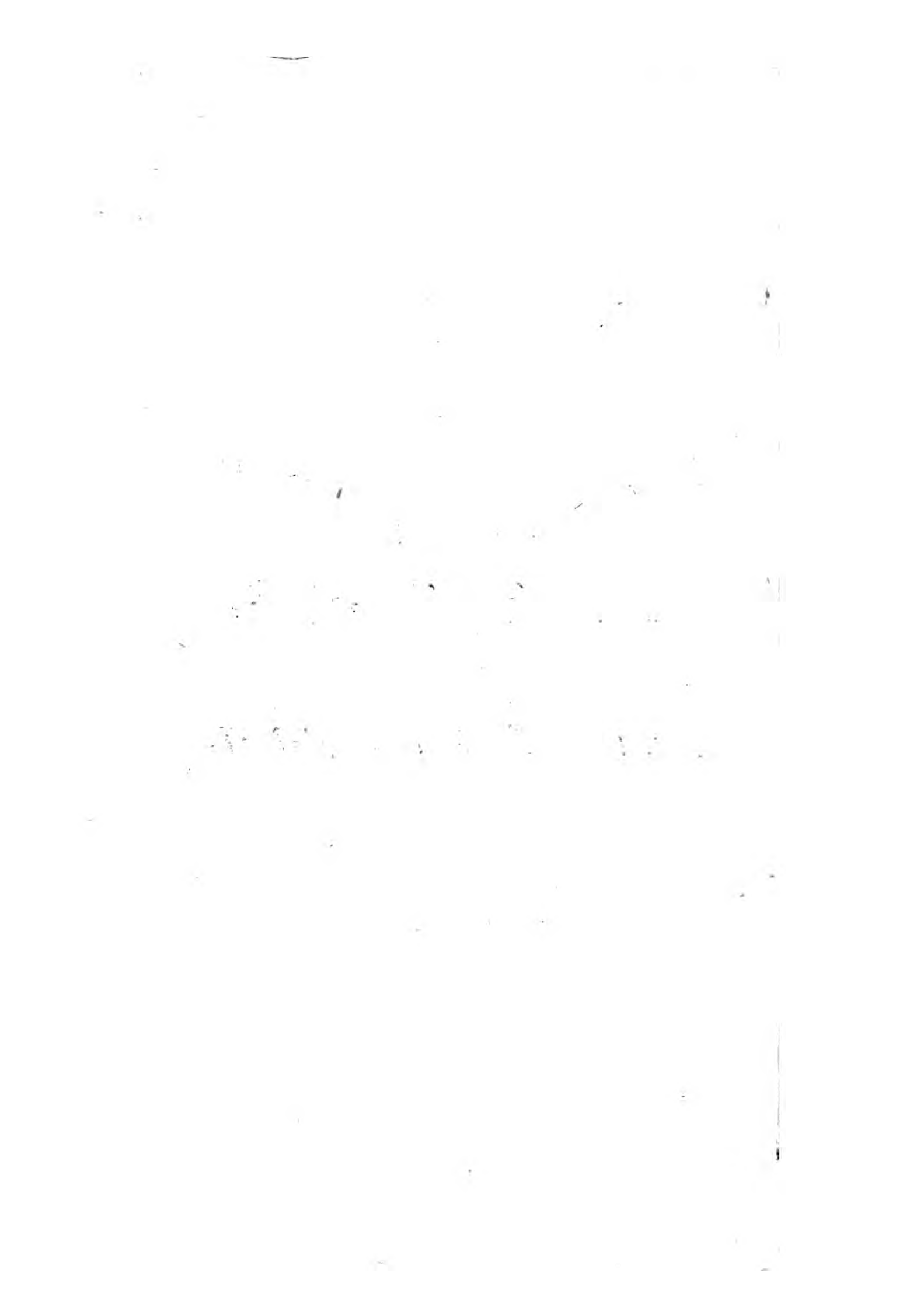
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A
D E F E N C E
O F T H E
L E T T E R
T O
Dr. *WATERLAND.*



b

A
D E F E N C E
O F T H E
L E T T E R
T O

Dr. *WATERLAND*;

Against the false and frivolous Cavils of

The AUTHOR of the REPLY.

— *Fragili quærens illidere dentem*
Offendet solido — H O R.



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. PEELE, at *Locke's-Head* in
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A
D E F E N C E
O F T H E
L E T T E R
T O
Dr. *WATERLAND*, &c.

S I R,

TIS with no small reluctance that I have prevail'd with myself at last to take notice of *your Reply to my Letter to Dr. Waterland*: Your Criticisms upon it are either so trifling, or so false, that I was perfectly secure of their making any impression to my disadvantage on men of sense or learning: and as it has been my care in what I have hitherto offered to the Publick, to consult both the profit and pleasure of my Reader, so I was loth to sit down

B

to

to a Controversy unlikely to afford either ; to dispute only about words, and squabble about the grammatical construction of separate Scraps and Quotations.

However, since nothing else that deserves the least attention has appear'd on the occasion but *this Reply* of yours, which by the solemn gravity of its stile, and the air of authority it breathes, may possibly pass with some for a learned and judicious performance, I have thought proper to give it a particular examination ; especially as it will afford me an opportunity of explaining myself more clearly in some points where, contrary to my intention, I may perhaps have given offence ; and of opening by the way some questions of great importance, towards settling Christianity on its true and natural foundation.

The clamour you raise against me is for *attempting to weaken the authority of Moses*, and your Title page like an Alarm bell gives warning thro' the Nation of an Enemy gone out to lay waste and destroy Revelation, and propagate Infidelity ; and yet I defy you to shew any thing advanced in *my Letter*, for which I have not the authority of the best and most rational Apologists both ancient and modern, as well of the *Jewish* as *Christian Religion*. 'Tis not my design to destroy or weaken any thing but those senseless systems and prejudices, which some stiff and cloudy Divines will needs fasten to the body of Religion

gion, as necessary and essential to the support of it. For in this age of Scepticism, where Christianity is so vigorously attacked and as it were closely besieged, the true way of defending it, is not to enlarge the compass of its fortifications, and make more help necessary to its defence, than it can readily furnish, but like skilful Engineers, to demolish its weak outworks, that serve only for shelter and lodgment to the enemy, whence to batter it the more effectually, and draw it within the compass of its firm and natural entrenchments, which will be found in the end impregnable.

You say, that *Dr. Waterland's character as a learned and rational advocate for Christianity drew down the weight of my wit and reading upon him, and that he had done too much good, not to receive ill at the hands of the favourers of Infidelity*¹. But is not this both rash and uncharitable to assert so roundly what you cannot know to be true; that the ground of my quarrel to the Doctor is *the good he was doing Christianity*? 'Tis possible, Sir, that my name may not always continue a secret, and whenever I shall have the honour of being known to you, if I be not thought incapable of quarrelling with any man for *the good he does*; and if my life be not found as exemplary and agreeable to the rules of the Gospel, as that of

¹ Reply, p. 6.

the most zealous Champion of you all ; then will I allow every thing you can say or suspect of me to be just and reasonable.

In the mean while I contemn your groundless charge of *Infidelity* ; declare myself a *true friend to Christianity* ; which I am able, I think, to defend by principles much more rational and consistent than those you seem possessed of ; as will appear very clearly in the sequel of this controversy. And I must withal declare, that I have no quarrel at all to Dr. *Waterland*, but on the contrary a great respect for his known learning and abilities ; am persuaded only that whatever good he designed, his way of defending Scripture is very sure of doing mischief to the common Religion we profess : this I have shewn in *my Letter* to him by several instances, and could have shewn it in as many more had it been necessary, with no other view, than to divert him from pursuing a method of defence so dangerous to the cause he was vindicating : but since my Remonstrance has made no impression on him ; and he has now thought fit to second the blow he had given, tho' I am still the more confirmed by his last performance in the sentiments I had declared of the first, yet I shall hardly give my self or him any farther trouble, as it could serve only to illustrate and spread the scandal already given, by collecting and pointing it out to the Reader ; which I have no inclination to do any farther than I may be obliged to it by
the

the Doctör or Yourself in vindication of my own credit and judgment.

In all Controversies about Religion the chief provocation to men of sense is to see a set of rash, dogmatical Divines, whose minds, prepossessed with systems and darkened with prejudices, could never see thro' the mists their Nurses and Mothers had spread about their eyes, setting themselves up for the only guides and teachers of truth to the Nation; requiring the learning and reason of mankind to submit to their arbitrary decisions, and branding with the name of *Sceptick and Infidel*, all who cannot admit their manner of explaining and defining the terms of Christian Faith. Such Divines as these are so far from acting up to the character they assume, of *Physicians of the soul*, by shewing any care to gild the pill they prescribe, and temper their medicines to the state and condition of the Patient, that they expect to treat rational creatures, as Farriers do their Horses, tie them up by the nose, and so make them swallow whatever they think fit to throw down: These are the men I shall ever quarrel with, as the Tyrants and Oppressors of Reason and Conscience, and consequently enemies to the peace and happiness of mankind.

But 'tis time to open the state of our present Controversy: *Your business*, you say¹, with

¹ Rep. p. 6.

me is not to enter into dispute about the Reasonings advanced in my Letter, but to set before me and expostulate with me about the many falshoods it abounds with, both in quotations and historical facts. And here we see the first specimen of your art and insincerity ; for tho' you pretend not to meddle at all with *my Reasonings*, yet a great part of your performance is wholly employed in examining them : nor do you ever omit the least opportunity of cavilling at them, as far as you dare venture, which is generally out of your depth, as we shall frequently see in the progress of this dispute : But 'twas prudent to secure a retreat beforehand, that whenever you came to be push'd, you might shelter yourself under this previous declaration, that it was not *my Reasonings*, but *my Quotations* you had undertaken to attack.

Again, as to the *many falshoods of my Quotations*, you betray at setting out a strange dissingenuity, for you undertake to *convict me of having hardly made one original Quotation of an Author in his true sense, very often in a sense most opposite to the true one*¹. A compleat victory indeed ! not to leave *one Quotation* alive ! not let a single one escape, but to treat these *Rebels to Religion*, like *Cataline's Rebels* to the State, mow them all down in the very ranks where they stand. But this is pursuing

¹ Reply. p. 7.

only the old rule Calumny ; *to calumniate strongly, without any regard to truth, that something at last may stick* : for tho' you wou'd prepossess the Reader with the notion, that I have not represented so much as *one Quotation truly* ; yet out of about *fourscore*, which are referred to in my *short Letter*, all you pretend to criticise are but *fifteen* ; and of this number *two* are thrown in merely to enhance the reckoning, and do not at all relate to *my Quotations*, but contain only some cavils to *my Reasonings*.

Lastly, as to the *many falsehoods of my Historical Facts*, which you proclaim me guilty of in your *Title page* ; the whole number you contest with me amounts only to *one* : and tho' to save your credit you would fain stretch it to *two*, yet your second instance concerns no fact at all, but my solution only of a fact, about which we both join issue, *viz.* the *Mosaic account of the Confusion of Babel*. Is this agreeable to the gravity and character you assume of an Advocate of Christianity ? or can it do any good to the Cause of Religion to defend it by such artful methods of Calumny ; and in the very act of exposing, as you pretend, my want of veracity, to give the real scandal of so notorious and wilful an insincerity ?

But to proceed to the examination of your several Criticisms ; which I shall take notice of in the order as they offer themselves, neither

ther evading nor palliating the force of any of them.

You begin your attack by charging me with four instances of falsification in as many examples of quotations made from *Cicero*; and accuse me not only of prejudice and partiality, but of quoting him for *saying what he really does not say*; nay, what he *disclaims and declares against*¹; and conclude by lamenting that this *Great Master of Reason should have so unworthy a Follower as Myself*. This you confirm as to the two first instances, by shewing that I have imputed to *Cicero*, what he speaks only under the person of *Cotta* and under the fiction of a *Dialogue*, and what must not therefore be considered as his own opinion.

But you must needs be little acquainted with *Cicero's Dialogues*, to imagine that under these feign'd characters he does not frequently represent his own real thoughts: *You will wonder*, says he, in his letter to *Varro*, prefix'd to his *Academick Questions*, *to find a Conversation describ'd between you and me which we never held together, but you know the manner of Dialogues*²: and in the Preface of his *Book of Old Age*, he tells us, that he had assign'd the principal part to *Old Cato*, in order to give the *greater weight and authority to his*

¹ Reply to the Letter, p. 9, 10.

² Epist. Fam. l. 9. ad Varron. 8.

own sentiments ¹. Now in this Book about the *Nature of the Gods*, whence my two Quotations are taken, *He* has instituted a *Dialogue* between three persons, of the three different Sects of Philosophy of most credit at that time in the world ; *Velleius the Epicurean*, *Balbus the Stoick*, and *Cotta the Academick* : which last from the Principles of that Philosophy undertakes to confute the Notions of the *Stoicks*, about *Religion* and the *Gods* : and does not every one who knows any thing of *Cicero*, know that he was of the *same Sect* ; a constant Follower of the *Academy* in his real Judgment ? so that if there be any thing in that *whole Dialogue*, which can be called *Cicero's own* more peculiarly and properly than the rest, 'tis the very part and character assigned to *Cotta* : for in his *second Book of Divination*, where he disputes in his own person, he takes the same side, and uses the same arguments, which he had put here into the mouth of *Cotta*, to confute the opinion of the *Stoicks* about *Religion* and *Divination*. Where then does he disclaim the passages I have quoted ? why no where ; but on the contrary in other places confirms them ; and declares only in general in the close of this very Conference, that the *argument of Balbus*

¹ Sermonem tribuimus non Tithono ——— sed M. Catoni feni quo majorem auctoritatem haberet Oratio.

or the Stoick seemed somewhat the more probable¹ : which may well be looked upon as a compliment to *Brutus*, to whom he addressses this very book ; for as *Brutus* was a *Stoick*, it was but a proper civility in a *Dialogue* dedicated to him, to give a slight preference to the Principles he professed ; as we find him to have actually done on another occasion, in allowing the Philosophy that *Brutus* followed to be the best², tho' himself was of a different Sect.

But you carry the point still further and tell us, that the sentences here quoted are so far from being *Cicero's*, that they are not even *Cotta's* ; who owns at last, that all he had been saying was not built on any certain judgment, but proposed only for argument's sake, in which he was willing to be confuted. And here whilst you fancy yourself pushing your adversary, you betray only your own ignorance : for every one conversant in Antiquity cannot but know, that it was the peculiar character and distinction of the *Academy*, *Nul- lum judicium interponere* ; to deliver nothing dogmatically, to declare no judgment of its own ; to follow only the *probable* ; and beat down every thing advanced as *certain or self evident*³. *Cotta* therefore, tho' agreeably to

¹ De Nat. Deor. l. 3. ad fin. ² Qui tum in Philosophia, tum in optimo genere Philosophiæ tantum processeris. De Fin. l. 3. init. ³ De Divin. l. 2, 3. Hæc in Philosophia ratio contra omnia differendi, nullamque rem judicandi, &c. Nat. Deor. 1. init.

the Principles of his Sect, he might wish to be confuted, that is, to have some greater degree of probability offered to him, than what he had before acquiesced in ; yet must be supposed in the mean while to have embraced and approved the Sentiments he had been asserting in this Dispute as the most probable.

