# DOCUMENTS

CONCERNING

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

# EMANUEL SWEDENBORG

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ANNOTATED

BY

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VOLUME II, PART I

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# PREFACE.

In offering to the public the concluding volume of the English translation of the "Documents concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg," attention must be called to the unforeseen circumstance, that the materials for this volume have proved so extensive that it has become necessary to publish it in two parts, each of which is of the size of Volume I. As the pages in these two parts run on consecutively, they have been entitled respectively Volume II, Part I, and Volume II, Part II.

An additional section has been introduced, viz. Section XIII, which is called "Appendix." It contains some documents that have been met with since the text of the work was finished, and is intended to receive all further documents which may be discovered in future.

By way of introduction to the present volume we shall give an historical synopsis of all collections and sources of "Documents concerning Swedenborg," that have hitherto been published:

1. The first collection of "Swedenborg Documents" was published by Dr. Heinrich Wilhelm Clemm, Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen, in his *Vollständige*

*Einleitung in die Religion und Theologie* (Complete Introduction to Religion and Theology), Tübingen, 1767. In Volume IV, pp. 209 *et seq.* Dr. Clemm published an account of the "Three extraordinary Facts" discussed in Documents 273, 274, and 275 (see pp. 637 and 654); he also published the Latin originals of two of Swedenborg's letters to Prelate Œtinger, as well as Œtinger's answers (Documents 229, 231, 232, 233). These Documents were furnished to him by Prelate Œtinger.[182]

2. Swedenborg's Autobiography contained in his letter addressed to the Rev. Thomas Hartley, in August, 1769. This letter was published by the Rev. Mr. Hartley in 1769, in both the Latin and the English languages. See Document 313, no. 141, p. 1011.

3. *Handlingar rörande Swedenborgianismen och de så kallade Prediko-Försöken* (Minutes respecting Swedenborgianism and the so-called Sermon-Essays), Gottenburg, 1769 and 1770. This publication contains the official acts of Swedenborg's Controversy with the Consistory of Gottenburg; it has furnished the originals of most of the numbers from A to M in Document 245.

4. *Sammlung einiger Nachrichten, Herrn Emanuel Swedenborg, und desselben vorgegebenen Umgang mit dem Geisterreich betreffend* (Collection of sundry accounts respecting Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg and his alleged intercourse with the Spiritual World). Hamburg, 1770. A new edition was published in the same year. This Collection contains: (1) Extracts from a German translation of Swedenborg's autobiography, viz. no. 2, which was published in April, 1770, in the *Gelehrte Mercurius* (the Learned Mercury) of Altona; (2) Two letters of Joh. Christian Cuno[212] of Amsterdam addressed to a friend

in Hamburg (Document 256, F, pp. 482—485); (3) Cuno's Letter to Swedenborg in Latin and German (Document 256, C, pp. 465—475).

5. *Schwedische Urkunden von dem Assessor Swedenborg, welche auf dem Schwedischen Reichstag, den 13ten Juni,* 1771, *werden zur Entscheidung kommen* (Swedish Documents about Assessor Swedenborg, on which a decision will be pronounced by the Swedish Diet, June 13, 1771), 1771. This collection was also published under the following title: *Beurtheilungen der wichtigen Lehre vom Zustand nach dem Tod und der damit verbundenen Lehren des berühmten Emanuel Swedenborg's, theils aus Urkunden von Stockholm, theils aus sehr wichtigen Anmerkungen verschiedener Gelehrten* (Examination of the celebrated Emanuel Swedenborg's important doctrine respecting the state after death, and the doctrines which are connected therewith, based partly on documents from Stockholm, partly on very important observations by various scholars), 1771. This work was compiled by Prelate Œtinger[182] (see Document 314, pp. 1058—1061. It contains the following documents: (1) Dr. Ekebom's charge (Document 245, B, p. 287); (2) Swedenborg's reply (Document 245, F, p. 297; (3) Swedenborg's second letter to the Consistory (Document 245, G, p. 301); (4) Extract from the Royal Resolution of April 26, 1770 (Document 245, T, b, p. 366); (5) Swedenborg's Letter to the King (Document 245, X, p. 373); (6) Swedenborg's Letter to the Swedish Universities (Document 245, AA, p. 380); (7) Dr. Ekebom's declaration of February 12, 1770 (Document 245, P, p. 345); (8) Dr. Beyer's Defence (Document, 245, O, pp. 323 *et seq.*); (9) Œtinger's Declaration to the Privy Council of Würtemberg (Document 314, C, p. 1036); (10) Cuno's letters to a friend in Hamburg,

reprinted from no. 4; (11) Cuno's letter to Swedenborg, reprinted from no. 4; (12) Extracts from Swedenborg's autobiography, as contained in no. 4; (13) Extracts from a letter of Dr. Beyer to Prelate Œtinger, dated June 15, 1771 (Document 314, D, pp. 1041 *et seq.*)

6. Pernety's[34] French translation of Swedenborg's treatise on "Heaven and Hell," published in Berlin in 1782 under the title, *Les Merveilles du Ciel et de l'Enfer,* &c. In a "Preliminary Discourse" this work contains in French translations (1) Sandel's Eulogium (Document 4); (2) Pernety's account of Swedenborg obtained from the brothers Nordensköld (Document 6); (3) Christopher Springer's Testimony to Swedenborg (Document 261).

7. "An Eulogium on the lately deceased Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg, composed and delivered by Monsieur Sandel,[13] from the French; to which is added a variety of Anecdotes and Observations on Mr. Swedenborg: collected by a Friend of his Writings; together with copies of several letters, sent by Mr. Swedenborg to his correspondents, a short time before his decease." London, R. Hindmarsh, 1784. This collection of Documents was published under a separate title as an Appendix to the second edition of the treatise on "Influx" or "Intercourse." It consists of an English translation of the documents collected by Pernety (no. 6); to which are added Swedenborg's letter to Hartley (no. 2), two letters which he wrote to Œtinger (Documents 229 and 232), one of his letters addressed to Dr. Beyer (Document 245, H, p. 305), and three other letters which constitute Documents 225, 226, and 232.

8. Chastanier's[222] Collection of Documents is contained in the Appendix to his French translation of Swedenborg's work

on "Influx" entitled *Du Commerce établi entre l'Ame et le Corps,*" 1785, where he communicates (1) a French translation of Swedenborg's Letter to the Rev. T. Hartley (no. 2); (2) Swedenborg's Letters to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt (Documents 246 and 247); (3) Swedenborg's Letter to Archbishop Menander (Document 228). In another of his works entitled, *Tableau Analytique et Raisonné de la Doctrine Céleste de l'Église de la Nouvelle Jérusalem,* &c., London, 1786, he communicates the following documents: (4) The results of his investigation into the charge of insanity raised against Swedenborg by Mathesius and J. Wesley (Document 270, p. 609); (5) Shearsmith's affidavit before the Lord Mayor of London (Document 269, C, p. 577).

9. *Utdrag af några Bref från Emanuel Swedenborg til åtskillige hans Vänner* (Extracts from sundry letters addressed by Swedenborg to several of his friends), contained in No. 1 of *Samlingar för Philantroper,* the organ of the Philanthropic Exegetic Society, printed in Stockholm in 1787. This Collection contains sixteen letters which Swedenborg addressed to Dr. Beyer, one which he wrote to Wenngren and three letters which he sent to Prelate Œtinger.

10. "New Jerusalem Magazine, or a Treasury of celestial, spiritual, and natural Knowledge, by several Members of the London Universal Society for Promotion of the New Church," London, 1790, 1791. It was edited by Messrs. Servanté,[227] J. A. Tulk,[228] and C. B. Wadström[36] (see Note 227). This Journal contains the first attempt at a systematic Life of Swedenborg, on the basis of Sandel's Eulogium, and Pernety's Account. It contains besides English translations of fifteen of the twenty letters printed in the *Samlingar för Philantroper*

for 1787 (no. 9); two letters addressed by Lavater to Swedenborg (Documents 236 and 242); also the testimony borne concerning Swedenborg by Count Höpken (Document 252), and General Tuxen (Document 255).

11. "Magazine of Knowledge," for 1791, published by Robert Hindmarsh,[225] contains: (1) The original Document of Shearsmith's affidavit (Document 269, C, p. 577); (2) Brockmer's account of Swedenborg (Document 270, C).

12. "The Intellectual Repository and New Jerusalem Magazine" from 1812—1877, has been a vast repository of Documents concerning Swedenborg. Most of these documents were introduced through the instrumentality of the Rev. Samuel Noble.[237] In 1812 and 1813 it published translations from the *Schwedische Urkunden,* (no. 5) which were procured by Mr. J. A. Tulk.[228] The Documents published are as follows: (1) Dr. Beyer's Defence (Document 245, O, pp. 323—345)—only a small portion of this long Document was then published; (2) Swedenborg's Letters addressed to the Consistory of Gottenburg (Document 245, E, G); (3) Dr. Beyer to Prelate Œtinger (Document 314, D, pp. 1041—1053). In 1813 on pp. 370 *et seq.* it published, (4) Captain Stålhammar's strictures on the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* (Document 276, C, p. 677). In 1815 it printed an English translation of (5) Swedenborg's Letter to Nordberg (Document 199), and (6) Swedenborg's Letters to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, and to Venator his minister (Documents 246—248). In 1817 we find on pp. 449 *et seq.* (7) Dr. Messiter's letters to the Scotch Universities (Document 260); in 1820 on pp. 116 *et seq.* (8) Jung-Stilling's Testimony respecting Swedenborg (Document 257). In 1829 it communicated on pp. 537 *et seq.* (9) John Lewis's Testimony

(Document 273); and in 1836 (11) Provo's Testimony, which was communicated by the Rev. Samuel Noble.

13. Noble's[237] "Appeal in behalf of the views held by the body of Christians who believe in a New Church," &c., first edition, 1826. This work, in Section V, Parts II and IV contains the first systematic digest of all the documents concerning Swedenborg that had up to that date appeared. Mr. Noble's own addition to our stock of the Swedenborg Documents is (1) Wesley's Testimony respecting Swedenborg (Document 268), (2) Noble on Mathesius (Document 270, G, p. 610).

14. *Sammlung von Urkunden betreffend das Leben und den Charakter Emanuel Swedenborg's, aus den Quellen treu wiedergegeben und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von Dr. J. F. I. Tafel*[309] (Collection of Documents respecting the Life and character of Emanuel Swedenborg, faithfully rendered from the original sources and furnished with annotations," &c.), Tübingen 1839—1845, 4 Parts. In Parts I and II Dr. Im. Tafel published all the documents that had hitherto been published in the Latin, French, English, and German languages, from nos. 1—13, excepting those which had appeared in Swedish. In Part III he added the following new documents: (1) A faithful translation of Robsahm's Memoirs (Document 5); (2) Ferelius' Testimony (Document 267); (3) A Memorial to the Houses of the Diet (Document 196). In Part IV he published the following new documents: (4) Extracts from Bishop Swedberg's Autobiography (Document 35); (5) Beyer's Testimony respecting Swedenborg (Document 254); (6) Additional Testimony of Jung-Stilling (Documents 257, B, 274, I); (7) Klopstock's Anecdote (Document 279); (8) Peckitt's

Testimony (Document 264); (9) Proof of falsification of dates in Kant's letter to Madame von Knobloch (Document 271); (10) Testimony of the second husband of Madame de Marteville (Document 274, G); (11) Dr. Wilkinson's Testimony collected from Mrs. Shaw (Document 266); (12) Professor Scherer's Testimony (Document 289); (13) Atterbom's Anecdote (Document 290).

15. "Documents concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg, collected by Dr. J. F. I. Tafel; and, edited in English by the Rev. J. H. Smithson," Manchester 1841. In this collection are contained the Documents constituting Parts I and II of Dr. Tafel's collection, most of which he had obtained from English sources, viz. from "Noble's Appeal," the "Intellectual Repository," the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790, and the "Magazine of Knowledge" for 1791. All these documents the English editor gave in the original English form, yet without stating always the sources whence he derived them. The only document in this volume which had not previously appeared in an English form is Cuno's Testimony respecting Swedenborg, published in Hamburg in 1771 (no. 4). In 1855 an enlarged edition of these documents appeared, with a supplement containing some of the new documents published by Dr. Im. Tafel in Parts III and IV of his Collection, and which had previously appeared in the "Intellectual Repository." The following numbers in Dr. Tafel's Collection were not embodied in this supplement, and hence remained unpublished in England until the appearance of the present collection, viz. nos. 1, 5, 6, 11. Nos. 7 and 13 in Dr. Im. Tafel's collection were first printed in an English form in Dr. Wilkinson's "Life of Swedenborg."

16. "Documents concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg, collected by Dr. J. F. I. Tafel, translated and revised by Rev. J. H. Smithson. A new edition, with additions by Professor George Bush," New York, 1847. This edition contains the documents published by Dr. Im. Tafel in Parts I and II of his collection. Prof. Bush's additions consist of opinions given concerning Swedenborg by celebrated men, which have no documentary value.

17. *Nya Kyrkan och dess inflytande på Theologiens Studium i Sverige* (The New Church and its Influence on the study of Theology in Sweden), by Dr. A. Kahl. 4 Parts, Lund, 1847—1864. In Part I of this important work is contained the first systematic presentation of Swedenborg's controversy with the Consistory of Gottenburg; on this part we have largely drawn in the preparation of Document 245. In Part II are contained the Swedish originals of Documents 244 and 291, no, 6; and likewise many documents in Section VI, viz. Documents 174, 175, 180, 181, and 196. Parts III and IV were of use to us in the preparation of our Notes.

18. Mr. White's "Newchurchman" for 1856. This work contains translations of twenty-six of Swedenborg's letters addressed to his brother-in-law, Ericus Benzelius. For further particulars see Document 46. Eleven of these letters had previously been published in their original form in the *Läsning för Bildning och Nöje,* and also by Prof. Atterbom[262] in the Appendix to his *Siare och Skalder.*

19. *Aufzeichnungen eines Amsterdamer Bürgers* [Joh. Christian Cuno[212]] *über Swedenborg, von Dr. Aug. Scheler* (Notes of an Amsterdam citizen on Swedenborg), Hanover,

1858. These Notes constitute Document 256, A, B, D, and E.

20. *Svedenborg's Drömmar,* 1744 (Swedenborg's Dreams, in 1744), edited by G. E. Klemming,[310] Stockholm, 1859. Concerning the work, see Introduction to Document 208. In an Appendix Mr. Klemming published the following additional Documents: (1) Private Memoranda (Document 298); (2) Swedenborg on the death of the Prince of Saalfeld (Document 277); (3) Signification of the Horse and Hieroglyphics (Document 300); (4) Swedenborg's Letter to the Academy of Sciences (Document 203, A); (5) A List of Valuables (Document 297).

21. "Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church, in England, America, and other parts," by Robert Hindmarsh,[225] edited by the Rev. Edward Madeley of Birmingham; London, 1861. This work furnishes (1) Robert Hindmarsh's Testimony concerning Swedenborg (Document 265); (2) An examination of the Charge that Swedenborg retracted his writings in his last moments (Document 269).

The following is a list of the Biographies of Swedenborg that have hitherto appeared, in chronological order:

1769. Swedenborg's Autobiography; see above no. 2.

1772. *Åminnelse-Tal öfver Kongl. Vetenskaps-Academiens framledne Ledamot Assessoren in Kongl. Majestets och Ricksens Bergs-Collegio Herr Emanuel Swedenborg, på Kongl. Vetenskaps-Academiens vägnar, hållet i stora Riddarehus-Salen, den 7. October,* 1772, *af dess Ledamot Samuel Sandel, Bergs-Råd och Riddare of Kongl. Nordstjerne Orden* (Eulogium on Emanuel Swedenborg, pronounced in the great hall of the House of Nobles in the name

of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, Oct. 7, 1772, by Samuel Sandels, Councillor of Mines, Knight of the Polar Star, and member of said Academy), Stockholm, 1772. This Biographical Sketch, which has served more or less as the basis of all succeeding lives of Swedenborg, constitutes Document 4.

1790. "The Life of the Hon. Emanuel Swedenborg, a Servant of the Lord, and the Messenger of the New Jerusalem Dispensation." This life appeared in the columns of the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790. During 1796 and 1797 it appeared in a manuscript magazine entitled *Församlings Tidning* (Church News) which circulated among the members of the Society *Pro Fide et Charitate.*

1806. F. H. Walden's *Assessor Swedenborg's Levnet, Adskillige Udtog of sammes skrivter, nogle blandede Tanker, tilligemed Svedenborg's System i kort udtog* (Assessor Swedenborg's Life, extracts from his writings, his thoughts on various matters, and a short statement of his system), Copenhagen. This little Danish Life of Swedenborg, of which a second edition was published in 1820, is exceedingly scarce. The editor saw a copy of it in the Royal Library in Stockholm.

1820. "Emanuel Swedenborg," in a biographical Journal which appeared at Upsal entitled *Samtidens Märkvärdigaste Personer* (The most celebrated persons of modern times). This biography, which fills 36 pages, is exceedingly well written, and partly based on oral communications. It has furnished the substance of Document 288.

1827. "Biography of Swedenborg" by the Rev. D. G. Goyder. pp. 40, Post 8vo. "The autobiography of a phrenologist"

says, "This biography consisted of about twelve pages of anecdotes, relative to Swedenborg, including the genealogy of the noble house of Swedenborg—twelve pages of specimens of Swedenborg's correspondence, and the remainder of the principal incidents in his travels and voyages."

1830. "Life of Swedenborg" by Nathaniel Hobart, Boston, America. "This Life," says the Rev. O. Prescott Hiller,* "if we mistake not was first put forth in a series of articles in the 'Boston New Jerusalem Magazine;' which were afterwards collected into a volume, and published at Boston in the year 1830. A second edition was published in 1845, and a third, with numerous additions, and edited by Benjamin Worcester, in 1850."

1840. In this year appeared a most excellent article on "Swedenborg" in the "Penny-Cyclopedia," written at the request of the Editor, Mr. George Long, by Dr. Garth Wilkinson.

1841. "The next 'Life of Swedenborg,'" says Mr. Hiller, "was by the Rev. B. F. Barret of New York, in the early part of 1841. This was little more than a re-arrangement of Mr. Hobart's materials; but it was written in a more connected form, and was very useful."

1849. "A Biographical Sketch of Emanuel Swedenborg: with an account of his Works," by Elihu Rich, London, 8vo., pp. 192. "This work," says Mr. White in 1856, "was exhausted in the course of a few months, and has not since been reprinted."

* In "The Newchurchman" for 1856, p. 32.

1849. "Emanuel Swedenborg: a Biography," by James John Garth Wilkinson,[230] London, 8vo, pp. 370. "It is a work," says Mr. White in 1856, "which, alike for its artistic excellence as a biography, and the originality and poetic beauty of its thought, has, I believe, no equal in the English language."

1849. The article on "Emanuel Swedenborg" in the "*Biographiskt Lexicon öfver namnkunnige Svenska Män*" (Biographical Lexicon of celebrated Swedish men), Upsal, 1849, 8vo. It is contained in Vol. XVI, and fills there 60 pages.

1852. A "Memoir of Swedenborg," by the Rev. O. Prescott Hiller, in his volume of "Gems from the writings of Swedenborg."

1854. "Swedenborg: a Biography and Exposition," by Edwin Paxton Hood, London, 8vo, pp. 402. "This work," says the Rev. O. Prescott Hiller, "has been very effectual in making Swedenborg known in the literary world at large."

1854. W. H. Fernald in his "Compendium of the Theological and Spiritual Writings of Swedenborg" published a life of the Author, concerning which the Rev. O. P. Hiller says, "Though rather a compilation, than a regular biography, it yet contains perhaps the fullest account of Swedenborg's philosophical as well as theological works, that has yet appeared."

1856. Life of Swedenborg for Youth. By Mrs S. P. Doughty, Boston, U. S. A. This little work was reprinted in New York in 1866, and an edition, which was undated, appeared in London.

1856. "Swedenborg: his Life and Writings," by William White. This valuable life of Swedenborg appeared first in the "Phonetic Journal" for 1854—55; whence it was reprinted in 1856. Concerning the relation which this life holds to the larger works of Mr. White bearing the same title, see Note 308.

1860. "Emanuel Swedenborg," a Memorial Life read before the Swedish Academy by Bernhard von Beskow,[263] its permanent secretary. This is justly admired for the impartial and unprejudiced spirit in which it is written, and for the exactness and accuracy of its facts—the very reverse in this respect of Fryxell's production, concerning which see below.

1863. *Emanuel de Swedenborg, sa Vie, ses Écrits, et sa Doctrine* (Emanuel Swedenborg, his Life, his writings, and his Doctrine), by M. Matter, Honorary Counsellor of the University, &c., Paris, Didier & Co.—This work has been translated into the Swedish language.

1867. "Emanuel Swedenborg: his Life and Writings," by William White, in two volumes; Vol. I, pp. 604; Vol. II, pp. 674.

1868. "Do." in one volume, pp. 767. Concerning the character of these two publications, see Note 308. They contain additional documents concerning Swedenborg, or rather concerning his father, Bishop Swedberg, which are embodied in Document 294, Section XI, and also in Note 308.

1872. "Emanuel Swedenborg: a striking outline Account of the Man and his Works," by a Bible Student, London, pp. 120.

1875. "Emanuel Swedenborg" by A. Fryxell in Volume XLIII of his *"Berättelser ur Svenska Historien"* (Tales from Swedish History), Stockholm, 8vo, pp. 120. An exposure of the nature of this work will be found in Note 254.

1876. "Emanuel Swedenborg: Notice Biographique. Par un Ami de la Nouvelle Église." 8vo. Paris.

1877. "Emanuel Swedenborg, the Spiritual Columbus," a sketch. By U. S. E., London, foolscap 8vo., pp. 216. Two editions of this popular work have been issued within a short time, and a third is, we understand, preparing.

The position which the present work occupies in the biographical literature of Swedenborg is this. It contains not only all documents which had been previously published in the documentary sources, and also in some of the biographies enumerated above, but whenever it was necessary, and possible, they have also been translated anew from the original sources. A general résumé of our own documentary additions is contained in the preface to Volume I.

Volume II has attained to its present size chiefly from the account of the published and unpublished writings of Swedenborg in Section XII. Our aim has been in it to give a minute and definite description of every line that Swedenborg wrote during his life, which has been handed down to our times, and also to determine the place which it occupies in Swedenborg's life. The "Chronological Account of Swedenborg's published and unpublished Writings," which constitutes Document 313, and which extends from p. 884 to p. 1023, will accordingly be found to contain the elements of *a history of the internal development of Swedenborg's mind,* which after

all is the task which is imposed on the future biographer of Swedenborg.

The question of the "Missing Manuscripts" of Swedenborg naturally came up also in Section XII. Document 309, which extends from p. 802 to p. 834, is devoted to a description of the "Missing Manuscripts" and their discovery. In Document 302 we furnish by request a translation of the Additions to Swedenborg's "True Christian Religion," which have lately come into the possession of the Royal Library in Stockholm.

Another subject which required space in its discussion is the analysis of the so-called "Book of Dreams," which we consider one of the most important documents respecting Swedenborg that has been preserved, but which requires a most careful and searching analysis in the light of the subsequent inspired writings of the author, in order to enable the reader to pass a true and righteous judgment respecting it. The explanatory Notes to the "Book of Dreams" occupy seventy-two pages.

The charges of immorality and insanity have lately been brought repeatedly against Swedenborg, e. g. by Dr. H. Maudsley in the "Journal of Mental Science" for 1870; by A. Fryxell, the Swedish historian, in his biography of Swedenborg included in Volume XLIII of his "Tales from Swedish History," in 1875; by the Rev. J. W. Chadwick, Brooklyn, the United States, in the beginning of 1877, and by others. These charges have been advanced on the authority of Mr. White's "Life of Swedenborg." We, therefore, have felt ourselves specially called upon to expose the contradictory nature of the testimony of Mathesius, which Mr. White parades in his "Life," and on which Messrs. Maudsley, Fryxell, and Chadwick

base their charge of insanity; this is done in Document 270. Yet we did not limit ourselves to the exposure of this particular instance, but in Note 308 we extended our critical examination to the whole of Mr. White's "Life of Swedenborg" for 1867. Justice sometimes is slow; but we believe that justice has at last been done to Mr. White's work, and that it will no longer be able to do any harm to the Lord's Church on earth.

Much pains has been taken in bringing together all the documents which have a bearing on "Swedenborg's Controversy with the Consistory of Gottenburg." Thirty distinct documents were found to belong to this question. In the historical order in which these documents are presented in Document 245, with the aid of Dr. Kahl's history of this case in his *Nya Kyrkan, &c.*, Part I—they throw much light on the latter years of Swedenborg's life. This document extends from pp. 282—386.

Swedenborg's interesting intercourse with John Christian Cuno in Amsterdam, is now for the first time brought in its totality before the English reader in Document 256, pp. 441—485; and Prelate Œtinger's singular relations to Swedenborg are for the first time exhibited clearly to the English reader in Document 314 in the "Appendix," from pp. 1027—1058; and likewise in Documents 231 and 233.

The readers of Swedenborg will welcome the first complete translation of the record of his Travels. It embraces Documents 204—207, and occupies pp. 1—133. Many explanatory footnotes were required to make a description of towns and places, as they existed one hundred and thirty years ago, fully intelligible at the present day.

All this accounts for the increase in size of Volume II. Still the thoughtful reader of the following pages will not require an apology. The intellectual size of the man whose life and character they serve to illustrate, is in itself so great and so all-embracing.

In the elaboration of the notes to the present volume the new *Svenskt Biografiskt Handlexicon* (Swedish Biographical Dictionary), by Herm. Hofberg, has been of great assistance. In conclusion we have again to acknowledge thankfully the great assistance we have received in the preparation of our work from our kind friends, the Rev. Wm. Bruce, and Mr. James Speirs, the publisher of the work.

London, June, 1877.

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# *SECTION VIII.*

# SWEDENBORG'S TRAVELS

AND

# DIARIES TO THE YEAR 1744.

## *DOCUMENT* 204.

# GENERAL STATEMENT OF SWEDENBORG'S TRAVELS FROM 1710 TO 1734.*

1710. I travelled to Gottenburg, and thence by ship to London. On the way to London I was four times in danger of my life: 1. From a sand-bank on the English coast in a dense fog, when all considered themselves lost, the keel of the vessel being within a quarter of a fathom of the bank. 2. From the crew of a privateer, who came on board, declaring themselves to be French, while we thought they were Danes. 3. From an English guard-ship on the following evening, which on the strength of a report mistook us in the darkness for the privateer; wherefore it fired a whole broadside into us, but without doing us any serious damage. 4. In London I was soon after exposed to a still greater danger, for some Swedes, who had approached our ship in a yacht, persuaded me to sail with them to town, when all on board had been commanded to remain there for six weeks; the news having already spread, that the plague had broken out in Sweden. As I did not observe the quarantine, an inquiry was made; yet I was saved from the halter, with the declaration, however,

* This account serves as an introduction to Swedenborg's Journal of Travel for the years 1736 to 1740. It is written in the Swedish language, and is contained in the Swedenborg MSS., which are preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm, Codex 88, pages 498 and 503. It was translated into Latin by Dr. Kahl in 1844, and published the same year by Dr. Im. Tafel, as an introduction to Swedenborg's *Itinerarium*, Section II. A photo-lithographic copy of the Swedish original is contained in Vol. III of the Swedenborg MSS., pages 50 and 51, from which this translation is made.

that no one who ventured to do this in future would escape his doom.

In London and Oxford I spent upwards of a year.

Thence I proceeded to Holland, and visited its principal towns. I spent a considerable time at Utrecht during the session of the Congress,* at which ambassadors from all parts of Europe were assembled.

From Holland I went to France, going by way of Brussels and Valenciennes to Paris. There and at Versailles I stayed nearly a year. From Paris I posted to Hamburg, passing through Ryssel or Lille. Thence I went to Pomerania and Greifswalde, where I remained a considerable time, and during my stay there, Charles XII came from Bender to Stralsund.

When the siege was about to commence I succeeded, under the Divine Providence, in obtaining a passage home in a yacht, in company with Madame Feiff,[106] after having been abroad for more than four years.

1721. In the spring I again went abroad, going to Holland by Copenhagen and Hamburg. There I published my *Prodromus principiorum rerum naturalium*,† and several other short treatises in octavo.

* By the Congress of Utrecht the Spanish war of succession was closed.

† *Prodromus Principiorum Rerum Naturalium sive Novorum Tentaminum Chymiam et Physicam Experimentalem geometrice explicandi.* Amstelodami, 1721. This work was translated into English by C. E. Strutt, and published in London in 1847 under the following title: "Some Specimens of a work on the Principles of Chemistry."

The other little works published by Em. Swedenborg at the same time are: *Methodus Nova inveniendi Longitudines locorum terrâ marique ope Lunæ* (A New Method for finding the Longitudes of places on land and at sea by Lunar Observations); *Nova Observata et Inventa circa Ferrum et Ignem, et præcipue circa Naturam Ignis Elementarem, una cum Camini inventione* (New Observations and Discoveries respecting Iron and Fire, and particularly respecting the elemental nature of Fire: together with a new construction of stoves); *Artificia nova mechanica Receptacula Navalia et Aggeres Aquaticos construendi* (A new mechanical plan for constructing Docks and Dykes); and *Modus mechanice explorandi virtutes et qualitates diversi generis et constructionis Navigiorum* (A mode for discovering the powers of Vessels by the application of mechanical principles). All these little treatises were likewise translated by Mr. Strutt, and published in the same volume with the "Principles of Chemistry."

From Holland I travelled to Aix-la-Chapelle, Liège, Cologne and other adjacent places, examining the mines there.

Thence I went to Leipzig, where I published my *Miscellanea observata.** Leaving that town I visited all the mines in Saxony, and then returned to Hamburg.

From Hamburg I returned to Brunswick and Goslar, and visited all the mines in the Hartz mountains, belonging to the houses of Hanover and Lüneburg. The father-in-law of a son of the Emperor [of Germany] and of a son of the Czar, Duke Louis Rudolph,[15] who resided at Blankenburg, graciously defrayed all my expenses, and on taking leave of him, he presented me with a gold medal and a large silver coffee-pot, besides bestowing upon me many other marks of his favour. I then returned to Hamburg, and thence by way of Stralsund and Ystad to Stockholm, having been absent one year and three months.

1733. In the month of May I again by royal permission travelled by Ystad to Stralsund, and through Anclam and Berlin to Dresden; and thence to Prague and Carlsbad in Bohemia, where I visited the mines. Afterwards I went back to Prague, and thence by Eule to Dresden, and from Dresden to Leipzig.

In Leipzig I saw through the press my *Principia rerum naturalium* and my *Regnum subterraneum de ferro et cupro*,†

**Miscellanea Observata circa Res Naturales et præsertim circa Mineralia, Ignem, et Montium strata.* Parts I to III of this little work were published at Leipzig, and Part IV at Schiffbeck, near Hamburg. An English translation, prepared by Mr. Strutt, was published in London in 1847 under the following title: "Miscellaneous Observations connected with the Physical Sciences."

† *Principia Rerum Naturalium sive Novorum Tentaminum Phœnomena Mundi Elementaris philosophice explicandi* (The first Principles of Natural Things, being New Attempts towards a philosophical explanation of the Elementary World), being Volume I of *Emanuelis Swedenborgii Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*. Volumes II and III of these *Opera*, &c., bear the titles respectively of *Regnum Subterraneum sive Minerale de Ferro* (The subterraneous or mineral kingdom of Iron), and *Regnum Subterraneum sive Minerale de Cupro et Orichalco* (The subterraneous or mineral kingdom of Copper and Brass). Volume I of this series was translated into English by the Rev. Augustus Clissold, and published in two volumes in 1845 under the title of Swedenborg's "Principia."

in folio; together with my *Prodromus philosophiæ ratiocinantis de Infinito,* &c.*

From Leipzig I went afterwards to Cassel, and over all the mines between that town and Schmalkalden. I then rode through Gotha to Brunswick, and thence to Hamburg; and, finally, returned to Stockholm, by way of Ystad. I reached home in July, 1734, about the opening of the Diet.

