

**THE LITERARY REMAINS
OF
CHARLES HOWARD, THIRD EARL OF CARLISLE
(1669 – 1738)**

**A CRITICAL EDITION WITH
INTRODUCTION AND NOTES**

**TWO VOLUMES
with separate Appendix**

VOLUME 2

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CHAPTER 4

ELDER STATESMAN: POLITICIAN

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INTRODUCTION

Some Observations upon a Paper intituled The List is the only document included here not existing in manuscript form at Castle Howard. Although anonymous, its attribution to Carlisle is confidently made from archive evidence. It is included as a significant document in the political life of the period, demonstrating Carlisle's involvement with contemporary events.

Amongst letters addressed to Carlisle are two from Horatio Walpole, Cofferer to the Royal Household, and younger brother of Sir Robert. The first:

13 September 1733:

Hampton Court - I received from Mr Jackson [Carlisle's London agent] the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 10th inst. with the inclosed paper, which I took the liberty to communicate to the Queen and Sir Robert Walpole, who were both extremely pleased with it, and desire extremely that it may [be] published; of which I shall take care without letting the author be known. I am in the meantime directed by them both to return the most strong and hearty acknowledgements for your Lordship's constant zeal and attachment to the Government, as well as for your good opinion of the present Administration's efforts to support it, and to serve the true interests of the country. A little piece of paper containing some addition in the third page has been mislaid; if your Lordship could supply it in your next you will oblige me.¹

The next is dated 9 October 1733:

Cockpitt – At my return out of the country I was honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 18th past, inclosing the paragraph that was wanting in the paper of *Observations*, but I found the *Observations* already printed, contrary to my expectations; however, the paper is extremely liked by all readers, except those that will like nothing that is good and honest, I think there is no great harm done. There are some other pamphlets lately published; particularly one, entitled *The Rise & Fall of ye Excise, &c*, is much esteemed; it is indeed somewhat too long [...]²

¹ HMC Carlisle Papers p.123.

² *ibid.* p.123.

Clearly Carlisle had written a pamphlet of interest to the Administration, published between mid-September and early October 1733, although lacking an additional paragraph for page 3. Whether this had been sent with the original on 10 September, subsequently mislaid; or whether Carlisle's covering letter mentioned the paragraph - which he then neglected to enclose - is uncertain. Alternatively, Walpole might have spotted a matter requiring correction or amplification on page 3, and was delicately pointing this out to Carlisle. This point will receive further consideration.

The second letter substantially identifies this pamphlet. Walpole mentions "*Observations*". This word occurs in the title of a pamphlet published in late September 1733 by J. Peele, at Locke's Head in Amen-Corner, London, at a price of 6d: "*Some Observations Upon a Paper, intituled, The LIST. That is, Of those who Voted for and against the EXCISE-BILL*". The same J. Peele published "*The Rise & Fall of the Excise, &c*"¹ - mentioned in Walpole's October letter - at the same time.² Both pamphlets were announced in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" for October.

Further evidence of Carlisle's authorship is found in a letter from Sir Thomas Robinson, MP:

24 December 1733:

I find the author of the Observations upon the List is not known to many people in town. Sir R. and his brother spoke to me about it, and in very grateful terms of your Lordship upon this occasion.³

Sir Thomas, Carlisle's son-in-law, knew the author's identity, even though Walpole had been generally successful in undertaking not to publish it. Literary evidence is

¹ Though anonymous this is attributed to Concannen, Attorney-General of Jamaica, but with a considerable contribution from Walpole.

² E.R. Turner dates both as 6 October 1733 in his January 1927 article in the *English Historical Review*, entitled *The Excise Scheme of 1733*.

³ HMC Carlisle Papers p.124.

found in the text itself. Carlisle has a tendency to express himself in rather similar terms throughout his life. He writes on pages 19 and 20:

[...] whenever it happens, that Men of Quality, of Fortune, and Abilities fall under the Displeasure of their Prince, every honest Man ought to be sorry for it; But it must at the same time be acknowledged, that the King may place or displace his Officers as he thinks fit [...]

On 15 October 1714 Carlisle had written to George I:

Monsieur, - Il faut avoüer que le Roy doit estre le seul juge, a qui, et en quelle maniere, il peut le mieux disposer de ses faveurs; et on doit tousjours se soumettre entierement a la distribution que sa Majesté en fait.¹

Writing on 2 January 1722/3:

[...] it is most just and fit that your Majesty should place and bestow your favours in the manner you judge most proper; but being told that I have incurred your Majesty's displeasure, that (as it ought) gives me a very sensible disquiet.²

While writing this pamphlet Carlisle was soliciting a place at Court for his daughter, Lady Irwin, and wrote to Queen Caroline:

When I took the liberty to acquaint your Majesty with my Lady Irwin's desire of having the honour to be admitted into your family, I did not presume to name any time; if the offer was agreeable to you, it was left solely to your Majesty to consider in what manner and at what time it might be done with most ease to yourself and most conveniently to your affairs.³

Finally, Walpole refers to a "little piece of paper containing some addition in the third page". This "third page" is the third manuscript – not printed - page. Fortunately there are many examples of Carlisle's handwriting for comparison. Taking the fair copy of the *Essay* (Chapter 6) Carlisle writes an average 110 words per page. Applied to the present pamphlet the "third page" – words 220-330 – describes contemporary Parliamentary conventions. The publishers of "*The List*" have argued that support for the Government was "bought" by favours and patronage. Carlisle replies, claiming that as members of Parliament given offices of profit or employment under the

¹ HMC Carlisle Papers, p. 13.

² *ibid.* p. 45.

³ *ibid.* p. 122.

Crown were obliged to seek re-election to the House, holding two positions was in no way unlawful or inconsistent. There was one obvious objection to this: patronage rewarded supporters; its withdrawal punished dissidents – and for the latter there was no Parliamentary check.

Possibly the paragraph intended for page 3 anticipated objections to following rather than preceding arguments. Carlisle proceeds to question the propriety of inviting the electorate to reject parliamentary candidates on their performance in the previous session. This technicality rests on constitutional assumptions different from those held today. Then, theoretically, members of parliament exercised independent judgment on questions before them: they were not mandated. Any attempt of the electorate to exercise greater control over parliamentary procedure was considered – by constitutional purists anyway – thoroughly undesirable. But others held that the English constitution assumed that power was vested in the executive by the voluntary action of a free citizenry; consequently Carlisle's argument (based on the parliamentary practice of excluding an erring member for the remainder of that Parliament only) was inadequate.¹ Arguments from silence present problems: nevertheless either Walpole or Carlisle could have anticipated these difficulties, and have wanted the text altered accordingly.

For all these reasons there is high presumptive evidence that this otherwise anonymous political tract is by Carlisle himself. In considering the issues in this pamphlet, attention must be given to the political climate of the early 1730s. A Whig Government had held office since 1714. Robert Walpole had led the ministry since

¹ Much of the opposition's reply to Carlisle in *The Crisis - or Briton's Advocate* centres on this point.

1722, ensuring financial stability after the South Sea debacle, though with a tarnished personal reputation. The administration appeared unprincipled in blatant use of patronage to ensure its survival – even in an age where patronage was widespread.¹ Despite its tawdry image, Walpole's administration provided government that was broadly popular, and gave people some measures they wanted. For example, after the Peace of Utrecht there were no more expensive Continental wars. After a series of good harvests food was plentiful and cheap. For landowners, however, good harvests meant depressed prices: some farmers sought a reduction in their rents, and landowners had to yield to the pressure. But the Land-Tax, levied at 4s in the pound in 1705, was reduced to 2s in the pound by the 1730s. As an election loomed (as a result of the Septennial Act) in 1734, Walpole sought support from landowners and farmers, intending to reduce the Land-Tax further.

He proposed to replace older methods of collecting duty on Wine and Tobacco – hitherto levied at Customs-houses – by an internal Excise. Duty was easily evaded at the Customs-house. Smuggling was rife - all duty thereby avoided – but other frauds minimised duty actually paid; diluting duty-paid wine with tax-free cider, gin, or water was but one. An Excise was more efficient, though, as Income Tax and VAT today, it necessitated paper-work unpopular with smaller traders. Walpole intended to apply extra monies raised by greater efficiency to relieving further those paying Land-Tax at 2s in the pound.

¹ The present work owes much to *The Excise Crisis* by Paul Langford (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1975) for the clarity of its exposition of the background issues. Plumb, *Walpole*, P. Vaucher *La Crise du Ministère Walpole en 1733-1734* (Paris, 1924), and E.R. Turner *The Excise Scheme of 1733* (Eng. Hist. Rev. xlii {1927}) have also been found helpful. Greater reliance has been placed on the contemporary evidence contained in the remarkably specific correspondence contained in the HMC Carlisle Papers, pages 95-111.

However well-intentioned, Walpole's Excise proposals soon fell victim to suspicion, self-interest and political machination. First, many who might otherwise have gained already avoided duty on wine and tobacco, or profited from fiscal inefficiency. Who would choose to relieve landowners of Land-Tax by paying a tax which many citizens had avoided for years? Additionally – much was made of this – it was feared the Government might raise so much from an Excise that Parliament would no longer have effective financial control over the executive.

Other issues arose. Landowners and farmers were generally well-disposed: good harvests and falling prices made further reduction of the Land-Tax attractive. But while landed interests were well-represented in Parliament, comparatively few gained from reducing Land-Tax generally. Everyone using tobacco or wine would effectively pay the shortfall.

The concept of Excise was scarcely new. A tax on salt was re-imposed as a short-term expedient in 1732 after abolition by Parliament in 1730. Not technically an Excise, and raised by a separate department, it was similar in principle, and Walpole did not disguise his intention to reduce Land-Tax again through further unspecified Excises. The objection lay in the way Excises shifted taxation indiscriminately from the prosperous to high and low alike: all needed salt and candles (another Excised commodity), whatever their circumstances.

Though issues of social justice were raised as subsidiary arguments, the executive raising excessive revenues and establishing independence from Parliamentary control gave the Opposition its greatest bite. With such power, the Crown might undo all that

the Settlement of 1688/9 had secured. Such fears united Country Whigs and Tory loyalists: if George I's Ministers proposed such an extension of executive power, in what did this differ from James II's arbitrary government by prerogative? The Opposition voiced fears of standing armies, abolition of trial by jury, and unbridled absolutist monarchy – seen as inevitable consequences of Walpole's Excise proposals.

From the beginning of 1733 the Excise dominated the Parliamentary session.¹ Even routine matters were coloured by the expected Excise before its formal introduction in the Budget proposals. Despite prior opposition, Walpole's initial proposals for a tobacco Excise were approved by a majority of 61 on 14 March. The Easter recess allowed reflection before the Excise on wine was debated. Attempts to issue "instructions" to members of Parliament became a concern – as did the by-elections in early 1733. Even so, the Government was having the best of the argument, and the merits of the scheme were effectively conceded by some influential Opposition figures. The Government had a majority of 56 on 4 April for the formal first reading of the tobacco Excise Bill. Two further divisions took place where the Government maintained majorities. These however were falling: first 38, then 36. Next day procedural motions tabled by the Opposition resulted in Government majorities of 16, 51 and 42. These were scarcely meaningful tests, being taken in a poorly-attended House. On 10 April the issue was brought to a head when the City of London presented its petition against the Excise. Bringing outside pressure on the House's jealously guarded privileges; such an overt attempt to affect the discussion brought an instinctive reaction. But the government's majority in a crowded House declining to

¹ The progress of the Excise-Scheme through its convoluted Parliamentary stages is charted with admirable clarity in the letters of Lady Anne Irwin, (daughter), Sir Thomas Robinson, MP, (son-in-law) and The Hon. Col. Charles Howard, MP (younger son), to the 3rd Earl, preserved at Castle Howard and printed in HMC Carlisle Papers, pp 95-111.

receive the petition was 17 - so small that the bill was effectively lost. Further divisions might easily result in embarrassing defeat. Walpole withdrew his proposals with what dignity he could the next day - where the matter might have rested.

However, under the Septennial Act 1734 was an election year. With a Parliamentary victory over a major government proposal, the Opposition saw an opportunity to defeat Walpole and pressed the matter further. The convention which spread the elections over a considerable period, allowed far longer for campaigning than the formal three-week period known today.¹ The Opposition campaign opened with the seemingly innocuous publication of the division lists of those voting for and against the Excise,² but significantly adding the employments, honours and privileges held by those concerned. The implication was that the Government's majorities were buttressed by patronage. As these lists were attached to copies of the City of London's petition (the occasion of the vote) the tactic appeared but further publication of matters already in the public domain. In reality, claiming the City's petition unconstitutional pressure on a House expected to exercise independent judgment was balanced by the illicit pressure the Government itself employed through its own abuse of patronage.

This was the central issue addressed by the post-recess, pro-government pamphlet – *“Some Observations upon a Paper intituled The List”* – printed anonymously, but written by Carlisle.

¹ Langford P, *Excise-Crisis*, pp. 103-05.

² Division-lists were available elsewhere. London Journals, like *Fog's Weekly Journal* and *The Craftsman*, together with regional papers, for example *The Gloucester Journal* and *The Suffolk Mercury*, were all to produce such lists. (Langford, op. cit., p.106.) The object of Carlisle's *Observations* was, however, the one widely distributed in conjunction with the broadside ballad *Britain Excis'd* and the *City of London's Petition*.

Carlisle announces his intention to address both the presumed matter of the paper itself and the presumed intentions of its promoters. He quickly argues that there can be no implicit condemnation of those who hold office while members of parliament since this is allowed, subject to the re-election of members concerned. His next argument is that any outside body – even the electorate – seeking to affect the judgment of Parliament by effectively “punishing” those who have expressed a view with which they differ is in its very nature unconstitutional: the electorate’s sole function is to elect – not to pass judgment on Parliament. Still less constitutional in Carlisle’s opinion is the implicit appeal to forces entirely outside Parliamentary process: the chaos and disorder of the mob. It is a natural duty to support the administration, first as a constitutional bulwark against the aggression of absolutist monarchy, and because it had proved itself in improving the condition and fortunes of the majority. Opposition can only, he argues, aid and comfort those committed to the overthrow of the 1688/9 Revolution, the restoration of the Stuarts and all that would follow. Evaluating the motives of those who published and circulated the “List” Carlisle seems conditioned by the convention that the Government had the right to a free postal service – a right denied to the opposition. Promoting the “List” was therefore, *ipso facto*, of dubious constitutional propriety. Carlisle moves to the most difficult part of his argument where he attempts to refute the “Trojan horse” theories of the Opposition. He holds that their contention that Walpole employed constitutional means to introduce unconstitutional government was intrinsically ridiculous. (He might have used the biblical question concerning “Beelzebub divided against Beelzebub”¹ to advantage at this point: the argument is the same.) Observing that there can hardly be a tax that doesn’t inconvenience someone, and that the Excise

¹ St Luke 11.18.

proposals were generally beneficial, and with ample precedent, Carlisle defends patronage on the grounds that just as the citizen is free to hire or dismiss his own employees so the King was free to choose whom, and in what capacity, he should employ in his service. He criticises Walpole's opponents for not using the Parliamentary remedy available if they disapproved of his actions: that of impeachment. That they refused to do so was perhaps a realistic acknowledgment of the weakness of their cause. But it could be more sinister – unwillingness to distinguish between the minister and the king himself. (This was an appeal to the legal device where a minister's actions could be challenged by impeachment without thereby overtly opposing the Crown.) In Carlisle's view, refusing to follow the process of impeachment necessarily involved refusing to distinguish between the King and his minister. This only reveals the Opposition's true intention, fanning the flame of discontent to serve the Pretender. In his peroration, Carlisle invites his readers to consider all the benefits England enjoys under the present Constitution, and echoing the liturgical language of *Venite*, known to his readers through Matins in the Book of Common Prayer, implores his readers not to join in that grumbling which had led to the destruction of the rebellious Israelites by the waters of Meribah:

Today if ye hear his voice, harden not your hearts: as in the provocation, and as in the day of temptation in the wilderness; When your fathers tempted me: proved me, and saw my works. Forty years long was I grieved with this generation, and said: It is a people that do err in their hearts, for they have not known my ways. Unto whom I swear in my wrath: that they should not enter into my rest.

Carlisle's pamphlet is direct and comparatively short, occupying only thirty-one pages. Walpole and Concannon's contemporary *"Rise and Fall of the Excise, &."*, is twice the length. Though maybe more closely-reasoned, it might be maintained that Carlisle's more direct pamphlet proved more effective in defining the ensuing debate.

Certainly the main heads of argument developed in the longer pamphlet were amply anticipated in Carlisle's.

Undoubtedly Carlisle's arguments are far from unanswerable. His arguments from current constitutional theory and parliamentary precedent become suspect; simply because these were the constitutional assumptions challenged at the time, and were changed in the process. His argument about patronage fails, not so much from what he does say as from what he doesn't: the power of patronage lies as much as in withdrawal as in bestowal. An MP given an office of profit under the Crown might indeed have to submit himself for re-election. This, however, is no answer to the impropriety of depriving an MP of that office should he not support the Government - through which all patronage flows.

These deficiencies, and others besides, were amply commented upon by Opposition pamphlets appearing later. The weightier, for example, the *"Review of the Excise Scheme, impartially Considered"*, thought to have been written by William Pulteney, a former colleague of Walpole, but now a bitter Parliamentary opponent, chose to concentrate on the fuller treatment given in the *"Rise and Fall"*. One, though, did not. That was the *"Crisis: or the Briton's Advocate: A Full Answer to a late stupid performance 'Some Observations upon a Paper...'"* A number of criticisms were justified. Notwithstanding, had the performance been ten times as stupid as that writer believed, Carlisle's *"Observations"* would still have been one of the first pro-Government pamphlets in a fiercely-fought campaign. This resulted in Walpole's return, heading a Government lasting another ten years in which the framework of our

later parliamentary democracy was erected. This is reason enough for looking at this pamphlet with attention and interest.

As important for the present purpose is Carlisle's authorship of this pamphlet. Admittedly, his arguments are sometimes presented in arcane terms, and represent an inability to grasp the notion that parliamentary opposition might not *ipso facto* involve disloyalty. But this was one of the points at issue. If one result of the Excise crisis was the ultimate emergence of a "loyal Opposition", another asserted the independence of Members within the Parliamentary process – Carlisle's own contribution to the debate and Parliamentary history. Although his arguments about the balance of the Constitution seem old-fashioned today, these were exactly those Lord Hardwicke – the noted jurist and Lord Chancellor – used more than twenty years later in resisting the Militia-Bill of 1756.¹ "Stupid" only to an Opposition pamphleteer, Carlisle's pamphlet contains the instinctive thoughts and responses of those who maintained Walpole in power, appealing to disaffected Whigs who wavered as an important General Election approached in 1734. With Walpole's administration continuing until 1742 Carlisle's pamphlet, admittedly not decisive, was a significant factor shaping his own age and the later development of Britain's parliamentary institutions.

¹ Browning, R., *Political and Constitutional Ideas*, pp. 163-64.

Document 13

**SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON
THE LIST**

(Anonymous Pamphlet)

TEXT

[Summer 1733]

**SOME
OBSERVATIONS**

Upon a PAPER, Intituled,

The LIST.

That is,

**Of those who Voted for and
against the EXCISE-BILL**

L O N D O N:

**Printed for J. Peele, at *Locke's Head*
*in Amen-Corner. 1733*¹**

(Price Six-pence)

¹ J Peele also published *The Rise and Fall of the late projected Excise, impartially consider'd* in the same month – supporting Walpole's Ministry, written by Concannon, with, it is thought, of Horatio Walpole. (This confirms Walpole's undertaking in his letter of 13 September 1733 to arrange for the *Observations*' printing and publication.) HMC Carlisle Papers p.123.

[3]
SOME
OBSERVATIONS

Upon a PAPER, Intituled,

The LIST

As great Pains have been taken of late by certain Persons to disperse a Paper called, *The List*,¹ I think it may be of some Use to the Publick to make some Observations, not only upon the said Paper, but likewise upon the Persons, who have been so very industrious in dispersing it.²

[4] This List gives you the Names of those Gentlemen in the House of Commons, who voted for and against the Excise Bill; the Employments held by those, who voted for the Bill, are set down over against their Names; yet the Author, for fear he should not be thoroughly understood, makes a *N.B.* that most of the Gentlemen, who were for the Question, are under visible Dependencies; besides others, whom he supposes to be under some more secret Influences.

¹ An EXACT LIST of those who Voted for Bringing in the Excise—Bill (& those against) had been printed together with a broadsheet-ballad: *Britannia Excisa (Britain Excis'd)* and a reprint of the City of London's petition against the proposed Excise. This was not the only form in which this List had been published: The *Craftsman* of 25 July 1733 had published one, which Paul Vaucher (*La Crise du Ministère Walpole*, [Paris, 1924], p.43 n1.) believes was the one which the author of *Some Observations* had in mind.

² Pamphlets were normally printed and published for sale – for modest sums – from nominated outlets. Pro-Government pamphlets had the advantage that they circulated by post free of charge. Here a concerted effort was made to disseminate the List – an Opposition production – as widely as possible despite this handicap. But pamphlets might also be circulated privately, even by those with no sympathy with the cause concerned. Sir Thomas Robinson (Carlisle's MP son-in-law) wrote to him on 26 May 1733: "P.S. I have just had a dozen of the Free Briton of last Thursday sent to me, and as many pamphlets about [the] late Excise Scheme; I have taken the liberty to send one of each to your Lordship. Your Lordship will receive four packets from me by this post." (HMC Carlisle Papers p.118.)

If there be any Meaning in this Paper,¹ it must be to throw the greatest Reflection upon those Gentlemen who voted for the Bill, by insinuating, that they were influenced so to do, contrary to their Opinion, with a View to their Places. This is the first Intent of the Paper. The second plainly appears to be a Direction to the People of *England*, whom [5] they are not to chuse to represent them in the next Parliament.²

As to the first, it carries a very high Reflection upon the Majority of the House of Commons; for it appears, that there was a Majority for the Bill in all the Questions that were put relating to it.³ This Insinuation asserts a Point contrary to the known Meaning, and Intention of the Law; for the Law admits, that if a Member of the House of Commons accepts of an Employment, and thereby vacates his Seat in Parliament, he may (if his Country thinks fit) be re-elected, and hold both his Employment and his Seat in Parliament: If it had therefore been thought incompatible, that no honest Man could serve both his King and Country at the same Time in two different Stations, surely the Wisdom of the Legislature would not have authorized such a Practice.⁴

¹ Apart from the broadsheet ballad and the City of London petition with which it was printed, nothing specified the intentions behind the publication. Nevertheless, the language of the ballad and the purpose of the petition makes the political sympathies of the promoters clear.

² Electoral practices in the early eighteenth century allowed voting to take place across an extended period. The date of the summoning of a new Parliament might be known long before those who were to sit in it had been elected. An election campaign might last some months.

³ Technically this was so. Carlisle does not remark upon the fact that the Government's majorities were steadily falling; and had a further vote been taken a defeat was quite probable. (cf The Hon Charles Howard to Carlisle, 10 April 1733. HMC Carlisle Papers p. 107.)

⁴ Unlike today's practice, where applying for the *Chiltern Hundreds* – an office of profit under the Crown – is a device for resigning a seat in the House of Commons, on the principle that the independence of an MP is thereby compromised. The eighteenth century allowed such appointments to be retained – subject to the re-election of the office-holding MP concerned. Carlisle's point does not, however, address the equally important use of *negative* patronage, where influence might be brought by the threat to remove a defecting MP from a lucrative office of profit. It may be that the *little piece of paper* of Walpole's letter of 13 September anticipated this objection.

[6] I shall now take the Liberty to consider the second Point aimed at in this Paper, the Author's Advice to the People of *England*, whom they are not to chuse to be their Representatives in the next Parliament; and here lies the secret Venom and wicked Intention of this Author and his Abettors. No other Reason is assigned, why the Gentlemen marked in the List are to be excluded from the next Parliament, but because they voted for the Excise-Bill. I will suppose that they were mistaken in that Vote: Is this a reasonable and sufficient Cause why they are never to be admitted to sit in Parliament again?¹ When a Member of the House of Commons is voted guilty of a criminal Fact, and expelled the House for the same, this Punishment never extends further than the Parliament he then sits in; he is not rendered by [7] such a Vote incapable of sitting in any future Parliament.²

No; the Paper-Writer has more weighty Reasons for this his wholesome Advice to the Freeholders of *England*,³ such as will more effectually conduce to advance his Purposes. The true Reason why he would keep these Gentlemen out of all future Parliaments, is this: He knows very well that they will oppose all those wicked Designs, that he is engaged to carry on; the first of which, and what he and his Friends are now labouring to effect, is to render the Administration

¹ Despite the theoretical independence of MPs, many were in practice expected to vote in certain ways as today – except then an MP could be influenced by a wealthy, powerful patron, or a well-organised cabal from his constituency, as by party whips. Carlisle's presupposition, however, is that before the concept of a "loyal Opposition" any organised opposition to the Administration was difficult to distinguish from opposition to the King's business carried out by the King's servants, who were answerable to Parliament. An Election chose MPs – but did not directly determine the King's business.

² The oddity of comparing the separate processes whereby an MP might be excluded from the House after conviction for criminal activities with that of an MP who loses his seat at an election may possibly have been clarified in the *little piece of paper containing some addition in the third page [which] has been mislaid* that Walpole mentioned in his letter to Carlisle on 13 September 1733. (HMC Carlisle Papers p.123.) The *Observations* were apparently published without this material. (H. Walpole to Carlisle, 9 October 1733. HMC Carlisle Papers p.123.) But see the Introduction to this Chapter for further discussion.

³ *Freeholders* i.e. Those entitled to vote under the existing franchise.

odious, and thereby to raise Discontents, and Dissatisfactions in the People against the Government; which Practice can tend to nothing but Confusion and Ruin.¹

He is sensible that these Gentlemen, at least they or their Ancestors, settled the Crown upon the present [8] Royal Family;² that these are the Gentlemen, who, upon all Occasions, have shewed their Zeal to maintain and keep it there; that these Gentlemen, or at least most of them, are sprung from those Families, who so bravely engaged, who ventured the Lives and Fortunes to rescue the Liberties of the People at the Revolution. These Gentlemen have been educated in the same Principles, and 'tis to be hoped will always tread in the Steps of their Ancestors; yet these Gentlemen are to be excluded the next Parliament! and why? because they have supported and concurred in the Measures of the present Administration, which, notwithstanding all the Clamour that has been raised against it, has hitherto procured Peace and Happiness to this Nation:³ But still, I say, these Gentlemen must be excluded, in order to make room for others, who [9] differ from them in their Way of thinking; or otherwise my Author's Friends have but little Hopes of coming into Play; and rather than not gain that Point, this Writer and his Adherents will run the Risk of a *Tory*, nay, of a *Jacobite* Parliament.⁴

¹ The argument here presupposes that supporters of the Whig administration were committed to the Settlement of 1689, and that the fundamental struggle underlying the Excise debate was, in reality, an attempt by Jacobite sympathisers to overthrow the Protestant, Hanoverian Succession in favour of the Pretender, James Stuart – an attempt made more perfidious in its use of unconstitutional methods.

² George II, the second British King of the House of Hanover on whom through the Electress Sophia, the protestant grand-daughter of James I, and then George I, her son and his father, the crown had devolved by the Act of Settlement of 1701.

³ One of the claims which Walpole's Government could justly make was the avoidance of expensive continental wars – despite the fact that significant supplies were needed for the army through the political uncertainty over the Polish Succession through the mid 1720s.

⁴ It was easy to identify the Tories with the Jacobites. In fact, many Tories had little reason to wish for a Stuart restoration. Furthermore, the Opposition included a number of place-hungry and otherwise disaffected Whigs – of whom Carlisle's son was one.

And here, my Fellow-Countrymen, permit me to lay before you the Designs of these Gentlemen, that you may the better guard against them. It is apparent, their Point is to destroy the present Ministry, if they can, and they want your Assistance to effect it.¹ Their Intention, therefore, if they can prevail, is to engage you in their Measures; in order thereunto, by their false Representations and Suggestions they would have you believe, that your Liberties and Properties are in eminent Danger; that a Standing Army is kept up to destroy the Constitution, when a favourable Opportunity [10] offers; that there is at all Times so much publick Money in the Exchequer, as will enable a wicked Minister to put such a Design in Execution; and that every thing is to be feared from the daring Enterprizes of the Persons now at the Head of Affairs; that you have but one Opportunity, therefore, left to save yourselves, and your Posterities, from utter Ruin; and that is, the Choice you shall make of members to represent you in the next Parliament.²

The Author of this List tells you whom you are not to chuse; and if his Advice is to be followed, your Choice is not great; it will not then be very difficult to foresee, that it must necessarily turn out a *Tory* Parliament. Therefore let me exhort you, my Fellow-Countrymen, not to fall into any rash Engagements,³ that may endanger that Peace

¹ Although Parliamentary accountability was still in its infancy, it was understood that no Minister could serve unless he had a majority, and that the Sovereign's choice of a Minister would, in practice, be limited by that consideration.

² The argument here rests on the power exercised by the House of Commons in denying "supply" – that is, money required by the executive to carry on Government, and, particularly, to maintain the armed forces. If the Excise Scheme were to yield extraordinary funds, Parliament could have little power to check an unscrupulous Ministry or Sovereign. In an age which had painful memories of Stuart Government by prerogative, the doctrine of "balance" in the Constitution between Sovereign, Lords and Commons was especially important.

³ *Engagements* i.e. Undertakings to support a particular candidate. This might extend well beyond voting. Carlisle, as a peer, did not vote: however, in Westmorland and Cumberland he had powerful interest which he did not hesitate to engage on behalf of those candidates of whom he approved.

and Tranquillity you so hap [11] pily now enjoy. The present Cry is raised only to advance these Gentlemen into Power who are now out of Power: This is their single and sole Point. Their Disappointments upon that Head are the true Source of all their Discontent, and popular Clamour. Consider well, therefore, and be not misled; do not engage in their Quarrels; do your Duty to your King, and Country, and this Spirit of Discontent will soon shew how inconsiderable it is, and how fruitless the Attempts of that Party will prove.

The Contests at the Elections for the next Parliament will lie where they have hitherto done, between the *Whigs* and the *Tories*. These Gentlemen vainly flatter themselves, if they think, that they shall make any Figure upon that Occasion; it will (if I am not much deceived) turn out the Reverse to their Expec [12] tations, and shew how little Credit they have with the People.¹ I am of the Opinion it will be found, that these pretended Patriots, these original *Whigs*,² as they call themselves, will joyn with the *Tories* in all their Elections for the next Parliament. From what I have observed, I think it plainly appears, that the best that can be hoped for, from the Designs of this Author and his Adherents is, that their Force and utmost Endeavours will be employed towards the procuring a *Tory* Parliament.

I have now done with the List; but before I conclude this Paper, it will be necessary to make some few Observations upon the Persons,

¹ Carlisle uses the argument familiar in the twentieth century that the British adversarial parliamentary system makes it difficult for a third party to emerge. Political concerns are only effectively expressed when taken up by one of the two main parties.

² *original Whigs* i.e. former supporters who had deserted Walpole's ministry, as well as those disaffected through lack of patronage. They might not "cross the floor" – but as Carlisle surmises, they might be prepared to lend occasional support to the Tories – especially if there were a realistic prospect of unseating an unpopular Ministry.

who are so industrious in the dispersing it. The Publishers of this List are the discontented Party; they make no Secret, that they have sent great Numbers of them to be dispersed amongst the Freeholders and Burgesses¹ all o [13] ver the Nation; they take all Opportunities of handing them about, where-ever they go, and they endeavour to give Weight to them, by raising Fears and Jealousies in the People, by such Arguments as these; That the Minister (for they would have it understood that no other in the Administration, not the King himself, has the least share of Power) is forming Designs to subvert the Constitution, and to govern by absolute Power:² They give out, that this is evident by his endeavouring to invade the Liberties of the People under the specious Pretence of Law; which Method, of all others (they say) is the most dangerous, as it is not so soon perceived, and gives the least Alarm; that he knew this full well, and that therefore he was so solicitous to carry his Excise-Bill, which was intended for [14] the Foundation of that arbitrary Government he is determined to erect.

When a People is become so pusilanimous and slavish, as not to know the Value of Liberty, but are ready and willing to give it up, they neither deserve to be saved, nor can be; but surely that is not, nor, I hope, ever will be the Case of the People of *England*.³ How absurd and ridiculous then is the above Reasoning? Are not all Acts of Arbitrary Power Acts against Law? Was it not always understood by

¹ *Burghesses* i.e. either someone with full rights of citizenship, including a vote, or – more probably here – a technical term for a member of the House of Commons.

² Robert Walpole was only the King's Minister, or servant. He gained the title "Prime" Minister from the odium acquired for being thought so influential that others had none.

³ The emotive appeal of this paragraph depends on the contemporary (Whig) interpretation of English Constitutional History, which maintained that from early Germano-British times individual freedoms were transferred to a limited sovereign power: the essential nature of this transference was confirmed by Magna Carta, the Commonwealth, the Restoration Settlement, and, most recently, the Glorious Revolution and its concomitant Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover.

our Ancestors, that when their Liberties were invaded, their Laws were invaded at the same Time? Did they ever apprehend that the Constitution was in danger from the Laws they made? When those worthy Patriots fought for their Liberties, did they not contend for the Preservation of their Laws at the same Time?

[15] How then a Minister can propose, or what Scheme he can lay, to invade the Liberties of a People, and destroy their Constitution by Laws of their own making, wants the Explanation of these Gentlemen; I believe it will be difficult to make any reasonable Man conceive it.

I shall say but one Word upon the grand Point, which these Gentlemen assert to have been designed for the Foundation of this pretended Scheme of Arbitrary Power, I mean the Excise-Bill. Although many Artifices were used by those concerned in the Frauds which this Bill designed to detect and prevent,¹ in order to defeat it; although Numbers of People were deluded by false Suggestions, and designed Misrepresentations (calculated purely to throw an Odium upon the Gentleman who brought it into the House) for many different private Reasons of their own; al [16] though it carried some little specious Pretence, that it might in some small Degree obstruct the Commerce of those trading People who dealt in the Commodities mentioned in the Bill;² as what Act that ever was yet made for the

¹ The alleged intention of the Excise Bill (explained by the Ministry and its supporters) lay in preventing manifest abuses whereby Custom-duties imposed on imports and exports were commonly evaded, not by imposing a new tax, but by collecting the existing one more efficiently. That the existing method of collecting the tax was highly inefficient seems undisputed.

² Under the older system, goods once passed through Customs are not liable to further levy – neither is the small trader responsible for an unwelcome layer of accountability.

publick Good, was not liable to some Objections of that Kind? Yet considering the great Advantages that would have arisen to the Nation from this Bill;¹ how much the fair Trader² would have been benefited by it (and whatever is a Benefit to the fair Trader, must of consequence be beneficial to Trade in general) how much the Planter of Tobacco in our Colonies would have been encouraged by it;³ how great a Sum would have been saved for the Use of the Publick, whereby other burthensome Taxes might have been taken off, or at least prevented from being laid on; surely so many salutary Considerations as these were [17] sufficient to justify any Person in offering it to the Consideration of Parliament, notwithstanding all that was so artfully alledged against it.

But in what particular this Bill (if it had passed into a Law) would have assisted a Minister to have laid the Foundation of Arbitrary Power, I am at a Loss to find out; and I am the more so, because the Liberties of the Subject have remained unviolated for so many Years past; during which Time Excise Laws have been in Force:⁴ And this Bill was calculated not only to mitigate the Rigour of those former Laws, but made such further Provision for the Security of the

¹ One of the expressed purposes behind the Excise-Scheme was to use the generated revenue to reduce the Land-Tax, which had been levied at a rate of four shillings in the pound. Carlisle derived much of his own income from sources subject to the Land-Tax. Making his estranged wife an allowance of £1000 per annum, he paid £800, explaining through his agent, Ridley, that the missing £200 was Land-Tax paid on her behalf. (J8/33/ 17 & 18)

² *Fair Trader* Much argument surrounded the abuse whereby tobacco and wine, having had the duty paid on entry at Customs, were subsequently diluted by substances on which no duty had been paid, or was payable. Thus tobacco might be adulterated with dried leaves, and wine diluted with cider. Cheap country inns were cited as places where the practice was notorious, but the abuse was open to any trader. The *fair trader* was the conscientious dealer in these commodities who took no advantages the system offered.

³ A petition (probably inspired by Horatio Walpole in his capacity of Auditor-General of the Plantations) had been presented to the King by Virginia in 1732 asking for an Excise on Tobacco to relieve the distress of the colony's tobacco-growers.

⁴ The argument is that, had a Minister been intent on arbitrary government, the mechanisms to do so were available many years previously: Excise had been levied during all this time. (The belief that this scheme would have yielded so much more money and potential power was an objection duly noted by the *Crisis*).

Subject, that I believe no impartial Man will say, but that the Liberties of the People are more exposed, and more liable to Insult, as the Law now stands, than they would have been, if this Bill had passed. It is for these Reasons only [18] that I have said so much upon this Head.¹

But to return to my Gentlemen the Dispersers of this List. They say the Minister must be removed, and that immediately, or otherwise it will be too late; for he is making very hasty and large Steps to secure his Point, by displacing those, who (he thinks) will not concur,² and by bringing into Employments such as he judges will concur, in his Measures; that it is absolutely necessary to open the Eyes of the King and the People, to shew the Minister in his proper Colours, and to prevent by that Means, if possible, his wicked Purposes: Therefore it is the Duty of every true *Englishman* to speak out and make the People sensible of the dangerous Situation they are in.

Besides several false, groundless, and malicious Insinuations, which they give out to raise an Opinion, [19] that the Minister is laying a Scheme to govern by Arbitrary Power, they pitch principally upon these two Points, which, they assert, make it evidently appear, that that is his Design, viz. the Excise Bill that he attempted to carry last Session of Parliament, and the placing and displacing of Officers, in order to model both the Army and Court to his Mind.³

¹ Carlisle argues that the adulteration of wine and tobacco – or the inability to procure unadulterated goods – are in themselves an erosion of the subject's liberties.

² The day before the decisive vote George II dismissed Lord Clinton and the Earl of Chesterfield from their Court offices for failing to support the administration. Further restlessness in the House of Lords led to the dismissal of the Duke of Bolton, the Duke of Montrose, the Earl of Marchmont, the Earl of Stair and Lord Cobham.

³ The issue was debated in both Houses in January and February 1734. That it should be unlawful for an officer to lose his commission except by verdict of a Court Martial was rejected on the grounds that it would be unconstitutional to deprive the King of his right to employ or dismiss his own servants.

I have already taken Notice of the first Charge against him; and I hope I have shewn, that it was neither a wicked nor an unreasonable Proposal to offer to Parliament, or that it could in any Manner of Shape tend to, or be a Foundation for the Exercise of Absolute Power. As to the second Charge against him, viz. the Placing and Displacing of Officers,¹ let me say, that whenever it happens, that Men of Quality, of Fortune, and Abilities, fall under [20] the Displeasure of their Prince, every honest Man ought to be sorry for it: But it must at the same time be acknowledged, that the King may place or displace his Officers as he thinks fit, without a Breach of the Law, or invading the Liberties of the Subject. Every Master of a Family is at Liberty to chuse his Servants, to place and displace them as he thinks proper.² It would be a little hard then, that the King should not have the same Privilege in that Respect, with the rest of his Subjects, that he should be the only Man in his Kingdom, whose Actions upon such an Occasion, must be canvassed and censured. As very few can possibly know the true Springs and Motives of the Actions of Princes, it is but decent, nay it is but common Justice to suppose, that when a Prince makes any Alterations in his Family,³ he has good and sufficient [21] Reasons for what he does. But in what Manner and to what Purpose these Gentlemen can urge any Instances of that Kind (that may have happened) as a Proof, that the Minister is exercising an Arbitrary Power, I am at a Loss to see; and I am apt to believe, that their Endeavours upon that Head to inflame,

¹ This has little to do with the political interventions in the affairs of the military (though this was significant in 1734 – and notorious in “breaking” William Pitt by depriving him of his cornetcy). Here it means withdrawing patronage for exercising political freedom from those daring to resist Walpole’s Excise scheme in Parliament.

² Much of this paragraph echoes Carlisle’s letter to George I on his dismissal as Governor of the Tower in 1722. (HMC Carlisle Papers p.45.)

³ *Family* here is used in the extended sense, where servants and courtiers are included. Carlisle uses it in his letter to the Queen, soliciting the appointment of his daughter, Lady Anne Irwin, as a Lady of the Bedchamber. (HMC Carlisle Papers p.122.)

(which is apparently their Design) will have very little Weight with the People, since such Removals are then only terrifying when Arbitrary Power is first attempted, and they are made to facilitate its Birth and Progress.¹

Liberty and Property cannot be invaded, but such Invasion must be felt by Somebody; Arbitrary Power cannot be exercised, but the Effects of it will immediately appear and give a general Alarm; as we have many Instances thereof in the Reigns of our former Princes, which end [22] ed not only in the Destruction of their Ministers, but proved fatal to themselves. So hard it is upon such Occasions to separate the Minister from the Prince. I defy the Malice of these Gentlemen to give any Instance of this Kind under the present Administration, or of any one Effort of lawless Power. Whose Liberty, Property, or the free Exercise of his Religion, is invaded? As the Enjoyment of these Blessings is the strongest Proof of a just and mild Government; let the World judge of the Designs of these Men, who, by false Representations of Things, endeavour to disturb the happy Situation the Nation is in.²

But to answer these Gentlemen with respect to their Method of proceeding. How likely, or how probable is it that they shall attain what they give out is their Design, the removing the Minister by the Means [23] they are now making use of? Suppose their Assertions

¹ Political casualties followed the withdrawal of the Excise-Bill. As noted, on 13 April George II dismissed Lord Chesterfield, the Lord Steward, and Lord Clinton, a Lord of the Bedchamber, from their offices. Contemporary comment e.g. *The Craftsman* for 12 May 1733, was not slow to grasp the significance. However, as Carlisle disingenuously argues, no public reason is given: they can only be the object of speculation – itself, by definition, uninformed.

² Carlisle's argument is forthright: given the previous century when the country was torn by conflict and arbitrary government was a major issue, nothing should be feared where its alleged presence was so subtle as to be unnoticeable!

were true, and the Minister as wicked as they represent him; suppose they could raise the greatest Aversion to him, and could work the People up to the Rage and Fury they could wish; I would ask them, what Use they propose to make of it, and in what Manner it would answer their End?¹ There is but one Use that I can see that can possibly be made of such a Scheme; which is, that when the People are thus worked up to Fury and Madness, it is not impossible, but that they may be transported to attempt some Act of Violence; and there is the more Reason to apprehend, that this may be the Consequence, from what has so lately happened.