Your Cavil to my next Quotation is still more ridiculous, for tho' 'tis truly taken from *Cicero*, yet 'tis found there, you say, *in the mouth of an Objector*. Where I must own myself puzzled to guess what you would be at : for you no sooner start the Cavil, than confute it yourself ; telling us that *Cicero says the same thing in another place, and in answering the very objection acknowledges the truth of it*¹ : but is a fact then less true for being proposed as an *Objection* ? nay is there not the greater presumption of its weight for being offered in that form ? and if it be true, which is all I'm concern'd for, 'tis entirely the same thing, whether it be put as a *Question, Answer, or Objection* : 'tis put, it seems, in *Tully* as an *Objection*, and 'tis put just so in my *Letter* ; where I shall leave it in its place, without losing more time about a Criticism so impertinent.

Your last instance of Falsification charged on me from *Tully*, is the mention of a *Dream of Alexander the Great, about a Serpent's speak-*

¹ Rep. p. 11.

ing to him, which *Tully*, I say, *makes merry with*. To this you give a double Answer: First, That tho' *Cicero* had laugh'd at such a Dream, yet 'tis no more a consequence than that my left hand is my right, that he would have laugh'd at the Story of a Serpent's really speaking, when attested so credibly, as 'tis by *Moses*. Secondly, That in fact, he did not laugh at the Dream at all, and that 'tis all a merry invention of my own¹. And so far I agree with you, that what he ridicules is not so much the extravagance of a Dream, a thing common with every body, as the pretended miraculous effect of it, and the foolish credulity of those who look on such Dreams as sent from God. But I insist upon it withal, that he laughs too at the fancy of a *Serpent's speaking*, and that especially when it had *its mouth full*; but as this was not the case of *Moses's Serpent*, you think it clear, that had he met with the Story so well attested by the gravest and most ancient of all *Historians* he must needs have believed it.

This indeed is a curious and ingenious Problem, worthy the meditation of so judicious a person as yourself, whether *Cicero* would have believed this Story or no: and tho' I have neither leisure nor inclination to discuss it with you at present, yet cannot help offering a hint or two which may be of use in so important an enquiry.

¹ Rep. p. 12, 13.

Cicero then asserts on all occasions, that our belief or opinion of things ought not to depend on *Testimony or Authority, but on the weight and moment of Reasons* : condemns the *Pythagoreans* for their *Ipse dixit* ; or implicit faith in their *Master Pythagoras* : and declares it *unworthy of a Philosopher or Man of Sense* to appeal to *such Witnesses as may be suspected to have falsified or feigned the Facts they relate* ; and to shew the Truth of things by *extraordinary Events* instead of Arguments¹. These, Sir, were the Sentiments of *Cicero*, and I must leave it to your contemplation, whether a person possessed of such notions could easily take up with a Story so surprizing and prodigious on the single Testimony of an Author, who lived above *two thousand years* after the fact, tho' he *pretended, as you say, to be inspired*.

But since you have thought fit to call this Story again upon the stage, and vouch for *Cicero*, that he would have believed it on the *same good Authority that Jews and Christians do* ; pray tell us, Sir, after all, what it is that we Christians are obliged to believe of it :

¹ Non enim tam auctores in disputando, quam rationis momenta quærenda sunt — nec probare soleo id, quod de Pythagoricis accepimus, quos ferunt, si quid affirmarent in disputando, cum ex iis quæreretur, quare ita esset, respondere solitos, Ipse dixit — De Nat. Deor. l. 2.

Hoc ego Philosophi non arbitror testibus uti ; qui aut casu veri, aut malitia falsi, fictique esse possunt. Argumentis & rationibus oportet quare quidque ita sit docere ; non eventis &c. De Divin. l. 2.

Must we believe it to be all an *Allegory*? No ; 'tis the *Allegorical Interpretation* that has drawn this clamour upon me of *weakening the Authority of Moses*, and *favouring Infidelity*. Must we believe it to be all *Literal*? No ; we are not allowed to do that, since there's certainly much *Mystery* in it. What then are we to do? why, we are to consider it neither as *Fact* nor *Fable* ; neither *Literal* nor *Allegorical* ; but *both* together : to interpret one sentence *literally* ; the next *allegorically*, the third again *literally* and so on to the end of the Chapter ; which like the very *Serpent* it treats of, is all over spotted and speckled, here with *Letter*, there with *Mystery* and sometimes with a dash of both.

For instance ; *God made Man*, we accept *literally* ; but *after his own image*, in a *figurative* or *metaphorical* sense : that *God made Woman*, we believe *literally* ; but out of the *Rib of Man*, most interpret *allegorically* : *God planted a Garden or Paradise* ; here Commentators are endlessly divided between *Letter* and *Allegory* ; some will have it to be in *heaven*, some on *earth*, others in a *middle region* between both. Again ; *the Serpent was more subtle than any Beast of the field* ; we understand *literally* ; but this *subtle creature* no sooner accosts *Eve*, than he becomes an *allegorical Beast* ; the *old Serpent* ; the *old Deceiver*, *Satan*. Lastly, as to the punishment denounced on the Offenders, *I will put enmity between thee and the*
Woman,

Woman, and between thy seed and her seed ; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel ; 'tis all Allegory, all a great Mystery.

Now is it not more rational to follow one uniform, consistent way of Interpretation, than to jump at every step so arbitrarily from *Letter* to *Allegory* : and if the *Letter* be found in fact contradictory to *Reason* and the notions we have of *God*, what is there left us but to recur to *Allegory* ? for which we have the authority of most of the *Primitive Fathers*, and the best *Jewish Writers* : and the *allegorical way* of expounding was so far from giving scandal in former ages of the Church, that on the contrary, to slight it was looked upon as heretical and full of dangerous consequences ¹.

Philo, the most learned and orthodox defender of the *Jewish Religion*, treats this very History of the *Creation and Fall of Man* as wholly *allegorical*. By *Paradise*, says he, *we may suppose ænigmatically signified the governing part of the Soul, full of various opinions, like so man Plants ; by the Tree of Life, Piety*

¹ Propter has causas omnia quæ de Paradiso dicta sunt spiritualiter intelligentes Interpretes, quorum meminimus, dixerunt, quod diversæ natæ sint hæreses a quibusdam hominibus qui carnaliter audierunt, quæ de Deo & Paradiso dicuntur, &c. Vid. Bibliothec. Patrum, per Marg. de la Bigue. Par. 1589. Tom. 1. p. 270.

Sunt inter Hæreticos qui contendunt minimè convenire, ut Vet. Testamenti scripta mysticè atque aliter quam de rebus ipsis interpretentur, &c. ibid. p. 409. c. 3.

towards God, the greatest of Vertues, by which the Soul is made immortal: by the Tree of knowledge of Good and Evil, our common Understanding, by which we distinguish things contrary to each other in nature, &c. And when he comes to the story of the Serpent; These things, says he, are not like the fabulous Fictions of Poets and Sophisters, but figurative or typical Lessons of Instruction, inviting us to search for the Allegorical Sense, by the discovery of its latent and hidden meaning: in which whoever follows the most probable conjecture, will find the Serpent, as 'tis aptly called, to be the Symbol of Pleasure¹: &c. whence he goes on to give the same Allegorical Interpretation of the whole, which I have done in my Letter.

Clemens of Alexandria tells us, that all Writers, whether Barbarians or Greeks, who have ever treated of Theology, have industriously obscured the beginning and origin of things, by delivering the Truth in Ænigmas, Symbols, Allegories, Metaphors and such like figures². And in another place, that the whole Scripture is written in the Parabolical Stile³, for which he gives several reasons.

Eusebius shews, that Moses's History of the Creation, of Paradise and the Fall of Man, was delivered by him in this recondite and symbo-

¹ Philo. de Opificio Mun. p. 35, 36, &c. ² Strom. l. 5. Op. T. 2. p. 658. Edit. Potter. ³ Παραβολικὸς γὰρ ὁ χαρακτήρ τῶν γραφῶν, ib. l. 6. p. 803.

lical way of learning ; and that *Plato*, (changing only the names, as of *Paradise* into the *Garden of Jupiter*, &c.) has copied the whole Story and *allegorised* it just as *Moses* had done before him ¹, of which he gives likewise some other examples.

And that the *Primitive Writers* in general esteemed the *symbolical or figurative interpretation of Scripture*, to be on many occasions the only method of *vindicating it*, is very certain and undeniable : for instance, the *Mosaic Laws* about *Animals clean and unclean* were considered by them as wholly *allegorical*, full of a *hidden and mystical* meaning : *The Law*, says *Philo*, *accounts the Camel an unclean beast, because tho' he chews the cud, he does not divide the hoof ; now if we consider this according to the outward Letter, 'tis hard to say, what sense there is in it, but if according to the inward meaning, there is a most clear and necessary one, &c.* which he goes on to explain ².

When Moses told the *People*, says *Barnabas*, that they were to abstain from such and such *Animals* ; the *Command of God* does not import a *real Prohibition to eat* ; but *Moses* spoke *spiritually*, and by prohibiting *Swine's flesh*, meant only to say, *thou shalt not keep company, or join thy self to such Men, as in their manners are like to Swine, &c.* ³.

¹ Præpar. Evang. p. 343. Edit. R. Steph. Cotelar.

² De Agricult. p. 206. ³ S. Barnab. Epist. c. x. p. 30. Edit.

Clemens of Alexandria, Eusebius, Lactantius, &c. follow *Barnabas's* interpretation: *Tertullian* goes further, and says, that *nothing is so contemptible as the Mosaic Laws about the distinction and prohibition of animal food*: and *Origen* still more freely; *that if we take them literally, they are unworthy of God, and less rational than the Laws of Men, as of the Romans, Athenians, Lacedemonians*; nay, *that some of them are contrary to reason and impossible to be observed*¹.

Thus far then you must needs allow me to be orthodox; clear of any attempt either against the *Authority of Moses*, or in favour of *Infidelity*; unless you will involve in the same crime with me the most pious and learned *Fathers of the Church*, and the ablest Defenders of Christianity in all ages: Let us see how just your charge upon me is in the following Articles; particularly that of the *Jewish Circumcision*; where you next examine what I have advanced in relation to *its divine Origin*.

You affirm in the first place, that *I think with the Author of Christianity as old &c. that Circumcision was borrowed from Ægypt*². But pray, Sir, where have I declared that I think so? All that I endeavoured or intended to shew, was the rashness and unreasonableness of those Divines, who assert its *divine Origin* in a stile so *dogmatical and overbearing* as cannot

¹ Vid. *ibid.* Cotelerii Not. 42.

² Reply. p. 13.

fail of giving disgust to Men of candour and learning; not allowing the least *colour of reason* to the contrary opinion, but treating it as the meer effect of malice and ignorance; a way of defence so contrary to good sense and good manners, that the cause of Religion must needs suffer by it.

However, Sir, had I really thought, what you impute to me, 'tis not at least in your power to convince me of an error, as we shall soon see by the weak attempt you make towards it. For in considering a Quotation of mine from *Josephus*, you say, *'Tis plain that Josephus does not speak there of any Ægyptians circumcised, but Priests only; and that if I had translated him right, my Argument would have been spoiled; and that for your part, you gather from what Josephus says of Herodotus, that he understood Herodotus to mean that the Ægyptian Priests only were circumcised: whence you form immediately an Hypothesis out of your own brain; that these Priests of Ægypt taught the Priests of other Nations to be circumcised, on pretence that it was necessary in such only for the sake, not of Cleanliness, as I render the word καθαριότης, but of Purity, or internal Holiness, just as it was among the Jews*¹.

But now, Sir, if the contrary to this be true in every particular; if *the Ægyptian People in general, and not the Priests only were cir-*

¹ Rep. p. 15. &c.

cumcised ; if *Josephus* understood *Herodotus* in that very sense, and lastly, if *Circumcision* was used by them just as I have said, for the sake of outward Cleanliness, and not as your Criticism imports, inward Purity ; what will you say for yourself ; what excuse will you make for giving me so much trouble ? Will not the Reader begin to suspect that with all this Gravity you are but a Pretender to Learning, without any found share of it ; that the Knowledge you are master of, is supplied from Scraps and marginal Citations, without any thorough acquaintance with Antiquity, or the Authors you refer to ? and as oft therefore as you are engaged to treat a question to the bottom, like a Man fighting in the dark, instead of beating your Adversary, will oftner be found beating the Air and bruising your own Knuckles against Posts or Walls ? of which we shall see many an instance before I've done with you.

For suppose that I had allowed the very thing that you contend for ; that the *Priests only were circumcised in Ægypt* ; how would my Argument have been spoiled by it ? Was it impossible for *Moses*, who was bred up among those very *Priests*, and instructed in all their Learning, to have copied *Circumcision* from them, and yet extend it further afterwards by imposing it on the People too ? but not to dwell on Hypothesis, let us enquire into the Fact.

The

The Authors I have quoted, the oldest, who give any account of *Circumcision*, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, mention it always as a custom common to the whole Nation, without giving the least hint or reason to believe that it was confin'd to *Priests* alone. *Agatharcides*, as quoted by *Photius*, says expressly that *all the Ægyptians were circumcised*¹: and *Suidas* hints the same in the word ψῶλῶ. *Strabo* indeed adds, what is confirmed likewise by other Writers, that the *Women were also circumcised*²: which fully confutes your Notion and shews the Practice to have been general.

A Question indeed may arise about the obligation to it; whether it was of absolute necessity or not to all; and there may possibly have been some distinction between *Priests* and *People* on this account: but that it was commonly and generally practised by all, can admit of no doubt from the concurrent Testimony of all Authors: and 'tis certain that as the *Jews* would receive none to the *Passover*, but the *circumcised*; so the *Ægyptians* admitted none else to their *religious Mysteries*³; so that *Pythagoras* was forced to be *circumcised*, to procure admittance to their recondite and *symbolical Learning*: whence 'tis probable, that it was considered

¹ Photii Biblioth. p. 1358. ex Agatharclide. c. 30.

² L. 17. ³ Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 354. c. 15. Edit. Potter. vid. it. Cotelerii Not. in Barnab, Epist. c. 9.

as a kind of *religious Test*, which the Priests and all who expected any benefit from Religion or Office in the State were obliged more peculiarly to comply with.