It would be too prolix to mention all the learned men I visited, and with whom I became acquainted during these journeys, since I never missed an opportunity of doing so, nor of seeing and examining libraries, collections, and other objects of interest.

## *DOCUMENT* 205.

## SWEDENBORG'S JOURNAL OF TRAVEL DURING 1733 AND 1734.†

## 1733.

On the 10th of May, 1733, under the Divine auspices and with the permission of the most august King Frederic I,[4] I set out for a third time on a journey to Germany. I left

* *Prodromus philosophiæ ratiocinantis de Infinito et causa finali creationis: deque Mechanismo operationis Animæ et Corporis;* this work was translated into English by Dr. J. J. Garth Wilkinson and published in 1847 under the following title: "Outlines of a philosophical argument on the Infinite, and the final cause of Creation; and on the Intercourse between the Body and Soul."

† The Latin original of this Journal is contained in Codex 88 of the "Swedenborg MSS.," which are preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm, from page 8 to page 109, and also on pages 214 and 215. It was published by Dr. Im. Tafel in the original language in 1840, under the title, *Em. Swedenborgii Itinerarium, Sectio I;* a friend having written out a copy of the work for his use. A photo-lithographic copy of the work is contained in Volume III, pp. 1 to 50, of the fac-simile edition of Swedenborg's Manuscripts, which was published in Stockholm in 1870, under the superintendence of the editor of these Documents. The translation is made immediately from the photo-lithographic copy, as the transcribed copy used by Dr. Im. Tafel was in some parts defective.

Stockholm in company with my friends Count Frederic Gyllenborg,[115] Baron David Stjerncrona* and his relatives, Mr. Gallus, and several others, and we made our first halt at an inn, called Fittia. Thence I proceeded to Linköping, accompanied by my relatives, Lars Benzelstjerna[8] and his wife,[5] where we spent Whitweek as the guests of Bishop Ericus Benzelius,[6] to whom also I am related.† We celebrated four feast days in this cathedral town.

May 13 to 16. As I have said, we celebrated Whitweek in the town of Linköping. During that time we visited the field where the battle of Stångebro was fought, in 1598, between Sigismund, King of Poland, and Duke Charles IX, afterwards chosen King, and where victory was declared on the side of Charles [see Note to Document 8, Vol. I, p. 78]. This battle ought to be commemorated by posterity, because the fate of the religion which was to rule in Sweden, seems to have been settled by it. If Sigismund had proved victorious, the inhabitants of this northern country would in all probability have remained in the Roman Catholic religion. But God intended it to be otherwise.

May 15. We made a pleasure trip for the purpose of seeing a castle called Sturefors, about a Swedish mile from Linköping, which was built by Count Piper and now belongs to his widow. The objects most worthy of notice there are the paintings from the hand of the late renowned Ehrenstahl.‡ There are also other ornaments of note in the interior of the building. But the greatest charm of the castle is its situation, which is most delightful, and is calculated to refresh and recreate the mind; since it opens to the eye a long vista of lakes, rivers, meadows, and fields, terminating in a forest.

* Baron David Stjerncrona was born in 1715, and after having studied at Upsal became Royal Chamberlain, and died in 1784. He was brother of Elizabeth Stjerncrona, wife of Count Frederic Gyllenborg, concerning whom see Note 115, Volume I.

† Compare Document 118.

‡ David Klöker von Ehrenstahl, born in Hamburg in 1629, was one of the most celebrated Swedish painters of the seventeenth century. He died in 1698.

May 17. After bidding adieu to my relations and sister, I went straightway to Schonen and Ystad, passing through two towns only, Grenna and Jönköping.

May 19. Having passed through Småland,* I reached Schonen. This province, from its climate and more southern latitude, has a different air and also a different soil from Småland. It is not so mountainous and hilly, and hence not so uneven, but more level; it seemed also to have a more sandy soil. The forest lands are poor, and the trees low, except where they produce beech-trees and hazel-trees *(corylus)*. In some places the pines, fir-trees, and birches were gradually lost to the sight, and their places supplied by the trees peculiar to the land and soil. This alone seems to me worthy of being noticed, that their very necessities and the want of proper kinds of wood seem to have compelled this people to surround and protect their farms with a different kind of hedge or fence from that which is used in Sweden. Their fences are partly made of stones, partly of branches and twigs of trees interwoven, partly of roots, and partly of all together; they serve the purpose of fences admirably, and mark the boundary-line of the estates or farms better than is done in Sweden. Those that are made of stones are built in a very rude manner. In those cases in which they are constructed of branches, sticks or stakes are driven into the ground two feet apart, and between them boughs are woven and twisted in a serpentine manner, and are closely wound round each of the stakes which are fixed in the ground. At a distance of from four to six yards wooden props, which are put into the ground obliquely, support the fences, and prevent them from being blown down by the wind. Those that are made of roots consist for the most part of the roots of the beech, dug out of the ground, and not unskilfully fastened between sticks, and stakes, and pine-stems; partly also they are thrown without order on the top of each other, and partly they are placed on a foundation of rocks, in such a manner as to prevent any one from passing through.

* One of the old Swedish provinces, the capital of which is Wexiö, where at a later period the Swedish poet Tegnér was bishop.

May 22. After arriving at Ystad I found a vessel prepared to go to sea, but waiting for a favourable wind.

May 24 and 25. I arrived at Stralsund from Ystad in company with Count Issendorff,* and an Italian music teacher of the name of Keller.

On the following day I took a walk to see the town, its walls and ramparts, and to trace the effects still remaining of the siege and the storming of the town in 1715, under King Charles XII. I approached the gate called "Knieperthor," in the storming of which the hostile squadrons and armies of three kings [those of Prussia, Poland, and Denmark] for a long time unsuccessfully spent all their labour and toil. This gate is very strongly fortified by earth-works, ramparts, and numerous ditches. I then came to the gate called "Triebseerthor," where a new fortification is at present being constructed. Lastly I arrived at the gate "Frankenthor," where the enemy, after having during the night passed along the shore between a long line of defences, consisting of redoubts and other fortifications, and the swilling waters that covered them, entered, and placing themselves between the Swedish soldiery and the inner fortifications, prevented them from re-entering the town. I saw also where the King's dwelling was. I visited likewise the three largest churches of the town; that of St. Nicholas, which is the most renowned, near the town-hall; afterwards St. Mary's, which is not inferior to it in size, and finally St. James's; besides these there are four smaller churches. In the first of these, the church of St. Nicholas, there is a celebrated and very conspicuous font; there are new sculptures in connection with the altar, and the church is seated throughout.

May 26. I spent the day doing nothing, waiting for the stage-coach.

May 27. From Stralsund I travelled to Greifswalde, and thence into farther Pomerania, or to Anclam, a town which is slightly fortified, and now subject to the King of Brandenburg. Nothing worthy of notice occurred on the journey. The

* Baron Johan Christoffer von Issendorff, a native of Germany, was lieutenant-colonel in the Swedish army. He died in 1736.

country from Greifswalde to Anclam is very level, consisting mostly of fields. The sea-shore and the banks of the streams are everywhere covered and adorned with oak groves and the most beautiful live-oaks. From this part of the country, and from that which lies nearer the town of Stettin, a great quantity of oak-wood is shipped to foreign countries for ship-building. At Anclam I saw for the first time the Brandenburg soldiers, and those, indeed, who are called grenadiers. The men are tall and slender, and they march erectly. They wear high conical hats showily decorated with brass, in the shape of letters and figures. They are clad in a cloak or short belted coat reaching to about the middle of the thigh. The breeches fit the extremities of their bodies most tightly, so that no fold arising from looseness can hide any flaw, and prevent the harmony of the parts from being noticed at first sight. Closely fitting gaiters, buttoned, reach from the breeches to the shoes, and encase the legs from the knees downwards. They go through their drill with the greatest promptness and regularity; but their manner is perhaps a little theatrical. Their line is remarkably regular, the men being of the same height and age; the faces of all turn in one direction. The head is adorned the most, and the feet, arms, and remaining parts of the body are least burdened and are closely bound, so that they are prepared either for an immediate attack on an enemy or for a rush in flight; they are so attired as to be ready for either turn in the wheel of fortune. The King seems to place his splendour and pride in his soldiery, and yet he restrains and retrenches all luxury, so that they give one the idea of toughness and endurance.

May 28 and 29. I arrived at Friedland, a town under the rule of Mecklenburg. There were most beautiful oak forests on the way, and the country is very rich in grain and geese. Afterwards I came to New Brandenburg. Neither town is remarkable for size, fortifications, or buildings. I nevertheless had the opportunity of enjoying their gardens. I witnessed also their annual games, at which they have a shooting competition for the honour of "King." Whoever proves himself the best shot is created "King;" is exempt during the ensuing year from rates and taxes; and in the following year, decked with

silver ornaments, marches at the head of the rifle corps to take part in the new games, and to contest the honours afresh. The country abounds with the very best hops, equal to those of Brunswick, the greater part of which used to be exported to Sweden; but, as this is now forbidden, they scarcely command any price.

May 30. Old Strelitz was reached. New Strelitz is being built by the present duke at the distance of half a Swedish mile from it; a new palace is in the process of erection, which will be the duke's residence. This with respect to the duchy of Mecklenburg, and the duke's family: the country was formerly divided into three duchies [Mecklenburg, Warle, and Stargard], which by succession became united under one hereditary duke,* who now resides at Schwerin. There he married his first wife, who was related to the imperial family and to that of Brandenburg. His second wife, a relative of the Russian Czar,† lives at present with her daughter at St. Petersburg, her sister‡ being the reigning Empress of Russia. Her daughter§ is so much beloved by her Imperial Majesty, that she has been appointed heiress to the Russian throne. Both the mother and daughter refuse to return to their husband and father, who is now living at Schwerin as a duke with scarcely any dominion, and as a husband without a wife. It is even thought that an administrator will be appointed in his place by the Emperor. The nobles have been the cause of

* Duke Charles Leopold, who reigned from 1713 to 1746. Aided by his relative, Peter the Great of Russia, he endeavoured to break down the constitutional government of Mecklenburg, but he was resisted by the neighbouring German princes and the German Emperor Charles VI, who took the part of the constituent houses. The feud between the reigning duke and the constituent assemblies did not terminate, until 1755, when a compromise was made by his successor Duke Christian Louis.

† Catharina, daughter of Ivan III, step-brother of Peter the Great.

‡ Anna Ivanowna, second daughter of Ivan III, and Duchess of Courland, was elected Empress of Russia in 1730. She died in 1740.

§ Anna Carlowna, daughter of Duke Charles Leopold of Mecklenburg and Catharina, was born in 1718. She married Anton Ulric, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. Her son, Ivan IV, was declared heir-apparent to the Russian throne by the Empress Anna Ivanowna. After the death of the Empress in 1740, she became regent in the place of her son; but was soon displaced by Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great.

it, whose rights and privileges he was unwilling to preserve in their integrity; by the aid of the Emperor he was removed from the government, and his brother's son, the heir-apparent,* who lives at New Strelitz, has been appointed in his place. By so many reverses and misfortunes, so many reminders and admonitions of two emperors, by the most opposite and inauspicious fates, which seem to deprive him of every hope of a more favourable turn of fortune, he has not been induced to change his mind for the better, and to accept better counsel, and this now for the space of thirteen years. He prefers to be outlawed and deprived of his government to giving way a single inch. One's native disposition, though vexed by misfortunes and a long series of adverse fates, cannot be expelled, and if expelled, it ever returns. Otherwise Mecklenburg is a most noble country; for it abounds in nobles, who are most desirous to abound also in riches. The name of the Duke of Schwerin is Charles Leopold; his brother's son who is at Strelitz is called Adolphus Frederic [III].

June 1. After spending a day and two nights at Strelitz, I journeyed thence to Fürstenberg, and afterwards to Zehdenick, which belongs to Brandenburg, and which is a finer town than either of the other two; there also I spent a night.

June 2. On continuing my route to Berlin I first reached Oranienburg; where Oranienburg castle, which was built by the father of the present king, presents itself to view. It is charming, for the eye may range over far extended meadows to the most beautiful forests consisting of pines and oaks, which in the form of a crown extend at equal distances everywhere around. In the middle is the court of the castle, which in a certain measure is embraced and enclosed by two wings running out on either side. Where it looks towards the town, or where the entrance is situated, is a wall adorned with statues. On the other side, however, or that which is turned towards the plain and the woods, are double gates, which are directed on the one hand towards the fields and the forest, and on the other towards the palace. As they are

* Duke Adolphus Frederic III, who reigned at Strelitz from 1708 to 1752.

double, there is a portico between, where one may take a walk, and gaze upon the fields as well as upon the court of the castle. All this is deserted and uninhabited at present. I continued my journey towards Berlin, and on the way saw two additional royal country-seats.

At last I reached Berlin. I first wandered alone through the town that I might take in with the eye what is wont to strike the first gaze of a stranger. What I noticed first on the bridge leading to the Royal Castle was a bronze statue erected by King William [?]* in 1703, which was remarkable for its weight, its size, and the art expended upon it. It is also a worthy object of contemplation. The first great King of Prussia* himself sits on a large horse; at each corner four men or rather giants (for they are twice or three times as large as common men) are sitting sad, sorrowful, and with a serious countenance, bound with brazen chains; they are, however, sufficiently heavy and motionless from their mere weight in bronze. It is a work of art most worthy of being cast in bronze.

The royal palace itself is magnificent; a most expensive structure, and in size and height surpassing the palaces of many kings. On one side of it is a parade ground capable of holding from twenty to thirty thousand soldiers, cavalry and infantry. Their military exercises and parade may be witnessed from the palace. I shall not attempt a description of this palace as it would fill many pages, while the painter could represent it better and more vividly on one page.

The arsenal which adjoins it is scarcely less beautiful; this also can be exhibited much better by the artist. The same may be said of the orphan asylum. The church of St. Peter, a most noble structure and replete with ornaments, is being restored, or rather re-built. Two granaries or receptacles for corn have also been erected. The houses belonging to the burghers or subjects, are numerous; they have a pleasing

* The statue Swedenborg describes here is that of the great Elector Frederic William, who reigned from 1640 to 1688. It was erected by his son Frederic III, who reigned from 1688 to 1715, and who became in 1701 the first king of Prussia, under the name of King Frederic I.

appearance, and to the very roofs resemble the dwellings in Italy and Paris.

It is worthy of notice that outside the city proper, or that part which is surrounded by walls, another city, which is called Friedrichstadt, scarcely smaller than the former, has been built; this has been very much enlarged and the number of its inhabitants has greatly increased under the present king. About the middle of the "Friedrichstrasse," which is nearly half a [Swedish or German] mile long, a row of new houses commences, which in height and external appearance are from basement to roof so much alike that you might imagine it was only one house, when yet it consists of from four to five hundred separate dwellings. The regularity, however, is interrupted near the market-place. These buildings are not yet finished; but by the king's command the work is being carried on most vigorously. The street terminates in the market-place, which is a handsome circle; the market-place, however, is terminated by the gate by which the town is closed. Most of these dwellings have been built by trades-people and mechanics, and the rest by the nobles and the higher classes. You might suppose they were a hundred ducal residences, when yet they are the houses of mechanics and trades-people, who in other towns generally live in huts, cabins, and log-houses. What delights the eye most, and exhilarates the mind, is the wonderful symmetry and continuity of the houses, so that you might say many thousands of men have a common dwelling, and live in one house under the same roof.

The town is very populous: for the trades and manufactures flourish and prosper, many mechanics and manufacturers driven out and banished from France, having taken up their abode here. A vast stream of people pass along the streets and lanes, and gather in dense crowds around the public buildings. Many of these people, however, belong to the military class, and at every corner sentinels may be seen. From this we may conclude that not only commerce, but manufactures also can make towns wealthy; for no merchandize is brought hither by sea, but manufactures attract the money, which is retained and prevented from going abroad and being scattered.

June 3 and 4. I went outside the town to witness the exercises of the infantry, and of that branch of the cavalry called *gens d'armes*. With respect to the exercises I have already mentioned, that the troops act and move with the greatest regularity and precision; and the whole squadron is like a machine placed there, and moving instantaneously at the pleasure of the machinist. Not even the slightest inaccuracy can be detected. If they displayed the same unanimity and uniformity in battle as in drill, they would conquer Alexander's army, and subject a great part of Europe to Prussia, but ———

Entering St. Peter's church, which was burnt down three years ago and is now being rebuilt by the munificence of the King, I found it very spacious, and yet there are no columns in the interior by which the roof and arches are supported. Under the roof all around the church are circular windows, which are directed towards the centre of the building, and which admit much light; there are besides two rows of benches along the walls, so that there is room for a large congregation.

I examined also the library, which contains a great number of books, but mostly old; not many are purchased at the present time, no money being obtainable for this purpose. Several manuscripts are also exhibited, among which is the Bible of Charlemagne, written eight hundred years ago, which was brought from Aix-la-Chapelle. There are historical books in the Italian language from the library of Queen Christina, and in additions many old codexes; books in the Chinese language; a Koran of most exquisite workmanship; likewise another Koran almost round in form and enclosed in a case, very small in size. A large atlas also is shown.

In the Museum, called *Kunst-Kammer*, many most interesting things are exhibited, as, for instance, various objects made of amber, as desks, boxes, statuettes, crucifixes, and many others, which are produced by large pieces of amber being melted together. Various specimens of corals, especially of the red kind, are shown; likewise flowers of Mars,* which are

* A chemical preparation of iron.

white, very beautiful, and large; also, ores containing gold; native gold, in considerable masses imbedded in quartz; likewise silex, polished on the outside, but interiorly variegated and interspersed with a great number of dense veins of gold; pieces of native silver, and splendid specimens of the ores of other metals. There are also articles most skilfully and elaborately wrought of silver, as vases, caskets, and fancy-boxes, &c. Porcelain and wares from China are likewise exhibited; besides animals of various kinds, as crocodiles, walruses, boars of extraordinary size, rhinoceroses, elephants' tusks of different kinds. A knife is also shown which a man had swallowed and which was found, when removed by an operation, to be half consumed, the man living afterwards for twenty years; likewise a die which broke in two while being used to decide the fate of some innocent person. A life-like wax figure of King Frederic William is exhibited, as well as figures of some of his sons and daughters; besides many other objects which I have no time to enumerate.

I visited also the laboratory of Dr. Neumann, which is furnished with several small fire-places and furnaces for chemical purposes, especially for distillations in the water and sand baths, and likewise with digesters; the water flows in from above, and the waste flows down and turns a small wheel by which a little pestle is set in motion for grinding substances into powder; everything is arranged most ingeniously and exactly.

June 5. I prepared for my journey to Dresden. On the way I saw nothing noteworthy; the soil was sterile and sandy. From Berlin I passed through the usual stations of Mittenwalde, Baruth, where Saxony begins, and Luckau, a town of considerable size; and afterwards through Sonnenwalde, Estenwehre, where there is a royal castle, and Grossenhayn, which is much like Luckau; and thence I came to Dresden. Meanwhile I noticed very beautiful chimneys of terra cotta, upon which are impressed most telling and conspicuous likenesses of men, of knights, and of shells; the corners were formed by columns of the same material stained an iron colour.

On the way I perused a small treatise by Putoneus,* on a kind of worms of Friesland and Northland, where I noted what follows:

These worms are only found in Friesland and Northland, where the ships and the piles driven into the dikes are gradually perforated and consumed by them. This was first observed in 1732 in some beams, which had been floating upon the water, when cast ashore by the waves. Pine wood is chiefly attacked, but also occasionally oak. The number of worms that appear is sometimes larger, sometimes smaller; perhaps according to the differing temperature, as is the case with some insects, and also with mice, which are more abundant one year than another. In the year 1666, the inhabitants of Amsterdam complained, that their ships, on the return voyage from India, were attacked and perforated by worms, wherefore they began to fortify the ribs and coverings of their ships with large-headed nails; which resulted in their ships becoming much more durable than those of the English. The Portuguese, however, char the outer surface of their ships. In the record of his travels Dampier describes most accurately this kind of worms, which are very much like those of Friesland. There are three species of them of which drawings are given. It has been observed that those which originate in salt water, perish in fresh water; so that a ship which has become infested with them in salt water, is relieved from them in fresh water. Messrs. Massuet and Wallisnerius were the first to describe these worms, which are slender towards the tail, broader towards the head, and of a yellowish white colour. A part of their head is protected by a hard stony or bony mass, which is round and pointed at the end, so as to resemble the drills with which holes are bored into stone. The head is thus covered and by means of this mass the boring is accomplished; a part of the body also towards the tail is covered with a harder substance; so that they can brace themselves up and thus bore better. From this hard matter of the tail the extremity, which is soft and

* Putoneus, Historische und physicalische Beschreibung einer Art höchst schädlicher Seewürmer, Leipzig, 1733.

cloven into three parts, protrudes; under the belly appears a duct conveying blood. Their length varies from six to twelve and even twenty-four inches. They grow while in the wood engaged in boring; and they would increase still more if there were more substance to pierce. The holes are large enough to admit a good sized goose quill. If two worms bore so as to meet in the middle, they avoid meeting by deflecting their course, and if they actually meet, they both die. On their way they leave a glutinous or viscous matter which in time hardens and adheres to the sides of the holes. This hardened matter is like a shell and very fragile. In these cavities small shining points are observed, which, when examined under the microscope, have the appearance of some winged creatures. It is worthy of notice that on the outer surface of the wood only openings appear that are so small as to be scarcely discernible to the naked eye, but in the inner part of the wood they become wider and wider, so that the worms actually increase there. A hundred openings are frequently seen, of which scarcely ten are continued to the depth of one finger, and when the worms reach the surface of the water, they take some other course. They prefer to make their way along the grain of the wood, although they also work transversely. Their eggs are said to be round and covered with some viscous substance, so as to adhere better to the beams of wood against which they are carried.

The remedies hitherto employed to prevent the ravages of these insects, are said to be the following: 1. The piles that are to be submerged are enveloped in coarse tow and afterwards covered with pitch; in place of hempen tow the hair of cows may be used. 2. At first they tried to fortify their dikes against the threatened destruction, by combining the use of anchors or braces with the piles. 3. It was proposed to construct dikes without the help of piles. 4. Again it was suggested that the piles should be thoroughly dried by exposing them to the action of fire, and that hot pitch should be applied to them, which would then penetrate more towards the interiors, the pores being opened by the fire. 5. Wallisnerius proposed that the piles should be covered with lead; or that thick laths be fastened over them, and that the space

between the piles and the laths should be filled with animal hair. 6. Others advise that the piles should be frequently scraped, so that the first elements of the worms or their glutinous eggs might not adhere to them; and 7. That after the piles have been well dried, they be covered first with pitch and afterwards with a mixture containing arsenic.

*N.B.:* I was told to-day by a Jew that a remedy against this evil had at last been discovered, which consists in a mixture or an ointment composed of powdered sulphur, pitch, white lead, and mercury; upon the application of which they all make their escape — provided this be true.

As for myself, I cannot see a better remedy for this evil than, *first,* that the piles used in propping up the dikes should be thoroughly charred, and indeed so that their surface be burnt to charcoal to about one-fourth of an inch; for then it is impossible for the worms to find any place to make their abode: because there is nothing to furnish nutriment to them, there being no wood anywhere within their reach; so that for want of food and nourishment their sustenance and life will fail. *Secondly,* the burning of the pile, by which it may be reduced to charcoal to the depth of one-fourth of an inch, will be thoroughly attained by a strong and swift flame, which can be rendered swifter if the pile be first covered with pitch, and then held over the flaming fire. *Thirdly,* if afterwards you choose to cover the burnt part with pitch, you will perhaps thereby prevent an egg, out of which a worm might be developed, from being carried into a crack. *Fourthly,* the success of this proposal is based on this, that the whole woody material is converted into charcoal, and that nothing of the sap and the oil remains which might afford nutriment; for it has been observed that the worms thrive better in pine than in oak wood, because it contains a greater quantity of oil; if therefore a dead residuum and charcoal only remain, they cannot obtain the means of life, and make their way into the interior. This is proved also by experience. To escape this evil the Portuguese char that part of the outer surface of their ships which is to be immersed in water; and their ships are thus saved from this danger and preserved from harm. I already remarked that the piles were to be

burnt in a strong flame. By being exposed to such a flame the outer portion only is burned and converted into charcoal, the interior remaining fresh and dry, or safe and intact from the fire; as may be seen from a piece of wood held in a strong flame, the outer surface of which is speedily converted into charcoal, while its interior parts are still intact, and scarcely heated. The science of mechanics will supply a thousand modes by which the piles may be placed on trestles, while combustible matter is placed underneath by which the flame is to be fed and raised into a blaze; it will also furnish means by which the flame, after it has been started on the surface by having been covered with pitch, can be extinguished, and indeed after the desired result has been attained. All this can be very easily determined and settled, provided the method of burning the piles before they are immersed in the water, be once approved and adopted.

June 7. I reached Dresden, having accomplished the journey from Stockholm in twenty-eight days. If from these twelve days are subtracted, during which I rested, it reduces it to a journey of sixteen days only.

June 9. I visited the new church *[Frauenkirche]*, which is in the process of erection near the market-place *[Neumarkt]*. It is interiorly vaulted, with a triple row of seats along the walls, and on account of its interior decorations most interesting and worthy of notice. Under the ground are ample vaults and cells, or places of burial, occupying a large space.

June 11. I examined the exterior of the royal palace and of that which adjoins it. They are richly decorated with figures and statues in terra cotta and plaster of Paris. I likewise saw that rural or mountain cave, called the grotto, which is close by, where the water falls down some steps and over a rock. Permission was granted me to see the entrance hall, where the ceiling is adorned with beautiful fresco paintings. The floor was paved with marble, and in the centre a marble slab of great size, and consequently of great value, is displayed.

June 12. With a companion I went into the royal garden which consists entirely of Indian and foreign trees. The part on the left is distinguished by cypresses and laurels; that

on the right by citron and orange trees. Within the walls are trees of various kinds, coffee plants, &c., and a fig-tree with a trunk of extraordinary thickness. Here we could see and admire a very large number of laurels and orange-trees collected together; for there are upwards of five-hundred laurels, beautifully trimmed, and the same number of orange-trees may be counted, all of which are exactly like one another, being of the same height, the same thickness, and the same age. The trunk of each tree is eight inches in diameter, while the Indian fig-tree is twenty-four inches in diameter. This garden seems to excel all others of the same kind established in Europe.

June 13. On St. John's day I went outside the town to enjoy a stroll and see the large garden *[grosser Garten]* famous for its marble statues and figures. The way or road to it extends to a great distance, is enclosed on both sides with trimmed and curiously cut trees, and adorned with terra cotta figures. At last appears the area itself or the large theatre, adorned with beautiful marble statues and figures. All are made of marble of the most dazzling purity, and all are sculptured to the life. Some are larger and some smaller, and there are so many of them, that they can scarcely be counted. They do not yield much to those in Versailles, except in size. It is a place where you may enjoy rural pleasures to the full.

The bridge, which leads into the town from the Neustadt or new town, is splendid. It rises a considerable height above the river and is supported by seventeen arches. There are also on both sides of the bridge seventeen sitting or resting places. On one side is a crucifix of bronze on an artificial rock; on the other side and opposite to it are two figures or statues.

June 14—19. I read through and corrected my *Principia*.

June 20 (July 1). I went to the Neustadt or new town to see the building *[Japanesisches Palais]* erected by the Duke of Saxony. There also is a very pleasant garden, filled with objects of art, where during the life-time of King Augustus the articles of porcelain were exhibited, the greater part of which is said to be stored up between the ceilings of the building.

June 21 (July 2). To-day I entered the chapel attached to the Court of the Duke of Saxony, with the view of being present at worship, which is celebrated according to the Catholic ritual. It was impossible for any of the senses not to derive from it some sensation of pleasure.

The sense of *hearing* derived it from the drums, flutes, and trumpets which swelled their notes from the lowest to the highest, and still more from the singing of the *castrati* or eunuchs, whose voices emulate those of virgins, and from the full harmony of all the instruments.

The sense of *smell* is charmed by the scent and fragrance of the burning incense; the odour and smoke of which are diffused in every direction by boys.

The sense of *sight* was impressed by the paintings of every kind which are hung around the church; by the magnificent vestments with which the priests and monks are adorned, and in which they move in procession; by the great number of ministering priests bending and walking in every direction like actors; and by their various gestures. And *my* sight in particular was charmed, because I happened to see for the first time the Duke himself and the Duchess with their sons and daughters; all of whom were most devout and attentive to the usages of their religion.

The *interior senses,* however, were charmed, because all things breathed an atmosphere of sublimity and sanctity; because at the least sound of a little bell all threw themselves on their knees; and because all things were expressed in Latin, a foreign language, by which the minds of the common people are wont to be most impressed. In short the worship of the Roman Catholic church seems to have been especially invented, and to be calculated, to charm the external senses, by alluring all the organs of the body, and thereby offering blandishments to the senses.

On the same day I crossed the river Elbe, in company with five others, and we went into the vineyards, or to the hills where the vineyards are. The aspect here is most delightful. The hill is covered with elms and vines; and is everywhere dotted with villas over its whole extent.

June 22 (July 3). I read through a book of John Bernouilli, which bears the title: *Essai d'une nouvelle théorie de la manœuvre des vaisseaux,* &c. [Essay concerning a new theory of handling ships], which treats geometrically of the structure of vessels, &c. 1. The action of fluids upon the surface of the bodies which they meet; 2. The track and the movement of a ship which has the form of a parallelogram; 3. The swiftness of a rectangular ship; 4. The position of the sails and the form of the beam which occupies the lowest part of a ship and is called the keel; what its form must be, that it may produce the best effect; 5. The position of the rudder, that it may turn the ship most quickly; 6. The course of a ship representing the figure of a rhomb; 7. The swiftness of a ship representing the figure of a rhomb; 8. The same in respect to the lowest beam or the keel; 9. The motion of curved or curvilinear bodies in fluids; 10. Application of the foregoing theory to certain ships; 11. Directions how to construct tables for the course of ships, respect being had to the lowest curvature (belly) of the ship; 12. The most convenient place for the masts; 13. The axis and the centre of resistance of the water; 14. The inflation and curvature of sails; 15. The axis and the equilibrium of the wind impinging upon the sails. Two letters follow directed to M. Renau, with his reply.

Afterwards I perused Julius Bernhard von Rohr's *Compendieuse Haushaltungs-Bibliothek* (Compendious library of household matters), for 1726, in 8vo. This work treats in general: 1. Of the study of economy; 2. Of the revenue system, *(von dem Cameralwesen);* 3. Of private household economy and of economy for the farm and field, *(von der Privatwirthschaftskunst, Land- und Feld-Oeconomie);* 4. Of agriculture, *(vom Ackerbau);* 5. Of vine culture, *(vom Weinbau);* 6. Of brewing, *(vom Bierbrauen);* 7. Of the art of cooking and baking, *(von der Kochkunst und Confituren);* 8. Of gardening, *(von der Gärtnerei);* 9. Of woods and hunting, *(von den Wäldern und der Jägerei);* 10. Of ponds and fishing, *(von Teichen und Fischereien);* 11. Of cattle breeding, *(von der Viehzucht);* 12. Of mining and the mineral kingdom, *(von Bergwerkssachen und dem minera-*

*lischen Reiche).* In this chapter the author treats of the iron-works and forges in Germany, which he enumerates and reviews; he also discusses peat, charcoal, and coal; he does not treat of many authors, simply of Kircher's *Mundus subterraneus* (Subterranean world), which, however, according to Webster, the Englishman, and Morhoff, contains merely fanciful things. He mentions further Ulysses Aldrovandi's *Musæum metallicum,* where many differences between the metals are discussed, but nothing definite is stated; Beccherus' *Physica subterranea,* with Stahl's observations, 1703. In the French language was published *Traité des métaux et minéraux, et des remèdes, qu'on en peut tirer, par M. Chaubon,* Paris, 1713, 12mo. There are also the following, viz. M. John Matthesius' *Bergpostille oder Sarepta,* folio, 1587; Melzer's *Gangræna metallica, oder Bericht von Bergwerken* (Report of Mines); Abraham Schönburg's *Ausführliche Berginformation,* Leipzig, 1693; Sebastian Spahn's *Bergrechts-Spiegel,* Dresden, 1698, folio; Georg Kaspar Kirchmayer's *Instructiones metallicæ, von Bergwerken,* with illustrations, 4to, 1687; his other works were published in quarto at Wittenberg in 1698; he mentions also Löhneis. A certain councillor of mines published in 1717 a work in 12mo with the title, *Kurzer Unterricht von Bergwerken.* 13. Of commerce, *(vom Commercienwesen);* 14. Of theological writings, *(von theologischen Schriften).* The same Julius Bernhard von Rohr has also published *Compendieuse physikalische Bibliothek,* Leipzig, 8vo, 1724; it treats, first, of natural science in general and the books belonging thereto; further, of the elements, the vegetable kingdom, the mineral kingdom, the animal kingdom, meteors, and mineral springs, *(von der Naturwissenschaft überhaupt, und den dahin gehörigen Schriften).*

June 25 (July 5). I took a walk outside the town in order to see the so-called Turkish house, where there is also a delightful garden. In the house itself may be seen paintings of Turkish, Chinese, Persian, and Greek women in their usual costumes; likewise celebrated and distinguished men, such as sultans, viziers, muftis, &c. There are also most precious Turkish and Persian carpets, as well on the floors as suspended along the walls. Their silver work also, which consists chiefly of what is called filligree work, is seen, studded here and

there with some glass-like spar; silver of a white and black hue is inserted in the crystals themselves, arranged in the form of roses. Leather is shown interwoven with golden threads, work which has been hitherto quite unknown to Europeans. Some parts of Constantinople are likewise exhibited with the Peloponnesus and the sea. It is a town consisting of houses, which look very much like one another, and are built entirely on mountains and hills, with the water flowing in between. The sultan's palace with the harem, the place of abode of his women, is shown; likewise mosques, which are their temples and mausoleums. A person is thus enabled to obtain an idea of Constantinople, and in a certain sense of the Ottoman Porte itself.

