

Samuel Medley's reading matter, with notes

There now follows a transcription of the literary quotations and notes which appear on the pages opposite the diary. Medley's comparative observations about Muslims and Jews seemed best included in the book, *The Earl and his butler in Constantinople*, (2.7) and are not repeated here. The few notes which he made on medical matters have been included in the book (5.5.2) and are also not repeated; neither is the poem, apparently by Medley himself, which appears at the end of 5.5.4. All the rest now follows and a note on author, sources, etc. will be found after each item. Where, in a few cases, we have made corrections or additions to the text, in order to make greater sense of it, these are shown *in this italic font*.

The authors would be glad to receive additional information to enable them to improve the notes provided: please write to them at butler@leginipress.co.uk

Opposite 13-18.12.33 (See Note 1, below):

If it seem Good to us, to put our necks once more under that yoke, w^{ch} our fathers were not able to bear: If it be Really a preferment to a Prince to hold y^e popes Stirrup, and a privilege to be Deposed by him at his pleasure, and a courtesie to be kill'd at his Command: If to pray without understanding, & to obey without Reason, & to believe against Sense, If ignorance, and Implicit faith, and an Inquisition, be in good Earnest Such Charming and desirable things: then welcome popery;- w^{ch} wherever thou Comest, dost Infallibly Bring all these wonderfull priviledges & Blessings along wth these
D^r Tillotson Sermon before y^e King at Wh^hhall 1680 – Joshua 24:15

Note 1

The Reverend J. Tillotson (1630-94) was an eminent English divine and a distinguished preacher. Of puritan upbringing, he retained 'a deep sympathy with the non-conformists for which his high-church enemies never forgave him'. He was educated at Clare College, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow. Ordained about 1660, he 'became a popular and extremely influential preacher in London', in due course being appointed a Canon of St. Paul's and, in 1669, a chaplain to Charles II. However he lost favour with Charles II towards the end of his reign and never won that of the catholic James II. In 1691, under William and Mary, however, he became Archbishop of Canterbury. 'To atheists and Catholics he stressed the rational grounds of faith and the close connection between natural and revealed religion; to nonconformists that justification included obedience and faith included works; and to Socinians¹ that Christianity required the acceptance of mysteries incomprehensible to reason'. There were various publications of his sermons and writings, which included some that were strongly anti-papist.²

A typical contemporary view of his literary style might be represented by the following: '...his manner of writing is inimitable; for one who reads him wonders why he himself did not think and speak in that very manner.... everything he says seems to flow spontaneously from inner conviction.'³

This quotation, the first of all the quotations listed by Medley in his diary comes from near the end of a sermon published as *The protestant religion vindicated from the charge of singularity and novelty*:

¹ The Socinians did not accept the Trinity.

² *A new general biographical dictionary*, London 1857; Hyams, E. *Tillotson*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1961; *Oxford DNB*, op.cit., from which quoted passages are taken.

³ See *Scots Magazine* 1758 pp.240-6

in a sermon preached before the King at White-hall, April the 2d, 1680. London 1680. One feels that it will have satisfactorily reinforced his strong personal anti-papist sentiments. As Professor David Pailin has pointed out, in a note to the authors, 'this (quotation) was a bold remark at the time, given the Stuart inclination to Rome !'

Joshua 24:15 reads as follows:

'And if it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom you will serve; whether the gods which your fathers served that were on the other side of the flood, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell: but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.'

Doubtless the papists were basing sermons on this text too !

In the same sermon Tillotson claims 'We have the best religion in the World ... and we have retrench'd from it all false Doctrines and superstitious practices which have been added since...'

Opposite 19-24.12.33 (See note 2):

If now we consider. So many constituent parts in the bodies of men. All admirably compacted to so noble an Engine; in Each of y^e very fingers, for Example, thre are Bones & Gristles & Ligaments & Membranes, and muscles, & tendons & nerves & arteries and vines, & skin, & cuticle, & naile, - together - wth Marrow, & fat, & Blood, & other nutritious juices; & all those Solid parts of a Determinate Size, & figure, & textere, and situation, & Each of them made up of myriads of little fibres & filaments, not Discoverable by y^e naked Eye

Note 2

An annual series of lectures, known as the Boyle lectures, were endowed by Robert Boyle, the scientist and religious writer, for 'some divine or preaching minister (who should) preach eight sermons in the year for proving the Christian religion against notorious infidels...'

Dr Richard Bentley (1662-1742), outstanding classical scholar and critic and, later, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Divinity, was chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester in 1692 when he was appointed to deliver the first course of Boyle Lectures. In the first five he argues the existence of a Deity from the human soul and body, and in the last three from 'the origin and frame of the world', taking up ideas from Newton's *Principia* of 1687.⁴ His sermons were published as *Eight sermons preach'd at the Honourable Robert Boyle's lecture, in the first year MDCXCII by Richard Bentley Master of Arts* but, in subsequent years, collections of the Boyle lectures were published and it is likely that Medley obtained this quotation from one of these. The passage he chose forms part of 'A confutation of atheism from the Structure and Origin of Human Bodies', coming about a quarter of the way through the sermon. The first four words are Medley's, to lead into '...so many constituent parts ...'⁵:

Probably Medley will have had no difficulty in accepting that such wonders of design cannot have come about other than through God's creation.

Opposite 25-30.12.33 (See note 3):

As in those nations where thy yet adore

⁴ *Oxford DNB*, op.cit and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, op.cit.

⁵ Bentley, R.: *Eight Boyle lectures on Atheism. (Eight sermons preach'd at the Honourable Robert Boyle's lecture, in the first year MDCXCII by Richard Bentley Master of Arts* 5th edition (Cambridge 1724) Reprint by Garland, New York 1976, pp.92-3: 3rd sermon (on Acts 17.27)

*Marble & Cedar, & their aid Implore
Tis not the workman, nor the precious wood
But tis the worshipper y^t makes thy Gods so &c. (sic !)
Sr Charles Sedley*

Note 3

This quotation and the following one by Sir George Etherege were almost certainly found by Medley in the same publication, namely: *A collection of poems: viz. The temple of Death: by the Marquis of Normanby, ... with ... poems ... by ... the E. of Rochester, ... Sir Charles Sedley, Sir George Etherege, Mr Granville, ... Mr Dryden* London, Daniel Brown & Benjamin Tooke, 1701⁶

Sir Charles Sedley Bt. (bap.1639, d.1701), poet and playwright was a contemporary of Etherege, equally known for outrageous behaviour. He was a favourite drinking companion of Charles II. In later life he became M.P. for New Romney, Kent, and 'spake with goods sense and moderation in the parliaments after 1688'. 'His best writing is found in his lyrical and satirical verse.'⁷ Like Etherege and Rochester, he also wrote love poetry; it is not immediately apparent that this is the genre from which Medley is selecting ! One wonders, in any case, whether Medley appreciated the reputation of Rochester, Sedley and Etherege; it seems much more likely that this book of poems came from Lord Kinnoull's library than from that of the Levant Company and one doubts whether the Reverend Thomas Payne was aware of Medley's choice of reading in this case !

The quotation is part of a poem 'To Celia'⁸ (Celia being a generally accepted poetical name/pseudonym for a loved-one) which continues:

*As in those nations where thy yet adore
Marble & Cedar, & their aid Implore
Tis not the workman, nor the precious wood
But tis the worshipper y^t makes thy Gods so good
So, cruel Fair, though Heaven has giv'n you all,
We Mortals (Vertue or can Beauty) call,
'Tis we that give the Thunder to your Frowns
Darts to your Eyes, and to our selves the Wounds:
Without our Love, which proudly you deride
Vain were your Beauty, and more vain your Pride;
...*

Opposite 25-30.12.33 (See note 4):

*It is not, Celia, in our Power
To say how long our love will last
It may be we within this hour
May Lose those joys we now do tast
The Blessed, that Immortal be
From Change in Love are only free*

⁶ Listed in the bibliography under Sedley, C.; a revised version of *A collection of poems by several hands*, London, 1693

⁷ *Oxford DNB*, op.cit., from which the quotations are taken.

⁸ Sedley, C.: *The miscellaneous works of the Honourable Sir Charles Sedley*, J.Nutt, London 1702: pp.51-52

*Then Since we mortal lovers are
Ask not how long our love will Last;
But while it dos, let us take Care
Each minute be wth Pleasure past:
Were it not Madness to deny
To live, because w'are sure to die*

Sr G Etherege

Note 4

Sir George Etherege (1634 - 91/2), diplomat, but best known as a playwright (e.g. *Comical Revenge* or *Love in a Tub*; *Man of Mode* or *Sir Fopling Flutter*), lived in the witty and gay society of Dorset, Rochester, Buckingham, etc. and was known as Gentle George or Easy Etherege. Thus, as a man-about-town, he was one of a 'small outrageous and socially protected group of young libertines' who enjoyed the company of women and gambling. Curiously, he was secretary to the ambassador to Constantinople 1668-70; he was sent as an envoy to Ratisbon by James II in 1685, and he eventually had some diplomatic influence on the replacement of James II by William of Orange.⁹

This poem is Medley's choice from among those of his poems published in the work described in Note 3, above.

In a modern collection of his poems¹⁰, the editor James Thorpe quotes '*To a Lady, Asking Him How Long He Would Love Her*', and starting '*Cloris, it is not in our power*' and running to four stanzas. Thorpe says that stanzas 1 and 3 of this poem appear in various works including the various editions of '*A collection of poems upon several occasions 1672*' with the different first line 'It is not, Celia, is our power': this is the version Samuel Medley has found in the anthology of 1701 (See note 3).

Opposite 7-13.1.34 (See note 5):

*Look round the world, & wth Impartial Eyes
Consider & Examine all that Rise
Weigh well their actions, & their treacherous Ends;
how greatness grows, & by w^t steps ascends
What Murders, treasons, perjuries, Deceit
How many fall to make one monster great
would you Comand; have fortune in yr Power;
Hug whome you strike & smile wⁿ you devour
be bloody, false, flatter forswear & lye
turn Pander, Pathick, Parasite or Spy
Such thriving arts may your wish'd purpose bring,
A Minister at least, perhaps a King*

And from a little later in the poem:

⁹A new general biographical dictionary, op.cit.; *Oxford DNB*, op.cit., from which the quotation is taken.

¹⁰Etherege, G.: *The poems of Sir George Etherege*. ed. James Thorpe. Princetown 1963

*Happy the Man; of Mortals Happiest he
Whose quiet mind from vain desiers is free
Whome neither Hopes deceive; nor fears torment
But lives at peace within himself content
In thought or act, accountable to none
But to himself and to great god alone
Mr Granville*

Note 5

George Granville, Viscount Lansdowne (1666-1735), politician and writer, was educated at Cambridge (M.A.). During the reign of William III (1693-1702), he is 'supposed to have lived in literary retirement', according to Johnson¹¹, and in this period he wrote his plays. As a poet and dramatist, he was praised by both Addison and Dryden. He entered public life in 1702, was member of parliament for Fowey (as was Lord Kinnoull subsequently¹²). He succeeded Walpole as secretary of state for war in 1710 and the next year was one of the twelve elevated to the English peerage (along with Lord Kinnoull) at the suggestion of Harley, Earl of Oxford. He became a Privy Councillor in 1712 and Treasurer of the Household in 1713. Out of favour with George I, he found himself in the Tower of London, 1715-17 (again, along with Lord Kinnoull), possibly having been involved in a West Country Jacobite insurrection¹³. He returned to parliament briefly in 1717 but then took himself to France for most of the period, 1720-32, never returning to public life. He was involved in the Atterbury plot, 1720-3, and worked for Stuart restoration.¹⁴

In 1726, he published his *Poems upon several occasions* and included some *Verses sent to the AUTHOR in his Retirement. Written by Mrs Elizabeth Higgons*, intended to shame him into entering public life:

*Why, GRANVILLE, is thy Life to Shades confin'd,
Thou whom the Gods design'd
In Publick to do Credit to Mankind ?
Why sleeps the noble Ardour of the Blood ...*

Medley quotes from Granville's reply *Occasion'd by the foregoing VERSES. Written in the year 1690*¹⁵ which begins:

*Cease, tempting SIREN, cease thy flatt'ring Strain,
Sweet is thy charming Song, but sung in vain:
When the Winds blow, and loud the Tempests roar,
What fool would trust the Waves, and quit the Shore ?*

Medley's quotations, almost certainly taken from the same anthology as the previous quotations by Sedley and Etherege¹⁶ then shortly follow:

¹¹ See Samuel Johnson: *Lives of the poets*, G.Bell, 1898

¹² *The House of Commons 1690-1715*. CUP for The History of Parliament Trust, 2002: see the section on Fowey and also that on George Hay where the author says: '... it would seem that Harley's contacts with George Granville were essential in the acquisition of the seat' (by Kinnoull).