It is not in the Power of the People, they have no Opportunities, they can make use of no Ways or [24] Means to address the Throne for the Redress of Grievances, or to inform their Prince of the dangerous Situation that he and the Nation is brought to from the Councils of an evil Minister, but by their Representatives in Parliament. If therefore our Case be as desperate as these Gentlemen would have it believed to be, why have they not moved the Parliament to proceed in the known legal Method made use of by our Ancestors upon such Occasions against the wicked Ministers of their Times, I mean by Impeachment or Attainder?² If the present Minister is guilty of those enormous Crimes, of which they accuse him, they cannot want Materials to make good their Charge; but if they have not thought fit

¹ The argument here is inconsistent. Earlier Carlisle supposed the attempt was to defeat Walpole's ministry in the General Election of 1734. *The List*, then, was directed at the electorate. However, the opportunity of ascribing the basest motive was irresistible - the disruption of all order in the anarchy of mob violence.

² *Impeachment and Attainder*: Quasi-judicial proceedings where Parliament constitutes itself a Court for the trial of Crime and Misdemeanour. Both were available in this period. Carlisle's own father-in-law had been threatened with this; and the Bishop of Rochester's attainder in 1722 was a recent memory. The most recent purely political use of impeachment and attainder had been in 1715, when Bolingbroke, Oxford, Ormonde and Strafford had been impeached for their part in making the treaty of Utrecht.

to proceed by those Methods which were generally attended with Success in former Days, they must give the World Leave to believe, that their Accusations are groundless and malicious, and that they cannot make them good.

But to consider these Gentlemens Proceedings in any other Light, and what most naturally may be the Consequences thereof. They pretend great Duty to the King; they give out, that it is for his Sake, that they are obliged to speak thus freely and boldly against his Minister; that nothing is intended, or can possibly hurt the King, from the Measures that they are pursuing; notwithstanding they are at the same time using their utmost Endeavours to raise Discontents and Dissatisfactions in the People against his Administration. They say that the Minister is only aimed at, and that he alone must answer for all Miscarriages.

Had they thought fit to have impeached or attainted him, in that Case to be sure he alone must have answer^{ed} for his Actions, and the King would not have been involved in the general Discontent that they are raising.¹ And I would ask these Gentlemen this single Question, Whether there is one amongst them, that believes, that this Odium, Discontent, and Disaffection that they are stirring up, will fall wholly upon the Minister; and if they are sure, that no Part of it will reach the King? For in such a general Charge as they openly make against all Parts of the Administration, it will be pretty difficult to separate the Minister from the King.

¹ Impeaching a Minister was a way of opposing Crown policy without necessarily opposing the Sovereign personally. (Thus by this artifice Parliament waged war, not on Charles I, but “on his evil advisers”). Carlisle’s purpose in this paragraph is to challenge the profession of loyalty made to George I and the Hanoverian Succession by the opponents of the Walpole Ministry.

If then by these means a Flame should be raised in the People, whereby their Affections of Course must be alienated from the King, no body can say where it will stop, but every body may see, that the Confusion which it must necessarily occasion, is the most likely Step to favour the Interest of the Pretender;¹ yet these Gentlemen will venture all the Miseries that may fall upon the Nation from this their Conduct and Behaviour, rather than not satisfy their Revenge, or not raise themselves into Power; an unhappy Spirit that has ever attended all free Governments, and has often occasioned the Ruin of them!²

But Oh my Fellow-Country-men, be not deluded by false Representations; examine and consider the happy Situation you are in; look back into History, and I believe it will not be found (put all Circumstances together) that the People of *England*, in any former Reign, ever possessed so many Blessings as they do under the present. Go through all Ranks of Men, and I think it will not be difficult to demonstrate, that every Man lives more comfortably than his Ancestor did. Most [28] of the Nobility are possessed of great Estates; and their Body being now much more numerous than it was formerly, greater Numbers partake of the Privileges and Advantages of that high Station. I believe at no Time, there ever were so great Possessions in the Hands of the Gentry, or their Body so numerous. It is most evident, that our Merchants have attained, and daily are attaining great Riches; by Means whereof they are become possessed of considerable landed Estates, and frequently rise to the Class of the

¹ James Francis Edward (James III) 1688-1766.

² If Carlisle does not accuse his opponents of Jacobite loyalties, he does so only to accuse them of political naivety in not understanding the likely consequences of their actions.

lower, and some to that of the higher Nobility.¹ The Tradesmen, and the Artificers shew their flourishing Condition by the Riches they gain in the Exercise of their respective Trades in Ten or Twelve Years Time,² living all that Time beyond what may be properly called comfortably, and leaving considerable Fortunes at [29] their Deaths. The Farmer shews how much better a Situation he is in than his Ancestor was, by being able to pay a much higher Rent for the same Land that his Father or Grandfather held,³ and at the same time living in a more comfortable Manner, both with respect to the Feeding, Cloathing, and to the accommodating himself and his Family in their Habitations:⁴ Which last Article most Landholders must be sensible of, who have had for some Years past Farm-Houses to build, or repair. The Servant, and the Labourer, have greater Wages than was formerly paid to Men in their Rank; wherefore it may be presumed that they are enabled to live more comfortably than their Predecessors.⁵ This being the flourishing Condition of the Nation, let me add one very material Article more, the Benefit whereof all Ranks of People [30] most happily enjoy, at this present Hour, and which was wanting to their Ancestors, I mean the many good Laws that have been made since the Revolution, for the securing the Property, Liberty, and Lives of the Subject, against all Attempts of the Crown, too often made use of in former Reigns,

¹ That the Peerage remained open to new creations was the result of Walpole's opportunistic opposition to the Peerage Limitation Bill of 1719/20. Carlisle voted for the Bill then.

² The reference to *ten or twelve years' time* is to the length of time Walpole had headed the administration after the South Sea debacle of 1722.

³ However, Carlisle himself was seeking a rebate in the rent for the lands he held from the Crown at Lanercost at about this time. (Walpole Papers held in the Cambridge University Archive, 1800a, dated 5 August and 12 September.)

⁴ Carlisle's estate correspondence hardly suggests that he was an especially generous landlord. He seemed convinced his tenants were more prosperous than they did.

⁵ How far Carlisle's perceptions take account of inflation is uncertain, though his general contention that living standards were rising seems accurate.

under the Pretence of that unknown and unlimited Power called the Prerogative, now happily abolished.¹

If this, my Fellow-Countrymen, be your happy State, what have you further to ask or desire? What ought to be your Study, and Endeavours, but by a dutiful Behaviour to your Prince carefully to preserve it, and to transmit it safe down to your Posterities? But to our discontented Men, what can be said? If Riches, Peace, and Plenty, with the full and uninterrupted Enjoyment of Liberty and Prosperity, are now become the [31] Cause of murmuring, what can please such Men? Sure their Lot will be like to that of the Children of *Israel*, who, whilst God scattered Food around their Tents, and fed them with Bread from Heaven, repined at his Goodness, were insensible of their own Happiness, and therefore justly drew down the wrathful Displeasure of God upon them.²

F I N I S

¹ Carlisle's view is the classic Whig doctrine that a balanced Constitution, in which the Crown, Lords and Commons; Executive, Legislature and Judiciary, function as a system of checks and balances against the dominance of any one element, itself guarantees wealth and tranquillity. Fermenting discord entails the inevitable risk of upsetting the workings of this balance – and must therefore be avoided.

² A reference to Exodus 16, 17, & 32, in which the Israelites receive the manna in the wilderness; tempt God at the waters of Meribah; succumb to worshipping a golden calf while Moses receives the Law, and are finally punished by the slaughter of 3000 by the Levites. This reference is made daily in the Book of Common Prayer (at the end of the *Venite* at Mattins).

INTRODUCTION

J8/35/7 comprises two folded foolscap sheets of Carlisle's customary paper, with the usual black ink, but with an unusual watermark. (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figure 8, p. x.)

The last of the eight pages thus formed is blank, whilst 5 and 6 are mutilated, resulting in small gaps in the written text. However, these gaps are small enough for the text to be reconstructed with some confidence. The general condition of the manuscripts is poor, perhaps through constant handling rather than anything catastrophic.

Although the hand and ink are consistent with Carlisle's authorship, this manuscript is unusual in the freedom from alterations which characterize much of his work. However, the explanation for this and the condition of the manuscript may lie in the possibility that this had been sent to Queen Caroline in March, 1734. Horace Walpole, writes:

Cockpitt, 30 March.

I have been honoured with your Lordship's letters by Mr Jackson, containing a very ingenious copy of verses, and a very sensible pamphlet. I should have acknowledged the first sooner, but having put the verses into Her Majesty's hands, with which she was extremely pleased, I have not received them back again... The verses shall be printed as soon as I have received them from the Queen [...]¹

These verses do not appear to have been printed, so there can be little more than possibility to this supposition. Yet this is strengthened a little by a previous letter from

Horace Walpole dated 9 October 1733:

There are some other pamphlets lately published; particularly one, entitled "The Rise and Fall of ye Excise, &" is much esteemed; it is indeed somewhat too long; and one upon the game of Chess, in answer to a

¹ HMC Carlisle Papers p. 135.

Craftman on that subject, is extremely ingenious, and very entertaining to those who have a notion of that game [...]¹
 The *Craftsman* piece survives in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in the Weekly Essay section for 15 September 1733, No. 376. Unfortunately the verses associated with this piece do not seem to have survived: it would be interesting to see whether they maintained the political double-entendre that makes the *Craftsman* Essay so entertaining.

Carlisle had motives for ingratiating himself with the Queen by sending similar verses. Queen Caroline acted as Regent during the King's absences in Hanover, and during such a period in 1730 Carlisle approached Sir Robert Walpole for the Queen to remit arrears due to the Crown for the estate he held at Lanercost.² In 1734 he was active in promoting his second son's interests with Sir Robert, resulting in his promotion to Colonel and a Court position.³ Carlisle was also concerned to provide for his daughter, Lady Irwin, and his solicitations were rewarded in her appointment as Lady of the Bedchamber to Princess Augusta on 12 July 1736.

This success came at the end of a long campaign. Carlisle had written to the Queen and received the following reply, dated 11 July 1733:

Richemont. – Je suis honteuse, milord, de ne vous avoir pas répondu plus tost; j'ay creu que tar [tard?] vallais mieu que point de tout. C'est avec grande raison que j'estime votre fille; come je n'ay pas de vaquance dans ma chamber [*sic*] de lit, et que j'ay desja deu dames de susnomeraire, cela plaidera mon excuse. Je sçerai charme si je pouvais avoir quelque occasion de vous marquer mon estime, et vous trouverais pronde a vous temoigner combien je suis votre amie. Caroline.⁴

¹ *ibid.* p.123.

² Letters dated 5 August and 12 September sent by Lord Carlisle to Sir Robert Walpole, catalogued as 1800a and held in the Walpole Papers in the Cambridge University Archive.

³ HMC Carlisle Papers, p.137. The Hon Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle 14 June 1734. See also the letter from Carlisle to Sir Robert Walpole dated 2 June [probably 1734] and catalogued 1791a in the Walpole Papers.

⁴ HMC Carlisle Papers, p.122.

Carlisle lost no time replying:

1733, July 15. – Madam, On Saturday 14th Sir William Strickland delivered me the letter which your Majesty has done me the honour to write to me, for which I take leave to return your Majesty my most humble thanks. In that letter your Majesty is pleased to acquaint me, that you have no vacancy at present in your Bed-Chamber, and further that you have several supernumeraries, who undoubtedly ought to be first provided for, agreeable to your own rules of justice, by which your Majesty governs all your actions. When I took the liberty to acquaint your Majesty with my Lady Irwin's desire of having the honour to be admitted into your family, I did not presume to name anytime; if the offer was agreeable to you, it was left solely to your Majesty to consider in what manner and at what time it might be done with most ease to yourself and most conveniently to your affairs. If such time should ever come, I shall look upon it as an additional mark of the Royal favour to my family.

I sincerely and truly wish your Majesty and the King a long and prosperous reign. Nothing that lies in my small power shall ever be wanting upon all occasions towards the contributing to render it so.¹

That these verses might be related to this charm-offensive seems attractive, and would – if ever substantiated - appear to be entirely appropriate in terms of timing and subject-matter: not least in eschewing overt political double-entendre.

The popularity of Quadrille became noticeable just after 1728. The *Court Gamester* by Richard Seymour of that year “written for the Use of the Young PRINCESSES” describes Quadrille as a variant of the older Ombre:

The French, ever fond of Novelty, and equally fickle in their Dress and Diversions, have inoculated several Cyons upon the Spanish root of this Game of OMBRE.²

That the writer considers it only a variant of Ombre suggests the Quadrille had not yet acquired a dominance it was to achieve next year, when as an appendix to *Mr CONGREVE'S Last Will and Testament* a piece by Thomas Woolston appeared:

¹ HMC Carlisle Papers, p.122.

² *The Court Gamester or, Full and Easy Instructions for Playing the Games now in Vogue after the best Method; as they are played at Court, and in the Assemblies.* Richard Seymour, Esq.; The Fourth Edition improved (London: Printed for E.Curld against Catherine Street in the Strand, 1728).

The True Copy of an Affidavit made out before one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the City of Westminster.

That for LADIES, who the Deponent does not care to Name, repair nightly to a certain convenient Place, near St, James's, to meet their GALLANTS of the first Rank; whom your Deponent will not Name, but so far describe them, that two of them are Sallow, and two of the ruddy Complexion; and that he verily believes, they were most abominably painted [...]

The LADIES when they begin their Gambols, call their GALLANTS by the fond Nick-names of Hercules, Cupid, Pit, and the Gardiner [...]. Your Deponent likewise avers, that he has full Proof, after the LADIES have been tired with their GALLANTS, they have called for fresh ones: In short the aforesaid LADIES, have not only, spent their Pin-Money, but their Husband's Estates, upon Hercules, Cupid, Pit, and the Gardiner, and when they want more Money, they commonly Pawn their Jewels, &c.

Westminster SS Jurat. Coram me, T. T.P.S. The above Information is a faithful Description of the GAME of QUADRILLE, not to be Litterally, but Allegorically, understood. **THO. WOOLSTON.**¹

This heavy-handed description of the game is noteworthy in that it indicates social assumptions made about its players as well as the manner in which it was played. It is also interesting in that the *Notices of New Books* which immediately follow include a new edition of the earlier-mentioned *Court Gamester*, now including a section specifically on Quadrille.

A more elegant poetical description of a contemporary game of cards might be found in Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, probably known to Carlisle, and was, indeed, printed on pages 66-68 of the 1728 edition of the *Court Gamester*. Particularly interesting in the context of the mounting criticism of Quadrille, Pope makes an explicit and critical reference to the game in his *Epistle to Bathurst* which had been published on 15 January, 1733:

Oh filthy check on all industrious skill,
To spoil the nation's last great trade, Quadrille!

(lines 75 & 76)²

¹ *Mr. Congreve's Last Will and Testament with Characters of his writings by Mr. Dryden, Sir Richard Blackmore, Mr. Addison and Major Pack* (London: Printed for E CURLL in the Strand, 1729)

² Alexander Pope, *Poetical Works* ed. Herbert Davis (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), p.303.

Perhaps three other contextualising matters should be raised at this point. As a young man Carlisle had been extremely successful at cards, raising in 1707 some £2000 put towards the cost of building Castle Howard.¹ His elder daughter, Elizabeth, Lady Lechmere, inherited her father's liking for cards – but neither his skill or good fortune. There was a notorious incident in September 1725, when Lady Mary Montagu Wortley wrote:

The discreet and sober Lady Lechmere has lost such Furious summs at the Bath that 'tis question'd whether all the sweetness that the Waters can put into my Lord's blood can make him endure it, particularly £700 at one sitting, which is aggravated with many astonishing Circumstances.²

This personal distress might have caused Carlisle to identify with the growing criticism of excesses at the card-tables, a concern he raises in his text. Another piece from 1736, a year or two after Carlisle's poem, explains these dangers exhaustively:

Mr. URBAN,
I beg leave, thro' your means, to make a few Remarks upon a most growing Vice; which if not timely prevented, will end in the Ruin of the young and unwary of both Sexes; I mean the great Increase of Play in private Houses, and more particularly that artful and cheating Game of Quadrille [...] [I]t is to be wish'd, a Remedy could be found to prevent it. I cannot better conclude, than with these fine Lines, in which Mr. Pope seemed to be very well acquainted with the foregoing Miscreants:

See how the World its Veterans rewards!
A Youth of Frolicks, an Old Age of Cards;
Fair to no purpose, artful to no end,
Young without Lovers, Old without a Friend;
A Fop their Passion, but their Prize a Sot,
Alive, ridiculous, and dead, forgot.

PHILO-INNOCENTIÆ ³

¹ BCH p.75.

² Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters*, II, p.57.

³ *THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE* Vol. VI. September 1736, p.574.

Document 14

J8/35/7

**A RIDDLE MADE UPON A GAME
CALLED QUADRILLE**

TEXT

[Summer 1734]

(1)

A Riddle made upon ye Game called Quadrille, yt Game being made partly from Ombre, & partly from Wisk,¹ did so prevaile, yt ye other two games were in a great measure lay'd aside.

CHJ8/35/7

My Father's birth proud Spain dos claim,²

My Mother from fair England came,³

Of high renown, of ancient Race,

Both much esteem'd in either place.

The Annals of each Country tell

5

To what degree they did excell

All others of their rank, & kind,

And how they entertain'd a thoughtfull mind.⁴

My Father born & bred in Spain,

His carriage shew'd from whence he came,⁵

10

Serious, & grave he did appear,

His temper rather too severe;

Yet some times pleasant he wou'd be,

And civil to ye last degree,

For leave he always first did crave,⁶

15

Before his question you could have;

All did allow his genius bright,

His manners ever most polite;

Thus qualifi'd to Court he went

And to ye King gave great content.

20

Old Ferdinand as fame dos say,

¹ A deleted ampersand stood here.

² *Ombre* was Spanish in origin.

³ *Wisk* was English.

⁴ Unlike some card-games more dependent on chance, *Ombre* and *Wisk* demand skill.

⁵ Most terms used in the game e.g. *Matador* or *Basto* are Spanish.

⁶ Probably referring to conventions of play. See full account by Woolston quoted on p. 312.

And with her maids wou'd sport, & play:
When yt fell out, it seldom fail'd,
But yt my Mother strait was nam'd, 50
She did her best endeavours use,¹
A while her Highness to amuse.
(3)
A wondrous art my Parent had,
I will not say it good, or bad,
Herself she often did divide, 55
In diff'rent places could at once preside.²
When first ye Queen³ did take her place,
Her Chamberlain sat next her Grace,
The L^{ds}. & Ladies of ye Court,
Some choose to act, other to see ye sport;⁴ 60
Thus all prepar'd, in order set,
The Courtiers & my Mother met.
With great address she play'd her part;
Gave joy to some, made others smart,
In others hopes & fears she'd raise.⁵ 65
**By many & by diff'rent ways }
Her skill she shew'd, they sung her praise.
Tho' now, & then disputes arose,
And here, & there she made some Foes,
Her honour still secure remain'd, 70
Her name in credit she maintain'd,**

¹ This line originally began *Her best endeavours*. This was then struck out in favour of *She then her best endeavours us'd* until the *then* was struck out in favour of an interlinear *did*, and *us'd* became *use*.

² Possibly a "progressive" version of the game, where players could move from table to table during the course of the evening.

³ *ye Queen* Elizabeth I (not the Queen of any suit).

⁴ Historically Wisk could be a spectator or participatory game.

⁵ Wisk was a game in which stakes were an important element – although the stakes did not have to assume the legendary levels of Georgian excess.

Down from Eliza's glorious days,
 Till George's Reign as story says.¹
 It grieves me how² ye rest to tell,
 How from their hight my Parents fell, 75
 How one poor slip did tumble down,
 Their high repute, their great renown;
 From their³ misfortunes wisdom draw,
 A guide more certain than ye law.
(4)
 This moral for their sakes I tell, 80
 Always persist in doing well:⁴
 If once thou stop, if once look back,
 If once thy hand ye reines dos slack,
 Till ye appointed post⁵ thou turn,
 No prize is gain'd, in vain thou'st run. 85
 It's very odd, you'll scarce beleive
 But so it is, I don't deceive;
 My Parents far advanc'd in years,
 (I mourn their fate, behold these tears),
 Their youthfull days in Courts did spend, 90
 Their lives so strict none could offend;
 But lo ye mighty power of love,
 That Heav'nly spirit from above,
 O're nature's face it works so strong,
 None ever yet could hold out long. 95

¹ *Till George's reign* George I (d 1728). Quadrille became a game in its own right in 1729.

² *how* The first letter is uncertain: *now* is a possible reading, though *how* is preferred because of the repeated *How* at the beginning of the following two lines.

³ A deleted word, possibly beginning with *E* stood here. [*Events?*]

⁴ *This moral ... I tell*. An obscure reference, but possibly alluding to the many variations of the way Ombre might be played, allowing Quadrille to emerge, first as a variant, and then full-fledged.

⁵ *appointed post* A reference to the turning-post in the Roman arena

Cupid Triumphant always rides,¹
Your morals & your laws derides.
To him not only man dos yield,
But ye fierce Beast, yt scow'rs yon field.
My Parents to this cause do owe, 100
Their suff'rings past, their present woe,
But where this rev'rend Pair did meet,
And how they did their loves compleat,
Story is silent, all² that's known,
Me as spurious they did own. 105
(5)
As ev'ry Offspring dos partake
The Father's, or ye Mother's make,
Some share ye virtues of ye mind,
In other's often you will find,
The body's beauties or defects; 110
Thus nature works, those are her known effects.³
In me my Father dos appear,
My Mother is not quite so clear.
His manners, & his ways I use,
His very terms I often chuse. 115
Civil like him, when I propose
A question even to my Foes,⁴
Tho' to my profit it may prove.
I waite their leave, before I move.

¹ This line originally ran *Cupid in Triumph always rides*, The *in* has been deleted and the *ant* of *Triumphant* inserted as an interlinear addition.

² A deleted *yt* stood here.

³ *Sic*. The manuscript is unambiguous, despite the relative ease with which deleting *those are* would maintain the regular ten-syllable line.

⁴ *Civil like him* ... Quadrille and Ombre both involved asking opponents for leave to make tricks, or demand certain cards. These verbal cues became standardised and formal.

If him you know, you soon will find 120
From whence I do derive my kind.
My tale, it now draws near ye¹ end.
The sequel dos myself commend.
Tho' Spain & England each dos claim
My Parents birth, & boast ye same. 125
Where I was born yt Country will
(In things to come, If I have skill)
To future ages stand renown'd.
Because my name will there be fo[und,] [Bracketted letters
My Country France, from thence [I sprung,] and words
French then of course must be m[y tongue.]² conjectural]
(6)
While I was young at home I stay'd,
And only in my Country play'd,
But when to riper years arriv'd,
Puff'd up with vanity & pride, 135
To see ye World, myself to show,
I did to foreign Countrys go.
England for arts, & arms so fam'd,
For glorious acts so often nam'd,
Valiant her Sons, her Daughters fair, 140
Polite their manners, ev'rywhere }
A stranger well receiv'd is there.
Thither my first attempt I made,
Some years now past I here have stay'd;
So much esteem'd, so much admir'd, 150

¹ Originally *draws to an end*. *Near ye* are an interlinear substitution for the deleted *to an*.

² Whereas the formal language of Ombre is Spanish, Quadrille introduces French variants like *Au Roy rendre*, where the caller demands a King be given up in exchange for a card from his own hand. (cf *The Court Gamester* 1728 edition, p.51.)

So much belov'd, so much desir'd,
 So much these People hold me dear,
 So often I my praises hear.

[Wi]thout me I may safely say [*Bracketted letters conjectural*]

[I th]ink they scarce can pass a day; 155

[The La]dies most their fondness show,

[The richest] of them needs, must know,

[For all] ye pleasures they receive,

[Some dea]rly pay, some ought to grieve:

[But all the]ir entertainment make, 160

[And each in] turn, & for my sake

[Their fortune] & their time they spend,

[Tho' no one] yet can call me Friend.

(7)

When eagerly each takes his seat,

And I their happyness compleat, 165

Instead of mirth, instead of joy,

Which all dissension shou'd destroy,

Questions are ask'd, disputes arise,

Then one asserts, & one replys,

And after simple, tedious prate, 170

All unconvinc'd drop ye debate.¹

Thus whilst ye Darling of this land,

For few my charms can now withstand,

In publick places² I appear,

Where People flock from far, & near, 175

¹ Referring to wide local variations by which Quadrille was played.

² *public places* Assembly Rooms in places (like London, York and Bath) where card games were regularly played.

CHAPTER 6

ELDER STATESMAN: PHILOSOPHER

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i MANUSCRIPTS J8/35/15-17

The pamphlet¹ of papers catalogued J8/35/15-17 at Castle Howard consists of seventeen folded foolscap sheets and thirteen Quarto sheets. Had every resulting page been used, there would have been ninety-four pages of manuscript. However, not every page has been used, some possibly deliberately. The paper is of quality: the wire-marks and water-marks plainly visible (and occasionally in the photocopies). An unadorned “Strasbourg Lily” alternates with “IV” as a countermark on the central fold of each Quarto leaflet.² The pages have gold-leaf or gilt edges still bright after three hundred years. Some pages appear darkened, as if exposed to damp at some time. Although each foolscap sheet has been folded sharply to yield the Quarto format, there are signs of further folding in M1-M30 – folding which might arise from enclosure in an envelope. Each sheet has such a lesser fold (about two-thirds up the folded page) which suggests storage rather than posting.

The ink appears to be high quality, using a ferro-tannic composition which reacted with the paper in some instances, and would have produced more “stare through” had the paper not been of a generous weight. The writing is in a consistent hand, with a distinctive trailing back of the final “d”. A number of nib-styles have been used – not always consistently. While a finer nib has been used occasionally to make alterations clearer, sometimes whole pages have been written with such a nib. These nib-changes might suggest different hands: however, against this is the otherwise consistent hand, idiosyncrasies of syntax and spelling, and the improbability that any of the household

¹ “Pamphlet” is used here in the librarian’s sense of a collection of papers. They are currently preserved loose in a thin card folder.

² W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England and France in the XVIIth & XVIIIth Centuries* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1935), pp. 13, 21, 22 & 47. (See *Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figures 3 & 9, p.x.)

but Carlisle would have used this fine, expensive paper. This is illustrated by one manuscript in the pamphlet unrelated to the others. The text runs:

Sir,
The inclos'd is a Certificate, yt Mr John Rickaby is instructed,
& capable of business.

Even without date or signature there is no doubting author or provenance.¹

Most pages have no authorial numbers to indicate their larger grouping.² However, one sequence of pages formed by seven folded foolscap sheets and one separate Quarto sheet bears consecutive numbering from 1-29 at the top of each page. This contains the *Essay on God & His Prophets* – a title which appears nowhere in the collection, but originates with Judith Oppenheimer's cataloguing of 1978, and continues in references made by Saumarez Smith. It is employed here for convenience. Carlisle, however, describes his work variously as "treatise" and "enquiry" [M72]; or "discourse" [M31]. These pages contain significantly fewer corrections and marginalia than the others. This sequence, distinguished by authorial page-numbering, and the flow of sentences across page-divisions, suggest that this version has been produced as a fair copy. As with his poem *A Milk White Heifer* Carlisle completed each folded foolscap sheet in turn, and enclosed them within an outer folded sheet which might – as in the poem – contain the final words on pages three and four. However, one cut Quarto sheet in an otherwise uninterrupted sequence of folded foolscap suggests that the final compilation was further

¹ Because it has plainly been included with these manuscripts in error, this paper is not otherwise discussed.

² Each page carries an editorial number placed centrally at the bottom with the prefix "M", an indication of watermark at the beginning of each sequence of four (or two) pages with an indication which margin, R or L, is gilded. Though these editorial marks appear on the photocopied facsimiles they have not been added to the original documents in the archive.

complicated.¹ The foregoing considerations suggest this must be, in some sense, the final version of the text. No subsequent version is known to exist. Yet for what purpose and for whom it was written remain questions to be answered.

It may be helpful to consider these questions in the light of the *other* pages – the unnumbered, chaotically-arranged pages, covered with all manner of alterations. Saumarez Smith describes these as “innumerable drafts”² – the Castle Howard Catalogue as “two drafts”.³ Saumarez Smith’s description is more accurate. There are at least three beginnings.⁴ The third (M49-M52) here occupies but three pages of a folded foolscap sheet, and stood alone at one point. Again, there are several endings. One⁵ is clearly the same as the fair version – but written on different pages of folded foolscap. This is strong evidence that the quantity of the material which preceded those concluding paragraphs varied. Some pages which are neither ends nor beginnings of the fair version are nevertheless endings in themselves of some shorter version.⁶ Occasionally⁷ resulting blank pages are used for reworking other passages: such pages are usually easily related to the fair text inasmuch as the author has a marked tendency to express himself identically in different versions. These variants may clarify the final version by amplifying arguments condensed from an earlier form.⁸

¹ Pages M9 & M10 were cut from M71 & M72. The content of M72 leads directly to a possible earlier conclusion on M80.

² BCH p.162.

³ The Castle Howard Archive Catalogue describes these papers as an “Essay on God and His prophet” with two drafts. Catalogue numbers J8/35/15-17 are assigned to these papers as a whole, but no archivist has actually identified any papers as J8/35/16 or 17.

⁴ M1, M41, M49.

⁵ M91.

⁶ M57, M65, M67, M80, M86, M93.

⁷ M58, M59, M60; M80.

⁸ e.g. M90 has “he establises ye Priesthood one of ye most considerable offices in ye government yt he founded in his own Family, & when some of ye elders, & cheif men of ye Israelites murmur’d thereat, he declare’d to them yt God had directed him so to do” – an important gloss on M28 & M29.

Nine pages of text (M31-M39) - unparalleled in the fair version - might be regarded a separate composition except that they stem from the same opening. A distinct variant of the *Essay* develops for a further eight pages beyond this. Another distinct sequence - M41-M48 – contains yet another development. (The order of the final pages¹ is not immediately obvious – but because this did not reach the fair copy stage this is no reason to devalue its intrinsic merit or interest). The content of the two variants is fascinating – as fluently written as the fair version. Possibly the content led to the exclusion of these pages from the fair version, for they reach radically different conclusions from those of the *Essay* – conclusions which might have occasioned criticism had they been more publicly expressed.

What kind of text(s) are these? If only the fair version survived, it might possibly have been intended for subsequent printing. But in that case the survival of the remaining material would seem unnecessary – and the continued existence of the excluded material quite inexplicable. The absence of any printed version confirms the difficulty.

Several hypotheses call for consideration – each one of which, except the first, remains plausible. First, are these authorial thoughts set down in private, with no further purpose than personal clarification? Carlisle's references to "ye Reader" and to the *Essay* as "treatise" "enquiry" and "discourse" exclude this. Second, might Carlisle have written this within the context of discussion within the confines of his house or a restricted number of correspondents? Certainly Thomas Story² supports the idea that such subjects were agreeable table-talk at Castle Howard, and the fact that

¹ The existing Quarto pages M45/6 and M47/8 had originally formed one folded foolscap sheet.

² Story, *Journal*, pp.679-80.

some manuscripts display evidence of further creasing supports such a view. Third, these creases might suggest that the material had been sent to a printer, and that publication was intended. (But though certainly more careful, is this copy careful enough for this purpose?) However, the absence of extant copies make this only tenable if the printing were suppressed, or issued in such a limited edition that no copy survived.

A further letter from Horatio Walpole, written about a year after the effusive letter of thanks for *Some Observations on a Paper*, supports the second possibility.

1734, March 30, Cockpitt. [...] As to the pamphlet, I will consider of the part which you have been pleased to refer to me, which is of a very essential, as well as extensive nature, and must be put into a true light; and then your Lordship shall hear further from me [...] ¹

Does this refer to a pamphlet now lost? Or had some part of the *Essay* been sent, and Walpole refers to this in his letter? He does not mention publication, yet publication is mentioned in two other literary items Carlisle sent him. The subject-matter of the *Essay* is closely related to two contemporary issues; the Quaker Tithes Bill, and the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill.² Maybe Carlisle was drawing Walpole's attention to underlying principles. Contemporary correspondence with the Archbishop of York, Lord Fauconberg and the Duke of Newcastle shows Carlisle securing relief for Roman Catholics and Quakers,³ and this issue may underpin Carlisle's *Essay*. Walpole's letter echoes a phrase in the *Essay* where Carlisle is anxious to "set these matters in a true light [...]" That this indicates a closer relationship between the documents is attractive, but circumstantial, falling short of the evidence for Carlisle's authorship of *Some Observations*, - and therefore to be treated with caution.

¹ HMC Carlisle Papers, p.135.

² See further on pp.323-24.

³ HMC Carlisle Papers, pp.123-24.

Whatever answer is given, the reference to “ye Reader” on M37 indicates Carlisle’s intention to communicate by writing, and that the variants, corrections and alterations suggest a desire to express himself as effectively as possible.

Answers to several problems posed by these manuscripts might be found in scribal publication.¹ The issues raised in the *Essay* suggest an approximate date of 1733-34; and while this would be rather late for scribal publication in normal circumstances, this practice was known in Carlisle’s youth. Possibly relative isolation in Yorkshire as well as the character of his opinions made this an ideal medium for communication.

Scribal publication makes assumptions unnecessary about the superiority of the surviving fair version. It might be maintained that several such versions – earlier ones admittedly being superseded - possess residual authority as part of the process by which the final text evolved. Understood in this light the remaining manuscripts might be evaluated rather differently. Here are materials Carlisle kept at hand to use in his correspondence with his circle of like-minded friends. These represent, not so much discarded spoil from a mine, but the memory-banks of a Word-Processor; for these literary fragments contain – properly understood – not only the remains of earlier publication, but also in the various alterations and marginalia the materials for the next fair copy version. In that case, represented here is a text or texts in a fluid state which never attained definitive status in the strict sense, but which afford an insight into the processes by which Carlisle’s thoughts were to assume their final form.

¹ I am much indebted to Dr Christopher Ridgway, Archivist of Castle Howard, for suggesting this to me; and to Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

This interpretation makes it easier to find significance in the many and varied beginnings and endings, and to distinguish between adjustments to the text which may reflect simple mistakes and corrections, alterations to fit material into a new arrangement, new thoughts Carlisle wished to incorporate, as well as his restless tendency to tinker with his text.

In presenting the text here, Carlisle's evident intentions in the fair version are reproduced. No attempt has been made to impose modern conventions on spelling or punctuation, or even to suggest it within editorial brackets. However, all authorial alterations in the text are noted and included in footnotes. Because the manuscripts assembled editorially as *Essays on Man & Nature* and *God, Man & Reason* had reached a high standard of completion, and display signs of thematic and structural unity, the present editor feels they can be presented with some confidence as examples of the author's considered, if not finalised, thought. With some rearrangement of paragraphs on a few pages which have evidently been used rather as modern computer spreadsheets, the same editorial conventions have been followed: the author's presumed final text is presented with minimal editorial intervention, with footnotes explaining authorial alterations in the text in every instance. The remaining manuscripts have been presented in the order in which they might have been used in the production of the fair version of the *Essay on God and His Prophets* with any duplicated texts presented afterwards. It must be emphasised that, though this procedure is justified in clarifying how the final text came into being, it cannot necessarily reflect the earlier status and inter-relationships of these manuscripts.

ii **BACKGROUND, STRUCTURE & CONTENT**

Reference has already been made to the letter from Horatio Walpole to Carlisle of 30 March, 1734. This letter was considered in connection with the “ingenious copy of verses” which Carlisle had sent to the Queen, and which may possibly be identified with the *Riddle made upon a Game called Quadrille* in Chapter 5. However, it is the matter of the “sensible pamphlet” to which attention is now drawn. Unlike the 1732 paper sent to Walpole, identified securely with the published *Observations*, identifying the present pamphlet with any publication has proved impossible. As Walpole does not mention publication, this may never have been intended: Carlisle’s motives in sending it to Walpole may have been to seek his opinion on what he had written, or perhaps to influence his thinking, and possibly the Government’s, on issues of the day.

That the pamphlet was general in its application is suggested by Walpole’s description of it as of “a very essential, as well as extensive nature, and must be put into a true light”. Moreover, Walpole’s mention of “that part which your Lordship was pleased to refer to me” suggests either he had not been sent the whole, or that his attention had been directed to, and his opinion sought on, only part. Unfortunately, if his promise to let Carlisle have his opinion had been fulfilled, no record of it remains. Though the two men might have met in London and discussed these issues, that letters are addressed to Carlisle at Castle Howard in April, June and July that year makes this unlikely. Although the evidence can be considered only circumstantial, nonetheless there is at least some that might suggest that the “sensible pamphlet” and the present manuscripts are indeed related.

First, Walpole describes it as “general” and “extensive”. Such a description would certainly be appropriate for these essays - Carlisle’s previous literary debut in the *Observations* being particularly specific. Secondly, and mentioned earlier, Walpole echoes a phrase of Carlisle’s where he speaks of setting matters “in a clear light...”¹ It is, admittedly, an argument from silence to argue that as a published pamphlet cannot be identified from Walpole’s letter that none appeared – but on the other hand it is perfectly understandable that after the savage criticism of his *Observations*,² Carlisle might have preferred not to expose himself again, even anonymously, in publication.

Apart from the negative fact that nothing else can be identified as Carlisle’s “sensible pamphlet”, there is evidence that these manuscripts are wide-ranging and “very essential” in the issues they address. Raising questions about the nature of religious and civil authority in the light of the Newtonian as well as the Glorious Revolution, Carlisle addressed two fundamental concerns of his generation. It is possible to relate these papers to several major issues discussed in the years 1733-1736: the Quaker Tithe Bill, the refusal to appoint Dr Rundle to the Bishopric of Gloucester, the Nonconformist Toleration and Occasional Conformity issue – or constitutional issues discussed in Chapter 4 over the Militia Bill and the Crown’s right to dismiss officers from their commissions at will. These issues appear in letters in the Castle Howard archive, printed in the HMC volume between pages 123 and 136. The majority raise issues singly – sometimes obliquely. One from Sir Thomas Robinson sets a number of these concerns against a wider constitutional framework, and makes interesting reading:

¹ M31.

² See p.287. (This issue is discussed again on p.453.)

1736, [Feb.?] 21, Albemarle Street. [...] The Lord Chancellor has at last been told Dr. Rundle is never to be a Bishop; so the Reverend Bench will sit triumphant. Surely this must be a melancholy reflexion to those who are naturally jealous of the power of the Church; for this step shews they expect at least a *nolumus*¹ to any man the K[ing] shall think fit to promote to the purple; which may in the end prove as dangerous to our Constitution as the success of that Question would have been, to have made Military Officers removable only by a Court Martial. As I then thought that would have been raising a fourth power in the State, independent of, and at the long run destructive of the other three; so I think, if this doctrine of the Bench be allowed as an established maxim, 'twill be adding an Ecclesiastical independent power in the State, which might prove more dangerous to Liberty than even a Military one; as of all tyranny that practised by those in black² have in all ages and nations been most destructive of Liberty, Commerce, and everything to make society agreeable to life [...] ³

Granted that only in one sense can these manuscripts be considered to have reached a fully-developed, authoritative form (the so-called "Fair Copy"), there is no necessity to think that these pages are exclusively directed to one issue. If the "Fair Copy" had been the version submitted to Walpole's consideration, the most likely contemporary issue would be the Quaker Tithe Bill, inasmuch as the whole theory and justification for tithing and the support of an "established" Church rested so heavily on Mosaic precedent.⁴ This interpretation would be supported by the considerable attention given to the progress of this Bill in the correspondence held at Castle Howard, and the circumstantial evidence of Story's Journal concerning Carlisle's sympathy for the Quakers' predicament. Story spells out the Quaker case in his account of the meeting he had with the Earl of Carlisle in London in 1718.⁵ The following is part:

¹ *nolumus* - "We are not willing". Technically the appointment of a Bishop followed an election by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of the Diocese concerned. This process, however, was controlled by the Crown, which issued two documents: one the *Congé d'elire* or "Permission to elect" and the second an instruction to elect no-one other than the Crown's nominee, under pain of *Praemunire*, (an ancient Statute which threatened forfeiture of goods, etc. for a form of treason in refusing to acknowledge the sovereign authority of the Crown in its own realm). *Volumus* - "We are willing" prefaced the acceptance of the royal nomination. A *Nolumus* - though a legal possibility - would be novel in practice: Sir Thomas's point.

² *those in black* "clergy".

³ HMC Carlisle Papers, p. 131.

⁴ The established Church's claims are ably set out (by implication) by Story himself overleaf: p.324.

⁵ Story, *Journal*, pp 619-20. For other expressions of support for the Quakers see Story pp. 659-61 (quoted in Chapter 4) and pp. 679-81.

“Now, said he [Carlisle], you say something; which, as you say, may bear some further Consideration: and I know some of your People have suffered by exorbitant Fees; for, as Complaint has been made to me, I have relieved Several on that Account: But, pray, on this Occasion, upon what Ground do you refuse to pay Tythes; were they not commanded of GOD?”

“We do not deny but that they were commanded of GOD; but they were made payable to the Tribe of Levi, and located in the Land of Canaan only, a Country at the Head of the Mediterranean Sea, in Asia; but, by the Coming of CHRIST, there is an End of that Law by which Tythes were given, and an End of that Tribe, (though your Clergy still pray for themselves under that Name, the better to insinuate their pretended Right) and the Land itself where they were payable, now in the Hands of the Turks; so that, the Reason of the Thing failing, the Thing itself also fails: And since GOD, by the Death of his Son, the great High Priest and Bishop of the Soul, hath rejected that Tribe, and that Service, and established a new one, to whom he hath said, Freely ye have received, freely give; we do not find he hath impowered any of the Princes of the Gentiles to assign any Maintenance for his Ministers: but as they have been deceived by the Subtilty of the Craft to impose upon Mankind by Laws on that Account, so by that Wisdom. which, in due Time, will arise among them, they will yet be instrumental to undo what they have done, and leave Religion and the Gospel upon its own Bottom; which needs no other Helper than its own Author, or Maintenance for its Ministers, but what itself commands; and they are really such as labour with all their Might to make the Gospel they preach without Charge: So far are they from destroying the People for the Maintenance of their Bodies, that they have no other Reason or Inducement for what they do, but Obedience to the Calling of GOD, and the Good of Souls; whereas the End of Hirelings, though supported by Law, is their own Bellies.”

Less well-known, but possible as a defining issue for Carlisle, was the legislation being proposed for the Reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts – about which we know most through the Bishop of London, Edmund Gibson’s, robust opposition to any alteration in the Church of England’s constitution and privileges.¹ The relevance of the Mosaic precedent was just as critical in this as it was in the associated problems of Toleration of Dissent and a practical and theoretical model for “constitutional” as opposed to absolute monarchy. Writing of another meeting with Carlisle in 1732,

Story relates:

¹ Edmund Gibson, *Remarks on a Bill Now Depending in Parliament, for the better Regulating the Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts, By a Right Reverend Prelate, to which is added as ABSTRACT of the said Bill; whereby the Reader may the better judge of the Force of his L-----p’s Objections* (London: Printed for G. Sumtor in Fetter-Lane, near Clifford’s Inn, 1733)

On the 5th I called at Castle-Howard, and dined with the Earl of Carlisle and his Family; the Lord Cornbury being likewise there. About the Conclusion of our Dinner, the Earl, in a frank Manner, moved some Discourse about the Ceremonies of the National Church, and asked me if we would join with them, in case they would lay aside the Surplice and Sign of the Cross in Baptism?