The following books were announced in the literary news: *Histoire métallique des Pays bas,* by Mr. van Loon, in both the French and Dutch languages; *Discours sur les différentes figures des astres, i. e.* a discourse on the various forms of the constellations, together with a compendious explanation of Descartes' and Newton's systems, by Maupertuis, Paris, 8vo, 1731, 5½ francs.

July 6, new style.* I was able to see a paper-mill outside the town, where, I think, paper is made in the Dutch fashion with a cylinder furnished with bronze knives, and a similar bronze table underneath. There is, however, only one simple grinder or cylinder around a wheel, and not four as in Holland.

I afterwards examined the furnace and the forge where copper is beaten into thin plates with three hammers. The furnace is like a common iron furnace. A pound of thin beaten copper is sold for nine *groschen,* or twenty-seven Swedish silver *öre.*

* The improved calendar of Pope Gregory XIII had not been introduced into Sweden at the time Swedenborg was writing this account of his travels. On arriving in Germany, where the Gregorian calendar had been universally adopted in 1700, he therefore found himself eleven days behind. The Swedish or *old style* he followed until June 20; from June 20 to 25 he gives his dates both according to the old and new styles; but after June 25, *old style,* which is equivalent to July 5, *new style,* he passes on at once to July 6, *new style.*

Afterwards I went to see the works where plates of glass are ground and polished, so that foils may be applied to them and mirrors formed, which is a very interesting operation. Plates of glass and mirrors are manufactured there, which are frequently of the height of four ells. With regard to the work itself, the following particulars may be mentioned: 1. When the plates of glass are first brought from the furnace and are still in the rough, they are more than an inch thick, but by the process of polishing they are made so thin, that they are scarcely half the original thickness. The process of polishing is described as follows: 2. The plate is inserted in a frame, and placed on a smooth stone, to which it is closely fitted, and fastened by means of plaster of Paris or yellowish red clay; it is inserted into this mass in such a manner, that it firmly adheres thereby to the stone. Frequently three, four, six or ten plates are attached to one stone, and they all receive their polish at the same time. 3. This stone, with the plates of glass adhering to it, is placed upon a table, and under this stone on the same table is placed another machine, also of stone [on which likewise plates of glass are fastened]. On the top of the first stone, however, is put a wooden frame with six or seven compartments, in which sand as well as weights are placed, so that this frame lies more evenly and presses equally upon the glass underneath which is to be polished. It is to be borne in mind that the operation of polishing is always performed by two sets of glass plates, one lying upon the other, and by these two sets the whole of the polishing is done. 4. The machine is set in motion by a water-wheel, which turns a hook bent into the form of a triangle, and by this four arms are turned, each in its turn. To each of these arms four or five hooks are attached, eighteen in all, which are inserted in little balls turning in all directions, and fastened to the upper stone; and by the reciprocal motion of this upper stone or table to which the plate of glass is attached the polishing is effected. 5. It is to be observed, that this upper table moves in all directions; for it may be revolved like a wheel or in a circle, so that it should not always move in the same way, and by the interposition of the sand become deeper in some places

than in others, and thus make grooves in the glass. The circle in the middle, where the hook of the machine is inserted, is thus movable in all directions, and to one machine there are in this way attached eighteen pairs of stones. 6. When the plates of glass are to be polished, the coarsest kind of sand is at first used, and for about eight days; afterwards another kind of coarse sand, a little finer than the first, is used; this also lasts for six or seven days; subsequently a still finer sand; and at last the finest kind of white sand, which is called *Streusand;* each of these operations also requires from five to six days. There are thus four stages in the attenuation of the glass by means of the sand. This ought not to be called a process of polishing, but rather of grinding. 7. After all this is finished, the same plates of glass are polished by means of emery, which is of a red colour and of a coarser substance. The plates of glass are placed for this purpose upon other similar stones and they are fastened to them in a similar manner; and by means of the same machine and by the same reciprocal motion, i. e. by a continuous motion forwards and backwards, the polishing is accomplished; one glass rubbing against the other by being laid upon it, and both being polished at the same time. The emery is dissolved in water, and by means of a sponge or the hand is poured upon the lower plate of glass; the upper plate is also during this operation turned in all directions, so that the polishing is performed lengthways and sideways, as well as in all other directions. This work is usually accomplished in three days. 8. After the plates of glass have thus been worked upon and attenuated, and polished for the first time, they are handed over to women, who in a similar manner place two plates of glass one upon the other and move them to and fro with their right hands and arms, and this continuously for a whole day, putting between the two plates a yellower and finer emery which comes in the form of cones. 9. Lastly this plate undergoes another process of polishing; it is placed in another but similar machine, and during this last or sixth time a red earth is interposed, which is called English earth; and seems to be a sort of bole, of a red colour, but very fine, oily, and smooth. The plate has this time a smaller top-plate applied to it,

which cannot be revolved in every direction, but which is drawn lengthways up and down the glass; the red English earth dissolved in water being constantly applied to it. This operation generally lasts twelve hours. Meanwhile the plate of glass appears perfectly polished and smooth, and is reduced to the required thickness, and ready for being converted into a mirror. This last machine is arranged like the former with the difference that the upper grinder is smaller.

With respect to the fastening of the foil to the glass, that a mirror may be produced, this is done in the following way: 1. Tables of marble or stone are provided of the proper size, and of such a quality, that they can be polished in the best style; otherwise glass tables answer the purpose; these tables are furnished with a rim all round. 2. Tin-foil is required, so thin, that one hundred foils placed above one another are scarcely half an inch in thickness. 3. This tin-foil is spread on the table and quick-silver poured upon it; and these amalgamate. Upon this the plate of glass is placed, and upon the glass, weights; in the middle weights of brick and on the sides weights of lead; with these the plate of glass is thoroughly loaded. 4. In this condition it is left for a whole night. The tin and quick-silver are meanwhile amalgamated; the tin disappears, and they are both attached to the glass and remain firmly united to it, and thus the plate of glass is converted into a mirror. 5. The superfluous part of mercury flows off of its own accord; but in case any of it still adhere, the mirrors are now raised obliquely, and all the superfluous metal, which would still have remained, flows off. 6. The foiling of cut glass shall now be described. For lately a process has been discovered by which figures are cut on the back of a plate of glass, so as to produce the appearance of the engraving being on the front. In order that the foil may enter into these excavations and folds, the plate is put back again upon a layer made of cloth of Indian wool, folded several times, and upon this some weights are laid, so that the foil may enter more readily into the incisions and excavations made upon the glass.

With respect to the attenuation of tin into foil the following particulars may be mentioned: 1. For this purpose only

the tin which comes from the East Indies is used; the Saxon tin is said to be unfit for this purpose, because it breaks into pieces under the hammer, and becomes wrinkled, so that it is impossible to obtain from it a continuous leaf or foil. 2. After the tin has been poured out into thin sheets, and cut into square pieces, the workman pounds it continuously, until at last he is able to pass one hundred at the same time under his hammer; he strikes the tin leaves but lightly with his hammer. At last a leaf, which at first measured only six inches square, is beaten and attenuated so much, that it measures from one and a half to two ells square. 3. The working out of one hundred of such leaves, is said to occupy from five to six weeks.

July 8. I perused the first part of a work entitled: *Bibliothèque Italique; ou Histoire Littéraire de l'Italie,* which treats of the following: In the first volume the writers on Italian history are reviewed. The editors are said to be a society consisting of sixteen persons. The laws of the Langobards in Italy are first discussed, from which it is thought the manners of peoples may be known. These laws were passed in 638, and they were long in vogue in Italy; they continued until the year 1137, when Lothair II was emperor. At that time three codes of laws were in existence: the Roman, the Salian, and the Langobardian. It is questionable, however, whether they are as yet so far abrogated, that no judgment may be passed in accordance with them. The Langobardian laws, or the laws of Lombardy, have been edited several times, and they are similar in tenor to the laws of the northern nations, e. g. they permit duels with staves, &c. When a wife is killed without a just cause, a fine is inflicted; a natural son also inherits a share, &c. It is worth investigating, *whether the ancient Swedish laws coincide with these, or not; and what difference there was between them; from which it may be deduced whether the Goths in conjunction with the Germans subjugated Italy.*

July 10. At the house of Secretary Rüger I saw Wolf's[18] *Cosmologia generalis;* he endeavours to establish the nature of the elements from merely metaphysical principles; his theory is based on sound Foundations.

Afterwards I read *La Bibliothèque Italique* for the year

1728, and there I found a review of Michael Mercati's *Metallotheca,* where it is stated that Albertus Magnus [who died in 1280], is the only one who in former centuries published any methodical treatise upon minerals; that he was followed by Camillus Leonardi in the sixteenth century, and also by Mathiole Fallopius, Valerius Cordo, and Agricola, of whom the latter was most successful. Mercati studied with Andreas Cæsalpinus, and died in 1593; his work, however, was published after his death by Pope Clement XI; 120 years after the death of the author M. Lancisi added notes to it. The contents of the book are as follows: 1. The earths; 2. Salt and saltpetre; 3. Alum; 4. Acid and acrid juices, vitriol, orpiment, and sandarach; 5. The bituminous juices; 6. Marine plants; 7. Stones which are similar to earths; 8. The stone bezoar; 9. Figured stones; 10. Marble. The author intended to prepare a second volume on the spars, the precious stones, gold, silver, copper, &c.; but his death prevented its accomplishment.

The anatomist Bianchi has published several anatomical disputations, in which he has explained the mechanism of the human body. He is desirous of publishing in Turin two volumes in folio, on all the parts of the human body and their mechanism, with reference to their diseases and cures.

Jean Jerome Zannichelli has published in Venice a natural history of the island which is contiguous to Venice. Last year he published an excellent dissertation on iron and a certain crystalline salt without taste which is extracted from iron, and on the preparation of its snow [i. e. on the exsiccation of that salt]. He mentions many particulars concerning this metal incidentally.

July 11. I perused Peter Horrebow's *Clavis Astronomiæ* (The Key of Astronomy), published in Copenhagen in 1730, where I found nothing to notice except some hypotheses of no value; he quotes, however, several experiments made by others, which are worthy of notice, viz. 1. The celebrated Teichmejer, the weather being very hot and the sky perfectly serene, filled a glass cylinder with ice and common salt, the same being quite dry on the outside, and exposed it to the air. In the space of an hour he noticed that a crust of ice,

very much like hoar-frost, had formed on the outside of the glass to the thickness of more than the little finger. 2. He filled to a certain point a phial with most refined oil of vitriol, and afterwards noticed that the quantity of the liquid increased in the driest and hottest days. 3. A pendulum which vibrates a second in Paris is 3 feet 8,556 lines long, but under the equator it is 2 lines shorter. The author formed a table of the length of the pendulum for every latitude:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Under latitude | 0 | its length must be | 3 | feet, | 6.823 | lines, |
| „ | 10 | „ | 3 | „ | 6.915 | „ |
| „ | 20 | „ | 3 | „ | 7.180 | „ |
| „ | 30 | „ | 3 | „ | 7.587 | „ |
| „ | 40 | „ | 3 | „ | 8.085 | „ |
| „ | 50 | „ | 3 | „ | 8.617 | „ |
| „ | 60 | „ | 3 | „ | 9.117 | „ |
| „ | 70 | „ | 3 | „ | 9.524 | „ |
| „ | 80 | „ | 3 | „ | 9.789 | „ |
| „ | 90 | „ | 3 | „ | 9.881 | „ |

July 12. I again visited the orange garden, or the botanic garden, and noticed there: 1. A palm-tree with its bark, leaves, and fruit; 2. An Egyptian acacia with its thorns; 3. The *sirium Judaicum;* 4. A tall dragon-tree with an uneven stem; 5. The tree on which coffee berries grow; their outer portion is eatable, in their interior the beans lie concealed; 6. An orange-tree, the circumference of which is two ells, its weight ten hundred-weight, and its length two ells. The trunks are transported from Italy without roots and leaves, both being cut off; it is placed in a pot with earth and tied round with moss, and after a year the trunk throws out roots, and produces twigs and leaves.

I deemed it useful to extract the following from the *Bibliotheca Italica* concerning the mode in which Mr. Woodward classifies the minerals, salts, metals, and earths. He does it in the French language, as follows: [As this classification, which is contained in the *Bibliotheca Italica,* Vol. II, p. 117 is entirely out of date, we do not deem it necessary to translate it for the benefit of our readers. Swedenborg closes his extract with the following description of a meteor:] With respect to the meteor which was seen at Venice in the year

1719, it is said, that various colours appeared in the sky, a certain flamy something, a ball from which smoke proceeded, &c.: from all of which circumstances it is surmised that it was some kind of sulphur. Another declares, that the chemists are able to exhibit similar phenomena, as dragons, fire-balls, which are made by mixing sulphur, salt-petre, camphor, and petroleum, and by saturating the mixture with spirits of wine, and afterwards by evaporation.

July 13. Mention is made in the *Bibliotheca Italica** of anatomists; as, for instance, of M. Ruysch, of Holland, and of M. des Nouës, who constructs the bodily organs of wax. M. Bianchi has made an arrangement in anatomy, that everything may be laid open and seen without any ill scent; and, indeed, so naturally, that the whole body of a woman being dissected beforehand is opened in a moment, the skin is drawn off. all the arteries and nerves are exposed, and the interior organs are examined in their natural position, the womb with the fœtus, and many other things; all of which can at once be put together again. He has made most exact delineations of the organ of hearing and of sight, where also the mechanism of sight and the influx of the ether are demonstrated. In like manner he has made most exquisite carvings of the veins, the brain, and the nerves.

From the paper of Francisco Travagini on the earthquakes of Italy [the following particulars are extracted]. The times that precede and follow the equinoxes are the seasons at which earthquakes occur; the vibration is made from the east to the west, and *vice versa,* as may be noticed by those who are standing; it appears also from the waves and the canals, from the houses and other buildings, and the swinging lamps and bells therein. It was noticed that this reciprocal motion is always joined with a lateral vibration, but not near the place where the earthquake occurs; this motion or this vibration diminishes according to distance; the vibration may be felt in places which are far distant.

M. Rizzetti has published "A system of colours, with his objections to Newton," in Latin, at Treviso, 8vo.

* Vol. III, p. 63.

M. Bourguet: *Lettres philosophiques sur la formation des sels et des cristaux, et sur la génération et le mécanisme des plantes et des animaux, à l'occasion de la pierre Belemnite et de la pierre lenticulaire, avec un mémoire sur la théorie de la terre* (Philosophical letters on the formation of salts and crystals, and on the generation and the mechanism of plants and animals, on the occasion of the belemnite stone and the lenticular stone, with a paper on the theory of the earth); the author is a Genevese; the book was printed by l'Honoré in Amsterdam, 1729.

N. B. *Le Journal latin de l'academie des curieux de la nature* (The Latin journal of the Academy of the investigators of nature); likewise *Le Journal des savans de Venise* (Journal of the learned of Venice).

*Hesperi et Phosphori nova phænomena, seu observationes circa planetam Veneris* (New phenomena of the evening and morning star, or observations concerning the planet Venus), by Francisco Blanchini of Verona, with ten figures, 92 pages, folio, Rome.* There are spots on this planet as on the moon, which are perhaps oceans; it appeared through the telescope 112 times larger than to the naked eye. These spots followed in order and vanished on account of the diurnal motion of the planet. As the equator is differently situated there, it produces a change in the observation of the spots; the poles are in a perpendicular plane in respect to the ecliptic, and are in the direction of the centre of the sun. There was a certain spot which remained, while the others revolved; that spot was in the middle. The north-pole appeared subsequently; it had the appearance of a semi-circle. Its equator seemed most oblique towards the plane of the orb, and the axis, around which it revolved, seemed to incline much to that plane, which is the same as our ecliptic, about 3½ degrees; the angle formed by the axis in that plane is about 15 degrees. On account of the great obliquity of its equator in respect to its orbit or orb, a great diversity in the seasons of spring, autumn, etc. results. For the sun recedes 75 degrees from the equator on both sides. *The planet Mars,* however, *is constantly in a state*

* See *Bibliothèque Italique*, Vol. VII, p. 82.

*of equinox.* The daily revolution of the planet Venus according to the common opinion is 23 hours, see Cassini, Gregory, Keil, Whiston. According to the observation of the author, however, it lasts 24 days and 8 hours, or 584 hours. The planet Jupiter, however, revolves more quickly than our earth. The planet Venus is removed from the earth about 8000 of the earth's semi-diameters.

Concerning the learned men of Italy the following statement is made in the *Bibliothèque Italique,* for the year 1730, part III, [Vol. IX, p. 187]: Bonav. Cavalieri is said to have first invented the calculus of infinites published in a book, in 1653, with this title: *Geometria indivisibilibus continuorum nova quadam ratione promota.* The same is almost confessed by M. Fontenelle; some attribute it to Newton, and others to Leibnitz. The former of these, however, confesses, that this is due to M. Viette. Cavalieri's disciples wrote the same thing; as Pietro Mengoli in 1659, in a work entitled: *Geometriæ speciosæ elementa;* and likewise Etienne de Angelis, who wrote on the infinite parabolas. Afterwards Grandi also wrote concerning "The Infinites of Infinites;" and subsequently others, as Alessandro Marchetti, Paolo Mattia Doria, Giacinto Cristofori, Antonio Monforte, Francesco Spoleti, Giuseppe Sassi, Lorenzo Lorenzini, Count Fagnani, and many others skilled in that science.

In hydrostatics Marquis Poleni wrote concerning structures *(castella)* through which the waters of rivers pass, the sides of which structures converge; he made also new experiments on flowing water, and on the forces of percussion; further Thomaso Narducci, and Antonio Michelotti who treated of the separation of fluids in the living body, and [who wrote also against the book of Jurinus, which bears the title]* *De motu aquarum fluentium* (On the motion of flowing water); observations were likewise made by Corradi and Manfredi.

In dioptrics Giovanni Rizzetti invented many things; he also called attention to many errors in Newton.

With respect to astronomy, geography, and navigation there were not many Italians who cultivated these sciences; still

* See *Bibliothèque Italique,* Vol. IX, p. 201.

some interesting things are furnished by Giuseppe Nardi, Eustachio Manfredi, Blanchini, Marquis Poleni and also Gaetano Fontana.

In physics, anatomy, and medicine there were Galilei, Toricelli, Borelli and Castelli, who first treated on the mechanism of fluids; Castelli "della misura dell' acque correnti" (on the measurement of flowing water). Vallisnieri in respect to the seminal animalcules is of the opposite opinion of Leuwenhoek, Hartsoeker and Audry. Further Malpighi, Bellini, and Redi in anatomy and natural history; Jacinto Cestoni on the origin of insects; Giovanni Battista Morgagni wrote anatomical miscellanies *(adversaria)*. Giovanni Maria Lancisi had respect to medicine in his physical experiments with the aid of geometry. Again there was Ramazzini in medicine; likewise Guglielmini, Domenico Sangenito, Felice Stochetti, Giacinto Vogli, Domenico Mistichelli, and Pietro Antonio Michelotti. Ant. Maria Vasalvo treated of the human ear in 1704. Giovanni Fantoni, Bernardo Trevisano, Genaro Pisani, Giov. Battista Mazino, Francesco Gogrossi, Zanichelli, Bart. Boschetti, Luigi della Fabra, Conti, Luigi Ferd. Marsigli, Aless. Pascoli, Giov. Battista Felice, and Constantino Grimaldi. Riccato treated on the proportion of objects and the mechanism of the senses.

Painting. The first who imparted life to paintings was Giotto. Afterwards in the sixteenth century there was Raphael, who died in his thirty-seventh year; afterwards Coreggio and Titian. The last century began with Cignani, and after him Carlo Maratti. The present century also has illustrious painters: Franceschini, Solimeni, Giuseppe del Sole, Barino, Celesti, Viani, Santi Pauli, Bellucci, Gambarini, Gabbiani, Pietro Leon Ghezzi. In perspective painting Pozzi, Cavazzoni, Castellini. Bistega and Bibieni had not their equals. Those who maintained the fame of the school of Cignani were Felice Cignano, Bonaventura Lamberti, Ludovico Antonia David. Of Maratti's school are: Antonio Balestra and Girolamo Odamo. Of Franceschini's school is Domenico Tempesti. Of the school of Giuseppe del Sole are Felice Torelli and Giuseppe Mazzoni.

The first in sculpture were Margaritone, Andrea Pisani, and Pietro Cavallino; in the last century, Antonio Lombardo, Alessandro Algardi, and especially Bernini; in the sixteenth

century, Paolo Romano, Leonardo Sormano, Bavio Pandinello. At present there are Gian. Battista Foggini, Giuseppe Mazzoli, Giuseppe Mazza, Girolamo Odamo, and Giuseppe Piamontini. There are several families of sculptors from Rovetta.

Architecture was cultivated by Bramante, Baroccio, Serlio, Sansovino, Fontana; these all derived their art from Michael Angelo Buonarotti, who possessed it in a wonderful manner. First of all, however, it was revived by Leon Battista Alberti and Brunellesca. At the present day it has been filled with new ideas chiefly by Borromini; at the present day there are also Carlo Fontana and Foggini.

July 15. The Transactions of the Academy of Sciences at Bologna are printed by Lelio de Vulpi, under this title: *De Bononiensi scientiarum et artium instituto, atque Academiæ commentarii,* Bononiæ, 1731. The first part contains the history of the Academy; a list of its members, and what sciences were investigated by it. The second part contains the transactions from the beginning of the Academy to the year 1724; it is divided into nine sections, all of which have respect to Natural Philosophy, and comprise Chemistry, Anatomy, Medicine, Physics, Mechanics, Analysis, Geography, Astronomy, Meteorology; Bologna, 4to.

Something is worth noting in the letters of Poleni of Padua to some of the learned:* 1. He often saw Mercury in the solar disc; upon entering it was first of an oval, and afterwards of a round form; which is a sign that it is surrounded by an atmosphere. The Parisians, however, maintain that Mercury has been perfectly round even upon entering. Mercury appeared on the sun as a minute spot, equal to the size of ten lines. 2. Concerning the velocity of water which is bursting out. Through an opening of three lines in the diameter, from the height of thirteen feet, 691 cubic inches of water flow out in one minute; upon being calculated as a cylinder, the water is equivalent to a cylinder of 1173 feet, the base of which has a diameter of three lines. If, however, the body falls in a vacuum from the height of thirteen feet, on account of the velocity which it acquires, it can run over

* See *Bibliothèque Italique*, Vol. XI, p. 8.

a distance of 1680 feet. The author instituted also an experiment for the same height of thirteen feet, the diameter of the opening being three lines: in the thinnest kind of a *lamina* of iron, 607 cubic inches flow out; in a copper *lamina*, but in the form of a trunk *(sed trunci instar)*, 713 cubic inches flow out. After a cylindrical tube of the length of thirteen lines was affixed to the opening, 809 cubic inches of water flowed out in the same time; after the tube had been shortened and made of a conical shape, 889 cubic inches flowed out; after it was shortened still more, so that it was only seven lines long, 907 cubic inches flowed out. After these are reduced into the velocities acquired, the following ratios are obtained: 1030, 1064, 1210, 1373, 1508, and 1536 feet. The title of Buteonus' book is here added,* *De fluentium aquarum mensura* (On the measurement of flowing water), with notes, 1554.

Borelli has written concerning the motion of animals; he has opened a wide field for mathematics and medicine. Bernouilli also has instituted many investigations into the motion of the muscles. Vercelloni [has written a work with this title]: *Psychologia, seu motuum animalium et reciprocorum machinæ animalis theoria medica, omnes humanos actus autoptica et facili quamvis hactenus inaudita methodo explanans* (Psychology, or a medical theory respecting the motions of animals and the reciprocal motions of the animal machine, by which all human actions or motions are explained to the sight and by an easy, although hitherto unheard of, method), Asti.

July 20. In the company of Messrs. Michaeli and Rüger I was in the museum of natural history. There I first examined a great variety of petrifactions of all kinds, in slate, lime-stone, and white clay. Six Ilmenau specimens which were always in a central *(nucleari)* or round stone; there were also so-called eagle-stones *(ætites)*, Florentine dendrites, and others; figured crystalline stones of various kinds. Of the vegetable kingdom there were more than 400 species of wood; four statues of cypress wood, which were very fragrant; corals of a diversity in kind and in colour. Of the animal kingdom, animals of every kind, with their skeletons; among which was one of a

* See *Bibliothèque Italique*, Vol. XII, p. 19.

stag formed of nothing but burnt horns *(cervus ex pure cornubus ustis factus?)*; a horse with an extremely long tail, and animal skeletons. Among the anatomical subjects I saw a human skull of very great thickness; various kinds of stones taken from animals and human beings; a bearded virgin; an infant with a great head; a living [i. e. moving] mechanism of the organs, nerves, and the interior muscles. Of the mineral kingdom, large pieces of native gold in lumps, as well as in thin leaves; likewise native silver; ores of all kinds of metals; of copper I saw crude copper; of iron, native iron, its flowers of various kinds; large pieces of schist and blood-stone, and a magnet of great power; cobalt of most beautiful red fibres; the best amber of various colours, white, dendritic, with incisions or stripes *(cum insectis)*, wavy, and in large pieces; shells of every kind. Many shells of various kinds are also in the so-called grotto or cave. In astronomy I saw large lenses or burning glasses, instruments [for astronomical purposes], convex mirrors, and a large time-piece.

July 21. I departed for Prague in Bohemia, where I arrived on the 23rd of July, after passing through only two rather small towns, Budin and Welwarn.

July 23. I reached Prague, where I stayed at a house or hotel, near the custom-house,[?] called Tein.

I took a walk through Prague to have a look at the city, and went 1. To the bridge over the river Moldau, which consists of eighteen arches; there are statues of various kinds upon it, and at both ends towers where the balls fired by the Swedes in 1648 are still visible. I visited the cathedral of St. Vitus where I saw the tomb of the martyr Sobieslaw, on each side of which is a silver altar; over the tomb are silver lamps, and above them a heart of wrought gold; there is also another altar on the side of pure gold. Around the altar is an immense number of sacrificial gifts or offerings of silver; such as hearts, feet, urns, and a thousand other objects. Outside the church a tower, by no means inconsiderable, may be seen, and a painting, which occupies almost a whole side, and, although it has been exposed to the rain for ten years, is still uninjured. I have not yet succeeded in seeing the chapel of St. Wenceslaus and the relics. 3. I entered the archbishop's

house; 4. Likewise the magnificent palaces of others, dukes and counts. 5. I visited the church of St. Loretto or of the Franciscans; the church itself is small, and is surrounded by cloisters studded with paintings, chapels, and altars. 6. There, in St. Loretto, I succeeded in seeing their treasury, where are monstrances, urns, crosses, vessels, hearts, altar ornaments, &c. of massive silver; there were also many articles of gold. In one monstrance was such a collection of pearls, that I could not sufficiently admire it; one pearl was so large, that its value could not be estimated; there were several others like it, but irregular; there was one large pearl suspended from it which was perfectly round; besides many others. One monstrance, however, the present of a countess, surpassed all the others; it consisted of 6666 diamonds, many of which were so large as to be worth from 2000 to 3000 imperial thalers; the whole monstrance, however, must have cost from 150,000 to 200,000 florins, or from 75,000 to 100,000 imperial thalers. But the whole treasure must represent a value of from 600,000 to 800,000 imperial thalers. I saw also the building [*die Burg,* the castle], where the assemblies are held four times in the year; likewise the place where three men were thrown out of a window and fell down unharmed; three columns are erected there; there is also a bronze statue of St. George, which is most skilfully cast and life-like. From this place I could obtain a view of the whole city, which is very large. I saw also the place where the women fought against the married men; the palace and fortified castle, where Lobomisia,[?] the mother of Wenceslaus,* with her carriage and horses, fell through the earth and was swallowed up; besides many other things. 7. Afterwards I went to see the Church of St. Nicholas or of the Jesuits, with their house; they have several churches and splendid edifices. In the town of Prague there are more than a hundred churches and fifty monasteries; it contains about 80,000 inhabitants. 8. I passed through the market-place and the quarter where the Jews live; everything there was unclean and filthy. 9. From the mountain where

* Wenceslaus, the first Christian Duke of Bohemia, was the son of Wratislaw and Drakomira, *not* Lobomisia.

the cathedral rises, the whole town may be seen, and also that church which preserves the wood which was conveyed hither by the devil from Rome. 10. I examined also the town-hall with its curious clock, which points out the hours, and also the lunar periods; likewise all kinds of statues placed in various parts of the streets and public squares.

July 25. I was in the monastery of the Jesuits, the "Jesuitencloster,"* which is situated in the old town or *Altstadt,* where I first of all admired the magnificence of the building itself. It is very large, equalling, if not surpassing, the palaces of kings; it has numerous passages, leading in every direction, both in the lower and the higher stories; no palace in Prague surpasses it in size and splendour. They have likewise a gymnasium [a higher school] and a church. The church is small but elegant; its columns are of marble, as well those which are round, and which surround the altar, as those which are near the walls and in the outer circumference about the altar. No marble can be more precious; the figures in it play delightfully on account of the variety of the colours, just as if they were dendrites from Italy. I have never seen anything more beautiful than this marble, which is said to have been quarried in Bohemia. I afterwards entered their mathematical chamber, where I saw the greatest variety of mathematical instruments, air-pumps, &c. What, however, attracted the eye most, was the number of their mechanical and optical contrivances; of which they had a large stock, wherewith to impose upon the simple. For instance, there were a machine which caused a young man to beat a drum, his lips and eyes, and his head moving at the same time; likewise artificial balls which by an interior mechanism showed the degrees of the sun in the ecliptic; a clock which not only struck the hours, but also played melodies, and indicated on a globe the motion of the sun, and over what regions the sun passed in the meridian, and over which it did not pass; likewise what the time is everywhere. There were also paintings which changed their countenances by machinery. Through holes also men could be seen coming up, who were startled when the

* Now the so-called Collegium Clementinum.

house was opened without anybody being there to do it. In optics they had cameræ obscuræ of various kinds, the glasses presenting in perspective with barking dogs the most varied scenes of real life; further some caustic mirrors, and likewise a parabolical metallic mirror of copper gilt. There were Chinese letters and books; their astronomical figures and artistic paintings; and a letter written by their emperor; besides many other things, the sole purpose of which is to impose upon those who are simple. They have also a splendid astronomical tower. I entered, too, their superb library, which consisted, however, only of old books and old manuscripts, dating from the fathers and Euclid[?] and others. The place is richly decorated, but the books are old, and mostly of the schoolmen. They showed me a Bible translated from the Latin into German by Rüdiger, and published in Nuremberg in 1483, or thirty-four years before Luther's version. Afterwards I saw the pictures with emblems, which they expose instead of a disputation, so that they may be defended publicly.