The next point is, whether *Josephus* understood *Herodotus* to mean that *Circumcision* was peculiar to the Priests. And if it be true in fact, as is shewn above, that it was not confined to Priests, and that *Herodotus* has given no ground for such a distinction; your notion must fall of it self. *Josephus* indeed, in the place referred to, may be understood of a peculiar obligation or absolute necessity which the Priests were under to be circumcised above all other Men; but on another occasion where he appeals to *Herodotus*, for affirming the *Ægyptians* to be the Authors of *Circumcision* to all other People, and even to the Jews, he makes no other reflection upon it, than that of such things every one may say what he thinks fit¹. A modern Author, of more zeal than judgment, says on the occasion; *Josephus* has taken notice of the words of *Herodotus*, but I could have wished, that he had called him to account for them, and not passed them over so coldly — This did not become *Josephus*, on other occasions so stout an Advocate of the Honour of his Nation².

Again, You say, that the *Ægyptians* did not use *Circumcision*, for the sake of *Cleanliness*,

¹ Περὶ μὲν τῶν ἑκαστοῦ λεγέτωσαν ὅτι ἀν' αὐτοῖς δοκῆ. Antiq. l. 8. c. x. § 3. ² De Repub. Hebræor. l. 2. c. 4. p. 70.

as I render the word καθαρῶτη¹, but of *Purity*: an Observation wholly groundless; it being certain, that the main intent of the custom was not to make them more *holy or pure*, but more *sweet and clean*; in order to prevent some bodily distemper or inconvenience frequent in those warm Climates; which is alledged by Writers as the cause and natural reason of the same practice in all the neighbouring Countries². But besides; the Passage itself, as it stands in *Herodotus*, can suggest no other notion, and all others who have ever quoted it, have taken it in the same sense that I do; for 'tis ranked in company with such Customs as relate solely to *external Neatness or Cleanliness*³; viz. the *washing themselves twice each day, and as oft each night in cold water; the constant washing their Cups; their Vestments; and the shaving their Bodies to keep them clear of Lice and other Vermin, &c.*

But you still blunder on and tells us, that the notion of the *Ægyptians* was just the same with that of the *Jews*, amongst whom it was considered as an *Emblem of Purity*³: in which you shew as little acquaintance with *Scrip-*

¹ Ægyptii, Æthiopes, alique ex oriente populi rationes regioni vel religioni suæ proprias habuerunt, quibus diu ante tempora Abrahami ad virilium pelliculas præcidendas inducti censentur. Nam Philo & alii circumcisionem inter gentes aliquas consilio civili primùm introductam putant, ad præcavendam scilicet lepram aut carbunculum, e sordibus sub præputio latentibus oriri solitum, &c. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. 1. c. 5. §. 4. p. 58.

² Vid. Herbd. l. 2. 37.

³ Reply, p. 16.

tural

tural or Jewish History, as you do with the Ægyptian : For 'tis clear from Scripture that Circumcision was not given for the sake of Purity, but as a Sign and Seal of a Covenant between God and his People ; as an outward Mark to distinguish those who were under that Covenant, from all other Nations whatsoever. This is the account we have of its Institution as well from Scripture as the Primitive Fathers. You shall circumcise, says God to Abraham, the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a token of the Covenant between me and you ¹.

Abraham, says Justin Martyr, received Circumcision as a Mark or Sign, and not as of any efficacy towards Righteousness or Holiness as both Scripture and Fact itself oblige us to allow ². And Irenæus, *That God gave it not as of any service to Justice or Righteousness, but for a Mark to distinguish Abraham's Posterity* ³. The Reader will make a proper Reflection on a Criticism grounded in meer mistake both of *Jewish and Ægyptian Antiquity.*

But the Sting is, that *I think with the Author of Christianity as old &c.* which is so far from being a Reproach whenever he thinks right, as he certainly does in some things ;

¹ Gen. xvii. 11. ² Dialog. cum Tryph. par. 1. p. 184. Edit. Thurlb. ³ Quoniam autem circumcisionem non quasi consummatricem justitiæ, sed in signo eam dedit Deus, ut cognoscibile perseveret genus Abrahæ &c. Adv. Hær. l. 4. c. 30.

that

that it would be much more for your credit to do so too, than to spend your time and pains in maintaining *vulgar Errors and pious Prejudices* against plain Fact and History : but if you would do me right, you should represent me as thinking with *Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Philo, Josephus, Photius, Sir Jo. Marsham, Dr. Spencer,* and even *Calmet* too, whom you recommend to my perusal ; who, tho' he labours like yourself to support the common Hypothesis against Fact and Testimony, yet is so fair at the same time as to allow a *great colour of Reason, a great ground of Probability* to those who assert the contrary opinion, which is all that I have ever declared for.

We are now arrived at what you call my *Masterpiece of Quotation*, viz. a passage of *Josephus* referred to in *my Letter*, in which *I* make him give up, as you say, *the Divine Mission of his own Legislator Moses*^r. Here indeed you seem greatly moved, and employ all your Rhetorick to move me too ; calling upon me in the most solemn manner *for the sake of sincerity to retract my rash assertion and to consider the whole Quotation over again*, in which *there's nothing, you say, that even seems to deny the Divine Origin of the Law and the Divine Inspiration of its Founder, but what arises from my Misrepresentation ; that such a*

^r Rep. p. 16.

thought was as far from Josephus, as attention or sincerity was from me †.

I am come therefore, Sir, in obedience to your call, to review the whole Passage, and to consider very seriously and attentively not *the Translation*, as you absurdly call it, but *the short Abstract* I had given of the sense of the place in a manner agreeable to the form of a *Letter*, in which an exact or verbal Translation must needs have appeared stiff and aukward: and upon a most careful Examination both of the Original and my Account of it, I am so far from being sensible that I have misrepresented my Author, that I am the more clearly and perfectly convinced that I had before given his true Sentiments; and that *Josephus* in the place referred to does not insist on any *supernatural or divine Authority* of *Moses*, but ascribes all the great things done by him to his own *personal skill and management*, putting him on the same foot with *Minos and the other old Lawgivers of Greece*; and giving him the preference only on the comparison for *the superior Excellency of his Laws*. This, Sir, I will maintain against you or any Man else to be the Sense of the Passage in question; and if I fail to make it good, desire at least, that it may not be imputed to any insincerity, but incapacity and mere ignorance of the *Greek Tongue*;

† Reply, p. 21, 22.

since with all the Skill I am master of, I can draw out of it no other meaning but what I am going to explain: and I don't question but to convince every sensible Reader, that 'tis not I, who would warp and force the Words of *Josephus* to any meaning different from their own, but you; who being first warp'd yourself with prejudice, and prepossessed with Systems, which you hold sacred and inviolable, cannot relish any Truth, but what you can bend and accommodate to those previous Notions: But in order to set this Question in a clear light, it will be necessary to insert the entire Paragraph; where I hope the Reader will excuse the tediousness of a Translation, which I am forced by your Cavils to present him with, desiring only, as 'tis a matter of some Importance, that he will give it a candid and impartial Attention. The whole Passage then runs thus.

Let us consider then in the first place the Greatness of Moses's Actions. He having gathered together our Ancestors, after they had resolved to leave Ægypt and return to their native Country, into a mighty Body, brought them with safety thro' many and almost insuperable difficulties. For it was necessary for them to march thro' a Country without Water, and wide tracts of Sand; and all the while to fight their way thro' their Enemies, with their Children, Wives and Baggage to take care of. In all which Circumstances he approved himself a most

excellent General, a most wise Counsellor, a most true and careful Guardian of them all. He brought the whole Multitude to depend wholly on himself; and tho' he had them entirely obedient in every thing to his Command, he turn'd all this to no particular profit or advantage of his own; and in that very opportunity, which other Governors chiefly make use of, to establish themselves in Power and Tyranny, and with that view indulge the People in a loose disorderly way of Life: He on the contrary, in this height of Authority, thought himself bound to live religiously and piously and shew great Benevolence to the People; thinking by that means the most effectually to demonstrate his own Vertue, and provide in the best manner for the security of those, who had chosen him their Leader. His Intentions then being so laudable and his Actions so great, he justly believed that he had the Deity for his Guide and Counsellor: and having first persuaded himself, that all he was doing or contriving was agreeable to the Will of God, he thought it necessary above all things to instill the same notion into the People: since those, who are persuaded, that God overlooks their Life and Conduct, will not venture on any thing illegal or sinful: Such an one was our Legislator, not a Sorcerer or Impostor, as some unjustly asperse him, but such an one, as they boast Minos to have been among the Greeks, and the other Lawgivers after him: for some of them imputed their Laws to ——— but Minos ascrib'd his

to

to *Apollo* and his *Delphic Oracle*, either really believing so themselves, or fancying by that means to make the People submit to them the more easily. But which of them (*Moses* or the others) has drawn up the best Body of Laws, and which had best pretence to be persuaded of God's Assistance (or otherwise, which of them has hit upon the best and justest Notions of a God) may be decided by comparing the Laws themselves; of which 'tis now time to give some Account: There are then throughout the World infinite differences of particular Customs and Laws, which yet we may reduce to these general Heads. Some have thrown the form of their publick Affairs into a Monarchy; others into the Power of a few or an Oligarchy; others into the Multitude or a Democracy: but our Lawgiver had no regard to any of these; but, if a Man may use an expression so forc'd, made the form of Government be instituted, a Theocracy^r.

This, Sir, is a faithful Translation of the whole Passage in the clearest manner I am able to render it; and to shew the insignificancy of your Cavils, I have in all those places where you find fault with me, given the very turn and force to the expression which you require; and yet there is not in the whole Paragraph one word in favour of the *divine Mission*, or *Inspiration of Moses*, in that sense of it, in which 'tis vulgarly received; but on

^r Cont. Ap. l. 2. c. 16.

the contrary, all the Glory of his great Actions, as well as of his Laws are ascribed to *his own Vertue, Skill and Address*. In the first Part, which contains a short Abstract or general Character of his Actions, we find not the least hint of any *Miracle* or the *immediate Interposition* of God ; we are not told, how the People must have been cut in pieces, when overtaken by *Pharoah at the Red Sea* ; had not God miraculously opened a Passage for them thro' the midst of it : how they must have perished for want of Water ; had not God for their Refreshment made it *to flow out of a Rock* : how they must have starved for want of Food in the Desert ; had not God in a wonderful manner *sent it down to them from Heaven* : but the saving of them thro' all these Difficulties, thro' *want of Water, want of Food*, is here solely imputed to the Care and Conduct of *Moses*, and wholly turned to his particular Praise ; till we come to the place you chiefly insist on ; viz. that *Moses with such laudable Designs and such great Actions reasonably believed that he had God for his Guide and Counsellor*. And what is there in this to support the Notion of such a *particular Inspiration*, as is commonly ascribed to *Moses* ? What is there in this Persuasion of his, but what every good Man in the same Situation, must needs be persuaded of too ? A Magistrate convinced of the being of a God and a Providence, and conscious, that

that every purpose of his Heart intends the Honour of that God, and the Good of the People he governs, cannot help believing himself to be under the special care of the Deity. This flows from the very reason and nature of things, and can never be otherwise : God, as surely as he exists, must necessarily favour such a Man, and every such Man must as necessarily be convinced that God does so favour him. And this is all that *Josephus* can mean ; since he grounds the Persuasion *Moses* had of being under the particular Guidance of God, not on any facts of special Revelation or divine Inspiration, but on the consciousness of his own upright Intentions, backed by the great success of his Actions. And such a Persuasion will always have more or less influence on the Mind, as it falls in with a Constitution more or less inclined to *Superstition* or *Enthusiasm*, (the peculiar Character of the *Jewish Nation*) which is apt to impute every laudable Thought, and every successful Action to the special Suggestion and Assistance of Heaven. And we see from what follows, that *Josephus* thought it possible for Lawgivers to be possessed of such a belief, without any good ground for it ; since he makes it a question, whether the *Grecian Legislators* were really persuaded, like *Moses*, or only pretended to be so, of the immediate Assistance of Heaven ; but whether they were

were or were not, 'tis certain however at least, that they could have no *real Inspiration*.

But the Sense I contend for is yet more clearly demonstrated by what follows: *That Moses having first persuaded himself that every thing he was doing was agreeable to the Will of God, thought it necessary above all things to instill the same Notion into the People; because such a Notion instilled would naturally engage them to be better Men and better Subjects.* Now if all is to be taken literally, just as 'tis represented in the Sacred Scriptures, what occasion could there be for any such care or thought of *Moses* about *propagating this Notion among the People?* The thing must have been done to his hands without any contrivance of his at all: the Miracles he daily wrought must necessarily convince the People of it; who could not see *the Glory of God descending and talking with him* so oft in the midst of them, without knowing that *every thing he did was agreeable to the Divine Will.* As *Josephus* therefore in this place imputes the *instilling this Notion* into the People to the *Skill and Address of Moses*, he could not intend to persuade us that this was done by the help of *real Miracles*, for they leave no room for any such Management or Address, but do the business of themselves without it; but by *pretending to Miracles* where there really were none, and *deceiving the People* by a shew of something like them into an opinion that they

were actually done. This is the Method, that all other *Lawgivers* in the World have ever taken, as oft as they have wanted or *thought it necessary to instil the same Notion into the People*; and 'tis indeed the only Method it can be done by, since if any one had the *actual power of Miracles*, he could have no occasion to project or think at all about it; the thing must necessarily follow of course; and by a constant series of miraculous Events the Notion obtain of itself among the People.

But to obviate all offence, which I have no intention to give, I must beg the Reader to remember always and take along with him, that I am not declaring here any Sentiments of my own, or examining what was the true Fact and real Case of *Moses*; but what *Josephus*, from the Passage we are now considering, must necessarily either think himself, or desire that others should think of it; which will be more clearly explained still by what follows.

Such an one, says he, *was our Legislator, not a Sorcerer*; that is, not one, who did the Miracles he pretended to by any magical Art or infernal Power: *nor an Impostor*; who used the pretence of Miracles to cheat and deceive for his own Gain or Advantage; but *just such an one as the Greeks boast their Minos and other Lawgivers to have been, who ascribed the invention of their own Laws to the*
 F Gods:

Gods : And here you lay, I find, a great Strefs on the Word *boast*, ἀυχᾶσι, as it it gave a contrary turn to the Sense, from what I have represented, and carried in it the Notion of Falshood and Lying ; and that *Josephus* intended to signify, *that Moses really was, what they boasted only, or falsely pretended their Lawgivers to be*¹ : A Distinction childish and ridiculous ! since 'tis certain both from the use of Language and common Sense that the word *boast* or *brag of*, as 'tis applied here to Men famous and excellent in their Generations, can have no other Signification than to *be proud of*, or *celebrate with Praise* ; and the full Import of the Sentence is, *that Moses was such an one as Minos, and the other Legislators, whom the Greeks are so proud, or make such a boasting of.*

And, pray Sir, after all, what is it that the *Greeks boast so much of* in these very Men ? Is it that they were *really inspired* by the Gods in the Contrivance of their Laws ? No, there was hardly a *Greek* of Sense, who ever believed it ; or had their Laws been dictated by the *Delphic Oracle*, would have believed it the more for that ; as I could easily shew from Antiquity : All that they boasted and admired so much in them, was, that after they had contrived an excellent Body of Laws, they had the Address to persuade the People, that *those Laws were dictated by the Gods* ; that un-

¹ Reply, p. 21.

der the Influence of such a Persuasion they might submit to them the more willingly. Do not the *Roman Writers* boast highly of their *Numa*, as of an excellent Prince, and wise Lawgiver ; and for proof of his Wisdom do not they tell us the Contrivances he used to instil the Notion into the People, that his *religious Institutions were suggested by the Gods* ? But they were not so silly as to believe the Fact itself to be true ; that he *really was inspired by a Goddess*, or received the *An-cile or holy Shield from Heaven* : These things they celebrate as the Instances of his Skill and Policy, in order to procure the greater Reverence to his Laws : And such an one *Josephus* in this Place describes *Moses* to have been : Just as *Diodorus Siculus* had done before him ; whose Words, as they are very much to our present Purpose, I cannot forbear inserting : *The same kind of Fiction, says he, is said to have been used in many other Nations, and to have been the occasion of much good to those who believed it. Among the Arimaspi, Zathraustis pretended to have received his Laws from a good Spirit or Genius ; among the Getæ, Zamolxis from the Goddess Vesta ; among the Jews, Moses from the God called, Iao : Whether imagining that every Invention or Thought beneficial to Mankind was really wonderful and divine, or that the Multitude out of regard to the Excellence and Power of the supposed Authors of*

F 2 their

their Laws would be the more readily induced to obey them ¹.