I answered, “Lay these Things aside, and then we’ll confer with you about the rest.”

Then said the Earl, “These Things are in no way essential to Religion, and may well be spared; and we have no Foundation in Scripture for them, and some other Things we use.”

Then said his Chaplain, “Things innocent in their own Nature may be enjoined by the Church and the Legislature; and thence arises a Duty to Obedience.”

The Earl replied, “That whatever is invented and imposed by Man, in Matters of Religion, more than what was ordained by CHRIST, and taught by him and by his Apostles, is vicious, and ought not to be regarded;” (O noble Confession!) and dismissed his Chaplain with a Frown, whilst I was asking him this Question, “When and where did the LORD JESUS ever give Power to any temporal Prince or State, to add, alter, or diminish, the Religion he himself hath established on the Earth? Is not he all-sufficient in himself for that, without the Direction, Concurrence, or Aid of any other Power, since all Power in Heaven and Earth is given unto him?”

The Chaplain departing the Room muttering, I requested Liberty of the Earl for a few Words further [...] ¹

Less directly related to the question of Moses, but evident in Carlisle’s writings, is the problem of defining membership of the Christian community. Historically he seems strongly influenced by John Locke; but more recent works by his own kinsman, Sir Robert Howard, by Anthony Collins, Locke’s protégé, and particularly an anonymous pamphlet on the nature of heresy published in 1731,² kept these issues alive among the interested parties throughout this period. Naturally, given that there is no “final” text there is no necessity to isolate any one of these issues for particular – still less exclusive - attention. Instead it becomes quite possible to think

¹ Story, *Journal*, pp.679-80.

² *A Dissertation on the Nature of Heresy. By a Lover of Truth and Peace* (London: Printed for JOHN GRAY, at the Cross Keys in the Poultry, M.DCC.XXXI.)

that all were relevant to the author's thinking as it expressed itself in a number of different ways in these papers. Clearly some of these issues appear especially focussed in the years 1734-1736, and it may well be that the "Fair Copy" is particularly related to Walpole's "sensible pamphlet". Even so, the satisfaction of matching a specific set of manuscripts with a specific letter, author and date should not be allowed to obscure their more general relevance. The interest of these manuscripts lies, ultimately, in the diversity of their application.

The *Essay* opens with two propositions which the author believes will not be questioned. The first asserts that the universe and everything it contains was created by an Almighty Spirit; the second that mankind is "the most perfect and sagacious of ye created Beings". These two propositions have something of the force of Descartes' *Cogito ergo sum*, the bedrock of his argument, appealing to a consensus that regarded further questioning unnecessary. Attached to the first proposition is the rider "but to what end, or for what purpose this Almighty Spirit has created ye Universe is in my opinion beyond ye capacity and knowledg of Man to assign".¹

These propositions establish the philosophical parameters within which Carlisle can hold intelligent debate. It is not worth discussing the existence of the basis on which our own is grounded, or our ability to reflect on our place within creation. What may not be taken for granted is any assumption of Man about God's purposes in creation. Apparently straightforward, this last proposition reverses the tradition of natural theology which maintained that Man could gain an understanding of God and his

¹ See the discussion on *prisca religio* [ancient religion] in J. A. I. Champion *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and its Enemies, 1660-1730* (Cambridge: University Press, 1992), pp.133-69. The references to Sir Robert Howard on pp.137-40 are especially relevant to Carlisle, since they were related, and Carlisle possessed many of his works.

purposes through his self-disclosure in creation. This school of thought had been systematised by Aquinas,¹ and would be further urged later on in the eighteenth century by William Paley² and others. Instead, Carlisle proposes this: Man can know nothing of God's purposes – unless God makes them known by “special revelation”. Inevitably the question is then raised of the reliability of revelation, and any certainty which might properly be attached to such claims. Allowing the theoretical possibility of revelation, Carlisle proceeds to assert instances where such claims had been used to legitimize authority over a credulous populace. These Carlisle regards as fraudulent and cynical abuses, unworthy of credit through the transparent self-interest of those making them.

From these dissuasive precedents Carlisle moves immediately to the one revelation he regards credible – that found in Christ. Christ warns of the danger of false prophets, and proclaims his own regime – a “kingdom not of this world” – in moral and practical precepts calculated to bring man “happyness” and immortality. This programme is sharply contrasted with the fraudulent claims of the “false prophets” and further authenticated by the fact that Christ himself derived no personal benefit from his preaching, but rather the very reverse.

Surprisingly Carlisle describes this as a “long digression”³ from his intended discussion – and moves into another where he rails against clergy claiming a monopoly in interpreting scripture – God's self-disclosure. He protests at clerical

¹ Aquinas *Summa Theologica* 1a, i, 1; & 1a, xii, 12. Summarised in *St Thomas Aquinas: Philosophical Texts* Selected & translated with notes by Thomas Gilby, 4th Impression (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 32 and 87.

² William Paley *Evidences of Christianity* (London: Richardson, 1821) culminating at pp. 451-52.

³ “Digressions” seem to be almost as characteristic of the author's style as they are in Swift's *Tale of a Tub*. So far from being asides, they appear to carry much of the weight of the argument.

attempts to enlarge their office, denying that they have any function other than “performing all Religious dutys for ye service of ye Communities to which they belong” implying that their authority is derived from “appointment by our laws”. The attempts of the established Church to extend its powers are compared with the deliberate obscurantism of “ye Pagan priests” – scarcely to the advantage of the Church, and ascribed to unworthy worldly motives. Only “preaching and exhortations” to moral behaviour are necessary: attempts to exercise control over private beliefs, sincerely held and not contravening principles of morality are unwarranted.

After this second digression, Carlisle resumes his main theme by condemning clergy for presuming knowledge of divine intention in creation, manifested by their reliance on the precedent of Moses and his claims to authentication by divine revelation and miraculous intervention. At this point he enunciates some basic rules by which the credibility of miracles and revelation might be tested. The argument is one that would have been familiar through a reading of Hobbes¹ and Locke² certainly, but fundamentally not very different from a view Aquinas³ had expressed. Since the purposes of God are expressed in order rather than chaos; and since God has given Man the capacity to know him through the natural order in the use of his reason, then any revelation which implied a denial of God’s moral demands, or ran contrary to reason, was inadmissible. But, providing it did not deny, but affirmed reason and morality, the genuineness of the revelation or miracle, though not guaranteed, was possible.

¹ Hobbes *Leviathan*, edited by R Tuck (Cambridge New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996) pp. 255-59.

² Locke *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* XVIII, Sect. 5-9, abridged and edited by A D Woozley (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1964), pp. 425-26.

³ Aquinas *De unitate Intellectus contra Averroistas* in *Philosophical Texts*, pp. 30-31.

Here Carlisle tests the biblical record of Moses against these criteria, and finds it grievously wanting. In the first place he raises the moral objection that Moses portrays God subject to frailties even greater than those known to Man. He is portrayed as “jealous, inconstant and revengefull” - quite impossible “attribuits of a perfect Being”. Allowing for arguments that might have been advanced by contemporary exegesis - that Moses was obliged to present God’s commands in a form suited to the moral perceptions of a barely-civilised tribe - Carlisle condemns Moses on the second ground that – if so – he had failed to “faithfully, & literally” deliver the commands he had received from God.

Carlisle next questions the credibility of Moses’ history, examining the account of his own death and “burial in a sepulchre unknown unto this day.”¹ This rather arcane argument is that if the bible is taken as the literal expression of God’s word and will, then one demonstrable impossibility undermines the veracity of the whole. This argument is supported by the inconsistencies in the account of Moses’ miracles before Pharaoh. If God had power to suspend natural law and allow these miracles to take place, it was inconsistent to allow Pharaoh’s magicians to work identical miracles, undermining Moses’ claim to represent the Almighty. Doubt concerning part of an account discredits the whole.

The final argument urged is the *cui bono* motive Moses had in claiming divine authentication. Carlisle asserts that Moses did this to “raise his own power” over the Israelites. Though at first he may have considered his subjects’ welfare before his

¹ This was hardly original. Indeed, Spinoza had made the same objection (and many more besides) to the authenticity of Moses’ authorship of the Pentateuch in Chapter VIII of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* published in 1670. Carlisle is unusual in drawing from this the conclusion that Moses was a charlatan.

own family, “when he found himself well establish’d, & his authority submitted to, it will appear, yt he acted quite otherwise”. At this point the essay ends. As Saumarez Smith puts it:

The Essay finishes thus as abruptly as it begins, its purpose and implications unexplained. What are we to make of this, a peer of the realm undermining the authority of the established church and indulging in complex and heterodox theological speculation?¹

This question invites answers at different levels. First, is the Essay complete? The manuscript evidence suggests it. The fair text, together with M91, makes it certain that the formal argument ends with an appeal to the evidence of Moses’ later behaviour. (It is just possible that an additional sentence at the bottom of M91 might suggest a slightly different ending. Even so, the *Essay* would still end on the same negative note.) There are references in the other manuscripts which throw further light on this, but these matters will be considered later. Granted the *Essay* is read as Carlisle intended, the distinctly odd structure should prove more an important clue to its interpretation than a barrier. It seems strange to follow Christ’s genuine revelation of God with a denunciation of Moses. But this is presumably the point: given Christ’s revelation of a Kingdom not of this world to be the one genuine revelation on which Man might trust, any reliance on Moses by those presuming to speak in Christ’s name is entirely retrograde. The denunciation of Moses is inextricably linked with the denunciation of a clerical caste which assumed the right to determine individual belief in the interests of consolidating their own temporal and spiritual power.

¹ BCH p. 163.

As Gerald Cragg points out,¹ such issues as these were part of a Deist agenda which expressed itself in two stages:

In the first, the debate concerns nature, reason, and the degree to which Christianity offers anything not latent in either or both. In the second the issue at stake was the historical proof of the genuineness of the Christian records. [...] At the height of the controversy there can be no doubt that it attracted considerable attention. It was designed to appeal to the man of average education. The more cultivated Deists wrote in the easy style that coffee house standards prescribed. Their material was often superficial but it was usually readable. This had advantages. Theology could not afford to be abstract; it was compelled to be intelligible. Deism was raising the kind of questions that the common man is likely to ask; the answers therefore had to be addressed to him. Though the Deists were not a large group, and never formed a party in any formal sense, it was clear that they appealed to an extensive reading public. Hence their works elicited a large number of replies. One of Collins' pamphlets inspired thirty-five answers, Tindall's *Christianity as Old as the Creation* at least one hundred and fifty. For a couple of decades (1720-40) the interest in the debate was intense. Then it suddenly waned.²

This quotation sets Carlisle's *Essay* firmly within the contemporary framework of the "Deist" debate – but there are several points about it which defy too facile a categorisation. The first is the use of Moses in the argument. The climax and conclusion of the *Essay* is his discrediting. This is hardly a point of biblical scholarship or interpretation, but must relate to something of greater significance. Indeed it does. Carlisle may have been dependant on Hobbes' *Leviathan*.³ But this dependence was in no sense slavish: whereas Hobbes' theory of social contract is grounded in the Israelites' confirmation of Moses as their ruler in the wilderness,⁴ this is the point Carlisle expressly and effectively refutes. This point is made more clearly in M91 where in the additional note at the top he writes "notwithstanding they often murmur'd against him and directly told him yt they wish'd he had not brought them out of Egypt which shews yt they were not desirous to leave & yt they

¹ G.R. Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason 1648-1789* (London: Harmondsworth, 1960), p.160.

² *ibid.* p.161.

³ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p.82.

⁴ *ibid.* pp.79 & 324.

did not appoint him their governour”. If Hobbes was wrong, and if Moses was not a legitimate “type” of sovereignty, then much of Hobbes’ theory of government is called into question.¹

The authenticity of the Mosaic account is called into question to refute the claim that monarchy is the only form of government with divine sanction or that monarchy required no further legitimization. Carlisle’s position as head of a family whose ennoblement was Cromwellian in origin (although legitimized and enhanced at the Restoration) suggests he had greater reason to refute the claims of absolute monarchy than the majority of Whig aristocracy. Nevertheless, he would not wish to deny rights of hereditary succession – for that would compromise his own title and estates. His solution was to deny the absolutist position based on the Mosaic precedent, but to recognize the claims of a hereditary monarchy subject to parliamentary limitations, legitimized not by divine sanction but by social contract. In this way it could be consistently argued that Charles I lost his right to rule, that Cromwell’s government had at least a *de facto* legitimacy: that James II lost his right to rule in 1688, but that the rule of William and Mary, Anne and the Hanoverians was *de jure* – not simply *de facto*. Whether any government was *de jure divino* in Carlisle’s view may be uncertain, but his pragmatic view that its social and practical utility “should not be controverted”² is suggestive: for Carlisle the Pauline view that “the powers that be are ordained of God”³ was no exclusive preserve of absolute monarchists.

¹ The author proposes a more “Lockean” form of Social Contract elsewhere. See M38.

² See *Man and Nature*, [M38]. *cf.* Peter Harrison, “Religion” and the Religions in the English Enlightenment (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 95-96.

³ Romans 13.1.

As a child of the Restoration, and as a young man in the “Glorious Revolution,” Carlisle had a personal stake in such issues. His father taken an important, though not a leading, part in William III’s Accession, and his wife was the daughter of a leading Whig family who had suffered much in the cause of restraining Stuart absolutist ambitions. His early library acquisitions (designated by his bookplate “3EC”) show that he possessed the 1698 *Discourses on Government* by Algernon Sidney (the manuscript provided determinative evidence for its author’s condemnation and execution in 1683) and historical works by his kinsman, Sir Robert Howard, in his 1690 *History of the Reigns of Edward and Richard II*. An older book, but pursuing similar political ideas, was also on his shelves, William Sanderson’s 1656 *Compleat History of the lives and Reigns of Mary, Queen of Scotland and of her Son James VI King of Scotland*. Intellectually much of what Carlisle had imbibed originated in Hobbes, Hooker, Locke and those of similar eminence: but probably these lesser lights shone more brightly for Carlisle – not least for the family links which existed between them, and the price paid by some for their religious and political convictions. The implications of Carlisle’s arguments would have been readily understood in the 1730s. In his opinion the traditional alliance between the Jacobite cause and the Church of England was both theologically and philosophically illegitimate.¹ One difficulty lay in a theory of government which was quite inappropriate in post-1689 Britain:² another was the continued attempt of the Church of England to exert an *imperium in imperio* in claiming jurisdiction in matters of faith. He therefore restricts the legitimate activities of the ordained

¹ Paul Kleber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English people 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), studies the survival of this alliance in Chapter 5: paradoxically he demonstrates the advance of “Whiggish” convictions in the early Hanoverian Church. (pp 120-21).

² This is not to fall into the “Whiggish teleological” trap of J. C. D. Clark’s *Revolution and Rebellion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p.10. Rather, as the same author points out, *op. cit.* p.3., Carlisle as a Whig “used the term [Revolution] of 1688 to signify the repair of the constitution after James II’s innovatory tyranny.”

ministry to “preaching & exhortations setting forth ye necessity of a true Christian life, & by shewing to Man of what infinite benefit it is to him strictly to perform all moral dutys...” Sacramental actions are somewhat loosely covered by the reference to their “being appointed by our laws to perform all Religious dutys for ye service of ye Communities to which they belong”. This laboured expression is carefully considered, for it precludes ecclesiastical authority intruding into the constitution of Church and State. Here Carlisle distances himself from both Hobbes and Locke. Hobbes contemplated a church under the control of a magistrate who decided and enforced matters of faith and practice for the State.¹ Consequently Hobbes envisaged liberty of a kind – liberty from any specifically ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so that any might preach or celebrate the sacraments² – but a liberty which could only extend so far as the magistrate allowed. Locke, however, advocated universal liberty of conscience, with ecclesiastical jurisdiction expressly reduced to the level of rules of any voluntary society. Since for Locke the ruler guaranteed the freedom and liberties of all, there could be no “established” religion or a priesthood exercising religious power through State machinery.³

Carlisle suggests another possibility in which Hobbes’ concept of a comprehensive, national Church subject to the authority of the ruler under God is combined with Locke’s ideas of individual liberty. The difficulties are obvious – but whether greater than those implicit in Hobbes and Locke is questionable. In their writings success depends on either a godly magistrate or a godly people. In Carlisle’s thinking the arrangement depends on that common perception of Man’s participation in a

¹ Hobbes, p. 372.

² *ibid.* p. 472.

³ John Locke, *True end of Civil Government*, 2nd Treatise, in *Social Contract*, ed. Barker (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp.108-09.

Universe created by an Almighty Spirit and a maximum of personal freedom in matters of faith exercised within minimum constraints. His opening propositions are not simply those he sees no necessity to labour, but key ingredients in his understanding of human existence. The Church is an organ of State, appointed by its laws, not to coerce, but to inform and persuade all to the observance of those moral duties on which the fabric of society depends. As an exposition of political theory these pages are lightweight compared with the considerable detail and massive learning of Hobbes and Locke. But they form a lucid description of the pragmatic ecclesiology of the Hanoverian, Erastian and Latitudinarian Church: maximum liberty of conscience subjected to State control exercised within a framework of moral consensus.

But just how radical was Carlisle? The 1730s brought a freedom of expression inconceivable in the 1680s, but even so the spectacle of a Privy Councillor, Lord Lieutenant and former First Commissioner of the Treasury openly espousing controversial political and religious opinions seems somewhat surprising. Yet in court circles there was a considerable interest in the speculative theology of Dr Samuel Clarke (Rector of St James, Westminster) and Benjamin Hoadly (Bishop successively of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury and Winchester) – an interest which was certainly encouraged by George II's Queen, Caroline of Brunswick. Such a theological stance might be readily understood as a natural reaction against the supposed traditionalist, Jacobite, Tory and High-Church sympathies of many Church of England clergy. Despite Queen Anne's known adherence to a traditionalist Church of England and Tory politics, the legacy of James II's aggressive Roman Catholicism and the Revolution of 1688 was to be expressed in the Calvinism of

William III and the Lutheranism of the Hanoverians. Given this background it can be argued that Carlisle is more cautious than might appear. For example, he does not introduce his references to Hermes, Aeneas or the Roman kings until a fairly late stage in the composition of the *Essay*, in a passage influenced by Hobbes' *Leviathan*. But immediately after this he introduces a lengthy reference to the Sibylline oracles which has nothing to do with Hobbes. We cannot know, but may suspect that this was done because there was an implication in Hobbes with which Carlisle felt uncomfortable. Anyone who shared his classical interests would know that the Roman kings were forcibly ejected in favour of the Republic. Therefore citing Aeneas, Romulus and Numa Pompilius¹ as examples of an abuse of trust in assuming divine authority could be seen as condemning monarchy itself. But the Sibylline oracles were consulted by all Roman governments throughout history, whether monarchical, republican or imperial; and their introduction at this point underlines the point that such abuse is not limited to any particular form of government. Thus Carlisle is not opposed to monarchy *per se*.

This is confirmed by the manuscript evidence of M80, bearing an authorial page-number indicating greater authority than a draft. Moses' "deficiencies in title" are spelt out: "originally he had no legal authority over ye People he govern'd by any consent or act of theirs, or from any hereditary right of his own." Carlisle could scarcely write this unless he believed heredity could confer some right of title. It would appear that Carlisle envisaged exactly the kind of "mixed" title that the Hanoverian House enjoyed from 1714.

¹ Carlisle distances himself from contemporary Freethinkers here. Romulus and Numa Pompilius were commonly celebrated as exemplary rulers. (See Champion, *Pillars*, pp. 188-90, 196, 198, 206.) Carlisle, however, speaks of them "deluding" their people [M3].

In religious matters it may be demonstrated that Carlisle was more orthodox than some of his utterances – and later norms – suggest. Religious opinion was in a state of flux, and Hoadly and Clarke especially had widened debate within the established Church to an unprecedented degree. Carlisle’s minimizing the authority of the Church itself, both as an organization with an intrinsic jurisdiction, or with authority to determine faith and belief was in no way unusual. Many championed liberty of conscience and private interpretation of scripture within the broadest framework of a still “national” church. This was not only an obvious, but intellectually and politically expedient response to the exaggerated claims of the Lower House of Convocation¹ in earlier years.²

Carlisle shares with others of his age a strained concept of Christ’s divinity. To be sure, there is a moving passage where he writes of Christ’s sufferings, and concludes “Such an Act speaks itself, surely it declares a divine Spirit [...] therefore ye Author of this great work must have supported therein, must have been empower’d to go through with it by a spirit from God.” This is not unlike the twentieth-century approach of D M Baillie,³ where Christ is seen to be so filled with divine love that language which defines his nature in terms of that divinity becomes appropriate. Both approaches fall short of the Trinitarian faith of the Athanasian Creed. Since

¹ “Convocation” was the name of the gathering of Bishops and representatives of the Clergy which had originally met as a quasi “Estate of the Realm” to vote on taxation. The “Lower House” was the body which represented the clergy under the dignity of a bishop, and had become noted for its aggressive “high-Church” views in opposition to the increasingly “latitudinarian” views of the Bishops. Convocation was suspended by royal writ in 1717 in response to the Lower House’s intentions to proceed against Hoadly for heresy.

² From the publication of the *Letter to a Convocation Man* in 1697, Francis Atterbury developed ideas that equated the Lower House of Convocation to the House of Commons. These were opposed by Archbishop Wake and Edmund Gibson on historical and constitutional grounds. Cf. George Every, *The High Church Party, 1688-1718* (London: SPCK, 1956), pp. 83-104.

³ D M Baillie, *God was in Christ: an essay on incarnation and atonement* (London: Faber, 1951)

Clarke's *Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712) questioned the scriptural basis of this, it seems unfair to judge Carlisle by narrower standards.

It is interesting to note the way these manuscripts reflect Carlisle's changing (but scarcely developing) ideas about Redemption. We read in M50:

ye arguments urg'd in favour of ye Christian Religion ... are these, yt ye Deity from his great love & affection to Man, after Man's folly & disobedience had brought destruction upon himself & his posterity, was pleas'd to work out Man's Redemption in a most extraordinary, yet uncomplicated¹ manner, was pleas'd to restore him again to his favour upon certain terms & conditions...

This seems to have been deliberately written to minimize the involvement of Christ as Saviour and Redeemer. Even this attenuated soteriology is reduced in manuscripts where Christ's role is characteristically that of a moral exemplar and guide. So, M8 & M9:

He knew yt there was an Immortality, & declar'd it to Man. He knew how much more preferable of how much greater consequence it was to Man to procure happyness in yt immortal state than to seek it here upon Earth, where ye wisest of men could not find it; he knew ye means by which it might be procur'd, & declar'd them to Man by ye laws he gave him to walk by ...

Carlisle's final concept of salvation may have one biblical text to support it – in part – where, in 1 John 3.2 & 3, we read:

Beloved, we are God's children now; it does not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when he appears we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is. And everyone who thus hopes in him purifies himself as he is pure.

But his version of it seems distinctly Pelagian,² where he speaks of Christ's laws:

so excellent in themselves, so justly calculated for ye government of Man's passions, & by yt means so conducive to ye general good of all Societies, tending so directly towards rendering Man a perfect Being, yt if duly observ'd will cause ye human nature not only to approach, but to equal, ye divine nature.

¹ "yet uncomplicated" is an interlinear gloss. The earlier reading of "uncomplicated" is tentative.

² Pelagius (Fifth Century AD) taught, against Augustine's insistence on the sovereignty of Divine grace, that man was still able to contribute towards his own salvation. Pelagius' views were judged heretical.

Either that, or possibly Quaker ideas about the indwelling “Divine seed” had taken root in his thinking – which, given his friendship with Story (a leading Quaker) and the emergence of a distinct Quaker culture and presence in York, must remain a distinct possibility.¹ Yet it is quite possible that the author himself was aware of this Pelagian tendency because he makes a deletion at the top of M64. He had originally written:

[...] by ye rules & laws he gave them to walk by he therefore put it wholly into Man’s power to work out his own salvation & his eternal happyness, & Man is answerable to himself alone if he dos not procure it.

Textual evidence suggests that for the author the moral emphasis given to concepts of salvation served at one and the same time to demonstrate both the “divine nature” of Christ and the destiny of Man, who fulfilling the moral code, “may partake of a divine nature”. The last paragraph of M65, plainly unconnected with the preceding paragraph, and probably, therefore, a later jotting for a later “fair” copy runs as follows:

laws so excellent in themselves, tending so directly towards ye rendering him a perfect Being, so justly calculated for ye government of ye passions, yt if duly observ’d, will cause Man’s nature in some degree to approach ye divine, therefore not unreasonable to suppose yt they dirive their original from a divine power.

This passage reappears substantially in the “fair” copy at the top of M9, but with the significant addition that they are “so conducive to the general good of all Societies”. This suggestion that salvation and redemption have a corporate as well as individual dimension is borne out in other places in these manuscripts, notably M37& M59 - indicative of a general “collective” approach of the age.

¹ Story gives details of two visits to Castle Howard: 1725 & 1732. Henry Hyde (1710-53), was the Lord Cornbury present in 1732. His mother, Jane, a Capel, had died in 1725. He and Carlisle were therefore related by marriage – Anne Capel being Carlisle’s wife. (BCH references on p.166 and index [Edward Hyde] are misleading) More important, in neither account does Story claim more than Carlisle’s interest and goodwill. Carlisle is quite clearly speaking from the “establishment” and a commitment to a “National Church”. (Story, *Journal*, pp.659 & 679-81)

The supplementary *Essays* were directly related originally to the main subject of the Essay. That they were not embodied in the final “fair” version may be seen as the inevitable consequence of a structure which seems to proceed by a series of digressions rather than formal argumentative development. Their existence is therefore almost more interesting for their exclusion. The first, which bears the editorial title *Man & Nature*, is a developed digression which examines Man’s relationship to his environment, and questions the accepted, biblical doctrine of Man’s sovereignty over creation. The argument is best seen against the contemporary advance in Man’s understanding of his environment, where advances in astronomy demonstrated that neither Man nor Earth were at the centre of the Universe. This being granted, is it not intellectually presumptuous to claim, on the basis of a relative mastery of some small part of a subsidiary planet, that creation was made “for” him, and that Man has some special relationship with the omnipotent Being that made it all? Not only does Carlisle doubt this, but proceeds to demonstrate that Man’s natural condition has little claim to superiority, but can only legitimately claim moral sufficiency once his own nature is tamed by the social compact of civilization. This digression is difficult to integrate with the main thrust of the “fair copy”. But it is an interesting insight of an intelligent, eighteenth-century mind into some of the intellectual consequences and possibilities brought about by the advances in human knowledge. Pope had famously written:

Know then thyself, presume not God to scan:
The proper study of mankind is Man.¹

- but such a study can only be properly advanced on the condition that Man has an appropriate understanding of his own place in creation. Of particular interest are the

¹ Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, Epistle 2, lines 1 & 2. (1733)

speculation about extra-terrestrial life on distant planets, and the awareness of Man in an aboriginal setting. Both reflect recent scientific exploration – though the first may have derived more from the speculations of Fontenelle’s *De la pluralité des mondes* (1686) than anything envisaged by Isaac Newton; while the second is a consequence of the large literature concerning European exploration over the previous two centuries.

The second, editorially entitled *God, Man and Reason*, appears to have originated as an alternative development from the same opening proposition as the *Essay*, and is represented in an extremely attenuated form in the material which precedes the passage which begins “As to ye Deity revealing his will...” – which exists as a separate fragment on M57. Its chief interest lies in its assertion of reason in religion, and especially revelation; its assertion that God normally works within, not outside, the natural order; and that the right to form a judgment on such matters is the unalienable right of the individual. There is much in these views that is reminiscent of the postscript to Locke’s *Letters on Toleration*:

Nothing in worship or discipline can be necessary to Christian communion, but what Christ our legislator or the apostles by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit have commanded in express words. In a word: he that denies not anything that the holy scriptures teach in express words, nor makes a separation upon occasion of anything that is manifestly contained in the sacred text; however he may be nick-named by any sect of Christian, and declared by some or all of them, to be utterly void of true Christianity, yet in deed and in truth this man cannot be either a Heretick or Schismatick.¹

This fragment is important for another reason. It is the only place where Carlisle spells out the “reason yt is given for the creation of the Universe & everything therein contain’d”, or his reasons for finding it inadequate. Discovering it is the Church’s teaching that the Universe was created that Man should “adore, worship &

¹ John Locke, *Letter concerning Toleration*, ed James H Tully (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1983), p.58.

sing praises” throws much in the main *Essay* into greater relief. Carlisle finds such an idea quite offensive on moral grounds, being “more suited to ye low comprehension of Man than ye character of ye Deity” – especially when contrasted with Man’s express duty to fulfil a moral agenda, for in the New Testament “our Saviour makes little mention of it, it teaches Man his duty to God, & to his neighbour – instructions of infinite more use than any thing yt can be drawn from diveing in to ye secret intentions of ye Deity” (M59 & 58) – instructions “inforceing all moral dutys, by ye due observance of which Man will ever acquit himself to God & his neighbour in whatsoever station of life he may be placed” (M83).

One further comment must be made, bearing upon Carlisle’s mind if not on the interpretation of his text - the use of language reminiscent of the BCP and the Authorised Version. Carlisle does not quote sources, even when they clearly lay open before him. This use of quasi-liturgical words – such as “whatsoever station of life” (found in the Catechism closely allied to the response about Man’s duty to God and his neighbour) – reveals a mind shaped by constant exposure to Anglican liturgy. To one sharing that exposure it seems that Carlisle is more inclined to be true to the faith he had learned and practised than stating anything novel. These considerations make this material so interesting. There are many volumes of sermons dwelling on Man’s duty to God, and many tracts and pamphlets on religious and political matters. Mostly these are the writings of professionals working to known agendas. But with Carlisle we have a man of action rather than a man of letters; who had possibly achieved more in public life than his footnote in history might suggest; a man not unacquainted with the important philosophical texts of his age and the issues raised; and above all, of some independence of mind, integrity and vigour of expression.

iii

Document 15

**[ESSAY ON GOD & HIS
PROPHETS]¹**

[THE FAIR COPY]²

J8/35/15-17

TEXT

[1734?]

¹ This title was given to these pages by Judith Oppenheimer (the then Archivist at Castle Howard) in her catalogue of c1978.

² M1-M29. These are the pages which carry authorial numbering at the head of each Quarto page.

[M1 f]¹ (1) That a Supreme Being has created this Universe, & all things therein contain'd, is (I presume) admitted by all men, but to what end, or for what purpose this almighty Spirit has created ye Universe is in my opinion beyond ye capacity & knowledg of Man to assign.

That Man is ye most perfect, & ye most sagacious of ye created Beings must be allow'd, but notwithstanding, it seems highly unreasonable to imagine, it is I think, morally impossible for Man to know, therefore not a little presuming in him to assert, yt ye Almighty created ye Universe for this or for yt end or purpose,² unless it is granted, yt yt Being reveal'd his intentions to Man, yt he declar'd to him ye cause, and ye reason why he created ye same, and yt it was for ye purposes yt Man now assigns.

As to ye Deity's revealing his Will to Man, whither it be in dreams or by visions,³ by a special messenger or by discourse⁴ or by any other means whatsoever, still it is Man, yt gives ye account, it is Man yt publishes to ye world, yt ye Deity communicated his Will to him by some one, or other of these means, [M2]⁵ (2) therefore as Man is not infallible, as he is subject to human frailties, & too frequently govern'd by his passions, & interest, ye truth of what Man has asserted upon such occasions, has ever been more, or less question'd,

¹ M1-M4 are formed by one folded foolscap sheet. The CH J8/35/15 Catalogue mark is shown at the top of M1. A darkening on the LH side of the page suggests further folding and storage in mild damp.

² The content of this alleged "end or purpose" is defined in *God, Man & Reason*.

³ Joel 2.28. "Your old men shall dream dreams; your young men shall see visions". Also, Hobbes' *Leviathan*, pp. 17-18, and 293, uses a similar conjunction of "dreams & visions" as a possible vehicle of divine knowledge in close proximity to his treatment of fairies and witches. This, with the rather different treatment of Moses suggests that, while the author was certainly well acquainted with Hobbes' work, his views were markedly his own.

⁴ *or by discourse* An interlinear addition. The original *or* after *visions* has been deleted.

⁵ An additional J8/35/15 mark has been added at the top RH margin of this page.

has been, or not been beleiv'd as it did or did not apparently tend to answer some views, or interest of his own.

The Christian Religion stands upon this Foundation, it declares, yt God's Will was reveal'd to Man by a special messenger, & I think it may be made by many strong & undeniable¹ arguments yt yt messenger had a commission from God; but it must be confess'd at ye same time yt all ye Religions yt have hitherto appear'd in ye World, have ever pretended to ye same, in some shape or other; & ye reason thereof is plain,² because ye Lawgiver or Founder of any Religion may reasonably expect a more ready obedience will be pay'd to his laws, if he can make Man believe, yt he has received them from ye Deity, yt it is his Will, yt they should be punctually obey'd, & yt he will reward those who do so,³ & punish those who do not.

Thus examine ye Pagan Governments with respect to their Institutions, & Laws & you will find, yt most of them stand upon this foundation; their Rulers⁴ [M3]⁵ (3) pretended, yt they receiv'd their directions from ye Gods, in order undoubtedly ye better to enforce ye observance of ye laws they gave their⁶ People, & it generally had it's effect.

Instances of this kind in story are many; ye wise institutions of ye Egyptian Governments dirive their Original from this source,

¹ *strong & undeniable* Interlinear addition.

² The text is highly dependent on Hobbes' *Leviathan*, p.82, from this point to *necessary to be done* at the top of M4.

³ *do so* Interlinear reinstatement, temporarily replaced by interlinear *pay obedience to them* now deleted.

⁴ *Rulers* Interlinear correction for *Lawgivers* since deleted.

⁵ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

⁶ *their* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye*.

witness, ye pretended story of Hermes;¹ ye Indian's beleiv'd, &² acknowledg'd, yt their Lawgiver Bacchus³ had a divine nature in him, & yt he sprang from their Gods. Eneas⁴ to attract a greater authority, & veneration to his Person, & to procure a more ready obedience to ye laws he gave his people when he founded his Government, pretended yt he was ye son of Venus; Romulus,⁵ yt he was ye son of Mars, & for ye same reason. Numa Pompilius⁶ deluded ye People, & brought them to give a ready obedience to his Will by pretending, yt he receiv'd his laws from ye goddess Egeria;⁷ what was ye intent, & to what purpose were ye institutions of ye several Oracles yt wee read of in ye Pagan story⁸ it plainly appears yt ye Rulers & Governours in those days made use of them to prevaile with ye People [M4]⁹ (4) to submit to¹⁰ what they thought most¹¹ proper & necessary to be done.¹²

ye Roman story¹³ is full of instances where ye Sybilline Books¹⁴ were consulted upon extraordinary occasions; but observe this,¹⁵ ye

¹ *Hermes* i.e. Hermes Trismegistus. Son of Zeus & the nymph Maia. Referred to by Clement of Alexandria as author of 42 books on Egyptian law and religion. See entry in *Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth & Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

² *beleiv'd* & Interlinear addition.

³ *Bacchus* i.e. Dionysus. Son of Zeus & Semele. Connection with India celebrated in Nonnus' epic *Dionysiaca* (c.450-70AD)

⁴ *Eneas* i.e. Aeneas. Son of Anchises & the goddess Aphrodite. A character in Homer's *Iliad* & hero of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and mythical founder of Rome. See Livy, *History of Rome* 1.1-2.

⁵ *Romulus*. Son of R(h)ea Silvia & Mars: Mythical builder & 1st King of Rome. Livy, *History*, 1.3.10ff.

⁶ *Numa Pompilius*: Legendary 2nd King of Rome. See Livy, *History*, 1.21.3, 38.1

⁷ *Egeria*. Water-goddess: Numa Pompilius' consort & advisor. See Virgil *Aeneid*. 7. 762-4, 775.

⁸ *story* Interlinear correction for deleted *Governments*.

⁹ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

¹⁰ *submit to* Interlinear correction for deleted *do*.

¹¹ *most* Interlinear addition.

¹² *to be done* Interlinear addition.

¹³ This part of the text is missing from the Mss from which the fair copy is derived. The text of the draft manuscript resumes at "The story of Mahomet surpasses all imagination[...]" M59.

¹⁴ The Sibylline Oracles reputedly dated from the time of Tarquin Superbus. Their consultation is recorded in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 4.62. and Livy, *History*, 5.13.4-5 and 12.10.9. Their abuse is recorded in Roman Antiquities 2.6 and Cicero *On Divination* 2.33.70. Updated oracles were last consulted 536/7AD.

¹⁵ *but observe this* Interlinear addition.

Senate always gave ye orders for ye consulting those Books, it is therefore¹ very natural, & reasonable to suppose, yt ye Priests,² who knew ye cheat & falacy of ye Oracles, & who were to give ye answers, gave such as they imagin'd would be ye most agreeable to those in power; nay so easy was it to prevaile upon ye Keepers of those pretended sacred Books, yt when they were consulted upon publick occasions, answers were return'd³ so calculated to serve ye views & interest of some of ye leading men in ye State,⁴ & those men gain'd ye points they contended for by such⁵ means; great was ye Superstition of ye People in those days, but yet⁶ greater was⁷ ye Knavery of ye Priests; Many other instances might be given of gross abuses of this kind impos'd upon ye people always ready to believe what they can not comprehend, by their Governours, & Lawgivers. The story of Mahomet⁸ surpasses all imagination, & is ye strongest [M5 f]⁹ (5) Proof, yt can be brought how ye nature of Man may be prevail'd upon to believe not only ye grossest absurdities, ye highest improbabilities, but even direct impossibilities, when designing, & artfull men make use of those never failing means, pretended inspirations, Revelations, & declarations of ye Will of ye Deity to bring about their ambitions, & wicked purposes.

The declaration & admonition of Christ set ye force of Revelation in ye strongest light; Christ knew perfectly ye nature of Man,¹⁰ & ye

¹ *therefore* Interlinear addition.

² *Priests* originally *Preists* but overwritten.

³ *return'd* Interlinear correction for deleted *given*.

⁴ *States* Interlinear correction for deleted *Republick*.

⁵ *such* Interlinear correction for *yt*.

⁶ *but yet* Interlinear correction for deleted *&*.

⁷ *was* Interlinear addition.

⁸ As recounted in Hobbes' *Leviathan*, p.82.

⁹ M5-M8 are formed by one folded foolscap sheet. CH Catalogue mark J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

¹⁰ St John 2.25 "[Jesus] needed not that any should testify of man: for he knew what was in man".

depth of his understanding, & he declares, yt false Christs, & false Prophets shall arise, yt they shall shew great signs, & wonders, insomuch yt (if possible) they shall deceive ye very Elect;¹ those false Christs, & false Prophets, are ye designing men I have describ'd, & ye means, yt they have, & may yet make use of to deceive Mankind, are their pretended inspirations, &² Revelations of ye Will of God.

[M6]³ (6) But least it may be objected, yt I rank ye Author of ye Christian Religion amongst ye Imposters of former ages, (out of which number he is always to be excepted,) I will offer some reasons why it is strongly occurs to me, yt Christ acted by a Commission, & power from God; why he was not a pretended, but his real messenger. I shall not lay much stress upon Christ's working of miracles, because he himself says, yt false Prophets, & men not empower'd by God have done ye same, & for yt reason out of his great affection to his people, (least they should be misled), he bids them be aware of such.⁴

As I have observ'd before, most of ye pretenders to revelation (by ye means of which they⁵ founded Kingdoms, & Empires) have formed them upon ye subjection of ye Peoples liberties; their schemes were⁶ generally calculated to serve, & promote their own interest, & they⁷ forced a submission to them by their pretended inspirations, always declaring upon such occasions, yt what [M7]⁸ (7) they directed, was

¹ St Mark 13.22 "False Christs and false prophets shall arise, and shall shew signs and wonders, to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect".

² & Interlinear addition.

³ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

⁴ St Mark 13.23 "But take ye heed: behold, I have foretold you all things".

⁵ *they* originally followed by *have*, - later deleted.

⁶ *schemes were* Interlinear corrections for ? & *been* - later deleted.

⁷ *they* was originally followed by *have* - since deleted.

⁸ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin

ye will, & ye command of ye Deity, when at ye same time it plainly appear'd to those unconcern'd¹ in those days,² & to all succeeding Ages since,³ yt what they requir'd from ye people in obedience to ye will of ye Deity, tended solely to ye raiseing their own power, & dominion & directly to ye enslaveing those people⁴ who submitted to them;

but⁵ examine into ye Christian institution, & you will find it directly otherwise there; ye Author of yt doctrine had no such views; he declares his Kingdom is not of this World,⁶ yt his People were not to expect from him honours, riches, or power; but on ye contrary, he tells them, yt those, who will follow him, those, who will be obedient to his laws, must not only refrain from gratifieing their sensual appetites, & renounce ye pleasures of this World, but must expect to suffer all manner of⁷ evil treatment, indignities, persecutions, & even death itself;⁸ ye inducements he lays before them, ye promises of rewards, yt he makes to them in order [M8]⁹ (8) to prevaile with them to observe his commandments, are of an other nature; he tells them, yt¹⁰ ye rewards, yt they should receive for all their sufferings in this life, were to be conferr'd upon them after death, a notion (if it was not altogether new) was very darkly conceiv'd in those days, &

¹ *unconcerned* i.e. with no axe to grind.

² *in those days* Interlinear addition.

³ *since* Interlinear correction for deleted *afterwards*.

⁴ *people* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *but* Originally followed by deleted *let us*.

⁶ St John 18.36 *My Kingdom is not of this world*. The text of the notorious Sermon preached by Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, before the King at Whitehall, and published in 1717. The "Bangorian Controversy" led to the production of over 200 books & pamphlets; and was thought to be the immediate cause of the suppression of Convocation, the "Parliament" of the Clergy. See p.347 n1.

⁷ A smudge or small erasure leaving a gap at the beginning of the line here may conceal a deleted word.

⁸ St Matthew 10.22 & parallels. "And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endureth to the end shall be saved". See also St John 12.25.

⁹ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

¹⁰ *yt* There is a heavy upright stroke, which could be either a blot or an intended erasure mark. As it is so unlike other erasure marks, the word is retained in this text.

most likely could not greatly influence ye mind of man;¹ What therefore could be ye intent, & purpose of yt holy Person's establishing ye Government, yt he form'd here upon earth; his transcendent goodness, his great concern for, & his ardent desire to procure happyness to mankind; there appear no views in this transaction of raising power, & dominion to ye Institutor at ye expence, & ruin of ye People. ye whole is calculated not for his, but solely for² their happyness.

