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REMARKS

Upon a late

DISCOURSE

OF

FREE-THINKING:

IN A

LETTER to N. N. D. D.

BY

PHILELEUTHERUS LIPSIENSIS.

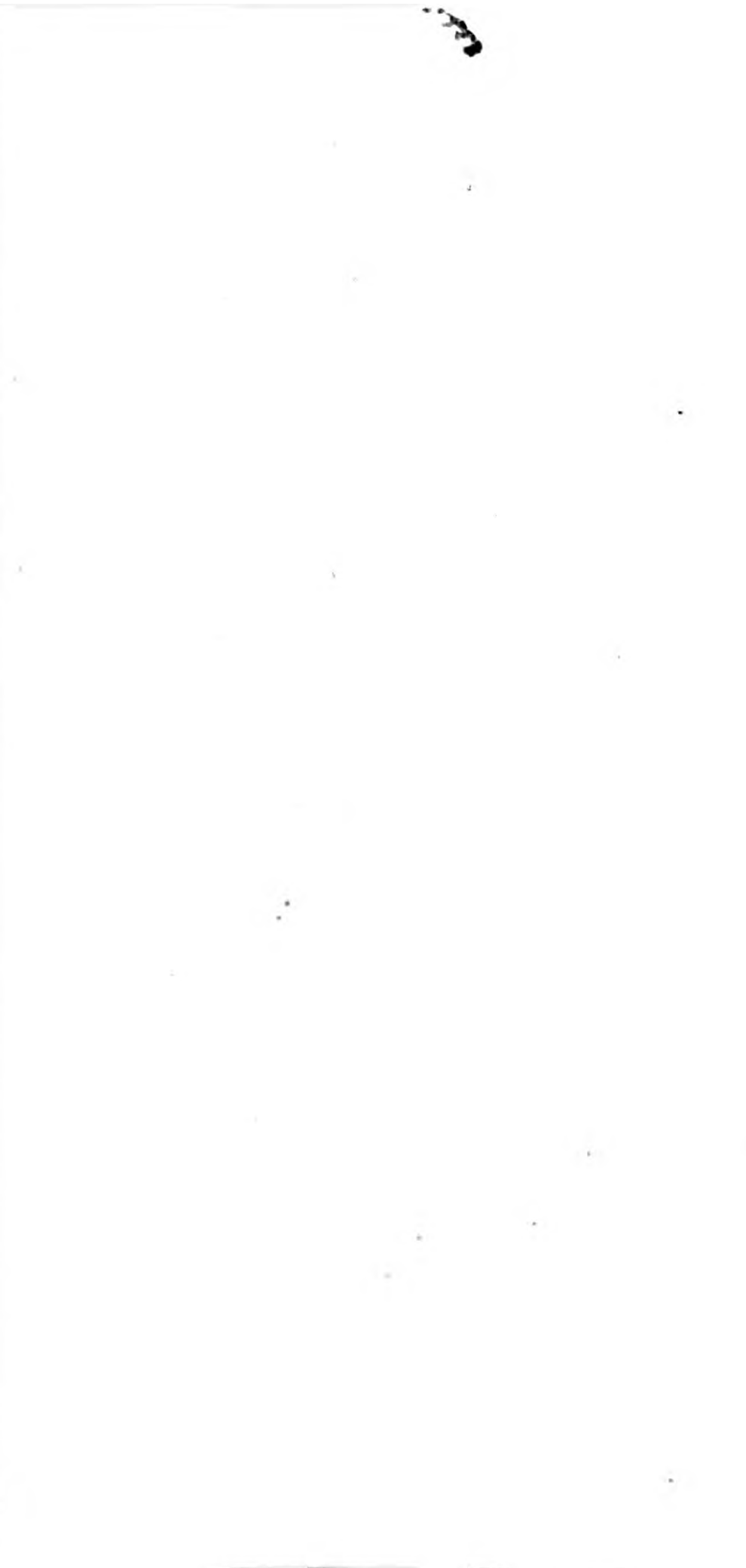
PART THE SECOND.

THE SEVENTH EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. THURLBURN over-against
the *Senate-House* in *Cambridge*.

M. DCC. XXXVII.



To my very Learned and Honour'd

FRIEND N. N. D. D.

*At LONDON,
GREAT-BRITAIN.*

SIR,

THE account you was pleas'd to send me of your publishing my former Remarks, and of the kind reception they found among your countrymen, especially your Clergy, to whose honour and service they were peculiarly dedicated, was very agreeable. I am sensible that, before my papers could come to your hands, there must have been several better answers, of your own product at home. If mine therefore was read with such distinction as you speak of, I must impute that good fortune to nothing else, than your known national humour of admiring foreign commodities; though you have better of your native growth. 'Tis a favourable error however, and we strangers often fare the better for it. But

K 2

I am

I am concern'd that, when every thing else pleas'd you, my declaration at close, that the half of my remarks was as much as the whole, could not meet your approbation. Why do you then press and teaze me, both against my inclination and interest, to continue these papers? You acknowledge enough is ready said to silence both the book and the author, both himself and the whole Sect. You inform me, that he has fled the pit, that all his character, sense and learning is forfeited and dead, and if so, why impose upon me that useless cruelty of molesting him in his grave? I may add too a prudential view: I should stake what I have already won against nothing at all. If another paper succeeds as well as the first, I acquire no new reputation: if it does not, I lose even the old. Besides, the subject itself is alter'd: the former part of his book contain'd matters of consequence, and gave some play to an answerer; but the latter is a dull heap of citations, not work'd nor cemented together, mere sand without lime: and who would meddle with such dry mouldring stuff, that with the best handling can never take a polish.

To produce a good reply, the first writer must contribute something: if he is quite low and flat, his antagonist cannot rise high; if he is barren and jejune, the other cannot flourish; if he is obscure and dark, the other can never shine. And then you know my long law-suit here, which is now remov'd to Dresden: and who would regard the Free-thinker, or willingly jade his own parts, under such clogs and impediments? I find, when I set pen to paper, that I sink under my own level: Quaerit se ingenium, nec invenit. But if you'd had patience till my trial was over (for trial in my cause is the same as victory) then perhaps your growing sect might have felt to their cost;

Et nos tela, pater, ferrumque haud debile dextrâ
Spargimus, & nostro sequitur de vulnere sanguis.

And yet, after so many good reasons why I ought now to lie still, see the power you have over me; when you both urge a promise, and back it with the desire of the Clergy of England. During the vacation at our Leipsic mart, I took up your Author, and begun where I left off

before. I had thought indeed to patch his whole book within the bulk one packet; but I have run out beyond my length, and must again stop in the middle: though I hope you'll have more conscience in the exercise of your authority, than to require any remains from

Your most obedient servant

Leipfic, Sept. 18. 1713.
Stilo novo.

PHILELEUTHERUS LIPSIENSIS

R

R E M A R K

XXXIV.

I Left my Author in his 90th page, proving the duty and necessity of *Free-Thinking*, from the conduct of your *English* clergy in ten instances. The VIIth was concluded with a passage out of *Victor Tununensis*; which I hope is so fully clear'd and answer'd, that none of the fraternity will hereafter vaunt of it, as they used to do, in booksellers shops.

His VIIIth instance of their ill conduct is * their daily publishing of treatises in dialogue, where they introduce *Atheists, Deists, Sceptics, and Soci-nians*, speaking for their own opinions with the same strength, subtilty, and art, that those men shew either in their books or conversation. Nay one of them, which makes the † IXth instance, has translated *Lucretius* (the only compleat

* Pag. 91.

† Pag. 91.

ancient system of Atheism now ex
for the benefit of the *English* reader

When I consider myself as a *Lutheran*
born and dwelling on the great conti
I cannot but treat with scorn the
efforts of this writer; who, whi
attacks christianity in common, b
arguments that reach no farther
home, within the narrow compa
your own island. But what, I
is the pretended crime? or where
the wrong conduct lie? I had tho
that to propose objections with
full force had been a certain sign
of fairness in the writer, and assu
of a good cause. If they make At
talk with great *strength and subtilty*
they not refute them with greater stre
and overcome subtilty with truth?
our Author denies not here: and
where is his *own conduct*? Be
he had charg'd the priests, * *That*
will not tell the truth, when it n
to their disadvantage: but here, it s
they tell too much; and give the u
strength to their adversaries obje
Anon, he will tell us † *of their smo*

* Pag. 82. † Pag. 94, 95.

ing and stifling of Passages in their translations; but here the crime is quite contrary, that they translate even *systems of atheism* too openly and entirely. What cavilling? what inconsistency? This is exactly,

Quid dem, quid non dem?

Nolo, volo: volo, nolo rursum: cape, cedo.

Since nothing coming from your *English* Clergy can please this nice Author, neither whole translations nor in part; I'll try if a *foreigner* can make him amends, when I rub in his nose, as I have done several already, some more of his *own translations*.

XXXV.

But, for a *Xth* instance, your priests are guilty of* *pious frauds in translating and publishing books*; even the Holy Bible itself. For, says he, *Εκκλησία* is sometimes render'd *Church*, other times *Assembly*; and *Επίσκοποι* sometimes *Bishops*, other times *Overseers*: whereas the same word in the original ought to be † *translated universally alike*. Notable criticism, and vast penetration into

* Pag. 92 † Pag. 93.

the

the nature of languages! for, to wave what the translators of your bible on this very head in the close of the preface, can our Writer be ignorant that in all tongues whatever a word containing several complex ideas arbitrarily join'd together, has seldom any correspondent word in any other language which extends to all those ideas? that in the same language most words by tract of time and instability of common use either lose or gain some of their ideas, and have a narrower or larger meaning in one age than in another? Physical words indeed, as *Ἡ Ἑλλάς*, *Θάλασσα*, whose significations uncompounded and immutable, may always express'd alike, *Sun*, *Moon*, *Sea*: but the other sort ought not to be so, without great ambiguity and absurdity. See the variety of *Ἐκκλησία* *greek*: it means the place, the building for an assembly; it means an assembly or congregation in that place: thus in ancient heathen times: but in the christian usage, besides these significations it means the whole of a town or city who are wont to assemble in one

more such places, whether they are actually assembled or not; it means the whole of a District, Diocese, Province, Nation; it means diffusively the whole community of the Christian name; it means the governors of such Places, or Assemblies, or Districts; of one or more, of larger or less. And has your *English* Language one single word that is coextended through all these significations? The case is much alike in the other word *Επίσκοπος*. Let our Author then learn, before he sets up to teach. Had he read any good translation, ancient or modern, could he possibly be so pedantic with his *universally alike*? His own Book indeed is *universally alike*, a perpetual detail either of his own shufflings or mistakes.

But let us view his particular texts. He's angry, that in *Acts* xix, 32. the word *Εκκλησία* is render'd *Assembly*, and not as usually the *Church*. * For, says he, in this place where it manifestly signifies *the People*, had the Translators said, *The Church* (instead of *Assembly*) *was confus'd, and the more part knew*

* Pag. 92.

not wherefore they were come together, the signification of the word *Church* would not have admitted of any doubt about its meaning. Unfortunate indeed! I cannot decide, whether it is more nonsense in his expression, or stupidity in his remark. It's signification, says he, would admit of no doubt about it's meaning: that is, its signification about it's signification. but *Εκκλησία* there means the People, and, had it been render'd *Church*, should have known the *Church* meant the *Laiety*, as well as the *Priest*. What Priest ever denied, that *Church* in your *English* Bibles does generally comprehend all Believers, People as well as Clergy? but in this place that *Assembly* which he would call a *Church*, was a mob of *Pagans* got together in the *Theatre*; some for fear of their misadventures (as your *Silkweavers* on *St. Dunstons* *London*) and the most for they knew not what. And though *Εκκλησία*, which signifies any assembly, is properly and anciently used here in the original sense, your *English* word *Church*, that has its first rise has been consecrated to a religious sense, be extended to a heathen

mu

mutiny? This very instance shews, what I said before in general, that the political words in different languages are seldom totally equivalent. And those foreign words, that are not interpreted but adopted and retain'd, as *Apostle*, *Bishop*, *Priest*, *Deacon*, have always a narrower sense, where they are transplanted, than in their first soil. And yet our Writer adds seriously (for there's no mark of raillery or jest) that, had the Translators done their duty in this passage, there could have been no doubt about the meaning of the word *Church*. No doubt in the least: for if that Assembly could be call'd a *Church*, you would have *Churches* at your Operas, *Churches* at Comedies, at Puppet-shows, at Masquerades. If he had taught your Parliament this language; he might have sav'd the great charge of their fifty new *Churches*: for with one word he has built as many as there are Coffee-houses in *London*; and, what is more, he has prov'd himself and his Free-thinkers to be excellent *Church*-men.

His other exception is *Acts* xx; where
οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, * *The Elders*,

* *Pag.* 93.

the

the Presbyters of the Church v. 17. are said to be *Επίσκοποι* v. 28. *Overseers over all the Flock*. Here instead of *Overseers* he would have it render'd *Bishops*; that it might appear, that *Bishops* and *Presbyters* in Scripture phrase are synonymous words. And what if they should be so, *iidem* *πρεσβύτεροι* *qui* *ἐπίσκοποι*, the first the name of their age and order, the latter of their office and duty? does he think to fright your Bishops with this? does this affect the cause of Episcopacy? how then came *Theodorit* a Bishop, *Theophylact* an Archbishop, and *Chrysostom* a Patriarch, not to be aware of it, when they expressly affirm, what our Writer would have appear? They, with all Christian antiquity, never thought themselves and their order to succeed the Scripture *Επίσκοποι*, but the Scripture *Ἀπόστολοι*; they were *διάδοχοι τῶν Ἀποστόλων*, *the successors of the Apostles*. The sum of the matter is this. Though new institutions are form'd, new words are not coin'd for them; but old ones borrow'd and applied. *Επίσκοπος*, whose general idea is *Overseer*, was a word in use long before Christianity; a word of universal rela-

relation to oeconomical, civil, military, naval, judicial and religious matters. This word was assum'd to denote the governing and presiding persons of the Church, as *Διάκονος* (another word of vulgar and diffus'd use) to denote the ministerial. The *Presbyters* therefore, while the Apostles lived, were *ἐπίσκοποι* *Overseers*. But the Apostles, in foresight of their approaching martyrdom, having selected and appointed their successors in the several cities and communities, as St. *Paul* did *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, and *Titus* at *Crete*, A. D. LXIV, four years before his death ; what name were these successors to be call'd by? not *Ἀπόστολοι*, *Apostles*: their modesty, as it seems, made them refuse it ; they would keep that name proper and sacred to the first *extraordinary* messengers of Christ ; though they really succeeded them in their office, in due part and measure, as the *ordinary* governors of the Churches. It was agreed therefore over all Christendom at once, in the very next generation after the Apostles, to assign and appropriate to them the word *Ἐπίσκοπος* or *Bishop*. From that time to this that appellation, which before

fore included a *Presbyter*, has been strain'd to a superior Order. And nothing in all this but what has been in all languages and communities in the world. See the *Notitia* of the *Roman* and *Greek* Empires; and scarce find one name of any station or employment, that in course of time does not vary from its primitive signification. So that should our *Lutheran* Presbyters contend they are Scripture *Bishops*, would they get by it? No more lies in the syllables. The time has been when a commander even of a single regiment was call'd *Imperator*: and every such now a days set up to be *perors*? the one pretense is almost as just as the other.

But to speak a word to his confusion. He would have it *Bishop*, as it is in *Acts* xx. as it is in other places, and *Overseers*. Our *Luther* indeed translated it here and every where *Uebersicht*: but, if my countrymen should hear me, I must beg his excuse. *Uebersicht* and *Bischoff* give no internal idea of an illiterate *Englishman* or *German*. It is an exotic word, they have no notion of it but from seeing a modern *Bishop*.

such therefore this version, *You Presbyters, whom the Holy Ghost hath made Bishops over all the flock*, gives a sense erroneous and false. Well then is it translated in your Bible, *Overseers*: and if our aukward *Free-thinker* had chang'd the tables and expostulated, not why here *Overseers*, but why not every where else; perhaps he could not have been so easily answer'd.

XXXVI.

Another *pious fraud* is laid to your Translators, *Acts VII, 59.* * *And they stoned Stephen calling upon God and saying, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.* For, says he, the word *God* has no manuscript nor printed copy in any language to vouch it. And was this *insertion* made fraudulently? or is it not an *impious fraud* in this writer, to bring so false a charge against a Book that deserves his veneration? are not the words *upon God* printed in *Italic* letter, to warn the reader as usually, that they are not in the original? In the same Chapter

* Pag. 93.

there are these several words *inserted* to make the sense clearer, *so much* *Abraham, beget, time, the Father, saying, him, so*: and all distinguished by *Italic* with a nice and religious exactness. Why did not our Writer make exceptions to those? He can easily allow the name of *God* to be inserted, but the name of *Free-thinker's* aversion. Well, but the Translators conceal'd the insertion, and not proclaim'd it by an *Italic* letter, where had been the *pious fraud*? In what interest, what priestcraft can it serve? Is this a Text bandied for the right of the Church? Can he deny, that the words *upon God* supplied in the version, are manifestly understood in the original; the *greek* word is *Επικαλούμενον*, *calling upon*: and our Author is uncommensurably dishonest, when he charges one word *upon God*, and not two, *upon God*, to be the *insertion*. So that *they stoned Stephen, calling upon——and saying, Lord, Pray, what or whom did he call upon*; certainly either *God* or *the Lord*; let our Author take his choice. Notwithstanding the words being thus in the Text according to the present copies, *ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΑ*; should affirm

affirm, that a word is dropt out, either $\overline{\Theta\bar{N}}$ *God* absorpt by the preceding syllable ON, or $\overline{K\bar{N}}$ *the Lord* by the following syllable KAI; and that your Translators were of the same opinion, considering that *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν θεόν* and *τὸν κύριον* come so frequently in the Septuagint; I dare challenge all the tribe to answer it, though they take the cismarine Critic to their aid and assistance.

XXXVII.

Well, but the *Postscripts* of the II^d Epistle to *Timothy*, and of the Epistle to *Titus*, wherein the former is stil'd * *First Bishop* of the Church of the *Ephesians*, and the latter of *the Cretans*, were both prov'd in Parliament to be bold and spurious additions made by your reverend Editors. This is formidable indeed to tell us at *Leipsic*; where your *English* Parliament must needs have greater authority, than any General Council. But how, pray, was it prov'd there? was it enacted by all the Estates, and with the Bishops concurrence? or

* Pag. 94.

was it *voted* only in the Lower House? Or, which is yet lower, was it only *debated*? Or *when* was this great transaction? He quotes for it *diurnal occurrences*, a book unknown in these parts, so that I can only guess either at the time or the manner of it. However, I durst lay a small wager, that it was not in what you call your Rump Parliament, and that this learned proof was made not by some lay Elder in buff. Be that as it will, I dare tell our Author, without the vote of our *German Diet* in opposition to his parliament, that it was not *prov'd* there nor any where else; that he speaks not one true word in this paragraph. For he blunders when he calls them *Postscripts*; that never implying, that they were subscribed by the writer of the letter preceding. But no body yet either believ'd or confirm'd, that these were underwritten by St. *Paul* himself. They are nothing but memorandums or endorsements, written by others long after the death of the Apostle. But be they postscripts or postscripts, your translators neither mention them nor recommended them for scripture. And his parliamentary p

that *those additions were made by the reverend editors*, does miserably fail him. Impudence and noise against plain matter of fact! Let him look into Dr. *Mill's* edition, and he'll see that very few of the manuscripts want them: and they were printed in the best *Greek* editions, before your *editors* were born.