They have a most elegant painting, which is to be affixed to the walls. They are very busy; besides the servants, there are two hundred in that building, and in another there are about two hundred more. They accept only such as are wealthy and talented.

I walked thence to the volcano, or to the place where I was told a few months ago the fire burst out. It is simply an immense congeries of dung, earth, dirt, clay, offal, wood, stalks, and sticks, which had been collected for nearly a thousand years, and in time had assumed the dimensions of an enormous heap. This congeries abounds with saltpetre and sulphur, and if water is added to it, it catches fire. This may appear also from the consideration, that near that mountain or heap a house has been built, where saltpetre is boiled out of that earth which seems most fit for the purpose. This house was built many years ago, and much of the soil has been used up; so that we have proof positive of its abounding in saltpetre and sulphur.

I made investigations also into the orders of monks; there are chiefly four. The Franciscans have a grey robe of the coarsest kind, tied with a rope, the Benedictines are clothed

in white, the Jesuits in black, and the Dominicans in white and black.

July 28. I saw the chapel and the tomb of St. Wenceslaus, which is extremely handsome; its walls are formed of precious stones, such as jasper and other transparent stones; which are, however, set in a crude form; they are of red, purple, reddish, and yellow.

July 29. I travelled from Prague to Carlsbad, which is a distance of fourteen German miles.

July 30. I reached Carlsbad, respecting which I may mention the following particulars: 1. It is surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains, consisting of common grey stone, and covered with wood. 2. There are openings from this valley into the level country beyond on the two sides only, where the river flows in and out. 3. The town, which is not large, is situated in this deep valley, in the bosom of so many towering mountains. 4. In the middle of the town is a very hot spring, which bubbles high up, and is of a very high temperature. 5. It is led by pipes into all the houses situated along the banks of the river, where hot and cold baths may be had. 6. There is another spring which comes right out of the mountain at one end of the town, and the water of which is tepid. 7. The channel of the spring is under the stream, where its rushing may be heard. Once it burst out there, and the spring ceased flowing where it is now, until after a great deal of labour the opening was filled up again. 8. Where the spring flows under ground there are the thickest kind of incrustations, like stones, through which it flows as through pipes. 9. The petrifactions or incrustations underground are of a snowy whiteness; they are hard and compact, and can be polished; where the strata are exposed, they are of a different colour, and can also be polished. Outside the water all these incrustations are yellow, and are either harder or softer; the nearer they are to the mouth of the spring the darker and yellower they become. 10. If the water stands still a film forms upon it, which is very shining. It consists possibly of dissolved lime, and, when collected, serves as a powder for cleaning the teeth. 11. The water tastes saltish, and is drunk very freely; it is very rarely used for bathing, on account of

the great quantity of lime it contains, which obstructs the pores, instead of opening them, as water generally does. This is the reason why bathing in this water cannot be very useful. Outside the town are iron-works, and also a paper-mill.

August 6. From Carlsbad I journeyed to the mining towns which are situated in the neighbourhood of Saxony; and the first I reached was Schlaggenwald, a small town, but rich in tin, like the neighbouring towns of Schönfeld and Lauterbach. These towns have a common interest, because they are in one neighbourhood, and all yield tin. There are several mines around Schlaggenwald; and, indeed, the most important mine is near Schlaggenwald, not far from the town, whence diverge several veins and ramifications. Two of the mines there are glandular, the Stockwerk, and likewise one at Schönfeld. The ores from the Stockwerk, and from the veins running out thence in various directions, are not treated in the same furnaces, and by the same methods. A like difference exists in the method of fusing the tin ore pursued at Schlaggenwald and at Schönfeld. The reason given is that there is a difference in the veins which are in the very nucleus or core of the mine, and those that branch out from it. The principal difference consists in the construction and dimensions of the furnaces and the blast holes.

The mines are deep; at Schönfeld they reach to a depth of from 300 to 400 ells; in other places they are not deeper than from 100 to 150 ells. The veins themselves in the ramifications are sometimes not thicker than an ell, and sometimes only half an ell. Some are even thinner, but, nevertheless, the ore in them is of a rich quality. With regard to the various kinds of veins, there is *first* that which is the richest of all, and is called *Zinngraupen*. Of this there are two kinds; one a whitish, and the other a blackish, and there are also intermediate colours of a dark yellowish shade; the veins of the yellowish colour are the heaviest, and they differ from the others in being of an angular form, and frequently swelling into glands *(druser)*. The white ore occurs in large masses, and is not figured like the black; the white also is scarcer than the black and dark yellowish kinds. *Secondly,* there is tungsten, also very black and heavy, growing in

similar figures; it is, however, in the inside very jagged and streaky. It does not seem to contain any tin whatever, but, on the contrary, does considerable injury to the tin, if it is melted with the other ores; therefore it is cast away as spurious and injurious. *Thirdly,* besides this useless kind of ore, there is also another common kind, called hermaphrodite *(Zwitter)* and maulwacke; this consists of the meanest or poorest kind of tin ore; it looks like common grey rock, except that there are black or dark yellowish, angular spots in it. The rock in which these spots occur is of a white and yellowish colour; these spots appear also scattered over a barren, shining rock, and they become more distinct, when once the stone has been submitted to a calcining fire; the white part of the stone and the black part of the tin ore are then rendered more manifest. There is another ore, which can scarcely be distinguished by the eye from a grey stone with a horny aspect. It is distinguished by trying it in a vessel by means of water. In this case the ore is first ground into powder, and then its heavier parts are separated from the lighter by washings and shakings. By this means it can very easily be seen how much real tin ore there is in it, and how much stone. The metals which chiefly adhere to these tin ores, and usually accompany them, are copper and marcasite, as well as iron; the marcasite is cast aside, because it renders the tin brittle and hard. Some silver also is opened up around the tin ore, but rarely, and only in the vicinity; a little lead, too, occurs, but that very rarely.

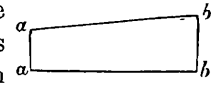
1. This common kind of ore is calcined or burned for the first time in the open air. The calcining hearths are almost square, built of common rock, and larger or smaller at pleasure; from five to six cords *(klafter)* of split wood, the pieces being an ell and a half long, are usually placed under them; one *klafter* is about as much as one pair of horses can pull. The larger pieces of ore are put on the sides of the hearths, and the smaller, or sometimes the smaller and larger mixed, into the interior of the heap. The powder is likewise put in. In the front part of the heap there is an opening near the ground, which is kept open when the fire is first lighted, but is afterwards closed, in order that the fire may

burn longer in the heap. These heaps are of various sizes, but usually they contain sixty *fuder* of ore; one *fuder* amounting to sixty buckets *(vasa)*. After the fire is lighted, and the opening in front, which leads to the interior structure of wood, has been opened and afterwards shut, it lasts generally three weeks. 2. After this ore has thus, for the first time, been calcined in the open air, it is taken into the crushing mill and bruised into powder. In one building there are several crushing hammers; each crushing box has usually three; in each mill there are four or five such boxes. The hammers are very heavy, each being weighted by a large piece of iron beneath, and they do their work in the usual fashion. 3. The powder which is obtained by the crushing of the ore is first washed in the *Schlammbank,* which is a kind of short trough formed of two walls, and consisting of two steps, a partition or a dam being across its foot. By passing it up and down *(reactiones)* the thicker and heavier powder is separated from that which is lighter. Afterwards the powder is transferred to the washing grounds, which are furnished with cloths or sods, where it is washed in the usual way; the operation of washing being continued until nothing of the stony part remains, and only the pure ore can be seen; this ore also is tried and experimented upon by the assayers in their assaying vessels. 4. After the ore has been reduced to powder, and the metallic portion separated from the stony, it is put into an oven, which is not unlike a baker's oven, or those used in Saxony for calcining their silver ores. This oven is bound *(laqueatus);* it is about six ells long, four broad, and an ell and a half high; the opening is semicircular. Into this oven a large quantity of the pulverized ore is introduced, and pieces of wood are thrust in everywhere, in front as well as behind. By this fire the pulverized ore becomes more and more glowing, and by constantly putting in fresh wood it is ignited. This powdered ore burning at white heat is continually stirred, and that which is near the opening of the oven is pushed into the interior, and *vice versa;* care being taken that it does not lie too thick, not thicker than one inch; by stirring the mass continually time is not given to it to lump. This calcining usually lasts from fourteen to eighteen hours, and the better the calcining

is done in this oven, the better the tin is said to separate afterwards and to liquefy; and the softer and better the tin itself becomes. After the burning is finished, the ore is left in the oven for two or three days, until it has become cold; and in this way all the sulphur is expelled from the ore. 6. If the pulverized ore is calcined thus, it does not lump, but remains pulverized, as it was at first; and after being taken out of the oven, it is washed on inclined planes, just as before, and this washing is continued, until nothing except the heaviest part, which is either black or white, remains; if there is anything red remaining, it is a sign that the washing or the separation has not yet been sufficiently carried on.

In Schlaggenwald and Schönfeld there are altogether eleven blast furnaces; but they differ somewhat in their construction, and in their interior dimensions. There are some furnaces of which there are a pair or two in one building, so that after the work of smelting or liquefaction is brought to a close in one, it may be continued at once in the other. There are also others which are single, and after the work of smelting has been finished, and some time after the furnaces have become cool, the work is commenced anew. Those furnaces in Schlaggenwald which use glandular ore, or which use the ore from the glandular mine, Stockwerk, have the following proportion in height and breadth, or they are constructed as follows: The solid stone which is the hearth where the tin is smelted, is raised about an ell and a third over the floor of the building or works. Close to this hearth, which is about an ell and a third above the floor, is the opening out of which the molten metal continually pours into a receptacle *(tigillum)* constructed about half an ell beneath it; for through this little opening the tin with its scoriæ continually flows out in a stream. The hearth is a pure rock, and there is no superstructure upon it of a carbonaceous or argillaceous substance; it is almost horizontal, and slopes only a very little forward. On the opposite side is the blast-hole which is obliquely directed into the interior; it is two-thirds of a foot long, and consists of clay or stone only. Through this oblique hole, the anterior hole through which the liquid metal runs out is visible in a straight line. The bellows are of leather, and not very large. The interior

structure of the furnace [on the base] resembles this figure: It is narrower in the front than in the rear. The wide portion of the figure marks the place where the bellows are. The part *a a* is nine inches long, the part *b b* eleven inches; the length *a b* is twenty-two inches. The interior height of the furnace to the opening where the ore is thrown in, is three ells and a half from the stone on which the fire is built. The furnaces at Schönfeld, however, are narrower, the anterior part *(a a)* is only six inches wide, and the posterior nine inches, the length *(a b)* is said to amount only to thirteen inches. The reason, they say, is that the vein comes from the nucleus or the centre, or from the *Stockwerk,* which requires a narrower place or furnace. Then commences the chimney, which first is wider, but afterwards, under the roof, narrower. Fig. 1 is the anterior and external view of the furnace; *c* is the opening through which the liquid metal continually flows out; *d* is the receptacle *(tigillum)* into which the tin flows in a continual stream; *b* is the place into which the scoriæ are raised, and thence thrown into water and afterwards pulverized. When the receptacle *d* is full, the opening *e* is penetrated, and the metal is let out into the excavation *f* which is in the floor, and which is made in the solid rock. Fig. 2 is the side view of the furnace; *h* is the upper part of the furnace; *i k* the place where the pulverized ore together with the charcoal is introduced; *l m* is an oblong trough or box where the pulverized ore is stored, and upon which the person stands who throws in the ore and the charcoal. On the opposite side to that sketched in fig. 1 are the bellows with the blast-hole.



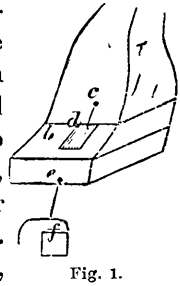



Fig. 1.

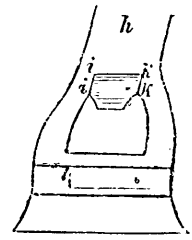


Fig. 2.

With respect to the introduction of the metal, there is no constant rule as to time for all places. Generally the ore is filled in four times every quarter of an hour, thus sixteen times every hour. In other places it is scarcely filled in twelve times, when the ore is poor, or difficult to melt, and when

there is much scoria. Each time two spadefuls and a bucket of charcoal are thrown in. The pulverized ore is mixed with the pulverized scoriæ; these scoriæ usually pass twice through the furnace, before they are cast aside. The charcoal is moistened considerably or soaked in water. There is thus a crust formed on the top by the charcoal, so that the flame does not seem to burst out anywhere. At first a few buckets of charcoal are put in, and afterwards the ore is introduced in the usual fashion.

This smelting process is generally carried on in one furnace for from eighteen to twenty-four hours; but in the narrower furnaces for upwards of thirty days. The melted tin flows out continually by the hole in front into the upper receptacle, where it is kept, until so much of it is collected that it can be drawn off.

Meanwhile the scoriæ, which continually collect on the melted metal, are taken out, and placed at the side close by. Thence they are taken and thrown into a vessel filled with water, where they are to be reduced to powder. On a table which stands near they are crushed still further, and then mixed with pulverized ore, and again introduced into the furnace. The quality of the smelting process may be seen from the scoriæ, i. e. whether it is difficult or not, and whether there is much heterogeneous matter in the ore, or not. For if the scoriæ are thick and tough, it is a sign that there is much heterogeneous matter contained in it, and that its fusion or separation is more difficult, wherefore the fire has to be tempered and moderated accordingly.

After the tin has been collected in the upper receptacle, it is let out into the small well, cut out of the rock, which is placed on or fastened into the ground. This little well is capacious enough to hold about two and a half hundred-weight of the metal; so much is obtained within six hours. Two hours and a quarter, or two hours and a half, are usually required for obtaining a hundred-weight of tin; and this quantity is derived from two hundred-weight of the tin ore. This hundred-weight is rather heavy; for it weighs 100 pounds at the works; in Prague 120 pounds, and in Nuremberg 140 pounds; the pound being so much heavier near the works. The hundred-weight is sold for fifty-one florins. About

eleven of these furnaces or works produce annually about 1200 hundred-weight of tin.

Some of the pulverized ore is, besides, carried away from the washing grounds and the crushing boxes into the passing stream; but the stream is checked in many places by dams, and the ore which is thus rescued, is washed on inclined planes, constructed on the usual plan, and afterwards conveyed to the furnace.

August 7. I reached Lauterbach. Here also tin ore is smelted; there is one furnace at work which is still narrower than those mentioned above; the ore is richer, and its matrix approaches more closely to that of the yellow species.

On my way to Altsattel I saw an iron-work, and also under the same roof a blast-furnace for iron ore, which was only from four to four and a half ells high, while its width or its diameter in the middle was an ell and a quarter; for interiorly it was round. The opening at the side is approached by steps, so that the ore can be conveniently thrown in. During a week from thirty to forty hundred-weight of iron are thrown in, and every day one *fuder,* or four simple Swedish pots, *(testæ)* of coal is used. Every week ten hundred-weight of iron are obtained. The ore itself is rather poor. It is swamp ore, which comes in crusts and in powder, and is almost of a yellow colour.

At Altsattel vitriol is boiled, and sulphur sublimated. With respect to the sulphur, there is an oven from two and a half to three ells high, with twelve apertures in the roof, through which the flame may strike. The oven is nine ells long, and three ells broad; at each extremity there is an outlet or door; around the two extremities there is a breadth of three ells and a quarter; for the approaches are wider. The oven itself, however, where the pans or retorts for sublimation are, is not so long; its length being simply seven ells, and its width an ell and a half. There are two stories of these pans or retorts; the upper row contains five, and the lower six, retorts; altogether there are eleven; they are of clay, and each is half a foot in diameter. On the side where the sulphur is collected, the vessels project more, and a tile is placed on the top; and soon a square iron receiver, three-quarters of a foot high

and the same in width, which rests on a pedestal of stone, is put underneath. To this the tile which serves as a cover, and which can be taken off and glued on again, is fitted obliquely. Where this receiver and the tile which is on the top meet, there is a small hole for the smoke. The sulphur trickles little by little into this receiver, which is emptied every sixth or eighth hour. Three times in twenty-four hours pyrites is thrown into the retorts, which are exposed to the fire for six hours. It takes two hours to empty the retorts and replace them by fresh ones. The fire continues to burn for twenty-four hours. The retorts are filled almost to the top with this pyrites, which consists of larger or smaller pieces. The sulphur is purified afterwards. The pyrites appears in the fractured surface granulated and of a shining whiteness; it looks very much like cobalt, or as if it contained arsenic, and it is heavy. These works belong to Count von Nostiz.

To-day I crossed over to Falkenau, which is rather a handsome town. Count von Nostiz formerly lived there.

Towards evening I arrived at Bleistadt, which is situated on a very high mountain, and is surrounded by lofty mountains. Below, at a great depth, the river flows. The situation of this town is most delightful. Lead ore is dug out here which is sold chiefly to Joachimsthal, where it is also smelted.

August 8. I travelled from Bleistadt to Graslitz, which belongs to Count von Nostiz, and where are copper and brass-works.* The mines are about a thousand paces from the town, and are many and various; but in each mine there is only one species of ore. The vein has been worked for more than a hundred years, and the works are still continued; but the veins at the present day are not so rich. 1. There is an ore of a yellow and green colour and minutely granulated; it is imbedded in a greyish stone or in a shining slate; in the former the vein can be very distinctly seen. Sometimes there are richer specimens; these occur naturally in thin layers; but there is very little of this ore. The copper can scarcely be distinguished in it, and yet it is got out of it. 2. The

* A portion of this description has been inserted by the author in his work: *Regnum subterraneum de Cupro*, Dresden, 1734, pp. 184, 358.

poorer kind of ore, in which the grains of the vein cannot be so well distinguished, is taken into a sort of common mill where it is crushed. In one building there are two wheels and six crushing hammers of considerable weight; the crushing boxes are coarse. At the side near the farthest hammer is raised a triangular box, which stands in an oblique direction in respect to the upper part of the side elevation of the hammer. This box is loaded with ore, and at different intervals as much of it as can be received is dropped into the crushing box. Muddy water runs out on both sides of the box, as well through the sieve near the farthest hammer, as through that which is near the first hammer. The streams from both ends meet in a common trough, and the water flows thence somewhat obliquely until it reaches its first dam, which is at a distance of three and a half ells. Only the pulverized ore which remains in this upper part of the trough is collected, the remaining part being allowed to flow off. This powder is first washed in a *Schlammbank*, which is a narrow and deep box, six ells long, and three quarters of an ell wide; it is taken out thence on inclined planes, where it is washed three times before the powder is in a perfect state. In respect to the richer ore, it is not reduced to powder, but is calcined at once in the open air. The hearth for calcining is from three and a half to four ells in length and breadth, and square; in the rear it is from an ell and three quarters to two ells in height. After the wood has been piled up, the ore is put on, broken into pieces of nearly the same size, each the size of one-half or three-fourths of a fist; 250 hundred-weight of ore are usually calcined at the same time on such a hearth. The heap is not, as in other places, covered with some kind of powder; but after the fire has been kindled, the calcination is continued for nearly a whole week under the open sky. About five hundred-weight of copper are usually obtained out of such a heap, so that the ore contains two and a half per cent of metal; the poorer kind of ore is also calcined, so that it may be introduced into the furnace at the same time, and may be of assistance to the other ore. 4. There are three furnaces; formerly there were five; they are of the kind called *Krummofen*. Their fire-place

or retort is of considerable size, and well enclosed in clay and powdered coal. The smelted ore is let off in front towards the side, and is collected first in a smaller and afterwards in a larger well. The furnace is in the interior two and a half feet long, a foot and a half wide, and from the bottom four feet high. On the top it is vaulted and of brick, and the smoke is carried off from the furnace, and thus outside the building, through a capacious chimney. 5. Into this furnace the 250 hundred-weight of the above ore are transferred, and yield thirty hundred-weight of copper stone within twenty-four hours; the smelted ore is drawn off at the sides into two wells; this operation takes place three times, or once every eighth hour. 6. The copper stone which is thus obtained, is calcined afterwards five or six times; at first for eight days, and subsequently for a shorter period, so that this second operation of calcining is finished within three weeks. Each calcining hearth is three and a half ells long, an ell and a half broad, and an ell and a half high. 7. The calcined stone is now introduced into the *Stichofen,* which is of the same dimensions as the former furnace in height, breadth, and length, except that the well or receptacle is within the furnace itself, and the liquefied ore is thus kept within the walls; it is afterwards drawn off in front, and there are thus obtained thirteen hundred-weight of *Spurstein,* but rarely any copper. 8. This stone is now again calcined on the same calcining hearths, and afterwards put back into the furnace, when there are obtained about five hundred-weight of copper; some small portions of the stone float on the top, yet altogether not more than a few pounds. 9. The scoriæ are first introduced in a crude state, but afterwards such are used as have recently passed through the furnace, and so on. 10. At last this black copper, as it is called, is purified. It must be observed that when the stone is smelted a second time, this work lasts from thirteen to fourteen hours; the molten mass is drawn off six or seven times. Likewise, when the stone is put in a third time, and the copper is obtained from it, it is kept in the furnace and in the well or receptacle for thirteen hours, and is drawn off only once, or all the metal at the same time. There is also another kind of furnace, which may either be

like a *Krummofen,* or a *Stichofen,* where the molten mass may be drawn off either in front or at the side. The bellows are of wood. The blast-hole is of iron, and its mouth round; its shape is conical and its opening large; it is directed towards the front wall, and about half a foot above the opening there.

August 9. I reached Platten, where only tin ore is excavated, partly in a matrix of sand stone and partly in slate. Not far from it the blue colour is manufactured.

This colour is prepared in the following manner: 1. One part or one hundred-weight of cobalt, one hundred-weight of potash, and two hundred-weight of white sand are mixed. With respect to the cobalt, this is brought from Joachimsthal. If the potash is crude and black, it is first calcined in an oven, which is like a baker's oven. The sand is obtained from the whitest quartz which is burnt at first in the open air, and afterwards in an oven, which is close by, or attached to that oven in which the above mixture is fused, so that the smelting of the mass and the second calcining may be effected by one and the same fire. There results hence a very white fine sand. The proportions of the mixture are different when the cobalt and the potash are not of an equally good quality. 2. This oven is almost round externally; there are four openings, which lead to the retorts or pans enclosed in it, in which the mixture is liquefied. There are also holes below leading into these, through which the scoriæ are dropped out. In the rear and in front are openings or doors leading to the fire, through which pieces of wood are thrown in. The reverberated flame can be tempered by opening the door in front more or less. Attached to this is a square oven, in which, as said above, the sand is burnt a second time. The large oven is almost quadrangular in the interior; the retorts rest on a paved surface with holes, through which the fire strikes in. 3. Four retorts are placed on this surface; they are made of the hardest kind of clay; their diameter is one ell, and their height three-quarters of an ell. 4. Into these retorts the above-mentioned mixture is put, and is smelted by the fire underneath; every eighth hour or three times within twenty-four hours the mixture is poured out; but during this time it

is kept in a liquid state. 5. At the lower part of the retort is a little hole, through which that part of it which is heavier, and which is nearest the bottom, can flow; this part is said to consist of heavy scoriæ which when fractured are said to look like cobalt; this is twice, and sometimes more frequently, mixed with the above-named mixture, i. e. it is pulverized and mixed, until, finally, no more blue colour can be extracted. It is then rejected, as being no longer of any use, and is called *Speiss*. 6. The liquid substance is poured out of the retorts into water, where it is broken into fragments, which are afterwards pulverized and manufactured into blue colour.

In another establishment different proportions are used for the mixture—for there are several works between Platten and Hans Jürgenstadt—viz. six-quarters or one and a half hundred-weight of calcined and crushed cobalt, three-quarters of a hundred-weight of scoriæ obtained from the pans or retorts, two hundred-weight of potash, and four hundred-weight of sand, which mixture is fused. The process of smelting lasts nine hours. After the scoriæ have been used over two or three times, they are considered as *Speiss*, which, when fractured, looks like crude granulated iron; yet it is thrown away as of no value. With regard to the cobalt itself, after it has come from the mine in a crude form, it is put into an oven, not unlike a baker's oven, which is about four ells long and wide, but very low, since it is scarcely three-quarters of an ell high in the middle; there it is calcined in the usual manner. There is an exit in front for the smoke, and as soon as it comes out of the oven, it at once rises, and passes through the chimney into the open air. The opening itself is very small. After the cobalt has been calcined, it is crushed well in a stamping mill, and afterwards sifted and mixed.

### *ADDITIONAL PROCESSES IN PREPARING THE BLUE COLOUR.*

The above blue glass is crushed dry under three hammers, and passed through an oblique sieve; and that part which cannot pass through is again crushed and sifted. 2. Three measures, i. e. bags, half an ell high and three-quarters of an ell in diameter, are now taken into the mill. 3. The millstones

revolve by a water-wheel. The millstone consists of a very thick grey rock, divided into two hemispheres; between these two hemispheres there is a distance of a third of a foot. Their thickness is one foot; their diameter an ell and a third. Below is a round nether stone, about an ell thick, on which the grinding takes place. These stones are enclosed in a capacious wooden receptacle, the height of which is an ell and a third, and its diameter two ells. 4. The grinding is carried on for about six hours, when a thick blue water is let out of the grinding box. 5. It is then pumped into a large tub, where the water is allowed to rest either for a half, for three quarters, or for a whole hour. 6. After it has remained there for such a length of time, a firm blue mass, like glue, settles on the bottom, when the water which is above is drawn off into other most ample reservoirs, where it remains for 24, 48, or 60 hours, if necessary. 7. The sediment in this second reservoir is taken out, and prepared into the above-mentioned colour. 8. The substance which remains at the bottom of the first tub, is constantly stirred, and fresh water poured on, when another still coarser sediment is obtained. The turbid water above is likewise drawn off into other reservoirs; and this operation is repeated over and over again, until the whole colouring matter, of various shades, is obtained. 9. This good sediment after being dried is again reduced to powder; for it soon becomes hard either upon being exposed to the sun before the house when the weather is fine, or in a large box in a drying kiln. This rubbing into powder is done by hand; after which the powder is removed to a stand, five ells long and three ells wide, consisting of a stone, where it is gradually dried by a fire underneath; for there is a fire-place under it, five ells long, and three ells broad, into which wood, but chiefly the roots of trees, is thrown, and whereby the stone slab on the top is constantly kept heated to that degree which is required for this work. In this manner that blue colour is obtained which is called "smalt," [in Swedish] "stärkelse."

August 10. I left Platten and reached Hans Jürgenstadt or Johann Georgenstadt, which is a town about half a German mile distant; there cobalt, bismuth, and tin are obtained.

With respect to tin the following particulars may be men-

tioned: 1. There are two kinds of ore; one which is contained in sand, and the other in slate. In the former substance it appears under a reddish brown colour, much granulated; the grains being large and having an angular appearance. The stone itself is of a white, yellow, or green colour, intermixed with the ore. The other kind in slate is of a blackish and grey colour; it seems to consist of most minute grains; mica also generally adheres to it. 2. The ore which does not contain many heterogeneous substances, is crushed by stamps, and washed three times: first on a *Schlammbank* or in a narrow trough with two steps, where the washing takes place by passing it up and down in the usual fashion; afterwards the pulverized ore is taken on inclined washing planes, and, indeed, twice, and thence conveyed to the furnace. If the ore, however, contains copper, or marcasite, or iron, it is crushed into powder and burnt in an oven, which is like a baker's oven; and afterwards it is washed three times, before it is taken to the furnace. For by the washing the marcasite and iron are gradually washed off and thus removed. 3. The oven in which the burning takes place is like a baker's oven, and very large; there the powder is continually stirred. This operation is usually continued for eight or ten hours, and the more heterogeneous substances it contains the longer it is burnt, after which it is left in the oven until it becomes cold. 4. After it is taken out of the oven it is washed three times; first in a deep and narrow washing trough which consists simply of two steps; the pulverized ore first falls down from the top, and is then passed to and fro, until at last the coarser powder is obtained. The washing troughs are not long, but short. 5. The blasting furnace is either three or three and a quarter ells high, and at its base is eight inches wide and ten inches long, and above twelve inches wide and about sixteen inches long, so that it becomes gradually larger above; then the chimney for the smoke begins, which is rather ample, and includes in a certain sense the furnace below. The furnace is arched round the opening towards the bellows; for the wall there is thicker. At Schlaggenwald both sides were arched, but here only one, and indeed that towards the bellows. 5. The bellows are of leather; the blast hole which is formed

of pure clay or of stone is rather oblique; when measured in this oblique direction it is eight or nine inches long; the hole itself is round, with a diameter of two inches, which is very narrow; at Schlaggenwald it was wider. The obliquity must be very accurately calculated, so that it is directed towards the opening in front, out of which the tin flows; unless this oblique direction is most exact, much tin is lost. 6. Outside the furnace are two receptacles or basins; one of which is seven or eight inches below the aperture through which the metal is discharged; the other, which is excavated from the rock, and is of an oval shape, is about nine or ten inches below the former; into this the metal flows perpendicularly out of the other. 7. A spadeful of the ore, and yet not quite a spadeful, is dropped into the furnace each time, and a bucket of wet charcoal emptied on the top; this bucket is rather small. Such charges are put into the furnace about three times an hour, the time being longer or shorter according as the ore smelts more or less readily. 8. The smelted metal flows out continually from the furnace into the upper receptacle; and thence more or less is let off once every hour into the lower receptacle, according as the yield of the tin is greater or less. 9. The work of smelting is usually continued for 10, 20, or even 48 hours. 10. At first, until the furnace is heated, the work proceeds more slowly and with greater difficulty; especially because there are not yet fresh scoriæ on hand. Afterwards, when there is a supply of these, they are mixed with the pulverized ore, and then the metal begins to flow readily; these scoriæ may be used over again, twice or more frequently, according as the ore requires it. 11. The liquid tin is afterwards poured out with a ladle on an iron table, so that it may be spread out thin; it is poured on various parts of the table, until it becomes a thin, coherent sheet, when it receives three impressions of a seal. The sheet is now rolled up and pounded together on a stone with a hammer into a sort of compressed roll, so that it is thin, and can easily be fused. 12. Five, six, or seven of these rolls are obtained at each discharge of the metal, which takes place about once an hour; and each roll weighs from five to seven pounds, each being marked with three seals.

*THE BLAST-FURNACE FOR IRON NEAR HANS JÜRGENSTADT IN BOHEMIA.*

This blast-furnace is exteriorly square in form, as is commonly the case; but it is to be observed, that its pectoral walls, where the bellows are placed, and where also the molten iron is discharged, are arched, so that the whole perpendicular face of it may be seen, and that the structure does not ascend obliquely, as in Sweden. 2. The blast-hole is of copper, and altogether formed as in open fire-places where iron is heated; its direction is horizontal, its figure conical, and on the outside it is ampler. 3. The cavity for the fire is built of sandstone; two of the stones at the side are three quarters of an ell thick, and an ell and a quarter long; the hearth stone is an ell and a quarter broad, which is also the length of the chamber for the fire, which does not differ much from its breadth. The height of the furnace is from eight to nine ells to the opening above; its interior form is square. The upper opening is an ell and a quarter square. The furnace itself is wider about the belly, and more contracted towards the lower reservoir. 4. Twice a day or more frequently the metal is discharged, and each time to the amount of from ten to twelve hundred-weight; the fire chamber can contain twelve hundred-weight. They say that the yield consists of one hundred-weight an hour, or 130 hundred-weight a week. For each hundred-weight of iron one *kübel* and two-thirds, i. e. twenty pails *(tonnæ)* of charcoal are consumed; five of these *[kübel]* make one *fuder,* or about three and a half Swedish pots *(testæ).* The operation of smelting is said to be continued there for half a year. The ore itself looks red, like schist; it is rich and yields iron of a good quality.

*THE IRON-WORKS, OR ROLLING MILL NEAR HANS JÜRGENSTADT.*

The furnace is built in the usual fashion; a receptacle is built of iron plates; the thickest is the farthest off. The depth of the receptacle is eight inches, its length an ell and a quarter, its breadth about an ell; the blast-hole is of copper and conical, and placed very obliquely. Every week 32 hundred-weight of iron is smelted and worked up into short rods.