¹³ c.f. Lord Kinnoull's sojourn in the Tower. See Chapter 4.

¹⁴ *A new general biographical dictionary*, op.cit.; Oxford DNB, op.cit.

¹⁵ i.e. Mrs Higgons was complaining about his failure to enter public life in his early twenties, when he preferred to devote his time to writing.

*Look round the world¹⁷, & wth Impartial Eyes
Consider & Examine all that Rise
Weigh well their actions, & their treacherous Ends;
how greatness grows, & by wth steps ascends
What Murders, treasons, perjuries, Deceit
How many fall¹⁸ to make one monster great
would you Comand; have fortune in yr Power;
Hug whome you strike¹⁹, & smile wⁿ you devour
be bloody, false, flatter forswear & lye
turn Pander, Pathick, Parasite or Spy
Such thriveing arts may your wish'd purpose bring,
A Minister at least, perhaps a King²⁰*

(and from a little later in the poem:)

*Happy the Man; of Mortals Happiest he
Whose quiet mind from vain desiers is free
Whome neither Hopes deceive; nor fears torment
But lives at peace within himself content
In thought or act, accountable to none
But to himself and to great god alone*

It is interesting to compare the theme of the passages Medley has chosen here with his choice of Pope's *Ode on Solitude*, which follows next, and Fitzgerald's poem (opposite 8-14.12.34; see note 27), to which Medley has added the title *True happiness*.

Opposite 29.1.34 -3.2.34 (See note 6):

*Happy the man, whose wish & care
A few paternal Acres Bound,
Content to breath his native air
 In his own Ground
Whose hears wth milk, whose fields wth bread
Whose flocks supply him with attire
Whose trees In sumer yield him Shade
 In winter, fire
Blest, who can unconcern'dly finde
Hours, days & years; slide soft away
In health of Body, Peace of mind
 Quiet by day
Sound Sleep by night; Study & Ease,*

¹⁶ Apparently as published in Sedley, Sir C & others: *A collection of poems: viz. The temple of Death: by the Marquis of Normanby, ... with ... poems ... by ... the E. of Rochester, ... Sir Charles Sedley, Sir George Etherege, Mr Granville, ... Mr Dryden ...* Daniel Brown & Benjamin Tooke, London, 1701 (A revised version of *A collection of poems by several hands*, 1693)

¹⁷ *ibid.*, but the 1726 edition has *Look now around ...*

¹⁸ *ibid.*, but the 1726 edition has *crush'd ..*

¹⁹ *ibid.*, but the 1726 edition has *Hug when you stab ..*

²⁰ In the last three lines, here, Medley omits the word *Pathick* and stops at *thriveing arts*, adding & *Lc.*

*Togather mixt; sweet Recreation
 & Innocence w^{ch} most does please
 With Meditation
Thus let me live unseen, unknown
Thus unlamented let me die
Steal from the world, & not a stone
 Tell where I lie
By Mr Pope – before he was 12 years of age*

Note 6

Alexander Pope (1688-1744) was an outstanding poet and satyrist of the English Augustan period. He has been held to be one of the first British authors to live wholly off the proceeds of his writings. His best known works were the Pastorals 1705, the Essay on Criticism 1711, The Rape of the Lock 1712-14, Dunciad 1728 and An Essay on Man (in fact, philosophical poetry) 1733-34.²¹

The simple piece Medley has chosen is known as the 'Ode on Solitude'. According to Ault²², Pope claimed, in a letter to Henry Cromwell in 1709, that this poem was 'written when I was not twelve years old'. The wording given by Ault which agrees with that transcribed by Medley appears to be the text of 'Poems on several occasions' 1717. Ault suggests that the poem owes something, in terms of the underlying philosophy and line of thought, to Cowley's translations of Horace, Martial, Claudian and Seneca in Essays, in Verse and in Prose.

It is interesting to compare the theme of the passages Medley has chosen here with that of the previous poem, by Granville, and Fitzgerald's poem (opposite 8-14.12.34; see note 27), to which Medley has added the title *True happiness*.

Opposite 4-11.2.34 (See note 7):

*Enquire
For a Booke Call'd Memorials for the Learned published CN Tate from an anonmous author
– about 40 years agoe*

Note 7

Here, Medley was looking for Davies, J.: *A memorial for the Learned: or Miscellany of choice collections from most eminent authors. In History, philosophy, physick, and heraldry*. By J.D.Gent. (Edited by Nahum Tate), published by George Powell & William Powle, London, 1686. Had he found it, it could have confirmed him in what was probably already his view, that 'cold baths are much better than hot; and swimming, as all other Exercises abroad are very good'²³; also that 'It is a very great advantage to Longevity, when the Spirits are in a placid and healthful state (that which will be seen by the tranquillity of their mind, and cheerful disposition) that they cherish them, and not change them. Now the Spirits are contained in the same style, by a restraining of the Affections, temperateness of Diet, abstinence from Venus, moderation in Labour, indifferent Rest and Repose'²⁴.

²¹ DNB, various editions, and biographical notes by Professor David Pailin.

²² Ault, N. ed.: *Alexander Pope. Minor poems*. Methuen, London, 1954: the 'Ode on Solitude', appears on p.3

²³ Davies, J.: *A memorial for the Learned: or Miscellany of choice collections from most eminent authors. In History, philosophy, physick, and heraldry*. By J.D.Gent. (Edited by Nahum Tate), published by George Powell & William Powle, London, 1686, p.118.

²⁴ Davies, J., op.cit., p.116.

One feels that this book was more likely to have been recommended by the Reverend Thomas Payne than by Lord Kinnoull.

Opposite 16-24.3.34 (See note 8)

*Twas yⁿ Great marlbros mighty soul was prov'd
that in the shock of Charging Hosts unmov'd
amidest confusion Horror & despair
Examind all y^e dreadfull scenes of war
in peaceful thought y^e field of death surveyd
to fainting squardons sent y^e timely aid
Inspired Repuls'd Battalions to Engage
& fought y^e doubtful Battle where to Rage
So wⁿ an angel by divine Command
wth Rising tempests Shakes a guilty land
Such as of Late o'er pale Britania past
Calme & serene he drive y^e furious Blast
& pleas'd y^e almightyes order to perform
Rides on y^e whirl-wind & directs y^e storm
Addisons Campaign – In prais of of the Great Duke of Marlboro -*

Note 8

Joseph Addison (1672-1739) achieved reputations as an essayist, a poet and a statesman. He contributed to *The Tatler*, *The Spectator* and *The Guardian*. His philosophical and theological views lacked originality but Benjamin Franklin claimed that he had made an important contribution to improving minds and manners in Britain. His poem 'Campaign', celebrating the battle of Blenheim, 1704, was a particular success and was rewarded with his promotion to an under-secretary-ship of state.²⁵

For Medley, the attraction of this poem doubtless included its patriotism. From its 476 lines, he has selected a passage²⁶ just beyond the middle.

One wonders if Medley also enjoyed the more gory bits:

*'with Floods of Gore that from the Vanquish'd fell
The Marshes stagnate, and the Rivers swell'
...
'The Rout begins, the Gallic squadrons run
Compell'd in Crouds to meet the Fate they shun
Thousands of fiery Steeds with Wounds transfix'd
Floating in Gore, with their dead Masters mix'd
'Midst Heaps of Spears and Standards driv'n around*

²⁵ *DNB*, various editions; a biographical note by Professor David Pailin.

²⁶ He could have found exactly this passage in *The Tatler*, No. 43, 19th July 1709, but there is nothing in the publication itself to link it directly to Addison, who in fact published *The Tatler*; probably, therefore, he selected from the full poem in Addison J: *The campaign: a poem to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough*, H.Hills, London 1710

Lye in the Danube's bloody Whirlpools drown'd

Opposite 25-31.3.34 (See note 9):

*O let me Glory. Glory in my Choyce
whome Should I Sing, but him who gave me voyce
this Throne Shall Last, wⁿ Homer's shall decay
wⁿ arts armes, Kings & Kingdomes melt away
and can it, Pow'rs Immortal, can it be
that this high province was Reservd for me
Whate'er y^e new, the Rash adventure cost
In wide Eternity I dar be Lost
I dar Launch out & Show y^e Muses more
Then ere the Learned Sisters Saw before
In narrow limits they were wont to Sing
to teach the Swain, or Celebrate y^e King
I grasp y^e whole, no more to parts Confind
I lift my voyce, & Sing to Human kind
I Sing to men & angels; angels Joyn
(while Such y^e theme) their Sacred Hymns wth mine
(Guardian no 51)*

And, from later in the same poem:

*whatever great or dreadfull has ben done
within the view of conscious Stars or Sun
Is far beneath my daring: I Look down
on all the splendors of y^e Brittis Crown
this globe is for my verse a narrow bound
attend me, all y^e Glorious worlds around
o all y^e sprits howsoere disjoyn'd
of Every various order place & kinde
Hear & assist a feeble mortals Lays
tis your Eternal King I Strive to praise*

Note 9

The Guardian was a periodical published in a run of 175 numbers in 1713, containing the work of Joseph Addison, Sir Richard Steele (1672-1720) and others. Steele was a noted essayist and dramatist but also a politician. He was at Charterhouse and Oxford with Addison. The Guardian was dedicated to Lord Cadogan: 'In the Character of The Guardian it behoves me to do Honour to such as have deserved well of Society and laid out worthy, and manly Qualities, in the Service of the Publick'

He took these two passages from a poem published in The Guardian of 9th May 1713 in an article which advises the reader that *All kinds of Poesie are amicable but Sacred Poesie should be our most special delight*:

The article from which these were taken tells us that *These verses... are taken out of a Manuscript poem on the Last Day which will shortly appear in Publick*

Also from the Guardian, he noted the brief prose extract opposite 11-19.8.34, and it may well be that he was introduced, by this periodical, to other authors such as the Archbishop of Cambray whose work he could have found there (though not the passages he has quoted opposite 23-29.10.34). From this source, also, he quoted the poem by *Mr Prior* and, probably, the Dryden extract, both opposite 18-27.5.35.

Opposite 19-25.4.34 (See note 10):

Holland is a Country, where the Earth is better yⁿ the air - & profit more in Request yⁿ Honour; where there is more Sence than wit; more good nature than good humer, & more wealth than pleasure: Where a man wou^d Chuse Rather to travel then to live; Shall finde more things to observe than desire & more persons to Esteem than to Love
S^r W^m Temple

Note 10

Sir William Temple, Bt. (1628-99), author and diplomat was (amongst other appointments) ambassador at the Hague 1668-9 and wrote 'Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands', published 1672; he was ambassador to States General 1674. He later withdrew from public life although William III wanted him as Secretary of State. He was a 'lover of music, art, good wine and conversation' and published various works which gained him plaudits from Swift and Johnson. However the overall assessment of Bishop Burnet²⁷, who accused him of atheism, was damning, and later generations were irritated by his overt vanity as a statesman and author.²⁸

Medley chose three passages of interest from 'Observations..', which was contemporarily described as 'the perfectest book of its kind that is perhaps in being'²⁹. It contains plenty of witty generalisations about the country and its inhabitants such as this passage³⁰ which Medley has chosen.