XXXVIII.

* *It is certain, says he, the priests may plead the authority of the Fathers for forgery, corruption, and mangling of authors with more reason, than for any of their articles of faith.* He grows in impudence and profaneness; but how does he make this out? from a † passage of *St. Jerom*, the import of which he understands not, and the words he has wilfully perverted. One *Vigilantius* had accus'd *St. Jerom* as a favourer of *Origen's* heresies, because he had translated several of his writings into *latin*. The Father replies to this effect, ' That the

* *Pag. 96.* † *Epist. ad Vigilantium,*
Tom. IV. Ed. novæ. p. 275.

' nature of his studies led him to
 ' all sorts of books, such as those
 ' *Origen, Apollinarius, Eusebius*; y
 ' in some points indeed were heret
 ' but in others had given great ligh
 ' the Scriptures, and done eminent
 ' vice to the Church. That some
 ' their books he had translated
 ' *latin*, for the use of those that un
 ' stood not the *greek*; but not so a
 ' propagate their heresies: for he
 ' either omitted those tracts, or reso
 ' ed or refuted those passages, wh
 ' might pervert or scandalize the
 ' learned reader*. Here we see,
Jerom does not excuse himself (as
 Writer turns it) for *mangling of auth*
 but for translating them at all. But how
 justice can the omission of some tract
 passages, where the translator is fre
 take what he pleases, be call'd *mang*
of authors? Did not *Jerom* acquaint
 public both in his prefaces to the re
 tive books, and in these epistles,
 he had left out such passages? Did
mangle Origen in the original, and

* See also *Epist. de erroribus Origenis* p. 345
versus Rufinum Apologia 1 & 11.

cure the *greek* copies to be ras'd or interpolated? How was *Origen* then *mangled*, whose works were preserved entire both then and long after? Neither had *Jerom's* translation that consequence then, as in our days a numerous edition propagated from the press. His version was but one written copy, that might be transcrib'd by some of his friends, or a few others that were curious. And what is there in all this, unworthy of an honest man? Were I to translate *Petronius's Civil War*, or some of the chaste epigrams of *Martial*; should I be counted a *mangler*, because I added not all their obscenities? Your *Free-thinkers* at that rate are the greatest *manglers of authors*, who have taken a contrary course, and cull'd all the lewd and smutty passages of the ancient poets, and printed them together.

But our Writer cannot pass this passage of St. *Jerom* without a cast of his skill and fidelity. The words cited by him are, *Si igitur quae bona sunt transtuli; & mala vel amputavi vel correxi, vel tacui; arguendus sum, cur per me LA-*

TINI bona *Origenis* habeant, & mala ignorent? which our faithful Writer thus

translates, *Am I to be blam'd for n*
ing MEN acquainted with what is
in Origen, and keeping them ignorant
what is bad in him. Where the F
 says *Latini*, the *Latins*; our A
 says *men* in general: on purpose t
 finuate that *Jerom* had suppress'd o
 tilated or corrupted *Origen's* greek
 pies. For while those were in being
 entire, *Jerom* could not keep all
 ignorant of what was bad in *Origen*
 only the *Latins*.

Where the Father says, *Qui om*
psalmodum commentarios haeretic
minis vertit in nostrum eloquium.
 Writer englishes it thus, *Who translat*
to latin the commentaries of EUSEBI
Caesarea a grand heretic. The Fath
 deed means *Eusebius*, but names him
 but our Writer has put him into the
 and in capitals too, to make the r
 mind it; and then bestows out o
 own store the epithet *Grand*, and
 it in the mouth of St. *Jerom*.
 this venom thrown upon *Eusebius*
 that the *Free-thinkers* hate him
 one of the chief writers of the chu
 Could our Author be ignorant, th
 was a great dispute then, and cont

so still, whether *Eusebius* was really a *Heretic*, that is an *Arian*, or no? Has not your learned *Dr. Cave*, in a late elaborate dissertation, done justice to his character? Why then a *Grand Heretic* in the version, when it's bare *Heretic* in the text? An honest writer indeed, who in the very place where he cries out on *forgery*, *corruption*, and *mangling*, cannot himself refrain from *forging*, *corrupting*, and *fraudulently adding*.

XXXIX.

I pass over his trifling instances of mangling father *Paul's* letters, * *Baumgarten's* travels, and *Anthony Wood's* history: which omissions he has here kindly supplied, out of dear love to *treason*, *superstition*, and *scandal*. And yet you perhaps in *England* can even in these trifles shew his fraud and prevarication.

He then commences his *third Section* with pretended objections and answers about *Free-thinking*, taken in a good

* *Pag.* 94, 95, 96.

and

and legitimate sense. Is he always a juggler, and shifting the true question? Does he hope to slur his unwary reader with such a palpable imposture? *Free-thinking* here for many * pages together is put for common use of reason and judgment, a lawful liberty of examination, and in a word, good *Protestantism*. Then whip about, and it stands for *infidelity*, for bare *atheism*. His mask is too thin and too pellucid to cover his true face. He is still known for a mere atheist; though he talks of *Free-thinking* in words that may come a christian. What *Aristippus* once said, when he was pleas'd with some sweet unguent, *Curse on those effeminate wretches that have made so pretentious thing scandalous*; may be applied to him and his tribe, for bringing a scandal on so good a word as *Free-thinking*, which does not belong to them. They are by way of distinction? that have the most slavish of systems, mere material eternal sequel of causes; chain'd fatal fetter'd *Spinosists*. They *thinkers* by way of eminence? who have pro-

* Pag. 99.-- 110.

title to no thought, but that of the *fool*, when he *said in his heart, there was no God*. For this is the first and last of all their glorious searches.

But I could have sav'd him one objection, that * *Free-thinking may produce a great number of atheists*. Pray, be not in pain for that; unless he means (as he often does) *Free-thinking* and *Atheism* for synonymous words. † *It is possible*, says his objector, *that if Free-thinking be allow'd, some men may think themselves into Atheism*. Courage! and dismiss those dismal apprehensions. For however it might be of old times, or now among some *Hottentots* or *Iroquois*, where the materials of thinking are scanty, and the methods uncultivated; there's no danger of this in *England*, in that light of science and learning. A person there may easily rob, plunder, perjure, debauch, or drink himself into atheism: but it's impossible he can *think* himself into it. Let him think thoroughly; come duly prepar'd, and proceed patiently and impartially;

* Pag. 105.

† Pag. 104.

and

and I dare be answerable for him, out an office of insurance.

XL.

While I was looking on his passage *Zosimus* * (whom out of his profound skill in greek, he twice writes *Zozimus*) I had like to have dropt a memorandum, which shews his great attention to your Clergy. He complains the † *great charge of maintaining numbers of ecclesiastics, as a great burthen to society, and a burden never felt on any other occasion.* Now how could he accost him? as a grand historian, a shrewd politician? for I know he's not in the low considerations of divinity, ship, truth, piety, salvation, and immortality. But what news does he bring us? that the supporting of priests is a burden unknown before christians? Had he read over even those *Acts* alone, with whose twice-borrow'd words he has fill'd his margin; he would have learnt, that both in *Greece* and *Rome* before our Saviour's birth, the he

* *Pag.* 117, 118. † *Pag.* 114.

priests were more in number, higher in dignity, and better provided with endowments, salaries, and immunities, than now you are in *England*. The like was before in *Egypt*, and in every other country, where humanity and letters had any footing. Many of his Authors (whom he cites as *Free-thinkers*) were priests themselves; *Josephus*, *Plutarch*, *Cato*, * *Cicero*, &c. and the last named was made so after his consulate, the highest post of honour and power then in the universe: nay (to make our Author quite lay him aside for ever) he had the *indeleble character* too; for being once made a priest, a priest he was to be for life. But what an adversary am I writing against, wholly ignorant of common history? And his politics are as low too, that would extirpate the whole order of your Clergy; and so bring your country to the ignorance of the *Savages*, to a worse condition than your old ancestors were in, while they had their *bards* and their *druids*. For it ever was and ever will be true, in all nations, un-

* Γίνεται τῶν Ἱερέων, ὡς Αὐγυστας Ρωμαῖοι καλεῖσι.
Plut. in Cic.

der all manners and customs, *No*
hood; no letters, no humanity;
 ciprocally again, *society, laws, g*
ment, learning, a priesthood.
 then would our thoughtless *Thin*
 at? sink the order of the present
 to save charges to the public, and
 the same or double to maintain a
 ny for * *Epicurus*, or *Jupiter*, or
 for some order of priests there w
 Though even take him in his *free-*
ing capacity, he can never concei
 with a priesthood, either quieter fo
 or cheaper than that of the present
 of *England*. Of your quietness,
 self is a convincing proof, who ha
 this outrageous book, and has me
 no punishment nor prosecution.
 for the cheapness, that appear'd
 in one of your parliaments; wh
 accounts exhibited shew'd, that 60
 your Clergy, the greater part o
 whole number, had at a middle ran
 with another not 50 pounds a yea
 poor emolument for so long, so l
 ous, so expensive an education, as
 qualify them for holy orders. W

* See Remark the *Vth*.

resided at *Oxford*, and saw such a conflux of youth to their annual admissions; I have often studied and admir'd, why their parents would under such mean encouragements design their sons for the church; and those the most towardly and capable and select geni:us's among their children; who must needs have emerg'd in a secular life. I congratulated indeed the felicity of your establishment, which attracted the choice youth of your nation for such very low pay: but my wonder was at the parents, who generally have interest, maintenance, and wealth, the first thing in their view: till at last one of your state lotteries ceas'd my astonishment. For as in that, a few glittering prizes, 1000, 5000, 10000 pounds among an infinity of blanks, drew troops of adventurers; who, if the whole fund had been equally ticketed, would never have come in: so a few shining dignities in your church, prebends, deaneries, bishopricks, are the *pious fraud* that induces and decoys the parents to risk their child's fortune in it. Every one hopes his Own will get some great prize in the church, and never reflects on the thousands of blanks in
 poor

poor country-livings. And if a foreigner may tell you his mind, from what he sees at home, 'tis this part of your preferment that makes your clergy envious. Do but once level all your preferments, and you'll soon be as level as your learning. For instead of the flow of the *English* youth, you'll have the refuse sent to your academies; those too cramp'd and crippled in their studies for want of aim and emulation. So that if your *Free-thinkers* had more politics, instead of suppressing your w^o order, they should make you all a lottery, or, if that cannot be done, make your preferments a very lottery in the w^o similitude. Let your church dignities be pure chance prizes, without regard to abilities, or morals, or letters: your journeyman (I think) in that lottery was the favourite child of fortune.

XLI.

But again, before I come to the interesting passage of *Zosimus*, I shall gather together some of his scatter'd flowers,

comprise them under one remark. * *If any good christian, says he, happens to reason better than ordinary, the priests presently charge him with atheism.* He means only your *English* priests, as I see by his instances: and naughty men they, if any of them do so. But I'll give him a word of comfort, and offer myself as sponsor for them, that none of them will call him atheist, *for reasoning better than ordinary.* Good man, to avoid that odious name, he has sprinkled all his pages with mere nonsense out of pure consideration and forecast.

To shew his good taste and his virtuous turn of mind, he praises two abuses upon *James I.* † *That he was a doctor, more than a king; and was priest-ridden by his archbishop;* as the most VALUABLE passages in father *Paul's* letters: and yet, as I have been told, those passages are spurious and forg'd. Well, but were they genuine and true, are those the things he most values? O the vast love and honour he bears to the crown and the mitre! But his palate is truly constant and uniform to itself: he

* Pag. 85. † Pag. 94, 95.

drudges in all his other authors
cient and modern, not to find
beauties, but their spots; not to
the roses, but the thorns; not to
good nutriment, but poison. A
land bright pages in *Plutarch* and
pass heavy with him and without
but if he chances to meet with a susp
or sore place; then he's feasted a
galed, like a fly upon an ulcer,
beetle in dung: and with those del
scraps put together, he has dress'd
this book of *Free thinking*.

But have a care of provoking him
much; for he has still in reserve
* *instances of your conduct: your
mations against reason; such fall
son, I suppose, as he and his tribe
put off for good Sterling: your
and method of discouraging exa
tion into the truths of religion;
truths forsooth of religion as this,
religion itself is all false: and again
encouraging examination, when
authority is against you (the aut
he means of your late K. James, who
of his free-thinking doctors thought*

* Pag. 97.

self into popery) or *when you think that truth is certainly on your side*: he will not say, that *truth is certainly on your side*, but only that *you think so*: however he allows here you are *sometimes sincere*; a favour he would not grant you in some of his former instances.

But the last and most cutting instance is, **Your instilling principles into youth*: no doubt he means those pernicious *principles* of fearing God; honouring the King; loving your neighbour as your selves; living soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. O the glorious nation you would be! if your stiff parsons were once displac'd, and *Free-thinkers* appointed tutors to your young nobility and gentry, How would arts, learning, manners, and all humanity flourish in an academy under such preceptors? Who instead of your Bible should read *Hobbes's Leviathan*; should *instill* early the sound doctrines of the mortality of the soul, and the sole good of a voluptuous life. No doubt such an establishment would make you a happy people, and even a rich: for our

* Pag. 97.

youth would all desert us in Germany and presently pass the sea for such an education.

The beginning of his III^d section where (as I remark'd before) *Thinking* stands for no more than *Thinking*, may pass in general for truth, though wholly an impertinence. For what *England* forbids thinking? or who made such objections, as he first and then refutes? He dare not *sinuate*, as if none of your *thought*, nor examin'd any point of doctrine; but took a system of opinion by force and constraint; under the terror of an Inquisition, or the dread of fire and fagot. So that we have pages of mere amusement, under the ambiguity of a word. Let your critics once profess, that they are the true *thinkers*, and you'll soon see the unbelieving tribe renounce their new name.

However in these sapless pages he scatter'd a mark of his great learning. He says, * *The infinite variety of opinions, religions, and worships among the antient heathens, never produc'd any dis-*

* Pag. 101.

or confusion. What? was it no disorder, when *Socrates* suffer'd death for his opinions; when *Aristotle* was impeach'd and fled; when *Stilpo* was banish'd; and when *Diogoras* was proscrib'd? Were not the *Epicureans* driven out from several cities, for the debaucheries and tumults they caus'd there? Did not * *Antiochus* banish all *Philosophers* out of his whole kingdom; and for any one to learn of them, made it death to the youth himself, and loss of goods to his parents? Did not *Domitian* expel all the philosophers out of *Rome* and whole *Italy*? Did the *Galli*, the vagabond priests of *Cybele*, make no disturbances in town and country? Did not the *Romans* frequently forbid *strange religions* and external rites that had crept into the city; and banish the authors of them? Did the *Bacchanals* create no disorders in *Rome*, when they endanger'd the whole state; and thousands were put to death for having been initiated in them? In a word, was that no disturbance in *Egypt*, which *Juvenal* tells of his own knowledge, (and which frequently used

* Athenaeus, lib. XII. p. 547.

to happen) when in two neighbour cities their religious feuds ran so far that at the annual festival of one or the other out of zeal went to disturb the solemnity; and after thousands were slain on both sides, and many eyes and noses lost, the scene ended in slaughter and the body slain was cut into bits and eaten up raw by the enemies? And this barbarity committed, because one side worship'd *Crocodiles*, and the other kill'd and eat them.

summus utriusque
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus; cum solos credat habere
Esse deos, quos ipse colit.

Let him go now and talk facetiously of his club, that among the Pagans there was no *Polemic divinity*.

XLII.

We are now come to a grand piece of your priestcraft, * *The toleration* vice, by which all the rogues and

* *Pag. 117, 118.*

are engag'd in your party. This, he says, was put in practice with success, as early as *Constantine the Great*, who (as *Zozimus tells us*) after he had committed such horrible villanies, which the Pagan priests told him were not expiable in their religion; being assur'd by an Egyptian bishop, that there was no villany so great, but was to be expiated by the sacraments of the christian religion, he quitted the religion of his ancestors, and embrac'd the NEW IMPIETY: so *Zozimus* impiously calls the christian religion. Now the business itself, laid to *Constantine's* charge here by a bigotted pagan, is too stale and trivial to deserve a new answer; having been fully refuted both by the ecclesiastic historians of old, and several of the moderns. But what I here animadvert on, is the prodigious awkwardness of our writer, both in his version and application of this passage.

Zosimus, a poor superstitious creature (and consequently, as one would guess, an improper witness for our *Free-thinker*) who has fill'd his little history not more with malice against the christians, than with bigotry for the pagans; who treats his reader with oracles of the *Palmyrenes*

and *Sibylls*; with annual miracles by *Venus*, where gold and silver upon water; with presages and oracles of old women; with thunders and earthquakes, as if they were prodigies; a dead body vanishing in the middle of an army; with omens, and with predictions from entrails of beasts; with an apparition of *Pallas* and her *Gorgon*, and the spectre of *Achilles*; with wonders, and idols that fire could not burn; with the necklace of the Goddess *Rhea*, that executed divine vengeance; who in the taking of *Rome* by *Alarich* was the occasion of the omission of pagan sacrifices; and the decay of the Roman empire to *Constantine's* neglecting the *Ludi Saeculares*. This wise and judicious Author is brought in for a good evidence; and our author, an enemy to superstition, connives at a little trumpery, for the sake of one stab to the reputation of *Constantine*, and to the honour of christianity.

But how has he manag'd and presented it? The story, as * *Zosimus* himself tells it, is thus. ' *Constantine* was
' troubled in conscience for some

* Pag. 104.

he had committed, applied to the hea-
 then priests for expiation. They an-
 swering, that they had no way of ex-
 piation for crimes of so deep a die; a
 certain *Egyptian* told him, that if he
 would turn christian, all his sins would
 be immediately forgiven him. *Con-*
stantine liking this well, and after a
 renunciation of paganism partaking of
 the christian rites, τῆς ἀσεβείας τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ἐποίησατο, τὴν Μαντικὴν ἔχειν ἐν ὑποψία,
 for his FIRST INSTANCE OF IRRELIGION,
 he began to suspect and cry down the
 art of foretelling things from the en-
 trals of beasts; for having had many
 events truly predicted to him by that
 art, he was afraid others would make
 use of it against himself. This is a
 faithful version; for that Μαντικὴ here
 means *Haruspicina*, the art of divina-
 tion by entrals, appears from p. 157, and
 other places of that Author.

How amazing now is the ignorance of
 our *Free-thinker*? unless perhaps he will
 plead impudence: for with such men, *ex-*
cusatius est voluntate peccare quam casu,
its counted a smaller fault to prevaricate
on purpose, than err by mistake. He
 stops his citation and version in the very
 middle

middle of the sentence, and into
 τῆς ἀσεβείας τὴν ἀρχὴν, THE NEW IMP
 and then subjoins with a sneer, *So
 mus impiously calls the christian re*
 If *Zosimus* speak not *impiously*,
 body else does. For with him
irreligion, neglect of worship, ha
 reference to the pagan rites; and p
 larly to sacrifices and *haruspices*.
Constantine had abandon'd, and fo
 reason deserv'd as well as * *Ca*
Censor, to be put into our write
of Free-thinkers. But see the part
Constantine has lost his favour, b
 he first made the government chr
 and an author must be mangled,
 and grammar distorted, all rules o
 tax perverted, to bring out a littl
 phemy. *Ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐποίησατ*
brac'd the new impiety? and the
stian religion meant by it? Into
 construction, and monstrous!
 scarce a such like prodigy in his
 version of *Cicero*.