About seventy-five *kübel* of charcoal or fifty Swedish pots *(testæ)* are consumed; so that for each hundred-weight a pot and a half of charcoal is used. Each time from a hundred-weight to a hundred-weight and a half of iron is smelted; the pigs of crude iron are about four ells long, and weigh from five to eleven hundred-weight. The pieces that are smelted weigh each from a hundred-weight to a hundred-weight and a half. Sparkling scoriæ of much density adhere to the walls. The whole furnace is rather ample and capacious, its length and breadth being about four ells.

In the works where the iron is flattened into plates, from seventy to eighty plates, which are smooth, are manufactured at a time; each plate weighs half a pound. In these works ninety *kübel* or sixty Swedish pots of charcoal are used every week.

At Hans Jürgenstadt there is an inspector of the name of Derfler, who has a most excellent collection of noble and rare ores; likewise of druses. He was abroad fifteen years for the purpose of buying specimens of rare ores for King Augustus.

### *MILL FOR CRUSHING SILVER ORES AT HANS JÜRGENSTADT.*

The ore which is obtained in the mines here is not smelted, because there is no lead in it; but in the pulverized form it is sold to Trestad,[?] where there is an abundance of lead, and where it can readily be passed through the tall furnaces, and the silver extracted. The best mines at the present day are the "Neue Jahr" (New Year), and "der unverhoffte Gluche"[?]; the ore which is broken there is the *Weissgulden,* the *Rothgulden,* the *Glaserz,* and other rich kinds. Most of the mines are under the town itself; there is an access to them at more than twenty different places at the foot of the mountain. With respect to the crushing of the ore the following particulars are to be mentioned: 1. The richer ore is crushed in a dry state under one stamp or hammer only; it is then removed and sifted, and its coarser part crushed again; this ore is not washed like the lighter ore, but is simply crushed and sent to Freiberg. 2. The lighter or poorer ore is crushed

under three hammers or stamps; near the upper part of the stamps or the head of the machine, is a triangular box resting on a fulcrum; this box is filled with larger and smaller pieces of ore; in front a stick or lever is fixed to it, and when so much of the ore has been crushed under the hammers that more is required, a tooth inserted in the falling hammer catches the projecting lever and gives it a shake, so that the triangular box resting on the fulcrum is likewise shaken, and when a sufficient quantity of ore has dropped under the hammers, the tooth is no longer able to touch the projecting lever. This box is capable of holding several hundred-weight of the ore. 3. The water flows in continually, and indeed on a sort of paved surface under the triangular box; the hammers, which are very large and heavy, are separated from one another by a frame-work; in each box are three hammers, and the fall begins from the first. 4. From three outlets the turbid water which contains the pulverized ore is led into one trough. 5. This trough consists only of two steps or benches; at the foot of the trough or channel is a square reservoir; the trough itself is eight ells long, and then, as already remarked, the reservoir begins. 6. The more precious powdered mass which has been received in the first partition of the trough, is washed in that deep and narrow washing place which is furnished with two steps or benches, and which is called a *Schlammbank*. The finer portion is carried thence to an inclined washing plane, which is fitted up with sods. The powder which is carried off from the sods is taken to a third washing plane, which is not provided with sods; and from there it is taken and stored away. 7. The pulverized mass which has been retained at the bottom of the second partition of the trough, is at once transferred to a table furnished with sods, and thus taken up. 8. That powder which has been collected in the reservoir is at once taken to a bare inclined plane, not furnished with sods. The powder of the ore which has been crushed dry, usually contains from four to twenty or even thirty pounds of silver in the hundred-weight; the rest from four *Loth* (two ounces) to three marks. It is to be observed in addition that outside the building there are washing tables, with a *Schlammbank*, and a *Schlammherd*, just as inside.

There all that powder is washed which has been received in a reservoir outside the house, and which is very poor. The bottom of the crushing chest is of iron; it is also made of a very hard stone which resists the hammers very well.

The town of Hans Jürgenstadt itself is situated over its mines, at a height of about eighty ells. At the foot of the mountain are above twenty horizontal entrances, called *Stollen*, all of which lead to the mines; one of these is 4500 ells long.

August 11. I arrived at the town of Platten, which is the first town on entering Bohemia, and where there is nothing except a quantity of tin ore; yet I was able to see there a *Seifenwerk*, where the tin ore is obtained by washing it out of heaps. For there are large mountains or heaps of sand which are likewise impregnated with tin ore, expecially the black kind; and which they contain in large pieces, as well as in fine powder. Thither the water is directed, which rushes headlong through such a heap, and where the stream of water flows the sand is agitated, until at last the heaviest portion settles at the bottom, while the lighter remains on the surface, and is cast aside. They continue to labour until they reach a certain depth; then the water is directed sideways, when by a continual action to and fro the heavier metallic portion is separated by the streamlet; and in this wise they are able to go through the whole mountain to a certain depth, and also all around wherever the water can be led.

### *THE BLAST-FURNACE FOR TIN AT PLATTEN.*

There is only one blast-furnace for tin in this place, and the tin which is here obtained, is likewise beaten into rolls. Every two hours the metal is drawn from the higher into the lower reservoir or basin; and every two hours they say they manufacture from ten to twelve rolls of tin, of which each weighs from five to six pounds. The furnace interiorly is eight inches wide and twelve inches long; in its upper part the width is the same, but its length amounts to sixteen inches; its height is three ells and a quarter. The blast-hole, which is of sand stone, is very oblique, and narrower than in other places. Three

times every quarter of an hour two spadesful of the pulverized ore are thrown in, and one pail of moistened charcoal.

The ore which contains sulphur is calcined in the open air; the fire is continued in the heap only for four or five hours; the remaining ore is calcined in an oven, as has been explained in connection with the other works.

The poor tin ore is crushed here at Platten in the open air by crushing hammers, which are not under cover; there are three hammers in each crushing box; I have also seen two only. Outside is the receptacle of the ore which stands obliquely, and verges towards the first hammer; into this receptacle also the water flows, and thence into the crushing box. There are two outlets from the crushing box, but they meet in one trough. The trough is outside, and a little oblique; where it ends, an inclined washing plane begins, over which the water containing the lighter powdered mass flows, and thus is carried away. Others have another inclined plane in addition to this, on which the powder may at once be washed a second time.

I have learned many things at Hans Jürgenstadt and at Platten, namely, 1. that at Hans Jürgenstadt as well as at Joachimsthal water-wheels and machines are in the mines below, at a depth of a hundred ells, and that by means of these machines, as well as by a wheel turned by the wind, the water is pumped up. 2. At Platten I saw how out of one central shaft *(Stockwerk)* several roads, arteries, or ramifications proceed; this could be seen from a collapsed and injured mine. 3. Further, that the air may be pumped into the deepest places by means of bellows; for the bellows are set in motion by the same machine by which the ore is raised; the air is led into these places by wooden pipes which have no other outlet except where there is no draught, and where the air is constantly stagnant and heated. 4. That the crushing hammers or stamps are not weighted with iron, but with a black stone which is very hard; also that the bottom of the crushing box is wooden and oblique. They said the operation of crushing by means of stone upon wood could be accomplished as easily as by means of stamps with an iron end. 5. At Joachimsthal they have bellows, where the aperture is

in the upper frame, which is closed up by a handle when less air is required as in the fusion of lead, where the draught can be adjusted to suit the circumstances.

The same evening I arrived at Joachimsthal, where I stayed two days.

August 12. I spent the day at Joachimsthal. This town, which is situated among mountains containing iron ore, was made a mining town in 1516. The best mines near the town are the "Hubert" and "Einigkeit" (concord) mines. They all supply rich ores, viz. native silver, vitreous silver ore, *Rothgulden, Weissgulden,* and many others. The ore is generally obtained in slate, and most of it contains cobalt and arsenic, but no lead; the lead ore is purchased at Bleistadt, and fused here.

The poorer metal is crushed into powder and washed. 1. It is crushed by three hammers in one box; these hammers work there in the same manner as in other places. The hammers are rather large. The receptacle, into which the ore is thrown and from which it is supplied to the hammers, is of an oblong shape; and the ore is shaken out, not by means of a lever, but, as in Saxony, by means of an oblique direction of the box itself, one end of it being raised by the hand when a supply is wanted. 2. The troughs which lead out of the crushing box are not longer than two ells, and they are provided with two steps or benches. All the remaining turbid water is allowed to flow out into the river or brook which passes by, and not received first in a reservoir, as in other places. 3. The pulverized mass which is taken out of these troughs, is first washed on the *Schlammbank,* which is deeper and wider than in Saxony, although it is otherwise of the same form, and the work is done in a similar manner. The finer powder is directed on to an inclined plane, provided with sods. It is not very long, but steeper than those which are bare; on this the washing is performed in the usual manner. One difference is noticed here, viz. that there are four steps before the ore reaches the inclined plane itself; the pulverized ore is put on the highest step and thence led down to the one below, which is only a foot long; thence to the third and fourth, which are likewise a foot in length; and, finally, to the inclined plane itself

which is lined with sods. The thicker and heavier part of the ore remains on the higher steps or platforms; the smaller and lighter is carried to the lower steps, and to the inclined plane. 4. After the sods are washed out, the powder which has lodged in them is taken to bare inclined planes without any sods, and where there are two steps before the pulverized ore reaches the inclined planes themselves. These bare surfaces are not so steep as those which are furnished with sods; they are, however, of the same length. At their base is a box, where the pulverized ore gradually collects after having been washed first. In the mean time, while the powder is approaching this box, it is stirred and moved about, until at last the whole of it is deposited in the box, all the stony and lighter parts having been washed out of it. There are also double planes or areas which are broad; the upper one is not lined with sods; from this the powder is directed into an oblong box, standing at its lower extremity; from this [the turbid stream is carried] to the lower plane or area which is covered with sods, and where the finer portion of the ore is collected.

*THE SILVER SMELTING WORKS AT JOACHIMSTHAL.*

There are only two furnaces for this purpose, which are in one building in connection with a secreting oven or *Treibherd.* The furnaces are of the kind called *Krummofen;* they are two ells high, and interiorly an ell and three-quarters high, and an ell wide. The reservoir, where all the stone during its fusion with the silver-bearing lead is collected, extends to some distance outside the furnace. This furnace is arched on both sides above and around the opening, and thus terminates in the chimney. There are two reservoirs or basins, one above and one below; into these the silver-bearing lead is discharged, when the hole is opened; the lower basin is three quarters of an ell below the upper one, in a straight line. The bellows are of wood, and rather large; in their upper frame is a valve closed by a handle, by which the draught can, if necessary, be moderated; this is done whenever lead is fused, for which the same furnaces are used. The blast-hole is ample and broad; its diameter amounts to two and a half, if

not to three inches; the pipes from the bellows extend to some distance into this conical hole. Through this hole a vent may be seen, projecting almost into the middle of the furnace, from which the liquefied vein trickles. 2. The mixture differs according to the quality of the vein, which is very variable, being sometimes rich, and at other times poor, containing arsenic, and being dry[?]; there is no vein containing lead, but all are very much impregnated with cobalt. The usual proportions are, six hundred-weight of the crude ore—for the ore, if rich, is put on in its crude state, without any previous calcining—a hundred-weight and a half of iron scoriæ, a like amount of washed iron, or *Wascheisen* as it is called, two hundred-weight, more or less according as is required, of fresh scoriæ, and two hundred-weight of litharge and lead together. 3. Every two or three hours several hundred-weight of silver-bearing lead, with the stone floating upon it, are obtained; sometimes the yield is greater, sometimes less, according to the mixture and the quality of the ore. 4. The stone which is obtained here is first calcined five times, and then mixed and put on again. 5. If there is any stone obtained the second time, it is poorer; this also is calcined five times, and this process is repeated, until no more stone containing silver is obtained. 6. As this ore is full of cobalt, other thin plates are obtained, called *Speiss*, which are also rich in silver; after these are collected they have to pass through ten calcining fires before they are introduced again into the furnace. Some ore is also smelted, from which the arsenic has been previously sublimated; but on the treatment of the silver ore at Joachimsthal we may consult a special treatise in the German language which discusses this method.

### *THE ARSENIC WORKS NEAR JOACHIMSTHAL.*

There are also arsenic works about half a German mile outside the town, concerning which the following particulars may be mentioned: 1. The crude cobalt is thrown into an oven which resembles a baker's oven, and which is four ells long and three ells wide; below is a place for the wood or the fire;

there is a paved surface between. At one corner of the oven there is an exit for the smoke; for cobalt is said to smoke continually, like sulphur from marcasite. 2. The smoke issues through that opening in the oven, and is led thence through a duplicate passage, first to the right, then downwards to the left, and finally, through a passage which is thirty ells long, it is driven against a wall, from which it recoils, and being beaten back, it makes its way in another direction into a corner; here some doors are open, through which the lighter smoke can pass off, the denser smoke being thrown down towards the bottom. These doors may be opened or shut at pleasure. At the extreme end an exit is also open above the roof, through which the smoke finally passes out. Meanwhile, throughout all these ways, passages, and windings the heavier part of the smoke tends to the bottom, and settles down thickly on the paved surface, whence it is collected in the form of a white flour. These passages may be made longer and more winding at pleasure. 3. This burning or sublimation lasts for twelve days and nights; during that time from 200 to 250 hundredweight of powdered arsenic are generally obtained. 4. The cobalt, from which the sublimated arsenic is collected, is crushed in the stamping mill and washed in the usual manner, and then, like the other ore, is introduced into the blast-furnace, and the silver extracted from it. 5. This powdered arsenic is collected and fused in the following manner: There are two fire-places about five ells long and a foot broad, with their grates for the ashes; above is a stone or iron surface; on this four iron plates are laid, which are a third of a foot thick, and an ell and a half in length and in breadth; in the middle is a round and shallow cavity, which is about a foot in diameter, and a quarter of a foot in depth. According to the length of each fire-place four of these iron plates are placed upon it; on the two fire-places, consequently, eight of these plates are laid. On each plate or over each cavity an iron hat or cone is fitted, which is an ell and three-quarters high, and which is interiorly well lined with clay. The lower opening of this hat has a diameter of three-quarters of an ell, and its upper opening one-third of a foot. This hat is filled with two hundred-weight [?] of the above-mentioned

arsenic flour, and is kept melting there for twelve hours. Meanwhile the powder adheres to the sides of the cone or hat to the depth of two inches; and in this form the liquified arsenic is taken out every twelve hours. The arsenic thus obtained is white; if any sulphur is mixed with it, it looks yellow.

It is further to be mentioned that the best mines of Joachimsthal at the present day are the "Hubert" and the "Einigkeit" mines; but that not more than from 1200 to 1300 marks of silver are obtained from them; formerly these mines were very rich. From the very cavity of the furnaces it appears of what great size the loaves of silver formerly were, some of which weighed 300 marks.

These works were commenced in 1516, and during ninety-four years 1,300,000 marks of silver, or from 13,000 to 14,000 marks yearly, were obtained. Besides, there are subterraneous passages here, called *Stollen*, as for instance the "Kaiserstollen," which is 4000 fathoms, or from 12,000 to 14,000 ells long; another reaches the length of 6000 fathoms; they lead in a straight line from one mine to the other. In the mine "Einigkeit," at the depth of from sixty to seventy fathoms, there is a machine with a water-wheel, which is turned by the water which escapes there. In the year 1542 they had 300 "Schichtmeister," and 300 "Steiger." For one Vienna mark of pure silver, they obtain 21 florins, 15 kreutzers.

August 13. I returned to Carlsbad.

August 16. I was in the Roman Catholic Church at Carlsbad, where I witnessed their worship, or their celebration, of the mass, and where I observed that all things were most delightful, or suited to all the senses. For the ear they had the very best instrumental harmony, having instead of the singing of the people the completest instrumental music. The eye beheld various sports; the gestures of boys, as well as of others, who were burning lamps and wax-tapers; the magnificent vestments of the priests, and of boys similarly arrayed; everything in the light of these lamps shone with gold and silver. The sense of smell was regaled with the richest fragrance, with which the altar, or the sanctuary was perfumed. For the sense of touch there was the water, which the priest,

on entering, sprinkled upon the people. The interior sense was struck with the priest's reverence for the supreme Being, by his innumerable genuflections, and by those of the youths. The taste alone was left ungratified, except by what the priest, the participant in all these pleasures, could derive from the wine which he alone drinks. [Thus] the holy things of worship are formed for the pleasure of the external senses, and they are pleasing to the public generally, because with them the external senses are the channels through which the remembrance of the Supreme Being has first to enter.

August 18. I travelled to Prague and arrived there on August 19.

August 19. I reached Prague, and visited several churches, where I saw also an altar-piece, within which lamps were burning representing the shining heaven. I again entered the church of St. Vitus, and examined the innumerable sacrificial offerings of gold and silver, and likewise the sepulchre of Boleslavus, which is resplendent with silver.

August 21. I journeyed to the mining town of Eule, where native gold without any other ores is found in certain strata: concerning which I will relate the following particulars.

### *THE PROCESS OF OBTAINING GOLD AT EULE.*

These works are said to be very ancient, having been opened 300 years after the birth of Christ; but they have been frequently abandoned. Formerly they yielded so large a quantity of gold, that many thousand ducats were obtained every quarter, as one share in the mines. The hills and mountains are perforated for a German mile, as well deeply as near the surface, so that there is scarcely a spot which has not been examined. Among the subterranean passages there are some that are continued for two miles. Formerly this quantity of gold was found not very deep in the earth; but at the present day they have gone down as far as 300 and 400 ells. Ten or fifteen years ago gold was also found here in a quarter of an hour which was worth about 1000 ducats; nor was it very far from the surface. At the present day not

more than ten to twelve pounds, or 1000 ducats' worth, are obtained annually. This, without any application of fire, is refined gold, containing more than twenty-two carats. Nothing is found except native gold in grains, in minute layers, and in masses. There are some strata consisting of quartz, mixed with reddish or yellowish slate, in which you may look for gold, and to which the gold adheres, but it is for the most part invisible. There is no gold ore, nor does any silver or copper or any other noble metal adhere to it, except perhaps some little iron or pyrites; and yet it is contained in the pyrites only in the granulated or native state. It has also been discovered in lead; but then the lead has much gold and no silver.

Stones from this stratum were brought from the mine to the crushing works, of which there are three; these works are not alike, but arranged according to the quality, or according to the poverty or richness, of the gold which is found in the stone. 1. In respect to these works, where there is more gold in the vein or stone, it is to be observed, that there are two crushing boxes constructed in the usual way, but deep; the depth is an ell; there is no sieve, but the aperture on the side where the muddy water flows out is about three-quarters of an ell above the bottom of the box. The hammers or stamps are weighted with large pieces of iron, and they fall in rotation; the water flows into a short trough which is provided simply with two steps. 2. The most valuable part remains at the bottom of the crushing box itself, and is not carried out by the water; it is now taken out and washed. The washing plane is made in the usual way, and is about five ells long; there are three steps or benches, before the ore reaches the plane itself; the upper step is small, likewise the second, but the third is one ell nine inches long, and one ell three inches wide. Here, on this bench, the most valuable part remains; this part is not covered with any cloth, but is bare. Here the more valuable part is collected; the remaining parts, which are coarse, flow down the inclined plane, the lower extremity of which is covered with cloths. To this the coarser stony and other parts adhere; this is passed into a trough; and the pulverized matter which collects

there is again passed under the crushing hammers, and pounded into powder, according to what has been already stated. 4. What remains after this at the bottom of the crushing box is collected in a tub; and from a hundred-weight of this powder several half ounces of gold may be obtained. 5. After the whole washing has been completed, whatever remains on the upper broad step or bench is taken into a vessel for washing, which is nearly of a square form, but in front is bent into the form of a figure 3. Into this vessel the more valuable part is collected, and by the action of water, and by shaking it against the sides of the vessel, and by various ablutions, the most precious part is collected, and separated from the marcasite and iron; it is then transferred to a small vessel which is very clean, so that out of this the gold may at once be taken. 6. That part of the powder, however, which is in the trough is washed on other inclined planes constructed in a similar manner to those described above; yet they are furnished with only one cloth immediately below the broad third bench; here all the powder which has been obtained in the trough is washed; all that remains in the reservoir at the bottom of the trough is also washed, &c. Those works, however, in which the poorer ore is crushed are different: 1. The crushing hammers are made in the same way, and they drop in the same order. 2. The crushing box, however, is not so deep, only half an ell; the opening also, by which the water flows out, is not as high up, as in the former case. 3. On the outside begins a long winding trough furnished with six benches or steps of division. 4. The best part here, also, is collected at the bottom of the crushing box itself. 5. The best part is washed as in the other case on an inclined plane furnished with cloths, except that the upper broad bench is bare where the most valuable part is collected, which afterwards, by shaking and rubbing in the washing vessel, is separated from the iron and marcasite; if fresh water is afterwards poured in through a horn, the clear gold appears. 6. The powder which is obtained in the various divisions of the trough, is washed on areas which are covered with only one cloth, and it is taken thence into a reservoir filled with water, from which it is again taken out and washed. A hundred-weight of this washed

powder usually contains a half or a quarter of an ounce of gold.

They have also a *Waschbank*, where the stony part is first separated from that which is heavier; it is somewhat excavated on the top, so that two machines can be moved in it at the same time, one in one direction and the other in another. The water thereby is much stirred up and flows away charged with mud, leaving behind a less quantity of useless powder, &c.

August 22. I returned to Prague from Eule and visited a monastery of the Barnabites, in order to examine a collection of minerals; the collection was ingeniously arranged, but more for show than for use.

August 23. I returned from Prague to Dresden, where I arrived on the 25th. On the way I passed several towns, among others, Budin, where there is a monastery. Near a village called Linai, in Bohemia, which lies nearly at the foot of the lofty mountain Geyer, by which Bohemia is divided from Saxony, I saw a garden full of tropical trees, as orange-trees, and citron-trees, also a great many other specimens of plants, long and pointed, &c.; and a larger quantity of oranges and citrons hanging on the trees than I have seen anywhere else; it belongs to Count Nostiz.

August 25. I reached Dresden.

August 28. I met Mr. Leisner who desires to introduce the use of peat into Saxony. He told me that a Mr. Carlewitz experimented on the use of peat in blast-furnaces, and that he so far succeeded, that he used with advantage two-thirds of peat and a third of charcoal; that afterwards he burned or calcined peat, covering the heap well. He obtained from 6000 pieces of crude peat three *fuder* of charcoal, which did not on being burnt leave behind any impurity in a blast-furnace. Here, however, it must be observed: 1. That they are light and delicate, and are easily blown to pieces by the blast, and that they did not yield any fire, but only a little flame which contributed much to the smelting. They easily crumble to pieces before the blast, because they are small, consisting altogether of roots turned into charcoal. 2. That, consequently, they must not be placed in the middle

of the furnace, before and above the blast, but at the sides, first one-fourth and then one-third, and at last one-half of charcoal mixed with it; the quantity of charcoal being greater or less according to the effect which is to be produced by it. 3. If the peat is calcined it does not contain so much sulphur as to injure the metal; nevertheless, a good deal of sulphur still remains, so that it cannot be used, unless the production of a stone [copper stone, &c.] is first desired. 4. Much of the peat is lost by calcining; from one piece of crude peat very little charcoal remains. Leisner told me that the piece remaining equals a fist; that it is a conglomerate mass, and somewhat hard. This I can scarcely believe; for this calcined earth does not yield much coal, even if it be of the very best quality; almost the whole of it is lost by the process of calcining, or else only a very small quantity remains. 5. I am acquainted with three kinds of peat which are those chiefly found; the first consists of an intricate mass of stout little roots; this kind may be converted into charcoal, and some part of it remains consisting of roots turned into charcoal. The second kind is composed partly of a complicated mass of smaller and least roots, and partly of some which are disintegrated and changed into some kind of soil. The third consists altogether of a kind of loam, which is collected from swampy places that have once been dug out, where this kind of loam is afterwards generated. If this earth is taken out, and in a certain form pressed together either with the feet or hands or by a weight, the very best kind of peat is obtained. The second and third kinds are almost altogether lost in calcining. 6. While the calcining is going on, the heap must be very well covered; this operation occupies from 24 to 72 hours. 7. Otherwise the peat can be used very well in all cases where there is no metal and no blast to scatter and beat it to pieces, as in ovens and common stoves, in evaporating salts, vitriol, alum; likewise in furnaces for the manufacture of glass.

August 30. In company with Henkel,[58] the Councillor of Mines, I visited Trier, the aulic Councillor and Councillor of Mines, and saw various kinds of ores and shells, besides the skeleton of a marmoset *(felis marina)* with its bones and legs

impressed on slate;* I saw also other kinds of minerals, pyrites from silver ore imbedded and involved in common limestone.

September 2. From Dresden I journeyed to Leipzig, where I arrived on September 4.

October 5. A beginning was made with the printing of the *Principia*. Six sheets were printed this week. May Heaven favour it *(faveat numen)*! The Leipzig fair commenced on the same day.

## 1734.

March 1.† I journeyed to Halle where I arrived in the evening, and stopped at the inn The Golden Star.

March 3. I visited Prof. Herman Lang, who is the professor of physics and mathematics, and who extended to me every civility. He showed me his cabinet of curiosities, and presented me with several petrified objects and other things. At his house I saw that green ink which vanishes in the cold, and re-appears in the heat.

March 4. I called at Magister Semler's, where I saw very many things connected with the magnet; the declinations of the magnet according to the method of Halley, with the instruments; and its inclination according to his own method, drawn on the same map, which follows in a straight line the like declination.

Also many other things, as the construction of a most perfect stove; a little stove is in the interior, and a casing on the outside; and between the two the air circulates, and passes out at the top. At Prof. Lang's I also saw how coal was introduced into a stove on two wheels, and afterwards drawn out again; likewise a plough of a peculiar form; besides many other things.

In the orphan asylum *(Waisenhaus‡)* I saw a curious

* An engraving of this specimen, the original size, may be seen in Vol. III of Swedenborg's *Opera Philosophica et Mineralia*, p. 169; see also Swedenborg's letter to Councillor Trier, in Section XI.

† This part which is not in the printed copy of the "Itinerarium," is found on p. 214 of the original codex; it is contained in the photo-lithographic copy of the same, Vol. III, p. 49.

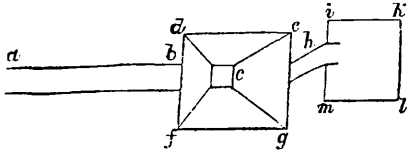
‡ The celebrated institution founded by Francke in 1698.

Copernican and Ptolemaic system and other things. I also saw them at dinner; 600 receive their meals there every day.

I spoke with Prof. Ursinus, and had a scientific discussion with him.

Fred. Hoffmann is still alive. Thomasius I saw, and also Rudiger, who has written a treatise on chemistry.

I saw the salt-boiling: there are four wells from thirty-six to forty ells deep. Seventy-six pans belong to private persons, where every four hours two baskets, or two hundred-weight of salt are obtained. In the establishments belonging to the king there are still more; they are in two buildings, and are constructed differently, viz. there are one or two pans above, where the water is heated by the same fire that boils it in another pan; this is done in the lower pan; the boiling is done with coal. The following is the structure of the hearth:




*a b* is a passage or pipe *(canalis)* which can be drawn out; in *c* is a grate, so that the draught can pass in through the passage *a b* and blow into *c;* the bottom of the pan runs in obliquely from all sides, as *c d, c e, c g, c f.* The flame or the heat goes up then from *h* to *i k l m,* where it heats the water in one or two pans.

[For an account of the remaining part of the journey see Document 204, Vol. II, p. 6.]

*DOCUMENT* 206.

# SWEDENBORG'S JOURNAL OF TRAVEL FROM 1736 TO 1739.*

## 1736.

June 1. I received the gracious permission of His Majesty again to travel abroad for three or four years, for the purpose of elaborating another work (compare Document 162, Vol. I, p. 454).

July 3. I took leave of Their Majesties at Carlsberg;† they were very gracious.

Between the 3rd and 10th of July I took leave of the members of the Diet, my friends, and others; and on the 9th, of the members of the Royal College [of Mines].

On account of my journey I have given up one-half of my salary; 300 dalers in silver of this being added to the salary of Secretary Porath,[127] who was to discharge the duties of the assessorship, his post being taken by the Fiscal-Advocate Bierchenius,[129] and that of the latter by Notary Thunberg; a new notary having to be appointed in his stead who is to re-

* The original of this Journal, which was written by Swedenborg in the Swedish language, is contained in Codex 88, pp. 504—542, of the Swedenborg MSS. which are preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. A Latin translation of this journal prepared by Dr. Kahl of Lund was published by Dr. Im. Tafel in 1844 under the title: Swedenborg's *Itinerarium, Sectio Secunda.* A photo-lithographic copy of the Swedish original is contained in Vol. III of the Swedenborg MSS., pp. 50 to 79, from which the above translation has been prepared.

† Carlsberg is a royal castle in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, which was changed in 1792 into a military academy.

ceive as his salary the remaining 300 dalers in silver; yet with the understanding that upon my return home I am to resume my former position with the right of voting. [Compare Document 162, Vol. I, pp. 452 to 455.]

July 10. In the afternoon at two o'clock I left Stockholm, Fennick, an Englishman, together with Bohman and Hultman,* accompanying me to Fittja.

The same day there was a severe thunderstorm with lightning between Norrköping and Ystad, which lasted a long time, and the like of which had not been known within the memory of man. The whole sky seemed to be one sheet of fire. In many places dwellings and people were struck by lightning; several gentlemen's houses in Schonen also were struck and burnt down; but no church seems to have been injured. Between Stockholm and Nyköping, however, I did not hear the least thunder or see any lightning, although I was travelling during the whole night.

July 11. I arrived at Nyköping where I met Pastor Cröll, as well as Le Febure† and the Fiscal-Advocate Brock, who reported to me all about this lightning.

July 12. Upon arriving at Linköping I spent a day and a night with Bishop Benzelius[6] and my sister Anna Swedenborg.[5]

July 13. On leaving Linköping I passed through Grenna, Jönköping, &c.

July 16. I arrived at Helsingborg where I had some conversation with Lannerstjerna, the Commander of the castle,‡ and with Burgomaster Sylvius.

July 17. I passed over the Sound to Elsinore against a headwind and during a storm which had lasted for three days; but as soon as I reached the other side it became calm, and the wind changed. I went to the castle with my passport,

* Messrs. Bohman and Hultman were merchants of Stockholm; the latter of whom administered Swedenborg's property during his absence; see Note 111, Vol. I, and Document 141.

† John Henry Le Febure, a merchant of Stockholm, and owner of a large brass-foundry in Norrköping. He died in Stockholm in 1767.

‡ Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Lannerstjerna, born in 1680, who had been severely wounded in the war against Russia, and since 1711 had been commander of the castle at Helsingborg. He died in 1748.

calling upon the commander, Lieutenant-General Refvenfeldt, and also upon Commissary Grill.

At two o'clock I left for Copenhagen, travelling for five hours along the beach, from which I had fine views of the other side. I stopped there at the *Krämer-Compagnie,* opposite the place where the new castle is now being built.

July 18. I was in the church on Christinebolm. Divine service differs from that of the Swedish church only in a few ceremonials. The clergyman has a stiff ruffled collar lined with black; the blessing was pronounced from the pulpit; two large candles burned on the altar on account of the communion which was solemnized. The warden invested the clergyman with the communion garments while he was standing before the altar. There were no epitaphs or ornaments in the church; only the organ and an altar-piece. The offertory was not collected in bags as in Sweden, but in little boxes; four of which were handed round.

Afterwards I visited two public gardens; a round one in the New Market-place *[Kongens Nytow],* with an equestrian statue of Christian V. in bronze, but not massive; under the horse's feet lies a man holding a serpent in his hands, which is trampled upon by the horse; on one side of the pedestal are two figures in relief, likewise of bronze, representing Hercules and Pallas, on the other side there are also two figures with fire and sword; on the third and fourth sides are coats of arms.