Opposite 26.4.34 - 17.5.34 (See note 11):

A Collection of Some Expretions & Remarques of the Rever^d M^r Squires In his preface – In answer to the Booke Calld y^e Independent whig
Speaking of England the Contitution the Relegion polittics & pashons & follys of Eng-h-n

—
Truth is Still y^e Same; & it must be the Same principles that must at last Save us, tho perhaps in hands where heretofore they were little Expected. a Passion for just liberty, a fondness for our Establishment & Constitution, a love to our native Country, a Spirit of Charity & moderation, & a Zeal for y^e Christian Protestant Intrest, are foundations in themselves unchangable; they are principles on which the happiness of this nation Intirely Depends; they are Maxims y^t will never be totally Rejected, whilest we have any thing Left; But as naturaly taken up by Men out of Power,- as they are forgotten in it. So y^t In

²⁷ Bishop Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury and historian.

²⁸ *A new general biographical dictionary*, op.cit.; *Oxford DNB*, op.cit., from which the quotation is taken.

²⁹ The description is attributed to Gilbert Burnet, the historian. See Temple, Sir W.: *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* Reprint of 1st ed. 1672, edited by Sir George Clark OUP, Oxford, 1972, p.ix

³⁰ Temple, Sir W.: op.cit., p.97

Short, to be a true whig, Is Generally speaking, to be on the weakest Side – for w^{ch} Reason I hope I may Still (without Envy) pretend to y^t character.

But is it not pittty y^t Prosperity Should allways make men wanton & is it not hard y^t y^e possession of power Should Immediately alter our notions of it ? and is it not yet stranger, that those who have princples of Moderation, Should afterwards give in to the Dangerous Measures of the furious & violent; Should Sacrifice their Honor & their Intrest, to those passions by which their predecessors have faln before their faces; Shud Run from a Small danger on one Side of the Boat, to overset it on the other,-

But this is y^e Course of things ! – have we not beheld a party in y^e zenith of their Grandaur, out of a Religious Solitude to avoyd fanaticism, madly Give up themselves to the Management of Papists & Jacobites ? and are there not thousands of such wise heads to be seen at this day, who from a Just dread of Priest Craft, & Spiritual tyranny, have plung'd themselves Into Irriligion & prophaneness & for fear of an implicit faith in the Church, have asign'd over their senses & their souls, to those who are in truth a Disgrace to any party & will surely Ruin it –

If the Maxims on w^{ch} the Protestant Succession was first Introduced, were pursued in its Defence, we might defy our Enemies & disband our armies ! But such fools are honest men, as to hope y^t by flattery, w^{ch} they have Saved from violence, Suffer those who had the least share of the Combat to lay Claim to all the Glory; and to commit the Custody of their Consciencs to such, as have not Religion Enough to make them trustworthy for forty Shillings

The Settlement of y^e Crown, The Security of our Constitution, & a Generous Toleration, are the workys of Men, whose noble views were y^e Honour of god, y^e good of Souls & y^e prosperity of England. – yet So it comes to pass, y^t these very persons –(whether Scared out of their wits by past danger, or Infatuated by Success) have faln into Extravagancies as great as thys (?) Escaped; have prostituted their Honour & their liberty to men who do good but by accident, & to whome Every thing is lawfull; & slavishly Drink Down their notions & Dictates, who have no settled princpls of their own actions; whose thirst after liberty is but an Hatred of power in any but themselves; & whose zeal for toleration consists but in Infidelity & envy at Establishments

Note 11

Francis Squire was noted for his 'An answer to some late papers, entitled, *The Independent Whig*; so far as they relate to the Church of England as by law established. In which her doctrines, creeds, liturgy and establishments; her clergy, with their Rights, Divine and Humane, are modestly defended; and their Author's new Notions prov'd to be, not only Absurd and Ridiculous, but also directly opposite to those very Texts of God's word, on which he pretends to found them'.³¹

³¹ Squire, F. *An answer to some late papers, entitled, The Independent Whig*... London 1723

Squire dedicated his *Answer* 'To the Most reverend Father in God William, by Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury', claiming 'We are outrageously attacked both within, and from without, by open Enemies Parties in themselves most widely different, Papist and Puritan, Atheist and Fanatick, Anabaptist, Arian and Independent Whig so all unite ... for the Overthrow of the Church established in this Kingdom'.

Squire's 'Answer' was published in London, 1723, in response to papers published in a weekly periodical, *The Independent Whig*, edited by John Trenchard³² and Thomas Gordon³³. The first collected edition had been published in 1721 containing 53 numbers but Gordon added further papers in later editions, increasing the work to four volumes. The periodical's title was '*The Independent Whig, or, A defence of primitive Christianity and of our ecclesiastical establishment: against the exorbitant claims and encroachments of fanatical and disaffected clergymen*'.³⁴ *The Independent Whig* censured what the authors considered to be 'the ubiquitous and corrupt influence of high-church clerics propagating false divinity from their sacerdotal thrones'³⁵

'*The Independent Whig* ..' is dedicated 'to the lower house of convocation' and reminds readers of the principles of the Reformation, stressing that 'you cannot take as much of popery as you please'. The dedication ends by asking 'To what is owing that the usual spirit and zeal of this nation against popery are now quite extinct ... ?'

One can see that this line would have appealed to Samuel Medley and it would seem fair to guess that he had tackled *The Independent Whig* himself before embarking on Squire's *Answer*. He might, then, reasonably been a little puzzled at the vehemence of Squire who often seems, in his *Answer*, to agree with principles which Medley would have wished to support. These are the passages he noted down in his search for illumination.

Opposite 18-25.5.34 (See note 12):

Sr W^m Temple Speaking of holland Says it is hardly to be Imagined hou all the violence & Sharpness w^{ch} accompanies y^e differences of Religion in other Countries, Seems to be apeased or Softened here, by y^e general freedom w^{ch} all men Enjoy; Either by allowance or Connivance; nor how faction & ambition are thereby disabled to color their Intressed & Seditious Designs wth the pretences of Religion, wich has cost the Christian world So much Blood for these Last Hundered & fifty years. no man can here complain of pressure in his conscience, of being forced to any publick profession of his private faith; of his being Restrain'd from his own manner of worship in his house – or oblig'd to any other abroad:- & whoever asks more In poynt of Religion, without the undisputed Evidence of a perticular mission from Heaven may be justly suspected – not to ask for gods sake but his own

Note 12

³² John Trenchard, 1668/9-1723, was 'an aggressive anti-clerical polemicist (who) denied the Trinity (but) defended the 'Legal Church' and 'was only for pulling down those who would soar above it'. ' (*Oxford DNB*, op.cit., quoting Trenchard's *Cato's letters*, preface, lix)

³³ Thomas Gordon, d.1750, pamphleteer and classical scholar, published various 'anti-clerical, anti-papist and anti-corruption publications ... immensely influential in Britain and America' (*Oxford DNB*, op.cit.)

³⁴ www.copac.ac.uk 2004

³⁵ *Oxford DNB*, op.cit.: the entry on Trenchard.

In Note 10 we have given a brief biographical sketch of Sir William Temple and introduced the work from which the next passage is also taken.³⁶ One can see that Medley would have found the Dutch attitude to religion as remarkable as Temple does.

The reasons for the tolerance observed go back to the Union of Utrecht of 1579 in which it was laid down that 'every one (should) remain free in his Religion, and no man be examined or entrapped for that cause, according to the Pacification of Ghent.'³⁷ However the national character may also be relevant - as Temple puts it: *In general, All Appetites and Passions seem to run lower and cooler, than in other Countreys where I have conversed.*³⁸

Opposite 26.5.34 - 2.6.34 (See note 13):

A Description of Fortune by the Great Duke of Buckingham

*Fortune made up of toys & Impudence
that common Jade, y^t has not common sence,
but fond of business, Insolently Dares
pretend to Rule, yet spoils y^e worlds affairs
She's fluttering up & down her favour throws
On the next met, not minding w^t she does
nor why, nor whome she helps nor merit knows
Sometimes she smiles, yⁿ like a fury Raves
& seldome truly Loves but fools & knaves
Let her love whome She will, I scorn to wooe her
While she stays wth me, I'll be civil to her
But if she offers to Remove her wings
Ile fling her back all her vain gewgaw things
And arm'd wth virtue, will more glorious stand
Then if y^e Bitch still bent at my Command
Ile Marry Honesty, tho nee'er so poor
Rather then follow Such a drill blind whore*

Note 13

George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham (1628-87), an M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, was a politician and wit. Though in Charles II's Cabal, he was unable to survive a series of feuds with political rivals and was eventually dismissed on the excuse of his scandalous relationship with the Countess of Shrewsbury. He made further political forays into public life on the succession of James II in 1685. In literary circles he was best known for the satirical play 'The Rehearsal', 1671. The 'Miscellaneous Works, 1704, and other later editions exploited Buckingham's name to introduce readers to writings by a variety of Restoration wits; most of the items printed were not in fact by him'³⁹, as may well be the case with the poem quoted which can be found in his collected works.⁴⁰

³⁶ Temple, Sir W.: *op. cit.*, p.106

³⁷ *ibid.* p.33. The Pacification of Ghent was in 1576. For further detail regarding 'the Evangelical Religion' becoming 'the establisht Religion of this State', whilst the principle of tolerance was maintained, see pp. 101-3.

³⁸ *ibid.* p.88

³⁹ *Oxford DNB*, *op.cit.*, from which the quoted passage is taken.

⁴⁰ Buckingham, Duke of: *The works of His Grace, George Villiers, late Duke of Buckingham.*

(3rd ed. Briscoe & Burleigh 1715) T.Evans, London, 1775. The quotation appears in Vol.II p.139: 'A Description of Fortune'

Opposite 12-20.6.34 (See note 14):

*a book calld wits cabinet – a very Silly Booke – Save for the Rules of Behaviour printed
1691 H Rhods nere Bird lane price 1^s*

Note 14

It is indeed a very silly book ! The fuller title is: *Wit's cabinet: A Companion for gentlemen and ladies: in which is contain'd*

I. The interpretation of dreams ...

II. The art of physiognomy and palmistry.

III. The right preparation for cosmeticks...

IV The complete metalist (including advice on how to counterfeit precious stones !)

V Cabinet of Art and Nature

VI Whole Art of Love (the best methods of wooing, love addresses, etc.)

VII 58 choice secrets

VIII Guide to good behaviour (see below)

IX News from Any whence; with divers merry riddles

X Art of drinking

*To which is added, A choice collection of ... Songs.*⁴¹

The only section of which Medley approved is in VIII and is concerned with avoidance, when at table, of yawning, sneezing, scratching, dullness, discontent, lascivious and obscene discourse, lying, boasting and flattery. For instance, in particular:

For those that are Attendants at the Table, it is very indecent for them to scratch or rub their Heads whilst there Such also ought to be very cautious of Spitting and Coughing, especially when they serve up Meat to the Board But by all means let them at such times avoid Sneezing, for that may breed a Jealousy in them that sit at Table, that something that shou'd not, is fallen upon, or into what they eat or drink

Opposite 30.6.34 - 7.7.34 (See note 15):

*a man that flatters you In one part of his Booke - & Glareingly Jears & Reflects on you –
In another – the Rever'd M^r Squires – Compares to a Story – of a Certain warm Gentⁿ that
happened to be a little in a passion wth his wife - & after he had swore a hundered times –
that all the whole sex were wh-res – yet (says he) I Love an honest woman as well as any
man In the world –*

Note 15

About two months (probably) after making the notes from Squire's work on which we have commented in Note 11, and presumably after having studied the work further, Medley made these personal notes - one of his rare forays into literary criticism, unless he is in fact here quoting a defender of the Independent Whig !