He knew, yt there was an Immortality, & declar'd it to Man, he knew, how much more preferable, of how much greater consequence it was to Man to procure happyness in yt immortal state than to seek it here upon Earth,³ where ye wisest of all men could not find it; he knew ye means by which it might [M9 iv]⁴ (9) be procur'd, & declar'd them to Man by ye laws he gave him to walk by;⁵ laws so excellent in themselves, so justly calculated for ye government of Man's passions, & by yt means so conducive to ye general good of all Societies, tending so directly towards rendering Man a perfect Being, yt if duly observ'd will cause ye human nature not only to approach, but to equal ye divine, nature,⁶ therefore⁷ it is not unreasonable to

¹ Compare "Before our Saviour's time, the doctrine of a future state, though it was not wholly hid, yet it was not clearly known in the world". John Locke, *Reasonableness of Christianity* (Chicago: Gateway, 1965), p.58.

² *solely for* Interlinear addition.

³ St Matthew 6.19-21 & parallels. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth{..}". See also 1 Timothy 6.17-19 and James 5.1-3.

⁴ M9-M10 are formed by one Quarto sheet cut from an original foolscap sheet formed with M71-M72. The CH J8/35/15 catalogue mark appears in the top RH margin.

⁵ M64 originally added here *therefore he put it wholly into Man's power to work out his own salvation, & his eternal happyness, & Man is answerable to himself alone, if he dos not procure it.* Though crossed out, this remains legible, and represents a prior stage in the author's thinking.

⁶ *but to equal ye Divine nature*, originally *but to be equal to ye Divine nature* – the alteration made by two deletions. See Leviticus 19.2: "Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy". and St Matthew 5.48 and parallels: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect".

⁷ *fore of therefore* is an interlinear addition.

suppose, yt those laws dirive their original from a divine power, & were deleiver'd to Man by a Messenger sent¹ from God.²

Consider further in what³ miraculous manner⁴ (for I think I may so term it) ye Religion, yt Christ instituted has been preserv'd, & handed down to us, notwithstanding all ye seeming disadvantages, & real discouragements to ye Professors⁵ thereof, notwithstanding all ye endeavours of ye most powerfull Princes upon Earth for many ages to suppress & extinguish it, but in vain; view⁶ now its flourishing condition; what can this be oweing to, (ye power of Man, if [M10]⁷ (10) it could have prevail'd, would have destroy'd it) but ye immediate hand of God; this I think, carrys a very strong presumption, yt Christ, who was ye Founder of this Religion, acted by a commission from God.

Again but consider Christ with respect to what he suffer'd in ye execution of this commission, & I believe no story can produce an instance in human nature of so much goodness, of so great patience & forbearance, & of such fortitude; Christ for his love to Man, which surpasses all things yt human nature can conceive,⁸ (for no Man ever yet lay'd down his life for his brother, although ye most dear to him)⁹ suffer'd not only ye vilest treatment, while he was here upon earth,

¹ *sent* Interlinear addition.

² The evidence of M65 & M66 suggests a former version of the Essay ended here.

³ A deletion, now illegible, followed *what*.

⁴ *manner* Interlinear addition. The whole passage presages an argument to be used by William Paley in his *Evidences of Christianity*, pp. 362-63.

⁵ *Professors* i.e. "those who profess" i.e. "adherents" or "believers" not "those who gain their living by it" – which was a distinctively Quaker usage reflected in George Fox' *Journal*.

⁶ *view* Interlinear correction for deleted *consider*.

⁷ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

⁸ Philippians 4.7 & Blessing at end of order for Communion in the Book of Common Prayer

⁹ Conflation of St John 15.13 and 1 John 3.16: "Greater love hath no man than this [...]", "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us [...]. See also Romans 5.7 and 8.

but at last a most ignominious & cruel death; When he undertook this Commission, he knew, this would be ye consequence, he knew what he was to suffer, for upon several occasions he declar'd it,¹ he knew likewise yt for all his sufferings, he [M11 iv]² (11) should no way better his condition or reap any advantage to himself; yet³ notwithstanding voluntarily, unask'd by Man, who could plead no merit,⁴ he undertook this painfull⁵ commission for his sake in order to procure his future happyness; such an Act speaks itself; surely it declares a divine spirit; there never was, or ever will be a human nature so disinterested, yt shew'd so much goodness, & compassion, or was capable of such a performance without ye immediate assistance of a divine power, therefore ye Author of this great work must⁶ have been supported therein, must have been empower'd to go through with it by a spirit diriv'd from God;⁷ which I bring as a further confirmation of what I undertook to prove, yt ye Institutor of ye Christian Religion was not an Imposter, but a real & true Messenger from God.⁸

[M12]⁹ (12) This long digression arises from my desire, & intention to make it¹⁰ manifest to ye World,¹¹ yt I look upon ye revelations

¹ St Matthew 16.21. "From that time forth began Jesus to shew unto his disciples how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day". See also St Matthew 17.22-23; 20.17-19 and parallels.

² M11-M14 are formed by a single folded foolscap sheet. The CH catalogue J8/35/15 is in the top RH margin.

³ There is a large interlinear blot between *yet* & *notwithstanding*.

⁴ Romans 5.8 "While we were yet sinners, Christ died for us".

⁵ The *f* of *painfull* is almost obscured by a large blot.

⁶ M65 has *must be more than Man*.

⁷ 2 Corinthians 5.19. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself [...]". See also Philippians 2.6-8, Hebrews 12.2b and Colossians 1.19.

⁸ Strong evidence exists in the blank pages associated with M67-70 & M93 that a previous version of the Essay ended here.

⁹ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

¹⁰ *it* is obscured by a large blot – possibly, but not inescapably, intended as a deletion.

¹¹ This suggests that Carlisle had some intention of wider publication, though not necessarily in printed form.

deleiver'd by Christ to Man¹ to be true, & such as he receiv'd from God, & my further intention by this digression is to make it appear, (& I hope I have done so) yt numbers of² pretended Revelations have been impos'd upon Man to his great detriment, & hurt.

yet before I proceed to treat upon what I propos'd should be ye subject of this enquiry (yt Man can not possibly know for what end, or to what purpose ye supreme Being has created ye Universe) I must beg leave in order to set what I have to say hereafter upon this subject in a fuller & stronger light, by removeing an objection yt I foresee will³ undoubtedly be made to my assertion, to make an other short digression with respect to those Persons, who are appointed by our laws to perform all Religious dutys⁴ for ye service of ye Communities to which [M13]⁵ they belong; I admit yt⁶ ye appointment of such for ye due order, & regular economy of ye Church is absolutely necessary;⁷ I acknowledg likewise yt those Gentlemen may, & I do believe many of them are of great use to Mankind, by their preachings, & exhortations, seting forth ye necessity, & great advantage of a true Christian life, & by shewing to Man of what infinite benefit it is to him strictly to perform all moral dutys, than⁸ ye due performance of which nothing can⁹ contribuit

¹ Large, almost interlinear blot after *Man*.

² Blot above the *o* of *of*.

³ *I foresee will* Interlinear addition. An original *will* after *undoubtedly* has been deleted.

⁴ A distinctively Erastian or "Low" view of the ministerial office; for although the forms of religion were regulated by the State, as were appointments to various offices within the Church, "high churchmen" insisted that ordination implied authorization by Divine and not merely human ordinance.

⁵ J8/35/15 added in top RH margin. The authorial page number is unusually also in the top RH margin.

⁶ *yt* Interlinear addition.

⁷ The traditionalist criticism of Hoadly's position was that it rendered the ordained ministry essentially unnecessary.

⁸ Small deletion after *than*.

⁹ Small deletion before *can*.

more to ye good, & prosperity of all Societies in which cheifly consists Man's happyness in this life.¹

if these Gentlemen would stop here, if they would confine themselves to those usefull parts of their office, which (I think) is their sole, & whole business, (as I said before) they would be of great service & benefit to Mankind; but few of them will submit to this part of their duty soley,² or allow, yt it is all they have to do in discharge of their ministry,³ ye execution of those dutys carrys very little power with it, a point they have [M14]⁴ (14) shew'd themselves to be very fond & tenacious of, which they can in no manner & upon no occasion so effectually exert as in ye⁵ assumeing to themselves to be ye sole Expounders & Interpretors of God's will, & intentions; in pursueance of which⁶ they take upon them to declare in ye most peremptory manner, why God did this, & for what purpose he did yt, & what he further intends to do, things impossible for Man to know, unless reveal'd to him by God.

in this practice they follow ye example of their Predecessors ye Pagan Priests, only with this apparent disadvantage; ye Priests in those⁷ times kept their Oracles & sacred books wholly to themselves, ye Laity (as wee now⁸ term them⁹) were never permitted to look into, or examine them; by yt means they could more easily impose upon ye People by ye answers they thought proper to give, declareing

¹ Characteristically scant mention is made of sacramental ministry: religion is seen, primarily if not exclusively, in moralistic terms.

² *soley* – so spelt. Interlinear addition.

³ Small deletion before *ministry*, possibly originally *admi* of *administration(s)*?

⁴ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

⁵ *ye* Small blot which may or may not be intended as a deletion.

⁶ *in pursueance of which* Interlinear addition.

⁷ *those* Originally followed by *former* – since deleted.

⁸ *now* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *them* Interlinear correction for a deletion – possibly *name*?

therein¹ ye Will & ye directions of their Gods; & well they might; for ye people in those days were wholly ignorant of what those books contain'd, & from their great [M15 f]² (15) superstition (always ye companion of ignorance) they repos'd an intire belief in their Priests.

The Christian Priests act in one respect more generously, & fairly, but in other as arbitrarily, & more unfairly than ye Pagan;³ they lay before you their sacred Oracles, ye books wherein they declare⁴ yt ye Will of God is contain'd: they bid you read, examine & judg for yourself, & when Man dos so, if he differs in opinion from them, in ye meaning of those books, they declare, yt his judgment is irronious, & yt he has made a wrong & false interpretation of ye sense &⁵ meaning of ye Authors; upon all such occasions they assert, yt they are, & ought to be ye only Expounders of those sacred Oracles, & yt Man must submit his judgment in all things⁶ relateing thereunto⁷ to their superior understandings, & integrity⁸ in ye explanations they make theirown. In this I say, they act more unfairly, & I believe they themselves will own more simply,⁹ than ye Pagan Priests; first to bid¹⁰ you, to¹¹ make [M16]¹ (16) use of your reason, to tell you, you

¹ *therein* Interlinear addition.

² M15-M18 formed from one folded foolscap sheet. CH Catalogue J8?35/15 in top RH margin.

³ Much of the argument that follows is based on the presumed "right to private judgement" contained in the 39 Articles – especially Article VI *Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation*, in which "whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man" – and the pamphlet debate initiated by Anthony Collins in his *Priestcraft in perfection* of 1706 and his more fully developed *Essay on the XXth Article* of 1724. This Article forbids the exposition of "one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another" but is prefaced by a controversial statement of the Church's authority to determine matters of faith not found in the original Latin formularies .

⁴ There is a deletion before *declare*

⁵ *sense* & Interlinear addition.

⁶ *things* Interlinear addition.

⁷ *thereunto* Originally followed by *to their explanations* & - subsequently deleted.

⁸ *Integrity* here has nothing to do with the moral character of the clergy, but with the consonance of the interpretation of one part of scripture with the remainder. See Article XX *Of the Authority of the Church* supra.

⁹ *simply* i.e. "consistently"

¹⁰ *bid* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ *to* Interlinear addition. A smudge makes it difficult to tell whether or not it was later deleted.

are to judg for yourself, & when Man dos so, & differs from them, than to declare yt judgment² irronious, & contrary to ye will of God.

But if those Gentlemen would leave it here, ye case with Man would not be quite³ so bad; it is very possible yt they may⁴ interpret those holy Books trueer, & more justly than ye generality of ye Laity have done, yet if Man upon their invitations, by their directions; reads, examines, & judges afterwards of ye meaning & intention of those sacred⁵ Records according to ye best of his understanding, & agreable to his reason,⁶ although he may be mistaken in ye construction⁷ of some dark & obstruse points, yet if these ye explanation he makes⁸ of those Texts in some wherein he differs from ye Clergy, leads him not to countenance or to excuse ye commission of any immoral Act, one would think he might rest undisturb'd in ye opinion he has imbraced; these Gentlemen may pittty him, they may⁹ out of their great¹⁰ concern [M17]¹¹ (17) ¹²for Man's happyness hereafter¹³ lament his unfortunate state, but is it agreable to yt Christian charity & doctrine they profess, yt this unfortunate man should be deem'd worthy of punishment, as is generally ye case; for after ye layman has been thus invited to examine & judg for himself, if it¹⁴ happens yt¹⁵ he differs in ye sense & meaning of words, from

¹ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

² *judgement* Originally followed by the deleted *is*.

³ *quite* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *may* Originally followed by deleted *make*.

⁵ *sacred* Originally followed by deleted *Writings*.

⁶ Article VI *Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation*. supra.

⁷ *construction* Originally followed by deleted *he makes*.

⁸ *he makes* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *they may* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *great* Originally followed by deleted *charity &*.

¹¹ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

¹² Originally a deleted *they have* stood here.

¹³ *hereafter* Originally a deleted *they may* followed.

¹⁴ *it* Interlinear correction for deleted *he*.

¹⁵ *yt* Originally preceded by deleted *to*.

those infalible Expounders of God's will (as they would be thought) his opinion is condemn'd, he is denounced a Heretick, an unbeleiver & deleiver'd over to be prosecuted, & punish'd as such;¹ is not this still keeping ye power in their own hands of declareing & directing what Man is, or is not to beleive, notwithstanding ye² specious shew of leaveing him at liberty to judg for himself.

In order to make good my assertion yt Man can not possibly know ye Will & intention of ye Supreme Being unless ye same be revealed to him by yt Being, I judg'd it necessary to set forth ye inconsistancy, & presumption of ye Gentlemen I have been speaking off [M18]³(18) in assumeing to themselves to be ye sole Interpreters of those sacred Books which they tell you, they submit, (but their⁴ practice shews, yt they do not) to ye judgment of ye Layty, altho they are no where authoris'd by those books to assume such a power to themselves.

From hence they declare, yt God has revealed his Will to Moses,⁵ yt ye supreme Being condescended to acquaint his Prophet (as they term him) why, & to what end, & purpose he created ye Universe,⁶ yt God further told him, yt he had made Man in his own likeness,⁷ & what he requir'd from him;⁸ yt he had given him power over all ye liveing creatures upon ye earth, yt they all should be subservient to

¹ In the mediaeval & post-reformation Church a heretic condemned by ecclesiastical process was handed over to the secular power for punishment under the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* (last used in 1812 for the enforcement of payment of tithe).

² *ye* Interlinear correction for deleted *this*.

³ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

⁴ *their* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye*.

⁵ Exodus 3 & 4. These record the episodes of the burning bush and Moses' calling.

⁶ Genesis 1.1-25. The story of Creation, traditionally ascribed to Moses.

⁷ Genesis 1.26 & 27. "So God created man in his own image [...]"

⁸ Exodus 20.1-18. The Ten Commandments.

his will, & pleasure;¹ in short yt every thing not only this globe, & all things therein contain'd, but all ye Celestiall bodies were made solely, & only for his use;² this³ declaration of Moses of ye pretended Will of God, is ye foundation, upon which these infallible Expounders stand; from hence [M19 iv]⁴ (19) they declare ye knowledg they pretend to⁵ have of ye intention of ye supreme Being, & why he created ye Universe, & to this explanation of theirs of⁶ ye Books of Moses⁷ they require, yt Man implicately should give an intire credit.

The single consideration here, & upon which I think, ye truth or falsehood of this declaration will be made fully to appear, is to examine, whither ye Revelation publish'd by Moses to be deleiver'd to him from God, be a real, or a pretended one.

There can not be a better, or a more certain rule to trye ye truth of all Revelations, than by examineing⁸ ye doctrine & purport of ye Revelation deleiver'd; if it contains instructions for ye good conduct of Man's life, inforceing all moral duties, by ye due observance of which Man will ever acquit himself to God, & to his neighbour;⁹ if ye said Revelation enjoyns no arbitrary commands, grounded upon will

¹ Genesis 1.27-29. "Be fruitful and multiply, and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth".

² Derived from Psalm 8.3. "For I will consider thy heavens, even the work of thy fingers: the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained." (See Matthew Henry's *Commentary* for a contemporary exegesis: "We may well say 'What is man?' that thou shouldst settle the ordinances of heaven with an eye to his benefit, and that his comfort and convenience should be so consulted in the making of the lights of heaven and directing their motion!")

³ *this* Originally followed by deleted *foundat* of *foundation*.

⁴ M19-M22 formed from one folded foolscap sheet. CH Catalogue J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

⁵ *pretend to* Interlinear addition.

⁶ *of* Interlinear correction for deleted *to*.

⁷ i.e. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers & Deuteronomy – known collectively as the Pentateuch, and traditionally ascribed to Moses.

⁸ *examineing* Followed by a small deletion – possibly *into*.

⁹ Romans 13.9. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself". and Romans 13.8. "He that loveth another hath fulfilled the law".

& pleasure, & not upon reason; if it inforces no useless or un [M20]¹ (20) necessary ceremonies, which ever have been invented by ye Priests to amaze² & delude Man, if it directs nothing contradictory or inconsistant³ to ye known, & allow'd attribuits of yt Being, from whence it is suppos'd, it is diriv'd; if it is agreable in all things to reason, which must always direct Man in ye judgment he makes in these, & in all other cases whatsoever; in short if it tends solely to ye good, & happyness of ye People to whom it is declar'd, & not to ye raiseing ye power, or answering ye private veivs of those who declare it, then & in yt case such Revelation may (altho it dos not positively follow, yt is dos) proceed from God; but if on ye contrary it dos not carry these indelible Characters of a divine spirit, if it declares commands from God inconsistent with his nature, & attribuits, & repugnant to reason, if it directly tends to ye procureing power, & dominion to ye lawgiver, who denounces⁴ it, & to ye apparent injury & detriment of ye people to whom it is denounced; then with ye greatest [M21]⁵ justice, & reason it may be boldly affirm'd, for nothing can be more certain, than yt such Revelation dos not come from God.

Let us now trye ye Revelations of Moses by ye rule I have lay'd down, & from there observe whither there appear those indelible characters of a divine Spirit in ye declaration he made to ye Israelites of ye commands of God; but before I enter into a nice⁶ enquiry concerning ye commands, & laws which Moses pretended he receiv'd from God,

¹ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

² Possibly *amuse* in mss. (See transcription in BCH p165)

³ or *inconsistant* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *denounce* i.e. "announce from above – *not* "condemn"

⁵ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

⁶ *nice* - "exact" "precise" "detailed"

I think it not improper to take some notice of ye character he gives of yt supreme Being; it can not be denied, it is obvious to every one, who reads his Books, yt Moses makes God Almighty more subject to human frailties, more imperfect in his nature,¹ than his creature Man; he represents him as a jealous, inconstant, revengfull Being, subject to ye passions of anger, of love, & of hatred; upon some occasions (as it suited best with his private views,) he tells ye [M22]² (22) Israelites, yt God had chosen them to be his peculier People,³ upon others, as he found it proper & necessary, he acquaints them, yt God had declar'd to him yt it⁴ repented him of what he had done for them, & yt he would utterly destroy them from ye face of ye earth,⁵ this is declareing such inconsistencies, such partialities, so contradictory to ye attribuits of yt perfect Being, yt ye like can not be imputed to him without incurring ye horrid⁶ guilt of blasphemy.⁷

If it be urg'd, yt it was necessary for Moses to represent to ye Israilites God's justice, mercy & providence over⁸ them in these human figures, as being more comprehensive,⁹ & better adapted to their capacities, & understandings; I answer yt as it was impossible for yt Almighty Being to have declar'd his will, (if at any time he thought fit to reveal it) in such words as these, such expressions being inconsistent with his nature & attribuits, this particular alone will draw ye truth of Moses's revelations into question. at least this [M23

¹ *in his nature* Interlinear addition.

² Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

³ Exodus 19.5. *Peculier* i.e. "distinct". The word reflects Israel's unique, privileged status before God.

⁴ *it* Originally followed by deleted *had*.

⁵ Numbers 14. The story of Israel's rebellion in the Wilderness.

⁶ *horrid* Interlinear addition.

⁷ This moral objection to the Old Testament was to become one of Paine's main arguments against the validity of the scriptures in his *Age of Reason*. e.g. Part II pp. 92 & 93: "For what can be greater blasphemy than to ascribe the wickedness of man to the orders of the Almighty?"

⁸ *& providence over* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *comprehensive* i.e. "comprehensible" *OED*.

iv]¹ (23) must be acknowledg'd by his most zealous Advocates, yt Moses did not faithfully, & literally deleiver ye commands he receiv'd from God to ye people of Israel; & surely yt ought to have been done, since it appears from his own writings, wherein he says, what God has reveal'd to me, yt I declare unto you,² & in an other place he makes a Prophet of ye Lord,³ declare (when he was requir'd to curse ye People of Israel), I can neither add to, or diminish from what God has commanded me to say.⁴

An other observation may be made yt will likewise draw ye validity of Moses's writings into question; he himself gives an account of his death & burial with this remarkable passage, yt no man knoweth of his Sepulchre unto this day;⁵ it is most certain yt Moses could not write an account of his own death, & burial; ⁶ it is therefore⁷ strongly to be presum'd, yt yt passage, (wherein it is said, yt no man knoweth of his Sepulchre unto this day) must have been writ long after his [M24]⁸ (24) death,⁹ & if one thing has been added¹⁰ no body can be certain what has or has not been added throughout all his books.¹¹

I will now examine in a more particular & strict manner ye pretended Revelations of Moses, by ye means whereoff it plainly

¹ M23-M26 formed from a single folded foolscap page. CH Catalogue J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

² Deuteronomy 5.5. "I stood between the Lord and you at that time to declare to you the word of the Lord".

³ i.e. Balaam. The story is contained in Numbers Chapters 23 and 24.

⁴ Numbers 24.13. "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the commandment of the Lord, to do either good or bad of mine own mind; but what the Lord saith, that will I speak". See also Numbers 23.12 & 26.

⁵ Deuteronomy 34.1-12. The story of Moses' death and burial. v 6 "but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day".

⁶ A deleted & originally stood here.

⁷ *therefore* Interlinear addition.

⁸ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

⁹ Hobbes' point, as related by John Leland, *A View of the Principal Deistical Writers*, 4th edn (London: 1764), Vol I, p.32. (Hobbes' *Leviathan*, pp. 260-62.) But note that Hobbes does not use this as an argument for doubting the truth or authority of the scriptures, or for Moses abusing his trust.

¹⁰ A small smudge precedes *no body*.

¹¹ Again, an argument to be urged extensively by Thomas Paine in *Age of Reason*, Part II, pp. 81-85.

appears yt he usurp'd ye authority & government, yt he assumed over ye people of Israel;¹ I will begin with his miracles, which are urg'd as ye strongest proof of his divine inspiration, & commission from God. I shall repeat nothing, but what he himself reports; Moses gives an account of ye converse, yt God was pleas'd to hold with him concerning ye children of Israel; he declares to them, yt God had reveal'd to him, yt he had seen their afflictions, & had hear'd their cry,² & yt he had instructed him in what manner, & by what means he should bring them out of ye land of Egypt; in order to ye effecting thereof he is to convince Pharaoh of [M25]³ ye truth of his mission by ye power God gave him to work miracles; ye first three miracles he wrought, or Aaron by his directions, were ye turning a rod into a serpent, water into blood, & causing froggs to come up, & cover (as it is express'd) ye whole land of Egypt;⁴ Pharaoh's magicians perform'd ye same; no body will dispute but yt ye great Creator of ye Universe can alter ye natural course of things, & whenever it pleases him so to do, undoubtedly a miracle is wrought, but I beleive it will be allow'd⁵ from a long, & constant experience, which I think is a much more certain rule to judg by than from tradition, yt ye Almighty seldom, if ever interposes in yt manner in these our days, but suffers nature to⁶ operate, & take its course. all ye accounts wee have of Fairies, witches, & spirits in former times are now generally exploded, & I beleive most thinking men are of opinion, yt there

¹ M80 explains this. *originally he had no legal authority over ye People he govern'd by any consent or act of theirs, or from any hereditary right of his own. he found ye means to make an ignorant superstitious people beleive yt God had appointed him their Ruler, & from his pretended intercourse with God they implicitly submitted to his will, & by yt means he brought all his designs to bear & preserv'd his power, which ignorant, & superstitious as yt People were, they ever now, & then call'd in question.*

² Exodus 3.7. Words spoken by the Lord to Moses at the burning bush.

³ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

⁴ Exodus 7.8-15. The account of the plagues sent to persuade Pharaoh to let the Israelites leave Egypt.

⁵ *allow'd* Interlinear addition.

⁶ *to* A marginal addition.

never were any such things;¹ ye question here will be, if miracles can be wrought [M26]² (26) by any other power, than what is deriv'd from God. I suppose, it will be admitted, yt they can not; for besides ye reason of ye thing, it is expressly said, all power comes from God;³ yt being ye case, it will⁴ necessarily follow yt yt part of ye account which Moses gives of Pharaoh's magicians working these miracles must be false, for it is absurd to suppose, yt God would give Pharaoh's magicians a power to work miracles only to invalidate ye truth of ye miracles which he had empower'd Moses to perform, & especially when those very miracles were to be his credentials⁵ & his proof to Pharaoh, yt he was sent to him from God; if therefore one part of this story relateing to ye working of miracles is detected,⁶ it will naturally draw a strong suspicion upon ye other part of it, & of consequence concerning all yt Moses says of ye miracles, yt he perform'd afterwards.

[M27 f]⁷ (27) The next thing I shall take notice of,⁸ is ye use, yt Moses made of these pretended Revelations, & from thence observe, whither they carry'd yt indelible Character of a divine Spirit, seting forth ye goodness of God in communicateing to Man such instructions & commands, as tended solely to ye procureing him

¹ The last trial for witchcraft in England took place in 1717 with the prosecution of Jane Wenham. The last execution for witchcraft took place in Scotland in 1706. The Witchcraft Act of 1736 discontinued prosecutions. Hobbes' *Leviathan*, p.18, is similarly sceptical about witches; but allows that they may be properly prosecuted on the grounds of their erroneous belief and objectionable practices.

² Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

³ Romans 13.1. "For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God". See also St John 19.11.

⁴ *will* Interlinear correction for deleted *must*.

⁵ *credentials* is broken between the end of one line and the beginning of the next, with a smudge before the *als* on the second line.

⁶ M86 has *deducted*.

⁷ M27-M30 are formed from a single folded foolscap sheet, and complete the "Fair" copy. The CH Catalogue J8/35/15 stands at the top RH margin.

⁸ *of The f* is heavily blotted.

happyness, in this life, or whither they manifestly appear to be calculated for ye establishing in Moses a power, & dominion over ye People of Israel, & made use of by him upon all occasions throughout his whole History¹ for ye support, & maintenance of yt power.

When God first appear'd to Moses while he kept his Father in laws flocks,² God gave him a command as he pretended to bring his people out of ye land of bondage; this command must necessarily invest an arbitrary power in Moses to direct, command, & govern ye Israelites [M28]³ (28) as he thought fit, & must likewise (they receiving this command as a message from God),⁴ oblige & inforce ye People to submit to whatsoever he thought proper to order relating thereto; this is what Moses declar'd to ye Israelits, & to this they submitted having no other authority or motive to give credit thereto, than ye bare word of Moses; here is lay'd ye foundation & establishment of Moses's government over ye Israellites; let us see now what use he makes of ye authority he has thus usurped by means of these pretended commands.⁵

As soon as he had got quit of Pharaoh, & had conducted his numerous Host into ye wilderness, he takes upon him⁶ ye authority of a Prince; he makes laws, appoints Rulers over ye People, judges & determines all differences relateing to property & disposes, & directs

¹ *History* The only use made of the word in the "Essay": the author usually uses "story" e.g. p.356.

² Exodus 3.1 The beginning of Moses' public life.

³ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

⁴ This originally read (*as or if they receiv'd it as a command from God*). Subsequently *ing*, & *this* were added as interlinear corrections for the deleted *as if*, *'d* & *as a* and *as a message* as an interlinear addition before *from*.

⁵ M90 adds here *he establises ye Priesthood one of ye most considerable offices in ye government yt he founded in his own Family, & when some of ye elders, & cheif men of ye Israelites murmur'd thereat he declar'd to them yt God had directed him so to do.*

⁶ *him* Interlinear addition.

every thing according to his will, & pleasure.¹ for ye doing of all which,² & in order to make ye People submit ye more ready [M29]³ (29) ly to his will, he tells them from time to time yt God gave him those commands, & directions, yt they were not his laws, but God's laws, & he declares⁴ to them ye blessings, yt God denounces to those who shall observe them, & ye curses yt shall fall upon those, who shall break them.⁵

In ye beginning of his administration, till he was well fixe'd in his government, it may reasonably be suppos'd, yt he acted with great caution, yt he endeavour'd to make ye people as easy & happy, as he could, & yt he exerted his authority more for their service & good, than for ye aggrandiseing of himself, & Family; but when he found himself well establish'd, & his authority submitted to, it will appear, yt he acted quite otherwise.^{6 7}

[M30]⁸

¹ Exodus 18. & Deuteronomy 1.13-18. Brief accounts of Moses' activities in government.

² M91 adds here in a marginal note *yet notwithstanding they often murmur'd against him & directly told him yt they wish'd he had not brought them out of Egypt, which shews they were not desirous to leave, and yt they did not appoint him their governour.*

³ Additional J8/35/15 in top RH margin.

⁴ *declares* Interlinear correction for deleted *denounces*.

⁵ Deuteronomy 11.26ff. This represents the definitive "Contract" under which the Israelites are to enter the Promised Land.

⁶ This alludes to the establishment of the religious festivals and the provisions made for the Levites – the priestly caste of Aaron's family – contained primarily in Leviticus, the 3rd Book of Moses. But much of the Books of Numbers and Deuteronomy may be seen as the story of the further development of Levitical power over the lives of the Israelites. This is the author's point at the end of the Essay.

⁷ M91 adds at the bottom of the page *for ye end, from thence it may reasonably be concluded yt ye whole was a contrivance of his to get ye rule & dominion over ye Israelites.* This may just possibly be a note suggesting a more expanded ending: more probably, however, it stands as a marginal note to the bottom of M90 alongside.

⁸ M30 is completely blank.

iv

Document 16

J8/35/15-17

[ESSAY ON MAN & NATURE]¹

TEXT

[1734?]

¹ An editorial title only for M31-M40. These comprise two 4-page folded sheets and one separate, cut Quarto sheet, yielding nine pages of text.

[M31 f]¹ this digression arises from my² Judging it necessary to set³ pretended Revelations etc in a clear light, & to shew ye uses yt generally have been made of them,⁴ in order to remove ye objection⁵ yt may be drawn from thence, & given⁶ in answer to what I intend⁷ shall be ye subject⁸ of this discourse yt Man can not possibly know, for what purpose⁹ ye Supreme Being has created this Universe; I shall now proceed to give my reasons, why I think it beyond ye reach & capacity of Man to penetrate into ye Will of ye Supreme Being in any case¹⁰ whatsoever. howsoever with any authority¹¹ aside, this I admit: Man may & I suppose¹² dos guess at ye intention of ye Deity from ye nature he has formed to himself of yt being & from ye attribuits he has assign'd¹³ to him from which draws his conclusions;¹⁴ & from thence¹⁵ pretends thus to know ye will & intentions of ye supreme Being[.]¹⁶ possibly he may guess right, but I think this way of judging can not be lay'd down as a foundation for certainty[.] but¹⁷ with respect to ye present subject¹⁸ to ye Creation

¹ M31-M34 formed by one single folded foolscap sheet. CHJ8/35 Catalogue mark in top RH margin.

² These five words were later additions – presumably to effect better linkage. The first sentence makes it clear that what follows must have been previously related to the main Essay.

³ *set* - followed by an interlinear, deleted *all*.

⁴ Originally followed by deleted *which has been ye occasion of this digression*.

⁵ *objection* Interlinear correction for deleted *arguments*.

⁶ *& given* Interlinear correction for deleted *as objections*.

⁷ *intend* Interlinear addition.

⁸ *be ye subject* Interlinear correction for deleted *lay down as ye foundation & subject*. An interlinear *shall* before *be ye subject* deleted.

⁹ *for what purpose* Interlinear correction for deleted *why*.

¹⁰ *case* Interlinear correction for *respect*.

¹¹ The Manuscript [M31] is uncertain here, *Ye seting revelation* has been deleted, and *howsoever with any authority* substituted – the word *authority* however remains somewhat conjectural.

¹² *may & I suppose dos* Interlinear correction for deleted *can only*.

¹³ *assign'd* Interlinear reinstatement for deleted *assign'd* and deleted interlinear *given*.

¹⁴ *conclusions*; followed by * and a deleted interlinear *& assigns reasons for ye actions of ye Deity*.

¹⁵ An argument from experience in the style of Locke, who maintained that human conceptions are not innate in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. The author, however, anticipates Hume's criticism that mere experience of things past can afford no guarantee of certainty in every instance.

¹⁶ * *& pretends...Being[.]* Added in bottom margin to follow asterisk after *conclusions*; (See n15).

¹⁷ *but* Originally followed by deleted *I will now shew, yt*.

¹⁸ *to ye present subject* Interlinear addition.

of ye Universe Man has made in my apprehension¹ a very wrong,²
very presumptuous guess³.

I shall be freer in declareing my thoughts upon this head⁴ because I
do not [M32] find, yt Christ has made any mention of this particular
in any of his discourses[.]⁵ he had ye good & happyness of his People
only⁶ at heart,⁷ & confin'd himself to ye giveing them such⁸ laws, as
by⁹ ye observance of which they might¹⁰ infallibly attain¹¹ yt
happyness. he did not amuse them with such speculations &
matters¹² as these, which known or not known would very little
contribuit to ye rectitude of their lives;¹³ but to ye point in question.

Man very boldly, & arragantly affirms yt God created this Universe,
& all things therein contain'd for his use, yt he gave him¹⁴ ye¹⁵
command over all his fellow creatures, yt they should be subservient
to his will & pleasure, & yt he should have ye power¹⁶ of life, &
death, which power over them¹⁷ Man with out ye least remorse

¹ *in my apprehension* Interlinear addition. *my opinion* alongside has been deleted.

² *wrong*, Originally followed by deleted *guess, as well as a*.

³ *guess* Deleted in the text – presumably in error.

⁴ *head* Interlinear correction for deleted *subject*.

⁵ In contrast with his distrust of the Old Testament records, the author shews here a willingness to accept New Testament evidence – negative in this case - as authoritative.

⁶ *only* Interlinear reinstatement replacing deleted interlinear *soly*.

⁷ Originally followed by deleted *& did not*, then deleted *& ga* (of *gave*). Next *& gave* later changed to *giving* with the interlinear prefix (*&*) *confin'd himself only to ye*.

⁸ *such* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *as by* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *they might* Interlinear alteration from deleted *would*.

¹¹ *attain* Interlinear correction for deleted *procure them*.

¹² *& matters* Interlinear addition.

¹³ Almost certainly the author would be thinking here of passages like Matthew 6 – the “Sermon on the Mount” and its parallels. But compare this: “In our Saviour’s Institution there is hardly any one Thing recommended to us, that doth not directly relate to this Matter; that is not either an Instance wherein we are to express our love to God, and our Neighbour; or a Means whereby we may be furthered in the practising of these Duties[.]” M. Tindal, *Christianity as Old as Creation* (London: 1730), p. 83.

¹⁴ *him* Interlinear correction for deleted *man*.

¹⁵ *ye* Interlinear correction following deleted *ye power &*.

¹⁶ *yt they should...ye power* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye power*.

¹⁷ *power over them* Interlinear addition made below the line.

lavishly¹ makes use of either for his diversion or to indulg his² sensual appetit in a most luxurious manner, & in a most barbarous manner towards them,³ Man himself⁴ dos not only assert yt ye⁵ Animal kind was made for his use, but he goes further[,]⁶ he says yt⁷ ye Elements themselves were created for his service,⁸ & their whole productions.⁹ (do not ye beast, ye fowle, & ye fish receive equall benefit from earth, air, & water as Man dos[)]¹⁰ [M33] is not air, water & ye herb of ye field as necessary, & as¹¹ condusive to ye support of them¹² as they are to Man, & may¹³ not they claim &¹⁴ assert, yt God has been pleas'd to create all these things for their uses, since it is certain yt they can not subsist without them, & yt it is likewise as certain yt ye Deity creat'd them, & design'd yt they should subsist. this assertion of Man's is reducable I think¹⁵ to this simple point, yt as he¹⁶ by his cunning has got ye mastery of most¹⁷ ye Animal specie, he therefore affirms yt they were all¹⁸ made for his use;

let us examine how well grounded this assertion stands. I did in ye beginning of this discourse admit yt Man was ye most perfect, & ye

¹ *lavishly* The final *ly* of this is an interlinear correction, followed by a deleted *manner*. *Lavish* was originally preceded by the deleted *in ye most*. - the whole phrase underlined.

² *his* Originally followed by the deleted *appet* (of *appetite*).

³ *in...towards them* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *himself* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *ye* Originally followed by deleted *whole*.

⁶ *he goes further* Interlinear correction for deleted *likewise*.

⁷ *he says yt* Interlinear addition.

⁸ *were created...service* Interlinear addition, originally including deleted *for his (use &) service*.

⁹ Originally followed here: *ye vast variety of herbs & fruits to indulg his fast, ye like variety of flowers to please his eye, & to gratifie his sense of smelling, & whatever els* [M33] *ye Earth air or water produces was created by that great Being for his use & pleasure*. Later struck through.

¹⁰ The bracketted words stand as a marginal addition at the top of the page, but with no indication where they are to be inserted.

¹¹ *as* Marginal addition.

¹² *them* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye Animal kind*.

¹³ *may* Interlinear correction for deleted *might*.

¹⁴ *claim &* Interlinear addition.

¹⁵ *I think* Interlinear addition.

¹⁶ *he* Interlinear correction for deleted *Man*.

¹⁷ *most* Interlinear addition.

¹⁸ *all* Interlinear addition.

most sagacious of ye created Beings;¹ it is therefore² from yt knowledg & sagacity yt he has got a mastery of most of his fellow creatures, but I presume yt is no proof yt God³ made those creatures solely & purely⁴ for him.⁵

if Man makes use of yt argument, ye foxe may urge, yt ye [M34] goose was made for him, ye hawk may claim, yt ye smaller birds⁶ were made for him, & ye dolphins yt ye fish of ye sea were ordain'd to be in his power⁷ & made for his use. nay ye Lyon may say yt Man was made for him because wherever he can attack him he generally devours him[.]⁸ these creatures & numbers besides who subsist upon one & other may urge ye same with equal reason as Man dos yt ye creation was made for his use. Why [!] ye whole Creation was made for his use[?] ye whole creation was made for theirs, because these animals have got ye mastery either by their cunning or their strenth over their fellow creatures.⁹

but admiting yt¹⁰ ye creatures yt Man has got ye power over were made for his use, there are numbers of others¹¹ yt are hurtfull, & obnoxious to him, & towards¹² ye destroying of which he uses his utmost endeavours, but in vain; there are numbers of voracious

¹ A further indication of the original connection of these pages with the main "Essay".

² *therefore* Interlinear addition.

³ *God* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye Creator*

⁴ *solely & purely* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *him* Originally *his use*. *use* deleted, and the *s* of *his* changed to *m*.

⁶ *birds*, Interlinear addition, originally followed in main text by deleted *of ye air*.

⁷ *in his power* A replacement in main text following deleted *under his command*.

⁸ The whole of this sentence stands as a top margin addition to M34, and might perhaps be understood as a parenthetical gloss on the whole paragraph.

⁹ *these creatures & numbers besides...fellow Creatures*. Complex interlinear, and rhetorical, corrections for an original *they may urge for ye same reason yt Man asserts yt ye whole Creation was made for him because these animals have got ye mastery of their fellow Creatures*.

¹⁰ *yt* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ *others* Interlinear correction for deleted *Creatures*. A deleted interlinear *besides* once stood by *others*.

¹² *towards* Interlinear correction for deleted *for*.

creatures who altho they have not the force to destroy Man, yet they rob him of ye fruit of his labours & are very discouraging to him with his kind.¹ there are poisonous² herbs, & poisonous animals, yt often prove very destructive to Man, there are numbers of Insects, yt are very plaging³, & give great disturbance to Man in ye enjoyment of life, Man dos not only endeavour ye destruction of these creatures, but must naturely wish, yt they never had been⁴ created. yet God has created them, & dos provide dayly for their support⁵, & has directed for ye continuance of their specie.⁶

[M35 iv]⁷ But let us remove ye⁸ scene a little higher, & examine whither Man is more in ye right in assumeing to his sole use & service⁹ all ye Celestial Bodys, yt God has thought fit to create.¹⁰ great numbers of those are known¹¹ yt lay such a distance from our globe,¹² they don't appear to Man, they¹³ are only discoverable by ye help of microscopes¹⁴ & therefore can be of no use to him, surely¹⁵ it won't be from thence¹⁶ alledg'd, yt ye Creator has made them in vain for no end or purpose. because Man can make no use of

¹ As with a previous note [p.380 n8], this sentence stands as a later marginal addition – this time at the bottom of M34.

² Originally *poysinous* corrected by an interlinear *i* over the deleted *y* and the following *i* changed to *o*.

³ *to Man*, later deleted, originally stood here.

⁴ *had been* Interlinear correction for deleted *were*.

⁵ *support* Deletions show that this once read *subsistance & support*, then interlinear corrections, later deleted, changed this to *continuance & dayly support*.

⁶ The presumed Biblical authority for this would be Genesis 1.30. “And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to everything that creepeth upon the earth wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat”.

⁷ M35-M38 formed by a single folded foolscap sheet. Catalogue mark CHJ8/35/ in top RH margin.

⁸ *ye* This is followed by a deleted *sch* (of *scheme* ?)

⁹ *& service* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *create*. Followed by deleted *besides*.

¹¹ *those are known* Interlinear correction for deleted *Celestial Bodys*.

¹² *lay...globe* Interlinear addition after deleted second *yt*.

¹³ *they* Interlinear correction for deleted *&*.

¹⁴ *microscope* = “telescope” The current interest in astronomy was linked to the very practical business of navigation.

¹⁵ *surely* Interlinear correction for deleted *yet*.