The other garden, which is pretty large and occupies a place of considerable importance in the town, is charming on account of its various attractions. There are avenues of various kinds; trees trimmed in different forms, images in plaster of Paris, one of bronze, representing a lion with a horse under it, which is pretty well executed; also Samson tearing a lion, in marble; with several other statues, larger or smaller. The most interesting object is the plantation of orange-trees, consisting of 160 trees, not planted in tubs, but growing freely in the ground without being transplanted; together with laurels, cypresses, and other trees. During summer the windows and roof are removed, and the trees are under the open sky; in the autumn they are again enclosed.

July 20. From noon till evening I was at the house of Mr.

Schutenhjelm.* I learned that among those most celebrated for their learning in Copenhagen are Kramer, the Councillor of Justice and Librarian, who is distinguished for history and philology; Prof. Holberg who has written Danish comedies, and a history of Norway; and Rosencrantz, the privy councillor and prime-minister. The learned have spoken favourably of my work.† The same day I saw Wolf's[18] Natural Theology; where, without mentioning my name, he seems to refer to me.

July 21. I made excerpts from Wolf's *Ontologia* and *Cosmologia*, of those parts which I shall need on the way, in order to examine more thoroughly his first principles of philosophy.‡

July 22. In company with Secretary Witt I was at the library, which is magnificent, and excellently arranged; Kramer, the Councillor of Justice, had already gone away. It consists of 70,000 volumes; the octavo volumes are at the top, where access is obtained by a gallery running round the interior. They showed me Cicero's work printed at Mayence in 1456, which is supposed to be the first book ever printed; they showed me also my own work, but without knowing I was its author. Afterwards I visited the dry dock, which is in process of building; although we had not permission to enter. It is a great undertaking; the sides are lined with planks and beams, and it is about 180 ells long. Water-springs are said to rise from the deep, by which the work is obstructed, rendered costly, and much protracted; if this is so, the expense of pumping out the water must continue ever afterwards; these springs are stopped up with clay and other materials. No work has at yet been done on the side next the sea or at the mouth, where the greatest skill and labour are required, so as to

* Anders Schutenhjelm or Skutenhjelm was the Swedish ambassador at the Danish Court. He was born in 1788, and, after filling various offices in the Department for Foreign Affairs in Stockholm, was appointed in 1734 Councillor of Court and minister in Copenhagen. He married Baroness Düben, with whom Swedenborg and Bishop Swedberg were on terms of intimacy, as appears from Document 113.

† Probably the *Principia*.

‡ These excerpts occupy 93 pages in the same Codex, in which this Journal of Travel is contained.

render the gates firm and tight, and to prevent them from sinking. and the pressure of the water from causing any friction; quite as much skill and labour are required for clearing out the bottom of the sea there, as time will show. I then visited the royal stables, where a hundred horses stand with their names written over them; I examined also [the building of] the castle which is lined with hewn, yet sufficiently thick stone; the rest is built of brick. The wall is quite three ells thick; its length is a hundred and fifty paces; it is square, and will be a magnificent structure. The machine for hoisting the bricks is curious; it consists of shelves which are fastened together like a chain; it goes up on one side and down on the other; two or three bricks are laid on one shelf; so that a considerable quantity can be raised by one horse. I noticed besides that in the town there is a great display of horses, carriages, liveries, and dinners. They have two hundred hackney coaches. The town is also infected with pietism or quakerism; and they are crazed enough to believe that it is well pleasing to God to do away with oneself and others; of which many instances are on record. The port is very good, so that vessels, even East-India men, are enabled to come close up to the town.

The country is governed by an intelligent king, who is prudent and seriously inclined. He gives large pensions, amounting to from 5000 or 6000 rix-dalers. The Crown-Prince also, who is thirteen years old, is said to be inclined to everything that is good. In the large garden is the Treasury with the crown jewels, of which the king himself is said to keep the key. During summer His Majesty resides generally at Fredericsberg, four [geographical] miles from town, where there is also a beautiful garden. The duty on Swedish iron is said to amount to ten rix-dalers per *skålpund;* it would have been vain to say anything on the matter. All gold and silver and precious stones on garments are forbidden.

July 23. I was in the Museum. On the ground-floor I saw: 1. A small elephant, 2. A very large ox, 3. A horse in plaster of Paris which formerly existed in Denmark, 4. The fac-simile of the horns of a stag, from four to five ells in height; 5. The drawing of a giant upwards of thirteen ells high, who is said to have been found. In the museum itself is a long

picture-gallery containig a considerable number of paintings of great value, both old and new. In another room in the interior is a night scene, painted with an extraordinary distribution of light; there are medals and coins from all places, including Roman and Greek, from Alexander and Philip. In a third room are minerals and stones, especially specimens of solid silver from Norway, a large one in the corner; in a case are other specimens almost solid, to the value of 3000 rix-dalers; there is one in which a lump of silver rises out of its matrix, which is a very curious object; other smaller specimens seem tied round, as it were, with a ribbon, and small specimens appear growing in the form of plants. I saw also native solid gold; *weiss-ertz*, with silver and gold; petrified wood; a diamond in its matrix, emeralds, jacinths; and beautiful marble from Norway. There were also stuffed animals and the like; mummies; rarities from Japan, the East Indies, etc. In an inner room were works of art manufactured of ivory, wood, amber, and mother of pearl; various mathematical instruments, and a fine focal mirror of steel. The last room contains wax-figures among other curious objects; as, for instance, a child with two heads, two arms, and two feet; the golden horn which was found some years ago in Holstein, not far from the surface of the ground; also other horns, urns of gold, and Queen Margaret's private goblet.

I went to the booking-office and entered my name for Hamburg. I examined the route on a map, which is as follows: from Copenhagen over Zealand to the Great Belt; afterwards over Fünen to the little Belt; and thus by way of Schleswig and Holstein to Hamburg. Denmark consists of the islands of Zealand, Fünen, Falster, and Langeland; as well as Alsen and Femern; the parts on the continent that belong to it are Jutland, Schleswig and Holstein; Holstein consists of Holsatia, Dithmarsia, Wagria, and Normaria.

July 24. In the afternoon at four o'clock I left Copenhagen in the ordinary stage-coach. At eight o'clock we reached Roeskilde, where the peace of Roeskilde* was concluded; a

* By the treaty of Roeskilde in 1658 Denmark ceded to Sweden, Schonen, Holland, Blekingen, Bohus, Drontheim, Bornholm, and Jemtland. By this treaty Sweden was also freed from the Sound dues.

fourth of the town has been burned by twelve or thirteen incendiaries, who are in prison.

July 25. I reached Ringsted, so called after King Ring; passed Sorö, a small town, beautifully situated, and came through Slagelse to Korsör on the Great Belt, which is fortified. The extent of Zealand from Copenhagen to Korsör is fourteen [geographical] miles; most of it is flat, and cultivated as fields, though there are also some handsome beech woods. At Korsör I noticed the tide, which can scarcely be observed in other parts of Denmark; a lighthouse is there for the use of mariners, likewise at Nyborg.

July 26. I went across the Great Belt, passing the little island, Sprogö; Langeland was also visible; and thus I arrived at Nyborg. Thence I went to Odense, which is a large town containing four churches; it lies in the middle of the island of Fünen.

July 27. From Odense I went to Assens; Fünen extends nine [geographical] miles from Nyborg to Assens; the distance over the Great Belt is four [geographical] miles. From Assens we crossed the little Belt to Aarösund. The distance from Copenhagen to that place is twenty-nine miles, and it is thus half-way to Hamburg. Fünen has a similar appearance to Zealand. From Aarösund I travelled to Hadersleben, which is in Schleswig or Danish Holstein.

July 28. I reached Flensburg, which is a fine town, consisting of only one long street; ships arrive there trafficking in hemp, flax, linen, wine, &c., with which they supply the adjoining country. Thence we passed Schleswig, where a wall or rampart was pointed out to us which reaches from the Baltic to the North Sea, and is said to have been erected during the reign of the Emperor Otto, when he desired to introduce Christianity into Denmark.

July 29. Rendsburg is a handsome fortress, the finest in Denmark, containing a garrison of from 3000 to 4000 men; the town consists of scarcely anything but magazines and arsenals. Thence I went to Itzehoe which is a considerable town.

July 30. We arrived at Elmshorn, passing the fortress Glückstadt in Ditmarsia, which is there called Marsia. The country looks very much like Holland, in being fortified against

the sea by dykes; it is as level and beautiful as a garden; watercourses separate the various estates; it has plantations of trees, beautiful fields, and large herds of cattle; rich inhabitants are there; everything is well built and cultivated. The greater part of the revenues is derived from this part. From Elmshorn I journeyed to Pinneberg, a *Fleck* (village), as it is called. At five o'clock in the afternoon I arrived in Hamburg, travelling on land from Copenhagen to Hamburg fifty-two miles and by sea six miles, altogether fifty-eight miles. I took lodgings in the Black Eagle. My travelling companion was a Danish merchant, residing at Bordeaux; his name is Johan Klöker from Copenhagen.

July 31. I conversed with Commissary König,* and George Schneider, a captain and merchant.

August 1. With Commissary König, brother Cederström, and the director I went to the porcelain works, where I examined the ovens and specimens of their work; it does not equal ours in Stockholm. I enquired about the government in Hamburg: it consists of four burgomasters, two of whom alternate each year, twenty-four councilmen, five syndics, three secretaries, and one proto-notary. The salary of burgomaster amounts to 4000 rix-dalers; the largest income is that of the secretaries and of the proto-notary, who earn from 8000 to 12,000 rix-dalers.

August 2. I called upon Pastor Christopher Wolf,[100] of St. Catharine's church.† He showed me a collection of original letters from learned men filling sixty volumes in folio and quarto; he showed me also an autograph collection of the names of more than a thousand learned men; likewise manuscripts in the oriental languages. The collection of letters he obtained from Schminkius, a burgomaster of Frankfort. I dined with a so-called Prince of Mogul, a swell *(un étourdi)*.

* Johan Frederic König was the Swedish Postal Commissary in Hamburg; in 1738 he became the Swedish agent, and in 1747 resident consul. He died in 1759. He saw a splendid German edition of Dr. Nordberg's Life of Charles XII through the press, concerning which see Document 199.

† The letter of introduction from Bishop Ericus Benzelius, which Swedenborg delivered on this occasion, is preserved in the Public Library in Hamburg; it is Document 122.

August 3. I was at home studying, and went to Schneider's to make arrangements about my letter of credit.

August 4. I left Hamburg by water and came to Harburg, which is a long, fortified town, and thence to Zährendorf.

August 5. By way of Wietzendorf, a "Fleck" (village), I came to Celle, which is a handsome town. From Hamburg to Celle the country is mostly an uncultivated heath, although it might be cultivated.

August 6. I passed through Langthal, which is a village almost a mile long, beautifully diversified with oak-woods, and thus reached Hanover, where I lodged at the English Crown, which is directly over the post-office. His Majesty stays entirely at Herrenhausen.

August 7. I was in the garden at Herrenhausen. The distance from the town is about 4500 ells or a quarter of a Swedish mile. The garden is large; near the entrance is a sun-dial for all the quarters of the sky, and [calculated for all] obliquities; also good-sized statues in plaster of Paris, twenty-four in number, and eight urns. There are also pines trimmed in the form of pyramids, cones, and segments; of these there is a large number in the garden itself, where the statues are placed, as well as in other parts. Along the sides are hedges in great number, upwards of six ells in height. There are two small parks with large trees, and at a great distance two pleasure houses. On the left is a theatre with a water basin in front, in which are three fountains, one surpassing the rest in height, and on the top of the theatre are many gilt statues. At a greater distance is an amphitheatre with small statues; farther down are four statues of the royal family; in the neighbourhood of the castle itself are a few statues in bronze. There are also cascades in a grotto, where the water flows into large and still larger shells; and, besides, there is an orangery containing many but not particularly large trees.

In the town there are water-works by which both the town and the reservoirs are supplied with water; it contains likewise a Jewish synagogue. The town itself is of considerable size and consists of two parts, the old, and the new called the "Neustadt," besides the houses outside the wall; it is pretty well fortified.

August 8. I was in several churches; there are five of them, besides the Calvinistic Reformed and the Roman Catholic churches. The cemeteries are all outside the town; there large churchyards are situated.

August 9. I visited the royal stables, which contain upwards of a hundred horses, carefully selected both with regard to size and colour; some are of a bluish shade; there were also a number of mules of considerable size. Another stable is at Celle. I was in the so-called "Mummelgarten," or "Mont brillant," which is rather handsome with its living hedges, trees trimmed in various forms, its orangery, fountains, etc.; there is also a water-wheel turned by little brooks.

August 10 and 11. I studied matters connected with ontology; took a view of the situation of the town; inspected its ramparts, and saw every thing else that was interesting.

August 12. I travelled from Hanover to Osnabrück. On the first day I came through a little town, called Wunstorf, but did not go beyond Leese, the first station, where we stopped for the night.

August 13. We crossed the Weser at Stolzenau, and afterwards came through Diepenau to Bohmte.

August 14. I arrived at Osnabrück, which belongs to the Elector of Cologne. Three Roman Catholic and two Evangelical churches are in the place; likewise Jesuit schools; four convents, of which one is in the town, called "Gertruden Kloster," for ladies of the nobility; a castle; a garden outside the town called "Petersburg." They have alternately a Catholic and an Evangelical bishop. I travelled thence through Ibbenbüren to Rheine.

August 15. I arrived at Bentheim, a town of no importance, which is situated on a mountain; it is crowned by an old castle, and belongs to Count von Bentheim; it is garrisoned by soldiers from Cologne.

August 16. I then proceeded through Delden to Deventer, which is a large town in the Dutch province of Upper Yssel. After crossing the river Yssel I came to Voorthuizen, and then through Ammersfort to Naarden; thus coming from the province of Upper Yssel through Geldern to Holland. Naarden is the best fortress in all the seven United Provinces;

and, besides, it is a handsome town, where I spent the night over the booking-office writing out my observations. Ammersfort also is a large and handsome town, surrounded by many important tobacco plantations, the produce of which mostly goes to Norway and Sweden. It is to be observed, besides, that the only cereal which they sow is buckwheat. In very many places were plantations of oaks. Otherwise there were many uncultivated heaths and moors on the way to Ammersfort, which are preserved in part on account of the peat.

August 17. From Naarden I came by canal-boat *(treckschuyt)* to Amsterdam, where I took lodgings in the "Vergoude Leuwen," or the Golden Lion, not far from the Exchange. In Amsterdam I stayed until the evening of the 20th. I was at Messrs. Clissoet and Son, and at several others. *Tota civitas nihil nisi lucrum spirabat* (The whole town breathed of nothing but gain).

August 20. I proceeded by the canal to Rotterdam, and went on board the boat which stopped at Ter Gouwe (Gouda), which is a handsome town.

August 21. , There, that is, at Ter Gouwe (Gouda), I went into a carriage, where there was room for six persons, and that number took their places in it in a polite manner. The road thence to Rotterdam, and also all around Amsterdam, is paved with Dutch bricks *(klinkers)* and tiles, laid on their edges. Along the road we passed many brick-kilns, and heaps of peat taken out of moors and ditches; this is a kind of earth which, like bricks, is dried in the sun, and in rainy weather is covered with mats made of sedge-grass, of which an abundance grows here. There are no cereals planted here, but only grass for cattle, which furnish the great quantity of cheese manufactured here. At last I arrived at Rotterdam where I had to remain a whole day. A fair was being held there, where I admired a great number of fine paintings sold by auction. To pass away my time, as it was evening, I went to see an exhibition, where a man skilled in balancing himself walked on a slack hempen rope; he also went up a rope-ladder, and made all sorts of evolutions on the top, and, finally, stood there on his head, and in this position went down the ladder; never losing his balance. I also saw a puppet-show, where

one very curious trick was performed. At a moment's notice they became changed from female puppets into statues, and where the head had been before there was a basket filled with little people, and a seat for sitting down; again a woman was changed into a man, and afterwards into a windmill, the wings of which were turning around; it was certainly a display of skill and dexterity. The exchange building is the finest I have yet seen; but it was not attended, as in Amsterdam, by such a great number of persons, who are the chief ornament of an exchange.

I here considered why it was that it has pleased our Lord to bless such an uncouth and avaricious people with such a splendid country; why He has preserved them for such a long time from all misfortunes; has caused them to surpass all other nations in commerce and enterprize; and made their country a place whither most of the riches not only of Europe but also of other places flow. The principal cause seems to me to have been, that it is a republic, wherein the Lord delights more than in monarchical countries; as appears also from Rome. The result is, that no one deems himself obliged and in duty bound to accord honour and veneration to any human being, but considers the low as well as the high to be of the same worth and consequence as a king and emperor; as is also shown by the native bent and disposition of every one in Holland. The only one for whom they entertain a feeling of veneration is the Lord, putting no trust in flesh; and when the Highest is revered most, and no human being is in His place, it is most pleasing to the Lord. Besides, each enjoys his own free-will, and from this his worship of God flows; for each is, as it were, his own king and rules under the government of the Highest; and from this it follows again, that they do not, out of fear, timidity, and excess of caution, lose their courage and their independent rational thought, but in full freedom and without being borne down, they are able to fix their souls upon, and elevate them to, the honour of the Highest, who is unwilling to share His worship with any other. At all events, those minds that are borne down by a sovereign power are brought up in flattery and falsity; they learn how to speak and act differently from what they think; and when

this condition has become inrooted by habit, it engenders a sort of second nature, so that even in the worship of God such persons speak differently from what they think, and extend their flattering ways to the Lord himself, which must be highly displeasing to Him. This seems to me the reason why they above other nations enjoy a perfect blessing; their worshipping mammon for their God, and striving only after money, does not seem to be consistent with a constant blessing; still there may be ten among a thousand or among ten thousand, who ward off punishment from the others, and cause them to be the participants with themselves of temporal blessings.

August 22. I left Rotterdam in a small vessel for Antwerp, and arrived first at Dort (Dordrecht), which is a handsome town. In its neighbourhood may be seen a great number of windmills. I noticed also many mills where cement is ground; they are furnished with the stones for the cement from a great distance; the material consisting of débris and stones that have lain in the ground for a long time. There is also a salt refinery.

August 23. We passed Williamstad (Willemstad), which is a fortress, and arrived at Bergen op Zoom. Zealand with its isles appeared on the right; it lies low down at the water's edge, and must be constantly protected by dikes, lest an inundation take place. Gardens and plantations were seen at the side, flat and even.

August 24. After passing by Lillo, which is a small town, we arrived at Antwerp. The only sources of displeasure during this voyage were, that the captain was cross and uncivil, and that at night it was most uncomfortable to stay below in the cabin, in company with so many people. The tide prevented our proceeding as fast as we ought to have done. I stayed in Antwerp from four o'clock in the afternoon till eleven at night, and visited the handsome church of Notre Dame. There are two rows of altars, twelve altogether, besides those along the sides and around the choir. I was shown a beautiful painting at one of the altars on the right, representing the removal of Christ from the cross; this painting is very seldom opened and shown. In the tower are open

Gothic ornaments; from the interior of the church one can look up into the tower to a great height, where the view is closed by a ceiling representing the ascension of Christ. The distance from Rotterdam to Antwerp is calculated at eighteen [geographical] miles.

August 25. During the night I went in a large boat to Boom, where we were transferred to a "treckschuyt" (canal-boat) of considerable size; it was forty ells long, and six ells wide, with five rooms, i. e. cabin, kitchen, and other apartments; on the forward deck was an awning, under which people could sit. We changed our "treckschuyts," which are drawn by two horses, five times. It was a splendid and most beautiful trip. During the whole journey we had plantations of trees on both sides; people also were more civilized, so that in contrast with their politeness the boorishness and heaviness of the Dutch became very evident. We passed a town, called Vilvoorden, which had a very antiquated looking fortress. The land on both sides was as flat as the water; in proportion, however, as it rose it became necessary to provide locks or sluices; and from one lock we had to pass into another. About 11 o'clock in the fore-noon we arrived at Brussels, where I had lodgings behind the town-hall at the house of a certain Cauter in the "Runsefall." The distance from Antwerp to Brussels is eight leagues. In Brussels I visited the cathedral which is called the "gold church;" the most conspicuous ornament in it was fourteen pillars, every one of which was dressed with foliage, adorned with a statue, and furnished with an altar; besides other interesting objects. In addition to the other churches, which I need not specify, I was in the principal rooms of the town-hall, where I had occasion to admire the tapestry which is manufactured in Brussels, and which surpasses the Gobelin tapestry in Paris; the woven pictures were so life-like, that no painter could have made them finer; they are still engaged upon this kind of work at the present day. The houses facing the market-place and many others in the town are much gilded; most of them are furnished with many windows, and are of an old-fashioned style of architecture. Afterwards I visited the arsenal where most of the curiosities were from the Emperor; among these were apparel of imperial purple, a shield

of iron inlaid with gold, which was of most beautiful workmanship; there was also another where the figures were damascened, and of great value; at last we admired the emperor's sword. I do not mention the stables and other objects which we saw.

On our way to Brussels two Franciscan monks were on the canal-boat; one of these stood on deck for four hours in one position, and during the whole of this time said his prayers devoutly; they probably were for those travelling in the boat. Such prayers must certainly be agreeable to God, so far as they proceed from an honest and pure heart, and are offered with genuine devotion, and not in the spirit of the Pharisees; for prayer avails much, as in the case of Moses, when the people were slain, and in other cases. Paul desired that others should pray for him.

August 26. On the left side of the choir in the cathedral I saw an altar and an altar-piece of silver; likewise many larger and smaller chandeliers and lamps of silver, together with other splendid ornaments. Mass was celebrated there. The only thing that needs to be noted in connection therewith to serve as a subject for reflection, is this: that everything is so arranged as to captivate and occupy the senses, and to lead them above by an external way, or to exalt one's thoughts about religion and direct them to the Highest; for all is instituted with so much devotion; the body inclines and bows; the knees bend; the eyes are engaged by everything magnificent and sublime that can be imagined; the ears are filled with beautiful music, instrumental as well as vocal; the nose enjoys aromatic fragrance. Besides this, many holy objects are exhibited, so that the senses are charmed, and by external means men are led to devotion; which with them seems to be the means of elevating their minds, since the external senses furnish them generally with subjects for meditation.

August 28. At 8 o'clock in the morning I left Brussels for Tubise, whence I journeyed to Braine [le Comte] and Casteau, all of which are villages rivaling towns in elegance. About evening I reached Mons, which is a well-built town, and uncommonly well fortified; it is provided with many out-works, and almost impregnable. It is well garrisoned, contains many inhabitants, has many churches and a large market-place, and is about

ten leagues distant from Brussels. The road was paved all the way with stones broken into pieces of the same size, and on both sides trees were planted, as in an orchard.

August 29. Next morning I left Mons, and after passing through Quiévrain, I arrived at Valenciennes; which is a town containing handsome, but not very large, houses. It is a fortress of medium strength; but in the direction of Cambray there is a high elevation from which it can be easily bombarded, so that it does not seem capable of making a strong defence. I was in the church of Notre Dame. A fair was being held in the town, and a church festival. The greater part of the silver treasures of the church was exhibited, consisting for the most part of caskets, containing the bones of saints and martyrs, all of pure silver, and pretty large—at least two in the choir. There were altogether forty-five silver caskets, besides forty-five other large ornaments of silver scattered over the church, and candlesticks and other things. All these objects were large and old-fashioned, so that one could not help thinking that the smaller objects and those that were of recent make were locked up. It is a treasure of considerable value.

August 30. From Valenciennes I went to Abson, and thence to Bouchain, arriving at four o'clock in Cambray, which is a town of antiquated houses, containing two market-places, large churches, and an extraordinary citadel with many outworks. Along the whole way, as far as the eye could reach, the land consisted of fields.

August 31. From Cambray I continued my journey by Metz[en Cout] to Peronne in Picardy. During the whole way I passed through nothing but fields. Peronne is a town of little importance; it has many large and handsome churches, and is somewhat fortified. The houses are miserable; the convents magnificent; the people poor and wretched.

September 1. From Peronne I travelled through Ombercour to Roye, which is a miserable town. Everywhere the convents, churches, and monks are wealthiest and possess most land. The monks are fat, puffed up, and prosperous; a whole proud army might be formed of them without their being missed; most of them lead a lazy life; they try more and more to make all subject to them; they give nothing to

the poor except words and blessings, and, on the other hand, insist on having everything from the indigent for nothing. Of what possible use are these Franciscan monks? Others again are slim, lean, supple; they prefer walking to riding on horseback or in a carriage; they are willing that others should enjoy themselves with them, are witty and quick at repartee, &c.

September 2. From Roye I came to Pont [St. Maxence], which is a borough *(bourg)* where there is a bridge across a tributary of the Seine, [the Oise.] The river Seine makes four bends, and Paris lies in their midst.

September 3. From Pont [de Maxence] I went by way of Senlis to Paris, where I arrived at six o'clock in the evening, and took lodgings at the Hotel d'Hamburg.

September 4. I took a view of Paris on the left side of the Seine, or of the Faubourg St. Germain. I was in the church of Notre Dame, in the garden of the Luxembourg, and in the theatre, which seems to be developed in Paris to the greatest height it will probably ever reach.

September 5. I was in the Tuileries and the Louvre. In the Tuileries I examined all its splendours; I saw also the large marble statues, which were far away in the park leading to Versailles. Afterwards I visited the Hotel Royal des Invalides, which is a palace of wonderful structure; the handsome church is the most interesting object there; I saw likewise the many expensive palaces on the way leading to it.

September 6. I made the first draught of the introduction to the Transactions *(ingressum ad transactiones),* viz. that the soul of wisdom is the knowledge and acknowledgment of the Supreme Being.*

September 7. I was in the palace, and saw all the shops, likewise the bookshops. I was likewise in the Sainte Chapelle and in the Hotel de Ville. In the first transaction I treated on the subject that "now is the time to explore nature from its effects."†

September 8. I visited a little church, called Larmes de Chaux, near the garden of the Luxembourg; and likewise all

* See *Œconomia Regni Animalis,* first transaction, no. 19.

† *Ibid.* no. 26.

the bookshops along the Seine, which are of no particular importance. I was also in the hospital belonging to Notre Dame where there are many beds; I saw there the entrance for foundlings *(l'entrée pour les enfans trouvés).* I had a sight of the Queen of Spain.

September 9. I was in the following churches: Notre Dame, St. Sulpice, St. Paul, and others.

September 10, 11. I was engaged in making the outlines of my work: on the atmospheres in general *(de auris in genere).* On the 11th I called on Ambassador Gedda.*

September 12. I was in the Rue St. Paul; in the Place Royale where the statue of Louis XIII may be seen;† likewise on the Isle of Notre Dame.

September 13. I was in the Comédie des Italiens, and in sundry other places in town, also in the bookshops.

September 14. I visited the Opera, which is magnificent; the Chambre des Imprimeurs et Libraires; and the Comédie.

September 15, 16. General Stenflycht‡ came and lodged in the same house where I stayed.

* Baron Niclas Peter von Gedda, born in 1675, whose acquaintance Swedenborg made in Paris in 1713, when von Gedda was there as the secretary of a commission *(Kommissions-Sekreterare)* — see Document 46, p. 230; and whom he describes there as being "well known to a part of the learned, and versed in scientific studies and literary history." He became Minister Plenipotentiary of Sweden at the French Court in 1730; in 1736, soon after Swedenborg met him in Paris, he was made Secretary of State, and in 1739 Court-Chancellor, as appears from Document 124, Vol. I, p. 363. He died in 1758.

† This statue, which was erected by Richelieu in 1639, was destroyed in 1792; the present equestrian statue of marble was put up in 1829.

‡ Johan Segersten, after being ennobled in 1716 Stenflycht, was a brave Swedish soldier. His first military instruction he received in the Imperial army in Hungary, which he entered in 1691, afterwards he distinguished himself in the Swedish army, where he rose in 1713 to the grade of lieutenant-colonel. In 1719 he retired from the Swedish army, and became major-general in the army of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp; in 1733 he entered the service of King Stanislaus[131] of Poland in the capacity of General; after the peace of Vienna in 1735, he accompanied Stanislaus to France, and became lieutenant-general in the French army; in the following year General Stenflycht met Swedenborg in Paris. In 1738 he became commander-in-chief in Hamburg, from which post he retired in 1742. In 1743 Swedenborg and he met again at Ystad (see Document 207). He died in 1758.

September 18. I was in the Palais [Royal] and the garden belonging to it; in the Place Royale de Louis le Grand, and in the churches of the Capuchins (Franciscans) and of the Feuillants (Cistercians) on both sides of them; likewise in the Tuileries, from which one enters; also in the Comédie des Italiens. I had a discussion also with an abbé on the adoration of saints; he denied *in toto* that this was adoration, and insisted that worship belonged to God alone; [he was opposed] to the adoration or veneration of the saints, and the double veneration of Mary.

September 19. I was in the Sainte Chapelle, where all the windows are stained; it was a pretty view to see "la susception" of the relics of our redemption.*

September 20. I visited the Place des Victoires, where a gilt statue of Louis XIV is upon a pedestal with statues on each of the four sides;† the place itself is round and the houses look all alike. Afterwards I went into the church of St. Eustache.

September 25. I took a walk through the town of fully one Swedish mile [six and a half English miles]; I went through Luxembourg and the Rue d'Enfer to the observatory, and thence to the gate of St. Jacques; afterwards I passed the monastery of the Franciscans [the present Hôpital du Midi?], and that of the Val de Grace [l'Hôpital du Val de Grace] which belongs to the Benedictines, and then I followed the Rue St. Jaques until I finally reached the Porte St. Martin, through which we had entered upon arriving in Paris; I then walked along the rampart and saw a part of the Hôpital de St. Louis, where I am told there are 10,000 beds, principally on account of the plague. I then went to the Rue du Temple and had a look at the ancient ruins of the Temple; I saw also the chapel and the garden of the Hôtel de grand Prieur, which is rather handsome; as well as the church of St. Elisa-

* The Sainte Chapelle is in the Palais de Justice, on the Ile de Palais; in it are preserved a piece of the crown of thorns, and of the cross and the cloak of our Lord; likewise the iron-point of the lance with which his side was pierced.

† This statue also was destroyed in 1792; the present bronze statue of Louis XIV was erected in 1822.

beth, which is directly opposite. On the way back I saw the Church of St. Jaques-de-la-Boucherie,* and thus returned home.

September 28. I was at the opera, where they acted the Gallant Europa, a beautiful piece; among the gentlemen dancers Malphe [Malter?] was the best, and also the young Dumolin; among the lady dancers Briton and Mariette; among the singers Mademoiselle Benissie [Pellecier?] distinguished herself.

September 30. I was at my bankers, Messrs. Tourton & Baire, as well as at Messrs. Lavalle & David; the former live in the Place des Victoires; the latter, who deal in fancy ware and porcelain, in the Rue St. Honoré.

October 2. I changed my quarters, and removed to the Rue de l'Observatoire, opposite the establishment of the Cordeliers.†

October 3. I was in the church of the Cordeliers, which is double; and in their convent, which is a magnificent palace.

October 4. I was in the Tuileries and the Avenue des Tuileries, until I reached a village called "Shai" [?], where there are two convents; and at a greater distance was the Palais de Madrid, which is rather antiquated. Opposite the Tuileries, on the other side of the river, the Hôtel de la Duchesse appears, which is magnificent. There is a pleasant promenade, where I speculated on the forms of the particles in the atmosphere.

October 10. I understood that the great revenue of France obtained by the system of taxation called tithing, amounts to 32 millions [livres], or nearly 192 tons of gold, and that Paris on account of its rents contributes nearly two-thirds of that sum. In the country towns this tax, it is said, is not properly collected, as the rents are reported at a lower figure than they amount to in reality, so that scarcely three per cent is collected. I am told, besides, that the ecclesiastical order possesses one-fifth of all the property in the state, and that the country will be ruined, if this goes on much longer.

* Now the Tour St. Jacques, at the corner of the Rue de Rivoli and the Boulevard de Sebastopol.

† A religious order founded by St. Francis.