* Pag. 135.

XLIII.

The next witness, that he summons from the Shades is *Julian the Apostate*: and I wonder he did not call along with him *Judas Iscariot*. But what does *Julian* depose? Why, * *the foresaid conversion of Constantine gave occasion to him to satirize thus our holy Religion: † Whosoever is a ravisher, a murderer, guilty of sacrilege or any other abomination, let him come boldly: for, when I have wash'd him with this water, I'll immediately make him clean and innocent: and if he commits the same crimes again, I'll make him, after he has thump'd his breast and beat his head, as clean as before.* And what can our writer make of this satire, though I've mended his version for him? A ridiculous and stale banter, us'd by *Celsus* and others before *Julian*, upon the christian doctrines of baptism, repentance, and remission of sins. Baptism is rallied as *mere washing*; and Repentance as *thumping the head* and other outward

* Pag. 118. † *Juliani Caesares*, in fine.

grimace.

grimace. The inward grace, the
 fic change of mind are left out
 character. And whom are we
 lieve, these Pagans or our own
 Are we to fetch our notions of
 craments from scraps of *Jul*
Celsus? or from the Scripture,
 fountain; from what we read,
 and profess? And yet the bante
 more decently out of *Celsus* an
rean's mouth, than out of *Julian*
 most bigotted creature in the
 He to laugh at expiation by
 whose whole life after his apostasy
 a continued course of καθαρμοι,
 ings, purgations, expiations, w
 most absurd ceremonies? addi
 the whole train of superstitions;
 Prefages, Prodigies, Spectres, D
 Visions, Auguries, Oracles,
 Theurgic, Psychomantic? whose
 Court in a manner consisted of
spices and *Sacrificuli*, and Philo
 as silly as they? who was
 poring in the entrals of cattel
 futurities there? who, if he had r
 victor out of *Persia* (as his very
 friends jested on him) would ha
 tinguish'd the whole species of bu

cows, by the number of his sacrifices? I have drawn this character of him, from his own writings, and the heathens his contemporaries: that I might not bring suspected testimonies from christian authors. Though even these allow him to have been *egregiae indolis, an extraordinary genius*; if he had not been spoiled by the philosophers his masters. The truth is, those persons, for their professorial interest, and to keep the pagan system in some countenance against the objections of christians, had quite alter'd the old schemes of philosophy; and pretended to more impulses, inspirations, revelations, and commerce with the Deity, than christians could truly do. Not one of those sanctified philosophers but had dreams, visions, and extatic colloquies with daemons every night: and with this trumpery they drew *Julian* off from christianity, and made him think himself as great an adept, as any of his teachers. He * saw the *Sun* in a vision, speaking to him in verse, and foretelling the death of *Constantius*; besides other innumerable communications with his

* *Zosim. Pag. 155.*

favou-

favourite God *Mithras*. This was the way they took; *clavum clavum* they beset him with revelations, enough to convert a *St. Brigit*: nor could they ever have made him apostatize, but by infatigably besetting him with superstitions. However, the christianity suffer'd by losing one of these great abilities and moral virtues, which modern atheists can never reckon on their side, among the list of *thinkers*.

XLIV.

Our Writer raises an objection, which unless he had better answer'd, he had better have let alone; * *That the thinkers themselves are the most ignorant, wicked, and senseless of all kind*. He pretends not yet to refute this from fact and experience, by telling us who he is, or who are members of his *giving sect*, that we might bring their characters to the touchstone; but he asserts it *a priori*.

The reproach of *senseless* he refutes with ease, by a *self-evident* p

* Pag. 118.

sition; * *For men that use their understandings must have more sense than they that use them not.* Very compendious truly! but out of too much precipitation he leaves his syllogism in the lurch. He forgets to prove, that every man that *uses his understanding* is (in the meaning of his book) a *Free-thinker*. Without this, that same *senseless* will still stick close upon him, and the closer for this very syllogism. 'Tis mere chicanery in the word: a *Free-thinker*, in this *self-evident* proposition, is † *any man that uses his understanding, that is, that thinks at all: a very comprehensive definition.* And yet presently in the next paragraph, a *Free-thinker* is but *one of a thousand; one that departs from the sentiments of the herd of mankind; that is, (for he could scarce have told it us in a plainer description) a mere atheist, or at least no christian.* Are not these two acceptations of the same word wonderfully consistent? Either let him profess plainly, that no christian, no man but an atheist, this one of a thousand, *uses his understanding,* or let him own that

* Pag. 120. † *Ibid.*

himself

himself has used none here ; and t
and his syllogism too have much
senseless.

Infamy and wickedness, the
reproach, he thus repels from his
a *Free-thinker*, * who incurs the
malice of the priests, and is sure to
999 of a thousand for his enemies
oblig'd for his own sake IN THIS W
to be virtuous and honest. So that
as far as this argument goes, if the
thinkers are not wicked, it's only
fear and restraint. A good hint
virtuous they would be, if the *gr*
sect should grow so numerous, as t
mise themselves impunity ; and f
out against infamy and scandal. If
honesty, by their own confession,
ing to their paucity, it is high tim
deed to inquire into their numbers.

But (2dly) to commence a *Free-th*
† requires great diligence and ap
tion of mind ; and he expels all v
dispositions and passions by being
out of action ; and so we have an
egregious demonstration. But is th
to pass upon us for *self-evident* ?

* Pag. 120.

† Pag. 121.

all *busy* men *virtuous*? And are all *Free-thinkers busy*? I'll be responsible for neither of the propositions. But the poor Writer seems to hint here tacitly for himself, what *great diligence*, what *application of mind* he has us'd, to work himself into atheism: how much more to compose such an elaborate book? how many merry meetings, and kind assignations has he baulk'd, while he was gleaning his bundle of scraps? how many watchful nights and abstemious days has he pass'd in painful and dry drudgery; while you lazy * *Ecclesiastics*, he says, *were employ'd in the most innocent manner you can be; in mere eating and drinking?* And yet methinks you have done something else besides making good cheer; or else *Germany* would not be so full of your praises, and our libraries full of your books: where such puny performances as his, for all his *diligence* and *application*, will never deserve admission.

Well, but † (*3dly*) *by much* thinking (here again we are trick'd for *Free-thinking*) *men comprehend the whole compass of*

* Pag. 114. † Pag. 121.

human life; are convinc'd, that *LIFE* misery attends the practice of *vice* and happiness that of *virtue*; and to live pleasantly, they must live *virtuously*. A wonderful discovery it is, and can no body comprehend this *Free-thinkers* and *Atheists*? Why is the most beaten topic in all the *sermons* and *sermons* of your *Clergy*, That in this life a virtuous man, a good *Christian*, is the most happy of men. God has forbid nothing beneficial or useful to us; that besides the future *rewards* and *threats*, virtue carries her own reward, and vice its own punishment. So that if this notion is sufficient to make a *Free-thinker virtuous*; more will it operate upon *Christians* when supported and enforc'd with the belief of another life.

The result then of his argument is, that a *Free-thinker's virtue* is this, That he *fears evil in this world*, That he *is a man of business and application*, and that he *seeks pleasure in this life*. This is all the security he offers for his honesty and behaviour. By which he declares himself and his clan to be mere *Atheists*, as much as if he had spoke it out. For

you see, immortality is quite out of their scheme; and the saying us'd here, *To live pleasantly, they must live virtuously*, is the very axiom of *Epicurus*, * *Ὁὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ζῆν, ἄνευ τῆς Φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως*, 'Tis not possible to live pleasantly, without living wisely, honestly, and justly, and so *vice versa*. This is said indeed; but said by him with so ill a grace, as to set folks a laughing. And our Author might have seen how all the other sects ridiculed this magniloquence of *Epicurus*, as inconsistent with his whole system; and prov'd by set and legitimate treatises, that a true *Epicurean* could not live a pleasant life, much less a virtuous. And I dare say, were this Writer's soul known, and if he speaks true of his application of mind, he finds no great pleasure in this gloomy doctrine of utter extinction.

But to leave that to his own conscience; he is very odd and diverting, when to prove this *Epicurean* notion, he draws in two passages of *Cicero*: † FOR who, says he, *lives pleasantly, except*

* *Κύριος δόξαι num. v. & epistola ad Menoecea.*

† *Pag. 121.*

him who delights in his duty, &c. is quoted out of the fifth paradox, he argues in the Stoical manner, *The wise man alone is free, and every slave: Quis enim vivit, ut vult who lives freely, as he list (the Writer translates pleasantly) but he delights in his duty, &c. that is in but the Wiseman of the Stoics?* what a fetch and strein is here to this character to the Epicurean? decently it fits upon him? He might justly apply to him all the beatitudes of our Saviour's sermon on the mount.

But he has a second passage, *Offices* * *Whoever places happiness in any besides virtue, &c.* Another sagacious application! Is this the man, that in four pages together insults the Clergy, misapplying passages of † *Tully*? in the *Offices* stands really thus: our great Author having determin'd to write a book to his son (whom he had plac'd under a *Peripatetic* master) in the preface to *the duties of civil life*, declares in the proëme what philosophers he would follow. *Because there are some sects*

* Pag. 122.

† Pag. 137, &c.

he, that by wrong stating the ends of good and evil pervert all civil duty, friendship, justice, liberality, fortitude, temperance. For he that separates the chief good from virtue and honesty, and measures it by his own profit (if he is constant to his principle, and is not sometimes overcome by good nature) can neither be friendly, just, nor liberal; neither can he be courageous, who declares pain the greatest evil; nor temperate, who maintains pleasure to be the greatest good. These sects, subjoins he, if they are consistent with themselves, can have nothing to say, de officio, about civil duty. That subject solely belongs to Stoics, Academics, and Peripatetics. Where it is manifest, the Sects he reflects on are the Epicureans and Cyrenaics: and we have his plain declaration, That upon those principles no man can live honestly and virtuously. And yet this inauspicious gleaner, this new revisor forsooth of Cicero, will needs wrest this very passage to a commendation of Epicurus's and his own rules of morality. And pray observe how gingerly he translates *temperans*, moderate in the enjoyment of pleasure. Whereas tem-

perance, according to Tully, *in pr*
mittendis & aspernandis voluptatibus
cernitur, consists in the neglecting
despising of pleasure. If our
 should be found a Popish Priest at
 dare say he's a very easy and mo
 Confessor.

XLV.

But he now leaves arguments *a p*
 and proceeds to historical acco
 wherein he will shew, * *That they*
have been distinguish'd in all ages
their understanding and virtue,
been Free-thinkers. Such *Free-th*
 as his party are, or else all his lab
 lost: and yet we shall find, that a
 his whole list there's scarce a pair
 will come under that character.

SOCRATES, his first instance, *v*
vinest man of the heathen world,
 as he says, *a very great Free-th*
 By what mark or token? Why, †
believ'd the gods of his country, and
common creeds about them. Allow
 though just before his death he m

* Pag. 123.

† *ibid.*

hymn to *Apollo*, and left a sacrifice to *Aesculapius*; yet why is this character so peculiar to *Socrates*? I'll help our Author to a million of *Free-thinkers*, upon the very same reason. For *Constantine* himself, whom he abus'd before, and all the pagan converts to christianity before him and after, *disbeliev'd the (same) gods of their country, and the common creeds about them.* Nay they far excell'd *Socrates* in their free-thinking quality; for he timorously * *fell in with the reigning superstition of his country, and suffer'd it quietly to take its course;* but they heroically profess'd their true sentiments; in spite of terrors and tortures, contemn'd, routed, and trampled down *the gods of their country;* till pagan superstition was quite extinct, and wash'd away with the blood of so many martyrs. And why, pray, could not these deserve from our Writer the honourable name of *Free-thinkers*? The reason is manifest: the christians were *Free-thinkers* at first, while they *contradicted the herd of mankind;* but now christianity is establish'd, they themselves are become the

* Pag. 123.

herd; and consequently Free-th
 now consists in contradicting them.
 he deny this is his notion? and th
 characteristic of Free-thinking is
 pose a great majority? No matter
 ther right or wrong; whether the
 is in truth or in error, Free-th
 must be singularity. * *Untinking*
low fellow! for at this rate, if the
ing sect should so spread, as to att
 name of the herd; the only title th
 free-thinking would be to oppos
Free-thinkers.

Well, but *Socrates* † declar'd h
like, when he heard men attribu
pentance, anger, and other passio
the Gods; and talk of wars and b
in heaven; and of the Gods gettin
men with child, and such like fa
and blasphemous stories. This is q
 by him out of *Plato* in *Euthyph*
 as if they were that Author's own v
 And what a fine scene am I entring v
 He to complain of *mangling, fo*
 and *corrupting* passages? And h
 here to forge so openly, on purpo
 hook in some bold and saucy blasph
Repentance and anger attributed

* Pag. 104. † Pag. 123.

Gods: this glances aside at those frequent expressions of our Bible, *The wrath of the Lord*, and, *The Lord repented*. As if the whole herd of christians did not know, that these are not to be taken literally, but are spoken ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, in a human manner, accommodated to our capacities and affections: the nature of God being infinitely above all ruffles of passion. And then *wars and battles in heaven*: this is pointed against *Revelations XII, 7*. *And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels*. Now where has this Writer liv'd, or what idiot evangelist was he bred under; not to know that this is all vision and allegory, and not propos'd as literal truth. But his mother perhaps, that gave him his first notions about *Bel and the dragon*, might frighten too the naughty boy with *Michael and the dragon*. His last expression, *of the Gods getting women with child*, without doubt was design'd by him as a flout upon our Saviour's incarnation.

But when we come to consult *Plato* himself in the passage alledg'd here, how do all this Writer's insinuations vanish; and

and how does his own impudence
 prevarication appear? The whole
 sage is no more than this; *Socrates*
 courting with *Euthyphron* an *A-*
spex, who was bringing an indictment
 for murder against his own father,
 him if he thought it just and pious to
 do so: 'Yes, says the other, it is right
 ' pious to bring an offender to justice
 ' though he be my father; for so
 ' bound his father *Saturn* in chains
 ' devouring his children; and *Sa-*
 ' before had castrated his father for
 ' other crime. I confess, replies *S-*
 ' *tes*, when I hear such things said
 ' the Gods, * *I assent with some*
 ' *culty*: but do you think these things
 ' true? and that there are really
 ' and enmities and battles among
 ' Gods; and many other such matters
 ' as poets and painters represent? They
 ' are all true, says the other, and strange
 ' things than these, which I could not
 ' say to you.' This is all that is there said
 this head: and then *Socrates* proceeds
 in his disputation, upon the very

* Διχαρῶς πῶς ἀποδέχομαι.

cession that these accounts of the Gods are true.

And hence first we may observe, that *Socrates* was not so free a thinker as our Writer represents him. For according to *Varro's* division of religions into *poetical, civil, and philosophical*; it is the first here that *Socrates* with some difficulty assents to, or very tenderly denies: whereas the *Stoics* that came after him, treated openly that whole poëtick system as *impious and superstitious*; * and these very stories of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, and of the wars with *Titans* and *Giants*, and of Gods against Gods, as *wicked Fables, anile superstitions, foolish and pernicious errors*. But as to the *civil* religion, *Socrates* never oppos'd it, but always countenanc'd it both by discourse and example. His precept to his scholars about matters of worship, was to govern themselves νόμῳ πόλεως, *by the custom of the country*. He himself sacrificed regularly and openly both at home and at the public altars; he sent his friends to consult the oracle at *Delphi* upon all affairs of importance.

* Cicero de Nat. Deor. 11, 24, 28.

How

How therefore will our Writer make *That he disbeliev'd the Gods of country?* That indeed was the indictment against him; * *Αδικεῖ Σωκράτης, πόλις νομίζει θεὸς, ἔνομίζων:* but he did plead guilty to it. And though our Writer should now convict him, yet I am sure his celebrated *Daemonium*, whose admonition and impulse he guides all his affairs, sufficiently secures him from being listed and consociated with our modern *Free-thinkers*!

Another thing we may observe from this passage of *Plato* is; the unfairness and malignity of our Writer; who without the least hint from his Author, has foisted in two scoffs and contumelies on the scripture. "There's nothing there of *God's repentance and anger* not a word of *Gods getting women with child*: why then does he suborn *Plato* to speak what he never said? Why great a name to cover his own impie-
Mala mens, malus animus: and from this instance take the measure of our Writer's veracity.

* Xenophon Memorab. lib. 1:

But he will still press *Socrates* into the service, and force him into his regiment of Free-thinkers; * *because he did not make notions, or speculations, or mysteries, any parts of his religion.* Not mysteries? a wager with our Writer, that he was initiated in the mysteries of *Ceres Eleusina*; and consequently, had he liv'd in the present age, would never have flouted *christianity* for being mysterious. But where is our Author's proof for this character of *Socrates*? Why, he demonstrated all men to be fools, who troubled themselves with inquiries into heavenly things; and ask'd such inquirers, whether they had attain'd a perfect knowledge of human things, since they search'd into heavenly? This the shrewd Author gives as a translation from † *Xenophon*; and he proposes here heavenly things, in the christian sense used by our Saviour and his apostles. What shall I say, or what shall I not say? But I have spent already all my wonder and words too upon this Writer's stupidity. Can any thing be plainer, than that the τὰ ἑρμένα, the heavenly things in that

* Pag. 125.

† Memor. lib. 1.

passage

passage of *Xenophon* mean celestial bodies and appearances; their causes, natures, and motions? These physical inquiries, which had employed former philosophers, *Socrates* let and first turn'd his speculations to civility and human life. This is it, that *Xenophon* says there express; and it is cho'd over and over in all ancient authors. Let us take now our Writer's argument, and see how it concludes; *because Socrates did not cultivate astronomy, but ethics; therefore he kept his mysteries in his religion.* Because our Writer has cultivated no science and therefore he makes such silly syllogisms and blunders abominable.

XLVI.

To bring *PLATO* in among his thinkers, our Writer is put hard to shifts, and forc'd to make several devices. He was not so free, † he owns, as *Socrates*; but alarm'd at his fate, kept himself more upon his guard, 'and

* See *Cicer.* Acad. I, 4. *Tusc.* III, 4. † *Diogenes Laert.* in *Soc.* and many more. † *P.*

*talk'd publickly against the religion of his country. This is arguing backwards, and gives him one remove out of the list. But he brings him back with a fetch, For he thought himself into notions, so contrary to those known in Greece, and so resembling christianity; that as some christians suspected he had read the Old Testament, so Celsus charges our Saviour with reading and borrowing from him. Allow this, and admire the consistency of our Writer's language and sentiments. The Free-thinking of Plato, by his present account of it, consisted solely in approaching to christianity: but our modern Free-thinking lies wholly in receding from it, in a course retrograde to that of Plato. This Free-thinking is a mere *Empusa*; it changes shapes as fast as *Vertumnus*:*

Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?

But he goes on, and remarks, * *That Origen indeed very well defends our Blessed Lord from Celsus's charge. When you see the words very well, and the*

* Pag. 127.

complement of *Blessed Lord*, y
to expect from our Writer some
piece of burlesque. And here yo
it; For Origen, says he, *well*
That Cellus deserves to be laugh
when he affirms JESUS had read
who was bred and born among the
and was so far from having been
greek letters, that he was not
hebrew letters, as the Scripture
fy. You see, Origen's answer
commended as *very good*; to in
with a sneer, that our Saviour w
terate. Contemptible buffoon!
did not mean, he had *no letters*, b
he did not acquire them in the
way, by institution and industry
was θεοδιδάκτος, αὐτοδιδάκτος, *taught*
taught of himself. Which ma
Jews exelame, who knew his pa
and education, * Πόθεν τέτω ἡ σοφί.
Whence hath this man this w
Need he to learn languages under
ceptor, who could give to his d
the gift of all languages? Need
taught wisdom by *Plato* or *G*

* Matt. XIII, 54.

who was *essential wisdom itself*, ἡ σοφία
 καὶ ὁ λόγος θεῶν?