¹⁶ *from thence* Interlinear addition.

them,¹ it is not unreasonable to suppose, yt those undescernable celestial globes are inhabited by a specie of Creatures of who's nature, & existance Man can form no conception & yet may be as perfect in their kind,² & as much ye care of ye Deity, as Man supposes himself to be.³

but seting these dark, & scarce⁴ descernable Bodies aside, let us see, whither Man⁵ can justly claim to himself⁶ ye sole use of those other celestial descernable Bodys, yt God has been pleas'd to create.

have not ye Beasts in ye field, & ye⁷ fowles in ye air as much use & benefit⁸ according to their wants, & necessities of ye Sun & of⁹ ye Moon as Man has, are they not equally sensible of ye influence of those Planets, [M36] as Man is? are not ye productions ariseing from ye force & power¹⁰ of these luminary Bodies¹¹ equally serviceable to them, as they are to Man, can either Man, or beast subsist without them; why then were they made solely, & purely for ye use of Man.

Man, as he is ye more sagacious Creature makes further & greater uses of those Planets, than ye beast dos;¹² yet still ye natural use of

¹ *because Man...them* Interlinear addition.

² *kind* Interlinear correction for deleted *nature*.

³ A speculation found in the work of Giordano Bruno (d.1600) and revived in a posthumously published essay by William Gilbert (1540-1603), the personal physician to Queen Elizabeth I. John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester from 1668 until his death in 1672, an early member of the Royal Society and father-in-law of Archbishop Tillotson, had speculated about the inhabitation of the moon in a book published in the 1640s. Fontenelle speculated further in his *De la pluralité des mondes* in 1685.

⁴ *scarce* Interlinear correction for deleted *un* (of *undescernable*).

⁵ *Man* Interlinear addition.

⁶ *to himself* Interlinear addition.

⁷ *ye* Interlinear addition.

⁸ *& benefit* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *of* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *force & power* Interlinear correction for deleted *influence*.

¹¹ *luminary Bodies* Interlinear correction for *Planets*. (It is unclear whether *Planets* has been struck through or underlined.

¹² Presumably the author is thinking mainly of navigation and the prediction of high and spring tides.

them is ye same to ye beast, to ye fowle, to ye fish, & to ye insect, as it is to Man. they subsist by them,¹ therefore they All² may with equal reason claim ye same³ benefit as Man dos⁴ from them.⁵ ⁶ Perhaps it may be urg'd yt it was⁷ ye intent of ye Creator of ye Universe yt these different species of Animals are⁸ more to subsist & to arise⁹ to ye perfection of their nature by ye influence of these luminary Bodies,¹⁰ in order yt they might then be more serviceable to Man. yt argument may hold good¹¹ with respect to ye Creatures, yt Man has subdued, & has made usefull to him. but yt argument can be of no force with regard to those Creatures, yt are injurious & obnoxious to Man; & yet¹² they equally subsist¹³ & are supported [M37] by ye influence of these Planets as well as ye others.

Haveing consider'd ye reasons asserted by Man why¹⁴ yt ye whole Creation was made solely¹⁵ for his use, possibly from what I have observ'd it may appear to ye Reader¹⁶ yt Man has only his share with ye rest of his Fellow Creatures of ye dispensations of God's providence in support of what it has pleas'd him to create, & what likewise appears to be his pleasure, should subsist, & multiply,

¹ *they...them* Interlinear addition.

² *All* Interlinear addition.

³ *ye same* Interlinear correction for deleted *equal*.

⁴ *as Man dos* Interlinear addition.

⁵ i.e. Benefit of light, warmth, growth, etc.

⁶ The following deleted passage stood here: & *they must naturally think it & would declare for ye existance of all animal creatures as well Man as others solely depends upon ye influence of these Planets, but*

⁷ *was* Interlinear correction for deleted *is*.

⁸ *are* stands un deleted in the text, but an interlinear *were* stands above.

⁹ Originally *arise* – the *a* deleted.

¹⁰ *luminary Bodies* This stands in the main text after a deleted *Plan* (of *Planets*).

¹¹ *good* Interlinear addition.

¹² *yet* Interlinear addition.

¹³ *subsist* This stands after a deleted *subsst*.

¹⁴ *by Man why* Interlinear correction for deleted *assign'd by Man, why he Man*.

¹⁵ *solely* Interlinear addition.

¹⁶ The reference here to the *Reader* is the only indication – but an important one – of Carlisle's intention in these manuscripts.

I will now consider ye end & purpose which¹ is generally assign'd, & admitted, why ye Creator has been pleas'd to make Man. I don't pretend² to say I think none can³ why or⁴ for [what] purpose ye Deity has created ye Universe or any part off it, it is yt point yt I argue is not to be known,⁵ therefore I will not presume to say, why he has created Man,⁶ but I hope it may be permitted⁷ me to examine whither ye reasons yt Man gives for his creation & for his business here upon earth⁸ be agreeable to ye wisdom of yt great & al-knowing Being⁹ with respect to himself & with regard to ye use yt it is urg'd yt ye Deity propos'd.¹⁰

Whither Man is bound¹¹ to perform all social dutys by divine or by human laws, I will not pretend to determine,¹² but as ye performance of these dutys tend solely to ye support & happyness of society, & as every Man liveing is included in some society or other, & therefore by consequence will reap a benefit to himself by paying [M38] obedience¹³ to those laws which¹⁴ are made for ye support of yt society, if ye declareing yt such laws being¹⁵ directed by ye Deity will have a greater force upon Man in ye due observance of them, it is a

¹ *which* This is preceded by an erasure of what appears to be *whi*.

² *I dont pretend* The words *altho I do not* stand in the top margin of this page. There is no indication where they should be inserted, but it is contextually possible they may have been an alternative to this phrase.

³ *I think none can* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *or* Interlinear correction for deleted *to*.

⁵ *off it... to be known* Interlinear addition.

⁶ *has created Man*, Above this stands an undeleted *altho I can not assign* and in the top margin *altho I do not*. Both appear quite redundant.

⁷ A deleted *to* originally stood here.

⁸ *upon earth* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *Being* follows a deleted *Creator*.

¹⁰ *to ye use(& purpose – deleted)...propos'd* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ *bound* Interlinear correction for deleted *ty'd down*

¹² Divine sanction for human behaviour was important for Hobbes, but less so for Locke who could ground his moral theory on the basis of his social contract.

¹³ *obedience* – Addition made in top margin.

¹⁴ *which* – Correction in top margin for deleted *yt*.

¹⁵ *being* Interlinear correction for deleted *were*.

point yt should not be controverted, I think it should readily be admitted as it is design'd &¹ tends to ye good & happyness of Mankind.²

Men³ from their⁴ wisdom & experience found yt it was much more for their benefit to conform & combine themselves into societys,⁵ & submit to such regulations, & laws as should be made by a joynt consent for ye security & maintenance of yt society than to live independently on one & other, whereby they were expos'd to all ye dangers, & injuries yt dayly⁶ accrued to them from ye feirceness & ravage of wild Beasts, in yt first state of nature Man singly by himself was not a match for those ravanous creatures,⁷ he could not possibly defend himself from their power, & force, therefore in those days at least⁸ ye beasts yt were enemies to Man might alledg yt Man was made for them, because it is not⁹ unreasonable to suppose in ye seituation yt Man then was in, but yt he became a dayly prey to them, still to enforce ye necessity for Man to¹⁰ enter into these societies, he¹¹ had a more dangerous, & a worse beast to deal with than I have mention'd, his own spirit,¹² being depriv'd of most of ye

¹ *is design'd &* Interlinear addition.

² *Mankind* – following a deleted *all societys*. This is a pragmatic view – but open to same objection as Plato's view that edited myths were good for mothers to teach children in the first stage of education, (but therefore rather beneath rational man!). It is more probable that Carlisle is affirming the practical utility of Divine Sanction for human ordinances without, however, actually committing himself finally to such a belief.

³ *Men* – This was originally the collective *Man*. The alteration has led to the interlinear correction of singular pronouns later in the sentence.

⁴ *their* Interlinear correction for deleted *his*.

⁵ *societys* Originally followed by deleted *for his mutual security &*.

⁶ *dayly* Interlinear correction for deleted *might*, involving the alteration of the following *accrue* to the present *accrued*

⁷ *for those ravanous creatures* Interlinear addition.

⁸ *least* Originally followed by a deleted *might*.

⁹ *not* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *for Man to* Interlinear correction for deleted *of & ing* of original *entering* (now *enter*).

¹¹ *he* Interlinear correction for deleted *Man*.

¹² Note how the author bases his ideas on “social contract” on the twin notions of a hostile natural order and the destructive potential of unbridled human nature.

conveniencies & comforts of life yt a joynt assistance only could afford,¹

[M39 f]² nothing can be more feirce & more cruel than Man, let loose to his own passions & uncontroled by laws. ye beast is outragious only in order³ to satisfie ye craveings of his nature, hunger & lust are ye only appetites yt he has to quiet, they once satisfied, he is not further⁴ dangerous either to Man, or to any of his own kind,⁵ but Man has many passions to satisfie, & all at ye expence of his own specie, it is with difficulty yt he is⁶ restrain'd, altho controled by laws & threatened with punishments, in case he trangress them from gratifieing his malice, revenge, ambition & covetousness, in⁷ accomplishing of which he makes use of all manner of deceit, treachery, & falshood, to ye utter⁸ ruin & destruction⁹ of his own specie, nay, very often where he professes ye greatest kindness he is contriveing ye greatest destruct(ion)¹⁰ & wherefore he is a more dangerous Ennemy than ye firstmost¹¹ ravanous Beast.

as Man pretends to be ye most favour'd part of ye Creation by ye Deity, I could not help makeing this observation, relateing to his nature, as¹² it seem'd¹³ to come not¹ improperly in upon this occasion,

¹ *being depriv'd...could afford.* This passage stands as a bottom margin addition after *his own spirit*.

² M39 & M40 are formed by a half sheet of foolscap, bearing the catalogue mark CHJ8/35 in the bottom RH margin.

³ *in order* Interlinear addition, followed by a redundant, erased *only*.

⁴ *not further* – *further* is an interlinear addition, preceded by a redundant, deleted *no*.

⁵ *to any of* Interlinear addition followed by a redundant, deleted *his*. *kind* is an interlinear replacement for the original *specie* – but it is uncertain whether this was deleted.

⁶ *difficulty yt he is* Interlinear addition.

⁷ *in* followed by a deleted *ye fullfilling & inju* (of *injuring?*).

⁸ *utter* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *& destruction* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *he is...destruct[ion]* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ *ye firstmost* Interlinear addition, with redundant, undeleted *ye*.

¹² *as* Originally followed by deleted *ye occasion*.

¹³ *seem'd* Originally followed by deleted *not*.

occasion, if I have stated ye case truly as I leave it to every one to judg, I do² not see how actions ariseing from ye dictates of such a nature as dayly experience shews they³ frequently happen, can recommend such a Creature to ye favour of ye Deity.⁴

¹ *not* Interlinear addition.

² *do* This remains from an original *don't*, with the *n't* deleted in favour of the following *not*.

³ *they* Replaces a deleted *there*.

⁴ A view consistent with Swift's: "the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth". *Gulliver's Travels*, ed Peter Dixon and John Chalker, with Introduction by Michael Foot (London: Harmondsworth, 1967), p.173.

v

Document 17
J8/35/15-17

**[ESSAY ON GOD, MAN &
REASON]¹**

TEXT

[1734?]

¹ A title with editorial authority only for Mss M41-M48, comprising one folded foolscap sheet yielding four Quarto pages together with two separate Quarto pages - originally joined - yielding a further four Quarto pages. M44, however, appears to be a partial re-working of M41. As this has not been crossed out, M41 has been allowed to stand, with M44 reproduced out of course after M48.

[M41 f]¹ That ² a Supreme Being or Spirit has created this Universe & all things³ therein contain'd, is (I presume) admitted by all men. but to what end, & purpose this almighty Spirit has created this Universe, is in my opinion beyond ye capacity or knowledg of Man to assume⁴ to know[.] yt Man is ye most perfect, & ye most sagacious of ye created beings must be allow'd, but yet I think⁵ it can not reasonably be⁶ admitted, yt his sagacity or penetration can reach so far,⁷

it is morally impossible yt he should know, therefore highly presumeing in him to assert, to what end or purpose⁸ ye Almighty Being created this Universe.⁹

I must observe here, yt I can argue only from ye reason of things & from ¹⁰ye common course of nature which never varys,¹¹ no arguments can be offer'd¹² against facts alledg'd, & supported by supernatural causes, in such cases every body is at liberty to beleive, or not beleive what is related, as ye same appears reasonable to him, for in ye points of credit ye most insisted upon, it is reason yt must determine every Man to give or not give his assent.¹³ nay even¹⁴ those

¹ M41-M44 formed from a single folded foolscap sheet. Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 in top RH margin.

² A deleted *ye* stood here.

³ *things* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *assume to* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *I think* Interlinear addition.

⁶ *reasonably be* Interlinear addition.

⁷ The following originally stood here: *I can not see yt he has any real originally upon what* (deleted) *foundation yt his reasons when strictly examin'd, as to presume to assert*

⁸ *to what end or purpose* Interlinear correction for deleted *yt*.

⁹ Up to this point the wording is identical with the opening of the fair text of the "Essay". A deleted *for this or yt end, or purpose.* originally followed *Universe*.

¹⁰ *from* and the following *common* are interlinear additions.

¹¹ *which never varys* Interlinear addition.

¹² *offer'd* Interlinear correction for deleted *brought*.

¹³ A characteristic contemporary argument about the inability – and inappropriateness – of enforcing belief. See John Toland *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696) (Facsimile edition Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1964), pp. 124-57.

¹⁴ *even* Interlinear addition.

who declare¹ in ye most peremptory manner,² yt such, & such supernatural facts are to be beleiv'd, at ye same time [M42] tell you, examine diligently & search³ thoroughly into those facts⁴ ⁵ & your reason alone⁶ will force your assent thereto, therefore it is plain from thence⁷ ⁸ yt ye truth of all things⁹ natural or supernatural can be try'd only¹⁰ by ye standard¹¹ of reason, & every Man must judg for himself by yt rule.¹²

The reason, yt Man assigns why this wise, & powerfull Creator has formed this Universe, is yt Man may be made sensible of ye Creator's great power, & wisdom, yt he may worship, adore, & magnifie his name, how yt he may give thanks & praises to him for all¹³ ye benefits & advantages yt he receives therefrom, Man alone must do this no other part of ye Creation being¹⁴ capable of such reflections.¹⁵

¹ *declare* A deleted *insist upon* originally stood here.

² For the author it is always the clergy who declare in *ye most peremptory manner*, and it is no doubt they to whom the author is referring here. Compare M14 & M74.

³ *search* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *into those facts* Interlinear correction for deleted *what is*.

⁵ *insisted upon yt you are to beleive* These words are underlined in the text, which normally indicates an intended deletion.

⁶ *alone* Interlinear addition.

⁷ *is plain from thence* Interlinear addition.

⁸ *it appears to me* These words are underlined in the text, and are assumed to indicate an intended deletion.

⁹ *of all things* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *only* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ Originally *ye rule & standart* altered by deletion of *ye rule* and alteration of *&* and *t* to *ye* and *d*.

¹² An argument put, perhaps, most neatly in Hobbes' *Leviathan*, pp. 255-56: "We are not to renounce our Senses, and Experience; nor (that which is the undoubted Word of God) our naturall Reason. For they are the talents which he hath put into our hands to negotiate, till the coming again of our blessed Saviour; and therefore not to be folded up in the Napkin of an Implicite Faith, but employed in the purchase of Justice, Peace, and true Religion".

¹³ *all* This was first written as *ye* but immediately changed before the following *ye* had been written.

¹⁴ *being* Interlinear correction for deleted *is*.

¹⁵ Though often alluded to, this is the first time that the point is made explicit.

I think it very fit, & right,¹ yt Man should make such a return to his Creator for² ye benefits he receives from his being created; words are but a poor return for all such benefits, he ought to make a gratefull acknowledgment of thanks not only by words but by actions, doing those things yt he thinks³ may be most acceptable to his Creator, & yt⁴ may best answer ye end for which he was created[.] for this is most certain, yt let⁵ what will be ye intention⁶ of ye Almighty Spirit in⁷ creating ye Universe, every Man now liveing⁸ derives⁹ his being from¹⁰ yt Creation & owes¹¹ all ye benefits, advantages, & comforts, yt he enjoys [M43] in life to ye same.

In order therefore¹² to make a true judgment, whither this¹³ general opinion assign'd for what end¹⁴ ye Almighty form'd this Universe, be well¹⁵ grounded upon sound reason,¹⁶ it will be necessary to consider ye nature & attribuits of this great Being as far as ye capacity of Man can reach, & likewise whither it is reasonable to suppose yt ye actions of his creatures can have any influence upon him¹⁷

¹ The wording of this paragraph is reminiscent of the Book of Common Prayer at two points: the beginning of the Preface in the Order for Communion, and the opening of the General Thanksgiving.

² *for* There is a smudge partially obscuring this word.

³ *he thinks* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *yt* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *let* Interlinear addition.

⁶ *will be ye intention* Interlinear correction for the deleted *ever* of *what ever*.

⁷ *in* Interlinear correction for deleted *intended by*.

⁸ *liveing* follows a deleted *being*.

⁹ *derives* Interlinear correction for deleted *owes*.

¹⁰ *from* Interlinear correction for deleted *to*.

¹¹ *owes* Interlinear addition.

¹² *therefore* Interlinear addition.

¹³ *this* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye*, but with a second deleted interlinear *ye* alongside.

¹⁴ *for what end* Interlinear correction for deleted *why*.

¹⁵ *well* Interlinear addition.

¹⁶ *upon sound reason*, Underlined, but possibly indicating a deletion.

¹⁷ *& likewise...upon him* Written in the top margin with a marginal indication that it should be inserted at this point. Before corrections it read *& likewise what influence yt actions of Man can have upon this Being*. The argument here is both scriptural and philosophical. James 1.17 speaks of the "Father of lights, with whom there is no variation or shadow due to change". Philosophically, the Prima Via of Aquinas defines God as the "unmoved Mover". See *Summa Theologica* 1a, ii. 3.

it is obvious to ye reason of Man, yt this Being must be endow'd with infinite power, & wisdom. his works testifie it being such as Man with all his knowledg¹ can no way conceive in what manner they were formed; and how they are preserv'd.² it is most certain,³ yt this Being of infinite wisdom & perfection is not subject to ye frailties & failures of our human nature, yt he acts always⁴ upon⁵ principals of reason, & justice & truth,⁶ yt it is inconsistent with his nature to varie, & alter his purpose, yt⁷ when he first⁸ created ye Universe his wisdom shew'd him what was right & good, & he ordain'd ye same yt in order to perpetuate his works. & yt his will might be⁹ fullfill'd¹⁰ he infus'd a principal into his created Beings, which Man calls nature, whereby ye several species of all beings¹¹ are preserv'd,¹² continued, & operate,¹³ yt this supreme Being¹⁴ must necessarily be perfectly happy in himself independent of all accidents either to contribuit to or to diminish from it,¹⁵ [M45 iv]¹⁶ ¹⁷ for if it was not so, if it was possible yt his tranquillity & happyness could be disturb'd by any cause or action of his Creatures his wisdom could not be term'd compleat, & perfect.

¹ *with all his knowledg* Interlinear addition.

² *& how they are preserv'd.* Interlinear addition.

³ *certain* Interlinear correction for deleted *reasonable for Man to judg.*

⁴ *always* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *upon* Followed by a deleted *ye*.

⁶ *& justice & truth* Interlinear addition.

⁷ *yt* Followed by deleted *at ye first.*

⁸ *first* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *& yt his will might be* Interlinear correction for deleted *&*.

¹⁰ *fullfill'd* Followed by deleted *his will.*

¹¹ *beings* Interlinear addition after deleted *created.*

¹² *preserv'd* Followed by deleted *&*.

¹³ *& operate* Interlinear correction for deleted *& will be remain so till ye Almighty thinks fit & yt this.*

¹⁴ *this supreme Being* Final interlinear correction for deleted *he* with an interlinear deleted *Being.*

¹⁵ At this point the deleted text continued *for if it was not so (otherwise - deleted) his wisdom could not be term'd compleat, & perfect, yt (could suffer - deleted) if it was possible his tranquillity & happyness (to - deleted) be disturb'd by any cause or.*

¹⁶ At this point the text jumps straight to M45. (See p.388, n1.) There are a number of marks in the margin of the text to suggest that the author himself used these as guides or reminders of the order in which these paragraphs were to be read.

¹⁷ As M44 has been used as a spreadsheet the text continues with M45 at this point. M44 is therefore printed at the end, i.e. after M48.

it is absurd to suppose yt ye Creator who must be allow'd to be perfectly happy in himself before ye Creation, should give being & power¹ to a Creature to disturb yt happyness afterwards.²

therefore I think yt ye reason assign'd by Man why ye Almighty created ye Universe yt this was [ye] end for which ye Univers was created³ will not hold good or⁴ answer if try'd by ye attribuits of yt great Being, his wisdom, his infinite⁵ power,⁶ &⁷ his entire⁸ nature incapable of change, or⁹ being mov'd by any outward causes.¹⁰ ye actions of his Creatures do plainly shew yt ye forming of ye Univers for ye sake as is alledg'd¹¹ of Man yt Man may¹² be made sensible thereby of ye Creator's great power & wisdom, & therefore adore,¹³ is calculated & adapted to ye nature & low comprehension¹⁴ of Man, & sure no way suitable to ye character of ye Deity,

if any one¹⁵ would gain ye favour of his¹⁶ Prince, he will¹⁷ flatter him [for I must term it so, since ye intention is to please him]¹⁸ by such

¹ & power Interlinear addition.

² *it is absurd...afterwards.* Written at the top of M45, preceded by deleted *action whatsoever of his creatures for*

³ *yt this...was created* Written at the end of the preceding paragraph in the Mss, prefaced by an asterisk.

⁴ *hold good or* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *infinite* Interlinear addition.

⁶ *power* Interlinear conjectural correction for deleted *justice*.

⁷ & Interlinear addition.

⁸ *entire* Conjectural interlinear addition.

⁹ *change, or* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *any outward causes.* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ *as is alledg'd* Interlinear addition.

¹² *may* An interlinear *might* stands over this in the text, but *may* has not been deleted.

¹³ A deleted *worship & sing praises to him* stood here, replaced first by a deleted interlinear *yt it was for yt end yt Man was created* before the present text was finalised.

¹⁴ & *low comprehension* Interlinear correction for deleted *passions*.

¹⁵ *any one* Interlinear correction for deleted *you*.

¹⁶ *his* Interlinear correction for deleted *a*.

¹⁷ *he & will* stand in the main text after deleted *you & would*.

¹⁸ The bracketted passage stands on M48. When these two pages were originally joined, this passage would have stood alongside as a quasi-marginal correction.

words & means & expressions,¹ he will tell him yt he is ye greatest, & wisest² man yt ever lived: yt his works surpasses all yt has been done by ye³ Heroes of former ages, yt he is so⁴ good & beneficent [M46]⁵ to his people; yt they do not only love, & honour him, but even adore him. these are ye methods used by Man to ingracciate himself into ye favour of his own specie, & seldom faile of prevailing,⁶ but surely it is highly presumptive⁷ in Man to think yt ye⁸ like methods can prevaile with ye Deity. It is ye weakness, & infirmity of our nature, yt make⁹ room for such impressions, but¹⁰ to suppose yt ye Almighty can be moved or drawn from his purpose by such methods¹¹ must suppose him to partake of our nature which is not only ye greatest affront yt can be offer'd to him, but must necessarily, if Man will but consider ye nature of his Creator, carry an evident reason'd¹² conviction yt if yt point must so confute ye common notion [it] can not be¹³ yt ye Universe was form'd upon these considerations & to these purposes[.] ye Deity could not for such reasons as these as which can only be apply'd to ye nature of man & are no way consistent¹⁴ with his attribuits [who]¹⁵ create[d]¹⁶ ye Universe.

¹ *words & means & expressions* Interlinear correction for deleted *actions as these*. However, *words* may have been deleted.

² *& wisest* Interlinear correction over deleted *of*.

³ A deleted *greatest* stood here.

⁴ *so* Interlinear addition.

⁵ Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 stands in top RH margin.

⁶ *& seldom faile of prevailing* Interlinear addition

⁷ *highly presumptive* Originally written *high presumption* with corrections by alteration in main text.

⁸ *to think yt ye* Interlinear substitution for deleted *such*.

⁹ Originally *makes*. The *s* has been struck through.

¹⁰ *but* interlinear correction for deleted *I think therefore*,

¹¹ *methods. means* is an interlinear addition/substitution made by mistake on two lines. The original has not been struck through.

¹² *reason'd* Interlinear addition.

¹³ *strongly, zealously & warmly insisted upon* are underlined in the text, and indicate an alteration. The original read: *an evident conviction yt yt point so strongly, zealously & warmly insisted upon yt ye Universe, etc.*

¹⁴ *consistent with* Interlinear correction for deleted *suitable to*.

¹⁵ The bracketed *who* is editorial, but is clearly required by the context.

¹⁶ *create[d]* The final *d* is clearly required by the context.

this is all yt is here contended for it.¹ & ye same argument is enforced by ye Professors of it - as is urg'd² by ye professors of³ all other Religions - yt ye Will of ye Deity has been declar'd &⁴ must not be question'd. [M47 iv]⁵ ⁶ altho it is beyond ye possibility of Mans understanding,⁷ this ever has been,⁸ and is ye doctrine lay'd down by ye professors of all Religions founded in Revelation. & all ye Religions yt have yet appear'd in ye world I think as well as I can recollect, stand upon yt Foot, & yt differences in opinion⁹ of this kind, ever have, & do still¹⁰ abundantly prevaile, is most evident, therefore¹¹ it appears to me to be an argument of no small weight, yt there is no certainty in any opinion grounded upon revelation.

How can ye Inhabitants of this globe know what ye Inhabitants of any of ye Celestial Bodies are doing or intend to do¹² (supposeing those Bodies to be¹³ inhabited) unless it be by an immediate communication with them, which as there is none, it is impossible,¹⁴

¹ *but must necessarily...contended for.* has been rewritten in a fairer form immediately following *but must necessarily if Man will but consider ye nature of his Creator will carry an evident conviction yt ye fact can not be so, yt ye Creation of ye Universe was not form'd upon such considerations or to such purposes, & yt is all yt is here contended for.* After considerable alterations the original has been struck through.

² *urg'd* Interlinear addition.

³ *of* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *has been declar'd* Interlinear addition, with & inserted in main text.

⁵ A tear on the LH margin matches M45/6 exactly.

⁶ At the top of the page, but later struck through, is written: *with respect therefore to transactions of yt nature wherein it is alledg'd yt ye Deity has thought fit to interpose in this most extraordinary manner, ye arguments made use of to support yt assertion, are yt ye fact must be so because it is confirm'd by ye workeing of miracles which is not in ye power of Man's understanding.*

⁷ *Mans understand.[ing] understand.* is an interlinear addition/alteration for another interlinear *to comprehend* which has not been deleted. However, since an *s* appears to have been added to *Man* it is considered that this must be the final intended version.

⁸ *has been* Interlinear correction for deleted *has* and underlined *was*.

⁹ *in opinion* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *still* Interlinear correction for deleted *now*.

¹¹ *therefore. fore* Interlinear addition.

¹² *or intend to do* Interlinear addition.

¹³ *to be* Marginal addition.

¹⁴ *which as there is none it is impossible* Interlinear addition.

how can a Man here in England know what a Man in Amiraca has done, or intends to do if there was no use of navigation, by which means only¹ he can² hold³ ye opportunity of⁴ communicateing with him. therefore if ye God has not reveal'd his intentions to Man why he has formed ye Univers, I say it is impossible for Man to know what were ye intentions of ye Deity in so doing. therefore all Man's conclusions thereupon are guesse work,⁵

with respect therefore to this subject which I propose to treat upon & takeing into consideration ye reasons, yt Man gives why ye Deity has form'd ye Universe, which I think are not only very ill grounded, but [M48]⁶ yt he should therefore ⁷dayly acknowledg ye same; yt he should⁸ adore, worship & sing praises to him⁹ for these his great actions; & yt this was ye sole & only¹⁰ end for which ye Univers was made seems to me to be calculated & adapted to ye nature & narrow¹¹ comprehension of Man, & in no way suitable to ye character of ye Deity.¹²

[Transposed from earlier]

¹ *only* Interlinear addition

² M47 originally read *might have. could hold* was substituted as an interlinear correction. *could* and *have* were struck through, with *can* substituted for *could*. Illogically *might* remains in the manuscript – but the author's final intentions seem clear enough.

³ *hold* replacement for *have*.

⁴ *ye opportunity of* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *therefore all Man's conclusions...guesse work* Interlinear addition.

⁶ The Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 stands in the bottom LH margin.

⁷ A deleted *dayly* originally stood here.

⁸ A further interlinear deleted *dayly* stands here.

⁹ *to him* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *sole & only* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ *narrow* Interlinear correction for deleted *low*.

¹² Although much of the author's intended order in M44-48 is somewhat uncertain, there can be little doubt that this negative verdict on worship forms the substantive conclusion to this fragment. While this may possibly reflect a crypto-Quaker dislike of prescribed forms of public worship, it seems more probable that this passage must be set in context with the author's insistence on the performance of moral duty as Man's proper response to God.

[M44]¹ but notwithstanding² it is highly unreasonable to imagine,³ it is I think morally impossible for Man to know, therefore very⁴ presumeing in him to assert, yt ye Almighty created ye Universe for this or for yt end or purpose, unless it is granted⁵ yt yt Being reveal'd his intentions to Man, & declar'd to him why, & for what end he form'd ye same;⁶ with respect to such an assertion I must observe, yt no argument can be offer'd against facts alledg'd, & supported only by supernatural causes, for arguments must always be founded upon reason & in such cases reason can not operate when ye subject offer'd to its consideration is beyond its comprehension.⁷ a declaration of ye Almighty to Man of any kind must be allow'd to be out of ye common course of nature & must stand upon yt foot[.] ye intentions of all argument is to endeavour to perswade & convince Man, any argument yt is not founded upon ye reason of things or yt deviates from ye common course of nature can not I think possible prevaile upon ye reason of Man. In supernatural cases every Man ever was, & ever will be at liberty to beleive, or not beleive ye facts related, as ye same appear reasonable to him, nor is it possible for him to be perswaded by other motive. In points of credit ye most insisted upon, it is reason yt must determine every Man to give, or not to give his assent. nor can he prevaile upon himself to force a beleive if his reason dos not assent thereto.⁸

¹ See p. 392 n17.

² *notwithstanding* + *is highly* + *I think* + *is* are all interlinear additions.

³ *imagine* Interlinear correction for deleted *suppose*.

⁴ *very* Interlinear correction for deleted *highly*.

⁵ *is granted* Interlinear correction for deleted *has pleas'd* + *is suppos'd*.

⁶ *same* Interlinear corrections for deleted *this creation* + *Universe*.

⁷ *for arguments...comprehension* This passage is written in the top margin, (with two further lines added above – see below) but a point in the LH margin directs it to be inserted here.

⁸ *nor...assent thereto* A completion of the passage at bottom of M44.

vi

Document 18

J8/35/15-17

REMAINING MANUSCRIPTS

TEXT

[1734?]

[M49 iv]¹ That a Supreme Being or Spirit has created ye² Universe, & all things therein contain'd, is, I presume admitted by all men, but to what end, or for what purpose this Almighty Spirit has created ye Universe is in my opinion beyond ye capacity³ & knowledg of Man to assign.

That Man is ye most perfect, & ye most sagacious of ye created Beings must be allow'd, but notwithstanding it seems highly unreasonable to imagine, it is, I think, morally impossible for Man to know, therefore very presuming⁴ in him to assert, yt ye Almighty created ye Universe for this or for⁵ yt end, or purpose, unless it is granted, yt yt Being reveal'd his intentions to Man, yt he declar'd to him ye cause, & ye reason why he created ye same, & yt it was for ye purposes, yt Man now assigns.

A declaration of ye Deity's to Man of any kind must be allow'd to be out of ye common course of nature; & therefore must stand upon ye foot of a supernatural act, with respect therefore to such a declaration,⁶ which has ever been pretended to be ye foundation of all ye Religions yt have yet appear'd in ye World⁷ I must observe, yt all arguments altho' never so well grounded upon reason urg'd⁸ against ye facts of this nature are [M50] peremptorly rejected, & no other

¹ M49-M52 formed by a single folded foolscap sheet. Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 in top RH margin.

² *ye* Interlinear addition, intended alteration for an underlined *this*.

³ Another word stood after *capacity*, later erased.

⁴ Originally spelt *presumeing*, later corrected.

⁵ *for* Interlinear addition.

⁶ Originally these words followed – later struck through: *which is ye sole foundation of ye Christian Religion, & all other Religions have ever pretended to ye same,*

⁷ The preceding phrase, substituted for the above, appears as a correction on M52 which is otherwise blank. (When originally written with the folded page opened the correction would have appeared alongside.)

⁸ Originally *offer'd*. later struck through with *urg'd*, an interlinear correction.

reasons offer'd¹ to confute them. but yt ye Deity out of his great² love, & affection³ to Mankind has thought fit to reveal his intentions to him, but yt this is ye will of ye Deity he has thought fit to declare it let it be never so repugnant to reason it must be submitted to, & an intire credit given to it[.]⁴ as all ye pretended⁵ Revelations made by ye Deity to Man, are out of ye common course of nature, ⁶ dark in themse[l]ves, & not easily to be comprehended, men of different perswasions have ever question'd ye truth & authority of ye religion of those they⁷ have differ'd from ⁸ in opinion ⁹ [.]

ye arguments urg'd in favour of ye Christian Religion which stands soly upon ye beleife ¹⁰ are these, yt ye Deity from his great love & affection to Man, after Man's¹¹ folly & disobedience had brought destruction upon himself,¹² & his posterity, was pleas'd to work out Man's Redemption in a most extraordinary manner, was¹³ pleas'd to restore him again [M51] to his favour upon certain terms, & conditions[,] yt he declar'd this his Will to man by a method & in¹⁴ [a] manner yt must be deem'd supernatural[.] therefore ye Christian

¹ Originally *against them* followed here, later struck through.

² *great* Interlinear addition.

³ *affection* Interlinear correction replacing *goodness* which was later struck through.

⁴ The present phrase from *but yt this...* is written in the top margin, and replaces the following, later struck through: *yt Man might thereby know his Creator's will, & conform himself in all his actions agreeably to it upon this foundation all Religions yt have yet appear'd in ye World have pretended to stand.*

⁵ *pretended* Interlinear addition.

⁶ *pritty* originally stood here, later struck through.

⁷ Originally *who*, later struck through. *they* Interlinear correction.

⁸ *them* originally stood here, later struck through.

⁹ The following originally stood here – later struck through: *which has been ye occasion not only of endless disputes, but likewise of very cruel persecutions, to ye great detriment & destruction of Mankind. what is urg'd in favour of ye Christian Religion which stands soly upon this foundation [-] ye beleif yt ye Deity has been pleas'd to reveal his will to Man is this ye arguments made use of in support of it are these,*

¹⁰ The following originally stood here – later struck through: *yt ye Deity was has been pleas'd to reveal his will to Man,*

¹¹ Originally *his* – later struck through. *Man's* Interlinear correction.

¹² *self* Interlinear addition.

¹³ An interlinear addition has been made here – unclear, but possibly: *yt he completely satisfi'd.*

¹⁴ *in* Interlinear addition.

Religion as well as all others¹ is founded upon² a Revelation given to Man by ye Deity, but as this declaration³ of ye Deity's was made to Man many ages ago yt it is of such a nature, yt[sic] yt⁴ ye understanding of Man can not possibly comprehend or conceive it,⁵

[M52]⁶ [M53 f]⁷ That a Supreme Being or Spirit has created this Universe (& all things therein contain'd,) is I presume, admitted by all Men, but to what end, or purpose this Almighty Spirit has created ye⁸ Universe is in my opinion beyond ye capacity & knowledg of Man to assign.

That Man is ye most perfect, & ye most sagacious of ye created Beings must be allow'd; but notwithstanding it seems highly unreasonable to imagine, it is (I think) morally impossible for Man to know, (therefore very presumeing in him to assert) yt ye Almighty created ye Universe for this, or for yt end, or purpose, unless it is granted yt yt Being revealed his intentions to Man, yt he declar'd to him, why & wherefore he created ye same, & yt it was for ye purpose yt Man assigns.⁹

¹ *as well as all others* Interlinear addition.

² *is founded upon upon a* Interlinear replacement for *stands upon ye foundation of a* – later struck through.

³ *declaration* immediately follows *Revelation* which has been struck through.

⁴ *yt ye understanding of* Interlinear addition. (making one *yt* redundant).

⁵ The remainder of M51 is blank.

⁶ M52 is blank, save for the correction to M49 noted earlier, reading: *which has ever been pretended to be ye foundation of all ye Religions yt have yet appear'd in ye world.*

⁷ M53-M56 formed by a single foolscap sheet. The inner pages M54 & M55 are blank. M56 appears to be a "spreadsheet" style page of amplifications to M53 which, when opened out, would have appeared alongside. The Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 appears in the top RH margin of M53.

⁸ *ye* Interlinear correction for *this*.

⁹ Here follows, later deleted and replaced by material on M56: *with respect to such an assertion I must observe yt all arguments altho never so well grounded upon reason, facts alledg'd, & supported by supernatural causes only, are rejected, & no other reason offer'd against them, but yt these are fundamentals upon which Religion stands, & must be beleiv'd. A declaration of ye Deity's to Man of any kind, must be allow'd to be out of ye common course of nature, & therefore must stand upon ye foot of a supernatural Action.[.]*

[M54 & M55]¹ [M56]² with respect therefore to transactions of yt nature,³ I must observe, yt all arguments altho never so well grounded upon reason offer'd against facts alledg'd, & supported only by supernatural causes in cases of Religion are rejected, & no other answer, or reason offer'd against them but yt those are facts so well attested, so reasonable in themselves with respect to ye goodness of God[,]⁴ they have had ye general assent of so many ages they have been with so much care, & so faithfully handed down to us, yt there can be no room to doubt or question ye truth thereof, therefore intire credit ought to⁵ be given to them. those arguments offer'd in support of such a declaration⁶ of ye Deity's, and ye arguments offer'd against it can have weight with Man no otherwise than as they convince his reason, & according as ye matter offer'd to his consideration appears reasonable to him, or⁷ not reasonable, he beleives or dos not beleive ye same,⁸ not is it in ye power of Man to force & beleive against his reason, I think therefore it will not be contraverted, yt ye truth of all things natural or supernatural can be try'd only by ye Standart of reason, & yt no Man can judg for himself by any other rule. A declaration of ye Deity's to Man must be allow'd to be out of ye common course of nature, & therefore must stand upon ye foot of a supernatural act. as such I will take ye liberty to examine, & consider it, & endeavour to shew, whither ye general opinion asserted⁹ by Man, yt ye Almighty made ye Universe for ye

¹ M54 & M55 are blank.

² Carlisle evidently opened up the folded foolscap sheet to use M56 as a "spreadsheet" for corrections to M53, leaving M54 & M55 blank. This paragraph begins about half way down M56, and is continued at the top of the same page.

³ *transactions of yt nature* Interlinear replacement for deleted *such an assertion*.

⁴ *so reasonable...goodness of God* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *ought to* Interlinear replacement for deleted *must*.

⁶ *such...ye Deity's* Interlinear substitution for deleted *this opinion*.

⁷ *otherwise, he* originally stood after *or* - deleted in favour of *not reasonable*.

⁸ *ye same* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *asserted* Interlinear correction for deleted *assign'd*.

purposes yt he assigns, & yt as he says God declar'd ye same to his forefathers be well grounded or not

[M57 iv]¹ As to ye Deitys revealing his Will to Man whither it be in² dreams or by Visions or by a special messenger³ or in a discourse yt he⁴ vouchsafes to hold with Man, or by any other means, still⁵ it is Man, yt gives ye account,⁶ it is Man, yt publishes to ye World⁷ ye Deity communicated his Will to him by some one or other of these means, therefore as Man is not infallible, as he is subject to human frailties, & too frequently govern'd by his passions & interest,⁸ ye truth of what Man has upon such occasions⁹ asserted has ever been more, or less question'd, has been or not been beleiv'd, as it appearantly did or did not¹⁰ tend¹¹ to answer some veiw or interest of his own.

The Christian Religion stands upon this¹² foundation it declares¹³ yt God's Will was reveal'd to Man by a special messenger; as ye Tenets & doctrines of yt Religion with respect to ye moral part of it, are excellent¹⁴ & compose a system of rules ye most instructing & ye

¹ M57-M60 formed by a single folded foolscap sheet. The Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 appears in the top LH margin of M60. These pages have to be read in "spreadsheet" style: M57, M60, M59 & finally M58 top, bottom then middle paragraphs.

² A deleted *a* originally followed.

³ A deleted *by any other means* originally followed.

⁴ *he* Interlinear correction for deleted *God*.

⁵ *still* Marginal correction, replacing deleted *still* before *Man*.

⁶ *gives ye account* Interlinear correction for (1) deleted *declares* in main text and (2) deleted interlinear correction *makes this assertion*.

⁷ *it is Man...ye World* Addition in top margin, but with no indication where it should be inserted. The "fair" version M1, however, supports the present reading.

⁸ *& interest* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *Man...occasions* Interlinear correction for deleted *he*.

¹⁰ *did or did not* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ *tend* Originally *tended*: the *ed* deleted.

¹² *this* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye*.

¹³ *it declares* Interlinear addition.

¹⁴ An underlined *in themselves* stands here.

most¹ perfect for Man to govern himself by in order to discharge² his duty to³ ye supreme Being & likewise⁴ to his Fellow Creatures [M60] & yt he will reward those who do give due obed.[ience] to them, & punish those, who do not.

as⁵ founded all ye Religions yt have hitherto appear'd in ye World pretend to ye same⁶, & ye reason thereof is plain because ye law giver or founder of any Religion may reasonably expect yt a more ready obedience will be yeilded⁷ to his laws, if he can make Man⁸ beleive, yt he has receiv'd them⁹ from ye Deity,¹⁰ yt it is his Will yt they should be¹¹ observ'd[.] thus¹² examine with respect to their¹³ institution & laws¹⁴ most of¹⁵ ye Pagan Governmints with respect to their divine & human laws, & you will find yt many of them¹⁶ stand upon this foundation, their Law givers pretended, yt they receiv'd their direct.[ions] from¹⁷ ye Deity (in order undoubtedly ye better¹⁸ to enforce ye observance of ye laws they gave¹⁹ & it generally had its effect;

¹ *ye most* Interlinear addition.

² *to discharge* Interlinear addition.

³ There appears to be a two-letter erasure between these words.

⁴ *likewise* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *as* Interlinear addition.

⁶ An underlined *in some shape or other* stands here.

⁷ *yeilded* Interlinear correction for deleted (1) *pay'd* (2) *given*.

⁸ *make Man* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *them* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye same*.

¹⁰ There is a deletion at this point, probably originally &.

¹¹ An underlined *punctually* stands here.

¹² A deleted *are most* stood here.

¹³ *with respect to their* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye*.