October 12. I purchased a description of Paris, where it was noticed that the large library is at the corner of the Rue de Richelieu near the Palais Royal, having been removed thither from the Rue de Vienne; that it consists of 70,000 volumes and 15,000 manuscripts, which were in part purchased, and in part left to the institution by will; further, that King Francis I. laid its first foundation, by making a collection at Fontainebleau, the greater part of which however, was destroyed; that Catharina de Medici enriched it with medals, engravings in copper, &c. King Louis XIV, at great cost, collected copper-plate engravings from the whole of Europe, sending agents to every part. The supreme charge of the whole, as well as of the numismatic cabinet in Versailles, is entrusted to the Abbé Bignon;[57] under him is Le Beze; and specially in charge of the books is Sallier [?], and of the copper-plate engravings Le Croix. The library of M. de Brennes is in a separate room.

October 16. I was in the Palais Royal, which is a magnificent palace, with ships in the niches. It was built by Cardinal Richelieu, when it was called Palais de Richelieu, and afterwards Palais-Cardinal; he bequeathed it to the king in perpetuity. It was given by Louis XIII during his life-time to his queen,* whence it received the name Palais Royal. The audience chamber where the Duke of Orléans administered the government† is in this palace. It is adorned with beautiful paintings, and contains a chemical laboratory. The palace is separated from the large garden by a smaller one containing on orangery; here balls are held at the time of the carnival.

October 17. I was in the Library, which is a splendid building, but which is not to be opened until the 11th [?] of

* Swedenborg says that the palace was left by Louis XIII to his *mother*, who was Maria de Medici; but as she died several months before Cardinal Richelieu, such could not have been the case. It is, however, historically true that after the death of Louis XIII, who died in 1643, (a few months after Richelieu) his widow, Anne of Austria, removed to the palace with her two sons Louis XIV and Philip of Orléans, who were both minors.

† The Duke of Orléans of whom Swedenborg speaks here is Philip d'Orléans, the grandson of Louis XIII, who was prince-regent during the minority of Louis XV; he died in 1723.

October; I was also at the opera which is in the Palais Royal, where they acted "Génies" in five acts. The principal gentlemen dancers were Malter and Dumolin; among the lady-dancers were Briton and Mariette; the actors were Fribaud and Fel, and the singers Pellecier and Antier, with several others.

I was likewise in the Sorbonne and heard their disputations in theology, which were carried on pretty well; one of the opponents wore a lined cloak; the whole discussion consisted of syllogisms. The Sorbonne is a splendid building; it was first established as a gymnasium by a certain Sorbon in 1260; he made an exchange *(bytte)* with King Louis the Saint, and received more in addition. It was raised to its present splendour by Richelieu, whose sepulchre is in the church. Six professors deliver lectures daily. It has also a valuable library.

October 25. I was in the monastery of St. Victor, which is near the Jardin du Roi [now the Jardin des Plantes]; it is a large structure, built with cloisters in the old style, and has a large and handsome garden. It consists of a small church and the monastery which was built in 1115; the abbé receives annually 35,000 livres. It belongs to the order of the Augustines. The present abbé is said to be a man of great ability. They have a handsome library, and also 3000 manuscripts which are constantly increased; it is open three times a week, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays.*

The Jardin Royal or the Jardin du Roi [Jardin des Plantes] is in its immediate neighbourhood. It is of great extent, and contains many exotic plants, upwards of 4000; it contains also a grove of foreign trees, and a tower of considerable height from which a great part of the town may be seen; it was built in the time of Henry the Great. The garden is under the superintendence of the first physician of the king. Every week public lectures are delivered there on botany, chemistry,

* The order of the Augustines has been abolished in France since the Revolution; and the monastery of St. Victor has disappeared; but the Place St. Victor and the Réservoir St. Victor are still in the neighbourhood of the Jardin des Plantes along the Rue Linné, and thus indicate the former position of the monastery

S. Spirito.* In the church of S. Croce di oro is a chapel containing most beautiful paintings and statues; the frescoes in the ceiling are so life-like, that they seem to be in relief. Afterwards we took a walk in the park outside the town *[le Cascine?]*, where people usually go. In the evening I witnessed the illumination of a church, the SS. (Santissima) Annunziata, in honour of some one who had been a Florentine, and who had been canonized; the illumination was with torches; the streets also were illuminated; and there was a fine pyrotechnical display from the roof of the church, etc.

September 1. I departed for Leghorn; the road was fine, but there were mountains on both sides. Leghorn is a small town, but handsome and populous. It has a most splendid harbour for a thousand ships and upwards, which is protected on three sides by walls, a bastion, and some small citadels; on the fourth side it is partly defended by cliffs, so that the storm can agitate the water only from above; from sixty to seventy ships lay in the harbour. Leghorn had two citadels, the old and the new; the town is well fortified; it has three handsome galleys, where those condemned could be seen fastened two to two others by means of balls. I was in one of these ships.

September 5. I arrived at Pisa, which has an academy; it is a handsome town; the river Arno flows through it. Much marble is displayed here in chapels, churches, and also in some private houses. Their cathedral is entirely of marble on the outside; in the interior are many handsome pictures, sculptures, and ornaments. St. John the Baptist's *[il Battisterio]*, which is close by, is circular; it is built of marble, both within and without. The belfry tower *[campanile]* is of marble, and consists of seven tiers of columns; but it leans. The Campo Santo is immediately adjoining; many graves containing the bones of saints are there; also a quantity of bacchanalian [?] urns which are oblong; their length, breadth, and height are according to the Sacred Scripture [?].

September 6. I returned to Florence, and was in the Santa Croce, where that fine chapel [mentioned above] is;

* This monastery is now almost entirely used for military purposes.

I saw there beautiful altar-pieces; Galileo Galilei and Michael Angelo are buried there, and marble statues have been erected to their memory.

September 7. I witnessed the ceremony of consecration of seven nuns; they were in white from top to toe. The archbishop performed the ceremony, and changed his head-covering five times; he addressed questions to them, and they answered him in musical cadence; he lay down on the floor under a black cover for a long time; afterwards they received rings, as well as crowns and other things, partook of the sacrament, and then went out in procession with crowns on their heads. Many ladies in bridal array were present, and fine music was played.

September 9. I went into the Palazzo Riccardi,* the largest private palace in Florence. It contains a large collection of antiquities, sculptures, and inscriptions; I was also in the garden of Riccardi, which contains a large orangery. I witnessed for the third time, in a convent, the consecration of nuns; the ceremonies differed. The church of St. John [S. Giovanni] near the Cathedral was formerly a temple of Mars; it is octagonal; the work in bronze on its doors is most valuable; according to Michael Angelo its like does not exist; some said that they were sent down from paradise.

September 21. I went by way of Siena from Florence to Rome. On the way, in the neighbourhood of Siena, the Italian language is most correctly spoken. From Siena I came to Viterbo, which is a handsome little town, with two beautiful fountains.

During the months of July, August, and September the air is poisoned around Rome, especially in the low country, so that no traveller ought to sleep there; the same applies to Rome, but not to those places which have a high elevation. During this time it is also dangerous to change one's lodgings. [On the way between Siena and Viterbo I passed the towns] of Monte Pulciano, and [Monte] Fiascone.

September 25. I arrived in Rome in the evening, by the *Via Flaminia,* through the Porta del Popolo, and thus came

* The former Palazzo dei Medici.

to the Piazza di Spagna. I took lodgings first in the Hotel of the Three Kings *(Tre Re),* but afterwards removed to a house in the same Piazza, which is immediately below the residence Queen Christina used to occupy on the hill; so that I could converse easily from my lodgings with those who were in that house. During the first few days I took a cursory view of sundry places; saw where the pope lives on the Monte Cavallo during the summer; besides various squares, columns, obelisks, and churches; the Vatican, St. Peter's Church, about which I will report more in detail in what follows.

Ponte del Angelo [the angel's bridge] or *Pons Ælius* is the foremost bridge in Rome. Facing it, on the other side, is the Castello del Angelo [the angel's castle], and thence it leads to the Vatican and the Church of St. Peter. This bridge was built by P. Ælius Hadrianus of wood, but badly, and so that it could be taken down. One hundred and seventy persons, mostly strangers, coming from the Vatican, were drowned there at the jubilee in 1450, after which it was reconstructed and built of stone on four arches. Its length is seventy paces, and its breadth from ten to twelve. Clement VII adorned it in 1523 with two marble statues of Peter and Paul; and Clement IX, in 1669, with ten angels in marble, all of which together represent the passion [of Christ]; The statues were executed by several masters, but the designs were furnished by Bernini [not Barbini]. From the same bridge may be seen on the left three or four remains of the *pons triumphalis,* which was crossed by all those who celebrated a triumph; the first, it is supposed, was celebrated by Romulus, the last by Probus, altogether three hundred and twenty-two.

September 29. I visited the Pantheon or Rotunda, which was erected by M. Agrippa, fourteen years after the birth of Christ. Some say it was dedicated to Cybele, the mother of the gods; others, that it was built for Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and others; some finally say that it was intended for all the gods. Another building, however, seems to have been there before; as it is reported, that in the beginning there were two porticoes; that Agrippa made the one, put his name upon it, and destroyed the other. It is supposed also by some that it was Agrippa's tomb. It is said that the statue of Hercules

was there, before which the Carthaginians offered every year a man. The temple was struck by lightning during the time of Hadrian, but it was repaired by Aurelius and Septimius Severus; and it was again destroyed by fire during the reign of Commodus. Under the Emperor Phocas in 607* it was dedicated to the blessed virgin and all saints; in the year 830, twenty-eight carts full of the bones of martyrs were conveyed thither, whence the church was called "S. Maria ad martyros;" it is reported that a portrait of Mary was drawn there by St. Luke. The church was repaired and put into its present state chiefly by Clement XI in 1707. The cupola and portico were originally covered with metal, but in 636 this was carried off. The cross-beams were of metal, which was employed in the church of St. Peter in the construction of the great altar of Peter. The church is 154 feet high, and 154 feet in diameter, in all directions. The opening alone in the roof, which is twelve paces in diameter, admits more light and distributes it more equally, than could be done by many windows. The sound is much increased in the building. A slight current of air prevailed towards the door, and under the opening there was some water, as it rained, but not much. Fifteen altars, and some four or five marble images are in the church; also fourteen columns of yellow marble, and fourteen columns of the same material corresponding with them in the wall. The portico is an object of admiration; it consists of sixteen pillars made of oriental granite or grey-stone, six and a half hand-breadths in diameter; they are high, made of a single stone, and larger than I have seen anywhere else; the wonder is how they could have been transported thither. The door is very large and of metal; the frame in which the door hangs is of stone, and all of one piece. Several inscriptions are in the building. The walls are thirty hand-breadths thick. It is reported that a wheel

* Phocas was the East-Roman or Byzantine emperor, who resided at Constantinople; he reigned from 602 to 610. In 608 the celebrated Colonna di Foca was erected to his honour in the Roman Forum, where it still stands. Phocas himself, who was a debauchee and tyrant, was never at Rome. The Pantheon was dedicated to the worship of the Roman Catholic church by Pope Bonifacius IV, who filled the chair of St. Peter from 608 to 614.

of porphyry and also a tomb of porphyry are there; but I could not see them. The portico is twenty paces long and twelve paces deep.

The Piazza della Rotonda is without; it is adorned with an obelisk which was conveyed thither from the Church of S. Bartolommeo, in 1707, by order of Clement XI; it is surrounded by dolphins throwing water. The water-fountain itself dates from the year 1580. The obelisk was brought from Egypt, and bears Egyptian inscriptions.

It is reported that some ruins of the baths of Marcus Agrippa are preserved, but I could not discover them. These ruins are said to be magnificent; they are still covered with a beautiful stone, the floor is of glass, and they are richly gilded.

I was in the church of S. Ignazio, which is handsome, and contains beautiful paintings, especially on the ceiling. What I admired most was an altar in the fore-part of the church on the right-hand side; the marble columns on which it rested, the altar-piece, its sides and top were the most beautiful I have yet seen. Under the altar was a lovely casket of a blue oriental stone, adorned with silver and statues, and costly columns. At some distance from this is the tomb of Ludovisi,* which with its columns is beautifully sculptured of marble. Ludovisi contributed most of the money for this church. The Piazza di Ignazio was built by the Jesuits; it is small, but in good taste. The Collegio Romano of the Jesuits is fine and large; all are instructed there; and in the Seminario Romano, which is not a great distance from it, all nations are taught. Afterwards I was in the Church of Gesù, which is very fine, abounding in marble, sculpture, and statues, which are most skilfully distributed, and in the ceiling blended with the most precious fresco paintings. I could not see it all, as a musical service was being performed. The Piazza di Gesù is outside the church.

September 30. I examined many ruins, among which are the large amphitheatre [Coliseum], and the temples of peace *(Pacis)*, of the sun *(Solis)*, of the moon *(Lunæ)*, of Faustina;†

* Cardinal Ludovisi, who was a nephew of Gregory XV.

† Remains of these temples are in the Campo Vaccino.

and porticoes. I saw also the prison of St. Peter and St. Paul;* the door through which the former is said to have been led out by an angel; the stone pillar to which he was bound; the spring which issued close to it; the opening through which he obtained his food, etc. The former objects will be discussed more particularly hereafter.

In respect to the seven hills or mountains [on which Rome was built], it appears from the map that near the Porta del Popolo were the Horti [Collis Hortorum, that is, the Hill of the Gardens], afterwards came: 1. Mons Quirinalis, 2. Viminalis, 3. Esquilinus, 4. Cælius, 5. Palatinus, 6. Capitolinus, 7. Aventinus.

October 1. I visited the Capitol or Campidoglio, where are two galleries, and the Palazzo del Senatore, where our Bjelcke† lives. This hill was first called Mons Saturninus [the Hill of Saturn], because Saturnus was said to have lived there; also Mons Tarpeius, after the virgin Tarpeia, who was cast down thence on account of her collusion with the Sabines; but as a head was found there under the Temple of Jupiter, it was called Capitolinus. An oak-grove was there, appointed by Romulus as an asylum for [runaway] slaves, as an aid to the building up of Rome; further, a place of triumphs, which entered the Temple of Jupiter; sixty churches or sanctuaries were there, on account of which it was called *cubiculum Deorum* [a resting-place of the Gods]; likewise the *curia Calabra*, from which the priests announced solemn feasts—this is said to have been instituted in remembrance of the goose by which the Romans were aroused when the Gauls tried to ascend the hill. The old way led to the *Campo Vaccino*, which is

* S. Pietro in Carcere, which is under the Church of S. Giuseppe de' Falignani. It was originally a vault with a spring *(tullianum)*, and was afterwards used as a prison, under the name *Carcer Mamertinus;* Jugurtha and Catalina's fellow-conspirators were imprisoned there.

† Count Nils Bjelke was born in 1706. In 1731 he embraced the Roman Catholic religion; in 1735 he was appointed chamberlain to the pope, and in 1737 was created Senator of Rome, in which capacity he lived in the Palazzo del Senatore in the Capitol. He was very friendly towards Swedenborg, as appears from the account of Swedenborg's visit to him on February 2, 1739 (p. 128). Bjelke died in 1765.

now full of ruins. The Church of [S. Maria in] Araceli, or *Ara primogeniti dei*, is said to have been built where the Temple of Jupiter, which was so celebrated in ancient times, formerly stood,* with its pillars, and which was burnt down; it is in the charge of the Franciscans. The first mile-stone pointing to the Via Appia, which is square with an inscription, is still here, with a column close by; on the opposite side is its [modern] counterpart. The ashes of Hadrian are said to have been here. A hundred and twenty-six steps lead up to the church in Araceli; at the bottom of the steps leading to the Capitol are two lions from the Temple of Isis and Serapis; at the top two large horses with Castor and Pollux; likewise the trophies of Marius. In the middle of the square is a bronze statue which has been discovered and placed there; it is said to be that of [the Emperor] Marcus Aurelius, the philosopher; and further on [the river-gods] Nile and Tiber with a fountain. On the left is the large statue of Morphorio [Marforio], which is so called on account of having been found in the *Forum Martis;* there are also many old statues, and likewise [as has long been supposed] the sarcophagus of Alexander Severus and his mother Mammæa,† besides Egyptian idols, etc. The gallery of the Capitol [Museo Capitolino] contains a great number of fine statues, of emperors, gladiators, &c., two of which are of great value; likewise busts of all the philosophers, Plato, two of Cicero, and a hundred others; in another room are busts of the wives and daughters of emperors, two handsome ones of Agrippina, two also were noticed with peruques, one of which could be taken off; besides many other princes, and likewise popes; Sixtus V is there in bronze; the law of Titus Vespasian is there written on a tablet by Clement XI. In the building on the other side [Palazzo del Conservatore] are many interesting objects; in the court is the largest statue in existence of the Emperor Commodus and a still larger one of Domitianus.‡

* According to modern authorities it stands on the place formerly occupied by a temple of Juno Moneta.

† Swedenborg, instead of Mammæa, says Julia, but incorrectly.

‡ These colossal statues are probably those of Tiberius and Claudius now in Room V of the Museum in the Lateran.

In the gallery itself are many curiosities: the signature of Queen Christina, when she visited the Capitol; and opposite to hers that of an English queen. The most interesting object was a statue in bronze representing the she-wolf suckling Remus and Romulus, with her hind-leg struck by lightning, as is reported by Cicero. The *fasti consulares,* i. e. a list of those who had been consuls, one half of which has been preserved, is likewise exhibited. All the measures, viz. *mensuræ Romanæ,* are likewise preserved in a square stone of marble. Many beautiful paintings were exhibited; their number confused me so much, that I cannot recollect the most important among them. In the immediate neighbourhood is the Palazzo del duca Cafarelli; in the garden is a large heap of stones, which is said to have been a tower, or rather a *Colonna rostrata,* erected in honour of the first conqueror of the Carthaginians.

October 2. I visited the Churches of Gesù and S. Ignazio, where sculpture and painting are admirably blended on the ceiling and on the walls. The chief object is the chapel of S. Ignazio; the saint, of pure silver, is behind a painting which can be lowered;* angels are there adorned with genuine stones; below, under the altar, are his remains; beautiful sculptures are on the sides, and columns of lapis lazuli. The church belongs to the Jesuits. Afterwards I was in the Church of [SS. Luca e] Martina, which occupies the site of a former Temple of Mars, of which some remains are still visible; others maintain that it was the office of the Secretary of the Senate—it is very near the Capitol. The tomb of Martina is under the church; it contains many ornaments and fine statues. On the other side are specimens of the Academy of Sculpture and Painting,† which are fine. The altar-piece representing St. Luke is painted by Raphael of Urbino.

October 3. I took a view of the Theatrum Marcelli, which was built by Augustus in honour of Marcellus, his nephew,‡

* After the order of the Jesuits was abolished by a papal decree in 1773, the silver statue is said to have been replaced by a silvered effigy of the saint in relief.

† The Academy of San Luca, which was established in 1595, is very near in the Via Bonella.

‡ Swedenborg calls him Augustus' *sonson,* i. e. grandson, the Latin

the son of his sister Octavia; it is large and can accommodate 60,000 persons; it is built in the form of an amphitheatre. It belongs now to the Orsini family; the Cardinal Prussoli is said to reside in it at present.

The Isola Tiberina (the Tiber island) is 425 feet [paces?] long and 50 feet [paces?] wide; it contains the Church of St. Bartholomew, in which the apostle is buried, and which is built on the ruins of an old Temple of Æsculapius. On the beach are seen the ruins of a Templum Fauni. The island has two bridges; one is called Ponte Sestio, the other [Ponte de'] quattro capi; the former was repaired by the Emperor Valentinian. On one side of these bridges may be seen the Ponte Senatorio, built by Flavius Scipio; the senate crossed over it, when it consulted the Sibylline books; it is now called the Ponte S. Maria and is half broken down; ruins of other bridges may likewise be seen. On the other side is the Ponte Sisto; the old bridge, called Pons Janiculensis, was in the direction of the Porta Aureliana; it was rebuilt by Sixtus IV. In its neighbourhood are those who rebelled against the Neapolitan recruiting officers; likewise the Jews.

October 4. I was at the Villa Borghese, where there is a wonderful collection of statues, ancient as well as modern, of emperors and many others, together with urns, vases, columns of rare stone, tables, etc. Of ancient statues there is one that was found in the Temple of Victory, which is a female figure reclining on a bed; on the outside is Curtius on horseback plunging into the chasm [in high relief]; a gladiator in a fine attitude, with several others that need not be enumerated. Among modern statues Bernini's Daphne and some others are the finest I have yet seen. The building itself is surrounded with ancient and modern sculptures, and numerous columns are dispersed over the garden. The garden and park are as magnificent as if the place were the residence of a king; it was all the work of Cardinal Scipio Borghese, whose statue in marble may be seen in two places. There

word *nepos*, which he evidently translates, meaning both nephew and grandson; but it is clear that Marcellus was the nephew and not the grandson of Augustus.

are fountains in it, and also an orangery. It would require several days to see and describe it all.

October 5. I saw the palace where the Pretender* lives, which is almost opposite to that occupied by the French embassy; it is situated between the Church of the Apostles *[SS. Apostoli],* and that of S. Maria di Loreto, which is at a greater distance. Afterwards I visited outside the town the church of S. Stefano rotondo, where all the martyr scenes are depicted. It is a singular building, round, with pillars in the wall. In the middle is a *tabernaculum,* built by Numa and consecrated to Faunus, the largest of those times; others say it was dedicated to Hercules; it is encased in marble. I visited again the amphitheatre of Vespasian [the Coliseum], built for 87,000 persons, and finished by Titus. Games were held there [at its opening] for one hundred days, which cost ten millions of Roman *scudi.* It was built by the Jews (the Palazzo Farnese was built of its stones); it is called Colloseo, from the colossal statue of Nero in front of it.

October 6. I was at the Villa Mattei, where the Mons Cælius was formerly; all around here was the real Rome, the walls of which are still visible, reaching to S. Giovanni in Laterano. In the garden are many small square urns, a little obelisk, and many ancient statues; in the building also are urns, together with columns and various old statues. The garden is small, but no other contains so many urns. A colossal head of Alexander the Great is here; also a table of green porphyry.

Afterwards I was in the Church of S. Giovanni in Laterano, which was built by Constantine the Great, and is the oldest Christian church in the world. Many relics are near the altar: the heads of Peter and Paul, under a rich tabernacle or shrine; a famous column of metal filled with stones from the sepulchre of Christ. Statues of the twelve apostles in marble are there, larger than life-size; likewise the burying vaults of many popes and others; the most pompous of these is that of the present pope, Clement XII, with a sarcophagus of porphyry, handsome images of marble, and an altar-piece in mosaic. The façade of the building has also been finished by him in a

* James Francis Edward Stuart, son of James II, who styled himself James III; the so-called *elder* Pretender.

gorgeous style; it is adorned with marble statues, eleven of which are at the top of the church. The great Palace of Giovanni in Laterano is also there; the place where Constantine the Great was baptized is pointed out [il Battisterio or S. Giovanni in Fonte]. In the middle of the Piazza [di S. Giovanni in Laterano] is the largest obelisk, being 145 hand-breadths high. It is also the oldest; was conveyed from Thebes to Alexandria and thence to Rome; it is still well-preserved, and was erected by Sixtus V. In the immediate neighbourhood is the Scala Santa, where persons go up some steps on their knees, and crawl up to the chapel, or to the holy of holies. The palace of Constantine was near the fountain where he was baptized; afterwards it belonged to the family of Lateranus from which it derives its name.* Eight columns of it used to belong to the Palace of Pilate [?] and were conveyed hither. Near the church and the garden are seen the ruins of the palace of Constantine; two large hospitals are also in the neighbourhood.

October 9. I was at the Villa Farnesi [Orti Farnesiani],† built on the ruins of the Palace of Tiberius, which was afterwards repaired by Nero and Vespasian; forty statues and fourteen busts are there; from this villa are visible the Mons Aventinus, the Circus Maximus, the temple where the she-wolf of Romulus and Remus was found, which is round; likewise the ruins of the palace of Augustus. I was in the Temple of Janus with four gate-ways; in its immediate vicinity is the triumphal arch of Antoninus Pius,‡ and close to it is the

* According to modern researches the place occupied by the Church and Palace of S. Giovanni in Laterano belonged originally to an ancient Roman family, by the name of Lateranus, who owned the grounds and buildings up to the time of the Emperor Nero. By his command the last owner, Plautus Lateranus, was executed, and Nero appropriated his possessions. The Lateran Palace thus became imperial property. Constantine the Great presented the palace to the pope; and it thus became the residence of the popes until they removed to Avignon. On their return to Rome they removed to the Vatican.

† On the Palatine Hill.

‡ Swedenborg means here probably the *arcus argentarius*, near the Church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, which was erected by the merchants of the Forum boarium in honour of Septimius Severus.

palace of Pilate,[?] which is still preserved. In the Campus Vaccinus I saw the columns of the Temple of Jupiter tonans; several belonging to the Temple of Concordia; likewise the Temple of Peace in three divisions,* the Temples of *Sol* (the Sun) and *Luna* (the Moon);† likewise that of Faustina.‡ Afterwards I saw the triumphal arch of Severus on the place under the Capitol, and at a greater distance the triumphal arch of Constantine, with the spring which was close to it.

October 12. I was on Monte Cavallo or the Quirinal Hill; and saw the four fountains,§ the beautiful edifice built in accordance with the rules of perspective [the Quirinal palace]; the Church of St. Andrew [S. Andrea di Monte Cavallo], which is circular and handsome; the Piazza de Pilestrini [?] with its fountain,** the Porta Pia, etc.

October 13. I visited the tomb of Cestius, which is a large pyramid; in the neighbourhood there is a burying place for foreigners; likewise the Mons Eustachii [Monte Testaccio] with its ancient cellars; the Church [of S. Paolo alle tre fontane] where St. Paul was beheaded, and the pillar†† with the three springs which are said to have started out of the ground where his head fell; also the Church of St. Paul [S. Paolo fuori le mura] with its hundred columns.‡‡

* The Basilica of Constantine was for a long time supposed to be the Temple of Peace, erected by Vespasian; this, however, was completely destroyed by fire under Commodus.

† Probably what is now known as the double Temple of Venus and Roma near the triumphal arch of Titus; the colossal statue of Nero, in his character as the god of the Sun, stood immediately in front of that temple.

‡ The Church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda is built in the interior *(cella)* of the Temple of Faustina, which was dedicated by Antoninus, in the year 141, to his wife Faustina.

§ *Quattro Fontane*, i. e. the four fountains which are at the intersection of the Via del Quirinale and the Via delle quattro Fontane.

** Probably the Piazza Barberini with the Fontana del Tritone in the middle.

†† A white marble pillar to which Paul is said to have been tied, while undergoing the sentence of decapitation. This church is one out of three churches belonging to the *Abbadia delle Tre Fontane* (the Abbey of the Three Fountains), about three English miles from the town southwards.

‡‡ This church was burned down in 1823. It has since been rebuilt, but in a different style.

October 16. I was in St. Peter's church [S. Pietro in Vaticano], and saw both its exterior and interior; images of metal and marble, the graves of the popes. I was likewise present at a baptism at the magnificent font, where something was put into the mouth of the candidate, and something applied to his temples. Afterwards I examined the process by which mosaic is made; it looks very coarse when it is examined closely and before it is polished; glass beads are used which are split, and fastened into cement, and indeed on large thick stones which are grooved, like [some kind of] iron rods. Afterwards I was in the Castello del Angelo, and examined the angel on the top, and the four bastions; I saw also the cannon which was fired by Queen Christina, the rooms, the church, the prison, &c., likewise Cardinal Coscia;* from the top I had a view of the whole town. The day before I had been in the Palazzo Borghese, examining all the paintings there; the *stanza* [the room] of Venus, the fountains, the small garden adorned with statues, and the court are handsome.

October 17. I visited the Mausoleum of Augustus, where a palace [now] is, [the Palazzo Corea]; a wall only remains of the old building, but Augustus' statue is said to be still preserved. Afterwards I examined the *Thermæ* of Diocletian, but only the walls. A monastery of considerable extent is there; its Fathers are called *Hierosolymi;* twelve of them are confined during the whole year; they obtain their food through a trap-door; one day in the year they come out: the others meanwhile drive about in carriages. I was also in the Churches of S. Bernardo [alle Terme], S. Susanna, and [S. Maria della] Vittoria; the last of these belongs to the barefooted Carmelites [*Carmeliti Scalzi*], its columns are of beautifully variegated and well matched marble; it contains fine statues, and fresco paintings on the ceiling, etc. In the neighbourhood are three fountains.

October 22. I was in the Church of St. Peter, and saw the tomb of Peter with its hundred silver lamps, and precious pillars. At the further end of the choir are four admirable

* He was imprisoned by Pope Clement XII on account of the vile and atrocious acts he had committed.

statues in bronze.* On one side is the marble statue of [Maffeo] Barberini [Pope Urban VIII], on the other that of [Alessandro] Farnese [Pope Paul III]. Marble statues have also been erected there by the orders of the Minimi, the Carmelites, the "Prædicatores," &c. to their founders; likewise a statue of St. Andrew, whose head is preserved here; of St. Helena Hierosolymitana, who received the image of Christ; also another holding in his hands some of the wood of the cross of Christ; and a bronze image of St. Peter.† Some of the niches destined to hold others are still empty. On the ceilings and along the walls are many paintings. The church consists of four divisions, one large area, and one which is shorter; thus altogether of six parts. The inscription of Borghese [Paul V] is on the exterior of the church. There is one of the doors, which is opened only when a jubilee is celebrated.

October 25. I was in the Palazzo Farnese; in the court and vestibule are beautiful antique statues of large size; apart in a building is a group of two struggling with an ox,‡ which is of great value; it was found in the temple of Caracalla. In the palace itself there is a great quantity of smaller and larger statues; that of Alexander Farnese receiving a wreath while stepping upon two of his enemies, is the most beautiful.

October 26. I was again at the Villa Borghese; Daphne and Apollo, Æneas and Anchises, one [David] with a sling, all by Bernini, were the principal objects; further a [reclining] hermaphrodite whose couch *(matlas* for *matelas?)* was by Bernini, a gladiator, and Anscarius [?], a beggar; likewise a table of black marble.

October 31. I examined the large column of Antoninus,§ with the pedestal, sculptures, and inscriptions, which have been found, but which were too large to be set up; under these far down in the ground, it is said a place has been discovered

* Two of these figures are now in the Palazzo Farnese.

† All these statues are in the niches of the main-columns in the centre aisle.

‡ This celebrated group, called the Farnesian Steer, is now in the Museum at Naples.

§ This column is on the Piazza Colonna; it is usually ascribed to Antoninus Pius, but it was erected in honour of Marcus Aurelius.

paved with flag-stones. Afterwards I was in the little church of S. Brigitta* on the Piazza Farnese, and in the chapel belonging to it which is above; there she died, and there also her daughter Catharine was, who has likewise been canonized; some of her relics are preserved there; only three friars are there who are Germans.

November 20. I was in the Vatican, and saw the paintings of Raphael and of all others, and likewise the Conclave.† It is said to contain 12,000 rooms, but I do not believe that there are more than a thousand; still it contains twenty courts; the tapestry is not worth much. In one of the courts were some valuable statues, mostly Greek. I saw also the garden which contains the ashes of Nero.

December 9. I was at the Villa Ludovisi, which is a magnificent garden, with an endless number of statues and large urns. The Roman walls are seen there with their passages of communication. What I liked most there was a satyr, and one of the avenues.

## 1739.

January 28. I was in [the Church of] S. Pietro in Montorio where Peter was crucified; the Franciscans are there; the place commands a view of the whole town. I visited also the four fountains of Paul *(Acqua Paola)* which are on the very top of the hill; thither the aqueducts are led. This beautiful structure was erected by Pope Paul V.

January 29. I was again in the gallery on the Campidoglio, where I witnessed the drawing of a lottery; likewise at the Villa Medici. There I saw two magnificent vases or lavers of grey rock; an Egyptian column, Niobe and Thisbe, a lion, and a magnificent gallery, which now belongs to Don Carlos.

January 30. I was in the Longara where Queen Christina resided; the palace belongs to Duke Corsini, the nephew

* A Swedish saint, born in 1304, died at Rome in 1373. She became far-famed by her "Revelationes St. Brigittæ," which were first printed in Rome in 1488, and of which many editions have since been published.

† The place in the Vatican where the pope is elected by the cardinals.

of the pope. A house and garden are on the summit of the hill, where the whole town is spread out before the beholder, the Church of St. Peter on the one side and the Campagna on the other.

February 2. I spent an hour and a half with Senator Bjelke,* by whom I was most courteously received.