Squire devotes much energy to the destruction of the arguments in The Independent Whig, particularly those involving generalisation, simply for the sake of destroying them; indeed, when he

⁴¹London c.1700

(quite often) finds himself in agreement with the authors, he centres his attack on their style of argument. In fact, he warns the reader of his intention to do this: *'I will honestly present to the Reader's perusal every Sentence and paragraph of this Single Paper, and discourse of them in so large a Compass as to comprehend every material Argument or Objecion of the Whole Book. I will labour to set forth the Absurdity of your Opinions in such a Method as at the same time to justify those of the Church Establish'd'*

What is of particular interest to us is the extent to which it appears that Medley was interested to read and abstract from Squire's text, and to assess what he has read.

Opposite 26.7.34 - 2.8.34 (See note 16):

the observation of an Ingenious man

Prosperity has ben the Ruin of many This is Indeed the Nature of things; adversity is the best gaurd against pride & wantonness; & nothing is more certain, than that wealth & power are never misused before they are obtaind

Note 16

The source is not known but the choice of such a passage is in line, for instance, with Medley's choice of Granville's poem opposite 7-13.1.34 and Fitzgerald's poem opposite 8-14.12.34.

Opposite 11-19.8.34 (See note 17):

Virtus est vitium fugere , Et Sapientia prima Stultitia carnisse ---- vertue begins in the forsaking of vice ; & the first part of wisdom – Is not to be a fool, ----

Note 17

This is Horace: *Epistles* I,1,41.

Latin tags are used at the beginning of each number of *The Guardian*, *The Spectator* and sometimes *The Tatler*, but translations are not given; this appears to come from some other source. Dr David Pailin notes that Medley may have been able to translate from the Latin himself, or could have received help with this.

Opposite 11-19.8.34 (See note 18):

October 1736

about 50 years ago – an Eminent Divine who was allso most Exactly well bred – told his Congregation at white hall – that if they did not vouchsafe to give their lives a new turn they must certainly go to a place w^{ch} he did not think fit to name In that Courtly audience , - Guardian n^o 17 vol 1st

Note 18

This snippet has been lifted from an essay in the edition of 31.3.1713 of the periodical *The Guardian* (See also Note 9) in which the author is railing against fornication !

Opposite 20-28.8.34 (See note 19):

If y^e Enjoyments of this life Were Certain, yet they are unsatisfying. this is y^e vanity of vanaties, that Every thing in this world can trouble us But nothing Can give us

Satisfaction. I know not how it is, but Either We, or the things of this World, or both, - are So Phantastical, that we can neither be Well wth these things, nor Well Without them, - if we be Hungry, We are in pain; and if We Eat to the full, We are uneasie. - if we be poor we think our Selves Miserable, & when We Come to be Rich We Com only Really are So. If We are in a low Condition We fret & murmer, & if We Chance to get up & be Raisd to greatness We are many times farther from Contentment yⁿ We Were before. So that We pursue the Happiness of this World Just as little Childeren Chase birds, When we think we are Come very near it - and have it almost in our hands it flies further from us then it at first.

Note 19

This is a further passage from Tillotson⁴² (See also Note 1) which, one feels, supported Medley's own belief in personal satisfaction through rectitude and moderation.

Opposite 7-17.9.34 (See note 20):

a prayer of Henry 4th of france - Just before a Battle - In w^{ch} he obtaind an Entire victory o Lord of hosts, who can see through y^e thickest vail & closest disguise, who viewest y^e bottom of my heart & the deepest designs of my Enemies, who hast in thy hands as well as before thine Eyes, all the Events w^{ch} Concern Human life, if thou knowest y^t my Reign will promote thy Glory, - & y^e Safty of thy people, if thou knowest y^t I have no other ambition in my soul but to advance the honour of thy holy name, & y^e good of this state, favour o great god, the Justice of my armes, & Reduce all the Rebels - to acknowledg him whome thy sacred Decrees & the order of a lawful succession have made their Sovereign - but if thy good providence has ordered it otherwise & thou seest y^t I should prove one of those Kings whome thou givest in thine anger, take from me o merciful god, my life & my crown, make this a sacrifice to thy will let my death End y^e calamities of franc & let my blood be the last y^t is Spilt in this Quarrel

Note 20

Henry IV lived 1553-1610 and there were various biographical works and histories containing sections concerning Henry IV from one of which Medley presumably found the following prayer, complete with the title he has given it.⁴³ To Medley, it would have been the King's apparent humility, faith and entire trust in God that would have appealed⁴⁴.

⁴² Tillotson, J.: *op.cit.*, Sermon VIII, p.92

⁴³ Medley could, in fact, have found this prayer in the periodical *The Guardian*, *op.cit.*, (No. 19, of 2.4.1713 though dated 2.3.1713), from which he took some other quotations (see 9.4.6....) but the texts do not quite agree (e.g. *The Guardian* uses Harry for Henry) and it looks as if he did, in fact, copy from another work. Subsequently, the prayer was published in Eugene, Prince of Savoy: *A prayer composed by Prince Eugene of Savoy... to which is added, a prayer of Henry the Fourth of France, just before a battle, in which he obtained an entire victory*, Foulis, Glasgow, 1760.

⁴⁴ Professor David Pailin, in a note to the authors, wonders whether Medley would have been happy to find similar expressions in Cromwell !

Opposite 5-12.10.34 (see note 21):

the Scripture, Notion of faith – Is very plain & obvious, viz. not a Speculative & philosophical, But a Religious & practical faith, and 'tis built upon this principle. That God is, & that he is a Rewarder of them that Diligently Seek Him. That is, Religious faith is a full conviction of Minde, that an Eternal Immense being, Infinitely wise, just & good, not only actually Exists, but is the Governour of the world, prescribes laws to the consciences & to the actions of men. takes notice of their compliance with or transgression of them, & will certainly Reward or punish them, according as their workes have been. To live under this Sense and Expectation is to live a life of faith, this coincident wth a life of vertue. all the Species or particular Instances of faith, may be Reduced to this, as So Many Branches Springing from it. And to Explain y^m in any other Sense, as if faith & Reason were opposed to Each other, & Religion & vertue were two different things; is to blind mens understandings, - and to confound the plainest & most numerous texts of Scripture.
- D^r J^r Clarke

Note 21

Another Boyle lecturer (See Note 2), from whom Medley quotes here, was Dr John Clarke (c.1680-1759), mathematician and philosopher, brother of the more famous 'celebrated English divine' Dr Samuel Clarke. He was a Cambridge Doctor of Divinity who became chaplain in ordinary to the King and Dean of Salisbury. He translated or wrote notes on various important scientific works and also preached two sets of Boyle's lectures⁴⁵, in 1719-20, from which Medley quotes this section concerned with faith⁴⁶:

Opposite 13-22.10.34 (See note 22):

Doubting & anxiety of Mind. Irreligion & atheism – makes a man full of doubts & Jealousies Whether he be in the Right, & whether at last things will not prove quite otherwise then he hath Rashly Determined. For though a man Endeavour never so much to Settle himselfe in the principles of Infidelity, & to perswade his mind that there is no god & Consequently that there are no Rewards to be hoped for, nor punishments to be feard in an other life; yet he can never attain to a Steddy & unshaken perswasion of these things: & however he may please himselfe wth Witty Reasons against the Common beleif of mankind & Smart Reparties to their arguments, & bold & pleasant Raillery about these matters; - yet I dar say, no man Ever Sate Down in a Clear & full Satisfaction Concerning them. For wⁿ he hath done all y^t he can so Reason himselfe out of Religion, his conscience Ever & anon Recoils upon him, & his natural thoughts & apprehensions rise up against his Reasonings, & all his wit & subtilty is confuted & born down by a Secret & strong Suspicion, w^{ch} he can by no means get out of his mind, that things may be otherwise.

Note 22

⁴⁵ A new general biographical dictionary, op.cit.; biographical notes by Professor David Pailin

⁴⁶ Clarke, J. *An Enquiry into the Cause and Origin of Moral Evil*, London, 1721, pp.90-91. The last part of the second sentence is in italics in the original, as quoting Hebrews, chapter 11, verse 6.

Again from Tillotson, Medley has selected this passage⁴⁷ concerned with a theme for which he looked when reading other authors - peace of mind through faith and the rejection of atheism⁴⁸

Opposite 23.10.34 - 6.11.34 (See note 23):

A Demonstration of the Existance wisdom and omnipotence of god – by the Archbishop of cambray and in y^e end of the Book an act of devotion to this Effect

O My God, if the greater numb^r of Mankinde do not discover thee in y^t glorious show of nature w^{ch} thou hast placed before our Eyes, It is not because thou art far from Every one of us; thou art present to us more yⁿ any object w^{ch} we touch wth our hands, but our Senses & passions w^{ch} they produce in us turn our attention from thee. thy light shines in the midst of darkness, but the darkness comprehends it not. Thou o Lord, dost Every where display thy selfe, thou showest in all thy works, But art not Regarded by mindless & unthinkⁱng man – The whole Creation talk^s aloud of thee, & Ecchos wth the Repetitions of thy holy name, But such is our Insencability y^t we are deafe to the great & universal voyce of nature (.....) Thou art Every where about us & within us but we wander from our selves – become strangers to our own Soules, & do not apprehend thy presence O thou who art the fountain of light & beauty who art the ancient of days without begining and without End; o thou who art the life of all y^t truly live; those can never fail to find thee who look for thee within themselves. but alas the very gifts w^{ch} thou bestowest upon us, do so Employ our thoughts that they Hinder us from perceiving the hand w^{ch} conveys them to us, - we live by thee & yet we live without thinkⁱng on thee but o lord w^t is life in Ignorance of thee ? a dead inactive peice of matter. a flower y^t withers – a River y^t glids away - a palace y^t hastens to its Ruin – a picture made of fading colours, a mass of Shining oar Strike our Imaginations, & make us sensible of their Existance. we Regard them as objects capable of giveing us pleasure. not cosidering that thou conveyest through yⁿ all the pleasure w^{ch} we Imagine they give us. Such vain Empty objects y^t are onely shadows of being are proportioned to our low & grovelory thoughts, that beauty w^{ch} thou hast poured out on thy Creation, is as a veil w^{ch} hides thee from our Eyes. as thou art a being too pure & Exalted to pas thro' our Sences – thou art not Regarded by men, who have debased their nature, & have made themselves like the Beasts y^t perish. – So infatuated are they, y^t notwithstanding they know w^t is wisdom & virtue, w^{ch} have neither sound nor colour, nor smell, nor taste nor figure nor any other sensible quality – then can doubt of thy Existance because thou art not apprehended by the grosser organs of sence – wretches y^t we are ! – we consider shadows as Realaties & truth as a phantome – that w^{ch} is nothing is all to us, y^t w^{ch} is all appears to us nothing – w^t do we see in all nature but thee – o Lord; I am swallowed up & lost in Contemplation of thee. – I am lost to my selfe & fallen (?) into nothing wⁿ I think on thee. The man who dos not see thee has beheld nothing, - his being is vain, & his life but a dream – How unhappy is y^t soul who without the sence of thee – has

⁴⁷ From Sermon XII in Tillotson, J.: *The Works of the most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson ... Being All that were Published by his Grace Himself...* 3rd Edition, London 1701, p.132.

⁴⁸ Professor Pailin points out that 'atheism', at this time, included forms of unbelief which today would be called agnosticism, the latter term being a Victorian invention.

no god, no hope, no comfort to support him. but how happy the man who Seearches sighs & thirsts after thee.

Note 23

Francois de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénélon, (1651-1715) Archbishop of Cambrai was a mystical theologian and man of letters whose liberal views on politics and education, and involvement in a controversy over the nature of mystical prayer, caused concerted opposition from the church and state in France. His pedagogical concepts and literary works nevertheless exerted a lasting influence on French culture. Though unsympathetic to Protestant beliefs, he strove to mitigate Catholic intolerance, following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was author of much re-published works on *The Existence of God*, *Counsels to those who are living in the world* and various devotional works; he also wrote an innovative work on *The education of girls* in 1687.⁴⁹

Not put off by (or just possibly ignorant of) the fact that the Archbishop was a Roman Catholic, Medley selected this substantial passage from the first listed of these works⁵⁰: it is the beginning of *A prayer to God*⁵¹, which follows the main text of *The existence*...