¹⁴ *& laws* Interlinear correction for deleted *of*.

¹⁵ *most of* Interlinear addition.

¹⁶ *many of them* Interlinear correction for deleted *most of them* with deleted interlinear *they* alongside.

¹⁷ *their direct.[ions] from* Interlinear correction for deleted *them*.

¹⁸ *ye better* Interlinear addition.

¹⁹ *ye laws they gave* Interlinear correction for deleted *them*.

¹ instances of this kind² in story are many, ye wise institutions of ye Egyptian governments dirive their original from this source, as witness ye pretended story of Hermes. ye Indians acknowledg'd their Law³ Giver Bacchus to have a divine nature in him, & yt he⁴ sprung from their gods, ⁵ Eneas to attract a greater authority, & veneration to his person,⁶ & to procure [M59] a more ready obedience to ye laws he gave his people, when he founded his government⁷ pretended yt he was ye Son of Venus,⁸ Romulus yt he was ye Son of Mars,⁹ & for ye same reason, Numa Pompilius deluded them yt¹⁰ he receiv'd his instructi[ons]¹¹ from ye Goddess Egeria. Many other instances might be given of ¹² gross abuses of this kind impos'd upon ye People by their Governours, & Law Givers; ye story of Mahomet is too well known to admit of any explan[ation.]¹³ I omit therefore to mention it. but to return to ye Christian Religion which must always be excepted out of ye number of these Imposters,¹⁴ its doctrines & precepts with respect to ye moral part of it are so excellent, ye rules lay'd down therein for Man to govern himself by are so full &¹⁵ instructive, & tend so strongly not only¹⁶ to procure happyness to himself but likewise to ye Society of which he is a member yt without examineing

¹ A deleted *ye* stood here.

² *of this kind* Interlinear addition.

³ A deletion, now uncertain, stands above *Law*.

⁴ *yt he* Interlinear correction for deleted *he*.

⁵ A deleted *Numa Pompilius to enforce his laws* stood here.

⁶ *& veneration to his person* Interlinear addition.

⁷ *when he founded his government* Interlinear addition.

⁸ *Venus* Interlinear correction for deleted *a goddess*.

⁹ *yt he was ye Son of Mars* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye same*.

¹⁰ A much altered sentence once ran *Numa Pompilius deluded his people in order to enforce ye laws he thought proper to give them to his people by declareing by a declaration yt he receiv'd them from...*

¹¹ *his instructi[ons]* Interlinear correction for deleted *them*.

¹² A deleted *ye* stood here.

¹³ *to admit of any explan[ation]* Interlinear correction for deleted *to make any mention of it*

¹⁴ *which must ...these Imposters* Interlinear addition.

¹⁵ *full &* Interlinear addition.

¹⁶ *not only* Interlinear addition.

(for it will be¹ hard to reconcile it to reason) I will suppose, it has something of a divine institution in it, & there I will leave it, for as to ye observations yt² I have to make relateing to ye creation of ye Universe & ye reasons why ye Deity did form ye same & which³ Man with great presumption pretends were communicated to him, ye revelation deleiver'd by our Saviour makes little mention of it, it teaches Man his duty to God, & to⁴ his neighbour instructions of infinite more use than any thing yt can be drawn from dive[M58]ing in to ye secret intentions of ye Deity[.]⁵

but for fear it should be thought, yt I rank ye Author of ye Christian Religion among ye Imposters, for he must always be excepted out of ye number,⁶

but to return to ye Christian Rel.[igion] who's Author must always be excepted out of ye number of Imposters its laws &⁷ doctrines⁸ with respect to the moral part of it are so pure & excellent they⁹ lays down rules for Man to govern himself by, so instructive, so conducive towards procureing not only¹⁰ his own happyness but likewise ye happyness of ye society to which he belongs,¹¹ they shew¹² so great

¹ *be* Interlinear addition.

² A slight smear over this word may indicate an intended deletion.

³ *& which* Interlinear correction for deleted *as*.

⁴ *to* Interlinear addition.

⁵ A wide gap separates this line from the other material on this page. Though properly reproduced in full here, it may well have originally been intended as an expansion, correction, and/or possible ultimate replacement for material standing alongside ("spreadsheet" fashion) on M59.

⁶ *but...out of yt number*, This passage stands as the third element on this page.

⁷ *laws &* Interlinear addition.

⁸ A deleted *are so pure* stood here.

⁹ *they* Interlinear correction for deleted *it*. Unusually the author has not corrected the following word by deleting the final *s* to make the number of the verb agree.

¹⁰ *not only* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ *towards ye procureing...he belongs*, This passage follows a deleted, considerably altered passage which read *to procure ye happyness of those who observe them* and with deletions and interlinear corrections became *towards ye procureing his own happyness...* before final deletion in favour of the present text.

¹² *shew* Interlinear reinstatement of a former deletion placed above a deleted *demonstrat[e]*.

goodness ¹ they set forth so tender, & fatherly affection in ye Author of them for ye welfare of his people, yt in yt respect, ye Institutor² of them may³ be allow'd to partake of a divine nature for no divine Being could frame a system of laws more conducive to ye happyness of Mankind than what is taught by ye Christian Religion

[M61 f]⁴ (2)⁵ proof, yt can be brought, how ye nature of Man may be prevail'd upon to beleive not only⁶ ye grossest absurdities, ye highest improbabilities, but even direct impossibilities, when designing & artfull men make use of those never failing means, pretended inspirations, Revelations & declarations of ye Will of ye Deity to bring about their ambitions & wicked purposes. The admonition & declaration of Christ sets ye force of Revelation in ye strongest light. Christ knew perfectly ye nature of Man, & ye depth of his understanding, & he declared yt⁷ false Christs & false Prophets shall arise, yt they shall shew signs & wonders, insomuch yt (if possible) they shall deceive ye very Elect; these false Christs & false Prophets are⁸ ye designing men I have describ'd, & ye means yt they have, & may yet make use of to deceive mankind, are their pretended inspirations, Revelations, & their⁹ other artfull, & wicked¹⁰ contrivevancies.

¹ A deleted *in ye author of them* stood here.

² *Institutor* Interlinear correction for deleted *Author*. Presumably unintentionally the preceding *ye* has also been struck through.

³ *may* Interlinear addition.

⁴ Now separated, it seems highly probable that M61-M62 & M63-M64 originally formed a single folded foolscap sheet. The Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 is found in the top RH margin of M62.

⁵ The bracketed number may indicate a page number (but there are no other surviving Mss numbered in this way): it probably represents "Secondly" as a point of argument.

⁶ *not only* Interlinear addition.

⁷ *yt* Interlinear addition.

⁸ *are* This follows immediately upon a deleted *were*.

⁹ *their* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *& wicked* Interlinear addition.

But least it may be objected, yt I rank ye Author of ye Christian Religion amongst ye Imposters of former Ages,¹ out of which number he is always to be excepted, I will offer some reasons, why it strongly occurs to me, yt Christ acted by a Commission & power² from God, [M62] ye he was not a pretended, but his real messenger; I will not lay much stress upon Christs working of miracles, because he himself says, false Prophets, & men not empower'd by God have done ye same, & for yt reason³ out of his great affection to his people, least they should be misled, he bids⁴ them⁵ be aware of such.

As I have observ'd before, most of ye Pretenders to Revelation, have founded their governments upon ye subjection of ye Peoples liberties, their schemes have generally been calculated to serve, & promote their own interest, & they have forced a submission to them by their pretended inspirations, always declareing upon such occasions, yt what they directed, was ye Will⁶ & command of ye Deity, when at ye same time it plainly appear'd yt what⁷ they requir'd from ye People in obedience to ye will of ye Deity, tended solely to ye raising their own power, & greatness, & directly⁸ to ye enslaveing those who submitted to them;⁹ but let us¹⁰ examine into ye Christian Institution & you will find it quite otherwise[.]¹¹ it will no where appear, yt ye

¹ *of former Ages* Interlinear addition.

² *& power* Interlinear addition.

³ *& for yt reason* Interlinear correction for deleted *therefore*.

⁴ *bids* Interlinear correction for deleted *tells*.

⁵ A deleted *to* stood here.

⁶ A blot here partially conceals an *of*. This may be the result of an intended deletion.

⁷ *what* follows a deleted *their*.

⁸ *directly* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *to them*; follows a deleted *it*. A small closure point stands after *submitted*, suggesting that the author might have intended the abandoned *it* to begin a new sentence.

¹⁰ *let us* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ *& you will find it quite otherwise[.]* Interlinear addition.

Author thereof¹ had any such views, he declares his Kingdom was not of this World, yt his people were not to expect from him, honours, riches or power, but on ye contrary, he tells [M63 f]² them, yt those who³ will follow him, those who will be obedient to his laws, must not only renounce ye pleasures of this World, must not only refrain from⁴ gratifying their sensual appetites, but must expect to suffer all manner of ill treatment, indignities, persecutions, & even death itself; ye inducements he lays before them, ye promises of rewards yt he makes to them, in order to prevaile with them to observe his commandments, are of an other nature; he tells them, yt ye rewards they should⁵ receive for all their sufferings in this life⁶, were to be conferr'd upon them after death, a notion (⁷ if it was not altogether new, ⁸ was very darkly conceiv'd in those days, & most likely could not greatly influence ye mind of Man;

what therefore could be ye intent & purpose of yt holy Persons establishing ye Government, yt he formed here upon Earth, his condescending goodness, his infinite concern for⁹ & his great desire¹⁰ to procure happyness to Mankind, he knew yt there was an immortality, he knew, & declar'd it to Man¹¹, how much more preferable, of how much greater consequence it was to Man to procure happyness in yt immortal state

¹ *thereof* The *there* is an interlinear addition, replacing a deleted *it* which follows after *of*.

² See the note to heading of M61. The Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 stands in the top RH margin.

³ *who* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *only refrain from* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *should* Follows a deleted *were*, possibly of a previously intended *were to*.

⁶ *life* Interlinear correction for deleted *World*.

⁷ Though an opening bracket stands here in the text, there is no indication of a closing bracket later.

⁸ A deleted *it* stood here.

⁹ *for* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *& his great desire* Interlinear correction for deleted *& care*.

¹¹ *& declar'd it to Man* Interlinear addition.

than to seek it here upon Earth, where ye wisest of all [M64]¹ notwithstanding² all ye seeming disadvantages, & real discouragements to³ ye Professors of it, notwithstanding all ye endeavours of ye most powerfull Princes upon Earth for many ages to suppress, & extinguish it, but in vain; consider now it's flourishing condition; what can this be oweing to, (ye power of Man, if it could not have prevail'd, would have destroy'd it) but ye immediat hand of God; this I think strongly proves yt Christ, who was ye Founder of this Religion acted by a Commission from God. ⁴ again⁵ Let us consider Christ with respect to what he suffer'd in ye execution of this Coms. & I beleive no story can produce an instance in human nature of so much goodness, of so great patience & forbearance, & of such fortitude. Christ for his love to Man which surpasses all things, yt human nature can conceive, [M65 iv]⁶ for no Man yet ever lay'd down his life for his Brother altho ye most dear to him,⁷ suffer'd not only ye vilest ⁸ treatment, while he was here upon earth,⁹ but at last a most cruel & an ignominious death,¹⁰ when he undertook this Coms. he knew this would be ye consequence, he knew what he was to suffer, for upon several occasions he¹¹ declar'd it,

¹ At the top of M64 stood this deleted passage: *Men could not find it; he knew ye means by which it might be procur'd, & declar'd them to Man. by ye laws & rules he gave him to walk by he therefore put it wholly into Man's power to work out his own salvation & his eternal happyness, & he/Man is answerable to himself alone, if dos not procure it. * ye preservation of ye Religion yt Christ instituted.* The asterisk presumably indicates that a corrected version of this existed at one point for insertion here: however, it does not appear to have survived amongst these Mss.

² *notwithstanding* The *not* and *standing* of this are interlinear additions.

³ *to* Interlinear correction for deleted *of*.

⁴ The following deleted passage stood here: *Let us consider what Christ suffer'd with respect to ye execution of this Coms.*

⁵ *again* Interlinear addition.

⁶ M65-M68 are formed from a single folded foolscap sheet. M66-M68 are entirely blank. The Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 is found in the top RH margin of M65.

⁷ *altho ye most dear to him,* Interlinear addition.

⁸ An underlined & *ye most ignominious* stands here.

⁹ *while he was here upon earth* Interlinear addition in place of & *ye most ignominious*.

¹⁰ A smudge obscures the following which may or may not have been intended to stand here: *& this he did.*

¹¹ *he* Interlinear addition.

¹ ² he knew likewise³ yt for all his sufferings here he should no way better his condition, or reap any advantage to himself⁴ from them. notwithstanding yet voluntarily unask'd by Man, unworthy Man who could plead no merit, he undertook this painfull coms. for his sake, in order to procure his happyness for ye future. Such an Act speaks itself, surely it declares a divine Spirit, there never was, or ever will be a human nature so disinterested, yt shewed so much goodness, or was capable of such a performance without ye divine assistance; therefore ye Author of this great work must have been supported therein, must have been impower'd to go through with it by a divine spirit from God, which I think is a strong confirmation of⁵ what I undertook to prove,⁶ ye ye Author of ye Christian Religion was not an Imposter, but a real & true Messenger from God.

[M66 M67 & M68]⁷

[M69 iv]⁸ ⁹ & therefore very reasonable to suppose, yt it sprung from a divine nature.¹⁰ it fully¹¹ & undeniably¹² appears yt he happyness, if

¹ An asterisk at this point in the text is followed by the passage *notwithstanding yet voluntarily unask'd by Man...for ye future*. Another asterisk indicates the point at which this material was to be inserted into the main text.

² A second asterisk appears here, preceded by these deleted words: *when at ye same time*.

³ *likewise* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *to himself* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *I think is a strong confirmation of* Interlinear correction for deleted *proves*.

⁶ *prove* Interlinear correction for deleted *shew*.

⁷ M66, M67 & M68 are all blank.

⁸ M69 & M70 are formed from a half sheet of foolscap, with the gilded edge to the RH of M69. The Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 appears on the LH bottom margin of M69, where a curious diagram (a map of a road junction?) has been drawn.

⁹ The first word is the deleted *nature*,

¹⁰ *nature*. A deleted interlinear *principal* stands above.

¹¹ *fully* A deleted *plainly* stands before this.

¹² *& undeniably* Interlinear addition.

not more¹ ² & ye³ salvation of Mankind hereafter⁴ were ye only motives, to this undertaking,⁵ ye performing works of this kind unasked, where no merite could be pleaded by Man⁶ for ye inducement, but on ye contrary where ye greatest⁷ provocations had for many ages⁸ past been constantly⁹ given, where ye Person, who undertook ye work knew, how much he must suffer for ye same, & yt he with respect to himself could be no ways better'd by it. such an act¹⁰ speaks itself, surely it declares a di[vine] spir[it].¹¹ there never was or ever will be a human nature so disinterested¹² yt shew'd so much goodness or was capable of such a performance without ye divine assistance, therefore ye Author of this work must be more than Man.

[laws tending so directly towards ye rendering him¹³ a perfect Being[,] ¹⁴so excellent in themselves, so justly calculated for ye government of ye¹⁵ passions, yt¹⁶ if duly observ'd, will cause ye human¹⁷ nature in some degree to approach ye divine therefore not

¹ *if not more* Interlinear addition.

² An underlined *redemption* stands here.

³ *ye* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *hereafter* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *to this undertaking* Interlinear addition. A deleted *for* stands between *to* & *this*.

⁶ *by Man* Interlinear addition.

⁷ *ye greatest* Interlinear correction for deleted *such*, with a plural *s* added to the following *provocation(s)*.

⁸ *ages* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *constantly* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *such an act* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye thing*.

¹¹ *surely it declares a di.[vine] spir.[it]* Interlinear addition.

¹² *so disinterested* Interlinear correction for deleted *capable of such a performance*.

¹³ *him* Interlinear correction for deleted *Man*.

¹⁴ *tending so directly...perfect Being* Interlinear addition.

¹⁵ *ye* Interlinear correction for deleted *Man's*.

¹⁶ *yt* Interlinear correction for deleted &.

¹⁷ *human* The two syllables are separated across the end and beginning of a line, with a deleted *natu* (of *nature*) standing between.

unreasonable to suppose, yt they dirive their original from a divine power]¹

[M70]²

[M71 iv]³ (11) should no way better his condition, or reap any advantage to himself; yet not withstanding voluntarily unask'd by Man, who could plead no merite, he undertook this painfull commission for his sake in order tp procure his future happyness. such an Act speaks itself, surely it declares a divine spirit, there never was or ever will be a human nature so disinterested, yt shew'd so much goodness, & compassion, or was capable of such a performance without ye immediate assistance of a divine power, therefore ye Author of this great work must have been supported therein, must have been impower'd to go through with it by a spirit from God, which I bring as a further confirmation of what I undertook to prove, yt ye Institutor of ye Christian Religion was not an Imposter, but a real, & true messenger from God.

This long digression arises from my desire, & intention to make manifest to ye World⁴ yt I look upon ye Revelations deleiver'd [M72] (12) by Christ to Man to be true, & genuine, & such as he receiv'd

¹ The material within the editorial brackets stands at the foot of M69, and appears unrelated grammatically with the preceding passages.

² M70 is blank.

³ M71 & M72 are formed of a single sheet taken from a full foolscap sheet. They bear authorial numbers (11) & (12) in the top LH margin, and were clearly once joined to M9 & M10. This is borne out not merely by the numbering, handwriting, subject-matter and the flow of the language, but also by an irregular matching tear along the torn edge of both Mss. The subject-matter continues directly from M72 to M80, but as the remainder of the group of pages to which M80 belongs has been used to continue another part of the *Essay*, the point of connection is merely noted here. Catalogue mark CH J8/35 in top RH margin of M71.

⁴ to ye *World* Interlinear addition.

from God; & I also intend further¹ by this digression to make it appear, & I hope I have done so² yt numbers of pretended Revelations have been impos'd upon Man to his great detriment & hurt.

I shall now proceed to treat upon what I propos'd, should be ye subject of this enquiry, yt Man can not possibly know for what end, or to what purpose ye supreme Being has created this Universe; ye reasons yt Man, (I mean a set of men, who pretend to govern ye rest of mankind) give, & assign³ to be ye cause of this stupendious & incomprehensible work of ye Deitys, are so weak, & so ill grounded, (as I hope to make appear in ye sequel⁴ of this treatise) yt I think every unprejudiced, every considerate Man must reject them. altho it is pretended, yt ye opinion yt Man holds concerning ye creation of ye Universe be founded & authoris'd by a Revelation from God, yet if it⁵ shall be⁶ demonstrated, yt yt opinion is inconsistent, & contradictory to ye attribuits of ye supreme

[M73 iv]⁷ yet⁸ Before I proceed to treat upon what I propos'd should be ye subject of this enquiry⁹ yt Man can not possibly know for what end, or to what purpose ye supreme Being has created ye Universe, I

¹ *further* Interlinear correction for deleted *ed* of *intended*[*ed*].

² *& I hope I have done so* Interlinear addition.

³ *give, & assign* These were originally written as a collective singular, with a final *s* that has been deleted in the text.

⁴ *sequel* The author may mean a separate work here, or perhaps more probably he merely refers to a later part of the present work, making *sequel - remainder/conclusion*.

⁵ *it* Interlinear addition.

⁶ *shall be* A rather feint *ap* stands between these two words – possibly the beginning of an intended *appear* abandoned in favour of the present *demonstrated*.

⁷ M73 & M74 are formed from a single sheet taken from a folded foolscap sheet. The Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 appears in the top RH margin of M73.

⁸ *yet* A LH marginal addition, presumably introduced to effect a better linkage with the preceding pages (possibly M65).

⁹ There is an erasure here – possibly originally *I will*.

¹ must beg leave to make an other short² digression with respect to those Persons³ who are appointed by our laws to perform all religious dutys for ye service of ye Communities to which they belong, I admit yt it is absolutely necessary, yt there should be such,⁴ & I am perswaded yt by their good conduct & behavior ye generality of them are of great use to ye rest of mankind.

I admit yt ye appointment of such for ye due & regular government of ye Church besides their other services⁵ is absolutely necessary, yt they⁶ by their preachings & exhortations seting forth ye dutys of a Christian Life & ye rewards yt hereafter⁷ shall attend those hereafter⁸ who perform ye same[.]⁹ [M74] I admit, yt ye appointment of such¹⁰ for ye due & regular government of ye Church is absolutely necessary. I acknowledge likewise¹¹ yt these Gentlemen may, & I do beleive many¹² of them are of great use¹³, by their preachings & exhortations, seting forth ye necessity & advantages¹⁴ to a true Christian Life, & shewing to Man of what infinite benefit it is to him¹⁵ stricktly to perform all moral dutys, than ye due observance of which nothing can contribuit more to ye good¹⁶ &

¹ There is a small erasure here – now quite uncertain.

² *short* Interlinear addition.

³ *Persons* Interlinear correction for deleted *who take upon them to be ye Expounders of Gods Will & intentions. I admit yt it is absolutely necessary,*

⁴ *yt it is absolutely necessary, yt there should be such* Interlinear correction for deleted *they may be of great uses, & I beleivethy are of great service & may.*

⁵ *besides their other services* Interlinear addition.

⁶ *they* Interlinear addition, followed by a deleted interlinear *besides their other.*

⁷ *hereafter* Interlinear addition. (See following)

⁸ *hereafter* Interlinear addition. Presumably the author would not have intended both this and the previous interlinear addition to stand: neither, however, has been deleted.

⁹ *ye same* This is written immediately after a deleted *those dutys.*

¹⁰ *ye appoint,ent of such* Interlinear correction for deleted *yt it is absolutely necessary.*

¹¹ *I acknowledge likewise* Interlinear addition.

¹² *many* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye generality.* (The last part of the word, however, stands at the beginning of a new line, and has not been deleted.)

¹³ *great use* Originally followed by deleted *to Mankind.*

¹⁴ *seting forth ye necessity & advantages* Interlinear correction for deleted *ye.*

¹⁵ Small erasure. The original is unclear, though possibly *to.*

¹⁶ An underlined & *happyness* stands here, to be replaced by & *prosperity.*

prosperity¹ of all societys in which² consists chiefly Man's³ happyness in this life. if these gentlemen would stop here, if they⁴ would confine themselves to these usefull parts of their offices which I think is their only & sole business,⁵ as I said before they would be of great service & benefit to mankind.⁶ but few of them will submit soly to yt part of their office or admit yt this is all they have to do.⁷ they declare & insist yt they are, & only ought to be⁸ ye Expounders, & interpreters of God's will & intentions. they take upon them to tell you in ye most peremptory manner why God did this or yt, for what purpose he did ye other,⁹ & what he further intends to do. things impossible for Man to know, unless revealed to him by God. in this they follow ye example [M75 iv]¹⁰ of their Predecessours ye Pagan Priests, only with this apparent disadvantage, ye Priests in those days kept their oracles & sacred books wholly to themselves. ye Laity as we now term them¹¹ were never permitted to look into or examine them. by yt means they could more easily impose upon ye People wholly ignorant of what those books contain'd & who from their great superstition repos'd an intire beleive in them by ye answer they gave of ye pretended will & directions of their Gods. ye¹² Christian Priests¹³ acts in one respect more generously & fairly, but in an¹⁴ other as arbitrarily & unfairly,

¹ & prosperity Interlinear addition.

² in which A deleted interlinear *whence* stands above this.

³ chiefly Man's Interlinear correction for deleted *yt* and *of Man here upon earth*.

⁴ if they Interlinear correction for deleted &.

⁵ which I think is their only & sole business, Interlinear addition.

⁶ mankind. Originally followed by deleted *in their several stations*.

⁷ or admit yt this is all they have to do Interlinear addition.

⁸ only ought to be Mainly sublinear correction for deleted *must be*. The *be* of the final version is squeezed into the RH margin above *to*.

⁹ for what purpose he did ye other, Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ M75 & M76 formed from one piece of a folded foolscap sheet. Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 in top RH margin.

¹¹ as wee now term them Interlinear addition.

¹² A deleted *true* stood here.

¹³ There is an erasure, now indecipherable, before *acts*. The mismatch in number between this and *priests* is original.

¹⁴ an Interlinear addition.

more unfairly than¹ ye Pagan² they lay before you their sacred oracles ye books wherein they pretend ye Will of God is contain'd, they bid you read, examine, & judg for yourself,³ & when Man dos so, if he differs in opinion from them in ye meaning of those books they declare yt is erroneous judgment,⁴ yt he has made a false⁵ interpretation of ye sense & meaning of ye Authors, they assert⁶ yt they alone are ye proper Expounders of those sacred Oracles, & yt Man must submit his judg- [M76] ment in all things relateing thereunto⁷ to their explanations, they being⁸ ye⁹ proper Judges[.] in this I say they act more unfairly & more foolishly¹⁰ than ye pagan priest, they first¹¹ bid you make use of your reason[,] they tell you¹² judg for yourself, & when you do so & differ from them, they declare your judgment erron[eous].¹³ they punish you for so doing,¹⁴ they denounce¹⁵ you a¹⁶ Heretick, & unbeleiver, & prosecute you as such. is not this still keeping ye power in their own¹⁷ hands of declareing what Man is or¹⁸ is not to beleive, notwithstanding this¹⁹ specious shew of leaving Man at liberty to judg for himself[.]

¹ *more unfairly than* Interlinear corrections for deleted *they* and *was*.

² *Pagan* A deleted *Priests* stood here.

³ *self* Interlinear correction for deleted *selves*.

⁴ *declare yt is erroneous judgment*, Interlinear correction for deleted original *say he has made a wrong judgment*. An earlier interlinear correction *is judgement* still stands undeleted.

⁵ *yt he has made a false* Interlinear correction for deleted *yt he has made an irroneously [false]*.

⁶ *they assert* Interlinear correction for deleted *&*.

⁷ *thereunto* Interlinear correction for deleted *sacred History* and interlinear deleted correction *oracles*.

A redundant to still stands undeleted in the text.

⁸ *they being* Interlinear correction for deleted *who are*.

⁹ A deleted *only* stood here.

¹⁰ *& more foolishly* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ *first* Interlinear addition.

¹² *they tell you* Interlinear addition.

¹³ *they declare your judgment erron.[eous]* Interlinear addition.

¹⁴ A deleted *they raise prosecutions against you* stood here.

¹⁵ *they denounce* Interlinear correction for deleted *& declare*.

¹⁶ *a* Interlinear addition. Explained by the deletion of the final *s* of *Heretick[s]* and *unbeleiver[s]*.

¹⁷ *own* Interlinear addition.

¹⁸ *or* Interlinear correction for deleted *to beleive of & what he*.

¹⁹ *this* Interlinear correction for deleted *they have made a*.

but if they would leave it here, ye case with Man would not be so bad, it is possible yt they may make a righter interpretation of those holy¹ books than ye generality of ye Layity do. but yet if Man upon their invitation, by their directions, reads, examines, & judges afterwards of ye meaning of those books, according to ye best of his understanding, & agreable to his reason, altho he may be mistaken as to ye meaning of some abstruse points, yet if ye explication he makes² of any text in which he differs from them³ leads him not to countenance or commit any immoral act, sure he might rest [M77 f]⁴ undisturb'd in ye opinion he has formed[.] they may pitty him but they ought not to judg him an object fit for punishment, as is generally ye case,⁵

Let us now trye ye revelations of Moses by ye⁶ Rule, yt I have lay'd down.⁷ & ⁸ from thence observe whither there appear those indelible Characters of a divine spirit in ye declarations he made to ye Israelites⁹ of ye commands of God.¹⁰ but¹¹ before I enter into a nice enquiry ¹² of ye commands & laws which he Moses pretended he receiv'd from God, I shall ¹³ [M78] ¹⁴ take some little notice of¹⁵ ye

¹ *holy* Interlinear addition.

² *he makes* Interlinear addition.

³ *in which he differs from them* Interlinear addition.

⁴ M77 & M78 are formed from part of a single folded foolscap sheet. The Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 appears in the top RH margin.

⁵ The following deleted passage stood here: *for after he has been thus invited to examine & judg for him self if he happens to differ in meaning from these infalible Expounders of Gods Will, his opinion is condemn'd, they denounce him a Heretick, an unbeleiver, & prosecute him as such, thus they first direct Man [you] to judg for himself [yourself], & then punish you for so doing afterwards.*

⁶ *ye* Interlinear correction for deleted *this*.

⁷ The following deleted passage stood here: *as to his miracles which are urg'd as ye strongest proof of his being inspir'd, & of ye intercourse he had with God,*

⁸ A deleted *examine* stood here, with a deleted interlinear correction *let us* above.

⁹ *ye Israelites* A deleted *ye people* stands immediately before.

¹⁰ *of God.* Interlinear correction for deleted *which hepretended he had receiv'd from God.*

¹¹ *but* LH marginal addition.

¹² A deleted *of ye reasonableness* stood here.

¹³ A deleted *observe in* stood here.

¹⁴ A deleted *general* stood here.

¹⁵ *take some little notice of* Addition made in top margin.

character he gives of ye Supreme Being[.] he makes¹ him more imperfect, more subject to human frailtys² than his Creature Man[.] he represents him as a jealous, inconstant passionate & a³ revengefull Being, he declares yt some times he loved, sometimes he hated his people, & often yt it repented him of what he had done to him,⁴ in several places he says yt God declar'd⁵ yt ye⁶ children of Israel were his⁷ chosen people a partiality so contradictory to ye attribuits of yt perfect Being, yt it can not be imputed to him without ye being guilty of⁸ blasphemy. if it be urg'd, yt it was necessary for Moses to represent to ye Israelites Gods justice & providence in those human figures as being⁹ more comprehensive & better adapted¹⁰ to their understandings & capacities I answer, yt as it was¹¹ impossible for yt Almighty Being, to have declar'd his will, if he did think it fit to reveal in such words as these, such expressions¹² being inconsistant with his nature, & attribuits, ¹³ this particular alone¹⁴ will draw ye truth of Moses revelations into question, at least this must be acknowledg'd by his most zealous Advocate [M79 iv]¹⁵ 2nd. yt Moses did not faithfully & literally deleiver ye commands he receiv'd from God to ye people of Israel. & surely yt ought to have done since it

¹ *makes* Interlinear correction for deleted *pre* of *presents?* and *represents*.

² *frailtys* Interlinear correction for deleted *Passions*.

³ *passionate & a* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *to him* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *he says yt God declar'd* Interlinear addition.

⁶ A deleted *Peop* of *People* stood here.

⁷ *his* Interlinear reinstatement of deleted *his* and deleted interlinear *Gods*.

⁸ *out ye being guilty of* Interlinear addition.

⁹ *being* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *& better adapted* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ *was* Interlinear addition.

¹² *such expressions* These words are written above and below a deleted *they*.

¹³ A deleted *it w* of *will?* stood here.

¹⁴ *alone* Interlinear addition.

¹⁵ M79 & M80 are formed from part of a single folded foolscap sheet. M79 continues the argument of M78, while M80 clearly was related to M9, M10 and M71 & M72, and carries an authorial page number (13). The Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 appears in the top RH margin of M80.

appears from his own writings yt¹ he says what God has reveal'd² to me, yt I declare unto you, & in an other place he makes a Prophet of ye Lord³ declare, when he was requir'd to curse ye people of Israel,⁴ I can neither add, or diminish from what God has commanded me to say.

An⁵ other observation may be made yt may draw likewise⁶ ye validity of Moses's writings into question. he himself gives an account of his death, & buriall, with this remarkable passage yt⁷ no man knoweth⁸ of his sepulcher unto⁹ this day, it is most certain, yt Moses could not write¹⁰ an account of his own death & burial, & most likely yt passage, wherein it is said, yt¹¹ no man knoweth of his sepulchre to this day, must have been writ long after his death, & if one thing has been added no body can be certain what has or has not been added throughout¹² all his books.

[M80] (13) Being, who can never act contrary to his nature, is it not more reasonable to suppose, yt this is an invention of Man's than a declaration made from God to Man, of his Will, & purpose; especially since ye Publisher of this pretended Revelation appears to be a Ruler & Governour over a People, which power he usurp'd, & maintain'd by this, & many other ye like pretended Revelations;

¹ *yt* Interlinear correction for deleted *wherein*.

² *reveal'd* Interlinear correction for deleted *declar'd*.

³ *ye Lord* Interlinear correction for deleted *God*.

⁴ *when he was requir'd to curse ye people of Israel* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *An* A deleted *There* began this sentence, and it seems that the present *An* has been formed out of an original *after*.

⁶ *likewise* Interlinear addition.

⁷ A deleted *ye place of his sepulchre is not even known to this day* stood here.

⁸ A deleted *ye place* stood here.

⁹ *unto* Interlinear reinstatement of a deleted *unto*.

¹⁰ *write* This follows a deleted *give an*.

¹¹ *wherein it is said, yt* Interlinear correction for deleted *yt says*.

¹² A deleted *ye re of rest or remainder?* stood here.

originally¹ he had no legal authority over ye People he govern'd by any consent or act of theirs, or from any hereditary right of his own. he found ye means to make an ignorant superstitious People, beleive² yt God had appointed him their Ruler, & from his pretended intercourse with God they implicitly³ submitted to his Will, & by yt means he brought all his designs to bear & preserv'd his power, which ignorant, & superstitious as yt People were, they ever now, & then call'd in question[.]

[M81 iv]⁴ In order to make good my assertion yt Man can not possibly know ye Will & intention of God unless ye same be⁵ Reveal'd to him by⁶ God, I judge'd it necessary to set forth ye inconsistency & presumption of ye Gentlemen I have been speaking off in assumeing to themselves to be ye sole Interpreters of those⁷ sacred Books which they offer to ye examination & judgment of ye Layty,⁸ altho they are⁹ no where authorised by those books to assume such a power to themselves. From hence they declare yt God revealed his will to Moses, yt ye Supreme Being condescended to acquaint his Prophet as they term him¹⁰ why, & for what end & purpose he¹¹ created ye Universe, yt God¹² further told him yt he made mankind¹³

¹ *originally* Interlinear addition.

² *beleive* Interlinear addition.

³ *implicitly* Interlinear addition.

⁴ M81-M84 are formed from a single folded foolscap sheet. The Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 appears in the top LH margin of M84. M81 has a vertical discoloration band, approximately ½" wide, running through the entire page about one third of the page from the LH fold.

⁵ *ye same be* Interlinear correction for deleted *by a [Revel]ation deleiver 'd.*

⁶ *by* Interlinear correction for deleted *from.*

⁷ *those* Interlinear correction for deleted *our.*

⁸ *which they offer to ye examination & judgment of ye Layty.* This passage appears in the top margin with no indication where it should be inserted. Although the wording differs in detail, the present suggestion follows the precedent of M18.

⁹ *they are* Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ *as they term him* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ A deleted interlinear *had* stood here.

¹² *God* Interlinear correction for deleted *he.*

¹³ *kind* Interlinear addition to *Man.*

in his own image & what he requir'd from him,¹ & yt he had given him power over all ye liveing creatures upon ye² earth, yt they all should be subservient to his will & pleasure. in short yt every thing not only this globe & all things therein contain'd, but also³ all ye Celestial Bodys were made solely, & only for his use, this declaration of Moses of ye pretended Wil of God is ye foundation [M82] upon which⁴ these infallible Expounders stand⁵ from hence they declare ye knowledg they have of⁶ ye intention of ye supreme Being & why he created ye Universe⁷ this is what they require, yt Man implicitly should give an intire credit to.

The single consideration here is to enquire & examine ye truth of this declaration & upon which I think will wholly turn,⁸ whither ye⁹ Revelation declar'd by¹⁰ Moses is a¹¹ pretended, or a real one deleiver'd to him from God.

This single consideration here, &¹² upon which I think ye truth or falsehood¹³ of this declaration will be made¹⁴ fully to appear, is to examine¹⁵ whither ye Revelation declar'd by Moses to be deleiver'd

¹ & what he requir'd from him Interlinear addition, followed by a deleted interlinear *in discharge of ye.*

² ye Interlinear addition.

³ also Interlinear addition.

⁴ upon which Interlinear correction for deleted *yt.*

⁵ A deleted *upon* atood here.

⁶ of Interlinear addition.

⁷ A deleted & stood here.

⁸ & upon which ye truth of this declaration will wholly turn Interlinear addition. But ye truth of this declaration is itself a further correction of a deleted *this assertion.*

⁹ ye Interlinear correction for deleted *this.*

¹⁰ declar'd by Interlinear correction for deleted *of.* The last syllable of *Revelation* appears to have been deleted in error.

¹¹ A deleted *real* stood here.

¹² & Interlinear reinstatement of a deletion.

¹³ or falsehood Interlinear addition.

¹⁴ be made Correction after deleted *wholly turn.*

¹⁵ examine Correction after deleted *enquire.*

to him from God be a real or a pretended one. ¹ I know but one[,] [M83] there can not be a truer² or a more certain³ rule⁴ to trye ye truth⁵ of all Revelations than by examineing into ye doctrine & purport of ye Revelation deleiver'd, if it contains instructions for ye good conduct of Mans life ⁶ inforceing ⁷ all moral dutys by ye due ⁸ observance of which Man⁹ will ever¹⁰ acquit himself to God, & his neighbour¹¹ in whatsoever station of life he may be placed, if ye said Revelation enjoyns no arbitrary commands, enforces no useless or unnecessary ceremonies, directs nothing contradictory or inconsistant¹² to ye notion yt Man has formed himself of¹³ ye attribuit of ye Being from whence it is suppos'd¹⁴ yt ye Revelation is diriv'd[,]¹⁵ if it is¹⁶ agreable in all things¹⁷ to reason which must always direct Man in ye judgment he makes in these & in all other¹⁸ cases whatsoever, ¹⁹ for nothing is more certain than this yt a Being of infinite wisdom & perfection can never act contrary to ye rules of right reason[.] [M84] in short if it tends solely to ye good &

¹ The following deleted passage stood here, continuing at the top of M83: *I know but one Revelation in story, yt in my opinion can justly be deem'd a true one, & I have given my reasons why I look upon yt ye Revelation of God's Will declar'd to Man by Christ to be such, I have taken notice of several instances in ye pagan story & many more might be named of ye like nature, wherein ye falsety [M83] of ye pretended Revelations evidently appears.*

² *a truer* Interlinear correction for deleted *better*.

³ *more certain* Interlinear correction for deleted *truer*.

⁴ *rule* Interlinear correction for deleted *proof*.

⁵ *truth* Interlinear correction for deleted *validity*.

⁶ The following deleted passage stood here: *tending to ye making him a just, honest,*

⁷ The following deleted interlinear words stood here: *ye observance of.*

⁸ A deleted *of* stood here.

⁹ *Man* Interlinear correction for deleted *he*.

¹⁰ *ever* Interlinear addition.

¹¹ *his neighbour* Interlinear correction for deleted *Man*.

¹² *or inconsistant* Addition made under the affected line.

¹³ *dictory to ye notion yt Man has formed himself of* Interlinear correction for deleted *ry* [of *contrary*] to reason, to ye.

¹⁴ *suppos'd* Interlinear correction for deleted *urg'd*.

¹⁵ *diriv'd* Correction for deleted *deliver'd*.

¹⁶ *is* Interlinear addition.

¹⁷ *in all things* Interlinear addition.

¹⁸ *other* Interlinear addition.

¹⁹ The following deleted passage stood here: *if it is in all things agreable to ye notions yt Man has formed to himself of yt supreme being,*

happyness of Mankind, & not to ye raiseing ye power or answering ye private interest¹ of those who declare it upon ye ruin & misery of ye people, to whom it is deleiver'd then wee may justly suppose, yt it proceeds² from God, but if on ye contrary³ it dos not carry these indelible Characters of a divine Spirit, if it apparently directly⁴ tends to ye raiseing ye power, & greatness of ye Lawgiver, yt declares it, & to ye apparant injury & detriment⁵ of ye People to whom it is denounced by reduceing them to slavery & misery,⁶ then with great justice & reason it may be boldly affirmed yt such Revelation dos⁷ not come from God.

First whither if they be agreable to ye nature & attribuits of ye Supreme Being, & if so they will of consequence⁸ tend⁹ to ye good, & happyness of Mankind, or whither it plainly appears yt God's name is made use by ye pretended Revelation to raise power & greatness to ye Person yt declares it & at ye same time brings misery & slavery to ye People to whom it is denounced.

[M85 f]¹⁰ I will now examine in a more particular manner concerning ye children of Israel: yt God told him yt he had seen their afflictions & had heard their cry & gave him directions by what means & in what manner he should bring them out of ye land of Egypt,¹¹ & ye

¹ *or answering ye private interest* Interlinear addition.

² *proceeds* Interlinear correction for deleted *comes*.

³ *on ye contrary* Interlinear addition.

⁴ *directly* Interlinear addition.

⁵ *detriment* Interlinear correction for deleted *misery*.

⁶ *reducing them to slavery & misery* Interlinear correction for deleted *depriving of their liberties*.

⁷ *dos* Interlinear correction for deleted *can*.

⁸ *if they be agreable to ye nature & attribuits of ye Supreme Being & if so they will of consequence* Interlinear correction for deleted *it*.

⁹ Originally written *tends*.

¹⁰ M85-M88 are formed from a single folded foolscap sheet. Apart from the Catalogue mark J8/35 in the top RH corner of M87, M87 and M88 are blank.

¹¹ *concerning ye children...ye land of Egypt* A substantial addition made in the top margin.

othere¹ pretended revelations of Moses by ye means of which it appears plainly yt he usurped² ye authority & government yt he assum'd over ye people of Israel. I will begin with his miracles which are urg'd as ye strongest proof of his divine inspiration, I shall repeat nothing but his own words, Moses gives an account of ye converse he held with God,³ he is to convince Pharaoh of ye truth of his mission, ye power God gave him workeing miracles[.]⁴ ye First three miracles he wrought, or Aaron by his directions which I admit to be ye same thing were⁵ turning a rod into a serpent, water into blood, & causing frogs to come up & cover ye whole land of Egypt, Pharaoh's Magicians performed ye same. no body will dispute but yt ye great Creator of ye Univers can alter ye natural course of things which whenever it is done is understood by⁶ working a miracle, but I beleive it will be allow'd from experience, which [M86] I think is a much more certain rule to judg by, than from tradition, yt God Almighty⁷ very seldom if ever⁸ interposes in yt manner, but suffers nature to take its course. All ye accounts wee have of Fairies, witches & spirits in former times are now generally⁹ exploded, & I believe most¹⁰ thinking men are of opinion, there never were any such things. ye question here will be if miracles can be wrought by any other power than what is diriv'd from God. (¹¹ I do suppose it will be admitted, yt they can not. then it will necessarily follow yt yt part of

¹ & *othere* Interlinear additions.

² There is a vertical pen-stroke here that seems inexplicable.

³ This deleted passage stood here: & of ye directions ye Almighty gave him in order to bring ye Children of Israel out of ye land of Egypt,

⁴ ye power God gave him Interlinear correction for deleted *by and of*.