But in the next Words, *Josephus*, you say, *puts a wide difference between the Jewish and all other Lawgivers*: And so I own he does, by affirming *Moses's Laws to be much better than theirs*; which he proceeds to demonstrate by a Comparison of the Particulars: and from this superior Excellency of his Laws he infers a superior Right to propagate *the Notion of their coming from God*: so that his Argument runs thus: *Moses was no Magician or Impostor; but a wise and excellent Man, just such an one as Minos and the other Lawgivers of Greece; these imputed their Laws to the Gods, as Moses had done before them; but Moses had a much better right to do so than they, because his Laws are much better than theirs*. Every one will see the force of this Reasoning; for whoever is conscious to himself, that he has formed the best Body of Laws, has certainly the best pretence either himself to imagine, that he had the *Assistance of God in them*; or to deceive the People with the Notion of his being so assisted: for as the sole end of such Deceit is the *Good of the People*, he must needs have the best Title to make use of it, who had the *greatest Good* to propose.

But the last Article of *this Master-piece of Quotation* is still the strongest towards clinch-

¹ Biblioth. Hist. l. 1. p. 84. Edit. Laur. Rhodom.

ing the whole, to the Sense I have been establishing : for 'tis said, we see, that *Moses in projecting a frame of Government for his People, had no regard to any other kind then subsisting in the World, whether Monarchy, Oligarchy, or Democracy, but made his Government a Theocracy*: Now this is a short Explication of all that went before : for how is it in the power of any Mortal to make a *Theocracy*? Is it possible for a Prince or State, by calling upon or devoting themselves to God, to engage him to take upon himself the *absolute, immediate* and as it were *personal Direction* of their particular Affairs? Yet this, we see, is ascribed to *Moses*, that he *made a Theocracy*, which, as far as it was his pure Act and Deed, as 'tis here described, can bear no other Sense, than that he managed matters so, as to persuade the People that every thing ordered or effected by publick Authority, was done by the *immediate Appointment and Direction of God*. This must needs have been *Josephus's Notion of the Jewish Theocracy*, as far as we can collect it from his Words ; let's apply it then to a particular Instance.

Moses was to build a *Tabernacle* or House of publick Worship for the People : what was then to be done? Why, if as in other Countries he had been a *Monarch*, he would have called for his Workmen, pitched upon a Plan and ordered the Work to be executed : or had he been the Presiding Magistrate

strate in a Commonwealth, would have done the same thing with the Consent and Authority of the People : But he had made his Government a *Theocracy* ; and 'twas God therefore who must name the Workmen : and God, we read, accordingly pitched upon *Two*, the most famed, we may imagine, for their Skill in Building and all kinds of Workmanship ¹ : For as *Josephus* says of this very Fact ; *God chose the very same Persons, which the People would have done, had the Choice been left to them* ². What then do the Workmen do ? Why in any other State, under the Inspection of the Magistrate, they would have formed a Model of their Work, and contrived the Patterns of all its Vessels and Furniture ; but as this was a *Theocracy*, they durst project nothing of themselves, durst not venture on making even a *Table* or *Candlestick*, but by the *immediate Order of God*, and a *Pattern given from Heaven*.

This was the *Theocracy*, that *Moses* contrived ; where you, Sir, may believe if you please, that with all his Wisdom he was not able to direct the building a Chapel ; nor the best Workmen in his Camp to make a *Candlestick and Snuffers* but by *divine Inspiration*, and after a *Model given by God* : But you must not expect to persuade us, that *Josephus* believed so

¹ Exod. xxxi. 2, 6. it. xxxvi. 1. ² Ους και το πλῆθος ἀν
ἐπιλεξάτο, τ' ἐξουσίας ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἠγορεύει. Antiq. l. 3. c. 6.

too : since the contrary is very evident ; and that he had a mind at least to leave a liberty and latitude in explaining the manner of this *Theocracy*.

Upon the whole ; had you known how to expound a Paragraph rationally, by considering the general Sense of the whole, and then connecting one part with the other ; you might have saved me much Trouble and yourself the Shame of exposing your want of Judgment by such senseless Cavils : and instead of this Outcry against me, must have praised rather the Temper and Modesty of the Inference I draw, in recommending only *more moderate and qualified Sentiments of the divine Inspiration of Moses*, than what are vulgarly received : for according even to your own Interpretation, does not *Josephus*, in the Passage just recited, use much more Reserve and Caution in asserting the *marvellous and supernatural* part of *Moses's Character*, than what his *literal History* does ? And if so ; the Inference is certainly just, that it might be a hint to us, to use the same *Reserve and Moderation* too in thinking and speaking on the same Subject.

But you say, that *Josephus* in this place was as far from the thought of any such Inference as I make, as Attention or Sincerity was from me when I read it ; and if ever I had read his *Jewish Antiquities*, I must know that he never represents the Law but as given to the Jews by
God

God himself, thro' the hand of Moses¹. I have read his *Jewish Antiquities*; and from that very reading have collected the contrary; that his real Sentiments of the *divine Inspiration of Moses* were very little different from what is represented above. For tho' he undertakes in that Work to deduce and connect a *perpetual History of the Jews* from the beginning of the World, as 'tis found in the *sacred Records of the Old Testament*; yet he takes such liberty with many of the Facts there recorded, by *suppressing* some, *altering* and *accommodating* others to the ordinary Taste and common Sense of Mankind, as he neither could or durst have done, had he believed them to have been *really and strictly effected by God* in the very manner as the *literal Text* imports: to give one Instance out of many.

After his account of the *Passage of the Israelites thro' the Red Sea*, he subjoins this Reflection: *I have given every particular of this Story just as I found it in the Sacred Books: but let no Man be surprized at the strangeness of it, that such an ancient and innocent People should find a way opened for their escape thro' the Sea, either by the special Will and Interposition of God, or the accidental Concurrence of Natural Causes. Since in a like case as it were of yesterday, the Pamphylian Sea retired before Alexander of Macedon, and opened him a Passage, where there*

¹ Reply, p. 77.

was no other way for him, when God had a mind to put an end to the Persian Empire. And this is affirmed by all who have written of his Actions. But for these things, let every Man take them in what Sense he best likes ¹.

Now 'tis impossible, that he could have left it in doubt, whether this Fact had any thing *miraculous* in it or not, had he entertained any firm and certain belief of the *absolute and universal Inspiration of the sacred Writings*, which represent it, as one of the most *signal and illustrious Miracles*, that God ever wrought by the hand of *Moses*.

To the Authority of *Josephus* I shall just add that of *Philo*; whose Words, as quoted by *Eusebius*, may be render'd thus: *As for the Man, whoever he was, who gave them their Laws, they had him in so great Admiration, that whatsoever he approved, they approved too. Whatever therefore he dictated to them, whether he had contrived and invented it himself, or had received it from the Deity, they imputed it all to God* ².

I shall make no Reflection on this Passage, but leave it to the Reader to consider, whether it is not more reasonable, with *these pri-*

¹ — Εἴτε κατὰ βούλησιν Θεῶν, εἴτε κατ' αὐτόματα, &c. — Ὡς μὲν τούτων ὡς ἐκάστῳ δοκεῖ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ λαμβανέτω. Antiq. lib. 2. c. 16. Ed. Hudson.

² Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνῳ, ὅς τις ποτε ἦν ὁ τῶν νόμων αὐτοῖς Θεῶν, ἔτι σφόδρα ἐθαύμασαν, ὡς ὅτι δήποτε ἔδοξε ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς· ἢ εἴτε οὐκ ἐπιλογισμῆος αὐτοῦ, ἢ εἴτε ἀκούων παρὰ δαίμονος ἔφρασε, τῆτο ἅπαν ἐῖς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνάγειν. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 8. ex Philone de exitu ab Ægypto.

mitive and judicious Apologists of the Jewish Religion, to allow some liberty of thinking, as to the *Divinity of their sacred Books*, than with our modern Zealots to calumniate and persecute for ever all who differ from them in Opinion about Questions of such Difficulty and Uncertainty ; yet no sooner does a Man enquire with Freedom into the true State of any *Scriptural Fact*, but the *Alarm Bell* is sounded, and the Clergy admonished of a dangerous Attempt against the *Authority of Moses*. But consider, Sir, that the effectual way of ruining a Fabrick, is to charge it with a greater Load than it was made to bear ; and the surest Method of weakening any thing is not by restraining it within its due Bounds, but by forcing and stretching it beyond what Nature and Reason designed it for. Now because this is a Question of great Nicety and Importance, which you seem not much acquainted with, it may be worth while to open it a little further, and add a Word or two more before I dismiss it.

'Tis the common Nction of all the *Greek Fathers*, that the divine *Plato* had greatly studied the *Books of Moses*, and made much use of them in his own : So that *Clemens of Alexandria* and others call him the *Attick Moses*¹ : and both *Clemens* and *Eusebius* take much pains

¹ Νουμῆνιος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος, ἀντικεινὸς γράφει, τὸ ἐστὶ Πλάτων, ἢ Μωσῆς ἀτίμιζαν. Strom. l. 1. c. 22. Edit. Potter.

in pointing out the particular Notions and Sentiments which he had borrowed from *Moses*¹. As we have seen then already from some Passages above what is delivered of the Character and Abilities of the first *Moses*; so let us see likewise what this *Attick Moses* says of the proper Qualifications and Perfections of *such a Lawgiver*. Why he says, *that he ought to consider and contrive nothing else so much, as to instil such Notions into the People as are likely to do them the greatest good*². And this is exactly agreeable to the Character of *Moses*, as 'tis given almost in the very Words of *Plato* by the *Jewish Writers* as well as *Primitive Fathers*. But in order to execute his good Intentions towards the People, *the Magistrate or Legislator will often find it necessary, according to Plato, for the good of his Subjects, to invent certain Fables, Fictions, or political Lies, to be propagated among them, as Medicine or Physick to obviate and cure ill Principles, as well as to infuse good ones: and above all, to influence the Minds of the younger Sort so, as to make them submit willingly and chearfully to the Laws prescribed*. And to shew how readily the Multitude may be drawn into the Belief of any thing proposed by an artful Governor, he instances in the *Fable of the Dragon's Teeth sown*

¹ Vid. Clem. Alex. ibid. c. xxv. &c. It. Euseb. Præpar. Evan. l. 12. &c. ² Ὡς εἰς ἄλλο αὐτὸν δεῖ σκοπῆντες ἀνευρίσκων, ἢ εἰ πείσας μίγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσαιο ἂν πόλι. De Leg. 2. p. 664.

*in the Ground, from each of which an armed Man immediately sprang up; which, as absurd as it is, was yet once, he says, swallowed for true by the People*¹.

Now the chief End proposed by *Plato* for the Invention of these *Fables* or *Lies*, is to keep the People the more religiously attached to an exact Observance of their Laws, and Obedience to their Governors. And this is what *Josephus* every where insists on, as the *peculiar Praise and Character of Moses* above all other Lawgivers in the World; that he had his People from their very Childhood trained to *the most inviolable Devotion to his Laws, and the most profound Reverence for his Person*². Now should I take the liberty to say, that *Plato's* Notion of the use and necessity of *Publick Fables* or *Lies*, was borrowed from the *Mosaic Writings*, and suggested by what he had observed in the *Practice and Example of Moses*, what an Outcry would the shallow Bigots make of *weakening his Authority, and favouring Infidelity*? Yet *Clemens of Alexandria* and *Eusebius*, I find, say much the same thing, and make this Reasoning and these very Sentiments of *Plato* a clear Proof his Acquaintance with the *Mosaic History*.

Clemens speaking of the *Art of Governing*, tells us among other things, that the *ends of*

¹ Vid. Plat. de Repub. l. 3. p. 414. & alibi. it. de legib. l. 2. p. 663. ² Vid. Antiq. l. 3. c. 15. §. 3. It. con. Ap. l. 2.

Government are to be served by persuading, or forcing, or injuring—or doing what is just, or lying, or telling Truth, as different Circumstances require ; Examples of all which, says he, and how to use each of them properly, the Greeks to their great Advantage have borrowed from Moses ¹,

Eusebius after having explained *Plato's* Opinion about the Necessity of contriving *proper Fables and Fictions* for the Good of the People ; declares, the Case to have been just the same with the *Jews*, and that in *the Books of Moses* there are infinite Examples of this kind of *Fictions* contrived for the Benefit of the Multitude. ².

But is the Notion then, you'll say, of the *Divine Origin of the Law and Inspiration of Moses* to be resolved into *Fiction* and *Fable* or *Political Lying* ? No ; far be it from me to think or say that : But this perhaps one may venture to say ; that the Supposition of some degree of *such Fiction*, may possibly be found necessary to the solving the Difficulties of the *Mosaic Writings*, without any hurt to their Authority, or advantage to Infidelity ; since the best and most zealous Apologists of the *Jewish Religion* have not scrupled, we see, to allow it on some occasions ; especially when it was their business to explain and propose it

¹ Strom. 1. p. 417. Edit. Potter.
gel. p. 356. Edit. R. Steph.

² Præp. Evangel.

to Strangers ; not with any design to *weaken*, but to *strengthen* it the more effectually in the good Opinion of the World ; by shewing its *Founder Moses*, to have been the same kind of Man with those *other Lawgivers and Founders of States*, for whom the politeſt Nations have always had the utmoſt Honour and Veneration. For *there's nothing diſhonourable*, ſays *Plutarch*, in the common Story of *Lycurgus*, *Numa* and other ſuch *Lawgivers* ; that having great *Innovations* to make in the State, and a *perverse and obſtinate People* to deal with, they invented the *Fiction* of a *divine Miſſion or Revelation*, *ſalutary and beneficial* to thoſe for *whoſe ſake* they contrived it¹.