But he has another gird upon christia-
 nity; * *For Amelius a heathen Platonist,*
upon reading the first verses of St.
JOHN the Evangelist, cried out, By Jove,
this Barbarian is of our master Plato's
opinion: where he imposes again on the
english reader with his Barbarian, as he
did before with his Idiot Evangelist. For
 ὁ βάρβαρος in the original has no notion in
 it of contempt of the person; but relates
 solely to the country of *Palestine*, as out
 of the bounds of *Greece*. But, pray, where
 did our learned Writer find this odd and
 scurrile turn of *Amelius's* words? The
 passage itself, *Amelius's* own writing, is
 extant in † *Eusebius, Theodorit, and*
Cyrill; which I shall translate without
either forging or mangling: And this,
says Amelius, was ὁ λόγος the word: by
whom, being himself eternal, all things
that are existed; as Heraclitus would
maintain: and indeed whom the Barba-
rian affirms, having the place and digni-
ty of the beginning (or principle) to be

* *Pag. 127.* † *Euseb. Praep. p. 540. Theod.*
Graec. Affect. p. 33. Cyrill. c. Julian. p. 283.

with God, and to be God; by all things intirely were made whom whatever was made had life and being; who descending into body, and putting on flesh, took the form of man; though even then he gave no sign of the majesty of his nature: nor after his dissolution, was deified, and is God, the same he was before he descended into body, and flesh, and is there any air in all this of banter and tempt? Has it not, the very contrary air of the most serious assent and attention? has he not paraphras'd the evangelist's words in the best stile and manner? *Ἐπεράγεται καὶ τεθαύμαζε*, says *Amelius venerates* and *admires* the proëme of St, John's Gospel perhaps it was he (though no wonder if it was another *Patonist*) who first deserv'd to be writ in letters of gold and set in the most conspicuous place in every church. And who now is this *Barbarian*, but our Writer himself.

* Augustin de Civ. Dei x, 29. Quo S. Evangelii, cui nomen est secundum Mattheum, quidam Platonicus aureis literis conscribere fecit, ut per omnes Ecclesias in locis eminentissimis collocandum esse dicebat.

Platonist he brought to affront the Evangelist, is found an adorer of him. I hope he'll learn in his next performance, not to depend too much on second or fifth-hand citations.

Our Author seems sensible, that he drags *Plato per force* into the club of *Free-thinkers*; as *Cacus* did his oxen into his cave by the tails. For which hanging back and reluctancy *Plato* shall have a dash; and since he cannot make a good *Free-thinker* of him, he'll make him a creed-maker: * *For several of his notions became fundamental articles of the christian faith.* It really may be so: for the first article of my faith is, *I believe in God, and that † he that cometh to God, must believe that he is; and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* And I persuade myself, that *Plato* and his master, and many other good men, before our Saviour's manifestation, had the very same article. And I had rather *have my soul be with those,* though they had not the light of the gospel; than with such of our moderns, *as trample pearls under their*

* Pag. 128.

† Heb. xi, 6.

feet, and rend those that lay them
 them. But I do not owe this art
Plato, but to God the common
 of nature, and Father of rational
 When our Writer specifies more a
 as borrow'd from *Plato*, your ov
 vines will take care of him, and
 ftice to revelation.

Yes, * *but zealous christians*
several things under Plato's name
which they had great success in th
version of the heathen world.
 his old charge of forgery, though
 ver succeeds in his hands. And
 pray you, did they forge? Wh
thirteenth letter to Dionysius,
in his works. But is this our A
 own criticism? is it supported b
 reasons hammer'd on his own
 Not the least pretence to those:
 refers to Dr. *Cudworth*, and the
 is done. O wretched gleaner of
 Has he read that noble work, *S*
telleſtial system, to no better p
 One oversight, one error he cu
 for his use; and passes over a th

* Pag. 128.

noble truths, that might have made him a better Man, and no Writer.

The Doctor there says, * *It is supposititious and counterfeit by some zealous and ignorant Christian; as there is accordingly a νοθεύεται or brand of bastardy prefix'd to it; in all the editions of Plato's works.* That's true indeed of the *brand*; but he was a bold ignorant that put it there. That Letter is as genuine as any of the rest; and was receiv'd in the list before the Christian name began. † *Laertius* an *Epicurean*, who liv'd in *Antoninus Pius's* time, gives a catalogue of them all; *Επιστολαὶ τρισκαιδεκα*, says he, *Epistles thirteen*: and so *Suidas* in *Εὐπράττειν*: but take this branded one away, and there are but *twelve*. Among these are *πρὸς Διονύσιον τέτταρες*, *four*, says he, *to Dionysius*: remove this suspected one, and there remain but *three*. In a word, all the present thirteen answer exactly to his list, both in names and in number; except a small various *Lectio*, *To Aristodorus* the Xth Letter, whom he calls *Aristodemus*. And this alone is sufficient to

* Cudworth, p. 403. † *In Platone*, III, 61.

clear the Christians of the pro-
 forgery. For surely *Laertius*
 come at Copies of *Plato* 200 years
 since we now have them of 700 or
 and if the present XIIIth was
 it must be writ before Christ was
 But to go farther still: this recen-
Plato's works he gives not from
 but from *Thrasyllus*; who flour-
 in the time of *Augustus* must be
 older than Christ. Nay he cites
 out the least hint of diversity
 number, another recension by
phanes Grammaticus; who was a
 200 years before the Christian
 And now, if we look into the
 character of the Letter it self,
 have all the marks of genuineness
 not some staple Common Place, as
 of those forg'd by the Sophists are
 a Letter of business, circumsta-
 with great variety of things and
 sons, all apt and proper to the
 and to the date. It was forg'd
 fore by no body; much lets be
Christian: who certainly would
 have put Idolatry into a Letter,
 (as our Writer says) for the con-
 of the Heathens. I have got you

Plato there, a *Statue of Apollo*; and *Leptines* conveys it to you: it's made by a young and good workman, whose name is *Leochares*: this was that *Leochares*, afterwards a most famous Statuary, celebrated by *Pliny* and *Pausanias*: and the time hits exactly, for then he was young. Which is as great a mark, that the Letter is genuine; as it is a demonstration, that no *Christian* forg'd it. And lastly, the ground of this suspicion, a Passage yet extant in it and quoted by * *Eusebius* and *Theodorit*, is a weak and poor pretence. As for the Symbol, says he, or private mark you desire, to know my serious Letters and which contain my real sentiments from those that do not so; know and remember, that Τῆς μὲν σπυδαίας ἐπιστλῆς Θεὸς ἄρχει, Θεοὶ δὲ τῆς ἕττοιου, GOD begins a serious Letter, and GODS one that's otherwise. This the Fathers (and not unjustly) made use of as some indication, that *Plato* really believ'd but One God.

Which notion your learned Doctor not approving, as contrary (in his opinion) to the *Platonic* system, he de-

* Euseb. Praep. p. 530. Theod. Affect. p. 27.

cries the Letter as spurious. But is no consequence at all, whatsoever comes of *Plato's* true thoughts. *Symbol* he here speaks of, made not of the Letters, nor began the first paragraph of them: for here's not $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ nor $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ in that manner in any of the thirteen. 'Twas extrinsic (mistake not) to the Letter, and mark at the top of it in these $\Sigma\upsilon\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\omega$, if it was a serious one; otherwise, $\Sigma\upsilon\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$. These two were common forms in the beginning of things or any discourse of importance and in their usage were equivalent and indifferent; Philosophers, as *Xenophon* and others, having it sometimes $\Sigma\upsilon\nu$ and Poets, as *Euripides* and *Phanias*, $\Sigma\upsilon\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\omega$. So that *Plato* not have chosen a Symbol fitter to turn: being in neither way liable to suspicion; nor any inference drawn from it to discover his real opinion. And yet I am so much affected to *Eusebius's* remark, that I would wish *Plato* had made the other choice to put $\Sigma\upsilon\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ in his solemn Letters and $\Sigma\upsilon\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\omega$ in his slight ones.

Had our Writer carried his point in this instance of forgery, could he have done any great feats with it? yes a mighty one indeed! he could have added one *pious fraud* more, to a hundred others that are detected ready to his hand. But, pray, who are the discoverers of them? the Christian Priests themselves: so far are they from concealing or propagating them, or thinking their cause needs them. And I challenge him and the whole fraternity to shew one single one that they discover'd, and owe not to the Clergy? Even this mistaken one is pick'd from your *Cudworth*. Most able Masters of stratagem! ever to hope to vanquish Religion by arms borrow'd from the Priests? they may be sure, there's no danger of the strong Town's being taken, while the Garrison within can afford to lend the Besiegers powder.

So far are modern Christians from protecting old forgeries, that they are ready to cry *spurious* without ground or occasion. As not only this XIIIth by Dr. *Cudworth*, and before him by *Aldobrandinus*, but another Letter of *Plato's* is call'd in question by *Menagius*.
There

* *There are thirteen Letters* e says he ; among which, one to Hermias and Coriscus, quoted by Clemens and Origen, is now wanting : but it is to have been spurious, and forged by the Christians. Now all this is a dream and delusion. That very Letter is expressly nam'd by *Laertius*, Ερμείαν καὶ Εράστου καὶ Κορίσκου μία, one to Hermias and Erastus and Coriscus ; and it's the VIth of the present set of thirteen ; and the passages therein cited by *Origen*, *Clemens*, and *Aldobrand* too, are extant there exactly and there's nothing in it for the Christian cause, but what may be prov'd as fully from several other places of *Plutarch's* undoubted works. But what mischief have I been doing ? I have prevailed on our *Free-thinker* : who, after he had dabbled by chance in *Menagius*, has since flourish'd with a new forgery, and magisterially preach'd it to his crew.

* Aldobrand. & Menag. ad Laertium III.

XLVII.

ARISTOTLE, the next in the *Free-thinking* row, makes a very short appearance there, and goes quickly off the Stage. His title hangs by two slender threads, first, * *That he furnish'd articles of faith to the Popish Church, as Plato did to the primitive.* Now I had thought, that *Creed-making* and *Free-thinking* (even allowing the charge to be true) had been words of a dilparate sense, that look'd askew at each other: and how both of them come to fit so amicably upon *Aristotle*, surpasses my comprehension. But the matter is no more than this: As the primitive Christians in their disputes with the Pagans made great use of the *Platonic* philosophy; not to coin articles, but to explain them, and refell the adversaries objections: so the school-men, in the popish times, had recourse to the *Peripatetic*, the sole systeme then in vogue. And yet these did not *make* articles from it: our Author's weak, if

* Page 128.

he thinks so : neither did *Palavicino* so mean it. The peculiar doctrines of that church came from politics, not metaphysics ; not from the chairs of professors, but from the offices of the Roman court. And the school-men were their drudges, in racking *Aristotle* and their own brains to guild and palliate such gainful fictions ; and to reconcile them, if possible, to common sense, which ever hated and spurn'd them.

The second title *Aristotle* holds by, is a charge of * *Impiety* ; which I must own promises well, if it could be made good : for that word and *Free-thinking* are very closely combined, both by affinity and old acquaintance. *He was forc'd*, says he, *to steal privately out of Athens to Chalcis ; because Eurymedon accus'd him of impiety, for introducing some philosophical assertions contrary to the religion of the Athenians.* The Voucher he brings for this is *Diogenes Laertius* : but under his old fatality of blundering, he summons a wrong witness. *Origen* indeed says something to

* *Pag.* 128.

his

his purpose, that he was impeach'd
 Διά τινὰ δόγματα τῆς Φιλοσοφίας αὐτῆ, *for*
some doctrines of his philosophy. But
Laertius and *Athenaeus* lay the indict-
 ment quite otherwise; *for impiety, in*
writing and daily singing a Paean (a
 sort of hymn peculiar and sacred to the
 Gods) to the memory of his patron
Hermias, tyrant of *Atarna*, an eunuch,
 and at first a slave. This short Poem,
 in the dithyrambic stile, is yet extant in
 both those Authors :

Ἀρετὰ πολύμοχαε,
 Γένει βροτείῳ
 Θήραμα κάλλιζον βίω, &c.

So the words are to be read and pointed.
 Neither is there any doubt but this was
 the sole charge which that sycophant
 brought against him : for if he had im-
 peach'd his doctrines, there had been no
 need of this stale business ; which was
 then of xx years standing, the death
 of *Hermias* happening in *Aristotle's*
 xlth year, and this accusation in his
 lxth. So that another of our Writer's
 list is like to give him the slip : for the
 impeachment, we see, was not against
 the

the Philosopher, but the Poet ; not *free-thinking*, but the reverse of *perstition* ; for deifying a mortal not for ungodding the deities.

XLVIII.

But he's now come to EPICURUS
 * *a man distinguish'd in all ages*
great Free-thinker ; and I do not
 sign to rob our growing sect of the
 honour of so great a founder. How
 low'd to stand firm in the list, in
 right modern acceptance of the
 But when our Writer commends his
tues towards his parents, benevolence to
servants ; humanity to all, love to his
country, chastity, temperance, and
modesty ; he ought to reflect that he
 the character from *Laertius*, a doctour
 witness, and one of the sect ; and
 frequently of little credit where he
 for his master. I could draw a picture
 of *Epicurus* in features and countenance
 quite contrary ; and bring many
 witnesses, who knew and saw him
 vouch for it's likeness. But these

* Pag. 129.

are trite and common among men of true letters : and our Author and his pamphlet are too contemptible, to require common places in answer.

But the *noble quality* of all, the most *divine of his and all virtues was his friendship* ; so cultivated in perfection by him and his followers, that the succession of his school lasted many hundred years, after all the others had fail'd. This last part is true in the Author from whom it's taken ; but our gleaner here misunderstands it. The succession indeed continued at *Athens*, in the garden dedicated to it ; longer than the other sects possess'd their first stations. But it's utterly false, that professors of it lasted longer in general, than those of the others. Quite contrary : 'tis well known that the *Platonists*, *Peripatetics*, and *Stoics*, or rather a jumble and compound of them all, subsisted long after the empire was christian : when there was no school, no footstep of the *Epicureans* left in the world.

But how does our Writer prove, that this *noble quality, friendship*, was so eminently cultivated by *Epicurus* ?
Why,

Why, Cicero, says he, *though* *other* a great adversary to his philosophy, gives him this noble testimony. I confess, it raises my scorn and indignation at this mushroom scribler; and him by and by with an air of superciliousness, prescribing to the whole body of the clergy, the true method of quoting Cicero. They consider not, says he, writes in *dialogue*; but quote any thing that fits their purpose, as Cicero's opinion, without attending to the person that speaks it; * *Any false argument which he makes the Stoic or Epicurean use, and which they have thought fit to sanctify, they urge it as Cicero's*. Out of his own mouth, this pert testimony of his betters:

Ἀλλῶν ἰατρὸς, αὐτὸς ἔλκεσι βρύων.

For this very noble testimony, which he urges here as Cicero's own, comes from the mouth of † *Torquatus an Epicurean* and is afterwards refuted by Cicero in his own name and person. Nay for so blind and stupid was our Writer, a

* Pag. 138. † De Fin. I, 20.

to attend to the beginning of his own passage, which he ushers in thus dock'd and curtail'd: *Epicurus ita dicit, &c.* Epicurus declares it to be his opinion, that friendship is the noblest, most extensive, and most delicious pleasure. Whereas in *Torquatus* it lies thus: *The remaining head to be spoke to is FRIENDSHIP; which, if pleasure be declar'd the chief good, You affirm will be all gone and extinct: de qua Epicurus quidem ita dicit, concerning which Epicurus declares his opinion, &c. Where it's manifest, that *affirmatis, you affirm*, is spoken of and to *Cicero*. So that here's an *Epicurean* testimony of small credit in their own case (though our Writer has thought fit to sanctify it) flurr'd upon us for *Cicero's*; and where the very *Epicurean* declares, that *Cicero* was of a contrary opinion.

That an *Epicurean* who professes to cultivate friendship for no other end than his own profit and pleasure, could not upon that principle be a true and real FRIEND, was the general affirmation of

* De amicitia, quam, si voluptas summum sit bonum, affirmatis nullam omnino fore.

all the sects besides. *Cicero*, an *Academic*, is constant in this charge; as in the * II book *de Finibus*, where he answers this passage of *Torquatus*; in *Offices* I, 2. cited here above, and in III, 33. *de Amicitia*, c. 13. *Academ.* II, 46. *de Nat. Deorum* I, 44. 'Tis true, he does acknowledge that several of that sect were his own good friends, and men of virtue and honour: but then he declares he imputed this, *naturae non disciplinae*; to their good nature and not their doctrine; their lives being better than their principles. I could add numbers of *Greeks* concurring in this accusation: but I'll content myself with *Plutarch*, whom our Writer so extols for his *learning* and *virtue*, and places among his *Free-thinkers*. He impeaches the *Epicurean* notions, as destructive not of † *friendship* only, but of *natural affection*. Nay he sums up their common character in a few comprehensive words, Αφιλία, ἀπρᾶξις, ἀθεότης ἢ δυσπᾶθεια, ὀλιγωρία, ‡ *unfriendliness, unactiveness, ungodliness, volup-*

* De Fin. II, 24, 25, 26. † Plutarch
contra Coloten, p. 2037, 2041, 2058. ‡ Idem,
p. 2018.

tuousness,

tuousness, unconcernedness. These Qualities, says he, all mankind, besides themselves, think inherent in that sect. And what's like to become now of his hero's noble quality? Which of the *Free-thinkers* must we believe? Our Writer has muster'd them together, as if they were *all of one side*: but when they are turned loose into the pit; they play exactly the same game as the famous *Irish-man's* cocks did.

But see the sneer, for the sake of which this *Epicurean friendship* was introduc'd by him: * *We christians*, says he, *ought still to have a higher veneration for Epicurus; because even our holy religion itself does not any where particularly require of us such a high degree of virtue.* So that we are to supply and perfect the gospel moral out of an atheistical system; and *Christ* is to go to *Epicurus*, as to the superior *Rabbi*. Impudent, and dully profane! In the Old Testament *friendship* is celebrated both by excellent precepts and eminent examples: but there was no occasion to do it in the new. That quality is so exalted and ex-

* Pag. 129.

panded there, that it loses its very-
 and for *φιλία* friendship becomes
φιλία and *Αγάπη*, brotherly love and
 rity. Friendship in the pagan notice
 * *inter duos aut inter paucos*, c
 scribed within two persons or a
 whence Aristotle's saying was app
 ὅτι φίλοι ἔ φίλος, He that has friend
 no friend: but christian friend
 charity, in the same degree of aff
 is extended to the whole house
 faith; and, in true good-will and
 ficence, to all the race of man.
 Not that particular friendships arising
 familiarity and similitude of hu
 studies, and interests, are forbid
 couraged in the gospel: but there
 no precept to appoint and *require*
 nature itself, and human life, an
 tual utility sufficiently prompt
 A bridle was more necessary than
 for these partial friendships; wh
 straight rule of moral is often b
 warp'd awry, to comply with
 and injustice under a specious na
 many of the most magnified in
 sufficiently shew. But I'm in

* Cicero de Amic. cap. v.

here become a preacher, and invade a province, which you clergy-men, and the *English* of all others, can much better adorn.