Opposite 15-22.11.34 (See note 24):

the way to our future happiness has been perpetually Disputed throughout the world, and must be left at last, to the Impressions made upon Every Man's beliefe, or Supernatural, arguments & means; w^{ch} Impressions men may disguis or dissemble, but no man can Resist – for beliefe is no more In a mans power then his Stature or his featur; & he that tells me I must change my opinion for his, because tis the truer & y^e Better, wthout other arguments, that have y^e force of conviction, may as well tell me, I must Change my Grey Eyes, for others like his that are Black, Because these are Lovelier & more in Esteem. He y^t tells me, I must Inform my selfe has Reason, if I do it not – But if I Endeavour all y^t I can & perhaps, more yⁿ he Ever did, & yet Still differ from, him - & he that it may be is older will have me Study on & Inform my selfe better, & So to the End of my life – then I Easily understand w^t he means by Informing – w^{ch} is In Short, that I must do it, till I Come to be of his opinion S^r W^m Temple

Note 24

This further passage⁵² by Sir William Temple (See Note 10), concerning *beliefe*, might well have puzzled Bishop Burnet, if not convinced him one way or the other as to where Temple stood. Medley,

⁴⁹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, op.cit.

⁵⁰ Medley may have found his way to the Archbishop's writings via the periodical *The Guardian*, from which he took some other quotations (See esp. 6.4.6)

⁵¹ It is found, with slightly different wording, at p.179, part I, section XCII of Fénélon, F de S de la M-, (Archbishop of Cambrai) *A demonstration of the existence and attributes of God* 2nd ed. London 1720 ; Medley may have found it in another edition or, more likely, in a similar publication with the word *omnipotence* in place of *attributes* in the title, as Medley claims. Professor David Pailin suggests the possibility that this could be Medley's own, not very good translation from the French.

⁵² Temple, Sir W.: *op. cit.*, p.99.

one feels, will have seen it as an avocation of reliance on the faith in God which he himself possessed.

Opposite 23-28.11.34 (See note 25):

Mr Kidders demonstration of y^e Messiah

*Collection of papers – about y^e time of the Revoultion – Printed in y^e year 1689 golden
lyon St Pauls Church yard*

Dr Pearsons Ex-n on the Creed folio 121 & 127

Note 25

Medley seems to have been reading the Boyle lectures again (See Notes 2 and 21). Richard Kidder (c.1625 (or 1633?) -1703), educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow, rose to become Bishop of Bath & Wells in 1691. He preached the Boyle's lectures in 1693-4 which formed the first three chapters of his *Demonstration of the Messias* (3 vols, 1684-1700), designed to prove, to the Jews in particular, the truth of the Christian religion.⁵³

The 'Collection of Papers', next mentioned, has not been identified.

Dr John Pearson (1613-86), Bishop of Chester, wrote *An exposition of the creed*, first published 1659; folios 121 and 127 refer to the 1689 edition.

Opposite 29.11.34 - 7.12.34 (See note 26):

*Speaking of different opinions – in Religion to be the Cause of Atheism – for men In the
Midst of Such apparent Causes of difference, to Resolve to be of No Religion – till all are
agreed in one – Is just as wise & Rational as if they shuld Determine not to go to diner till
all the Clocks in the town Strike twelve together .*

Note 26

Dr John Scott (1638-95) was a successful minister of various London churches and was collated a prebendary of St. Paul's in 1685. He became rector of St Giles in the Fields in 1691. A strong anti-papist, he was author of sundry publications including, notably, *The Christian Life*. 'Scott's importance lies in his legacy as a devotional writer whose work discusses godly living and prayer'⁵⁴. Medley probably read from *The works of the Reverend and Learned John Scott D D in two volumes*. T.Horne etc. London 1718, and the first passage which Medley quotes appears in *Of the Christian life*, in a section entitled *of the causes of atheism*⁵⁵. The first few words are Medley's, putting the quotation, which starts at '...for men ...', in context:

Opposite 8-14.12.34 (See note 27):

True Happiness

No Glory I covet, no Riches I want,

Ambition is nothing to me

⁵³ *A new general biographical dictionary*, op.cit.; biographical notes by Professor David Pailin

⁵⁴ *A new general biographical dictionary*, op.cit.; *Oxford DNB*, op.cit., from which the quoted passage is taken.

⁵⁵ Vol.1, Ch.3, p.233

*The one thing I Beg of kind Heaven to grant
Is a mind Independent & free.*

*Wth passions unruffled untainted wth Pride,
By Reason my life let me Square;
The wants of my nature are cheaply Supplid
& y^e Rest is but folly & care*

*The Blessings w^{ch} providence freely has lent
I'll Justly & gratefully prise
Whilst Sweet meditation & Chearfull content
Shall make me both healthy & wise*

Note 27

Thomas Fitzgerald (c.1695 - 1752) was educated at Westminster and Cambridge. Having taken holy orders, he returned to his old school to teach, eventually becoming Head Usher. He published editions of Martial and Terence for his pupils' use and published his *Poems on several occasions* in 1733. The poem from which Medley has quoted appears under the title 'An Ode' and runs to five verses, of which Medley gives the first three⁵⁶. The title Medley uses, *True Happiness*, may be Medley's own or it is possible that he found just these three verses, so titled, in another publication. One feels that Medley's personal philosophy would have been well summed up by this poem which is in a similar register to Pope's *Ode on Solitude*, opposite 29.1.34.-.3.2.34.

The two missing verses, which Medley may, perhaps with some justification, have simply found less appealing, follow on thus:

*In the pleasures the great mans possessions display
Unenvied I'll challenge my part
For every fair object my eyes can survey
Contributes to gladden my heart*

*How vainly through infinite trouble and strife
The many their labours employ !
Since all that is truly delightful in life
is what all, if they please, may enjoy.*

Opposite 15-20.12.34 (See note 28):

*There is nothing more Insupportable in the world – then a friend that is false – nothing
more to be feard – then a Rich theif, & a Covetous Judg; nothing is more provoking then a
half-Learned man that is very positive nothing is more Shamefull then a Lying Prince;
nothing more Ridiculous then a wanton old woman, a Poor proud man, & A Bragging
Coward – S^t E-t*

⁵⁶ There was a second edition in 1736. All five verses of this poem were later published, in 1783, in Rirson, J.: *A select collection of English songs in three volumes*, London, 1783, (Miscellaneous Songs viii), set to music by Abiel Whichello (in volume 3).

Note 28

Charles de Marguetel de Saint-Denis, seigneur de Saint-Evremond (1613/14-1703) was a gentleman of letters and amateur moralist who stands between Montaigne and the 18th century philosophies of the enlightenment. After a military career, he had to flee from France for criticising Cardinal Mazarin and was welcomed by Charles II. He wrote extensively - prose ranging from satire to literary criticism and ethics. There was a 1705 edition of his works, subsequently translated into English. Having a special interest in natural history (amongst many other things), he was appointed, by Charles II, keeper of the ducks in St. James's Park.!

Medley's quotation is hardly representative of Saint-Evremond's output but is consonant with some of Medley's other choices.

Opposite 28.12.34 - 3.1.35 (See note 29):

there is no doubt but a good Example – doth far more Effectually Instruct, then good precepts; Because it doth not onely Express the Same vertues that the precepts Enjoyn, but also Expresses y^m wth much more Grace & Emphasis. – for whereas precepts & discourses of vertue are onely (the) dead pictures & artificial Landskips & Discriptions of it, a vertuous Example is vertue it self, Inform'd & animated, alive & in motion Exerting & Exhibiting it selfe in all Its natural Charmes and Graces

Note 29

From Scott, J.: *The Christian life*, ... 3rd ed. Kettlby, London 1684-9, Ch. 7, Section III 'of the prophetick office of Jesus Christ', Vol. 1, p.383. See also Note 26 for a biographical note on Dr John Scott.

Landskips = landscapes.

Opposite 4-10.1.35 (See note 30):

*the words of a devine – near Chester: 38 years agoe
Nothing Comes by Chance In Respect of God. But all things are disposed by his wise providence to bring his Determinate Council to pass*

Invidious Malice Is a poysoned Gall, the Root of vices, the father of Murders, the Mother of Death. It is the Rage of the Divil, & the very Soul & Spirit of Apostate Nature neither to be pacified wth Kindness, nor Satisfied wth Cruelty

Temperance Is a purgative virtue of the Souls, & Exalts the Spirit by Subduing the Body; Is y^e Mother of good thoughts, & Leads us to God, by a Due Consideration of our Latter End, w^{ch} we must leave all y^t we have Enjoy'd, & Render an account of the Right use or abuse of em,

Note 30

Neither source nor author has been identified.

Opposite 5-12.2.35 (See note 31):

If being moped, dejected, or unsociable, if whining, fasting or Long prayers, or Rigid observance of holy times; if Consuming our lives in a bare footed pilgrimage, or wearing a hair shirt, or whipping ur Bodies – or Spending our Estates on Masses & Indulgencies if being made free of a holy Confraternaty or visiting altars & Shrines, or numbering prayers like faggots by a tally of beads; if these or any of these will secure us of heaven - & from going to hell- we shall think them a thousand times more tolerable & Easy – then to submit our wills to god In all the Instances of true piety & virtue.

Note 31

In choosing this passage, Medley gives us the benefit of one of Dr Scott's rants which echoes, in tone, the anti-popery passage of Tillotson's, opposite 13-18.12.33, but with even more distaste evident⁵⁷. See also Note 26.

Opposite 3-15.3.35 there is Medley's own poem, given in *The Earl and his butler in Constantinople*, at the end of 5.5.4.

Opposite 29.3.35 - 6.4.35 (See note 32):

Lying perverts the use of Speech - & Betrays a Baseness & meanness of Spirit to deceive is to Injure - & to falsifie Promis is to Commit a Robbery

Note 32

There are passages which make this point in Scott, J.: *The Christian life*, ... 3rd ed. Kettilby, London 1684-9 I, p.58 and II, pp.589-90; this may be a paraphrase by Medley rather than a direct quotation. See also Note 26.

Opposite 7-17.4.35 (See note 33):

D. G- a Reverend Devine Speaking of our Saviour – He was born a tender and crying Infant. but was ador'd by y^e wise men as a King. & by the angels as a god. He was circumcised after the Law as a man. but had a name given him w^{ch} signified him to be the Saviour of the world. He fled Into Egipt. like a Distressed Child. under the Conduct of his helpless parents; & as Soon as he Entered Into y^e Country – the Idols fell down & confest his divinity. (Isai 19 – 1st) – he was presented in y^e temple as y^e son of man, but by Simeon & Anna was ownd for the Messiah, & Celebrated wth Devine praises. – He was baptised as a Sinner by John In Jordan, But the Holy ghost Descended upon him. proclaim'd him the beloved Son of god. – He was hungry in y^e wilderness, & tempted as a Mortal, but was Supported. by his divinity, & the holy angels came & ministred to him as Supream Lord.

Note 33

Neither source nor author has been identified.

⁵⁷ Professor David Pailin notes that this passage is typical of many in John Scott's work but suggests that the first line, particularly in the mention of 'long prayers', seems likely to be attacking some Protestant group in fact.

Opposite 18-27.4.35 (See note 34):

upon our Saviour's Expiring on y^e Cross

*Thus did our Great High priest Consummate His Evening sacrifice upon y^e alter & throne
of the Cross, offering up himselfe wthout Spot to god; - thus was y^e Celestial Marriage of his
Immaculate Soul & body Dissolved by the Sword of death; - the organ of Divinity, the
Harp of the true David, the Sweetest voyce of the Holy Jesus Silenced; the divine light of
his Gracious Eyes obscured In y^e Gloomy Shades of night; His sacred brest – the Repository
of all wisdom, and y^e treasury of grace deprived of breath; the true light of the world,
Extinguished, - & the fountain of life dried up: - and all y^e we, who stood Condemned by
y^e just judgment of god for our Sins, might be Received Into an Indissoluable union &
fellowship of his merits and appear unblameable at the heavenly Tribunal –*

Note 34

Neither source nor author has been identified.