But to return into the way, from whence we have digreſſed. You go on to expoſe *my manner of miſquoting*, as you call it², in ſome Paſſages I had produced from *Herodotus* ; and affirm, that I have *partially quoted him on purpoſe to deceive my Reader no leſs than five times in about twice the number of lines*³. Let us examine the Truth of this ſolemn and heavy Accuſation.

First then, I quote *Herodotus* for ſaying, that *the Ægyptians were governed by Laws and Cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves and different from thoſe of other Nations*. This, you own, is *Truth*, but *not the whole Truth* ; for *Herodotus*

¹ Plut. Numa. p. 62. E. Edit. Pariſ.

² Reply, p. 22.

³ Ib. p. 27, 28.

says, that their *Laws* were different from those of all other Nations. But I judged it necessary, it seems, to drop the word *all*, lest the Reader should perceive the Absurdity of attempting to shew from this Place, that the Jews agreed with them in their *Customs*¹. Surely no Caviil was ever so trifling : For is not the Word *all* of necessity implied and understood in the very Sense I have given ? If the *Ægyptian Laws* were, as I say, *peculiar* to themselves, does not that *Peculiarity* infer a Difference from *all* other Nations ? But suppose the Word *all* not implied only, but actually inserted ; how does it shew any Absurdity in my Reasoning, or at all affect it ? My Argument previously supposes some Resemblance of Customs between the *Jews* and *Ægyptians*, grounded on the long Residence of the *Jews* in *Ægypt* ; where for above two hundred Years they are supposed to have *complied with the Customs*, and *conformed even to the Religion of the Country*² : As the Turn then and Genius of the *Ægyptians* disposed them to affect a *Peculiarity in their Laws*, and a *difference of Manners* from *all* other Nations ; so the *Jews* also, among whom we find *the same Disposition and Affectation of Peculiarity*, may well be supposed to have derived this Humour from *Ægypt*. So that your Criticism is grounded

¹ Reply, p. 23.

² Vid. Spencer de Legib. Heb. l. 1. c. 1.

merely in your own Mistake of the very Argument you pretend to criticise.

Secondly, I say on the Authority of *Herodotus*, that the *Ægyptians* were more addicted to *Prodigies* and *Miracles* than any other People: And here you tell me, that I once more deceive my Reader, even at the expence of a false Quotation, since in the place referred to, *Herodotus* speaks not a word of *Miracles*, but of *Prodigies* only¹. As if a *Superstitious* Regard to *Prodigies* did not imply an equal Regard to *Miracles*; and those who are so fond of the one, were not of necessity as much addicted to the other; as it might easily be proved of the *Ægyptians* in particular by many other Authorities, if this before us was not sufficient. But *τέρατα* the word used here signifies, you say, *Prodigies*, and does it not signify *Miracles* too? If you think not; I would advise you to consult your Dictionary, before you set up for a Critick: Nay, the very Reason you give why *Prodigies* must needs be meant in this Place and not *Miracles*, proves just the contrary: For they were such things, you say, as could be found out, which *Miracles* could not be: Now 'tis certain, that *Miracles* may be contrived, invented, or found out, as *τέρατα ἀνέυρηται*, may properly be rendered; but the same cannot be said of monstrous Births, unnatural Copulations, &c. which you give as the Instances of *Prodigy*: And what, I pray, are the *τέρατ' ἔργου* mentioned by

¹ Reply, p. 24.

Authors ; *the Makers of monstrous Births or the Forgers of Miracles?* The following Words indeed are applicable properly to *Prodigies* ; but if the Sentence I have quoted be compleat in itself, as it seems to be considered in all our Editions, where 'tis distinguished by a full point ; then it leads more naturally to the Notion of *Miracles* than of *Prodigies* : However the same Word carries certainly in it the Notion of both, and a superstitious Attention to the one necessarily infers the same Regard to the other : So that your Observation has neither the use of Language nor Sense to support it.

Thirdly, I add, that *the Ægyptians had an High Priest, with an Hereditary Priesthood descending from Father to Son.* To this you reply, *that 'tis unlucky for me that according to Herodotus they had not an High Priest over the whole Nation, as the Jews had, but one over each County or Province, of which there were thirty six ; a Constitution so different from that of the Jews, that if I had represented it right, I could never lead my Reader to agree with me, that Moses borrowed it from Ægypt of all Countries under Heaven*¹. Most acute and ingenious Reasoning ! as if instead of a Similitude of Custom, which is all I endeavour to shew, I had undertaken to prove an Identity or absolute Uniformity in all Points and Circumstances : Should a Foreign Prince take a

¹ Reply, p. 25.

fancy to copy the *Hierarchy of England*, and in proportion to the Extent of his Dominions, establish either *one Archbishop* with subordinate *Bishops*; or *one Bishop* with subordinate *Priests*; which last Case was upon the Matter executed by the late *King of Prussia*: You without doubt would argue that the Hint could not possibly be taken from *England*; because We had *two Archbishops* and He but *one*, or We *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, and He only *a Bishop*. Your Reasoning is full as ridiculous in the Case before us; as if *Moses* could not take the Government of the *District* or *Province* he lived in, as a Pattern for his own petty State, which was hardly much more considerable than a *single County of Ægypt*.

But 'tis unlucky for me, you say, that *Herodotus* is not speaking here of any such High Priest as the *Jews* had, one over the whole Nation, but one over each Province. Yet all the ill luck, I doubt, will be found at last on your side; who taking your Notions from separate Passages of Authors, which you interpret presently according to your own Prejudices, have happened in this Place, as in many others, to guess quite wrong. For tho' *Herodotus* tells us here^r, that there were *many Priests to each God*, and consequently a great Number of them in the whole; yet he must be understood to mean, that there was *one High Priest* over those many

^r Herod. l. 2. c. 37.

or the whole Number. This is very clear from other Passages of his History, where he plainly intimates that there was but *one High Priest over the whole Nation*, just as there was but *one King* : That the *Number of their High Priests and their Kings, in a Succession of 341 Generations, happened to be exactly equal* : That each *High Priest provided a Statue of himself to perpetuate his Memory to Posterity* : And that he himself *was introduced by the Priests into a large Room or Temple, where these Statues were deposited, and saw 341 of Colossean Size, the Images of so many High Priests in lineal Descent from Father to Son*^r. Which cannot, I think, be applicable to any other *High Priest*, but just *such an one as the Jews had, one over the whole Nation*.

Fourthly, *The Ægyptians, I say, abhorred Swine's Flesh as impure and abominable*. And here indeed you own, that I deliver *the true Sense of Herodotus* ; to which I had added an Authority of *Josephus* to the very same Purpose. As the Fact then is certain and agreed, that the *Ægyptians generally abhorred Swine's Flesh, and abstained from it superstitiously* ; how can this be made an Instance of *my falsifying or misquoting Herodotus* ? Why, because there are *three Circumstances, as you observe with your usual Acuteness, in which the Behaviour of the Jews and Ægyptians with regard to*

^r Herod. l. 2. c. 143.

*Swine were not alike*¹. But if there had been *threescore* instead of *three*, it had been nothing at all to the purpose, since the Fact I contend for is allowed: All that I pretend to intimate, is, from the near Resemblance of many Customs, that *the Jews* might probably have borrowed them from *Ægypt*: You cry out on the other hand, that the Inference is *unjust, partial, and contrived to deceive*, because I do not shew in all points an *Identity of Custom*. All which Clamour proves just nothing but your own want of Judgment, in not reflecting, that a Custom may be borrowed, and yet altered, enlarged or restrained as the Borrower shall afterwards find convenient.

But there is one Observation of yours, which I can't help taking notice of here; that since the Customs which the *Jews* had in common with the *Ægyptians*, were in use likewise in several other Countries; why, say you, *must they needs have been borrowed from Ægypt rather than from any other Country*²? This you repeat, and insist on again in another place³; nay you go so far in one Instance as to declare, *that of all Countries under Heaven Ægypt was the most unlikely to derive the Custom from*⁴. Now I cannot for my life conceive, how 'tis possible for one, who knows any thing of the *Jewish History*, and has the least grain of

¹ Reply, p. 27.

² Ib. p. 25.

³ Ibid. p. 42.

⁴ Ibid. p. 25.

Judgment,

Judgment, to put so silly a Question. The *Jewish Nation* was nursed up in *Ægypt* from its very Infancy, and during a Residence there of above 200 Years grew up from one single Family into a mighty People : In all which Time, as is above mentioned, they were trained in *all the Customs*, and complied even with the *Religion and Idolatry of the Country* : and even after they had quitted it, they retained still, we find, the old fondness for the *Customs, Ceremonies and Worship* they had been used to ; and this not only on their Journey, when the Impression and Memory of those Customs were strong on their Minds, but when they were settled in quiet Possession of the promised Land, and formed into a regular State ; where they continued remarkable for nothing so much as their Aversion to Strangers, and their Care to preserve themselves separate and clear of any Mixture with all other Nations. If this be true, as it certainly is, what ground can there possibly be for what you so oft inculcate ; *that they might have borrowed their Customs from any other Country as probably as from Ægypt* ? Every Man of Sense must needs laugh at you for entertaining the least thought of its Probability ; which you might however have entertained as long as you please, had you but excused me from thinking it probable too, and not made this very instance, in which I follow *Reason, Fact and History*, a Proof of my *Partiality and Prejudice against Moses*.

Fifthly

Fifthly, I have passed over one of your Observations in my way, about the Treatment of *Leprous Persons*, on purpose to give it a particular Answer ; as it is the only one in your Book, where your Charge upon me of *misquoting* is supported with any Truth or Reason. The Passage however is found in *Herodotus*, in the very Sense I had given to it, tho' not, it seems, among the *Customs of Ægypt*, where I had ranged it, but of *Persia*¹. But tho' it would not perhaps be difficult to shew, that the same treatment of *Leprosy* was practised also in *Ægypt* ; yet, as the Quotation stands, I cannot but own it to be the effect of Negligence and want of Attention in me : I took it from my Papers, whither I had transcribed it, and not having the Original near me, or being in haste to finish what was before me, I trusted to Memory and the Persuasion I was under, that the Fact was related of *Ægypt* : Which I allow to be a Fault that deserves Animadversion, as I should as frankly have done in any other Article you charge me with, had there appeared any just Ground or Reason for such Charge. But since you have taken from me *one Ægyptian Custom*, I think myself obliged to replace it with another, viz. the *Laws about Animals clean and unclean* ; which the learned *Cotelerius* allows to have been taken probably from the

¹ Reply, p. 26.

*Practice of Ægypt; to which the Hebrew Nation, he says, were too much addicted*¹; and gives us a Quotation of *Porphyry*, from *Chæremon the Ægyptian Historian*, importing, that the *Priests of Ægypt abstained from Fish, and all four footed Beasts, whose Hoofs either were not cloven at all, or cloven into many Divisions, or such as had not Horns (or, what comes to the same, did not chew the Cud) and all carnivorous Birds*³.

It would be endless to run thro' all the *Jewish Customs*, which Men of the greatest Learning and Experience in these Studies have deduced from the Practice of Ægypt. There's such an *Affinity*, says *Kircher*, between the *Jewish and Ægyptian Rites, Sacrifices, Ceremonies; that either the Ægyptians must have Hebraised, or the Hebrews Ægyptised*³: but which of them followed the other in these Rites, is so clearly decided by the learned *Spencer*, that *no Man, unless supinely credulous*, as he says, can believe it to have been the *Ægyptians*⁴. And indeed both he and *Marsham* derive in a manner the whole ritual Law from this very Source of Ægypt: *The moveable Tabernacle, Ark of the Covenant, Cherubims, Altar, Sacrifices, Priestly Vestments, the Sabbath, Festivals, Washings,*

¹ Vid. *Barnabæ Epist.* ex Editione *Cotelerii* c. x. Not. 42. p. 30. ² *Ibid.* p. 36. Not. 78. ³ *Propyl. Agonist.* c. 2. apud *Oedip. Ægypt.* T. 1. ⁴ *Nemo vero nisi supinè credulus, opinari potest Ægyptios, &c. de Leg. Hebræor.* l. 3. c. 2. Sec. 2. p. 650.

*Purifications, Oracles, Prophecy, Divination, &c.*¹.

You go on to observe, that I *shew my Skill or great Negligence of quoting, in falsely rendring into English the Latin Translation of Maimonides's Words*². Hard indeed, not to allow me capable of translating even *Latin*: but whatever you please to allow, I pretend to a Skill which you are not yet Master of, of rendring the true Meaning of a Passage agreeably to the general Notion conveyed by it, without trifling and dwelling on the less significant words, so as to hurt the main and obvious Sense of the whole. Let us try your Criticism by this Rule. *Spencer* speaking of *Circumcision* in the Words of *Maimonides*,³ calls it *res durissima & difficillima*; here we have its Character and Description; and the main Notion of the Passage is, that it was a *most harsh and most hazardous* thing: Now is it possible that a thing in its Nature the *most dangerous*, could ever be performed without *some Danger*? But *I change, you say, the restraining Word, sometimes with Hazard, into some Hazard*: Where every body but yourself will see the Propriety of it, in order to make the Sentence consistent with itself: for as soon as I discover the true Sentiment of an Author, 'tis enough for me to catch hold of that, and

¹ Ibid. Lib. 3. c. 3. p. 663, &c.—It. Marsh. Can. Chron.

² Reply, p. 29.

³ Res durissima & difficillima, nec sine vitæ discrimine quandoque subeunda.

not like your solemn Pedants think myself obliged to follow the very Inaccuracies and Perplexities of the Original.