XLIX.

Before I proceed to the next in his row, I shall make a general remark on our Writer's judgment and conduct. He has brought the authors of three sects, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and, with the greatest mark of approbation, *Epicurus*. Pray, how came he to drop the others? *Aristippus* the *Cyrenaic* cried up pleasure, as much as that *Gargettian* did; had strumpets for his mistresses and she-disciples, as well as he; and well deserv'd the honour of being in the list. Even *Diogenes* the *Cynic* would have made a laudable *Free-thinker*, for that single assertion, *That marriage was nothing but an empty name; and * he that could persuade, might lie with any woman that could be persuaded.* Nay even *Zeno* himself, the father of *Stoicism*, as gruff as he look'd, might have enlarg'd our

* Τὸν πείσαντα τῆ πειθεῖσιν οὐκ εἶναι. Laert.

Writer's catalogue, for some very *thoughts* about the indifferency of the

* *That all women ought to be com*
that no words are to be reckon'd obse
that the secret parts need no cover
that incest and sodomy have no real
nor turpitude. Where was our Author
 reading, when he omitted such illust
 examples, that might have graced
 dignified his list, full as much as
curus?

The remainder of his roll are
 founders, but followers of the se
 fects. But be they one or the o
 masters or scholars; what shallow
 what want of thought in our Write
 impose and press these upon us for
 imitation in *Free-thinking*? Many
 his blunders are special, and reach
 further than a paragraph: but here
 stupidity is total; and in the whole
 pass and tendency of his passages he
 blind as a mole. The great ob
 against the church, which is always i
 mouth, is it's imposing a system of
 nions to be swallow'd in the
 without liberty of examining or dis

* Sextus Empir.

ing : Allow it : though even this is false, the impos'd opinions being few and true and plain ; and a large field left open for freedom and latitude of thought : as his own book attests, which is mostly spent in collecting the various notions of your clergy. But how would our Writer mend this ? by recommending the freedom of the leaders and followers of the sects of philosophy ? Ridiculous direction ! Bid us copy free government from *France*, and free toleration from *Spain*. Those very sects, all without exception, prescrib'd more imperiously than christianity itself does : and not in a few generals, some easy articles of a short creed ; but in the whole extent of reasoning, both natural, and moral, and even in logical inquiries. Any scholar of a particular sect, though commonly enter'd in it young ; and by his parent's choice, not his own ; was to be led shackled and hoodwink'd all the rest of his life. He assented and consented to his philosophical creed in the lump, and before he knew the particulars. It was made the highest point of honour, never to desert nor flinch : *scelus erat dogma prodere, it was flagitious to betray a*

maxim: they were all to be defended sicut moenia, sicut caput & fama, like his castle, as dear as his life and his reputation. And there were fewer instances then of leaving one sect for another, than now we have; of defecting to popery, or of apostacy to mahometism. And I'll give our Writer one observation upon *Cicero*, better worth than all he has told us; that in all the disputes he introduces between the various sects after the speeches are ended, every man sticks where he was before: not a convert is made (as is common in modern dialogue) nor brought over in the smallest article. For he avoided the violation of *decorum*; he had observed in common life, that all persevered in their sects, and maintain'd every *nostrum* without reserve. But of all sects whatever, the most superstitiously addicted and bigoted to their master were the Writer's beloved *Epicureans*. In other times some free-thinking or ambitious success might make a small innovation, thence forwards there was some room for domestic disputation: but the *Epicureans*, those patterns of friendship

Ship, never * disagreed in the least point: all their masters dreams and reveries were held as sacred as the laws of *Solon* or the *twelve tables*. 'Twas ἀσέβημα, παρανόμημα, *unlawful, irreligious*, to start one free or new notion; and so the stupid succession persisted to the last, in maintaining that the sun, moon, and stars, were no bigger than they appear to the eye; and other such idiotic stuff, against mathematical demonstration. O *fine liberty! O diligence and application of mind!* This is our Writer's admired sect: these his saints and his heroes. Could it be revived again at *Athens*, he deserves for his superior dulness to be chosen Κηποτύραννος, † *the prince of the garden*.

L.

We are advanc'd now to PLUTARCH, whom, though a *heathen priest*, he will dub a *Free-thinker*. This is very obliging: but in the close of his catalogue he'll extend the same favour even to the *Jewish* prophets, and the *Christian* priests. I perceive his politics, *totum*

* Laërtius, Numenius, &c. † Laërt. in Epicuro,

orbem civitate donare, to make all religions in the world free of his *grove sect*. It will grow the better for especially if he aggregates to it his *Tarpoons* and his *Bonzes*. But wherein *Plutarch* so obliged the fraternity? his treatise of *superstition*; a long page out of which fills * two of our *W*ter's pages: and yet the whole is *p*impertinence, and contributes nothing to any *free-thinking purpose whatever*.

The design of *Plutarch* is to shew the deplorable misery of superstition when it is in extremity; when a man imagines the gods, under the same ideas we now do the devils; when he fancies them † *ἐμπλήντες, ἀπίστες, εὐμεταβόλους, ταραχτικὰς, ὠμὰς, μικρολύπες, mad, faithless, fickle, revengeful, cruel, and disgusting at the smallest things; when he figures Diana, Apollo, Juno, Venus, as acting under the most frantic and raving distractions; when he approaches trembling to the temples, as if they were the dens of bears, dragons, or serpents monsters*. When superstition, says he, is arriv'd to this pitch, it's more intolerable

* Pag. 132, 133.

† Plut. p. 295, 296.

rable than Atheism it self; *nay it produces Atheism, both in others that see them, and in themselves, if they can emerge to it. For when fools fly from superstition, they run into Atheism, the other extreme.* * ὑπερπηδήσαντες ἐν μέσῳ κειμένην τὴν εὐσεβείαν, *skipping over right religion that lies in the middle.* This is the sum of *Plutarch's* book: and what's all this to our Writer's design? Superstition, under this character, is not possible to be found in christianity; it can be no where but under pagan and poëtical theology. In other † places the same Author scourges atheism as severely as superstition here: nay he prefers a moderate superstition infinitely before it. But those passages are to be drop'd; and this out of so many volumes is singled out as a flower: which yet serves to no better end, than to shew our Writer understands neither the language nor the sense.

Superstition, says he, (by ‡ way of insertion) by which the Greeks meant the fear of God, and which Theophrastus

* Plut. p. 299. † Contra Colotem, & alibi.

‡ Pag. 132.

in his characters expressly defines
 Not a syllable of this true. The Greek
 meant not absolutely fear, but an e-
 roneous and vitious fear: and The-
 phrastus defines it, not δέος fear, but
 δειδία, a vain fearfulness. And so Cot-
 in Tully, where he blames such as o-
 Writer, * who not only root *superstiti-*
up, in qua est INANIS TIMOR Deorum
 which is a VAIN FEAR of the Gods, but
 religion too, which consists in the pio-
 worship of them. Nor does the verse
 Horace quoted by him in the margin,

Quone malo mentem concussa? timore deorum.

prove his assertion. For these *malo*
 which precedes, communicates its signi-
 fication to *timore*; as if he had said plu-
 rarily, *malo timore*, a wrong and vi-
 tious fear. The same Poët, Odes I, 35, 3

*Unde manum juventus
 METU DEORUM continuit? quibus
 Pepercit aris?*

without doubt means religion, and not
 superstition: and so does Terence
Hecyra: N

* Nat. Deor. I, 42.

Nec pol istae METUUNT DEOS, neque has respicere deos opinor.

But there are other strokes in the version itself, that shew his faithfulness and ability. * *But of all fears, says he, none confounds a man like the religious fear.* Here on purpose he leaves his guide, the last *English* translator, who has it, *The vain religious*: and the original, φόβος ὁ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας, *the fear arising from superstition.* He will fix a calumny on religion and the fear of God, in spite of his Author.

His justness of thought is conspicuous in his version of this period: † *Even slaves forget their masters in their sleep: sleep lightens the irons of the fetter'd: their angry sores, mortified gangrenes, and pinching pains allow them some intermission at night: but superstition will give no truce at night.* If Plutarch had writ no better in the original, he would scarce have been now *the most known of all the ancients,* but long ago had been forgot. Mind the absurdity:

* Pag. 132.

† Pag. 133.

THEIR

THEIR *angry sores*, that is, of the *fetter'd*: as if all captives, or criminal slaves in chains, *must needs* be full of sores and ulcers? And then *mortified gangrenes* allow some *intermission* of pain. If he had consulted physicians, he might have known, that *mortified* parts can give no pain at all, and consequently have no *intermission*. And lastly, *and pains* allow *intermission* AT NIGHT. False; for night is the periodical time of aggravation of pains. *But superstition will give no truce* AT NIGHT. Is it such a wonder? even less truce than *the day*; for darkness and solitude increase the fears. What a series of nonsense has he father'd upon *Plutarch*. Of which nothing appears in the Greek, neither *their sores*, nor *mortified gangrenes*, nor *at night*. I'll translate the passage word for word: *Sleep lightens the irons of the fetter'd: inflammation of wounds, cancerous corrosions of flesh, and all the most raging pains of miser men, while they sleep: superstition alone gives no truce nor cessation even in sleep.* If this is not unworthy *Plutarch*, the other certainly becomes none but our Writer and his company.

But now comes a signal instance of the lightness of his hand, and the heaviness of his head. In the middle of his long citation, page 133, after the words *at noon-day*, he drops the period which immediately follows in the original; and transfers it into his 134th page, as if it was quoted from another place, and belonged to another head. Why this legerdemain? Why this mangling and luxation of passages? The reason is apparent: for *Plutarch's* own words, as they were represented in the last *English* version, not serving his turn; he quotes the place as it is translated forsooth in the *Characteristics*, a book writ by an Anonymous, but whoever he is, a very whimsical and conceited author.

* *O wretched Grecians* (so that Author renders *Plutarch*) *who bring into religion that frightful mien of sordid and vilifying devotion, ill favour'd humiliation and contrition, abject looks and countenances, consternations, prostrations, disfigurations; and, in the act of worship, distortions, constrain'd and painful postures of the body, wry faces,*

* Page 134.

beggarly

beggarly tones, mumpings, grimacing, cringings, and the rest of this Thus far that nameless Opiniatre: our worthy Writer introduces it with a grave air, * *That Plutarch thus satirizes the public forms of devotion; which yet are such, as in almost all countries pass for the true Worship of God.* This would partly be true, if those were really the words of *Plutarch*: but as not one syllable of them is found there, must we think of this couple of Copyists and Forgers? There is nothing in all this, but their own *disfigurations, distortions* of the Original; their *mumpings, and beggarly tones*, which they pretend to speak in *Plutarch's* voice.

Plutarch having observ'd, *That superstition alone allows no ease nor intermission, even in sleep;* 'for their dream adds he, do as much torment to them, as their waking thoughts before. And then they seek for exorcisations of those visions nocturnal charms, fulfurations, dippings in the sea, sittings all day on the ground.

* O Greeks, inventors of Barbarian ills,

whose superstition has devis'd rowlings
in the mire and in the kennels, dippings
in the sea, grovelings and throwings
upon the face, deformed sittings on the
earth, absurd and uncouth adorations.
This is a verbal interpretation of that
place; except that for σαββατισμὸς, *sab-*
batisms, I have emended it βαπτισμὸς,
dippings: and this, if I mistake not,
for very good reasons. Neither σαββα-
τισμὸς, nor σαββατίζειν is any where else
heard of: and *sabbata* being deriv'd and
borrowed from the *Jews*; it is inconsis-
tent with ἐξευρόντες, *Greeks inventors* of
such evils, that are more worthy of
Barbarians. But, what weighs most,
the Author here describes the most pain-
ful and sorrowful instances of supersti-
tion: but the *sabbata* was a joyful fes-
tival, made up of ease, finery, and good
cheer. This is certain from the *Jewish*
rituals, which exact that the very poorest

Ω βάρβαρ ἐξευρόντες Ἕλληνες κακὰ,
τῆ δεισιδαιμονία, πηλώσεις, καθαβορβορώσεις, βαπτισμὸς,
πίψεις ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, αἰχρὰς προσκαθίσεις, ἀλλοκότες

Q

should

should wear their best garments, and
 three meals every sabbath. And that
Plutarch knew this, appears from his
Symposiacs, IV, 5. where, he says, *The Jews*
honour the sabbath, if possible,
** drinking and carousing together; on*
that cannot be done, some wine at
least must be tasted: and from this very text
 p. 294. where he tells us, *That the Jews*
once suffer'd their walls to be taken
by the enemies, without stirring to oppose
them, σαββάτων ὄντων ἐν ἀγυάπτοις καθεζόμενοι
but sitting still, because it was sabbath
in their new cloaths, never sent to the
Fuller: which your last english version
 absurdly translates, *sitting on their*
 From the whole I suppose it is plain
 that *Plutarch* would not mix a
 which he knew to be joyful, with
 other ceremonies the most mournful
 and desponding. But then βαπτισμὸς, *dipping*
 in rivers or the sea, exactly suits
 the rest: both word and thing being
 memorially known in Greece, and
 the most frequent way of expiation
 among melancholy and dejected Bigots. Which
 he himself has it a little before, βάπτισμα

* Πίνειν καὶ οἰνεῖσθαι

σεαυτὸν εἰς θάλασσαν, * *dip yourself in the sea*: and that verse of *Euripides* became proverbial;

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τάνθρώπων κακὰ:

The sea does expiate all mortal ills.

And now I dare ask the reader, if he has seen a more flagrant instance of unfaithfulness and forgery, than this of our two writers. *Humiliation and Contrition*, known words in your *english* liturgy, are to be tradue'd here under *Plutarch's* name. Where do those and their other phrases appear in the original? or where do the rites, he really speaks of, appear in your *form of worship*? Who among you *roul themselves in mire, or wallow in kennels*? a ceremony fit only to be injoin'd to such *crack-brain'd* and *scandalous writers*.

LI.

He's got now to his *latin* Free-thinkers, and the leader of them is *VARRO*; † *the most learned of all the*

* Page 288.

† Page 134.

Q 2

Romans.

Romans. Now *Varro* being a known Follower of the old Academy, **V* *Academiae seētator*, that is, a true *tonist*, we know all his system of *logy* at once: and he cannot be a *Free-thinker*, in either of the that our Writer plays and shuffles. Not an *Atheist*, because the *PL* notions had † a great conformity *Christianity*: not a *free reasoner* *novator*; because being *addictus* *ratus*, *ingaged and sworn* to a *Seēt* *lump*, he can scarce arrive to the and dignity of one of our *W* *half-thinkers*.

Varro, who had made more reference into the antiquities of *Italy*, than any man before him, publish'd two large voluminous books, long ago lost, which he call'd *Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum & Divinarum*. In the latter of these, about *Divine Affairs*, the short remains of which are chiefly preserv'd in *St. Austin de Civitate Dei* distributed *Theology* into *poetical* *fabulous*, *philosophical* or *physical*

* Cic. Acad. I, 2. Augst. de Civ. Dei, VII, 17. XIX, 1, 3, 4. † Page 12

*civil. Mythicon, * says he, appellant, quo maxime utuntur poetae; Physicon, quo philosophi; Civile, quo populi. Primum, quod dixi, in eo sunt multa contra dignitatem & naturam Immortalium ficta. In hoc enim est, ut Deus alius ex capite, alius ex femore sit, alius ex guttis sanguinis natus: in hoc, ut Dii furati sint, ut adulteraverint, ut serviverint homini. Denique in hoc omnia Diis attribuuntur; quae non modo in hominem, sed etiam quae in contemptissimum hominem cadere possunt. In the FIRST, says he, are contained many fables, contrary to the dignity and nature of immortal Beings; that one God should be born out of a head (Minerva), another out of a thigh (Bacchus), another from drops of blood (Venus, Furies); that Gods were thieves (Mercury), were adulterers (Juppiter), were slaves to a Man (Apollo); any thing in short, that may be said not only of a man, but of the most despicable of men. This passage our learned Writer cites, and ushers it in thus: Varro, the most learned of all the Romans, speak-*

* August. de Civ. Dei. VI, 5.

ing of THEIR Theology, says: How THEIR's, that is, the *civil*; where expressly says it of the *mythic* or *poetical*? Was this downright dulness in the Writer, or has it a mixture of pride and knavery? It is very plain, both in that chapter of St. *Austin*, and in many other places of that excellent work, that *Varro* with great freedom censured the *poetical* Theology; as all the *Antiquaries* whatever did, particularly the * *Stoicks*; but the *civil* or the *Roman* he was far from condemning, that he encouraged and multiplied it. He counted that performance, † a great benefit to his countrymen, both in shewing them the names they were to worship, and what powers and office every God had; and ‡ in many places religiously exhorted them to the worship of those Gods: many unclean names of which he raised out of obscurity; assign'd to the most sordid and of low and servile life. And I verily believe, neither *Cicero*, nor any other Gentleman of that time, knew half those Gods; till *Varro* brought them

* See Remark XLV. page 33.
IV, 22.

† *Ibid.* 31. *Varro ad Deos celsos multis locis velut religiosus hortatur.*

‡ *Au-*

to light out of the obscure superstitions of mean artificers and rustics. Where then was our Writer's judgment, to list *Varro* among his *Free-thinkers*? but his learning too is as much display'd in his accurate version. That period above, *Ut Deus alius ex capite, &c.* he renders thus: *As Gods begotten and proceeding from other Gods heads, legs, thighs, and blood.* Why, in the name of *Priscian*, is *alius ex capite*, out of other Gods heads? It is manifest the illiterate Scribler for *alius* read it *alius* in the genitive. And why forsooth must he add *legs*, and pin his own ignorance on his Author? Does any fable in the poetic system make a God born out of a *leg*? And why must plain *natus* in the *latin* be transmuted into *begotten and proceeding*? for the pleasure of a silly fling at the *Nicene* and *Athanasian* creeds? Surely such a series of profaneness, ignorance, and nonsense could never *procede* from any *head* but such a one as his is.

But he has another passage from *Varro* (recorded too by *St. Austin*) where * *de*

* August. IV, 31.

*religionibus loquens, speaking of religious institutions, he says, multa vera, quae non modo vulgo scire non utile; sed etiam tametsi falsa sint, tamen existimare populum expediat. ideo Graecos Teletas & mysteria turnitate parietibusque clausisse: many things are TRUE, which are only not fit for the vulgar to know; but, even if they should be false, it would fit the vulgar should think otherwise; and that therefore the Greeks hid their initiations and mysteries in secret and within private walls. This passage our Writer proposes, as a discovery of Varro's Free-thinking. Now I should have thought it the very reverse. At first he says, The things are TRUE: which is contrary, no doubt, to our Writer's Free-thinking: and then, That things which they should be FALSE (not that he thinks they are false) the people ought not to know it: that's flat and plain Prophanity, our Writer's hate and aversion. How comes it then, that so sagacious a person is enamour'd of this passage? We may truly, as he has manag'd it, it will stand and bend to his purpose. For the passage is, *Multa esse vera, That many things**

TRUE, he has translated, *many things FALSE in religion*. What? *vera, false? non*, an affirmative? 'Tis time for your Governors *de les petites maisons* to take care of such a Scribler. But, besides his tricks in the version, he shews his slight of hand upon the original. For, instead of *sed etiam tametsi falsa sint*, he exhibits it, *et quaedam tametsi falsa sint*; and so makes Varro say positively, *That some things are false*. Now, what * *foundation for this in any manuscript or printed copy whatsoever*? Is this his honesty in citations? Is this he, that upbraids others with *corrupting and misapplying* of passages?