Opposite 28.4.35 - 6.5.35 (See note 35):

Lord Rotchesters Dreame

*I dreamt y^e Buried in my fellow clay
Close by a Comon Beggars side I lay
& as so mean a neighbour shockt my prid
thus like a corps of quality I cryd –
Scoundrel ! be gon - hence forward touch me not
More Maners Learn & off a distance Rot
Scoundrel ! In Still & haughty tone cryd he
Proud lump of clay. I scorn thy words & the
Hear all are Equal. Here our Lodging Joyne
This is my Resting place & y^e is thine*

Note 35

The following text was published anonymously in 'A collection of epigrams', 1727⁵⁸:

The Dream

*I DREAMED that, buried in my fellow clay,
Close by a common beggar's side I lay;
And as so mean a neighbour shocked my pride,
Thus, like a corpse of consequence, I cried:
'Scoundrel, begone, and henceforth touch me not;
More manners learn, and at a distance rot.'
'How, scoundrel!' in a haughtier tone cried he:
'Proud lump of dirt, I scorn thy words and thee.
Here all are equal, now thy case is mine:
This is my rotting-place, and that is thine.'*

⁵⁸ Lonsdale, R., Ed.: *The new Oxford book of Eighteenth century verse* OUP, Oxford, 1987, Poem No.141; the editing of the collection is attributed to W.Oldys and it was printed by J.Walthoe, 1727. The poem appears also in the 1759 edition (No. 421) with very minor differences; Medley's version certainly seems not from this work.

(1727)

The version which Medley has found is a little different and the dream is attributed to 'Lord Rotchester' The poem, however, appears not to be by the Earl of Rochester - it seems not to be his style and does not appear in his collected works.⁵⁹ The possible implication that it is by him might well, however, have been a matter of anonymous mischief. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (1647-80) was a poet with the reputation of being a grossly amoral rake; however, in addition to many poems on sensual and erotic topics, unreserved in their graphic language, he wrote a lot of deeper love poetry as well as well-informed philosophical and political satire; he exhibited a 'sharp, restless intellect' and showed a 'commitment to high standards in literary craftsmanship'⁶⁰ He was banished from the court of Charles II for 'A satyr on King Charles II' despite the King's liking for him, the son of an old friend - indeed Charles is reported to have been amused by Rochester's very well-known couplet:

*'God bless our good and gracious King
Whose promise none relies on
Who never said A foolish thing
Nor ever did A wise one.'*⁶¹

Opposite 18-27.5.35 (See note 36):

*no Happiness In the things of this world without the Blessing of god therein
against our peace we arm our Will
amidst our plenty something still
for Horses, Houses, Pictures, Planting
to thee, to me, to him is wanting
that cruel something unpossesst
corrodes, & leavens all the Rest
that something, if we could obtain
wo^d soon create a future Pain.
Mr Prior*

Note 36

Matthew Prior (1664-1721), poet and diplomat, entertained his friends, when a teenager, by turning Horace and Ovid into English verse. A fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, he became secretary to Viscount Dursley, British ambassador at The Hague, and then to the Earl of Portland in Paris. Back in London, 1699-1711, he became a Member of Parliament and peripatetic diplomat. Harley sent him to France to undertake peace negotiations, 1712-15, leading to the Treaty of Utrecht. A close friend of Edward Harley in later years, he was 'arguably the most important poet writing in English between the death of Dryden in 1700 and the majority of Pope in 1712'.⁶²

Medley seems likely to have found the passage he has noted down in the periodical *The Guardian*, No. 54, of 13.5.1713⁶³, where it is attributed to *Mr Prior*, but the title is Medley's.

⁵⁹ Rochester, Earl of : *Collected works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. J Hayward. Nonesuch Press 1926

⁶⁰ Thormahlen, M. *Rochester. The poems in context* CUP, Cambridge, 1993 preface p.i

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.160 quoting Pinto, V de S: *Enthusiast in Wit: A portrait of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester 1647-1680*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962

⁶² *Oxford DNB*, op.cit., from which the quoted passage is taken.

⁶³ along with a Dryden quotation - see note 37. However, these lines appear not to be listed, either amongst his

In line 3, Medley has *painting* rather than *planting*.

Opposite 18-27.5.35 (See note 37):

*Look Round y^e habitable world – how few
Know their own good, or knowing it pursue
How void of Reason are our hopes & fears
w^t in the Conduct of our life appears
So well Designd, so luckily Begun
But, wⁿ we have our Wish, we wish undone
Dryden*

Note 37

John Dryden (1631-1700), poet, playwright, essayist and 'the father of English criticism', was both Historiographer royal and Poet Laureate, prior to the 1688 revolution. He dominated the literature of the late 17th century in England⁶⁴ and doubtless deserved more than one quotation by Medley ! However, we have no means of knowing how much Dryden he read⁶⁵ before selecting this quotation which is the first 6 lines of 'The tenth satyr of Juvenal' from 'The satyrs of Decimus Junius Juvenalis translated into English verse by Mr Dryden and several other elegant hands ... 1693'⁶⁶ Dryden introduces 'The Argument of the Tenth Satyr' thus: 'The Poet's Design in this Divine Satyr, is to represent the various Wishes and Desires of Mankind; and to set out the Folly of 'em ...'

The contemporary view of Dryden tended to be along the lines that '...the English tongue as it stands at present is greatly indebted to Dryden. He was the first who gave it regular harmony and discovered its latent power. It was his pen that formed the Congreves, the Priors and the Addison who succeeded him, and had it not been for Dryden, we never should have known a Pope, at least in the meridian lustre he now displays.'⁶⁷

Opposite 7-17.6.35 (See note 38)

*Laugh where we must, be candid where we can
But vindicate y^e ways of God to man
Po-s Essay on man (lines 15-16)*

*Heaven from all creaturs hides y^e book of fate
All but y^e page prescrib^d – their present state
Ibid (lines 77-78)*

Hope Springs eternal in y^e human Brest;

poems or in the collection of works wrongly attributed to him, in *The literary works of Matthew Prior*, (ed. Wright & Spears), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1959, or in the second edition, 1971.

⁶⁴ DNB, various editions, and biographical notes by Professor David Pailin.

⁶⁵ In fact, it seems probable that he took this quotation from the periodical *The Guardian*, No 54, 13.5.1713, along with a passage by Prior (See note 36)

⁶⁶ Dryden, J.: *The poems of John Dryden*. (ed. James Kingsley) Clarendon Press 1958 (in which the quotation appears in Vol. 2 at p.720)

⁶⁷ See *Scots Magasine*, 1758, pp240-6

*Man never is, but allways to be Blest
The Soul uneasy, & confind at home
Rests, & Expatiates in a life to come
Ibid (lines 95-98)*

*Pride Still is aiming at y^e Blest abodes
Men would be angels, angels would be gods
Aspiring to be gods, if angels fell
Aspiring to be angels, Men Rebel
Ibid (lines 125-128)*

*Vast chain of being w^{ch} from god began
Natures Ethereal human angel Man
Ibid (lines 237-238)*

Note 38

A biographical sketch of Alexander Pope is given in Note 6. His *Essay on Man*, in Epistle I of which these quotations are found, was originally conceived as an introduction to a set of 'Moral Essays', a work of greater scope covering Knowledge, Government (church and state) and Morality. However, in the end, the four 'epistles' were published to stand on their own, in 1733-4, and seem to have found their way to one of the Constantinople libraries from which Medley was borrowing, 'hot off the press'.

Mack⁶⁸ notes classical sources for the underlying inspiration of ll.77-8 (Cicero, Palingenius, Horace) and ll.95-8 (Ovid, Cicero), and sees parallels with Paradise Lost in ll. 127-8. The final passage makes more sense if continued for a further 2 ½ lines:

*Vast chain of being w^{ch} from god began
Natures Ethereal human angel Man
Beast, bird, fish, insect ! what no eye can see
No glass can reach ! from Infinite to thee,
From thee to Nothing ! ...*

The 'vast chain of being' is a central theme of Pope's concept of an hierarchically ordered universe.⁶⁹

If the selections above are in fact Medley's own selections, his critical eye is well in line with that of posterity: three of the five passages he has chosen are among the fourteen which appear in the Oxford Dictionary of Quotations⁷⁰.

Opposite 28.7.35 - 10.8.35 (See note 39)::

*The Confessing Sorrowfull penitent had a Ray at last for Comfort – tis call'd the Sunday
thought -
My prayers are heard a glorious light now shone
& lo an angel post comes Hasting down*

⁶⁸ See footnotes in Pope, A.: *An essay on man*, ed. Maynard Mack, Methuen, London, 1950

⁶⁹ *ibid*, p.liv

⁷⁰ *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, 2nd ed., OUP, Oxford, 1956

*from heaven, I see him cut y^e yielding air
so Swift, he seems at once both there & here
so quick my sight in y^e pursuit was slow
& thought could scarce so soon y^e journey go
no angry message in his looks appears
His face no signs of threatening vengeance wears
Comly his shape, of heavenly mien & air
Kinder yⁿ Smiles of beateous virgins are
Such he was seen by y^e Blest maid of old
wⁿ he y^e Almighty Infants birth foretold
a mighty volume in one hand is born
whose open'd leaves y^e other seems to turn
vast annals of my Sins. In scarlet writ
But now Eras'd blot out & cancell'd quit
Hark how y^e heavenly Whisper shriks mine Ear
Mortal, behold thy crimes all pardon'd here
Hail Sacred Envoy of y^e Eternal king
Welcome as y^e Bless'd tidings yⁿ dost bring
Welcome as heaven from whence yⁿ comest but now
thus low to thy great god & mine I bow
And might I here, o might I Ever grow
Fix'd & unmov'd an Endless monument
Of Gratitude to my Creator Sent*

Note 39

John Oldham (1653-83) was an Oxford-educated poet. Prompted by the Popish Plot, he wrote four satires against the Jesuits, anti-catholic satyres attacking their 'equivocation, murderous plotting and gulling of the populace'. He wrote other satirical works and also translations from the classics for which he was known⁷¹ as 'the English Juvenal'. Rochester, Dorset & Sir Charles Sedley and other wits admired his plays and Dryden, who wrote a poem to his memory, 'thought of him as the great classical poet whom England never had - the heir who died before his time'. He died of smallpox aged 30.⁷²

Medley's quotation is from 'A Sunday-thought in Sickness', which starts with a section in prose: 'Lord, how dreadful is the prospect of death ... I see, methinks, the Jaws of Destruction gaping wide to swallow me ... My fancy represents to me a whole Legion of Devils, ready to tear me in pieces ... Would the womb that bear me had been my Prison till now ... I beseech thee ... have pity on a poor, humble, prostrate, and confessing sinner...'

The second optimistic part then follows, in verse, and it is this which Medley quotes:⁷³

Opposite 11-22.8.35 (See note 40):

⁷¹ by Walter Scott in *Waverley*

⁷² *A new general biographical dictionary*, op.cit.; *Oxford DNB*, op.cit., from which quoted passages are taken.

⁷³ Oldham, J.: *The works of Mr John Oldham together with his Remains* 7th edition corrected London 1710

Nothing is more certain in Reason and Experience, than y^t Every Inordinate appetite & affection is a punishment to its Selfe - & is perpetually crossing Its own - pleasure, & defeating its own Satisfaction by over Shooting the mark it aims at. For Instance Intemperance In Eating & Drinking, Instead of delighting and satisfying nature, doth but Load and Cloy it; Instead of quenching a Natural thirst, w^{ch} is Extremely pleasant to do, Creates an unnatural one, w^{ch} is troublesome & Endless.