⁵ were Correction after deleted *which*.

⁶ understood by Interlinear addition.

⁷ yt God Almighty Interlinear addition.

⁸ The following deleted words stood here: *alters ye natural course of things*.

⁹ generally Interlinear addition.

¹⁰ most Interlinear correction for deleted *all*.

¹¹ This opening bracket is left unclosed.

ye account which Moses gives of Pharaohs Magicians working of miracles must be false, for it is absurd to suppose, yt God would give Pharaoh's Magicians a power to work miracles only to invalidate ye truth of ye miracles which he had given a power to Moses to¹ perform, when, & especially since² those miracles were to be ye credentials, & ye only proof³ of his mission from God. if therefore one part of ye story relateing to ye working of miracles is deducted, it will naturally draw a strong suspicion upon ye other part, & of consequence concerning all ye accounts yt Moses⁴ gives of ye Miracles he performed afterwards.

[M87]⁵

[M88]⁶

[M89 f]⁷ The next thing I shall take notice of is ye use, yt Moses made of these pretended revelations, & from thence observe whither they carry'd yt indelible character of a divine spirit, seting forth ye goodness of God, in communicateing to Man such commands & instructions as tended solely towards ye procureing Mans⁸ happyness in this life, or whither they manifestly⁹ appear to be calculated for ye establishing¹⁰ Moses a power & dominion over ye people of Israel, & made use of by him¹¹ upon all occasions through out his whole

¹ *which he had given a power to* Interlinear correction to replace deleted *did*.

² *& especially since* Interlinear addition.

³ *ye credentials & ye only proof* Interlinear correction for deleted *his*.

⁴ *yt Moses* Interlinear correction for deleted *he*.

⁵ M87 is blank except for the Catalogue mark noted earlier.

⁶ M88 is blank.

⁷ M89-M92 are formed from a single folded foolscap sheet. Apart from the Catalogue mark J8/35 in the top LH corner, M92 remains blank.

⁸ *Mans* Interlinear correction for deleted *his*.

⁹ *manifestly* follows a deleted *apparent*.

¹⁰ *ye establishing* Interlinear correction for deleted *giveing*.

¹¹ *him* Interlinear correction for deleted *Moses*.

history for ye support & maintenance of yt powers. when God first appear'd to Moses while he kept his Father in law's flocks he gave him a command ¹ to bring his people out of the land of bondage, this command must necessarily invest an arbitrary power in Moses to direct, command & govern ye Israelites as he thought fit. as it was denounc'd by him to ye people yt it was ye command of God, it must imply yt ye people were to give an intire obedience to whatsoever he thought fit to direct relateing thereunto.²

[M90] this is what Moses declares to ye Israelites & to this they submit haveing no other authority or motive to give credit than³ ye bear word⁴ of Moses, here is lay'd ye foundation & establishment of Moses's government over ye people of Israel. let us see now what use he makes of ye authority he has thus usurped by means of these pretended commands.⁵

as soon as he had got quit of Pharaoh & had conducted his numerous host into ye Wilderness, he takes upon him⁶ ye authority of a Prince, he makes⁷ laws, appoints P.[riests] & elders over ye pe.[ople],⁸ decides all controversies relating to property, & disposes, & directs every thing according to his will, & pleasure, for ye doing of all

¹ These deleted interlinear additions stood here: *as he pretended, & declar'd ye same to ye Isra:[elites]*

² *this command...relateing thereunto.* This passage is written in the top margin, and evidently replaces the deleted passage at the bottom of the page, which ran: *this is what Moses declares to ye Israelites, & ye Israelites had only Moses's word for it. this is ye foundation, & establishment of Moses's government* It continues at the top of M90: *to this it appears yt ye Israelites submitted to upon this ye bear declaration of Moses, haveing no other authority or motive to give credit to this.*

³ *than* A redundant interlinear *than* stands undeleted stands here, clearly related to the now deleted following *this declaration, not [of Moses] but his bear word,* The words in the square brackets [] remain undeleted.

⁴ *than ye bear word* Interlinear replacement.

⁵ The following deleted passage stood here: *he establises ye Priesthood one of ye most considerable offices in ye Government yt he founded in his own Family, & when some of ye elders, & cheif men of ye Israelites murmur'd thereat he declar'd to them yt God had directed him so to do.*

⁶ *him* Interlinear addition.

⁷ *makes* Interlinear correction for deleted *appoints.*

⁸ *appoints Pr.[iests] & elders over ye pe[ople]* Interlinear addition.

which¹ [M91] & in order to make ye People submit more readily thereto,² he pretends he has from time to time receiv'd³ God's directions & commands,⁴ & he declares yt⁵ ye laws he gives are not his but God's laws, & yt God will will [sic] reward⁶ or punish them, as they observe or neglect ye same.⁷ in ye beginning of his government, till⁸ he was well fix'd in his authority it is reasonable to suppose he acted with more caution, yt he endeavour'd to make ye⁹ people¹⁰ easy & happy under his administration, & yt he did not at first¹¹ exert his authority for ye¹² aggrandiseing or enriching himself or Family; but when he found himself well establish'd, you will find, he acted then¹³ quite otherwise.

for ye end, from thence it¹⁴ may reasonably be conclude'd¹⁵ yt ye whole was a contrivance of his to get ye rule & dominion over ye Israelites, yet notwithstanding, they often murmur'd against him & directly told him yt they wish'd he had not brought them out of Egypt, which shews yt they were not desirous to leave yt land, yt they did not appoint him their governour¹⁶.

¹ *which* Interlinear correction for deleted *these*.

² *thereto* Interlinear *there* is written just above and before *to*, replacing a deleted *his commands*.

³ *receiv'd* Interlinear addition.

⁴ A deleted interlinear *for what he ordains* stood here.

⁵ *he declares yt* Interlinear addition. One *yt* is redundant, but undeleted.

⁶ *reward* Interlinear correction for deleted *prosper*.

⁷ A deleted *as long as* stood here.

⁸ *till* follows deleted *it is*.

⁹ *ye* Interlinear correction for deleted *his*.

¹⁰ A deleted *as* stood here.

¹¹ *at first* Interlinear addition.

¹² *ye* Interlinear addition.

¹³ *then* Interlinear addition.

¹⁴ *it* Interlinear replacement for undeleted *one*. A redundant deleted interlinear *be* stands above *may reasonably* and is inserted as a RH marginal addition.

¹⁵ *conclude'd* Originally written *conclude* to agree with *one may...* evidenced by the presence of both the *e* and the apostrophe.

¹⁶ *yet notwithstanding...their governour* An addition in the top margin. There is no indication where this passage was to be inserted.

[M92]¹

[M93 f]^{2 3} suffer'd not only ye vilest treatment, while he was here upon Earth, but at last a most ignominious & a cruell death. When he undertook this Coms. he knew, this would be⁴ ye consequence, he knew what he was to suffer, he knew likewise for upon several occasions he de.[clared]⁵ yt for all his sufferings here he should no way better his condition, or reap any advantage to himself.^{6 7} yet notwithstanding voluntarily, unask'd by⁸ Man, who could plead no merite, (for no Man ever yet lay'd down his life for his Brother altho ye most dear to him)⁹ he undertook this painfull Coms. for his sake in order to procure his future happyness.

Such an Act speaks itself, surely it declares a divine Spirit; there never was, or ever will be a humane nature so disinterested, yt shew'd so much goodness, or was capable of such a Performance without ye assistance of an immediate divine power,¹⁰ therefore ye Author of this great work must have been supported therein, must have been empower'd to go through with it by a spirit from God; which I bring as a further¹¹ confirmation of what I undertook to prove, yt ye Institutor of ye Christian Religion was not an Imposter, but a real, & true Messenger from God. [M94]¹²

¹ M92 blank, save for the Catalogue mark noted earlier.

² M93 & M94 are formed from part of a folded foolscap sheet. The Catalogue mark CHJ8/35 appears in the top RH margin of M93. M94 is blank.

³ A deleted *men could not find it* stands at the top of the page.

⁴ *be* Correction following deleted *happen*.

⁵ *for upon several occasions he de.[clar'd]* Interlinear addition

⁶ A deleted interlinear *for upon several occasions he declar'd it* stood here.

⁷ A deleted *from thence* stood here.

⁸ A deleted *unworthy* stood here.

⁹ (*for no Man...dear to him*) The bracketed words are written on the line beneath the deleted *men could not find it* with marks to indicate its insertion here.

¹⁰ *of an immediate* and *power* stand as interlinear additions. The order in which they are to be inserted is, however, less than clear.

¹¹ *further* Interlinear correction for deleted *strong*.

¹² M94 blank.

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Document 19

**REASON A GODDESS CLEAR,
& BRIGHT**

J8/35/5

[c. 1730+?]

INTRODUCTION

The copy of the poem *Reason a Goddess Clear, & Bright* is written on both sides of a paper measuring 5¼" x 7½". It is in a poor state of preservation. The RH edge is frayed; and where it has at some stage been folded in half across the centre (thus measuring 5¼" x 3¾") there is a tear along the fold of approximately ½" in from the RH edge. The paper itself is of good quality, laid with evident wire-marks. It may have been a piece of Carlisle's writing-paper, but there are no distinguishing water-marks to be seen on such a small sample, and neither is the gilt edging characteristic of his paper clearly present. The black ink seems the same good quality as that used in Carlisle's adult manuscripts, though the nib is, perhaps, a little finer.

This appears to be a fair copy and contains only minor corrections: one erasure on the first page and three minor substitutions on the second. Each letter has been clearly formed, and though many letters are joined, a surprisingly large number are printed out separately. The formation of these letters corresponds clearly with Carlisle's hand in other documents, with the distinctively ornate capital "R" & "F", the tail of the lower case "d" trailing backwards, and the formation of the lower case "t" and "f" consistent with other examples. Insofar as Carlisle was consistent in such matters, the spelling and punctuation are characteristic of his other manuscripts. Despite the evidence being incomplete (the similarity of paper being more partial than conclusive), there is circumstantial evidence enough to assert that this is an authentic autograph.

There is nothing to give us further certain information about the date of its composition. No marks appear to suggest that the text had been prepared for

publication – nor, so far as is known, has it ever appeared in any other form, manuscript or print. Indifferent preservation and the size of the folded manuscript suggests postal transmission, but the fact that the manuscript is at Castle Howard, and that the damage is more symptomatic of frequent folding and unfolding suggests rather that this was a manuscript that was of special importance to Carlisle himself: and that perhaps in view of its contents was only to be shared with trusted friends.

The contents themselves do not address external events which would establish definite dating. While there is a potential personal reference in the penultimate couplet, “Celia” was so far an accepted type for an idealised lover or soul-mate at this time that there seems little likelihood than anything more can be made of this. Nevertheless, “Celia” is an important figure in the *Milk White Heifer*, and possible personal reference must be borne in mind. If concealing an autobiographical reference, these lines might just as easily have been written in old age as in the ardent glow of youth. Much in the poem suggests an affinity with the writings from which the *Essay on God & His Prophets* had been assembled – especially those editorially assembled as *Man & Nature* and *God, Man & Reason*. This preoccupation with the place of revelation and reason rehearses issues raised by John Locke in Chapters XVII & XVIII of *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, and are also reminiscent of John Dryden’s *Religio Laici* of 1682. But the theological debate had changed since Dryden’s time, and Locke’s ideas were expressed in a more contemporary form by two of his pupils: by Dr Samuel Clarke, seminally in his Boyle Lectures of 1704, but even more accessibly in his many later writings; and by Anthony Collins, a convinced radical in his theological and philosophical views, and an engaging and influential lay controversialist whose substantial contribution to the discussion, *Grounds and*

Reasons for the Christian Religion appeared in 1724. Much of the debate centred on the reliability of the Judaeo/Christian tradition as it confronted Newtonian cosmology. It was not, generally at least, doubted that God existed – but it was a matter of intense debate whether he could be known by his self-disclosure in history and scripture, or through Man’s exercise of his own reason and intellect on the phenomena of nature.

These were scarcely new issues: Aquinas had written authoritatively in his *Summa Theologica* that whilst man might come to an awareness of God through the exercise of his reasoning powers, he was necessarily dependent upon God for that further self-disclosure in Scripture by which that knowledge was to be completed.¹ But by the early decades of the eighteenth century the “both-and” approach of Aquinas and classical theologians both Catholic and Protestant became increasingly understood in the “either-or” polarities of orthodoxy and deism. Paraphrasing Psalm 19 Addison could adopt the cosmology of an earlier age, and apparently deny Copernicus as he wrote:

What though in solemn silence all
Move round the dark terrestrial ball;

But outside these literary conventions many moved from a theocentric to a decidedly anthropocentric view of the Universe, where if God did exist, it was Man who sought him out rather than the other way about.

We know, from his library now catalogued under the aegis of the Yorkshire Country House partnership; from his contacts with the radical wing of Quaker thought; and his friendship with the heterodox Queen Caroline, that Carlisle was acquainted with

¹ “Instruction by divine revelation was necessary even concerning truths about God accessible to rational investigation, for otherwise they would have been arrived at by very few, and after a long period, and then mixed with errors; more especially when we consider that man’s entire salvation, which is God, depends on such knowledge”. *Summa Theologica* 1a. i. 1. *Philosophical Texts*, p.32.

unorthodox writings on the relationship of Revelation and Reason. However, what makes this poem interesting, is not that he should express himself in terms which a later age would find tendentious, but that he should express himself with such vigour and clarity in such terms, and using such imagery, as few others had chosen to express their deepest convictions. Using a theological language derived partly from the world of classical Graeco-Roman mythology and partly from the more recent conventions of the neo-classical pastoral, he addresses these contemporary issues in a surprisingly direct way. There is a startling clarity and energy in the final couplet

God's work, ye whole Creation useless lay
Till Reason her sound Dictates did display.

These lines particularly, and the tenor of the poem as a whole, seem reminiscent of the Epitaph for Sir Isaac Newton written by Alexander Pope in 1730:

Nature, and Nature's laws lay hid in night.
God said "Let Newton be!" and all was light.

In adopting a classical framework for his lines, Carlisle was doing what John Milton had done nearly a century earlier in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. But where Milton appears to use classicism as a structural device to unify a vast scriptural story unfolding in history, setting it within the framework of an eternal struggle between God and Satan, Carlisle uses his classicisms differently. He takes the terms of reference away from a specifically scriptural narrative to one of multi-cultural, - possibly Deist dimensions.

At a conceptual level the poem illustrates very clearly the wide compass of the word "Reason" in contemporary usage and the different contexts in which it might be used. It begins, interestingly, not with a hypostasis of Reason acting in association with God

in creation, (*vide* John 1.1 & 2 echoing Genesis 1.1 and especially Psalm 104.24),¹ but with the uncompromising description of Reason as that which discerns good and evil. It may be that there is an allusion here to the more traditional account of Adam and Eve told in Genesis 3.5, where the serpent tells Eve that she and Adam will “become like God, knowing good and evil”. Or, possibly, bearing in mind that both Genesis and St John follow immediately with references to light, the author, for whom light and the message and mission of Jesus appear to be primarily moral categories, is treating Reason as the “first-born of all creation” – embracing the second person of the Trinity himself.² Certainly the lines which follow trace something which, although jumbled, may still be recognizable as a biblically-inspired account of creation. Man is mentioned first, then the Animals. Both in their own spheres are guided to their good by Reason. The Creation of the Earth and the Firmament are related, followed by the creation of Man and Woman at the head, followed by the plants and animals which, through Reason, Man is able to turn to his use and advantage. Though, thus far, it might be possible to see this poem as a “translation” of scriptural motifs into a language of neo-classicism, it is important to understand that this is not really an account of the origins of Creation, but of its apprehension by Man.

The final couplets move in a surprising direction. Referring to his sense of loss of Celia, Carlisle observes “How sweetly Philomel ye like dos own.” Is this simply a reference to the song of the nightingale calling his mate echoing his mood? Or is this,

¹ “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God; all things were made through him, and without him was not anything made that was made”. St John 1.1-3. *RSV*

“In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters”. Genesis 1.1-3. *RSV*

“O Lord, how manifold are thy works! In wisdom hast thou made them all; the earth is full of thy creatures”. Psalm 104.24. *RSV*

² “He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation”. Colossians 1.15. *RSV*

possibly a more complex classical reference to Philomela (or Philomel)¹ weaving the story of her distress into a tapestry, which, when “read” results in savage and sacrificial death? Whilst it is certainly possible to read into this allusion some classicised reference to the sacrifice of Calvary, or even a reference to Romans 8.23,² it is equally important to note the uncompromising anthropocentricity of that final couplet. Two issues arise here. Though the word “revelation” isn’t used, its synonym “display” is. As a result the debate about the relationship between “Reason” and “Revelation” is set in a new light: Reason is itself understood as Revelation. Second, the very idea that God himself, the one “necessary Being”, together with all his works, is somehow dependant upon another necessary agency, expresses very well that special confidence that marks the age, and which is expressed in the discourse of natural religion: a confidence found in both the advance of scientific understanding and technology, and equally a confidence in the possibility of expressing religious convictions in non-traditional motifs.

Dryden’s *Religio Laici* is distinguished in part by having a prose preface of at least equal length and significance. Carlisle’s poem is much shorter, and has no such introduction. Yet the similarity of theme between these lines and some of the material contained in the manuscripts catalogued in J8/35/15-17 suggests that his poem should be understood in the light of the considerations developed there, and should be presented in at least close proximity. This is not to imply that there is any other reason for this decision: for while there is reason to think the theological thinking underlying these texts reflects the early seventeen-thirties, there can be no certainties beyond

¹ Ovid *Metamorphoses* VI lines 424-674.

² “and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait[...].” Romans 8.23. (*RSV*)

inferential probability. Edmund Gibson's important tract of 1730¹ relates "Reason" and "Dictates" in the following passage:

I do not mean, that we must consult Reason, and examine whether a Proposition reveal'd from God, can be made out by Natural Principles, and if it cannot, that then we may reject it. But consult it we must, and by it examine whether it be a Revelation from God or no. And if Reason finds it to be reveal'd from God, Reason then declares for it, as much as for any other Truth, and makes it one of her Dictates.²

In Dryden the prose introduction raises, elucidates and contextualizes issues in advance of his poem. There is no formal sense in which Carlisle does this, nor must links be consistent between the *Essay* manuscripts and a poem which may belong to another period. But, unless there were inescapable reasons for thinking that he had changed his mind, it would seem acceptable to suppose that he was broadly consistent in his thinking. This is important in evaluating intentions when, briefly, there was greater freedom to express controversial views than before or since. Though in private Carlisle may have developed unusual views, it does not necessarily follow that he thought he was straying from the faith in which he had been nurtured, or that, then, he would have been considered especially radical. The enigma, however, remains. Is Carlisle expressing an early eighteenth-century, Deist-influenced Christianity in a neo-classical idiom? Has an issue between the rival claims of Reason and Revelation been imaginatively resolved by squaring the circle and interpreting Reason itself as the ultimate self-disclosure of the Almighty? Or is this a more conventional poem in which Carlisle's distress over "Celia" results in his inability to understand creation or function appropriately within it "Till Reason her sound Dictates did display"?³

¹ *The Bishop of London's Second Pastoral Letter to the People of His Diocese, particularly to those of the Two great Cities of London & Westminster, Occasion'd by some late Writings, in which it is asserted "That REASON is a sufficient Guide in Matters of Religion, without the Help of Revelation"* (London: Printed for Sam. Buckley in Amen Corner, 1730.)

² Gibson, p.6.

³ P. Harrison, *Religion and the Religions in the English Enlightenment* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 30.

J8/35/5

REASON, A GODDESS

TEXT

[c.1730+?]

Reason¹ a Goddess clear, & bright,²
Shews how all things are wrong, or right,³
Marks out a way, how Man may find
True⁴ pleasure with content of mind,⁵
Instructs each Animall to chuse 5
This for its good, ye other to refuse.⁶
Shews to what use, to what intent
The Earth,⁷ ye Seas, ye Firmament
Were made, ye cause, th'occasion why
Some Creatures walk, some creep, why others fly, 10
Why Man was form'd with so much care,
And Woman made so wonderfully fair,
To what end Nature has design'd
Species of each different kind.
The Ox his form, & shape declare 15
The toils, & burdens he can bear,
What Ceres⁸ to his strength dos owe,
How by his labours ye rich Wine⁹ dos flow,

¹ The author adopts a classical framework for his thoughts. However, the hypostasis of "Reason" may be a reflection of the Judaeo/Christian "Wisdom" or "λογος" tradition. (*vide* Genesis 1.1 and St John 1.1-3)

² *clear, & bright* may be a rendering of "praeclarus" - a common adjective for a beneficent deity: but it may also reflect the creation of light (equated with moral light) in the Genesis 1 creation-myth. "Praeclarus" might also suggest the "First-born of creation" of Colossians 1.15.

³ That the moral implications of Reason are mentioned first may reflect Genesis 3.5 where the knowledge of good & evil makes Adam & Eve like God himself. The author seems to suggest not "In the beginning God..." but "In the beginning, Morality..."

⁴ Originally *Great*. *True* written beside and *Great* erased.

⁵ This couplet is similar to lines 16 & 17 of the *Advice to His Son*.

⁶ Theological orthodoxy asserted that animals were created solely for Man's use, and therefore had no soul or understanding. Here, as in the *Essay on God, Man & Reason* the author thinks otherwise.

⁷ From here to line 14 the author generally adjusts the order of creation as recounted in Genesis to give Man priority.

⁸ *Ceres* The Roman Goddess of growth primarily associated with crops. Hence "cereal" or - here - bread.

⁹ *Wine* The first letter is not entirely clear: *Mine* could be read here, for Ceres was also connected with things that might be taken from the bowels of the earth. However, *Wine* is preferred here for the common association of bread with wine, and for the existing resonances with Psalm 104 where this association is found in v.15.

The Hors¹ his spritly² mien,³ & air
Instructs th'owner, directs his care } **20**
How at th'⁴Olimpick,⁵ he ye prise may share.⁶
Reason shews this, she yet dos further tell
The usefull⁷ secrets, which in Nature dwell,
What different vertues⁸ each Plant contains,
This herb refreshes, yt ye blood inflames. **25**
Some lull ye spirits, & soft slumbers cause,
Some force Nature to exceed her laws.⁹
Whence Minerals their tincture¹⁰ take,
And how ye skilfull may them usefull make.
Whence ye gay tulip, & ye blushing rose, **30**
Their sweetness, & their beauty do disclose.¹¹
And when my Celia's absence I do mourn¹²
How sweetly Philomel¹³ ye like dos own.
God's work, ye whole Creation, useless lay
Till Reason her sound Dictates¹⁴ did display. **35**

¹ Originally *Hors's*. Later altered and *his* added as an interlinear correction.

² *spritly* i.e. lively

³ *mien* i.e. bearing

⁴ Originally *ye*. Later struck through and replaced by the interlinear *th'*.

⁵ *Olimpick* i.e. The four-yearly ancient Olympic Games in which horse-racing was important.

⁶ As a breeder of horses himself, the author knew, and asserts, that victory comes through co-operation between horse and rider – not by total domination.

⁷ Changed 1st to *Th' usefull* then 2nd struck through & the original restored above the line.

⁸ *vertues* i.e. “properties”

⁹ *force Nature to exceed her laws* i.e. intervene to interrupt Nature's ordinary processes.

¹⁰ *tincture* i.e. “mixture” – a Latinism for “ore”.

¹¹ Tulips and roses were the object of much selective breeding & development in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Again, it is Man co-operating with Nature that is being urged here.

¹² *Celia* here may refer to the wife from whom he had separated – or a less specific expression of unfulfilled love. “Celia” was a common generic term for the idealised, ultimately desirable female.

¹³ *Philomel* is a common masculine figure in neo-classical pastoral verse. It often refers simply to a nightingale. But it may refer to the myth in Sophocles' lost *Tereus* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* VI (lines 424-674). This might allude to Romans 8.22 & 23: “We know that the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now; and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first-fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons...” or possibly even Calvary.

¹⁴ *Dictates* (a) Reason is seen as the source of moral authority rather than the orthodox view, where God makes his will known through Moses on Sinai. (b) Edmund Gibson links *Reason* and *Dictates* when quoting Locke in his *Second Pastoral Letter* of 1730.

CHAPTER 7

*LAST THINGS*¹

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¹ See *Mausoleum* (Plate 12, p.442.)

I INTRODUCTION

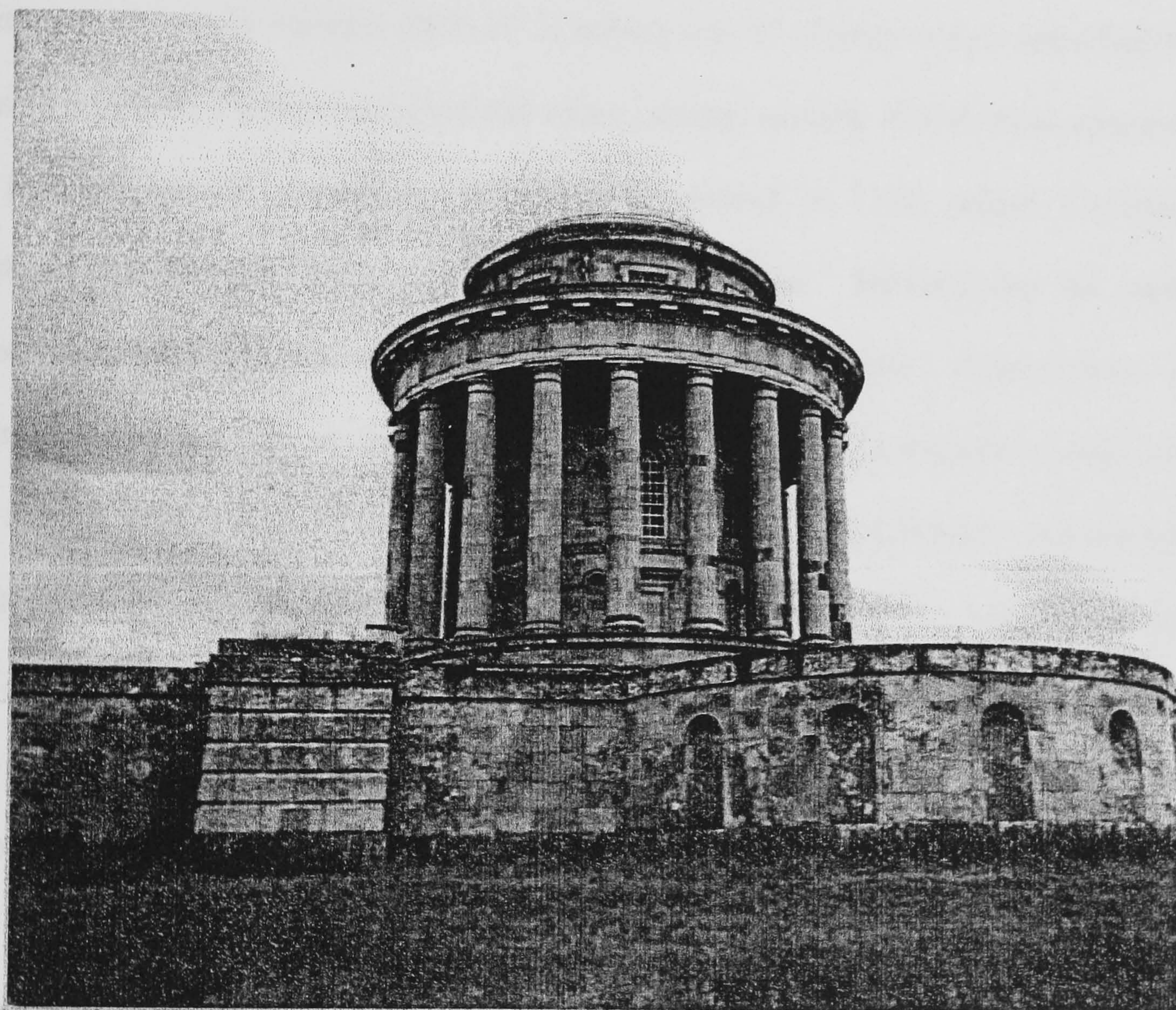
The manuscripts JN/359 and JN/375

and their relation to Carle's work

BY THE AUTHOR

BY THE AUTHOR

BY THE AUTHOR



The Mausoleum. Photograph by the author

PLATE 12

i INTRODUCTION

The manuscripts J8/35/9 and J8/35/10 present two variants of Carlisle's *Advice* to his son. Neither is in Carlisle's hand, and one (J8/35/10) is written on a paper watermarked "J WHATMAN, TURKEY MILL, 1844" (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figure 12, p.x.) indicating a mid nineteenth-century origin. Not only does the redaction of the two versions differ by as much as a century, but they differ in presentation: J8/35/9 is written continuously whereas J8/35/10 is broken into 13 distinct sestets identified by Arabic numerals. Further complications ensue because variants of both have appeared in print. A version resembling J8/35/10 was printed in 1735, within Carlisle's lifetime, in Thomas Gent's *Annales Regioduni Hullini*.¹ Substantially the same appeared in 1738, the year of Carlisle's death, in the same printer's *Pater Patriæ*.² A version apparently derived from J8/35/9 was printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1739, p.435, with a similar combination of title and subtitle. Appearance in print assists understanding the way in which these manuscripts came into being, and assists understanding Carlisle's intentions; for a document purporting to address a son in intimate terms must be interpreted differently when its author had consented to its prior publication to a wider readership.

"Advice to a son" was a literary genre that was establishing itself in the lifetime of the 3rd Earl. Others, notably Sir Walter Raleigh, had written such pieces already – but as

¹ Thomas Gent, *Annales Regioduni Hullini*, Re-printed in fac-simile of the Original of 1735 (Hull: M.C. Peck and Son, 10 Market-Place. 1869.) This was a book of Antiquities with an Appendix in which Gent published letters on various related matters which had been sent to him. Carlisle's poem is given as part of Letter XII in this Appendix.

² Thomas Gent, *Pater Patriæ, Being an Elegaic Pastoral Dialogue occasioned by the Most Lamented Death of the late Rt. Hon^{ble} and Illustrious CHARLES HOWARD* (York: 1738.) This work incorporated a version of the text known to Gent, together with the text of the various inscriptions Carlisle had erected at Castle Howard.

his was neatly balanced by *Advice from a son to his father*¹ it was hardly comparable with the productions of a later generation. If the true line of development is found in the Osborne/Chesterfield tradition,² then the slighter nature of Carlisle's *Advice* may seem quite atypical. But two contemporary pieces suggest that his approach was not especially unusual.

Of these two examples only the title and prefatory matter is quoted extensively since these reveal the self-conscious artifice which seems so evident in the preamble to Carlisle's lines.

A Father's Advice to His Son

An Elegy

written a hundred and fifty years ago, and now first publish'd from a manuscript found among the papers of a late NOBLE LORD

-----*aspice vultus*

Ecce meos: utinamque oculos in pectore posses

Inferere, et patrias intus dependare curas. OVID *Metam.*

LONDON: Printed for R & J Dodsley in Pall-mall, and
sold by M Cooper, in Pater-noster row, 1752.

The following little poem was found very lately among the papers of a nobleman who died not long ago, to whose successor being of no value, and entirely unintelligible, he made a present of it to the Editor.

There is a tradition in the family, that one of their Ancestors, about a hundred and fifty years ago, retir'd early in life from the world and spent the remainder of his days in literary amusements. This piece seems to be one of his composition, from the following reasons: The manner of rhyming, and several expressions now obsolete, agree perfectly with those which were in common use at the time when, 'tis imagin'd, this Elegy was compos'd; the sentiments therein contain'd are what the suppos'd Author, 'tis said, did constantly recommend to others, and countenance, as much as he was able, by his own practice; and lastly, the manuscript plainly appears to have been written by the same hand as several letters and papers of business, which are dated and sign'd by that Gentleman.

¹ Sir Walter Raleigh *Instructions of a father to his son under the following heads: Of the choice of friends ... Of Religion. To which are added; a loving son's advice to an aged father, and select letters on interesting subjects* (Glasgow: printed and sold by Robert and Andrew Foulis, 1754.)

² Francis Osborne, *Advice to a Son*, 10th edn (London: Printed for A & J Churchill, 1701), and Lord Chesterfield, *Advice to his son on men and manners, etc* (London: Millar, etc. 1742).

Deep in a grove by cypress shaded,
 Where mid-day sun had seldom shone,
 Or noise the solemn scene invaded,
 Save some afflicted Muse's moan,

A swain t'wards full-ag'd manhood wending
 Sate sorrowing at the close of day,
 At whose fond side a boy attending
 Lisp'd half his father's cares away. &c.

Though this was published twenty years after the last possible date that Carlisle could have written his own piece – and though these lines display a “sensibility” which makes it unlikely that they had been written in, as claimed, the early seventeenth century rather than the mid eighteenth – nonetheless they display a fundamental concern with simple, rural virtues uncorrupted by the pretences of public life that mirrors much of Carlisle's poem.

The title and subtitle of Carlisle's poem bears a close resemblance to a second example, a work printed in 1703 which he may well have known as a result of his political anxieties over the Protestant Succession. This is entitled:

The late KING JAMES
 His Advice to His Son
 Written with His own Hand, and found
 In His CABINET After His DEATH
 London: Printed in the Year 1703 Price Three-Pence

It is a short prose piece, consisting of fifteen pages of large print, and divided into eleven subsections. It purports to give the exiled King's recommendations to his heir, on the assumption that he would inherit his father's titles and responsibilities. These offer an unexceptional blend of moral advice that any father might give his son: dealing justly with inferiors; avoiding the temptations of excess and women, etc., - with a paternalistic restatement of late Stuart ideas about the Divine Right of Kings.

The result seems more a *post facto* justification of James II's reign than the advice it purports to be – bearing in mind the difficulties at the time of its alleged composition of the son assuming his father's throne. Its publication suggests a political purpose in presenting the Jacobite cause in a sympathetic light: the supposed circumstances of its production illustrating in human terms the “fatherly care” motif which was often employed as an analogy for the Stuart concept of monarchy. (It was significant that Sir Robert Filmer's classic exposition of Divine Right was called *Patriarcha*.)¹

Although *Advice to a Son* was an emerging literary form (Francis Osborne (1593-1659) wrote another which Samuel Pepys records reading with admiration in his Diary for the Lord's Day, 5 April 1663),² it had not yet assumed the status acquired after the publication and immense popularity of Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to his Son* later in the eighteenth century.³ The evidence would suggest that Carlisle consciously or otherwise adopted the precedent of James II's *Advice* as his model.

Similarities between the two are striking. The circumstances alleged in the title and subtitle of the 1738 text are perhaps even more dramatic (and certainly intrinsically less probable). In itself, the idea that Carlisle should have had such a premonition of his own impending death is not perhaps so very surprising: his last letters indicate a preoccupation with failing health,⁴ and his death did, in fact, take place in Bath on a visit undertaken to improve it. However, the very idea that he was so conscious of the

¹ Sir Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha or the natural power of Kings* (London: Walter Davis, 1680.)

² Samuel Pepys, *The Illustrated Pepys: Extracts from the Diary*, selected and edited by Robert Latham from the complete transcription edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: published by Book Club Associates by arrangement with Bell & Hyman Limited, 1978), p.50.

³ The letters themselves were written from 1737 onwards, but were first published in 1742, and increasingly from 1774.

⁴ Sir Thomas Robinson to Carlisle 16 March 1737/8 in HMC p.194. See also Carlisle's letters to the Duke of Newcastle of 1 January and 21 February 1738 (BL Add. 32, 691, f.1 & f.45) quoted in BCH p.189.

timing of his own passing that he might frame his last thoughts in verse – and without any amendments - is really stretching credibility too far. The prior existence of the poem in a printed form which appeared in 1735 – though a fact not necessarily known to the hand responsible for the 1738 text – proves beyond any doubt that the composition of the poem took place in rather different circumstances. Pious fiction though it may be, the 1738 title and subtitle do – and especially so if the suggestion is correct that the hand responsible did not know of Gent’s earlier printed versions – preserve a context in which it was thought that these lines should be understood: i.e. these were lines primarily written for the third Earl’s son and heir now made available for the edification of a wider readership.

Internal evidence would suggest that the piece was written in the expectation that the author’s death would take place at Castle Howard. References to “these Lawns and Woods” in the first line – and more especially to the unfinished Mausoleum in:

On yon green Hill a dome does stand,
 Erected by thy Father’s hand,
 Where thou and I must go [lines 70-72]

are clearly unintelligible outside this context. These references, together with references to “thy darling blooming son” [line 50] give a very rough indication of the real dating of this piece: clearly it must date from a time when the Mausoleum was beginning at the very least to assume some concrete existence, and yet still within the time when the author’s grandson might credibly be spoken of as “blooming”. Henry, Viscount Morpeth, married Lady Frances Spencer on 27 November, 1717. A son, Charles Howard, was baptised on 22 May, 1719, and lived long enough to become Member of Parliament for York in May 1741. Charles died on 9 August, 1741, and was later buried in the Mausoleum at Castle Howard. Although he was succeeded as

Viscount Morpeth by his brother, Robert, (born February 1725/6), death claimed the new heir, together with his only surviving younger brother, Henry, in 1743, and the eventual successor as 5th Earl was the son of his father's second marriage. These complications introduced by mortality cannot, however, alter the fact that the "darling, blooming son" must be the Charles Howard who had been born in early 1719. The reference to the Mausoleum as a "dome" [line 70] suggests that the piece must have been written at some point after mid-1729, the date by which the design of the Mausoleum acquired a dome as a definite feature.¹ By this time, of course, Lord Morpeth had three sons, but it would not be required by the context for the 3rd Earl to have made any mention of a plurality of sons: his thinking was entirely dynastic at this point.

At one level, as in James II's model, the author seems as much concerned to "frame and varnish" his own achievements as to offer any more than a "do thou likewise" advice to the recipient. And yet there may well be significance in this. These achievements bear a striking consistency with the priorities already to be found in the inscriptions that Carlisle had placed on the great Obelisk and the Aikman portrait, and which had been elaborated in Lady Irwin's published poem: *Castle-Howard*.² There is a similar preoccupation with the building and adornment of Castle Howard and its grounds; the retirement from the public life in London and the pursuit of rural virtue. However, unlike the inscriptions, Carlisle's poem does make far more explicit the local responsibilities any landed country gentlemen might expect, and be expected, to undertake. He is, as a Justice of the Peace at the very least, to maintain law and order

¹ BCH, pp.174-77.

² Lady Anne Irwin, *Castle-Howard, A Poem* (London: Printed by E. Owen in Amen-Corner, 1732)

[lines 28-33]. He is to be charitable to the poor and needy [lines 34-36], and encourage with “favours and bounties those who most deserve” [lines 37-42].

The context of the poem, both in its various titles and subtitles and in its content, is intended to bridge the gap between the generations, allowing Carlisle to appear rather in the role of Anchises in the *Aeneid* in overcoming the obvious limitations of his own mortality. Like Anchises, he envisages his dynasty extending the practice of rural virtue down the ages: like Virgil he is critical of the accepted notions of worldly success in his condemnation of the City and Court.

There is a strong sense of continuity and obligation between the generations expressed in the concept of “Works” – an idea which may well be grounded in St John’s Gospel, where not only does Jesus complete the works his Father gave him to do, but where those who follow in the faith are committed to “do the works of God”.

Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself: but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works. Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works’ sake. Verily, verily I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father.

John 14.9-13

But whether or not the idea has its parallel or origin in religion, there can be little doubt that the works Carlisle has in mind are also twofold in character. On the one hand, the works seem to be an extension of his own creation of a rural paradise in the building and adorning of Castle Howard and its grounds. But this is not an end in itself, for it is within this framework that virtue is to flourish – virtue encouraged in the enumeration of the beneficent activities Carlisle outlines for his heir.

It is not surprising that these lines should have been produced at much the same time that Carlisle was commemorating his own ancestral line (and giving himself a pivotal place within it) in the inscriptions on the outbuildings at Castle Howard, and in the inscriptions he commissioned Aikman to add to the portraits of the first three Earls. Although, in reality, we may well feel that he had never entirely given up his own interest in public life, nonetheless we may, perhaps, see his anxiety to promote a life of simple virtue as something of a reparation for those personal failings that seemed to have weighed so heavily on him in his talks with Thomas Story,¹ and which can be seen so clearly in his *Milk White Heifer*. In this sense, Carlisle's rural retreat is scarcely to be compared with Marie Antoinette's playing at shepherdesses with her ladies, but to be understood as a real engagement in bringing in a "better" order. If we would understand Carlisle's ideal, then perhaps it is more easily understood in terms of the many idealised rural complexes that were set up in mid-Victorian England: the many "model" villages with their Church, Parsonage, School, Reading-Room and Almshouses. But where these later developments might have incorporated some adaptations for a more "democratic" age, Carlisle's pastoral ideal is firmly rooted within an aristocratic and paternalistic framework.

Even on the brink of death – or so the alleged circumstances of the poem assert – the expression of any religious sentiment is of a wholly practical nature, and presented in classical rather than in specifically Christian garb. Thus the ultimate reality of Death is expressed in terms of darker shades far below and the dome of the Mausoleum still to be completed at Castle Howard, rather than the joys of heaven. This may, however,

¹ See Vol I, pp. 28, 258-59. (BCH, pp. 165-66)

be more apparent than real, because there is in the final lines an unmistakable Pauline allusion to the successful completion of the good life (See note to lines 77-8):

The time of my departure has come. I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, will award to me on that Day, and not only to me but also to all who have loved his appearing.

II Timothy 4. 6b – 8

That the lines should have been written in the late 1720s or early 1730s is not in itself at all surprising. It has already been demonstrated that these were years in which Carlisle had shown considerable interest in “memorializing” his achievements, from the commissioning of the inscriptions on the portraits to the additional inscription on the Great Obelisk added in 1731. What require further consideration are the circumstances in which the text – or at least one version of it – was printed by Thomas Gent, a high-minded and industrious local jobbing printer-cum-antiquarian in York. We can be sure that Gent would never have presumed to print these verses unless he had either been permission – or, more probably, had been specifically commissioned - to do so. And yet all Gent tells us is contained in the prefatory letter to the 1735 publication in *Annales Regioduni Hullini*. There we read:

LETTER XII

SIR, Malton, 1734
 The following excellent Lines, said to be written by a well-known Earl, as Advice to the young Lord his Son and Heir, I am sure deserves the Perusal of every ingenious Person. I shall be heartily glad, when such just and noble Thoughts will appear in your miscellaneous Collections, who take such Pains to oblige the Curious in this County. I am, &c.¹

It may be worth noting that the previous letter in this collection is concerned with one of Carlisle’s inscriptions at Castle Howard – the 1731 inscription on the great obelisk.

¹ op. cit. p.217.