Yes; but St. *Austin*, after he had recited this passage, subjoins his own remark; *Hic certe totum consilium prodidit velut sapientium, per quos civitates & populi regerentur*: Here Varro, says he, *has discover'd* (unawares, or by an obscure hint) *the whole design, as of wise statesmen, by whom societies were to be govern'd*. This place our † *Author* has borrow'd; but he might have produced more from the same Father;

* Page 93. † Page 135.

where

where he presses hard upon *Varro*, glozing and soothing the *civil* religion contrary to his own sentiments of conscience: since he owns, that *he had * founded a new community, would have settled the public worship more ex Naturae formula, according to the model of nature; but now he to explain it, as he found it established.* But of what use is this to our Author? If there's any relish of *Free-thinking* in it, it belongs to *St. Austin*, and not to *Varro*. The Christian Father speaks at home, and condemns the *civil* Theology equal with the *poetical*: but a learned Pagan, being himself a Minister of State, and fearful of giving offence (at that time especially, when the *greek* philosophy had not yet been made popular in the *latin* tongue) used great reserve and dissimulation: and though in many parts he corrected the public superstition, in the main he fix'd and promoted it. Not that he was himself superstitious; for in that very work he hints his own sentiments, though indirectly and by the bye: he declares

* August. IV, 3. V, 4.

* that for above 170 years, the old *Romans* worshipped the Gods without any images: *which manner*, says he, *if it had still continued, the Gods would be adored with more purity and holiness:* and for this he cites the *Jewish* nation, as a witness and example; and concludes with a declaration, That they who first instituted statues of the Gods, *Et metum populis demisse Et errorem addidisse*, both took away the fear of the Gods from the people, and gave them erroneous notions of them: where note again by the way, that *metus* is religion, and not *superstition*. And in other of his writings he on all occasions detected the artifices of knavish impostors: as in that at † *Falisci* near *Rome*, where a few families call'd *Hirpi*, pretended to have the gift of walking bare-foot upon burning cinders without being singed, at an annual sacrifice to *Apollo*; which *Virgil* magnificently expresses, *Aen. XI, 786.*

* August. IV, 31. Quod si adhuc mansisset, castius Dii observarentur. † Plin Hist. VII, 2,

Cui pineus ardor aceris
Pascitur, & medium freti pietate per ignem
Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna.

On which place *Servius* the ancient scholiast remarks, *That Virgil indeed says it was a miracle; but Varro, who is every where an overthrower of religion, says their feet were medicated and secured by an ointment.* How would our Writer have flourish'd, if in his desultory gleanings he had met with this passage, *Varro ubique expugnator religionis?* He would have slighted *St. Austin*, and adhered solely to the *Grammatician*, for proving *Varro* a *Free thinker*. And yet upon the very same foot he must take *St. Austin* too into his list, and every particular *Christian* that liv'd in the times of Paganism. For as *Servius* here by *religio* means the *vulgar, popular, civil religion*; the *Christians* were in a compleat sense, both in notion and fact, *expugnatores, the overthrowers* of such religion. And how little then is all this to our illustrious Writer's purpose? The more *Varro* and great men he quotes for disbelief

in

ing pagan idolatry; the more justice he does to Gospel truth, and the more reason to the *Christian* establishment.

LII.

The next that enters the scene, though he speaks but one sentence, is * *the grave and wise CATO the Censor, who will for ever live in that noble Free-thinking saying, recorded by Cicero; which shews that he understood the whole mystery of the Roman religion as by law establish'd: I wonder, said he, how one of our priests can forbear laughing, when he sees another.* Very short, you see, but very pithy: and our Writer thought he made a most capital jest and spiteful insinuation, when he said *The Roman religion as by law establish'd.* 'Tis easy to know what he alludes to: but by that time I have done this remark and the rest, his own ignorance and stupidity will be so drag'd into the light, that I myself shall hereafter wonder, *If any of your priests can for-*

bear laughing, when he sees a
thinker.

CATO the elder, *homo antiqua vir*
 & *fide*, a true old Roman, as his c
 trymen were before the *grecian* litera
 got settlement among them, liv'd
 dy'd a *priest* himself, *e collegio A*
rum; was as knowing and tenaciou
 the legal superstitions, as any of
 time; so as * *he complain'd that*
Auspices, many Auguries were quite
and forgotten by the negligence of
society of Augurs. He was an en
 to all foreign rites, and jealous of
 least innovation in the antient reli
 and laws. He procur'd in the fer
 that *Carneades* the Academic, and
genes the Stoic, Embassadors
Athens, should immediately be dism
 that they might not corrupt the yo
 He had an aversion to all philosop
 in one of his books he said, *Socr*
 (the first in our Author's list) wa
 † *prating and turbulent fellow*, fo
 roducing opinions contrary to his c

* *Multa Auspicia, multa Auguria, quod Ca*
fapiens queritur, negligentia Collegii amissa pl
deserta sunt. Cic. Divin. I, 15. † Δα
βιασιν. Plut. in Catone. p. 640.

try's laws and customs. Now one would hardly have guess'd, that a man of this character should ever make a good *Free-thinker*. I am rather of opinion that, if *Cato* in his *Censorship* had found one of that species, he would have taken quicker and better care of him, than your patient government is like to do of yours.

But so it is: our Writer has met with a *Bon Mot* of this *Cato's*; which, according to his shallow understanding and silly interpretation, he presages *will ever live as a noble free-thinking saying*. I'll give it in *Tully's* words, from whom he here cites it; * *Vetus autem illud Catonis admodum scitum est, qui mirari se aiebat, quod non rideret haruspex, haruspicem cum vidisset*: and he might have added another place, which, since *Cato* is not mention'd there, shews it became proverbial; † *Mirabile videtur, quod non rideat haruspex, cum haruspicem viderit*. This our Author has thus render'd; *I wonder, said Cato, how one of OUR PRIESTS can forbear laughing, when he sees another. What!*

* *Divin.* II, 24.† *Nat. Deor.* I, 26.*haruf.*

haruspex a priest in general? And of OUR, that is, the *Roman* priests? *Cato*, who was one and liv'd to be senior of them, would have libel'd himself: he had ridicul'd the law established, which he always zealously maintained: he had become, what we call'd *Socrates*, a prating turbulent fellow, in doing at *Rome*, what he did at *Athens*. Surely there must be some mistake: and we shall find it lies nowhere else, but in our Writer's empty nodd.

The whole matter is but this: a college of *Augurs*, of which *Cato* was one, was of *Roman* institution, founded by *Numa*: their divination was made from observations of birds and several other things within the sphere of their discipline: and as they were persons of the first quality, and all things were to be done *auspicato*, by their direction; they had vast influence and authority in all great affairs both in peace and war. But besides this native institution, a foreign and exotic sect of Diviners had gradually grown in fashion, the *haruspices* of *Tuscany*; whose skill and province reach'd to three things, *exta*, *fulgura*, & *ostenta*, *entra*

of cattle, thunders, and monstrous births. That these were proper to *Hetruria*, from one *Tages* their founder; and not establish'd at *Rome*, but sent for and fetch'd thither upon occasions, may easily be prov'd. They are scarce ever mention'd without that hint: *Haruspex Etruscus*, says *Livy*, V, 15. *Haruspices ex Etruria acciti*, XXVII, 37. *Haruspicum scientiam ex Etruria*, says *Cicero Divin.* I, 2. *Haruspices ne ex Etruria arcessentur*, II, 4. *Nostrorum augurum & Etruscorum & haruspicum* (dele &) *Nat. Deor.* II, 4. and so *Lucan* I, 584.

Haec propter, placuit Tuscos de more vetusto Acciri vates. and *Martial* III, 24;

Quem Tuscus mactare deo cum vellet haruspex.

This being observ'd and prov'd, the whole reason and drift of *Cato's* saying will immediately appear.

For it often happen'd, that this pack of *Hetruscan* soothsayers gave their answers quite cross to what the *Roman* augurs had given: so that the two disciplines clash'd; the one forbidding as unlucky and unsuccessful, what the other had allow'd as auspicious and prosperous. An example of which is recorded by *Cicero Nat. Deor.* II, 4. While *Tiberius*

R *Gracchus*

Gracchus was creating new colonies, one of the nominators suddenly fell down dead: however *Gracchus* proceeded and finish'd the creation soon after the people had scruples about it, and the *haruspices* being consulted, the creation was vitious: says *Gracchus*, in a great rage; create them right, who am both pontifex and augur, and acted auspiciously for you, * *Tuscans and Barbarians, pray to correct and controul the auspices of the Romans? And so he bid the auguries be gone.* This was done A. U. C. 504 when *Terence's Heautontimoroumenos* was acted, and while *Cato* was alive. 'Tis true, *Gracchus* in this instance having recollected himself, found he had omitted one circumstance directed in the books of *anguries*; and so he consulted the *Tuscans*, and added much to their reputation. But however it's from hence, that there was no kindness between the *Roman* and them. For their disciplines proceeded upon quite different principles, if the one was suppos'd true, the

* An vos Tusci ac barbari, &c.

must generally be false. *Cato* therefore, without the least grain of *free-thinking*, nay out of the true spirit of superstition, stood tightly for *Numa's* auguries; believ'd every tittle of them; and consequently took the *Tuscan* tribe for a set of cheats and impostors. Add to this, his hatred to all rites that were foreign and exotic; add his own interest as an *augur*, against those rivals in credit and authority: and then wonder, if you can, why *Cato* should wonder, how one *haruspex* could forbear laughing when he saw another.

And now take a view of our Writer's learning and sagacity: *haruspex* render'd a *priest*; which would include in the affront both *Cato* himself and all his colleagues: and our *priests* forth; when the satire is solely pointed at *Tuscans* and foreigners? And what's now become of his *ever living* saying? Where are now the footsteps of that noble *free-thinking* in it? of understanding the whole mystery of the Roman religion as by law establish'd? *Cato* took the *Tuscans* for cheats, conscious of their own juggles: therefore he knew the whole mystery, and took himself too

for a cheat. What, *Cato the grave*
the wise? A consequence only for
 our Scribbler. It was no *free-thinker*.
Cato, but pure *polemic divinity*.
 adhered superstitiously to *Numa's*
 his country's rites: and took the
can discipline for nonsense, without
 being one jot wiser himself. And
 this makes him a *free-thinker*; and
 rate the *growing sect* will multiply
 digiously: all the *Pagans*, the
 fish or pidgeons, are to be admitted
free-thinkers; because they con-
 dicted the *Syrians*, who superstitiously
 abstain'd from both: the *Tentyrit*
Egypt were certainly *free-thinkers*
 because they destroy'd and fed on
diles, which the *Ombites* their
 neighbours worship'd as gods: nay the
Tuscan haruspices were passable
thinkers; for no doubt they reproved
 upon *Cato*; and thought as meanly of
 the *Roman* divinations, as he did
 theirs.

To shew our learned Writer, what
free-thinker Cato was; I'll give
 some choice instances out of his
 DE RE RUSTICA; which is certainly
Cato's own, and so quoted by a
 and

antients : ^a his annual offering to *Mars Silvanus* for the health of his black-cattle : ^b another to *Juppiter Dapalis* ; ^c another to *Ceres, Janus, Jove* and *Juno* : ^d an attonement for the lopping of a wood : ^e a sacrifice for the lustration of his grounds, to preserve the grafs, corn, fruits, cattel, and shepherds from difasters ; and all these with their several ceremonies, as aukward and absurd as those of the *Pawawers*. But the prime of all is his charm for a *luxation* or *fracture* ; which I'll recommend to our Writer with a *probatum est*, when he has any thing *broken or out of joint*. ^f *Take, says he, a green reed, and slit it along the middle : throw the knife upwards ; and join the two parts of the reed again, and tie it so to the place broken or disjointed ; and say this charm, Daries, dardaries, astataries, dissunapiter : or this, Huat banat huat, ista pista fista, domiabo damnaustra : this will make the part sound again.* Is not this an excellent specimen of *Cato's free-thinking* ?

^a Cato de re Rust. c. 83.

^b 132:

^c 134.

^d 139.

^e 141.

^f 160.

Does not this gibberish demonstrate penetration into *mysteries*? Is it not worthy of that refin'd age, when *suls* and *dictators* were chosen from the plough? nor can our Author say, that this is a spurious receipt: for * *P* mentions this very charm under *Cato*'s name and authority; though he excuses himself from repeating it, because of its filliness. But as poorly as our Writer comes off with *Cato* the elder; I fear he'll anon have still worse success with *Cato* the younger.

LIII.

But before he comes to him, he introduces *CICERO*, as a distinguish'd eminent *free-thinker*; in which sect he seems to have taken peculiar pains, and to strut with an air of arrogance quite above his ordinary mien. He summons all your divines to receive his laws for reading and quoting; and to govern themselves by his instructions both in the pulpit and the press.

† *Nat. Hist.* xvii, *in fine.* Carmen cunctis luxata membra, jungenda arundinum fissurae, verba inferere non equidem serio ausim, quamvis a Catone prodita.

how does this scenical commander, this hero in buskins perform? so wretchedly and forrily; so exactly to the same tune and his wonted pitch; that he has not struck one right stroke, either in *Cicero's* general character, or in any passage of his, that he quotes incidentally.

The first word he opens with is this, * *That though Cicero was chief priest and consul, &c.* And what does he mean by *chief priest*? no doubt he means *pontifex maximus*: for no other word in all the sacerdotal colleges of the *Romans* can admit of that version. Now a list and succession of the *pontifices maximi* (*Metellus Dalmaticus, Mucius Scaevola, Metellus Pius, Julius Caesar, Aemilius Lepidus*) which includes all *Cicero's* time, was ready drawn to our Writer's hand both in *Parvinius's Fasti*, and in *Bosius de pontificatu maximo*. He was so far from being *chief pontif*, that he was never of that order; not one of the whole XV: as appears from his oration *Pro domo ad pontifices*, spoken in his Lth year. He was a *priest* indeed, as I have said before;

* Pag. 135.

being made *augur* in his LIVth
and succeeding *Crassus* the young
who, with his father, was slain in *P*
What scandalous and puerile ignorance
is this, in a teacher forsooth of
clergy, who are teachers appointed
Cicero the *chief priest*, or rather
Writer the *chief blunderer*. He
meddles with the word *priest*, but
sense is his expiation for it: it sticks
him like *Hercules's* shirt; and will
him, like that, to his funeral.

Another observation he thus draws
* *That Cicero gives us his own picture*
and that of the greatest part of
philosophers, when he produces this
an instance of a probable opinion,
they who study philosophy, don't
believe there are any gods: *that is,*
there existed no such gods as were
believ'd by the people. Now grant
Author this, and yet he obtains no more
by it, than that *Cicero*, with most
the philosophers, disbeliev'd the *poet*
and *civil* theology of the *Pag*
And if this *picture* so much pleases
or has such strong lines and features

free-thinking in it ; the very herd of christians have a better title to it, than any of the philosophers. We are all *free-thinkers* on that topic ; unless our Writer dissents from us, and would recur to the old worship of *Bacchus* and *Venus*.

But the misery of it is, this passage of *Cicero* is quite misrepresented ; nay it proves the very reverse to what he infers from it. * *Every argumentation*, says *Tully*, *ought either to be probable, or demonstrative. A thing probable is either what is generally true, or what is so in opinion and common conceit. Of the first sort this is one, If she's a mother, she loves her son : of the second which consists in opinion, hujusmodi sunt probabilia, these are examples : Impiis apud inferos poenas esse paratas : Eos, qui philosophiae dent operam, non arbitrari deos esse : that torments in hell are prepared for the impious : that philosophers don't think there are gods.* Where it's evident to a sagacious reader, that *Tully* gives two instances of probables, which really he thought false.

* De Inventione I, 29.

For *probabile* in *latin* takes in the several ideas of your *english* *probable*, *plausible*, *likely*, *specious*, *seeming*; whether it really be *true* or *false*, *sive id falsum est sive verum*, as *Tully* here says in *de officiis*. The first of these about *tortures of hell* was then a current, *passing* probable assertion: but *Tully* himself * *disbeliev'd* it, and gives it here a notion vulgar but false. And the second likewise, *that philosophers were atheists*, was a staple mob opinion especially at that time, when *Lucretius*, *Amasinius*, and other *Epicureans* were the sole retailers in *latin*; that having in that language got the start, the rest. But the Orator here exhibits it, not as a true, but a false probable, and contrary to his own † *sentiments* and example. And what's become now of the *picture*? 'Tis like the old story of the horse painted tumbling; whose posture being not lik'd by the purchaser upon inverting the piece the horse was running. Our Writer here imagines that *Cicero* was *figur'd* an infidel: to his great disappointment he's pain

* *Tuscul* I, 5, 6. & alibi.
legibus, &c.

† *Tuscul.*

a belie

a believer. But see by the way the great sincerity of our Writer: In his marginal citation he has dropt the first instance about *hell-torments*; and given the latter only about *believing no gods*; and to disguise it the more; for *hujusmodi sunt probabilia*, he puts it *est probabile*: where any person, who looks no further, must certainly be impos'd on. But if our Writer had given both, the vigilant reader, without stirring from the margin, had detected the nonsense. For the two instances of probable being both of a kind, either both true or both false; if the first is suppos'd *false*, the latter must be so too, and so our Writer is frustrated. But if the latter is suppos'd *true* (as our Writer propounds it) then the first must be allow'd so too about the *torments of hell*: which our Writer abhorring as the most gasty *picture* in nature, remov'd it out of his book: and so the reader seeing but one, could not discover the painter's true meaning. O dulness, if this was done by chance! O knavery, if it was done by design!

His next remark upon *Cicero* is still more *mumping* and *beggarly*; that were it not for his pride and insolence, I should

should really commiserate him. He prove out of the *Tusculan questio* that Cicero was against the *immortal* of the soul: which is exactly, as it should prove from these remarks mine, that I am a member of his. But of that anon: in the mean time a cast of his occasional learning, makes the *dialogist* to be T. Pomponius ATTICUS, a great friend of Cicero who writ a whole volume of letters to him. The interlocutor in the *Tusculans* is mark'd by the letter A, as Cicero by M: and though some old commentators and authors too believ'd A signified Atticus; yet, what was pardonable in them is at this time of day, and in a book of defiance too, a most shameful blunder in our Writer. The person A was *Adolescens, a youth*, as appears from *Ille At tu, adolescens, cum dixisses*, how therefore can this be Atticus, who was then an old man, as your * learned *Davisius* remarks on the place? Cicero when he writ the *Tusculans*, was in

* Atticus tunc temporis senex erat. *Davisius* *Tuscul.* I, 5.

great climacteric ; and *Atticus* was two years older than he. For *Nepos* says, in his life, *That the Caesarian civil war broke out, when Atticus was about LX, cum haberet annos circiter sexaginta: but Cicero was then LVIII. Again he says, Atticus died LXXVII years old compleat, Domitio & Sosio coss: and by that reckoning too he was born two years before Cicero. So that our Writer has made a hopeful youth of him, when he was going of LXV: and makes Cicero call a man youth, who was older than himself. Besides this, who, but our mirrour of learning, could be ignorant, that Atticus liv'd and died an Epicurean? but this dialogist is intirely against that sect, * as appears through the whole. And lastly, what I have noted above in my XLIXth remark, if Atticus here was the discourser with Cicero, he would adhere to his old principles, and be brought over in nothing: but this youth, this inquirer, is a convert throughout; and convinc'd by good arguments recedes from every thing that he advances at first. So that there's a vast*

* See *Tuscul. I, 23, 32, 34.*

difference

difference in the manner of dispute that's exhibited in the *Tusculans*, from what appears *In Academicis*, *De Finibus*, *De Natura Deorum*, and *Divinatione*. In the latter no one concedes; in the *Tusculans* no one resists. These last were *scholae*, Cicero from the *Greeks* calls them, courses without an antagonist; rather audiences, than conferences. *W*hich manner, * he says, was us'd among the philosophers, even in the academy itself: *Qui quaesivit aliquid, tacet*: that has propos'd a question, holds his tongue. For as soon as he has said SEEMS to me that pleasure is the chief good; the philosopher disputes against it in a continued discourse: so as it may easily be understood, how they that are of a thing SEEMS to them, are not ready to be refuted, but want to be refuted. This very manner, which Cicero here describes in his LXII year, he executed the year after in his *Tusculans*: where when A the auditor said, *It SEEMS to me, that death is an evil, and that pain is the greatest of all evils*

* De Finibus II. 1.

that grief or uneasiness may happen to the wiseman; that the wiseman is not free from all perturbation of mind; that virtue alone is not sufficient to a happy life (which make the subject of the V books) it's plain by Cicero's own comment, that A is of contrary sentiments, and desires to have all those positions confuted: which Cicero performs to his satisfaction and applause. This being observ'd and premis'd; let us now see, what our sagacious Writer can fetch from the *Tusculans*.