The transgression of Reason & Religion breeds guilt & Remorse In the minde & these are, beyond comparison, the two greatest Evils in this world; a diseased body & a discontented minde - and in this I am sure I Speake to the Inward feeling & Experience of men.

Note 40

The passages are both from Tillotson, J.: *op.cit.*, Sermon XXVIII, p.334. Both visit themes which we have by now seen to be popular with Medley.

Following 8.2.36 (See note 41):

on the Marriage Day

*Triumphant Beauty never Looks So Gay,
as on y^e morning of a Nuptial Day.
Love yⁿ within a Larger Circle moves
new Graces adds, & Ev'ry Charm Improvs
while Hymen does his Sacred Rites prepare
the Busy Nymphs attend y^e trembling fair
whose vein^s are swell'd wth an unusal heat
& Eagar pulses wth Strange Motions beat
Alternate Passions various thoughts Impart
& painful Joys Distend her throbbing heart:
Her fears are great, & her desired are Strong,
the Minutes fly too fast - yet Stay too Long:
now She is Reddy - y^e next moment not
all things are done - yⁿ Something is forgot
She fears -yet wishes y^e Strang work were done
Delays - yet is Impatient to be Gone
Disorders thus from Ev'ry Thought arise
what Love perswades, I know not w^t Denies*

Note 41

John Pomfret (1667-1703) took holy orders, and became rector of Maulden, in succession to his father with whom he shared a dislike of non-conformity, and then of Millbrook, Bedfordshire. His poetry ranged from love poems to 'exaltation of the genteel country life, eschewing extremes'⁷⁴; from

⁷⁴ as in *The Choice*, included in Pomfret, J.: *The poetical works of John Pomfret...* Apollo Press, Edinburgh, 1779

'meditation on God's unity, eternity, power, wisdom, providence, omnipresence, immutability, justice and goodness'⁷⁵ to *Reason*, 'an unrelenting critique of the limits of human rationality'⁷⁶. He died of smallpox aged 36.⁷⁷

Samuel Johnson included him in the *Lives of the English Poets*, believing that he had 'been always the favourite of that class of readers who, without vanity or criticism, seek only their own amusement.'⁷⁸ Whether or not we place Medley in that category, Pomfret seems to have much appealed to him, and he took the trouble to transcribe part or all of six of his poems. (One could argue that, in 1736 when he transcribed them, life was not particularly busy for Medley, and that may have influenced his enthusiasm.)

Samuel Medley's son Guy was married in 1735. We have no indication in the diary of any correspondence between father and son, nor any mention of the wedding or, indeed, of his son. This omission may of course simply be a reflection of his main intentions in keeping the diary - presumably to record local happenings and observations. One must be tempted to wonder, however, whether the poem from which he has quoted could have been prompted by news of the wedding. It is, in fact, lines 1-18 of a poem, running to 111 lines, 'On the marriage of The Earl of A___ with the Countess of ___',⁷⁹

Preceding 9.2.36 (See note 42):

The first passage:

*What's all y^e noisy Jargon of y^e Schools
But Idle nonsense of Laborious fools
who fetter Reason wth perplexing Rules?
w^t in aquinas' Bulky works are found
Does not Enlighten Reason, but Confound
who travels Scotus swelling tomes Shall find
a cloud of Darkness Rising on the Mind
In controverted points can Reason Sway
wⁿ Passion or Conceit Still hurries us away?
thus his new notions Sherlock w^d Instil
& clear y^e Greatest Mysteries at will
But by unlucky wit perplex'd y^m more
& made y^m Darker than they were before
South soon oppos'd him out of Christian Zeal
Shewing how well he could dispute & Rail
How Shall we e'er Discover w^{ch} is Right
wⁿ both so Eagerly maintain the fight
Each does y^e others argument deride
Each has y^e Church & Scripture on his side
the sharp Ill-natur'd combat's but a jest
Both may be wrong; one perhaps Errs y^e least*

⁷⁵ See his *Upon the Divine Attributes: a Pindaric Essay*, in Pomfret, J.: op.cit.

⁷⁶ *Oxford DNB*, op.cit., from which the quotations are taken.

⁷⁷ *A new general biographical dictionary*, op.cit.

⁷⁸ *Oxford DNB*, op.cit., quoting Johnson, S., op.cit.

⁷⁹ Pomfret, J.: op.cit.

*How shall we know w^{ch} articles are true
the old ones of y^e Church or Burnets new
in Path^s uncertain, & unsaife He treads
who Blindly follows others fertile heads
w^t sure, w^t certain mark have we to know
the Right or wrong twix Burgess, wake & Howe*

*Should (untun'd) Nature crave the Medic art
W^t health can y^e co(n)tentious tribe Impart
Ev'ry physicion writes a diff-ret Bill
& gives no other Reason But his will
no longer boast y^e art, y^e Impious Race
Let wars 'twixt alcalies & acids cease
& proud G—ll wth colbatch be at peace
Gibons & Radclif(fe) do but Rarely gues
today thay've good, to morrow no Success
Even Garth & *Maurus Sometimes Shall prevail
W^h Gibson, Learned Hann(e)s & tyson fail
& more yⁿ once we've seen y^e Blundering S-ne
missing y^e gout by chance has hit y^e Stone
S^r Rd Blac(k)more

Note 42

See Note 41 regarding the biography of John Pomfret.

This transcription comes from a poem by Pomfret entitled *Reason* which 'was wrote by him in the year 1700 when the debates concerning the doctrine of the Trinity were carried on with so much heat by the clergy, one against another, that King William was obliged to interpose his royal authority, by putting an end to that pernicious controversy through an act of parliament strictly forbidding any person whatsoever to publish their notions on this subject. It is indeed a very severe though just satire upon the antagonists engaged in that dispute.' Pomfret left *Reason* out of his collected poems 'on account of his having received very signal favours from some of the persons therein mentioned'⁸⁰

This is one of a number of attacks on reason which were made at this time. 'Whilst many writers followed the Lockean canon of reason - that claims must be backed by appropriate evidence and arguments - others, not so widely appreciated, challenged the competence of reason in principle and/or in practice to undertake this role in matters of religious belief'⁸¹

Medley has selected two consecutive passages which are, in a sense, complementary, concerning rival factions in philosophical debate in religion and in medicine. This seems a remarkable choice, particularly if we take it to imply some understanding of the standpoints of those whose names Pomfret includes in the poems.

⁸⁰ Pomfret, J.: op.cit.; both quoted passages are from the introduction to the poem *Reason*.

⁸¹ From notes to the authors by Professor David Pailin.

The first passage⁸² concerns philosophers and those mentioned in the above passage are as follows⁸³:
St. Thomas Aquinas (1224/5-1274), Christian Aristotelian philosopher, was indeed responsible for many (influential and) *Bulky works* and argued (amongst many other things) the need to use reason within faith, producing 'a powerful philosophical synthesis that combined Aristotelean and Neoplatonic elements within a Christian context'⁸⁴.

John Duns Scotus (1266-1308), metaphysician and philosophical theologian who 'brought many of Augustine's insights ... into the mainstream of the Aristotelianism of his day'⁸⁵

*William Sherlock*⁸⁶ (1641-1707), Dean of St. Paul's, attacked Socinianism⁸⁷ but introduced his own interpretation of the Trinity, as three persons united by mutual consciousness⁸⁸, which resulted in his being condemned as a 'false, impious and heretical' supporter of tritheism⁸⁹, in 1695.

Robert South (1634-1716), DD Cambridge, 'feared protestant non-conformity more than Catholicism', disliked dissenters and rationalism (and hence the Socinians), and published vigorous attacks on Sherlock.

Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), Bishop of Salisbury and historian, was attacked for allowing diversity of opinions on the Trinity, particularly for the views he expressed under rationalist pressure from anti-Trinitarians. He tried, unsuccessfully, to bring non-conformists into the Church of England.

Daniel Burgess (1645-1713) was an eminent Presbyterian who became famous for his addresses in the meeting house at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

William Wake (1657-1737), Bishop of Lincoln and, from 1716, archbishop of Canterbury, worked hard to improve standards of clerical practice, maintained strong links to protestants abroad and was committed to toleration.

John Howe (1630-1705), non-conformist, preached, after 1675, to Presbyterian congregations at Haberdashers' Hall in Cheapside. He was well known for his reasonable and moderate views and for his efforts to amalgamate the Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

The second passage⁹⁰ is concerned with those involved in medical controversy, both from the scientific viewpoint and in the particular context of a proposal by Sir Samuel Garth, who was a member of the Royal College of Physicians, for a dispensary offering free treatment to 'deserving poor'. Garth published a satirical poem, 'The dispensary', concerned with this controversy, particularly attacking the opponents to the plan.

Those mentioned in the above passage are as follows⁹¹:

G--ll= *Charles Goodall* MD (1642-1712) who, for instance, wrote *The College of Physicians vindicated and the True State of Physick in this Nation faithfully represented* (1676). He made substantial efforts to restore discipline within the College, favoured the plan for the dispensary and wrote many of the published pamphlets against parliamentary bills of the Surgeons and Apothecaries companies which sought to raise their status in relation to the Physicians. He was the Stentor of Garth's satire.

Sir John Colbatch (bap.1666? d.1729), physician, published, in 1696, his unorthodox views concerning alkalis and acids, in which he argues that acids, rather than alkalis, caused disease. His views were accepted more widely on the continent than in England where he was strongly opposed by

⁸² Pomfret, J., op.cit., *Reason*, lines 57-83

⁸³ Unless otherwise noted, we have referred extensively to the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004, from which the quotations are taken.

⁸⁴ *Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy* (ed. Audi, R.) CUP, Cambridge, 1995

⁸⁵ *ibid.*

⁸⁶ Professor David Pailin, in a note to the authors, raise the alternative possibility that the Sherlock named could be Thomas Sherlock (1678-1761) who also achieved some fame as a disputant..

⁸⁷ which denied the Trinity and the divinity of Christ.

⁸⁸ See Sherlock., T: *A Vindication of The Doctrine of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity...*, London, 1690.

⁸⁹ i.e. belief in three separate gods

⁹⁰ Pomfret, J., *ibid.*: *Reason*, lines 84-96

⁹¹ We have referred to the *Oxford DNB*, op.cit., in addition to other works noted.

those of orthodox views in the College of Physicians; in 1699, Charles Goodall helped to edit Richard Boulton's *Examination of Mr John Colbatch*. Garth mentions him in the Dispensary as a target of abuse. In the end he gained a social reputation as a good physician.

William Gibbons (1649-1728) who was the Mirmillo of *The Dispensary* of Samuel Garth. He firmly opposed the project and is principally known for having told the Society of Apothecaries all the College's plans.

John Radcliffe, M.D. (bap.1650, d.1714), physician and philanthropist, who published Dr Radcliffe's *Practical Dispensary*⁹²; had been physician to Princess Anne before she became Queen but lost the job, through misjudgements of medicine and manner. He was 'Blackmore's arch medical antagonist' (See below).⁹³

Sir Samuel Garth (1661-1719), physician and poet - see above.

Maurus: 'Quack Maurus'⁹⁴ was the name invented by Dryden for Sir Richard Blackmore⁹⁵.*Sir*

Richard Blackmore (c.1650-1729), an Oxford-educated poet, took a degree in medicine at the prestigious University of Padua. He became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, 1687, and Royal Physician to King William III (and was a signatories to his post-mortem).

His literary output included *Creation*, 1712, a physicotheological⁹⁶ poem in 7 books intended to demonstrate God's existence. He was important enough as a writer to clash at the beginning of his career with Dryden and the Covent garden Wits and at the end of his career with Pope⁹⁷ 'There was scarcely a single political, scientific, philosophic, theological, or literary controversy ... in which he was not engaged'⁹⁸

Thomas Gibson (1648/9-1722) M.D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, published 'The anatomy of humane bodies epitomised' in 1682. His Presbyterianism and connection with the Cromwell family led to his being removed from the lists of the College of Physicians in 1687 but he was reinstated in 1719 and became physician-general to the army.