But you urge me still and say, that *I shew my usual Dexterity* in the use of a Passage taken from *Lightfoot*¹, on whose Authority I assert that *the frequent Mortality occasioned by Circumcision produced a standing Law, that when any Person had lost three Children successively by it, he was to be excused from circumcising the rest, in consequence of which there were actually many uncircumcised among them, &c.* Where *Lightfoot*, you observe, *speaks not a word either of a standing Law, or the frequent Mortality of Circumcision.* But does not the Case itself speak necessarily of both? And can any Man be so silly as to think, that by a *standing Law* I could mean a *Law of Moses*? No, the frequent Mortality occasioned by Circumcision produced a *Judgment or Decision*, as you own, of the *Rabbins* or *Jewish Doctors*, who were both Interpreters of the Law and Guides of Conscience, that *when a Man had lost three Children successively by Circumcision, he should be excused from circumcising the rest.* This I call a *standing Law or Practice, or Custom*; grounded on a Decree of the proper Judges in the Case. But *Lightfoot*, you say, *does not speak a Word of the frequent Mortality of it.* But does not the Fact he mentions as some-

¹ Reply, p. 30.

times happening of *three Children dying of it successively*, necessarily imply and infer it? Allow the Case to have happened, tho' but seldom, and the other will follow of course: And here you shew, what you do indeed in every other Place, that your Cavils are founded only in your own Mistake of the very thing you cavil at: For you charge me as producing this Passage to prove, that the *Case of three Children's dying successively by Circumcision was frequent with them*¹: Whereas all I endeavour to shew, is, that *the Mortality of Circumcision must needs be frequent*, because *that Case did sometimes happen*: no body can imagine the Case itself to be very common, tho' you allow *five or six Instances* of it on Record; and if no more had ever happened, they are more than sufficient to shew, that Circumcision was *ordinarily dangerous and often mortal*: You will hardly deny the *Small Pox* to be *frequently mortal*, yet few or none perhaps know five or six Cases of *three Children dying successively of it* in the same Family: which yet happened so often, according to *Lightfoot*, thro' *the danger of Circumcision*, that there were *many uncircumcised* on that account both of the *Priests and People*. And thus the Words of *Maimonides* and Passage of *Lightfoot*, in spite of your Cavils, demonstra-

¹ Reply, p. 31.

bly prove all I contend for, *the frequent Mortality of Circumcision.*

I have now gone thro' your *Criticisms on my Quotations*, and have shewn them to be both false and trifling, void both of Learning and Judgment : But this, Sir, ought not to reflect so much Shame on you, as the want of Candour and Truth, and the love of Calumny you betray in the Management of them. At setting out you would persuade your Reader, that there's *scarce one Quotation*, which I have not abused and misrepresented ; yet out of *four score* you attempt only some slight Objections to *fifteen*, as you reckon, but as every body else will count, *thirteen* only ; the two last, as we shall presently see, being not Exceptions to my *Quotations*, (as to enhance the Number, you absurdly call them) but to my Reasonings : and of these *thirteen*, there's but a *poor single one* left you, in which you have shewn indeed some want of attention or too much haste in me, but no possible suspicion of any wilful Misrepresentation. Is this then the part of a Man of Honour or Integrity to calumniate so strongly on a Foundation so weak ? Is this suitable to the Gravity of the Person you assume, and your conjuring me so solemnly *in God's Name and for the sake of Sincerity, to weigh things better and report Facts more fairly* ? Will not the Reader be

¹ Reply, p. 40, 41.

apt to entertain the same Suspicion of your Religion, as he must before have done of your Learning, that with all this Outcry about it, you have no real Esteem or Concern for it ; for which Reflection he will find still but too much Reason in what follows ?

You proceed to call over again the *Story of Babel*, and declare my Account of *that Confusion* to be *truly a confused one*¹ : where for the sake of a stupid Jest, you put your Judgment to some risk with the Reader ; who may not perhaps be of Opinion, that my way of writing is so *confused* as you would intimate : but to come to the Point. I shall first consider what you object to my Account of this Fact, and then examine the Merit of your own Exposition of it.

I have said in *my Letter*, that *the Sons of Noah were so far from any Resolution of not dispersing themselves, that before the Confusion of Babel they had already begun to disperse and actually sent off a great Colony from the East to the Land of Shinaar*². For this I produced the concurrent Testimony both of *Protestant and Papist*, both *Patrick* and *Calmet* ; and thought myself very orthodox and safe under the Shelter of such Authority ; but all, it seems, in vain ; since *the Question*, you say³, *is not what any Commentator has fancied, but what the*

¹ Reply, p. 31.

² Letter to Dr. Waterland, p. 41.

³ Reply, p. 32.

Scripture has taught about the Matter. How hard is it to deal with such thorough-paced Divines? *Commentators* are at some times every thing; at others nothing with them. Doctor *Waterland* contemns his Adversary for having no *Acquaintance* with them¹; and you contemn me for being *acquainted* with them: The Doctor says, *that there's not one Commentator of Note but would have set his Antagonist right*²; you pretend to shew, that *Two of the best Note* have set me *quite wrong*³. But there cannot be much difficulty in defending *Patrick* and *Calmet* against such an Expositor as your self: let's try what can be done.

You observe, that in the end of the *tenth Chapter of Genesis* preceding the *Story of Babel*, 'tis said of the *Sons of Noah*, *that by them were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood.* And then it follows, Chap. xi. *And the whole Earth was of one Language and one Speech. Where all Mankind, you say, is spoken of without the Exclusion of any Part.* But pray, Sir, what do these two Verses import, but that the several Nations of the World were founded and peopled by the *Dispersion of the Sons of Noah*, and that before *the Confusion of Babel* the whole Earth had but *one Language*? Where the very Expression of the *whole Earth* seems to intimate some kind of dispersion and peopling of different Countries previous

¹ *Script. Vind. Par. 1. p. 8.* ² *Ibid. p. 24.* ³ *Rep. p. 32.*

to *that Confusion*. But in the next Verse 'tis said, *And it came to pass as they journeyed from the East, that they found a Plain in the Land of Shinaar and dwelt there.* That is ; of these *Sons of Noah*, by whom the *Nations were divided*, in the very Act of dividing and dispersing themselves, as one *great Part or Colony* travelled from the *East*, they found a convenient Plain and settled there. But here's not a *Word*, you say, *about their dispersing themselves, or sending of Colonies* : But is it not implied in *this journeying from the East*, or is it possible to disperse any otherwise than by journeying from one Place to another ? But there's no **H**int given, you observe, that this is to be understood of a *part of them* only, and not of the *whole*. But where the Text is silent, or obscure, must not we fill up the Sense of it from Reason and the Nature of things, which necessarily suggest such a Distinction ? For what Sense can there be in supposing, as you do, that the whole of Mankind must needs travel thus from Place to Place in one Body ? Why, *when they had consumed the Provision and Forage their first Settlement afforded, they were forced*, you say, *to remove to another*. But would not Reason and Necessity have taught them, that the only Remedy for this Evil must be their *separating* from each other and not *journeying together* ? For the same Inconvenience would always attend them, whilst they all held in a Body ; and there could have
 2 been

been no end of their journeying, if they had hung together, till they had eat up every thing the Place afforded: All which Distress would have been prevented at once, if as soon as Victuals grew scarce for their *whole Number*, they had sent off a *Part* or *Colony* to fresh Quarters; whilst as many of them staid behind and kept Possession of the old ones, as they were capable of receiving.

Again, by supposing the *whole Body of Mankind* to be concerned and present at the *Confusion of Babel*, you involve *Noah and his Sons*, who were then alive, in the Guilt and Partnership of that Rebellion against God: But 'tis improbable or incredible rather, that such a *Preacher of Righteousness*, whose Faith and Virtues are so celebrated in Scripture, could either have consented himself to so wicked a Project, or that so *venerable a Parent of human Race* should not have Credit and Authority enough in his own Family to have restrained them from so daring an Impiety. So that 'tis on all accounts highly reasonable to conclude with the *learned Commentators* above mentioned, that it was but a *Colony or Part of the whole*, that travelled from the *East*, and were concerned in building the *Tower of Babel*.

But I had observed in my Letter, that *all we can collect from this Story is, that the Multitude at Babel, knowing they must soon be dispersed still further, had a mind before such Dispersion to erect some publick Monument of their*
common

*common Origin by building a City and a Tower that should reach as high as Heaven; and that it was the Presumption and Arrogance of this Design that induced God to baffle it by confounding their Language, &c. Now you on the contrary affirm, that I collect from the Story a Design quite different from what the Story expressly mentions*¹: Where I must leave it to the Reader to judge whether I have justly represented the Sense of Scripture or no: For does it not plainly intimate, that the Ground of their offending God, was in the Design they had projected of *building a Tower as high as Heaven?* Does it give any other Instance of their Arrogance and Presumption? And does it not likewise expressly say, that their Intent was to *raise themselves a Name* by the Project they had formed? The Story I declared to be a *strange one*, and durst not for that Reason venture on any other Solution of it, than what the very Words suggested. But *I was misled*, you say, *and endeavour to mislead my Reader, by the Idle Translation of the Old Greek and Latin Interpreters*; since the Original imports just what our *English Version* gives; *let us build a City and a Tower that may reach to Heaven, and let us make a Name, lest we be scattered abroad, &c.* And allowing all this; does not even the Word *lest* imply an Apprehension or Notion that they should shortly be

¹ Reply, p. 35.

obliged

obliged to disperse further ; and an Intention consequently to erect this *publick Monument* and make themselves a Name before such *Dispersion* ? But the Word *lest* according to you gives a quite different Turn to the Sense ; as if it had been said, *let us build a City and a Tower, to prevent or hinder our further Dispersion.* Strange Nonsense ! As if a Tower could change the Nature of Things, and prevent their being scattered abroad or dispersed to people the Earth : Unless you can suppose them resolved to combat Heaven itself, and silly enough to imagine that by the help of such Entrenchments they should be able to baffle the Power of the Almighty.

The Text then, whether we render it according to the *Seventy Interpreters* and the old *Latin*, or according to our *vulgar English* comes, we see, in a manner to the same thing : I cannot however dismiss it without observing the Rashness of your Censure on the *Old Greek Version*, which you call and *Idle Translation*, tho' it was so frequently used, and *authenticated* as it were by our *Saviour, the Apostles and Evangelists*, and held for Sacred and Inspired by all the *Primitive Fathers*.

I shall now just spend a Word or two in examining your own Account of *this Historical Fact* ; where tho' you seem cautious of using Dr. *Waterland's* Words, yet you assert in effect the very same thing, which in every Dress of Language will always be equally ab-

furd. The *Doctor* says, that the *Sons of Noah* had formed a *Conspiracy* to hang together in a *Cluster*, and neither to disperse nor cultivate the *Ground*, had not God miraculously interposed to confound their *Projects*, &c¹. You say, that they were resolved to hold closely together; to adhere strictly to each other, and never to part, if God had not forced them to it, to prevent those *Quarrels* and *Wars* which would inevitably arise among them from their living together, &c². Strange, that such a loving, fond Society, that could not bear the thought of leaving each other; determined, as you say, to live and die together³, should so soon be engaged in *Quarrels* and *Wars*! But their Love, it seems, was so extravagant, that it was worse than Death to them to part, and they would chuse rather to kill one another, than live asunder. 'Tis surprizing, I say, that Men of any Understanding can take up with such Absurdities, and after much Pains and Plodding should have got no further in thinking than what their Nurses had taught them.

Had Mankind in those first Ages of the World been all confin'd within some *Island*, whence no Escape was practicable; the Account you give might have had some Reason in it, that as fast as their Numbers increased and their Victuals diminished, they must have been forced to destroy and prey

¹ Scripture Vindicated. Part 1. p. 42.

² Reply, p. 38, 39, &c.

³ Ib. p. 39.

upon each other : but even in such a Case, rather than perish by Hunger, they would have struggled hard and tried many an Invention of Floats and Vessels in quest of better Quarters by Sea : But to suppose such a Multitude in the middle of the Continent and in fruitful Plains determined to hold together till they starved, and like Men in the Extremity of a Siege, killing each other for want of Victuals, which yet might be had for fetching ; whilst Plenty and all the World lay before them, if they would but disperse themselves to the Enjoyment of it, is so senseless and absurd a Notion, that 'tis inconceivable how any Man can entertain it. There could not then be any want of a Miracle to bring about the *Dispersion of Mankind* in its infant, growing State ; or occasion for any other Command, than what was given to Man at his Creation and implanted in his Nature ; *encrease and multiply* ; the certain Consequence of which is to *disperse and replenish the Earth* : His own natural Appetites would necessarily force him to it, as soon as it became convenient, in spite of any Will or Resolution to the contrary, could any such without Absurdity be supposed.

You come at last to expose the *Falshood of the Historical Facts*, which I have rashly advanced, as you say¹, in several Parts of my Letter : Where one would imagine that you would

¹ Reply, p. 41.

have contested with me every *single Fact* I had touched upon, since you proclaim it in your *Title Page*, and undertake to shew the *general Falshood* of them all : Yet all the *Facts* you pretend to dispute with me are but *two* ; and of these *two*, the second, as I've observed above, is *no Question of Fact* at all, but a Squabble only about my Opinion or Manner of solving a *certain Fact* which we both allow to be delivered in History, viz. the *Confusion of Babel*. This you call *one of the Historical Facts, that I have falsely advanced* ; which shews the little Arts you are forced to use to raise an Outcry against me, and enhance the Sum total of my Malice and Impiety.

The *only Fact* then you contest with me, as *rashly advanced in my Letter*, is concerning the *Learning, Politeness, and flourishing Condition of Ægypt in Moses's Time*. I had asserted it to be more probable that the *Jews* should borrow from the *Ægyptians*, than the *Ægyptians* from the *Jews*, from the general Character of the two Nations, of the *Ægyptians*, as always *learned and polite* ; of the *Jews*, always *rude and illiterate*. And tho' I had assigned no Period of Time to their Fame for Learning, yet since my Reasoning supposes them possessed of it before *Moses's* time, I will here join Issue, and allow, as you say^r, that *the Question between us is, whether Ægypt was so great a Kingdom, so polite a Nation in*

^r Reply, p. 42.

Moses's time as I have represented it. This then is the Fact, that I undertake to make good ; I will not say against you, who seem to know but little of the Matter, but against what you absurdly call the *Demonstrations and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton* ¹.

You had heard much talk of *Sir Isaac's Demonstrations* in Mathematicks and his great *Discoveries* in Natural Knowledge ; and imagined perhaps that those Words signified nothing more than *Conjecture* or *Opinion*. For had you reflected what a *Demonstration* meant, you could not have applied it to a *System of Chronology*, however probable, or preferable to all others, which from the Nature of Things can never reach Certainty or admit of *Demonstration*. But pray, Sir, after all what is it that *Sir Isaac* has discovered ? has he brought to light any old Authors, which for Ages past had lain buried in Oblivion ; or any Monuments of Antiquity unknown before to the Curious ? Or has he done in the learned, what he did in the natural World ; invented a *new Telescope*, to pry into remote and dark Antiquity with more Accuracy than had been practicable before ? If he has done nothing of this, then *all his Discoveries* can amount only to *Conjecture* ; which, like that of all other Men, will always be fallible and uncertain, as

¹ Reply, p. 44, 50.

we shall find more especially in the very Instance before us.

In saying this, I am far from any thought of weakening the Authority or lessening the Character of *Sir Isaac*; I have as great an Honour for him as you have, and look upon him as one of the greatest Philosophers the World has ever produced: But if as in Mathematicks and Philosophy, so in every other Part of Learning, his Authority must needs be advanced above that of all others; I must take the liberty to dissent from you, and to declare, that for a thorough Knowledge of Antiquity, and the whole compass of *Greek and Ægyptian* Learning, there have been, in my Opinion, and now are, many Men as far superior to him, as he within his proper Character is superior to every body else. And I cannot but observe, that it is much the same Case here with the *Authority of Sir Isaac*, as it was above with that of *Moses*; 'tis not I, but you who weaken it, by forcing and stretching it to a Point whither it can't be extended, to a length it never can reach.