Why, Tully, * says he, after having mention'd the various notions of philosophers about the nature of the soul, concludes from them, that there can be nothing after death. Now if a foreigner may judge of your language, THE VARIOUS notions can mean no less than *singulas opiniones, the several*, and even all the notions of the philosophers: which being suppos'd, our Writer will stand convicted either of such dulness, or of such impudence, as nothing can match but his own book. After Cicero had enumerated the several opinions

* Page 136. *Tuscul. l. 1. §. 11.*

about the soul, That it was the *brain*, or the *heart*, or the *blood*, or *fire*, or *breath*, or *harmony*, or *nothing at all*, or an *essential number*, or a *rational substance*, or a *fifth essence* which soever of these, says he, is true it will follow that death is either good, or at least not an evil. For if be *brain*, *blood*, or *heart*, it will perish with the whole body; if *fire* it will be extinguish'd; if *breath*, it will be dissipated; if *harmony*, it will be broke; not to speak of those that affirm it is *nothing*. * *His sententia omnibus, nihil post mortem pertinere quemquam potest, according to all the notions* (the seven last repeated) *there can be no concern nor sensation after death*: death therefore is no evil. *Reliquorum autem sententiae, &c.* the other opinions (the three remaining) give hope, that the soul, after it has left the body, mounts up to heaven its proper habitation: death therefore may be a good. Now can any thing be plainer, than the tour of this paragraph contains ten opinions there are in all; the

* Tusc. I, 11.

seven make death no misery; the last three make it a happiness. What then was our Writer's soul? was it *brains*, or *guts*, or rather *nothing at all*; when he thus maim'd and murder'd the sense of his author? *From THE VARIOUS notions he concludes!* as if the *seven* were all he had mention'd? as if the *three* last were not those he espous'd? as if the authors of the *seven* were not in his esteem, *plebeii & minuti philosophi*, *plebeian and puny philosophers*, not worthy of that name? but our Writer has so long desponded of *mounting up to heaven*, that he cannot bear it even in the stile of a pagan: it raises an envious despair, and spreads it over his soul. A most just and proper punishment for such reprobates to immortality!

Virtutem videant, intabescantque relicta.

But our Writer goes stumbling on, and adds, * *That as to Plato's arguments for the immortality of the soul, Cicero says to his dialogist, Let us not produce them, and let us lay aside all our hopes*

* Pag. 137.

of immortality. By which the other understood him to deny the immortality of the soul; as is evident from his answer which follows: *What? do you direct me, after you had raised in me such an expectation? Truly I had rather be mistaken with Plato, whom I know how much you esteem, and whom I admire on your authority, than be in the right with others.*

Even my pen would refuse to be employ'd in such trash, were it not to chastise our Writer's confidence; who, unqualified to understand one single part of *Cicero*, presumes to set up for a commender and patron,

Ἄνδρες, ὃν ἕδ' αἰνεῖν τοῖσι κακοῖσι θέμις,

may (which all the muses avert) for a revisor and editor. Your gentry, seems, were hence forward to commend *Cicero* through the fetid and poisonous notes of the *atheistical* sect. * *If Cicero's works, says he, come once to be generally read, as of all human writings they best deserve! goodly and gracious*

* Pag. 140.

What an honour is this to *Cicero's* ashes? This is what the old Tragic lik'd, *laudari a laudato viro*. But pray, when was it, that he was *not* generally read? or rather, when did the stupid sect begin to read him? By the patterns they have given us, they have just as much title to recommend *Cicero*, upon their own taste and skill, as before they had to recommend the * *Samaritan chronicle*.

In the passage now before us; after the Orator had prov'd the immortality of the soul from authority and tradition, † *the agreement of all antiquity, the consent of all nations, the doctrine of the Pythagorean school*: Those Antients, says he, seldom gave reasons for their opinions; their scholars acquiescing in the bare precept and maxim: but *Plato* did not only transmit the doctrine, but produc'd reasons and arguments to establish it: *Sed rationes etiam attulisse; quas, nisi quid dicis, praetermittamus, & hanc totam spem immortalitatis relinquamus; || which arguments, unless you say*

* Remark XXVII. † Omnem antiquitatem. Consensus nationum omnium. || *Tul-*
cul. I, 17.

otherwise, let us pass over, and aside this whole hope of immortality. The meaning of which is most plain if we reflect, that the question here to be debated was only this, *It seems to me that death is an evil*: which Cicero had already refuted, even upon the scheme of the soul's extinction: with no need of engaging deeper in the proofs of immortality. So that here in the Socratic way of dialogue, with *ειρηνεία, demulcation and urbanity*, he seems willing to drop the cause, or purpose to raise the interlocutor's appetite. Who well knowing this was but a feint, and that Cicero wanted a little courting to proceed. *What, says he, do you now leave after you have drawn me into the high expectation? pray, procede with Platonic arguments: quocum errare mehercule malo, quam cum istis vera sentire with whom (in this affair) I had rather chuse to be mistaken, than be in the right with THOSE mean souls, that are content with extinction. Upon which, says the Orator to him, Maeste virtute, O bless you with that brave spirit: I myself too should willingly mistake with him: and so he enters upon and exha*

the whole *Platonic* reasoning for the soul's immortality. Now what oddness, what perverseness of mind in our scribler, to infer from this paragraph, *That the interlocutor thought Cicero denied the immortality of the soul?* Is it not just the reverse? But what need I wonder: when none but such a crook'd and cross-grain'd block could ever be shap'd into an atheist?

And now we are come to his general character of *Cicero*, and the new key to his works, which our bungler has made for the use of your clergy. *He profess'd, he says, the academic or sceptic philosophy; and the only true method of discovering his sentiments is to see, what he says himself, or under the person of an academic. To quote any thing else from him as his own, is an imposition on the world, begun by some men of learning, and continued by others of little or none.* This is the sum of our author's observations; in which there is part vulgar and impertinent, and part false and his own.

The academic or sceptic philosophy! He might as well say, the popish or Lutheran religion: the difference between those being as wide as between these.

*A common imposition on the world, where, or by whom? Has not Cicero in his disputations represented the systems of the several sects, with more clearness and beauty than they themselves do? Such passages have been and will be quoted out of Cicero indeed, for the elegance of them; not as his own opinions, but as those of the respective sects that there speak them. And what is this? The reasoning is the same, whatever quarter soever it comes; and the authority not the less, though transferred from Cicero to a Stoic. But the most learned have blunder'd, and not distinguished Cicero from the Stoic. Whoever pleases to name those, I'll produce a man of none, * who has stupidly confounded Cicero with the Epicurean. I then his sagacious hint, *That Cicero's sentiments are to be seen in the passages of the academic!* This he thought was safe in; and yet it is as true, that it will appear strange, that his sentiments are least or not at all to be seen in those of which as briefly as I can.*

The *Platonic* academy dogmatized, and deliver'd their doctrines for fix'd

* *Remark XLVIII.*

certain, as the *Peripatetics* and *Stoics* did. But in the tract of succession, one *Carneades*, a man of great wit and eloquence, on purpose to shew both, made an innovation in the academy. By the notion of *fix'd and certain* (*fixa, certa, rata, decreta*) he was pinn'd down to one system; and his great parts wanted more room to expatiate and flourish in: he contriv'd therefore a way to get it: he denied the *certainty of things*, and admitted of no higher a knowledge, than *probability and verisimilitude*. Not that he did not as much believe, and govern himself in common life upon what he call'd *highly probables*, as the others did upon their *certain*s: but by this pretty fetch he obtain'd his end, and became disputant universal, *pro omnibus sectis & contra omnes dicebat*. Did the *Stoics* assert a thing for certain? He would demolish that certainty from *Epicurean* topics. Again, did these last pretend to any certainty? he would unsay what he spoke for them before; and attack them with *Stoical* arguments, which just now he had endeavour'd to baffle. This method gave name to the *new academy*; but it had few professors

while it lasted, and lasted but a time: requiring such wit and eloquence, such laborious study in all sects whatever, and carrying in it's very face an air of pride and ostentation, very few either could or cared to effect it.

However, this very sect, then dead and almost forgot, did best with the vast genius and ambitious of young *Cicero*. He was possessed of oratory in it's perfection: and he added philosophy under the best masters of all sects, *Diodotus*, *Antiochus*, *Posidonius*, and others: he would not confine himself to one system, but went through them all; so the *new academy* was chosen, as the largest field to show his learning and eloquence. Which when he had once taken, he was able to maintain: he was to rise no higher than *probability*, the characteristic of the sect. For this was their badge of civility, though they boasted of more freedom than the others. Did a man assert the *certainty* of divine providence? You are tied down, says an *Academic*; it's only *a probable*. You are tied down much, replies the *Stoic*; for though
be

believe it as firmly as I, you dare not say it's *certain*, for fear of clashing with your sect.

If we take *Cicero* under this view, we shall then truly be qualified to interpret all his writings. And first we shall find, what I said before, and which at once breaks to pieces our Writer's new key, that the *academic* objections, which in his philosophical conferences are ever brought against the other sects, is the most unlikely place where to find his real sentiments; for that being the privilege of the sect, to speak *pro* or *con* as they pleas'd, * *contra omnia dici oportere* & *pro omnibus*, † *contra omnes philosophos*, & *pro omnibus dicere*; they very frequently oppos'd, || *non ex animo sed simulate, not heartily but feignedly*; not what they really believ'd, but what serv'd the present turn. In *de natura Deorum*, when *Balbus* the *Stoic* had spoken admirably for the existence of the gods and providence, *Cotta* the *Academic* (though he was a priest, one of the *pontifices*) undertakes the opposite

* Acad. II, 18. † Nat. Deor. I, 5. || Nat. Deor. II, *fine*.

side,

side, * *non tam refellere ejus orationem quam ea quae minus intellexit requirere* not so much to refute his discourse as to discuss some points he did not understand: and after he had finished his attack with great copiousness and subtilty, yet in the close he owns to Balbus, * *That what he had said, for dispute's sake, not his own judgment that he both desir'd that Balbus would confute him; and knew certainly that he could do it.* And Cicero himself, who was then an auditor at the dispute, though of the same sect with Cotta, declares in his own opinion, *That the Stoic's discourse for providence seem'd to him more PROBABLE than Cotta's against it;* which he repeats again in *De Divinatione*, I. And what now becomes of our Writer's true method and rule? Whatsoever he has spoken under the person of an Academic is that to be taken for Cicero's sentiments. Why, Cicero declares here, that he sided with the Stoic against the Academic: and whom are we to believe, himself or our silly Writer.

* Nat Deor. III. 1. † Nat. Deor. III, fine.

When *Cicero* says above, that the Stoical doctrine of providence seem'd to him more PROBABLE; if we take it aright, it carries the same importance as when a *Stoic* says it's CERTAIN and DEMONSTRABLE. For, as I remark'd before, the law, the badge, the characteristic of his sect allow'd him to affirm no stronger than that: he durst not have spoken more peremptorily about a proposition of *Euclid*, or what he saw with his own eyes. His *probable* had the same influence on his belief, the same force on his life and conduct, as the others *certain* had on theirs. Nay within his own breast he thought it as much *certain* as they; but he was to keep to the *Academic* stile; which solely consisted in that point, That nothing was allow'd *certum, comprehensum, perceptum, ratum, firmum, fixum*; but our highest attainment was *probabile & verisimile*. He that reads his works with penetration, judgment, and diligence, will find this to be true, That *probable* in his sect is equivalent to *certain*. For what he says of *Socrates*, exactly fits himself; where reporting his last words, *Whether it's better to live or die, the Gods alone know*;

know; of men I believe no-one knows.
 As to what *Socrates* speaks, saying that none but the Gods know, which is better; *he himself KNOWS it; he had said it before: * sed summum nihil ut affirmet, tenet ad extremum; but he keeps his manner to the last, and does not affirm nothing for CERTAIN.*

If we seek therefore for *Cicero's* sentiments, it must not be in his dialogues, but in his books, where he is not against others, where he had liberty to say any thing for opposition sake; in the books where he dogmatizes of himself; where allowing for the words *probabile*, you have all the spirit and marrow of the *Platonic, Peripatetic, and Stoic* systems; I mean his books, *de Officiis, Tusculanae, de Amicitia, de Senectute, de Legibus*; in which, he declares the remains of others now lost, and declares for the being and providence of God, for the immortality of the soul, for every point that approaches to Christianity. Those three sects he esteems as the sole ornaments of philosophy; the others he contemns: and the *Epicureans* he lashes throughout; no

* *Tuscul. I, 42.*

for their base and abject principles, but for their neglect of all letters, eloquence, and science. And I must do him this justice, that as his *sect* allow'd him to chuse what he lik'd best, and what he valued as most *probable*, out of all the various systems; he always chuses like a knowing and honest man. If in any point of moral, one author had spoken nobler and loftier than another; he is sure to adopt the worthiest notion for his own, and to cloath it in a finer drefs with new beauties of stile.

T A N T U M.

R E.

REMARK

LIV.

OUR Author, very discreetly about the living members of his has labour'd strenuously to incorporate to it some great names from the dead *crates, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Cato the elder, and Cicero*: with success, my former remarks have sufficiently shewn: where the reader is variously affected, now with Writers ignorance, now with his peroration, is toss'd between the alternate passions of pity, and contempt.

We now again overtake him, endeavouring to draw over to his honour party, *the very picture of virtue*, the younger: not from *Cato's own declaration*, but from a famous passage of poet *Lucan*, who, he says, * *has rais'd a noble monument, not only to Cato's freedom and virtue, but to his FREE-THE* ING: and he *expects our thank*

* Pag. 141.

giving us that passage, not in the original only, but in the translation of an *ingenious author*. And here I find myself under some difficulty and uneasiness: our Writer slinks away, and leaves me to engage with a nameless *author*, whose character and station at home, a foreigner, and at such a distance from *Britain*, cannot be suppos'd to know;

ἔπειθ' μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
 οὐρεῶν τε σμιόεντα θάλασσά τε ἤχησσα.

So that I must throw out censures at random, not knowing on whom they fall. Perhaps he may be a person of worth; as little allied to this *Free-thinker's* society, as many others of the *english* nation, whom he has the impudence to list in it, *Hooker, Chillingworth, Wilkins, Cudworth, Tillotson*. If so, I must plead in my behalf both the innocence of my intention, and the necessity of the work; because justice cannot be done to the present subject without some severity upon that *version*. But it's possible, that the *ingenious Translator* may be our Writer himself, who would try his faculty in poetry under

der this mask and disguise: and in view I desire that all the infamy of a faulty translation may fall on him, and no other: since, be he the author or not, he is certainly to answer for having so applauded the performance, and so warp'd it to a vile and immoderate abuse.

But, before we come to *Lucan*, let us have a small specimen of our Writer's usual penetration and ability in the *classics*. *Paterculus* in a fine character of our *Cato*, among other expressions says, *He was, per omnia ingenio quam hominibus propior, in his temper* (tranquility, constancy, justice, &c.) *nearer to the gods than to men*. Who does not know, that *ingenio temper*, disposition, turn of mind? our Writer has render'd it, that *every thing by his KNOWLEDG he was proach'd more to the gods than to men*. Absurdly translated! not only against common language, but common sense. For wherein was *Cato* so distinguished for *knowledg*? and *universal* too, *omnia*? as a *Stoic*, he was inferior

that knowledge to the *greek* professors of the sect, who were his preceptors: and for *general knowledge*, what vast extent could he attain to? whose life was short of fifty years, in a continued course of employments, and hurry of public business: he was so far in that regard from *approaching the gods*, that he was below many mortals his contemporaries, *Cicero*, *Nigidius Figulus*, *Varro*, and others. But let *Cato* be *divine* both in temper and knowledge too: our Writer himself is certainly *in knowledge* no more than *human*; and, *in temper*, it's well if so much.

Surely so awkward, so perverse a turn was never given to poet, as this writer and translator (if they are two) have given to *Lucan*; who, on occasion of *Cato's* march through the deserts of *Afric*, near the temple of *Ammon*, introduces an officer of his army, requesting him in a set speech, to consult that celebrated oracle; and *Cato* refusing it in as set a reply. This refusal our Writer takes as a proof of *Cato's free-thinking*; that he took oracles for impostures, for the knavery of *juggling priests*, and the credulity of *superstitious*

T crowds.

crowds. But, to his great shame and disappointment, the scene in the original has quite contrary actors: there were really some *free-thinkers*, *Epicureans* in *Cato's* retinue, that had a mind to puzzle, to baffle the oracle: but *Cato* by his very sect a friend to all oracles in an artful as well as magnanimous speech eludes their inquiry; denies to consult, and so screens and protects the reputation of the temple. So that *Cato* here is really the patron of superstition and the supposed *monument of his free-thinking* is a true and lasting monument of our Writer's stupidity. But this does not fully appear without the reader's assistance in going along with me through the whole passage in the original, through the double length of the tedious translation.

[1]

* *Comitesque Catonem*Orant, exploret Lybicum memorata per ora
Numina, de fama tam longi judicet aevi.† *His host (as crowds are superstitious still)**Curious of fate, of future good and ill,**And fond to prove prophetic Ammon's skill,**Intreat their leader to the gods would go,**And from this oracle Rome's fortune know.** *Lucan lib. ix. vers. 546.* † *Pag. 141.*

Two verses you see, and a half in the *latin* are exactly doubled and become five in the *english*; which we might take for just payment and exchange, in the known allowance of *one for sense and one for rhyme*; were it not that no tittle of the original *sense* appears in the version. The Poet himself tells us, *That Cato's companions intreat him to EXPLORE, (try, sift) the deity so famous through the Lybian world, and to JUDGE of a reputation possess'd through so many ages.* Here indeed are plain footsteps of *free-thinking*, a doubting about the oracle's veracity; a *tryal* demanded and a *judgment*; not of an upstart puny oracle, but (in the heathen account) much older than *Solomon's temple*, and ador'd by the third part of mankind. Now, why are these just and proper sentiments dropt in the version? not a word there of *exploring*; nothing of the wide *authority*, the vast *antiquity* of the oracle: but empty trash with false *ideas* foisted in their place. These inquirers do not desire *to know Rome's fortune*, but to criticise the oracle itself, as *Croesus* did that at *Delphi*, and *Lucian* that in *Paphlagonia*. Nay allowing that they

T 2

secretly

secretly wish'd to know their fortune
yet it was injudicious in the translator
to anticipate here, what he knew would
come anon in *Labienu's* speech.
I desire not to be too severe: I'll
the propriety of that diction, *Cura*
future good and ill: nor shall it be
tology, to oenerate three poor lines
prophetic Ammon, then *the gods*
then *this oracle*; when in truth it is
one god and but once. But
astonish'd, that any person could
sume to translate *Lucan*, who was
pable of mistaking *comites* for an
or a whole army. *Comites* or
amicorum were persons of quality,
monly youths, recommended by
parents or friends to the familiar
the general, to diet and lodge with
through the course of his expedition
learn from his conversation the skill
discipline of war. You can scarce
any *Roman* historian, or even poet
this you are taught there. I'll but
one place of * *Florus*, because it
to our *Cato*; who, † *in his apocryphal*

* L. Florus, IV. 2.