This, however, being publicly accessible was rather a different matter from something which could hardly have been brought into the public domain at all unless the author had wished it, or unless – although this is hard to imagine, the text had been stolen or copied without permission. Gent himself, though he had ample opportunity to expand his account on two further occasions, first in his *Pater Patriæ* of 1738, and then in his autobiographical *Life of Thomas Gent* of 1744, claims no more. Indeed, the notion that he had been given the text by a third person is strengthened by the note to *Pater Patriæ* where he writes in a note to line 70:

* A Church, almost finish'd by his Lordship; who may well be suppos'd to have been the Author of this excellent Advice to his Son, by its Congruity with an inscription set up in 1731, on the highest Obelisk...

An obvious explanation for this convoluted process is that, for some reason, Carlisle did not wish to be unequivocally associated with these lines, and employed an agent or some other subterfuge to make them available to Gent. One reason for this might be the fear of having his literary efforts made the butt of the critics' mirth. John Tracy Atkyns, the visitor who had spent the whole of 22nd July 1732 making a detailed tour of Castle Howard and its grounds had been quite merciless in his description of "my Lord's poetical scribbling", describing some of it as "a kind of prose run mad, with a gingle of rhimes at the end..."¹ And certainly Horace Walpole at the end of the century described this and the author's other poems in less than flattering terms.² Perhaps more immediate from Carlisle's point of view was the ever-present threat that Alexander Pope might choose to make fun of his efforts, should they be presented publicly – as he had mocked the pretensions of buildings like Castle Howard in his

Epistle to Burlington of December 1731 :

¹ Atkyns, *Iter Boreale*, pp. 26 & 18.

² *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors* in *The Works of Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford, in Five Volumes* (London: Printed for G. G. & J. Robinson, Paternoster-Row, and J. Edwards, Pall-Mall. MDCCXCVIII.) Vol. I. pp.534-35.

Lo, what huge heaps of littleness around!
 The whole, a labour'd Quarry above ground.
 Two Cupids squirt before, a Lake behind
 Improves the keenness of the Northern wind.¹ [lines 109-12]

In this connection there are two interesting letters from Lady Anne Irwin to her father dated 2 and 6 January. The actual year is unspecified, though it is likely to have been 1733. The first runs:

'Tis a critical age, and the more I see of people of genius the less amiable they appear, since they dedicate those talents which were given 'em for the pleasure of mankind, wholly to the detriment of those who dare take pen in hand; as for the numerous herd of readers, they pass uncensured; 'tis the poor writers only upon whose reputation they sit: the province of wit being monopolised by a few, who won't allow any person but themselves to retail an ounce of it.

The second:

Mr Hammond is often with her [Lady Lechmere] and has both wit and knowledge, but won't allow anybody to have it that presumes to take pen in hand; even the ancients don't escape his criticisms; therefore 'tis impossible the moderns should. I thought Homer had been secured against remarks of that kind, but he must fall a sacrifice to the new tastes, and almost three thousand years' approbation can't protect him from being ridiculed...²

Lady Irwin was making her own forays into the literary world, so she wrote primarily from her own experiences. One might well imagine that Carlisle himself, possibly recognising his daughter's greater talents, would wish to launch his lines as discreetly as possible. Certainly his own excursion into print in the 1733 pamphlet *Some Observations upon a Paper* had occasioned a severe mauling from another pamphleteer.³ Although issued anonymously, it is easy to appreciate why Carlisle might have felt that discretion might have been the better part of literary valour here. Alternatively Carlisle, by having someone else pass his manuscript to a publisher

¹ *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, edited by John Butt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p.592.

² HMC Carlisle Papers. pp. xi and xii and also p. 94.

³ *The CRISIS: Or, THE BRITON'S ADVOCATE* (London: Printed for J Toohey, in the STRAND, and sold by the Booksellers of Town and Country, 1733.) This is subtitled: *A Full Answer to a late STUPID PERFORMANCE call'd Observations upon a Paper intituled THE LIST.*

might have wished to avoid the imputation of vanity in offering his own writing in print. Though attribution to “a noble Lord” or “a person of quality” was common enough during this period, it would not have imposed on those who moved in literary or aristocratic circles for long.

For either reason that Gent should have published a version of the 3rd Earl’s *Advice* becomes perfectly explicable. A York-based printer and antiquarian had a local following, but not such that his very regional productions would have commanded wider attention. At the same time, another text of the poem – which was to be further revised over the next few years - was doubtless held back against the day when it might be either be given to Carlisle’s son and heir at the appropriate time, or, as it happened, be released “officially” through the pages of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* – a form in which it duly appeared in August, 1739.

This connection with Gent might also explain the way in which Gent reissued these verses as a central feature of his own *Pater Patriæ* of 1738 – a long poem written in response to the occasion of Carlisle’s death on May 1st of that year – incorporating the *Advice* together with many of the inscriptions which the 3rd Earl had set up within the grounds. Further, it would also serve to explain the publication of a poem called *Holy-Rood Day* in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, VII, August 1737, p.506. This work purports to have been written “by a young gentleman of Yorkshire” but it so resembles Gent’s acknowledged writing both in style and subject-matter - games and festivities held at Castle Howard, together with a premonition of Carlisle’s own passing - that his authorship appears highly likely.

Lady Irwin's own poem *Castle-Howard* was published in 1732, and some of the sentiments expressed in the *Advice* are reflected in her poem. Thus:

How can I best describe your gen'rous Mind,
 To ev'ry Social Act of Life inclin'd.
 Numbers from you their daily Bread receive,
 Th'afflicted Heart –through you forgets to grieve;
 To serve Mankind is your peculiar End.
 And make those happy who on you depend.
 Your Children, Servants, Friends, this Blessing share,
 And feel the Bounty of your constant Care.
 Through various Paths to Happiness you've try'd,
 But ever follow'd a falacious Guide,
 Till from the Court and City you withdrew,
 A Life of rural Pleasure to pursue.¹

Lady Irwin's biographical narrative chimes in very well with Carlisle's own recorded perceptions of his career at this period, reflected in the inscription on the Aikman portrait, the inscription for the Pyramid mentioned earlier and examined in Chapter 3, and the 1731 inscription on the west-facing side of the great Obelisk discussed in Chapter 2. It will be readily appreciated from these that there was a special significance for the 3rd Earl in the building and adornment of the House and Grounds: it represented a bond of filial respect and obligation linking the different generations of the family.

Despite the obvious concern that Carlisle displays for preserving his own memory, there remains a quality about his "memorialization" that would deny a self-centred obsession. Though there is no real evidence to suppose that he was not an affectionate – or at least a dutiful – father and son himself, there seems no record of his ever erecting any other kind of monument to a specific person. There is none to his grandmother, buried in York Minster in 1703, and none to his daughter, buried in the

¹ Lady Anne Irwin, *Castle-Howard*, pp. 4 and 5.

same place at about the same time. This is presumably because he thought of such matters in exclusively dynastic terms, where it is the family as a whole which is celebrated in its contemporary head rather than the individual. It may be this which underlies the almost scriptural references to the “works” done by one generation, or left for another to complete.

This same sense of obligation between generations to be expressed in terms of “Works” is found in the 3rd Earl’s Will (CH J8/14b) where, speaking of the yet incomplete Mausoleum he says: “in case this Burial place for ye Family is not finished by me, I recommend it to my Son to be performed by him as a thing very proper nay absolutely necessary...”. Again, the concern to have his name indissolubly linked with the House and Grounds may be seen at the very end of his Will. Though not, perhaps, his last word to his heir, these words are his last, so to speak, to posterity:

I would have no other inscription upon ye stone under which my Body shall be lay’d than this, here lyes Charles ye 3rd Earl of Carlisle of ye Family of ye Howards who built this house called Castle Howard & made ye plantations yt belong thereunto.¹

As a matter of particular relevance to the *Advice*, this same document speaks of the significance of death, and desires his Chaplain to preach a Sermon on the occasion of his funeral “exhorting to repentance & to a good life, for I take yt upon such occasions & at such times people are generally better dispos’d to receive good impressions...” In the light of this it is quite possible to think that the 3rd Earl consciously planned to enhance the effect of his *Advice* by ensuring that it would be

¹ CHJ8/14B. In fact, the stone in the Mausoleum reads: *CHARLES HOWARD
THE III EARL
OF CARLISLE DIED
THE I MAY MDCCXXXVIII
AGED LXVII YEARS*

associated with the time of his passing – despite its prior release through Thomas Gent.

Although the prior publication of the piece and its contents suggest a public motivation, nonetheless there is a real possibility that it had been conceived as a personal document before the decision had been made to publicise it. To that extent, the *Epistle to his Son* which prefaces Francis Osborne's work describes a personal motivation which lies behind much writing in this genre:

This makes it the greatest demonstration of Paternal Affection, with the Pelican, to dissect my Self before you, and by ripping up my own Bowels, to let you see where the Defects of Humanity reside; which are not only the Occasion of many Diseases, but of most of the Misfortunes accompanying this Life. And though in passing through so much weakness, they are rendered more deficient, than considered in their own Nature, in truth they are: Yet being the best I am able to afford you, they cannot but be looked upon (by you) for as lively a Monument of my Love, as if they bore the Magisterial Impress of a Work of Solomon's...

Your sake alone produced them, that during the little time I have to live, you might turn to my Judgment, upon all occasions, without trouble; and converse with me being dead, without fear.¹

In considering the probable purpose of these texts, it may be important to note the major distinction in their presentation, and to enquire whether any special significance should be attached to this. Carlisle's other manuscripts bear ample evidence of frequent revision, correction and alteration. Given that the manuscripts here are fair versions in other hands, it seems reasonable to conclude that Carlisle revised the text he had entrusted to Thomas Gent in 1734 quite considerably by 1738; and that the 1738 text reflects his final intentions in the wording and presentation of his poem.

¹ *Works of Francis Osborne, Esq.*

In both versions the rhyme-scheme remains exactly the same, but the 1738 version presents the lines without division into stanzas. Examination of the original manuscript will show how every third line is indented, and that each group of lines forms a unit closed by a full stop. The 1738 presentation of the text certainly displays an interest in accommodating itself to the circumstances of Carlisle's death: in the first two lines "these lawns and woods" and "these shady walks" become "those" in deference to the fact that Carlisle's death took place in Bath rather than Castle Howard. It might also be thought that a continuous presentation of the text appeared more plausible as a letter to one's son.

If, then, there is significance in the presentation of the 1738 text, how are we to explain the different presentation of the other texts – especially remembering that one originates from at least as early as 1734/5? Several possible answers suggest themselves. First, we might assume that the original text made available to Gent was sufficiently clearly structured that he might appropriately separate and number the sestets into stanzas, even if the original did not clearly instruct him to do so. If so, the different presentation of the 1738 text would not necessarily be the result of a conscious amendment. Alternatively we might consider Gent himself responsible for the changes in text and format. But would it be likely that he would take such liberties with a text supplied by someone with the standing of Lord Carlisle? Again, we have reason to think that the 1738 text was copied in a fair version by another hand than Carlisle's, adding the title and subtitle either in ignorance of Gent's previous publication, or, less plausibly, unwilling to let it "spoil a good story". The hand is very similar to known examples of Lady Anne Irwin: both J8/35/18 (*The Seven Wise Men*) and a letter in her hand dated January 31 [1732] (J8/1/192) show considerable

similarities. The further possibility that the 1738 text might itself have been copied from *The Gentleman's Magazine* – which must certainly be considered – does not completely deprive it of value: clearly the printed text must have been based on some authoritative manuscript. If it were not in fact J8/35/9, then it would have had to have been remarkably similar.

There is a parallel ambiguity with J8/35/10, the mid nineteenth-century manuscript. It would be natural to assume that a document which could not possibly itself have originated before 1844, and which had so many features in common with Gent's printed versions, would be best explained as a copy. (With forty-nine substantive distinctions between the two groups of texts, J8/35/10 agrees with Gent's versions in forty-five instances; and with either of the others in only four). Such a copy might be regarded, not as an authoritative text, but perhaps as a schoolroom exercise, as an act of familial piety, or simply as the result of a desire to have another copy of a poem not otherwise readily or conveniently available. On the other hand, it is perfectly possible to argue that the similarities are better explained by dependence on a common source. In that case, if a manuscript preserving the text originally supplied to Gent had remained at Castle Howard, then J8/35/10 might still have real authority, though indeed late. Two pieces of evidence support this view: (1) Gent's numbering in all his versions of this text is given in Roman numerals, and is placed centrally above each sestet, whereas J8/35/10 uses Arabic numerals in the LH margin; and (2) at several points a distinctively recognizable authorial variant is used, so that in Stanza 8 Carlisle's characteristic "imploy" is used rather than the "employ" of all other texts, and in Stanza 13 "yeild" rather than "yield". Additionally, in two places usages which may not necessarily be demonstrated to be Carlisle's own, but which certainly suggest

an eighteenth rather than a nineteenth-century provenance, appear as variants of Gent's text. Thus in Stanza 10 "virtious" is used instead of "virtuous" and in Stanza 13 "rase" instead of "race".

In this case, all possibilities have to be considered – excepting only, perhaps, the suggestion that Gent had deliberately altered his text on the assumption that a local printer entrusted with such a commission from a wealthy and powerful patron might be thought unwilling to improve his original. In addition, Gent's antiquarian researches and publications elsewhere show an accuracy which would make this improbable.

ii

Document 20

**THE 3rd EARL'S ADVICE TO HIS
SON**

(1738)

J8/35/9

INTRODUCTION

The manuscript catalogued J8/35/9 consists of a single piece of gilt-edged paper measuring 14½" by 9". It carries a water-mark with the prominent letters "G R" under a form of collar or crown. (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figure 10, p.x.) It has been folded in two for writing; then folded in two again, perhaps for storage purposes; and then finally into three, perhaps for postage purposes. The paper on its first folding yielded four pages; the first three pages bearing the text. The first page carries the catalogue mark J8/35/9 in the RH margin towards the top: the fourth page carries the words "3rd Earl of Carlisle" in a hand rather different from that used in the body of the text. Given the nature of the contents this is far more likely to be the result of cataloguing than postage. The ink appears to be consistent with Carlisle's usual high-quality, ferro-tannic black examples. The manuscript is in rather a poor state of preservation, though perfectly legible.

This text, if it were strictly what it purports to be, would necessarily be written in two hands: Carlisle himself as the author, and another providing the title and subtitle giving the date and circumstances of the text. Yet on the evidence of the handwriting, only one hand would appear to have been involved. Despite the relatively large characters of the title and subtitle, they are consistent in formation with the rather smaller characters used in the body of the text. The "3rd Earl of Carlisle" on page four, however, is in a distinctive, backward sloping hand. This might suggest, on the analogy of the *Sermon*, (see pp. 146 & 158) that this was the work of an earlier archivist.

Granted that the title, subtitle and the main text are written by the same hand, it is impossible to believe that they could be written by Carlisle himself. Unless he had had a simultaneous intimation of his own impending death with a release from the gout which had made his handwriting ever more difficult to decipher – not to mention such a certainty of expression that – almost alone amongst these manuscripts – there is not one single alteration. As already noted in the general Introduction to these texts, the hand is very similar to that of Lady Anne Irwin, and it is by no means impossible that she would have produced the fair version of her father's final text and have arranged for its further publication. Though in all likelihood Carlisle had left his final text with a number of alterations, Lady Irwin would be one of relatively few people who would have been in a position to discern Carlisle's final intentions and issue what is, in fact, a fair copy without having to state that it was, indeed, a copy and not an original.

This is the text which was printed in the August issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1739 on page 435, with a very few minor alterations. It was this version which was known to Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford, and to which he referred in the first volume of the 1798 edition of his works:

CHARLES HOWARD, Third EARL of CARLISLE

After filling the post of first commissioner of the treasury, and other considerable offices, retired into Yorkshire and built the magnificent seat at Castle-Howard. His lessons of experience and virtue he bequeathed in verse (vide *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1739), composed a few hours before his death, to his son and successor; and it is a pity that such wholesome precepts were not couched in more harmonious numbers – It was not from his Lordship that his grandson inherited a genuine talent for poetry.¹

¹ Walpole, *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, 1. pp.534-35.

More important than his judgement on the quality of these verses from our point of view is the evidence it provides that the *Gentleman's Magazine* version of the text was the one that was more generally known at the end of the century. Apart from very minor changes in presentation, *The Gentleman's Magazine* and J8/35/9 version agree importantly on the title and subtitle in detailing the occasion on which this piece was penned, and in the continuous form of the verse – quite distinct from the other versions in which it is broken up into thirteen regular, numbered six-line stanzas.

Given the 3rd Earl's marked tendency to make constant minor changes to his manuscripts, it seems quite likely that the 1738 text represents his final thoughts on the form his "Advice" should take. There are at least forty-nine small but significant differences between the 1738 version and the two versions which Thomas Gent published, the first in 1735 and the second in 1738. The fact that Gent should have published his version during the author's lifetime suggests that he must have had Carlisle's approval. This and the similarity between Gent's two versions encourage the belief that he would have transcribed his original source faithfully and responsibly. The argument advanced here is that there is hardly any change made between Gent's texts and the other 1738 and 1739 texts which is inconsistent with the belief that these were the result of later emendations made by Carlisle himself. It is further argued that, on the assumption that the 1738 and 1739 versions were a faithful reflection of changes Carlisle had made to earlier versions, it may not matter very much whether J8/35/9 were the copy from which *The Gentleman's Magazine* derived its text, or whether, in fact, it were a copy of that printed version: in such a case both would have had a common original.

The version given here is the J8/35/9 manuscript version, with deviations from other texts recorded in footnotes (excluding minor capitalization and punctuation alterations, together with the substitution of “*and*” for the ampersand “&”).

For ease of reference the following abbreviations will be used for the various versions of this text:

- ά J8/35/9 – the 1738 manuscript text.
- β The version printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1739, IX, p.435.
- γ J8/35/10 – the mid-nineteenth century manuscript text.
- δ Gent's version printed in *Annales Regioduni Hullini*, York: 1735, pp.217-18.
- ε Gent's version printed in *Pater Patriæ*, York: 1738, pp.6-9.

J8/35/9
THE 3rd EARL'S ADVICE TO HIS
SON

THE 1738 TEXT

[c.1734]

The late Earl of Carlisle's advice to his Son, the present Earl of Carlisle,¹ written (1738)² a few Hours before his Death.³

To my Son the Lord Morpeth,⁴

If in those⁵ Lawns & Woods thus form'd,

If in those⁶ shady Walks adorn'd,

Thou takest some delight;

CH J8/35/9

Let him who did perform the same,

Who⁷ Peace of Mind preferr'd⁸ to Fame,

5

Stand present to⁹ thy Sight.

To the¹⁰ long labours, to the¹¹ care

And thoughts of thee who art¹² his heir,

Some thanks perchance are due;

If then¹³ his wish thou wouldst¹⁴ fulfill¹⁵,

10

If thou¹⁶ wouldst¹⁷ execute his will,

The like design¹⁸ pursue.

¹ β has C-----e. γ has *Charles the 3rd Earl of Carlisle's advice to his Son*. δ has *Malton, 1734, Sir, The following excellent Lines, said to be written by a well-known Earl, as Advice to the young Lord his Son and Heir, I am sure deserves the Perusal of every ingenious Person. I shall be heartily glad, when such just and noble Thoughts will appear in your miscellaneous Collections, who take such Pains to oblige the Curious in this County. I am, &c.* ε has *His LORDSHIP's Advice to his SON*.

² Omitted in β.

³ The 3rd Earl died in Bath on 1 May, 1738.

⁴ Viscount Morpeth was the courtesy title accorded the heir to the Earldom of Carlisle. The Lord Morpeth referred to here is Henry Howard (1694-1758). γδε omit *To my/his Son the Lord Morpeth*.

⁵ An asterisk here in β has the following explanatory text in the RH margin: *Alluding to a famous seat in the County of York*. δ & ε have *those* rather than *these*.

⁶ *those* δ has *these*.

⁷ *Who* β agrees. γδε have *With*.

⁸ *preferr'd* γ & δ have *prefer'd*.

⁹ *to* β agrees. γδε have *in*.

¹⁰ *the* β agrees. γδε have *his*.

¹¹ *the* β agrees. γδε have *his*.

¹² *art* β agrees. γδε have *is*.

¹³ *then* β agrees. γδε have *this*.

¹⁴ *wouldst* β has *wou'dst*. γ has *woulds't*. δ has *would'st*. ε have *would*.

¹⁵ *fulfill* γ has *fulfil*.

¹⁶ *thou* β agrees. γδε have *you*.

¹⁷ *wouldst* β has *wou'dst*. γ has *woulds't*. δε have *would*.

¹⁸ *design* β agrees. γδε have *designs*.

His care for¹ thee in this he shows,
 He recommends the life he chose,
 Where Health & Peace abound; 15
 He did from long Experience find,
 That true content, a quiet mind,
 Seldom in Courts are found.
 Fly then from thence, the City leave,
 Thy very Friends will thee deceive, 20
 Virtue does there offend;
 In this retreat safe shalt thou be,
 From all those certain mischiefs free
 That do on Courts attend.²
 Nor think that in this lonely shade, 25
 For Ease, for³ Quiet chiefly made,
 Inactive thou must⁴ be;
 Occasions⁵ often will present,
 Whereby vile deeds thou may'st⁶ prevent;
 Justice will call on Thee. 30
 The bold oppressor thou shalt awe,
 The violator⁷ of the Law
 Shall feel thy heavy hand:
 To the distress'd & needy⁸ poor,
 Thy ready⁹ charitable door 35

¹ *for* β agrees. γδε have *of*.

² The sentiments expressed here accord well with the inscription on the Aikman portrait of 1728.

³ *for*. β agrees. γδε have *and*.

⁴ *must* β agrees. γδε have *wilt*.

⁵ *occasions* β agrees. γδε have *occasion*.

⁶ *may'st* β agrees. γδε have *may*.

⁷ *violator*. β alone has *violater*.

⁸ *& needy* β agrees. γδε have *needy, and*.

⁹ *ready* β agrees. γδε have *ever*.

Shall ever¹ open stand.
 A glorious² kindness thou must³ show,
 Favours & bounties still bestow,⁴
 On them⁵ who most deserve.
 The ⁶ innocent thou shalt protect, 40
 The neediest⁷ thou shalt not neglect;
 In safety all preserve.
 If thus thy time thou dost employ,⁸
 True Peace of Mind thou shalt enjoy,
 The⁹ Acts are good & Just: 45
 The poor Man's Prayer¹⁰ will thee¹¹ attend,
 The Rich will much thy worth¹² commend,
 In thee they'll¹³ put their trust.
 Then think on those who are to come,
 Think on thy darling blooming¹⁴ Son,¹⁵ 50
 Thus for his good provide;
 Show him the Life that thou hast led,
 Instruct him in those¹⁶ Paths to tread;
 Be thou his Faithful guide.¹⁷

¹ *ever* β agrees. γδε have *always*.

² *glorious* β agrees. γ has *generous*. δε have *gen'rous*.

³ *must* β agrees. γδε have *wilt*.

⁴ *Favours & bounties still bestow*. β agrees. γδε have *Favours and bounty thou'lt bestow* (γ thoul't).

⁵ *them* β agrees. γδε have *those*.

⁶ δ has an asterisk here with the footnote: *His Lordship is universally pray'd for on this Account*.

⁷ *neediest* β agrees. γδε have *modest*.

⁸ *employ*. βδε agree. γ alone has *imploy*.

⁹ *the* β agrees. γδε have *these*.

¹⁰ *prayer* β agrees. γδε have *prayers*.

¹¹ *thee* γ alone has *the*.

¹² *will much thy worth* β agrees. γδε have *thy works will much*.

¹³ *they'll* β agrees. γδε have *will*.

¹⁴ *darling blooming* β agrees. γδε have *blooming darling*.

¹⁵ Charles Howard, baptised 22 May, 1719. MP for York May 1741. Buried at Castle Howard 9 August 1741.

¹⁶ *those*. β alone has *these*.

¹⁷ *Faithful guide* A possible reference to the literary models that may lie behind this piece?

If virtuous¹ thoughts his Soul endue, 55
 If this Advice he will pursue,
 Sure happiness he'll find;
 Nor canst thou if great Wealth you² leave,
 Which often does³ the World deceive,
 To him be half so kind. 60
 Thus⁴ for thy own and for his sake,
 That his abode he there⁵ may make,
 New Works for him prepare;
 What then for thee thy father's⁶ done,
 Do thou the like⁷ for thy dear Son, 65
 For him show equal care.
 The times⁸ will come, nought⁹ can prevent,
 From these green shades thou shalt¹⁰ be sent,
 To darker¹¹ far below;
 On yon green Hill a ¹²dome does stand,¹³ 70
 Erected by thy Father's hand,

¹ *virtuous* γ alone has *virtious*.

² *you*. This must be the word when compared with the *yon* of line 70. β alone has *thou*.

³ *does* β agrees. γδε have *do*.

⁴ *Thus* βδε agree. γ alone has *This*.

⁵ *there* β agrees. γδε have *here*.

⁶ *father's done*. β agrees. γδε have *Sire hath done*.

⁷ *Do thou the like* β agrees. γδε have *The like do thou*.

⁸ *times* β agrees. γδε have *time*.

⁹ *nought* β agrees. γδε have *none*.

¹⁰ *thou shalt* β agrees. γδε have *we must*.

¹¹ *darker* β agrees. γδε have *darkness*.

¹² In δε an asterisk is placed here, with the following as a footnote: δ has *A new Church, now erecting*. ε has *A Church, almost finish'd by His Lordship; who may well be suppos'd to have been the Author of this excellent Advice to his Son, by its Congruity with an Inscription set up in 1731, upon the highest Obelisk, which shews, That in the year 1702, His Lordship began his Works where the old Castle of Henderskelf stood, and call'd it Castle Howard; adorning the Park with Plantations, Out-Works, Monuments, &c. But I refer the courteous Reader either to the Original Pillar; or to my Histories aforesaid, wherein I have faithfully inserted his Lordship's Words.*

¹³ See earlier discussion. Reference to a *dome* suggests a post-1729 date for the composition. It also suggests that the piece as a whole might have been composed in the Temple of the Four Winds, which the 3rd Earl may have used as a study, although its decoration was not completed until 1739 – a year after the 3rd Earl's death.

Where thou & I¹ must go.
 To thee what comfort then 'twill be!²
 The like also 'twill³ be to me
 When our last breath we yeild;⁴
 That some good deeds we here have done,
 A fruitless Course⁵ we have not run,⁶
 When thus we quit the Field.-⁷

75

¹ I β agrees. γδε have *he*.

² *then 'twill be!* β agrees. γ has *'twill it be*. δε have *will it be*.

³ *The like also 'twill* β agrees. γ has *Likewise the same will*. δε have *The same likewise*.

⁴ *Sic.* β has *yield*. γ has *yeild*. δε have *yield*.

⁵ *Course* β agrees. γ has *rase*. δε have *race*.

⁶ The use of "*Course*" and "*run*" would suggest a conscious allusion to 2 Timothy 4.6b-8:

"I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." *AV*.

⁷ γ alone adds something which might read "*C Howard*" here. This would presumably be an ascription rather than a signature, although it might stand for "Castle Howard".

iii

Document 21

**THE 3rd EARL'S ADVICE TO HIS
SON**

(Mid Nineteenth-Century Text)

J8/35/10

INTRODUCTION

The manuscript catalogued as J8/35/10 consists of a piece of folded paper measuring 12½" by 15½" when opened. Folded it measures 12½" by 7¾" and yields four pages, on which the principal text is written on pages one, two and three. The folded sheet has been further folded in three; and on the central "panel" of the fourth page is written "Charles 3rd Earl of Carlisle Advise¹ to His Son." (together with some children's' scribbling.) The paper is lined, and carries the water-mark (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figures 11 & 12, p.x.) of a crowned Britannia together with:

*J WHATMAN
TURKEY MILL
1844*

It appears, therefore, that this manuscript, while of interest certainly, has qualified status as an original manuscript. The relatively minor differences between this and the two published versions by Thomas Gent, and the almost invariable agreement between this text and the Gent texts where they differ from J8/35/9, initially suggest that J8/35/10 had been copied from based on one or other of Gent's versions. If so, it seems a careless copy, inasmuch as the verse numbering is hardly consistent throughout the piece. This prompts the thought that this manuscript might have originated as a schoolroom exercise, surviving more because of the nature of its content than its historicity.

Nevertheless, the possibility that this text had been derived from one which was contemporaneous with that which Gent had used – but which has subsequently been lost – should not be summarily dismissed. Such a view might be supported by the fact

¹ *Advise* Spelt in this way on the original cover in the Castle Howard Archive.

that this text, unlike Gent's, uses Arabic numbering – something perfectly consistent with the theory that the manuscript underlying both versions may only have implied a division into sestet stanzas by small gaps. The spelling of “imploy” in Stanza 8 and “yeild” in Stanza 13 certainly reflect Carlisle's own known usage, whilst “Advise” on the back, “virtious” in Stanza 10 and “rase” in Stanza 13 may reflect eighteenth-century rather than nineteenth-century custom.

The text presented here is that of J8/35/10, with the differences found in the other versions identified in footnotes (excluding minor matters of punctuation and capitalization).

The same abbreviations are used for the different texts for ease of reference as for the previous document, J8/35/9, viz:

- á Manuscript J8/35/9
- β The version printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1739, IX, p. 435.
- γ Manuscript J8/35/10
- δ Thomas Gent's version in *Annales Regioduni Hullini*, York, 1735, pp.217-18.
- ε Thomas Gent's version in *Pater Patriæ*, York, 1738, pp.6-9.

J8/35/10

**THE 3rd EARL'S ADVICE TO HIS
SON**

TEXT

[Mid Nineteenth Century]

Charles the 3rd Earl of Carlisle's advice to his ¹ Son

- 1 If in these² Lawns and Woods³ thus formed,⁴
 If in these⁵ shady walks adorn'd;
 Thou takest some delight:
 Let him who did perform the same,
 With⁶ peace of mind prefer'd⁷ to fame,
 Stand present in⁸ thy sight.
- 2 To his⁹ long Labours to his¹⁰ Care,
 His¹¹ thoughts of Thee who is¹² his Heir,
 Some thanks perchance are due;
 If this¹³ his wish thou would's't¹⁴ fulfil,
 If you would¹⁵ execute his will,
 The like designs¹⁶ pursue.
- 3 His care¹⁷ of thee in this he shows,
 He recommends the Life he chose,
 Where Health and Peace abound;

¹ ε adds the following footnote: (1) He married Lady FRANCES SPENCER (the only Daughter of Charles Earl of Sunderland, by the Lady Arabella Cavendish, his first Spouse) by whom he has had four Children, named CHARLES, Robert, Arabella, and Diana.

² these άβ agree. δε have those.

³ Lawns and Woods are italicised in δ but not in ε..

⁴ formed άβδε have form'd.

⁵ these βδε agree. ά has those.

⁶ With δε agree. άβ have Who.

⁷ prefer'd δε agree. άβ have preferr'd.

⁸ in δε agree. άβ have to.

⁹ His δε agree. άβ have the.

¹⁰ His δε agree. άβ have the.

¹¹ His δε agree. άβ have And.

¹² is δε agree. άβ have art.

¹³ this δε agree. άβ have then.

¹⁴ would's't δε have would'st. ά has wouldst. β has wou'dst.

¹⁵ you would δε agree. ά has thou wouldst. β has thou wou'dst.

¹⁶ designs δε agree. άβ have design.

¹⁷ of δε agree. άβ have for.

He did from long experience find,
That true content a quiet mind,
Seldom in Courts are found.

4-¹ Fly then from thence the City leave,
Thy very Friends will thee deceive,
Virtue does there offend;
In this retreat safe shalt thou be,
From all those certain mischiefs' free,
That do on Courts attend.

Turn over²

5th³ Nor think that in this lonely shade,
For ease and⁴ quiet chiefly made,
Inactive thou wilt⁵ be:
Occasion⁶ often will present,
Whereby vile deeds thou may⁷ prevent,
Justice will call on thee.

6th The bold oppressor thou shalt awe,
And the violator⁸ of the Law,
Shall feel thy heavy Hand;
To the distress'd, needy, and⁹ Poor,
Thy ever¹⁰ Charitable Door,
Shall always¹¹ open stand.

¹ 4- The change in numbering style is unique to this text.

² *Turn over* Placed at the bottom RH corner of page 1 of γ .

³ 5th The change in numbering style is unique to γ .

⁴ *and* $\delta\epsilon$ agree. $\alpha\beta$ have *for*.

⁵ *wilt* $\delta\epsilon$ agree. $\alpha\beta$ have *must*.

⁶ *Occasion* $\delta\epsilon$ agree. $\alpha\beta$ have *Occasions*.

⁷ *may* $\delta\epsilon$ agree. $\alpha\beta$ have *may'st*.

⁸ *And the violator* δ agrees. ϵ has *And th'Violator*. α has *The Violator*. β has *The violater*.

⁹ *needy and* $\delta\epsilon$ agree. $\alpha\beta$ have *and needy*.

¹⁰ *ever* $\delta\epsilon$ agree. $\alpha\beta$ have *ready*.

¹¹ *always* $\delta\epsilon$ agree. $\alpha\beta$ have *ever*.

7th A generous¹ Kindness thou wilt² show,
 Favours and bounty³ thoul't⁴ bestow,
 On those⁵ who most deserve;
 The ⁶ Innocent thou shalt protect,
 The modest⁷ thou shalt not neglect,
 In safety all preserve.

8th ⁸ If thus thy time thou dost imploy⁹
 True peace of mind thou shalt enjoy,
 These¹⁰ acts are good and just;
 The poor Mans Prayers¹¹ will the¹² attend,
 The Rich thy Works¹³ will much commend;
 In thee will¹⁴ put their trust.

9th Then think on these, who are to come,
 Think on thy blooming darling¹⁵ Son.
 Thus for his good provide;
 Show him the Life, that thou hast led,
 Instruct him in those Paths to tread,
 Be thou his faithful Guide.

Turn over¹⁶

¹ *generous* δε have *gen'rous*. αβ have *glorious*.

² *wilt* δε agree. αβ have *must*.

³ *and bounty* δε agree. δε have *and bounties*.

⁴ *thou 'lt* δε agree. αβ have *still*.

⁵ *those* δε agree. αβ have *them*.

⁶ δ has an asterisk here, with the following at the bottom of the page: * *His Lordship is universally pray'd for on this Account*.

⁷ *modest* δε agree. αβ have *neediest*.

⁸ This stanza is erroneously numbered *VII* in ε.

⁹ *imploy* αβδε have *employ*.

¹⁰ *These* δε agree. αβ have *The*.

¹¹ *Prayers* δε agree. αβ have *prayer*.

¹² *sic.* αβδε have *thee*.

¹³ *Rich* and *Works* are italicised in δ. *thy Works will much* δε agree. αβ have *will much thy worth*.

¹⁴ *will* δε agree. αβ have *they 'll*.

¹⁵ *blooming darling* δε agree. αβ have *darling blooming*.

¹⁶ *Turn over* Placed in the bottom RH corner of page 2 of γ.

- 10th If virtuous¹ thoughts his Soul endue,
 If this advice he will pursue,
 Sure Happiness he'll find;
 Nor canst thou if great wealth you² leave,
 Which often do³ the World deceive,
 To him be half so kind.
- 11-⁴ This⁵ for thy own and for his sake,
 That his abode he here⁶ may make,
 New Works for him prepare;
 What then for thee, thy Sire⁷ hath done,
 The like do thou⁸ for thy dear Son,
 For him show equal care.
- 12- The time⁹ will come none¹⁰ can prevent,
 From these green shades we must be sent,
 To darkness¹¹ far below;
 On yon green Hill a¹² Dome doth stand,
 Erected by thy Fathers Hand,
 Were¹³ thou and he¹⁴ must go.

¹ *virtuous* (sic) ἀβδε have *virtuous*.

² *you* αδε agree. β has *thou*.

³ *do* δε agree. αβ have *does*.

⁴ *11-* The numbering style reverts to that of v 4.

⁵ *This* ἀβδε have *Thus*.

⁶ *here* δε agree. αβ have *there*.

⁷ *thy Sire hath* δε agree. αβ have *thy father's*.

⁸ *The like do thou* δε agree. αβ have *Do thou the like*.

⁹ *time* ἀβδε have *times*.

¹⁰ *none* δε agree. αβ have *nought*.

¹¹ *darkness* δε agree. αβ have *darker*.

¹² δ has an asterisk, and at the foot of the page: * *A new Church now erecting*. ε has an asterisk, with the following at the bottom of the page: * *A Church, almost finish'd by His Lordship; who may well be suppos'd to have been the Author of this excellent Advice to his Son, by its Congruity with an Inscription set up in 1731, upon the highest Obelisk, which shews, That in the year 1702, his Lordship began his Works where the old Castle of Henderskelf stood and call'd it Castle-Howard; adorning the Park with Plantations, Out-Works, Momuments, &c. But I refer the courteous Reader either to the Original Pillar; or to my Histories aforesaid, wherein I have faithfully inserted his Lordship's Words.*

¹³ *sic*. ἀβδε have *Where*.

¹⁴ *he* δε agree. αβ have *I*.

13- To thee what comfort 'twill it be,¹
Likewise the same will be to me,²
When our last Breath we yeild;³
That some good deeds we here have done,
A Fruitless rase⁴ we have not run,
When thus we quit the Field.

C Howard⁵

¹ 'twill it be δε have will it be. άβ have then 'twill be.

² Likewise the same will be δε have The same likewise 'twill be άβ have The like also 'twill be.

³ yeild (sic) ά agree. βδε have yield.

⁴ rase (sic) δε have Race. άβ have Course.

⁵ C Howard This appears only on J8/35/10. It is presumably not so much a signature as an ascription; although if a schoolroom exercise another C Howard could have been responsible for it. Alternatively it may quite possibly stand for "Castle Howard".

CONCLUSION

In the literary remains of the 3rd Earl of Carlisle we have an unusual example of documents which in turn both inform, and are informed by, the life of an important individual in early eighteenth-century England. They encompass an unusually wide variety of styles – poetry, sermon, inscription, political and religious pamphlets, and even a broadside ballad – arising from and addressing very different issues. Such variety alone would make them and their author interesting. However, in addition, this was a man whose family roots, and whose own life, had been largely spent in drawing the venom from wounds which had festered in England from the days of the Civil Wars, and which were now gradually beginning to heal under the new Augustan rule of the House of Hanover. We may well categorize – and thus dismiss him – as no more than the land-owner and the politician that he undoubtedly was: more a man of action than a man of reflection and deep thought. But insofar as these documents offer insights into the springs which motivated him, so we are privileged to understand a little more of the mind of one of the more important of those who gave William of Orange, Queen Anne, and then Robert Walpole and the Hanoverian monarchy their unwavering support.

So much history appears to be written as the remorseless and inevitable working-out of particular political or social themes, in much the same way as if we were being invited to watch the majestic flow of a mighty river from its source to the ocean. The importance of such a collection of documents as these – and the life they reflect – is in the reminder that even the mightiest river has its cross-currents and eddies, where the force that acts on the main body of water can, at the banks, as well as around rocks and shallows, act in quite contrary and confusing ways. Charles Howard, 3rd Earl of Carlisle, seldom finds a mention in the massive histories of Macaulay, Trevelyan and

Plumb. We catch only a rare glimpse of his figure as they recount the story of some of the most momentous years in the development of modern Britain. And yet his elusive figure is not a mere footnote to the main text: without him, as without those others who have left less evidence of their earthly sojourn, there would have been, certainly, a tale to tell – but quite possibly a very different one.

SUPPLEMENT

**An Unpublished Letter of the Third Earl of
Carlisle to the Third Earl of Sunderland
dated 28 September, 1720**

(CH/J8/1/696)

My L^d

London – Sept ye 28th 1720

The unhappy turn, yt ye S.S. affairs have taken has occasioned a very great & universal disorder here, & ye numbers of sufferers thereby are very considerable; altho ye extravagant & unaccountable conduct of most of those, yt have suffer'd, has apparently been ye occasion of their own misfortunes, yet to urge yt to them now, & not to give them some hopes of relief, serves only to rankle ye sore, & to make ye discontent ye greater.

Under such a general calamity where such numbers are hurt in their interest, & properties, let ye occasion bee what it will, ye blame will in a great measure bee charg'd, (altho perhaps unjustly) upon ye Administration, & ye discontent, & ill will, ye may arise therefrom, bee brought to their doors.

It is in yt view yt I take leave to trouble your Lordship upon this occasion; Besides ye honour of being ally'd to you, ye esteem, & friendship I have for you, must make me (amongst others, who wish well to you) not a little uneasy upon this unlucky turn of affairs, which if it should be attended with unhappy consequences I am afraid will cheifly bee aimed at you, you being look't upon to have ye principal direction of Publick affairs.

I doubt not but your Lordship has from other hands, & from such as you can depend upon, a true state of ye present disorders, & likewise their opinions & advice thereupon; ye part yt I shall take, is only to let you know, what I hear, & what I judg from thence to bee ye

general opinion & thoughts of People, I shall leave it to your Lordship to form your own judgment thereupon.

At first, when Stocks began to fall, but before things came to ye extremities they are now in, ye blame was lay'd wholly upon ye Directors; some say'd they had play'd ye rogue, yt they had drawn out great summs themselves, & yt they had show'd a greater regard to their own, then to ye Company's interest; Others found fault with their conduct, & say'd, it was in their power any day to stop ye run, & to raise ye credit of ye Stock again, & stood surpris'd at their behaviour yt they did not doe it. those were ye reasonings of People upon its first declintion; but for this last fortnight, & longer, as ye Stock fell every day 30 or 40 per cent, & ye People began to perceive, yt all ye endeavours of ye Directors to support it prov'd ineffectual. altho ye clamour did not cease against them, yet another cry immediatly ris, yt this was a project of ye Governments's, yt ye Government was engag'd to support it, or to answer for ye consequences of it, yt ye cheif ministers were abroad, ye Administration here left weak, & not able to give such necessary, & timely support, as ye nature of ye thing required; yt ye Treasury was abandon'd, your Lordship abroad, Mr Aislaby gone into ye Country, & no help or releif to be expected from yt quarter for ye support of credit; As things grow worse & worse, & People are dayly more, & more hurt, you may easily imagine ye cry dos not diminish. It is now all centr'd, (which I am glad to find), in a general expectation, & demand, yt ye King will immediatly come over, & hold ye Parliament all People agreeing, yt there is now no other source left to save it but yt.

Those (as near as I can collect) have been ye different discourses of People dureing ye run yt this affair has had, your Lordship will bee best able to make a judgment upon ye whole. If I may take leave to offer my thoughts, ye first thing you should doo, is to prevaile with ye King to fix ye shortest day, yt is possible for his comeing over, ye immediat notice thereof bee given here, & ye necessary orders issued for ye holding ye Parliament; ye being done, yt your Lordship should forthwith come away to inform yourself of ye true state of affairs here, in order to consult, & prepare such remedies as you shall judg proper to lay before ye Parliament for ye healing this cruel sore, which if you can not effect, I am afraid, may prove unfortunate to you, as it will infallibly prove fatal to numbers of People.

I am, &c.

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