But to come to the Question, of the *Politeness and Learning of the Ægyptians in Moses's time*: I had touched it but slightly in my *Letter*, imagining that it must have been taken for granted, or could not at least be called in question by any *Christian* on the single Testimony of *St. Stephen*; who affirms, *Moses to have been learned in all the Wisdom of*
the

*the Egyptians*¹. But I was much surprized to find you treat St. Stephen's Authority so slightly ; by telling us, *that these Words of St. Stephen were not a Proof of any thing but that he spake according to the then received Tradition of the Jews*² ; which is telling us in effect, that they proved just nothing at all, but that himself was misled by the vulgar Errors and popular Prejudices of that Age ; that had he lived to see *Sir Isaac Newton's Demonstrations and Discoveries*, he must have been of another Mind. Strange ! to find so zealous an Advocate of Christianity, in order to get rid of a slight Difficulty, destroying the very Foundation of all Revealed Religion. For is it possible, Sir, that a Person *inspired by God, full of the Holy Ghost*, and speaking under the *actual Influence and Direction of the Divine Spirit*, as St. Stephen here did, could be misled by popular Error or Prejudice to utter any thing false and erroneous ? Such a Concession must needs shake, I say, the very Foundation of *Christianity* itself. For what Impression could its Dictates make, if tho' inspired, they could yet be supposed to be false ? Thus whilst your zeal for senseless Systems transports you to treat me rudely, for moderating only the extravagant Notions of some of our popular Divines, and demolishing such

¹ Act. vii. 22.² Reply, p. 49.

slight Outworks as make the Defence of Religion more difficult ; you betray the very Citadel, and yield up the Fortrefs itself. This is a length and freedom of thinking which, I assure you, I cannot reach ; however you are pleased to calumniate me as a *Favourer of Infidelity* : For tho' I'm far from thinking every Tittle in the *Holy Scriptures* to be inspired ; or that Persons inspired on certain Occasions, must of course be *infallible* on all ; yet I cannot but think it a Point fundamental and necessary to be believed by all Christians, that whilst a Man is under the *actual Influence and Direction of the Holy Ghost*, he must at the same time be *infallible and superior to all Error* ; or else Christianity cannot be defended. In the present Case therefore, from the single Testimony of St. Stephen, *full of the Holy Ghost*, we are as much obliged to believe, *that Learning flourished in Ægypt before Moses's time*, as that Christianity itself is true ; for both must stand or fall together.

And here I have the pleasure to find my Opinion confirmed by Dr. *Waterland* himself, on whose Learning and Judgment you set so high a Value ; who affirms the *Authority of St. Stephen speaking by the Spirit of God*, with regard to any Action or Passage of History, to be sufficient to silence all Cavils to the thing itself, tho' otherwise seemingly wrong and contrary to the reason of things ; as in the Case of *Moses's killing the Ægyptian* : how
much

much more decisive then must the same Authority be, when it asserts only a plain matter of Fact, in itself harmless and indifferent ? Why to use the *Doctor's* own Words ; the *Question* admits of a short Decision, and is only this ? *Whether St. Stephen full of the Holy Ghost, or a Gentleman full of himself and his own Imaginations be most likely to pass a true Judgment on the Case* ?

To the Testimony of *St. Stephen* we may add another from the *Old Testament* ; where in celebrating the great Wisdom of *Solomon* 'tis said, that it exceeded that of the *Ægyptians* ². Now this, whether we are to take it for *inspired*, or as a meer *historical Testimony*, must however convince all who have any regard for Scripture, that *Ægypt* was famed for *Wisdom* before the Age of *Solomon* ; but Scripture is nothing with you to *Sir Isaac's Demonstrations* ; who has discovered, it seems, that the *Ægyptians* had not so much as the use of *Letters* among them till *Solomon's Reign* ³.

With this Account of *Scripture* the whole Stream of *Profane History* entirely agrees ; that the *Ægyptians* of all People in the World had the most ancient Monuments, and most authentick Proofs of their *Learning and Antiquity*.

Herodotus owns, that the *Greeks* borrowed almost every thing from them ; that they were

¹ *Script. Vindic. Part 2. p. 5.*

² *1 Kings iv. 30.*

³ *Reply p. 43.*

the Inventors of most Arts and Sciences ; *the Division of the Year ; the Immortality of the Soul ; the Names and Worship of the Gods, Altars, Statuary, Sculpture, &c*¹. That they reckoned a Succession of Kings from *Hercules to Amasis, for the Space of seventeen thousand Years ; which they pretended to demonstrate by an exact Register and Computation of Time regularly preserved in their sacred Books*².

Diodorus Siculus gives much the same Account of their *Antiquity and Invention of Arts and Sciences ; and says, that besides their fabulous History, wherein they supposed their Country to have been governed by the Gods, they pretended to a Succession of four hundred and seventy Kings and five Queens Natives of Ægypt, exclusive of the Time they were under the Æthiopians, Persians and Macedonians ; of all which Reigns they had clear and distinct Accounts in their sacred Records, describing particularly every Prince's Person, Character and Length of Reign ; from which Books he himself had made his Extracts*³. He says also, what indeed all other Writers confirm, that it was *antiently the most populous of all the known Countries of the World ; and had in it above eighteen thousand Cities and considerable Towns. Pomponius Mela and Pliny* affirm it to have had *twenty*

¹ Herod. l. 2. c. 4, 49, 50, 123, &c.

² Ibid c. 43. Ταῦτα Ἀγύπτιοι ἀκριβῶς φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτη. Ibid. c. 145.

³ Biblioth. Hist. l. 1. p. 41, 42. Edit. Rhodom. It. p. 27. B.

thousand

*thousand in the Reign of Amasis, and that it continued to their own Time well stocked with Cities tho' less noble ones*¹.

This Notion of the *Greatness, Antiquity and Learning of the Ægyptians superior to all other Nations*, is fully confirmed and asserted by all the *primitive Writers both Jews and Christians*.

*Philo the learned Jew, who himself lived in Ægypt, tells us, that Moses learnt of his Ægyptian Masters, who were sought out for him from all Parts, Arithmetick, Geometry, Musick, and their Philosophy expressed by Symbols, or Hieroglyphicks under the Figures of Animals; and Mathematicks, which the Ægyptians were especially fond of, &c*².

*Clemens of Alexandria, who lived likewise in Ægypt, exactly follows Philo's Account, and ascribes to the Ægyptians the Invention of the principal Arts and Sciences*³.

*Eusebius after both affirms the same thing; ascribes to the Ægyptians the Invention of Arts and Sciences, declares, that they had the clearest and most undoubted Monuments of their Antiquity, and that the Greeks borrowed all in a manner from them*⁴.

Josephus is just in the same Story with the rest, and allows them in Solomon's Time to

¹ De Situ Orbis. l. 1. c. 9. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 9.

² De Vita Mosis lib. 1. p. 605, 606.

³ Strom. l. 1. p.

413, 361. Edit. Potter.

⁴ Præparat. Evangel. p. 29,

&c. It. 279, 280. &c. Edit. R. Steph.

have excelled all other Nations in the Fame of their Wisdom¹.

Now if there had been any Prejudice in these Jewish and Christian Writers, who were all zealous and orthodox in their Religion, it must needs have been like yours on the other side of the Question ; in thinking it a Diminution to the Authority of Moses, to imagine that he had borrowed any thing from Ægypt ; but the Notoriety of the Fact and the Testimony of all History obliged them to allow and assert the Truth, which can never do Hurt to any Cause that is good.

But 'tis time to examine what Sir Isaac Newton has demonstrated and discovered in Opposition to all this Authority. Why, he has observed, that Ægypt was so thinly peopled before the Birth of Moses, that Pharaoh said of the Israelites, behold the Children of Israel are more and mightier than we : From whence it may at least, you say, be inferred, that the Jews were then no less powerful and flourishing a People than the Ægyptians². Where you seem to think yourself very modest in not insisting on much more, viz. that the Israelites were even more potent and numerous than their Masters the Ægyptians. Strange Notion indeed ! Not that I wonder at you, whose Notions seem generally to be taken on trust, but at

¹ Con. Ap. 1. 2, 6. Et. Antiq. Jud. 1. 8. c. 2. § 5.

² Reply, p. 42, 43.

Sir *Isaac* for entertaining it ; being grounded meerly on Mistake or want of Attention to the *lofty and hyperbolical Stile of Scripture* : For by the same Reason he might as well have proved, that the *Jews* were absolutely the most powerful Nation in the World, since none of the *great Monarchies* ever reached the height of those Descriptions we find given of them in the *Sacred Writings* ; where they are oft described to be as numerous as *the Sands of the Sea and the Stars of Heaven*¹, for *Multitude*. And 'tis from the same Sublimity of Expression, that the *seven petty Nations* of the promised Land are said to be *more and mightier* than these very *Israclites* ; and their *Cities impregnable and even fenced up to Heaven*². But to review the Text itself, whence you draw this Inference : *The People of Israel, says Pharaoh, are more and mightier than we* : And what's the Consequence ? Why, a Resolution to *afflict them the more heavily for it*, and to make their Slavery the more *rigorous*³. A wonderful Proof of *superiour Power and Might*, to suffer themselves to be treated the worse for it by the *fewer and weaker* !

But to examine a little the Possibility of this Notion from the very Account we have of it in *Scripture*. Whilst *Abraham* the *Father of the Jews* was yet childless, *Ægypt* is

¹ Gen. xxii. 17. ² Sam. xvii 11. Heb. xi. 12.

² Deut. vii. 1. Exod. ix. 1. ³ Exod. i. 9, &c.

represented as a formed and established Monarchy : For we read of *Pharaoh its King*, with *his Princes* or great Courtiers around him¹. About two hundred Years after, at *Jacob's Descent into Ægypt*, when the whole Posterity of *Abraham* reached only the Number of *seventy Persons*, we have a more particular Description of the Wealth and flourishing Condition of that Kingdom². And yet in about two hundred Years more, you suppose the *small Family of Jacob* to be grown superior in Power and Numbers to a Kingdom founded so many Ages before ; which all this while had held them in Bondage and Slavery, and employed them in constant Drudgery and hard Labour.

Again, consider the Circumstances of their Flight from *Ægypt*. *Pharaoh* repenting of the Leave he had given them, pursues them with *six hundred chosen Chariots*³ ; and, as *Josephus* adds, *with fifty thousand Horse, and two hundred thousand Foot*⁴. Which yet could only be a small Part of the military Force of *Ægypt* ; as it must have been gathered in haste and marched on so short a warning. With this Force, according to the same *Historian*, he hemmed them in in such a manner between the Mountains and the Water, that they must all have been infallibly cut off,

¹ Gen. xii. 15.² Gen. xvi. &c.³ Exod. xiv. 7⁴ Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 15. § 3. &c.

had

had not a Passage been opened to them of a sudden, either miraculously or accidentally thro' the Red Sea. So that taking the Account from *Scripture* and the *Jews themselves*, there cannot be any ground for a Comparison of the *Power and flourishing Condition* of the two Nations.

This, Sir, is what Sir *Isaac's Discoveries* amount to with regard to the *Strength and Greatness of the Ægyptian Nation*: Let us next see what he has *demonstrated* against the Learning and Wisdom, which I suppose them to have had in *Moses's time*. Why he says, that the *Invention of Letters was ascribed by the Ægyptians to Thoth, Secretary to King Osiris; who was the same Person as Bacchus, as Sesostris, as Sefac or Shisac who plundered the Temple of Jerusalem in the Time of Rehoboam*¹: And consequently that they were so far from having any Learning, that they had not even the *use of Letters* till about *Solomon's Reign*. But how does he prove all this? Why, by meer Conjecture: *Osiris, Bacchus, Sesostris*, says he, *lived about the same time; were all Kings of Ægypt; potent by Land and Sea; all great Conquerors; carried their Conquests as far as India; all left Pillars with Inscriptions, &c. and therefore all three must be the same King, and this King can be no other than Sefac*². And he might as well have said, that they must all

¹ Reply, p. 43. Newt. Chron. p. 210.

² Newt. *ibid.* p. 193.

be the same with *Alexander the Great*, since much the same Actions are attributed also to him.

I shall not trouble myself with examining this Conjecture any further, than as it concerns the *Fact* I am engaged to support, that the *Ægyptians had Arts and Learning amongst them before the time of Sefac or Rehoboam*. And how is it possible to imagine that so great a Kingdom as *Ægypt*, which, as we learn from Scripture, had flourished for about a thousand Years from the time of *Abraham* to *Shifac*, should thro' all that Period want not only the *use of Letters*, but almost all the other Arts and Inventions useful to Life; whilst the *petty State of the Jews* bordering so closely upon them, had all this while the familiar use of them all? *Osiris* according to the Ancients, and his Wife *Isis*, invented the *Culture of the Vine*; *Physick*; *Sowing and Ploughing*, &c¹. Now, if *Sir Isaac's* Conjecture be true, they must have lived without *Medicine, Corn* or *Wine* till the time of *Shifac* or *Solomon*, whilst yet we know certainly from *Scripture* that they had *Physicians and Plenty of Corn*, near seven hundred Years before in *Joseph's* time².

In the *Book of Job*, which is supposed by many to be older than *Moses* himself, the *use of Letters and Writing* is represented as a

¹ Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 14. It. p. 22. It. Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 29, &c. ² Gen. l. 2. It. xlii. 1.

thing

thing of long and ancient standing¹. And the *Israelites* themselves at their coming out of *Ægypt*, were not only acquainted with *Letters*, but all the *common Arts* and *Sciences* useful to Life ; which are not yet spoken of as new or lately invented, but referred to as things vulgar and of old familiar to them. *Moses*, we know, wrote down the *Words of the Lord*²; and *Joshua* wrote the *Covenant* he made with the *People in the Book of the Law*³: But they had written to little purpose, had not *writing* been known before, and in common use with the *People*; who were in Possession likewise of all the *other Arts*, as *Building*, *Statuary*, *Sculpture*, *cutting and setting of precious Stones*, *working in all sorts of Metals*, *Embroidery*, *Needlework*⁴. Now, where can we imagine them to have learnt these *Arts*? In fighting their way thro' an *Enemy's Country*; or in the *Wilderness*? That's impossible: Or was *Moses* the *Inventor* of them? That's as impossible as the other⁵: For in the *Hurry* and *unsettled State* they were in, they had neither *Ability* nor *Leisure* to invent or learn any thing: Nor is it credible that the *Scripture*, which so carefully relates every other great *Action of Moses*, could have been silent on such an occasion, and omitted to give him

¹ Job xix. 23. viii. 8. ² Exod. xxiv. 4. ³ Josh. xxiv. 26.
⁴ Exod. xxxvi. &c. ⁵ Mosem multi frivolis rationibus ducti
scribendi auctorem faciunt. Kirch. Ob. Pam. l. 1. 2.

the Glory of Inventions so useful and necessary to the Life of Man. So that 'tis as evident and certain, as both Reason and History can make it, that *Moses* and the *Children of Israel* came furnished and provided out of *Ægypt* not only with *Letters* and the use of *Writing*, but all the other *Arts and Sciences*.