† Plutarch in

Συνοδείων πάντες οἱ ΕΤΑΙΡΟΙ (*Comites*.)

after supper, postquam filium COMITES-que ab amplexu dimisit, when he had embrac'd and dismiss'd his son and companions, read Plato's treatise of the soul's immortality, and then fell asleep. These *comites, companions* at *Utica* in *Cato's* last hours, are the very same that here speak to him about the oracle of *Ammon*. If the whole army is meant in one place, it must be meant too in the other. But can our Writer imagine, that *Cato* entertain'd the *whole* army in one room? and embrac'd them *all* at parting? How unfortunate then is his very first line?

His host, as crowds are superstitious still.

bad omen for our translator! and no *superstition* to think so. This mighty *host* and these *crowds* are only a few young noblemen: and so far from *superstition* (as he here calumniates 'em) that he may henceforth value them as hopeful *free-thinkers*. And why that spiteful character given to *all crowds*? meer fillings of his own, without warrant from his original. It carries in it an air of libertinism; and it's just and immediate punishment was blunder.

[2]

Maximus hortator scrutandi voce deorum
 Eventus Labienus erat : fors obtulit, inquit,
 Et fortuna viae tam magni numinis ora
 Conciliumque dei : tanto duce possumus uti
 Per Syrtes, bellique datos cognoscere casus.
*But Labienus chief the thought approv'd,
 And thus the common suit to Cato mov'd.
 Chance and the fortune of the way, he said,
 Have brought Jove's sacred counsels to our aid,
 This greatest of the gods, this mighty chief,
 In each distress shall be a sure relief:
 Shall point the distant dangers from afar,
 And teach the future fortunes of the war.*

The latin poet has observ'd a de-
 oeconomy in the conduct of this passage
 the young *sceptics* in the former
 graph are dispatched in two lines :
 request is not put in form ; and Cato's
 refusal is not express'd, but understood
 as if given without words by a nod.
 But now here comes a person of another
 character, *Titus Labienus*, Lieutenant
 General under *Caesar* through all his
Gallic wars, then a desertor to *Pompey*
 in *Afric* here with *Cato*, with *Pompey*
 the son in *Spain*, where he perished at
 the battle of *Munda*. He (as his speech
 demonstrates) proceeds upon a diffi-

Maximus

T

principle; not of waggery and scepticism, but full assurance in the oracle. He was *paullo infirmior*, prone to bigotry and superstition, and for that reason (if it is not true in fact) was judiciously chosen by the poet to be the author of this speech. This character, which I have given of him, though in *Lucan's* time well known, is now only to be learn'd from a passage of * *Plutarch*; where *Λαβίωνος*, says he, *μαντείαις τισιν ἰσχυρίζομενος*, *Labienuſ relying on ſome PROPHEſIES, and affirming that Pompey muſt be conqueror; Ay, ſays Cicero, and while we truſt to that ſtratagem, we have loſt our very camp.* This ſhort occaſional hint diſcovers *Labienuſ's* weak ſide: he had liv'd to ſee thoſe prophecies fail, and now wanted new ones from an oracle of the higheſt fame; if they prov'd favourable to the cauſe, that he might perſevere with more courage; if otherwiſe, provide for his own ſafety. And how dexterouſly this is evaded by *Cato*, we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

One would think theſe five verſes were ſo plain and eaſy that no tranſla-

* *Plut. in Cicer. p. 1612. where for ἀεργενέδαι Πόμπηιον read ἀειγέδαι.*

tor could miss the sense of them, as o had done. For what may pass plausible as an *english* original, grows scandalous when father'd upon *Lucan*; scarce a here but either clashes with the po design, or with the notions of that a 'Tis false, that *Labienu* mov'd the c mon suit: the former suit was but mo by a few, and his was different and own. But the whole *host*, says the tra lator, first *intreated Cato*; and then *Labienu* step'd in as their common spok man. Where's the *decorum* of th Where's the rule of military discipli the very maniples forsooth are to br ranks without orders, and surround th general, to demand a public prophe which if cross or but dubiously thro ning would make them all desertors. M no; both the *comites* before, and *Labienu* now, make the motion private and neither question nor answer, if request had succeeded, was to be he by the common soldier.

Lucan is content to say of *Juppi Ammon*, *Tam magnum numen, so gr adeit y*; that is, compar'd with oth oracles, the chief whereof were th

of *Apollo*. But the translator soars above him,

This greatest of the gods, this mighty chief.

which by the way is a most splendid variation. Now a *Roman* would never have said that *Juppiter Ammon* was as great as *Juppiter Capitolinus*; though the translator took it for granted, that all *Juppers* must needs be the same. But a known place in * *Suetonius* may correct his notion of the heathen theology. *Augustus had built a temple to Juppiter Tonans within the area of the capitol; whereupon he had a dream, that Capitolinus Juppiter complain'd his worshippers were drawn away: Augustus in his dream answered, that he had dedicated Tonans there only as the other's porter; and accordingly when he wak'd, he hung (as a porter's badg) that temple round with bells.* Now if *Capitolinus* would not bear the very *thunderer* by him, but in quality of his porter; much less would he have suffer'd † poor beg-

* Suet. Aug. c. 91.
est. *Lucan*.

† Pauper adhuc deus

garly

gally *Ammon* (for all he was his mistake) to be stiled the *mighty chief*.

All that *Labienuſ* expected here the oracle, was *concilium dei*, the advice how to paſs the *Libyan* deſert and to foreknow the deſtiny of the ſent war; an event thought near at hand for *Caesar*, they well knew, was loiterer in action. But how does the tranſlator manage this? *This great oracle of the gods*, ſays he,

*In each diſtreſs ſhall be a ſure relief
Shall point the diſtant dangers from*

Are not time, circumſtance and poſſibility notion rarely obſerv'd here? The dangers, apprehended as juſt at their hand, are become *diſtant* and *aſar* off: and the oracle is not only to predict, but to prevent the decrees of fate, *a ſure relief to all diſtreſſes*. Contradiction in the very terms: for if fate could be prevented it could not be predicted.

There's a ſmall error here, both in the printed copies, and in all the manuſcripts that I have ſeen,

SORS obtulit, inq

Et fortuna viae tam magni numinis

The Poet wrote it, *FORS obtulit*. So *Horace*; *Nulla etenim tibi me fors obtulit*; and again, *Seu ratio dederit, seu fors objecerit*: to * *Tacitus*, *Et, quae fors obtulerat, navalibus telis conficitur*; and again, *Passim trucidatis, ut quemque fors obtulerat*: in all which places the MSS. of inferior note have turn'd *fors* into *fors*: whose significations are very different. *Fors* is pure *chance*: but *fors* has in it an idea of *destiny*, of *appointment*, and *allotment*. *Fors* & *fortuna viae*, *chance and the opportunity of the march*. Now, as we do not expect any exactness from our writer, we do not reproach him, that he has put *fors* in his latin text: though in his version (if it be his) he has varied from his original,

CHANCE and the fortune of the way, he said,

He has jump'd you see, upon the true interpretation; and though he writes *fors*, expresses the meaning of *fors*. I suppose they were both alike to him; and it was true *chance* that he hit the

* Tac. Annal. xiv, 5. Hist. iv, 1.

there-

right: he saw the sense was *there thereabouts*; which is accurate enough for a modern translator.

[3]

Nam cui crediderim superos arcana daturus,
 Dicturosque magis quam sancto vera Catoni?
 Certe vita tibi semper directa supremas
 Ad leges, sequerisque deum. —

*To thee, O Cato, pious, wise, and just,
 Their dark decrees the cautious gods shall trust
 To thee their fore-determin'd will shall tell:
 Their will has been thy law, and thou hast
 it well.*

Labienus already deceiv'd by fallacious predictions, confides in *Cato's* knowledge and sanctity, that he at least would obtain true ones: for surely the gods would reveal secrets, and speak truth to *Cato*, who had always liv'd in conformity to their laws and their sovereign laws. This, one would think, is easy enough: but no ground can be so plain, which our translator cannot stumble on. *Sanctus*, the epithet in the *latin*, denotes nothing but *purity and holiness of life*: this the translator is split into three, *pious, wise, and just*. Let him take his reversion back again, and not introduce epithets improper to the occasion. It was not *Cato's wisdom*, nor (as blunder'd

fo

fore) his *knowledge*, but his innocence and purity, that might merit the god's favour. And why instead of plain *superos*, have we *cautious gods*? an idea including *fear*, and inconsistent with the nature of the Deity. He seems to chuse epithets, not for their sense, but for their syllables; *wise Cato, cautious gods*, both of his own manufacture, both incongruous to their places, both repugnant to each other: for if the gods were so very *cautious*, they would be the more shy, not the more communicative, in apprehension of *Cato's wisdom*. But he has made amends in the two last lines:

*To thee their fore-determin'd will shall tell:
Their will has been thy law, and thou hast kept
it well.*

Where, though either of them might pass single and apart, yet sad consequence ensues, when they are thus in conjunction. For the *fore-determin'd will* here is *fate*; not any thing of moral direction or precept, but of physical event; as the issue of this war, &c. And then *their will* in the following line must bear the same sense. So that this *will of the gods*, the course of natural events,

events, was the *law that Cato had kept so well*. Nonsense compleat! but this bears upon him too hard; induce him a little, and take *their will*: *fore-determin'd will*, both in a more meaning: for of one meaning both may be. And then the result is this: that *Cato* is now to learn the divine *will* revelation; so formerly he made *his will his law*, not by rules of virtue and natural light, but by the like revelation. So that *Cato*, through the whole course of his life, is represented like *Nicias* the *Athenian*, or *Julian* the apostate, to be a seeker to oracles: and yet this whole passage is brought to prove his scorn and contempt of them.

[4]

— datur ecce loquendi
 Cum Jove libertas: inquire in fata nefandi
 Caesaris & patriae venturos excute mores.
*Fate bids thee now the noble thought improve,
 Fate brings thee here to meet and talk with Jove
 Inquire betimes what various chance shall come
 To impious Caesar, and thy native Rome:
 Try to avert at least thy country's doom.*

I cannot read this translation, but I think I see poor *Lucan* travestied, not appearing

in his *roman toga*, but under the cruel sheers of an *english* tailor. The poet says, *libertas datur, there's leave, liberty, opportunity of speaking with Jove*: but the translator will needs have it, that *FATE bids him improve, and FATE brings him to talk with Jove*. Now I should think, if *fate* had intermeddled here, that *Labienuſ* might have spared his speech: for *Cato* must needs have consulted the oracle without his intreaty: and yet, which is very strange, *in spite of fate* and intreaties too, he passes on and neglects it. But no wonder that this same *fate* was weaker than ordinary; for but ten lines ago it was nothing but *chance*:

Chance and the fortune of the way, he said,
Have brought Jove's sacred counsels to our aid.

Here we see, *it is chance brings Jove to talk with Cato*: but whip, in the very next breath, *it is fate brings Cato to talk with Jove*. Do not laugh at this: for *chance* and *fate*, though the most contrary ideas, being equally monosyllables, are equivalent in our translator's
verses.

verses. For so immediately in the next line,

—Inquire in *FATA nefandi Caesaris*

*Inquire betimes what various CHANCE shall
To impious Caesar.*

Who could possibly have substituted *chance* for *fate* here? unless he thought his verses were to sell by the foot, matter for the stuff whether linsley or woolsey. For is it not, as he has made it, a merry errand for *fate* to send Cato on? *Fate* bids him go to the oracle, inquire there about future *chance*. Not for common sense sake let them agree to change places, that *chance* may give him the opportunity to inquire about future *fate*. For a prediction about future *chance*, would *Ammon* answer, is impossible: it would seem to him to imply contradiction, unless he was notably versed in the subtilties of metaphysics.

I had like to have forgot to ask in favour of our translator, what that *noble thought* was, that *Cato* was so big with

Fate bids thee now the noble thought improve.

I inquir'd of *Lucan* himself, and he knows nothing of the matter: nor is there in the version the least hint of it either before or after. I conceive, it prov'd addle in the incubation, and never arriv'd at maturity.

Well! but who can deny, that in the last couplet he has improv'd his original.

— & patriae venturos excute mores.

*Inquire betimes about thy native Rome,
Try to avert at least thy country's doom.*

Labiennus, who at least talks good sense in his way, requests here no more of *Cato*, than to ask about *Caesar's* fate, and the future condition of the *Roman* state, whether they were to have a legal or arbitrary government, a republic or a monarchy. This is the meaning of *excute*, *sift out*, by way of inquiry: as both common language testifies, and the following lines demonstrate. But our sagacious interpreter renders *excute*, to *shake off*, to *avert the doom*. Now why, in the name of *fate*, does he thus banter his female readers? If it's *fate*, if it's *doom*; how can it be *averted*? If *Cato* tries to do that, I'll concern myself no

U more

more about him. Let him stand for
 in our Writer's list, for he's fool enough
 to make a *free-thinker*. *Avert the door*
 in modern rhyme perhaps it may be done
 but in good old *latin* it's impossible:

Desine fata deum flecti sperare precant.

But why, with submission, so very hastily
 even allowing he *might avert it*? The
 oracle was not yet consulted: it was yet
 an even wager, that the expected door
 might be prosperous; as likely for the
 laws and liberties of *Rome*, as for arbitrary
 power. No matter for that: our
 translator before-hand orders him *to avert*
to avert the prophesy, though it should
 prove in his favour.

[5]

Jure suo populis uti legumque licebit,
 An bellum civile perit? tua pectora sacra
 Voce reple: durae saltem virtutis amator
 Quaere, quid est virtus? & posce exemplar
 Nesti.

*Ask if these arms our freedom shall restore,
 Or else if laws and rights shall be no more.
 Be thy great breast with sacred knowledge fraught
 To lead us in the wandring maze of thought.
 Thou that to virtue ever wer't inclin'd
 Learn what it is, how certainly defin'd,
 And leave some perfect rule to guide mankind.*

He

Here his version is so loose, so rambling; that one may fairly doubt whether he understood one sentence; to be sure, not all. *Ask, says Labienus, whether our people shall enjoy their laws and liberties; or is the civil war lost, has so much blood been shed in vain for the defence of them: This quaint expression was belov'd by Lucan and his uncle Seneca: so Lib. VI, v. 134.*

———*qui vulnera ferrent,
Jam deerant; nimbusque ferens tot tela peribat.*

So again the verb active, *perdere*, I, 442.

Atque ipsum not perdat iter———

III, 706. ———*non perdere letum
Maxima cura fuit.*

But so far is our version from preserving (as a good one ought) this *Lucanism*, this characterism of an author, that it inverts the thought. *Shall the liberties be restor'd, or the war be lost?* says Lucan: *shall the liberties be lost, or the war restore them?* says the translator. A shrewd sign, that this period was gloomy and dark to him. But why so severe, may some-body say, when nothing here is lost, but only inverted? Well then, agreed to

pardon him. Misplacing indeed is losing: for nothing was lost to *horatius Claudius*, when his nephew *Caligula* order'd his *shoes* to be put on his *hands*.

Tua pectora sacra voce reple, says *Lucretius*; fill your breast with the sacred voice of the god, the answer that the oracle is to give you. This surely is very clear: and yet our translator, in fear, took *voice*, not for that of the god, but of *Cato* himself: fill your breast with your sacred voice to give us instruction. If I mistake, let some body explain this distich:

*Be thy great breast with sacred knowledge fraught
To lead us in the wandring maze of thought.*

A wandring maze indeed! for *Lucretius* himself is quite lost in it. Let any man try, I say, to extricate this, better than I have done: but if he's once led into the maze, I'll not undertake to lead him out of it.

The close of the speech is this:

— *duræ saltem virtutis amator
Quære, quid est virtus? & posce exemplar boni*

If you will not, says he, consult about the event of the war, as I wish you would: *at least* consult about the affairs of your sect: you, who are a Stoic, an admirer of rigid virtue, ask the oracle what is virtue; and demand to see the living face of honesty. The turn, you see, of this period intirely depends on *saltem*, at least: without that there's no just transition. And yet, some of the editions and most of the manuscripts having *semper* instead of *saltem*, our lucky interpreter fell upon that:

Thou that to virtue EVER wer't inclin'd :

Which, in this form, is flat and insipid; a complement idly repeated: for more than this he had said above: and besides, it betrays the reader into a mistake. He must think from your *english*, that *Labienus* asks *Cato* to enquire about the success of the war, and about virtue too: whereas the first is his main request; and if that fails, he compounds for the latter.

Exemplar honesti, an expression fetched from the heights of philosophy, was above our translator's level: so that we'll neither wonder nor be displeas'd, that he has so miserably render'd it:

And

And leave some perfect rule to guide mankind.

Admirable indeed: if *posce exemplar honesti*, can be rack'd or brib'd to signify, write a book of morals. *Exemplar, forma, facies, species, effigies*, are words applied by philosophers to wisdom, virtue, honesty; when they do *προσωποποιεῖν*, speak of them as persons. * *FORMAM quidem ipsam*, says Cicero, † *tanquam FACIEM HONESTI vides, quae si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores (ut ait Plato) excitaret*: and again, ‡ *Habes undique expletam & perfectam FORMAM HONESTATIS*: and again, † *Consecraturque nullam eminentem EFFIGIEM VIRTUTIS, sed adumbratam imaginem gloriae*: and lastly, || *Sed nos veri juris germanaeque JUSTITIAE solidam & expressam EFFIGIEM nullam tenemus; umbra & imaginibus utimur*. Plato we see, the great Master * * * * *

* Cic. Offic. I, 5.

† De Fin. II, 15.

‡ Tusc. III, 2.

|| Off. III, 17.

TANTUM.

And leave some perfect rule

Admirable indeed: if *bonesti*, can be rack'd or trobb'd
 fy, write a book of morals. *Es*
forma, facies, specus, effigies,
 applied by philosophers to wisd
tue, honesty; when they do
 speak of them as persons. *quid*
quidem ipsam, says Cicero, *et*
FACIEM HONESTI *videri, quod*
cerneretur, mirabilem (Plato)
excitaret: and again, *et*
undique expletam *et* *perfectam*
HONESTATIS: and again, *et*
que nullam eminentem EFFIGIEM
TIS, sed adumbratam imaginem
 and lastly, *et* *Sed nos veri iuri*
naeque JUSTITIAE solidam *et*
EFFIGIEM nullam tenemus, umbra
ginibus utimur. Plato we see, the

* Cic. Offic. I, 5.
 † Tusc. III, 2. [Off. III, 17.]

TANTUM