Sir Edward Hannes MD (d1663/4 - 1720), physician and poet, was not licensed as a physician and was indeed entirely rejected by the Royal College of Physicians. He lectured at Oxford in Chemistry and set up a successful medical practice there, eventually being appointed as a physician to Queen Anne, along with Blackmore, whilst Radcliffe lost his job. He published an account of the dissection of the body for which he was attacked in a satirical poem.

Dr Edward Tyson, (1650-1708), 'physician to the Bethlehem hospital and reader of anatomy at Chirurgeons-Hall' was particularly well-known for a controversial publication 'Orang-outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or the Anatomy of a Pygmie compared with that of a monkey, and Ape, and a Man' 1699. Blackmore wrote an important essay on this which appears in Lay-Monastery No5 1713.⁹⁹

Tyson featured as Carus in Garth's satire.

S-ne = Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), one of the original subscribers to the dispensary of the College of Physicians

Preceding 9.2.36 (See note 43):

Afflictions past, can no Existence find,

⁹² Strother, E: *Dr Radcliffe's Practical Dispensary...containing a complete body of prescriptions, fitted for all diseases internal and external ... and a large index ... by Edward Strother, M.D.*, 4th ed., London, 1721, originally published in 1716 as *Pharmacoepia Radcliffeana, or, Dr Radcliffe's prescriptions*

⁹³ Solomon, H.M.: *Sir Richard Blackmore 1654-1729* Twayne 1980. Characterised as Lopez in Blackmore's epic poem *Eliza*, Radcliffe failed to displace Blackmore in the role of royal physician on the accession of Queen Anne. (In fact Blackmore was replaced by Garth on the accession of George I).

⁹⁴ i.e. Moorish

⁹⁵ Solomon, H.M.: op.cit. p.95

⁹⁶ Solomon, H.M.: op.cit. pp. 21-2, defines physicotheology as 'use of scientific examination of nature to establish and raise admiration for the existence and providence of God.'

⁹⁷ Rosenberg, A.: *Sir Richard Blackmore A poet and physician of the Augustan Age* University of Nebraska 1953

⁹⁸ Solomon, H.M.: op.cit.

⁹⁹ Rosenberg, A.: op.cit. pp.104-8

*But in y^e wild Ideas of the Mind
I why shud we for those Misfortunes Mourn
wth have been Suffer'd, I can ne'er Return
those y^t have Weather'd a tempestuous night
I find a calm approachin wth the light
will not, unles their Reason they Disown
Still make those Dangers present y^t are gone
w^t is behind y^e curtain none can See
It may be joy, Suppose it Misery
tis future Still, I y^t, wth is not here
May never come, or we may never Bear
therefore y^e present Ill, alone we ought
to view, in Reason, wth a troubled thought
But, if we may y^e sacred pages trust
He's always Happy, who is always Just
M^r Pomfret*

Note 43

See Note 41 regarding the biography of John Pomfret.
This is the final part of a poem entitled 'To another friend under affliction'¹⁰⁰

Following 3.4.36 (See note 44):

*None lives in this tumultuous State of things
where Ev'ry Morning Some new trouble brings
But bold Inquietudes will Break his Rest
and Gloomy thoughts disturb his anxtious Breast
angelick forms, I happy Spirits are
above y^e Malice of perplexing Care
But that's a Blessing too Sublime too high
for those who Bend beneath Mortality
If in y^e Body there was but one part
Subject to pain, and Sensible of Smart
and but one Passion could torment y^e mind
that part, that Passion busy fate would find:
But since Infirmities in Both abound
Since Sorrow both so many ways can wound
tis not so Great a Wonder y^t we Grieve
Sometimes as 'tis a Miracle we live
Pomfret*

Note 44

¹⁰⁰ Lines 84-98

See Note 41 regarding the biography of John Pomfret.

Medley transcribed this poem, 'To his friend under affliction', in two halves, the second apparently first. *None lives ...* is lines 1 - 16; *The Happiest man ...* is lines 17 - 38.

Opposite 22.3.36 - 3.4.36 (See note 44, above)
*The happiest Man y^t Ever Breathid on Earth
wth all y^e Glories of Estate and Birth
Had yet some anxxious care to make him know
no Grandure was above y^e Reach of woe
to be from all things y^t disquiet free
Is not Consistant with Humanity
youth, wit & Beauty, are Such charming things
o'er w^{ch}, if affluence spreads her gaudy wings
we think the person who Enjoys so much
no care can move, & no affliction touch
yet could we but some Secret Method find,
to view y^e Dark Recesses of his mind,
we there might See y^e hidden Seeds of strife
& woes in Embrio Rip'ning into life
How some fierce lust or Boist'rous Passon fills
the Laboring Spirit wth prolific Ills
Pride, Envy, or Revenge, Distract his Soule
& all Right Reasons Godlike powers Controul
But if She must not be allow'd to sway
tho' all without appears serene & gay
a Cank'rous Venom on y^e vitals preys
and poisons all the Comforts of his days
M^r Pomfret*

Note 44

See Note 41 regarding the biography of John Pomfret.

Medley transcribed this poem, 'To his friend under affliction', in two halves, the second apparently first. *None lives ...* is lines 1 - 16; *The Happiest man ...* is lines 17 - 38.

Preceding 3.4.36 (See note 45):

*on Queen Mary – by M^r Pomfret
all that was noble beautifi'd her Minde
there Wisdom Sat, wth Solid Reason joyn'd
there too did Piety, & Greatness waite
Meekness on Grandure, Modesty on State
Humble amidst y^e splendors of a throne
Plac'd above all, & yet Dispising none*

*and w^m a Crown was forc'd on her by fate
She wth Some pain submitted to be Great
Her pious Soule wth Emulation Strove
to Gain y^e Mighty God's Important Love
to whose Misterious Rites she always came
wth such an active, so intense a flame
the Duties of Religion seem'd to be
not more her care, than her Felicity
Vertue unmixt, wthout the Least allay
Pure as y^e Light of a celestial day
Comanded all y^e motions of the Soule
wth such a soft, but absolute Controul
thus as She knew: wt best great god wod please
she still perform'd it wth the Greatest Ease
Him for her high Exemplar She design'd
Like him Benevolent to all Mankind
Her foes She pity'd, not desird their Blood
and to Revenge their crimes She did y^m Good
nay, all affronts, So unconcern'd She Bore
(maugre y^t violent temptation Pow'r)
as if She thought it vulgar to Resent
or wish'd forgiveness their worst punishment*

Note 45

See Note 41 regarding the biography of John Pomfret.

Medley has taken some interesting liberties, here, with Pomfret's *A pastoral Essay on the Death of Queen Mary anno 1694*, which exalts emotion'¹⁰¹.

This is taken from 'A pastoral essay on the death Queen Mary MDCXCIV' which is written in the form of a dialogue in verse between the characters *Strephon* and *Cosmelia*, in which Queen Mary is identified with *Celestia*. It starts:

*'As gentle Strephon to his fold convey'd
A wand'ring lamb, which from his flock had stray'd
Beneath a mournful cypress shade he found
Cosmelia weeping on the dewy ground
...'*

It runs to 190 lines of which Sam's quotation is lines 108-135 but he has removed Strephon and Cosmelia from the picture and evidently decided the pastoral setting inappropriate to the extent that where the poet has used 'Mighty Pan' in line 117 and 'great Pan' in line 126, he has substituted 'Mighty God' and 'great god' respectively !

The original, then, is thus:

Cosmelia:

all that was noble beautifi'd her Minde

¹⁰¹ *Oxford DNB*, op.cit.

*there Wisdom Sat, wth Solid Reason joyn'd
there too did Piety, & Greatness waite
Meekness on Grandure, Modesty on State
Humble amidst y^e splendors of a throne
Plac'd above all, & yet Dispising none
and wⁿ a Crown was forc'd on her by fate
She wth Some pain submitted to be Great
Strephon:*

*Her pious Soule wth Emulation Strove
to Gain y^e Mighty **Pan**'s Important Love
to whose Misterious Rites she always came
wth such an active, so intense a flame
the Duties of Religion seem'd to be
not more her care, than her Felicity
Cosmelia:*

*Vertue unmixt, wth out the Least allay
Pure as y^e Light of a celestial day
Comanded all y^e motions of the Soule
wth such a soft, but absolute Controul
thus as She knew: wt best great **Pan** wod please
she still perform'd it wth the Greatest Ease
Him for her high Exemplar She design'd
Like him Benevolent to all Mankinde
....*

In the line in brackets near the end of the quotation, *maugre* = in spite of (c.f. the French, *malgré*)

Preceding 4.4.36 (See note 46):

*all Things Conspiree to make My Ruin Sure
wⁿ Wounds are Mortall they admit no Cure
But heaven Sometimes dos a Miraclous thing
wⁿ our last hope is just upon the wing
and in a moment drives those clouds away
whose sullen Darkness hid a Glorious day*

--

Mr pomfret on y^e fortunate Complaint

Note 46

See Note 41 regarding the biography of John Pomfret.

Here we have 15-20 only from 'The fortunate complaint', first published 1709, in which Strephon, the archetypal rustic lover, complains of his fate, fortunately with sufficient intensity to be noticed.

Some idea of the direction of the story may be gained from the following further excerpts (lines 84-7; 174-9):

*here pausd the swain - when Delia driving by
Her bleating flock to some fresh pasture nigh
By love directed did her steps convey*

where Strephon, wrapp'd in silent sorrow, lay

...

The youth, encompass'd with a joy so bright
had hardly strength to bear the vast delight
By too sublime an ecstasy possest
He trembled gaz'd and clasp'd her to his breast
Adored the nymph that did his pain remove
Vow'd endless truth and everlasting love

Opposite 23.9.36 - 18.10.36 (See note 47):

There are certain natural Antipathies, - w^{ch} are very odd, - Some persons of Quality, - who w^d fall into fainting fits at the Smell of Roses, & yet lov'd y^e Smell of Jonquils & tuberoses: - a Governour of a frontier Citty In f---. who fell into Convulsions at the y^e Sight of Carp's Eggs a Lady who was Subject to the Same at the Sight of a Cray fish wⁿ cut - Erasmus - had So great an aversion to fish y^t he Could not Smell one without falling into a feavour - & ambrose Parry could never See an Eel on y^e table but he fell into a Swoon - Joseph Scaliger - never Eat Milk, Cardan had an aversion to Eggs; Vladislaus K- of poland - had an aversion to apples - Julius Caesar Scaliger to Cresses - if du Chesne a secretary in france - toucht an apple - Blood w^d Run out of his nose - Henry y^e 3^d Could not stay in a Room where there was a Cat - the Same So wth y^e duke of Schomberg - a Gentleman of Lorraine - was so afraid of cats - that he w^d Bleed at the nose - if he heard them at a distance a person of honour was So afraid of a Hedgehog that he fancied his bowels was was Eaten up for a long time after - a Gentleman very Stout yet Could not hold his Sword in his hand wⁿ he Saw a Mouse - a Gascoyner was So afraid of the Sound of a cymball that he could never hear it wthout making water - Some cant Endure to se spiders M. Vaughneim would fall into a fit or Run away from a pig Rosted Many more Such things are nam'd by the noted mouns^r Chevreana - the great Historian in the collection of mouns^r S^t Evremont

Note 47

'Chevraeana, or divers thoughts historical and critical' was in fact the title of a work by Urbain Chevreau (1613-1701), who also wrote an extensive work entitled 'The History of the World' . The passage quoted is found in *The Miscellaneous remains of Monsr St Evremont and Monsr Chevreau abridg'd and done in English*¹⁰². Medley has selected from the passage; for instance, he could have added, in telling us that *Some cant Endure to se spiders*, this additional delight: *I have seen others who freely Eat them in Merriment !*

¹⁰² The 1708 edition, published in London has it in volume 2 at page 260 but the wording is not identical; Medley may have found it in another edition or may have been a bit free and selective with his transcription.