Besides, it was constantly objected to the *Jews* by their Enemies; that they were of all *Barbarians* the most rude and illiterate, and the only People in the World who had never contributed any share to the common Benefit of Mankind, by the Invention of any thing new or useful to Life.¹ This was their Character in the World: And *Josephus* is so far from confuting it, that he owns the Charge; and excuses it from the Nature and Policy of their Government, which obliged them to such an *immutable and inviolable observance of their Laws*, that they were restrained and cramped from attempting and striking out any thing new². But if *Josephus* had dreamt of what *Sir Isaac*, you say, has now discovered, how readily could he have answered, that the Charge was so far from being true, that he could demonstrate the *Jews* to be the very *Authors and Inventors* not only of *Letters and Writing*, but of all o-

¹ Ἀφυστάτους εἶναι τῶν βαρβάρων; καὶ ἀπὸ τῆτο μηδὲν εἰς τὴν βίον εὐρημα συμβεβλήκασι μόνους. *Jos. con. Ap. l. 2. c. 14.*

² Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ προφερόμενον ἡμῶν ὑπότινον ἐκλήμας, τὸ δὴ μὴ καινῶν εὐρεταίς, &c. *Jos. ibid. c. 20.*

ther *Arts and Sciences* in the World ; and to have had the actual Use and Possession of them for at least five hundred Years before they were known in *Ægypt*: Which tho' contrary to *Scripture* and the Testimony of all *History*, is yet the necessary Consequence of what you call Sir *Isaac's Demonstrations*.

Thus, instead of exposing the *Falshood of my Historical Facts*, as you had undertaken in your *Title Page*, you have exposed nothing at last but your own Ignorance both of *Sacred and Profane Antiquity*; for to those who have any Acquaintance with either 'tis impossible to place the *Origin of Letters and Arts in Ægypt* so low as *Solomon's time*.

But you insult me still further with Sir *Isaac's Discoveries*, and charge me with two Mistakes more, made in open Defiance of them: First, for affirming the *Golden Calf made by Aaron to be nothing else but the Ægyptian God Apis*. Whereas Sir *Isaac*, you say, has proved, that *Apis was no other Person than Sesostris or Shisac who reigned in the Days of Solomon*¹. 'Tis strange, that I must not be thought *Orthodox* here, where I have the Concurrence of all the best Writers both *Ancient and Modern* to support my Opinion².

¹ Reply, p. 46.

² Hanc opinionem adstruit Philo, Targum Hierosolymitanum, Lactantius, Hieronymus, Kircherus, Bochartus, & Auctores ab eo citati, quibus accedit Grotius, &c. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. 1. p. 21.

*Philo tells us, that they turned the Absence of Moses to an Occasion of Impiety, and forgetful of the true God, set themselves to copy the silly Fictions of Ægypt, and having made a Golden Calf after the Pattern of an Animal esteemed the most sacred in that Country, they offered impious Sacrifices, accompanied with abominable dancing and singing*¹. Which, as all Men of Learning observe, are the very Instances of the Worship paid to the God *Apis*.² *Monsieur Rollin, in his short History of the Ancient Ægyptians, says, that the Golden Calf set up by the Israelites was the effect of their Abode in Ægypt and an Imitation of their God Apis, as well as those which were afterwards set up by Jeroboam.*³ And a Protestant Author quoted above, who never allows any thing that an orthodox Man can possibly deny, yet owns, that it was *in Imitation of the Ægyptian Apis, that the Golden Calf was made in the Wilderness*⁴.

But should we admit, you say, that the *Ægyptian Apis* was worshipped as early, as I represent it, yet there are no grounds from Scripture Story

¹ Philo de Vita Mos. p. 677. ² Probatione id non indiget; cum & ritus in confluendo vitulo adhibiti, tripudia, convivia chori, &c. id satis superque demonstrent — Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. T. 1. p. 300. It. Spenc. ib. ³ See Antient Hist. of the Ægypt. done into Engl. p. 42. ⁴ Itaque credible est jam antiquitus tempore Israelitarum fuisse Idolum, cujus imitamine vitulum in deserto fecerunt — Leidek. de Rep. Hebr. p. 150.

to conclude, that the Golden Calf in the Wilderness had any Reference to that Worship: Or that the God or Gods which the Jews intended to worship under that Image, were any Ægyptian Gods¹. Now this shews the little Acquaintance you have with Scripture, as well as the little Attention you pay to Reason and the Sense of Things: The *Israelites* had no sooner got clear of the *Ægyptians*, than they fell to the making and worshipping of *Idols*: The Question is, what sort of *Idols* it was, that they were so fond of worshipping: And does not Sense and Reason and even Necessity teach us, that they could be no other, than what they had been so long acquainted with, and worshipping for about two hundred Years before? For the learned *Spencer* has shewn, that during their Abode in *Ægypt*, they complied with all the Customs and Idolatry of the Country². But there's no ground, you say, from Scripture Story to make this Conclusion: This is still stranger, that one who undertakes to defend Scripture with such Gravity, should betray so great an Ignorance of Scripture Story: For nothing is more clear and certain or more frequently inculcated in Scripture Story, than that the *Idolatry*, by which they so oft provoked God to punish them, and their Leaders and Prophets to reproach them, was

¹ Reply, p. 47.

² De Leg. Hebr. l. Sect. 1. p. 20.

such

such as *their Fathers had learnt and practised in Ægypt*. To give an Instance or two out of many.

Joshua a little before his Death very pathetically exhorts them, *to put away the Gods, which their Fathers served on the other side of the Flood and in Ægypt*¹. And when they were in Possession of the promised Land, the same Inclination to the *Idols of Ægypt* still continued, as we find by the Reproofs of all the *Prophets*, on this very Account. *Then said I unto them, cast ye away every Man the Abominations of his Eyes, and defile not yourselves with the Idols of Ægypt. But they rebelled against me—neither did they forsake the Idols of Ægypt*². All which is confirmed again by the Testimony of *St. Stephen*, if that have any weight with you, who mentions this very Case of the *Golden Calf*, as an Example and Proof of *their turning back again in their Hearts into Ægypt*³.

The *second Mistake* you urge me with on this Head, is for asserting *Kircher* to have shewn, that *Hieroglyphicks* or the *sacred Characters of Ægypt* were invented and used before *Moses's Time*. But *Sir Isaac*, you say, has shewn the contrary; that *Thoth* the reputed Inventor of those *Hieroglyphicks* was *Contemporary with Se-*

¹ Josh. xxiv. 14.

² Ezek. xix. 7, 8.

³ Act. vii. 39.

*sostris or Shisac who plundered the Temple of Jerusalem in the Reign of Rehoboam : And that Moses therefore could not borrow, as I intimate, the Hieroglyphick of the Serpent from the Ægyptians*¹. And here the Reader will observe another remarkable Instance of what I have more than once mentioned, viz. your rash and partial way of forming your Notions from *Scraps and separate Quotations*, without considering with any Care the very Authors you most admire. For tho' Sir Isaac asserts *Thoth*, who lived according to his Account in the time of Solomon, to have been *the Inventor of common Letters and Writing*², yet he is so far from ascribing to him the Invention of *Hieroglyphicks*, that he declares in exprefs terms, that *the Hieroglyphical way of writing seems to have spread into lower Ægypt before the Days of Moses, and that some Reference is made to it in the second Commandment, which prohibits the worshipping of God under the Shape of Birds, Beasts and Fishes*³.

I shall conclude this Article with a Passage from Dr. *Spencer*, who has examined this Question with more Diligence, and treated it with more Learning and Judgment than any Man. *The mystical way of Writing in use with the Ægyptians bears much Resemblance, says he, to that of the Hebrews.* This

¹ Reply, p. 48. ² Newt. Chron. p. 210. Ibid. p. 225.

he confirms by the Authority of *Franciscus Valefius*, and *Clemens of Alexandria*, and then subjoins the following Remark. *Whence comes it then, that this Ænigmatical Stile of the Ægyptians and the Hebrews is found so exactly alike; but that God had so contrived his Law and its sacred Rites, that they might suit, as far as was possible, the Taste and Usage of that Age? For no Man who has any good Judgment can think, that the Ægyptians were in this Case the Disciples and Followers of the Jews; since 'tis allowed on all hands, that the Hieroglyphical Literature was ancients than Moses, and that the Ægyptians long before his Time used to cover their sacred Doctrines under the Veil of Symbols and Mystical Figures*¹.

And thus, Sir, after all *Sir Isaac's Demonstrations*, and your Descant upon them, I shall once more venture to affirm *that Ægypt was in Moses's Time a great and flourishing Kingdom, a learned and polite Nation.*

The last *Historical Fact*, you take notice of, *advanced*, as you say², *against the Truth*, is *the Confusion of Languages at Babel*. But how is this a Fact of my advancing? I have indeed made an Observation or two on the common way of explaining it; and 'tis this you contest with me, contrary to your own Declaration;

¹ De Legib. Heb. L. 1. c. 15. p. 211, 212. ² Rep. p. 51.

not the *Fact* itself, but *my Reasoning* about it. Which shews, as I've already hinted, the low Shifts you are put to, to blow up the Envy and Clamour you would raise against me.

And here I must again put the Reader in mind, that I am far from forming, as you call it, any *peremptory Judgment against the Mosaic Story of Babel*^r. All that I attempted in *my Letter* was to shew the Rashness and Imprudence of Dr. *Waterland's* way of defending it, in denying all *manner of probability or colour of Reason* to any Objections that could be made to it: And as I have proved against the *Doctor* and yourself, that the *dispersion of Mankind* and *peopling of the World* must of course be the certain and necessary effect of an *encreasing Multitude*, flowing from the Reason and Nature of Things, exclusive of any *Miracle or the extraordinary Interposition of God*; so what I pretend to shew now, is, that the *Variety of Languages* may with *some colour of Reason and Probability* be accounted for too in the same way, as the natural and necessary Consequence of such Dispersion.

Let's consider Mankind in its infant State, as yet but one Family, tho' daily growing and encreasing so fast, as to be forced in Proportion to that Encrease to break off and separate from each other into several Parties or Colo-

^r Rep. p. 54.

nies in quest of fresh Quarters and Provisions. That this must needs be the case of such a Multitude has already been shewn from the Nature of Things ; and 'twas from the same Necessity of Nature, that the *Nations of the Earth were divided or peopled*, as the *Scripture* says, *by the Sons of Noah* ¹.

Now as this Dispersion must have happened, whilst Mankind was yet rude and barbarous, unacquainted with Arts and Sciences; and even the common Inventions and Conveniencies of Life ; so the Production of such Arts, the Improvement of Knowledge and Science, and the new Demands of Life daily arising must necessarily produce a *new Language* in each single Nation or separate People, unknown in a great measure to the rest of their Fellow Creatures. For as Names are generally but arbitrary Signs, not drawn from the Nature or Qualities of the Things themselves, but formed by Fancy or Accident and confirmed by Use ; so every thing new must necessarily create not only a new Name, but a different one too from what the same thing, when invented would obtain in a different People.

And thus a Difference of Languages being once established, the Mixture and Composition of several of them together, which follows of course from Conquests and the familiar

¹ Gen. x. 22.

Intercourse of different Nations, is another inexhaustible Source and Cause of multiplying that same Variety ; just as the various changing and mixing the different Sounds of Bells produce an infinite Variation and Distinction of their Musick.

This short Hint of the *Origin of Languages* may suffice to shew the Folly of your asserting it to be *impossible, that there could have been such a Variety of them in the World, unless from some such Confusion as happened at Babel*¹. The reason you alledge for that *Impossibility* is trifling, without any Foundation in Fact or Truth : For you say, that if no such Miracle had happened, the *things which are of most common use in Life, and which all Men are every Day speaking of, could never have come in different Languages to be expressed by Words, which have not the least Affinity with one another.* But do not we see the same thing to have actually happened in all the modern Languages of the World, that are as it were but of Yesterday's rise and standing ; that by mixing and blending the Sounds of concurring Nations *new Names* have been formed for the *most necessary Things of Life*, as well as the most obvious Parts of the Body ?

One Part of *Italy* anciently called the *Mouth, Stoma* ; the other Part, *Os* : now all call it *Bocca* ; in French *Bouche*.

¹ Reply, p. 52.

One Part called the *Eye*, *Optthalmus* ; the other *Oculus* : all now call it *Occhio* ; in French *Oeil*.

One Part called the *Ear*, *Ouar* ; the other *Auris* : all now *Orecchio* ; in French *Oreille*, &c.

Now the grand Question you ask is, what could tempt Men to create new Words, where they had old ones before, especially in things of common use, whose Names were every Day in every Man's Mouth ? The Answer is very easy : It was the natural and necessary Mutability of all human Things, that forced them by degrees to change their *old Words* for the more prevailing Sounds of such People, as had then got the Superiority or principal Rule in the Country ; an Effect that will always follow the same Cause : And should *Italy* or *France* be again conquered by *Barbarians*, *Tartars*, *Turks*, &c. a *new Language* would necessarily arise from such an Event ; and *new Names* for the most common Things of Life, neither *Barbarian* nor *Italian*, but a Jumble and Mixture of both.

And thus, Sir, I have gone thro' all your Cavils to *my Letter*, without finding the least Proof or Overt-act of the *Infidelity* you charge me with, besides my daring to differ from *Dr. Waterland* and *yourself* about the Mode of explaining some Circumstances of the *Mosaic History*.

History. One great Part of the *Letter* you make so free with is employed in Defence of the *Christian Religion* against *Infidelity*; on such a Plan as I then thought and still think the most effectual to confute the Author I had to do with, and expose the Vanity of those Principles by which he hopes to overturn Christianity: And as *our Saviour himself*, when charged absurdly with the *casting out of Devils by the Power of the Devil*, shews the Folly of that Calumny by one plain Observation, that *a House divided against it self cannot stand*; so 'tis silly and absurd to imagine, that I should take such pains to destroy the Credit of a Writer, who deserves so well of *Infidels*, had I been of the Number myself, or inclined to list into that Service. But I am so far from favouring *Infidelity*, that I should be heartily glad to see an Answer to *Christianity as Old*, &c. on a better Plan and Foundation than what I have proposed; But as I am very certain, that this has not yet been done by *Dr. Waterland*; so I am as sure, by the Specimen you have given us, that it can never be done by yourself.

As I am a Stranger to your Name and Character, and have no other Light to form a Judgment of you by, but the Merit of the Piece I have been examining; so your injurious and insolent manner of treating me in that Piece, as an *Infidel and Enemy to Christi-*

Christianity ; a wilful Depraver of Facts and Quotations, will fully justify any Freedom or Severity of Expression I may have used in this necessary Defence of myself ; in which however if I have done you any Injustice, I shall always be ready, upon better Information and Acquaintance with you, to make you all the Amends and Satisfaction, that can be required from one, who in this as well as every other Controversy, he may be engaged in, professes to have no other Motive, View or Intention whatsoever, than to search freely and impartially for the Truth.

F I N I S.

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