February 6. The Villa Pamphili was visited by me; I found a fine garden there, as well as paintings and statues. I examined also the aqueduct with arches underneath. Afterwards I visited the Palazzo Giustiniani, where statues and pictures alternate.† There was a gallery where the statues stood very close together; the best were a Lucretia by Bernini, and an ancient statue; likewise Minerva with her ægis or shield, which formerly stood in the Temple of Minerva;‡ a goat, etc. Afterwards I proceeded to the Palazzo Barberini, where I saw many articles in silver, paintings of modern masters; the most important among the statues were an Adonis by Bernini, an antique Faun, a Priapus, &c. I was in the Vatican, in the other apartments, in [the Hall of] the Inquisition, etc., and likewise in the mosaic works.

February 14. I was in the Vatican Library, which was fitted up by Sixtus V. I saw there splendid paintings, beautiful vases, large halls. All articles are kept in cases. I saw also [the MSS. of] Virgil and Terence,§ and some ancient masks; likewise the splendid [Codex of the] New Testament;** the actions of a general painted in miniature, and other interesting objects. I do not believe that there are so many new as old books there.

February 15. I left Rome and travelled through Viterbo, St. Quirico, Siena, &c. to Florence.

February 20. I arrived in Florence.

* See foot-note at p. 118.

† The pictures are now mostly in Berlin; the sculptures partly in the Vatican and partly in the possession of Prince Torlonia.

‡ This statue is now in the Vatican.

§ The celebrated MS. of Virgil dates from the fifth, and that of Terence, the so-called Bembinus, from the fourth century after Christ.

** The famous Vatican Codex of the New Testament dates from the fifth century.

and anatomy. At the entrance into the garden where the buildings are situated is also Pitton de Tournefort's* cabinet of curiosities, as well as an herbarium of upwards of 6000 plants. Close by is a place for storing wood.

Near the garden is the Hôpital de la Pitié, which is an old institution; there boys and girls are trained for work; they thence go into service or are married; they are also sent to the colonies. It belongs to the Hôpital Général, of which it is a branch.

On the way I passed St. Geneviève. The monastery dates from the fifth or sixth century, and belongs to the order of the Augustines. The abbacy yields annually 70,000 livres. The abbé has great power; when a procession takes place with the St. Geneviève,† he is invested with his mitre and cross, and administers the benediction in the streets even to the Archbishop of Paris. The monastery is very celebrated; it has a beautiful garden and a handsome library. St. Geneviève is there at the altar in the choir, richly decorated; her procession is magnificent, abounding with riches. Rochefort [?], as well as Descartes are buried in the church.‡

October 30. I was in the church of the Theatines near the Pont Royal, and also in the church of the barefooted Augustines near the Tuileries, where I heard Guillaume, the chaplain of the king, preach; he gesticulated like an actor on the stage; yet he preached in a very superior style.

November 3. I was at the opening of the parliament in the palace where it meets.§ On one side of the large hall where an altar with a beautiful altar-piece is erected, the sermon was delivered; many candles were lighted, and music

* Jos. Pitton de Tournefort was a celebrated French botanist, he was born in 1656, and died in 1708.

† St. Geneviève is the patron saint of Paris.

‡ The church of St. Geneviève was removed in the middle of the last century, on account of its delapidated condition. The magnificent church which was erected in its place was called the "Panthéon," by a decree of the year 1791. By a recent decree dating from the year 1851 its former name "Eglise Ste. Geneviève" was again restored, yet the building still passes in Paris under the name of the "Panthéon," and the name "Ste. Geneviève" is restricted to the library.

§ Palais de Justice, on the island called La Cité.

was played; the gentlemen were in their red cloaks: a bishop administered the pontifical rite.

The Sainte Chapelle,* which was built in 1245 by Louis the Saint, was open; I saw there two enamelled paintings, one of which represented Christ on the cross, and the other His resurrection; they were oval and about three-quarters [of an ell] high; they were surrounded by four smaller round paintings, with others between. They were all of great value. The original painting was also shown, where the Emperor Baldwin presents to Louis the Saint a number of relics of the cross, the crown of thorns, the spear, clothes, sponge, &c., all of which are preserved here; they were obtained in Constantinople and purchased at a very high price.†

## 1737.

January. I was in the church of St. Geneviève; she is the patron saint of Paris. Her coffin, with an abundance of genuine diamonds and surrounded with many candles, is placed upon a high altar in the front part of the church.

There are four *conseils* (councils) in France, at which the king presides: 1. *Le Conseil d'état* (the council of state). 2. *Le conseil des dépêches* (the council of foreign despatches). 3. *Le conseil des finances* (the council of finance). 4. *Le conseil de commerce* (the council of commerce).

The council of state consists: 1. Of the king, 2. The Duke of Orléans, the first prince of the blood royal, 3. Cardinal Fleury, 4. The keeper of the seals, 5. The Duke d'Estrées, the marshal, 6. M. Anguilliers, the secretary of state, 7. M. Orry, councillor of state and comptroller of the finance.

The Keeper of the seals *(Garde de sceaux)* has in his charge the foreign despatches from all the ministers, likewise donations and brevets. The Comte de Maurepas, secretary of state, transacts almost everything that concerns the affairs of

* The Sainte Chapelle, the former royal chapel, is in the southern court of the Palais de Justice.

† Louis the Saint is said to have purchased them from Jean de Brienne, King of Jerusalem, and his son-in-law Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople, for three millions of francs.

the interior and the exterior, except what has reference to war; the Comte de Florintin, secretary of state, that which concerns religion, which is very little; Mons. d'Anguilliers, secretary of state, all that concerns war in the country. The Duke of Charot is the presiding officer of the council. M. Orry, who is councillor of state and in the royal council, is comptroller of finance, and has in his charge the affairs of commerce and what concerns [the finances of] the state. Lamoignon de Cuisson is also councillor of state.

In France there are 14,777 convents and from 300,000 to 400,000 members of religious orders, who possess 9000 palaces or mansions; 1356 abbots, 567 abbesses, 13,000 prioresses *(prieuses)*, 15,000 chaplains, 140,000 pastors and curates, 18 archbishops, and 112 bishops. 776 abbots and 280 abbesses are appointed by the king. There are also 16 heads of orders. The following are the principal: the Jacobins, Augustines, Cordeliers, Carmelites, Carthusians *(Chartreux)*, Bernardines, Benedictines, Jesuits, Minimi,* Celestines.

The archbishops have the following provinces allotted to them: 1. Paris, Monseigneur de Luc [Louis?], 2. Lyon, 3. Rouen, Monsign. Tavannes, 4. Sens, 5. Rheims, Monsign. de Rohan, 6. Tours, 7. Bourges, 8. Alby, 9. Bordeaux, 10. Auch, Cardinal Polignac, 11. Narbonne, 12. Toulouse, 13. Arles, 14. Aix, 15. Vienne, 16. Embrun, 17. Besançon, 18. Cambray.

Members of the Royal House of France: King Louis XV, born in 1710; Queen Marie, in 1703; the Dauphin, in 1729; the six Mesdames de France. The royal family is mostly from the Bourbon family in conjunction with the Duke of Orléans, the Duchess of Orléans, the widow of the late duke, who is now living, being a Bourbon; further, from the Bourbons and the Bourbon-Contis. Two sons of the late Duke of Orléans are living, a daughter is an abbess; of the Bourbon branch several are living, one son [a Bourbon] and his brother, who is called the Duc de Chartres, besides several daughters; there are also some from the branch Bourbon-Conti, and from the branch Bourbon-Condé. There are altogether twelve male and fourteen female descendants of the Bourbons and the Duke of Orléans.

* A reformed order of the Franciscans.

January 23, 24. I was at St. Denis where I saw the royal vaults, as well as the treasures which are preserved there, of which I shall treat more in detail below.

In connection with royalty in France there have further to be mentioned: 1. Stanislaus Leczinsky,[131] King of Poland, born in 1677, 2. Catharina Opalinsky, his queen, born in 1683, 3. There is in France a dowager-queen of Spain, born in 1669, 4. Also another personage, born in 1704, a daughter of the Duke of Orléans.

In Spain are: 1. King Philip, born in 1683, 2. Queen Elisabeth Fernese, born in 1692, 3. Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, born in 1713, 4. His sister Marie, Queen of Portugal, 5. Don Philippe, born in 1727, 6. Don Louis, Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, 7. Two princesses, one Marie Therese, and the other Marie Antoinette; besides Don Carlos.

In St. Denis a great number of curiosities were to be seen: 1. A piece of clockwork, representing the passion of Christ and many other subjects, one after another, simply by means of weights. 2. The church is antique, brought to perfection chiefly by Dagobert;* the windows are curious on account of their stained glass and figures; all of the chapels are said to be rich. There was a marvellous cross of solid gold; a well-made iron grating, and posts of metal. 3. On the way to St. Denis I saw pyramids erected to the memory of Philip the Bold, the son of St. Louis, who had brought his father's remains with him in 1271. 4. Dagobert, the grandson of Chilperic, as far as has become known, was the first who was buried here. St. Louis caused a considerable number of epitaphs commemorating his predecessors, to be set up here. 5. The statue of Charles VIII is of black marble and bronze. 6. The tomb of Louis XII is the finest in respect to architecture. 7. That of Louis XIV is still covered, for it is not uncovered during the life-time of

* Modern investigations have shown, that there is not a trace left of the first church built by Dagobert in 630, nor of the second which was begun by Pepin in 754, and finished by his son Charlemagne in 775. Suger, the celebrated Abbot of St. Denis, erected a new church, which was dedicated in 1144, and destroyed by lightning a century later. The church as reconstructed by St. Louis from 1234 to 1284 forms the basis of the present building.

his successor. 8. In the chapel of the House of Valois were Catharina de Medici and her husband Henry II; with several others. 9. Among those buried here, besides kings, are the Vicomte de Turenne marked by a fine epitaph, Sancerre,* Arnaud de Guillaume, Bertrand†, all of whom where great men, and beloved. 10. They have been damaged somewhat by the various wars. 11. The emperor *de chevau* [?] is the only one who is known to have been buried here; he is in his imperial robes. 12. In respect to the treasures and armour much has to be observed, since they consist of precious stones, diamonds, massive gold, agates, [?] crowns, crucifixes, monstrances; in a monstrance was the largest diamond I have seen, also a very large one in the royal coronation crown, in which, I have been told, a considerable number of relics are enclosed; as well as in a large ruby and in other objects wrought of gold, which relics are partly from the cross of Christ, and partly from St. Denis, etc. 13. I was shown a cross of porphyry which was said to be the finest porphyry ever seen; it was brought here by Dagobert from Poitiers. There is some doubt as to the use which was made of it. I lodged at the "Lamb."

The royal persons in England are as follows: 1. George II., born 1683; 2. Carolina Wilhelmina of Brandenburg-Anspach, born 1683; 3. Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, born 1707; 4. Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, born 1721; 5. William Augustus of England, Duke of Cumberland; 6. Anna, wife of the Prince of Orange; 7. The Princesses Emily, Caroline, Mary Louisa; 8. James III [the Pretender] in Rome, born 1688; 9. Two of his sons.

The provinces of France are as follow: Angoumais, Anjou, Auvergne, Berry, Blaisais, Burgundy, Bretagne, Bordeaux, Champagne, Chartrain, Dauphiné, Franche Comté, Ile de France, Languedoc, la Manche, Limousin, Lorraine and the duchy de Bar, Maine, Navarre, Nivernois, Normandie, Orléanois, Pays bas, la Flandre, Brabant, Comté d'Artois, Hainault, Perigord, Picardie, Poitou, Provence, Rousillon, Tourenne, [&c.].

* Louis de Sancerre, connétable de France, who died in 1470.

† Bertrand du Guesclin, Comte de Longueville and connétable de France, who died in 1380, in a battle fought against the English.

July 30. I went to Passy, and saw the springs of Passy, of which there are two; they are far down in the earth, just as in a cellar; each consists of two streams, so that there are really four; the new springs, however, have three streams. They are chalybeate or vitriolic, just as with us [in Sweden]. They use the whole of it, and in order to get the iron out of it, they pump it into long earthen vessels, covering them with slate, and let the water stand there for a month, when all the ochre settles to the bottom, and the water becomes almost like sweet water; it is then filled into earthen bottles and filtered. A pint of it is sold for five stivers.

I drove also to [the convent of] Calvaire, which is on a high mountain* near Suresnes. There are seven pictures pretty well executed, representing the whole of Christ's passion. In the church the tomb of Christ is represented in the form in which it exists on mount Calvary. A large garden belongs to it, from which a view can be had of the neighbouring country including many small towns.†

## 1738.

March 12. At 3 o'clock in the morning I left Paris by diligence and arrived at Châlons [sur Saone] on the 15th, having passed through various villages, as well as through Auxerre. From Châlons I went by "treckschuyt," which is here called the "diligence par eau," to Macon, and thence to Lyons. I thus came through the Franche Comté, the whole of Burgundy, and Doubs, passing on the way several beautiful castles, one of which belongs to the Comte de Clermont, where the best wine grows, 1500 *en queue* [?]. The wine of Macon also is pretty good. The *diligence par eau* goes into the river

* Now Mont Valérien.

† The monastery le Calvaire, built by Louis XIII, was formerly a favourite place for pilgrimages. Napoleon I. removed the monastery and erected in its place an educational institute for the daughters of members of the Legion of honour. After the restoration the place came again into the hands of an ecclesiastical corporation, and the pilgrimages began anew; but the year 1830 put an end to their possession, and in 1840 the building of the fortress of Mont Valérien was commenced.

Rhone, which flows through Lyons, and which has its origin in several streams in the Alps. Lyons or the old *Lugdunum* is a pretty large and considerable town, containing many large houses and palaces, especially around the Place Royal [Place Louis le Grand], where are two large palaces belonging to private persons. The place is adorned by an equestrian statue of Louis XIV in bronze, with fountains on each side. Lyons is a great place for manufacturing galloons, gold and silver lace, gold and silver cloth, and silk goods. It produces a great quantity of finely spun gold, the unmanufactured gold being worth seven-eighths of the manufactured article. Every year gold to the value of from 300,000 to 400,000 marks in silver is thus manufactured into gold wire; it comes from Genoa to Lyons; the weight of the gold amounts to upwards of 70 or 80 tons. The Archbishop of Lyons is the primate of the clergy in France; he has his jurisdiction like the pope. Villeroy is governor; he has survivance of the office which is hereditary. The Jesuits have a large convent where they make mithridate;* they have also a fine library which I visited. I stayed in Lyons for from four to five days.

March 22. I left Lyons for Turin, crossing the Alps, and finally passing over the last and highest mountain, Mont Cenis, where we had to undergo much fatigue, and where our lives were endangered by the snow which had fallen the previous night, which was so deep that our mules had fairly to swim in it, and we were obliged to dismount. It was fortunate that our party consisted of twelve persons besides six monks of the Carmelite order, and that we had an attendance of from fifty to sixty porters who paved a way for us. The night we passed on the mountain in the Grande Croix [inn]. Our halting places and the villages which we passed, were as follows: Bron, [St.] Laurent [de Mure] with a château, [la] Verpillière, Bourgoin, la Tour de Pin, Vigaborgho[?], Pont de Beauvoisin, where France terminates and Savoy begins; here too the King of Savoy met his last queen. Afterwards we came to Chambéry, which is a handsome town,

* An antidote against poison, so called from Mithridates, King of Pontus, its supposed inventor.

and thence to Montmélian [or Montmeillan], Aiquebelle, Epierre, La Chambre, [St.] Jean de Maurienne, St. Michel, Lans-le-Bourg, and thus to Mont Cenis. Before leaving the mountain the Grande Croix [inn] is reached, where the view opens to Ferrara and Novalesa. Afterwards Susa is passed which is fortified by three strong citadels, then Giaconaro[?], St. Ambrogio and Rivoli with a handsome palace or château royal. After Rivoli comes Turin, where we arrived on March 30. [The whole route from Lyons to Turin is as follows:] Bron, St. Laurent de Mure with a château, Vigaborgho, Pont de Beauvoisin, Chambéry, Montmeillan, St. Michel, Lans-le-Bourg, Mont Cenis, Grande Croix, Ferrara, Novalesa, Susa with three citadels, Gioconaro, St. Ambrogio, Rivoli with a royal palace, Turin.

March 31. I took a view of Turin. On the tower is a bull cast in metal, life size, as a symbol of Turin. Before reaching the town a large and handsome monastery is seen, belonging to the Carthusians. I visited the royal palace, which is not large but handsome; there are larger houses on each side. An avenue of trees leads to the town, the length of which is six miles or three French leagues. A royal country residence, Superga, is seen on a high mountain. It was built by King Victor [Amadeus II], the father of the present monarch, who relinquished the government in favour of his son, that he might marry his mistress without difficulty. He afterwards tried to regain possession, but his attempt was frustrated by his son, who arrested him at Rivoli, where he was kept a prisoner till his death, which happened from six to eight months afterwards.

In Turin I noted the following particulars: 1. The King [Charles Emanuel III], whose age is thirty-seven years and a half, looks like a man of fifty. 2. The houses in Turin are magnificent, ten or twelve houses together forming one continuous building, which gives them an imposing appearance. 3. All who are in possession of riches are either called Counts or merchants. 4. The streets are not named, but the quarters *(hörnen)*, which are called after a saint. 5. The rooms are not numbered, but named after a saint. 6. An air of grandeur is also given by the sedan-chairs moving about.

7. The palace of the Duke of Carignan is large. 8. The prime minister is M. d'Homère, a man of great intelligence, who has obtained from the pope all that he asked. 9. Among the convents that of the Carmelites is large; its church is in the best taste I have yet seen. That of the Capuchins (Franciscans) is out of the town. A monk of the name of Philippi planned the Carmelite church. *L'église de Lorraine* (the church of Lorraine) near the castle is splendid but small. 10. The apartments in the royal castle are superbly furnished; they are resplendent with gold, silver, and mirrors, and adorned with paintings, among which are four excellent ones of Albano representing the four elements; likewise the forty-eight miniature portraits recently purchased in Rome for 18,000 florins. Among these are those of Luther and his wife. Luther and Calvin are there; the former painted with one eye. The paintings on the ceilings are also magnificent.

April 4, or Maundy-Thursday. I saw their magnificent processions, of which I counted nine; altogether there were from twenty to thirty. They had a great number of large wax-tapers; six flogged themselves so that the blood streamed from their bodies; others bore a cross of considerable weight; others had their arms stretched out; others, again, bore the insignia of crucifixion; lastly, a machine furnished with a large number of candles was carried, on which Christ was represented life-size in various positions, together with Mary. The same day Their Majesties went through the whole town. On Good-Friday evening they have another great procession, with a machine, on which are Christ lying in a shroud, the head of John the Baptist, and Mary with a sword through her heart. All in the procession are either masked or have sadness expressed in their countenances; they are clothed in white, red, black, and blue. On Easter I was in the Chapelle Royale and heard beautiful music; a eunuch sang. I saw the king and queen.

April 7. I left Turin, and travelled through Chivasso, Vercelli and Novara to Milan. In Novara I was abandoned by my *vetturino,* and was compelled to travel alone with another *vetturino* who was not trustworthy, and who often drew his stiletto in arranging his gear. I was on my guard, and

he was led to think *(inbillade)* that I had not a stiver about me. The provinces of Novara and Tortona have become the possession of the King of Sardinia.

April 9. I arrived at Milan, which is a large and populous town. I was in the following places: 1. In the cathedral, which is two hundred ells long to the choir and high in proportion; it has five aisles with four rows of columns, all of pure marble. It is covered with marble on the exterior, and is decorated with many marble statues and ornaments; even the roof is of marble. They continue building from year to year; it will probably never be finished.* Among the marble statues in the interior St. Bartholomew's is considered the most remarkable; all the muscles are shown; but the subject does not seem to me well represented. A great number of silver lamps are continually burning. Under the choir are the tombs of many saints, especially the tomb of San Carlo, which abounds in silver ornaments on which the miracles of the saint are represented; an altar is erected in his honour, on which money is laid. 2. I visited the great hospital *[Ospedate Maggiore],* one of the finest and largest in existence; the portraits of all those who have contributed to its funds, painted by the great masters, are in a hall. The service in the hospital is performed entirely by bastards; for foundlings in great number are received in a drawer. The sick are treated well; every one in his bed, both women and men. There are special halls for the wounded, for there is a great number of them, on account of the many assassinations. I visited also the kitchen, the cellar, the building for washing, which are all excellent. 3. There is a smaller hospital for persons of quality, which is very well appointed,—all the attendants are fathers of a convent. 4. I saw the palace where the archbishop, who has recently been created a cardinal, resides: his name is Stampa. 5. The governor's palace which is close by is also large. 6. They have an opera-house; the theatre is said to be the very largest; yet it is not so large as it is reported; it has five tiers and it accommodates

* When the editor visited Milan in 1874, they were still engaged in repairing and finishing it.

from 1500 to 2000 persons. 7. I visited the principal monasteries. One which belongs to the order of Ambrosio,* is splendidly decorated with paintings; one of these in the hall up-stairs may be called a real *chef d'œuvre;* if you are twelve or fifteen steps removed from it, it is impossible to think otherwise than that it stands out from the wall. In the garden a fig-tree was pointed out, where, it is said, Augustine was converted 1400 years ago. Each of the fathers has his domestic and valet de chambre; for they all belong to the aristocracy. 8. Another monastery, that of St. Victor, or of the Benedictines, is not inferior to this in any respect; there resided the Duc de Noailles;† it has a pretty large garden; on the ceiling of the church, which is similar to St. Peter's in Rome, is Roman workmanship; it contains many fine paintings. 9. I afterwards visited the building of the Inquisition with its church; 10. Also the large convent for young ladies *(couvent major des filles),* where I conversed in the parlour with two nuns; I saw their procession and bought their flowers; a young person was also led into the parlour. 11. I took a view of the citadel on the two sides on which it has been besieged; there are two towers on the side next the town; on the others a wide plain stretches out. 12. I examined the Library,‡ which consists of a great number of manuscripts and of old books written by the monks; the genealogy of the French kings was shown to me. The library itself is of little value, as it contains only old books. There is connected with it an academy of painting and sculpture; one hall was shown containing statues, and another which is devoted to paintings. 13. A regiment of cavalry was quartered in a monastery of the order of Franciscus de Paula,§ which is said to be the largest in Milan, and contains a hundred and fifty

* The present *Ospedale Militare* (Military Hospital) near the church of St. Ambrosio.

† Adrien Maurice, Duc de Noailles, general in chief of the French and Sardinian troops, who compelled the imperial troops to withdraw from Italy, in 1735.

‡ The celebrated Ambrosian Library, founded in 1525 by Federigo Borromeo.

§ The so-called Minimi.

fathers; they are clothed like the Capuchins or Franciscans; their chapter is said to have been there, but it has now been removed to Rome. 14. Afterwards I was in several churches and monasteries, and examined their paintings. 15. I was in the church of the Bernardines, which, in respect to the paintings on the ceiling and the walls which are its only ornaments, is the most magnificent that can be found. 16. I saw the place where those who die in the hospital are buried; it was recently built by a private gentleman on one side of the town; it has a portico and columns. 17. I witnessed the funeral of a canon, who was conveyed by his whole brotherhood to the church, which within and without was most beautifully decorated. The corpse itself was uncovered, draped in white and gold moire, with a cross in the hands and the head bare; all was perfumed with incense; persons with large wax-tapers encompassed it, singing and reading. A mausoleum of four stories was raised in the middle of the church; it was rather high and well-decorated; upon this the corpse was placed; on the following day the great mass was performed. 18. In the church of the Bernardines the altar was of marble; the pulpit and confessional of choice stones. 19. Ladies of quality have one or two lackeys going before them; one leads them, and one or two follow them: it is improper to fix one's eyes upon them. 20. Men go about leading six goats and selling fresh goats' milk. 21. Afterwards I was in several nunneries and in their churches and gardens; also in the church of Alsach, or of the canons, where was a statue of Mary in marble, with four columns of silver, and other ornaments of silver and diamonds; twenty-five large silver lamps and silver candlesticks; pillars of jasper in the choir; also beautiful inlaid stones and many paintings.

April 13. I left Milan in company with five Carmelite monks, who were taking the opportunity to see Venice on the way to their chapter in Rome. The journey from Milan to Padua is five days and a half. We passed this side of Bergamo, whence the best harlequins are said to come. Thence we came to Bresse or Brescia, which is a fine commercial town, and contains several handsome palaces. Afterwards we travelled through Peschiera, which is a strong fortress with fine, lofty

walls, and arrived at Verona which is a pretty large and extensive town. I examined a few churches, and then visited the large amphitheatre, which was built by Augustus, and, with the exception of the two highest rows, is still entire. It will hold from 50,000 to 60,000 people, has seventy entrances, and seventy openings above, and a vault and vaulted rooms for beasts and slaves. I computed the circumference of the structure at 600 ells. Not far from this is another interesting building, which is said to have been erected by Scipio Africanus, and repaired by one of his family; it is now a dwelling-house. The rooms under the amphitheatre are occupied as shops. Afterwards I visited the opera; a new theatre has been built with a hundred and forty boxes. In respect to the shifting of scenes in the theatre, with their decorations, which all represent beautiful palaces and other fine prospects, also in respect to the singing and dancing, they surpass the French opera to such a degree, that it seems to be mere child's play in comparison with them. From Verona I continued my journey to Vicenza, where I visited several churches which were celebrated for their paintings, statues in marble, and their inlaid work, and likewise—especially the more recent ones—for their architecture. The cathedral was magnificent; thither the Tridentine Council had intended to remove, in case the plague had continued. I saw a theatre *(Teatro Olimpico)* which was built in the ancient style, with an amphitheatre for the spectators, adorned with statues; the front-elevation consisted of columns and statues; the interior represented a palace, from which the actors descended by two ways, and went through their performances. I then came to Padua, which is a large but antiquated town, possessing a university, but no palace of any consequence. The most interesting object was the church of S. Giustina, the like of which I never saw before. The whole floor is paved with white, red, and black marble; it has twenty altars, each of which is adorned with marble statues, and marble columns of various kinds, while the altar itself is constructed of inlaid stones representing some kind of painting; I counted there from eighty to ninety large marble statues, and the same number of small ones. The monastery is rather large. Afterwards I was in the

church of S. Antonio, where I found likewise beautiful paintings and marble statues, especially in its chapel, where there are from eighty to eighty-eight silver lamps of considerable size, also candlesticks, and especially one of pure gold, which is rather large. There are also many tablets representing the miracles wrought by S. Antonio of Padua. The town-hall and the other public buildings are old-fashioned. On the evening of April 18 I sailed from Padua to Venice.

April 19. I arrived in Venice in a barque from Padua; and visited the two large squares *[Piazza* and *Piazetta]*, where the houses of parliament and of justice are, and where the procurators* live; the mint; the church of St. Mark; the church of the Jesuits, which is of more recent architecture, [it was built from 1715 to 1730;] the church of S. Maria della Salute.

April 20. I witnessed the festive return of the ambassador of Venice, when most people wore masks. He was received in the church of the Franciscans, far out of town, by the senators, who, arrayed in red cloaks, had gone to meet him there to the number of forty or fifty in company with the former Venetian ambassador; there were firing of cannon, an illumination on the water, and a ball.

[May] 15. I was present at the festival which they usually celebrate on Ascension-day; I joined them in their expedition and saw how the sea was consecrated. The masks continued for a fortnight. I was also at the opera. Every Saturday there is music in the *Chiostro incurabile ed pietá*. I had lodgings near the Rialto bridge in the town. I was in company with Mr. Firencrantz.

August 9. After finishing my work I left Venice for Padua, and travelled thence to Vicenza and Verona, where I inspected again the great amphitheatre; they have a play there now. I saw also the opera-house, and all the antiquities in the neighbourhood. The opera-house has nine entrances, thirty-two rooms, etc.

August 14. I arrived at Mantua, which has few inhabitants, and where there is very little to be seen. The only objects

* The procurators were the most powerful officials of the Venetian republic.

of importance are the fortifications; the town is also fortified by nature on all sides, for it is surrounded by a morass, 1200 paces wide. It has two or three stone bridges; the water is higher on one side than on the other.

August 21. I went by barque to Ferrara, which belongs to the chair of St. Peter; it is a handsome town and has large, wide streets; the cathedral is fine. In the church of S. Maria del vado are very fine paintings; the remaining churches were passable. Afterwards I was in the palace of Baron Cerveles, which is superb and well kept; there are rooms with mirrors, and others decorated with pictures, &c.; also a fine silver service. In Ferrara the pope has a cardinal; an abbé is placed over the militia, etc.

August 23. I arrived in Bologna. I was in the cathedral, and also in the monastery and church of the Dominicans, where St. Dominic died; his tomb, head, etc. are shown; in the church there are paintings of the best masters. In the town are many handsome palaces.

August 24. I was present at their annual festival, which assumed the form of an entertainment, when there was thrown to the people a large quantity of chickens, pigeons, geese, turkeys, and afterwards sheep; lastly Cardinal Spinola and two other persons distributed peacocks, then money, and finally purses. In the museum everything is in perfect order, and they have a complete collection in all the arts and sciences; in sculpture, painting, chemistry, physics, and astronomy. There are two cardinals in the town, and fifty governors, who are drawn by lot every two months. I saw the Bologna Stone,* which is obtained on a mountain two or three miles [leagues] from the town. I went some distance out of town to a monastery of the white Benedictines, which is large and costly.†

* The Bologna Stone is a radiated sulphate of barytes, found in roundish masses, composed of radiating fibres, first discovered near Bologna. It is phosphorescent when calcined.

† *S. Michele in bosco* is situated on an eminence about a quarter of an hour's walk from the town southwards. It belonged to a fraternity of the Benedictines called Olivetans, after the monastery on the Monte Oliveto near Florence, with which they were affiliated. The monastery was abolished in 1797, and changed into barracks.

August 28. I arrived in Florence. The road between Bologna and Florence lies among the mountains. It is one of the finest towns, containing many beautiful palaces, and magnificent paintings, sculptures, and other rare objects. The church called S. Maria del fiore has a dome which is of marble on the outside and cost 18 millions [of francs]. Close by is the Church of S. Giovanni Battista [il Battisterio], where are sculptures in marble, and statues in bronze. In S. Giovannino [degli Scolopi] are beautiful pictures, as well as in S. Spirito, in S. Felice in the piazza, and in many others. In the Galleria [degli Uffizi] are the most magnificent objects in Europe, rarities old and new, precious stones, mosaics, &c., which it is impossible to describe. The principal statue of Venus is there, amid many others. In the chapel* where the Dukes [dei Medici] are buried, may be seen the most splendid art, all kinds of choice stones and mausolea; it is not yet finished. In the Palazzo Pitti where the Prince† resides were most beautiful paintings by the best masters, and in a room below a magnetic stone two ells long, two ells broad, and an ell and a half high. I was in the garden, called Boboli, where there are likewise many statues, and which abounds in cypresses; there too is an amphitheatre. In S. Marco, which is a monastery, are beautifully inlaid stones, and enamelled work; a chemical laboratory is also there. The Library of S. Lorenzo [Biblioteca Laurenziana] consists entirely of old books dating two hundred years back. The Library of Magliabecchi [Biblioteca Magliabecchiana] is large; it is arranged alphabetically. The arsenal is not large.

August 31. We were out of the town to the Villa Imperiale [Villa Poggio Imperiale], where is a handsome avenue of cypress and laurel trees, and a most magnificent gallery of paintings by the best masters, mosaics, statues, especially beautiful Greek statues, etc.;‡ likewise an orangery, a grotto, and fountains. Afterwards I was in the fine monastery of

* The tombs of the Medici are in the Church of S. Lorenzo.

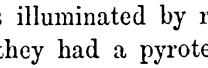
† John Gasto, the last Duke of the house of Medici, died in July 1737, when he was succeeded by Duke Francis Stephen of Lorraine, who had been appointed his successor by the Vienna treaty of 1735.

‡ The art-treasures were removed from the Villa in 1860.

February 24. I saw the Grand-Duke, the Duchess, and her brother in the park; I was there two hours.

In Siena there is a handsome cathedral of marble, in which are twelve [two?] very fine statues by Bernini, etc., some paintings, and a beautifully inlaid floor; another church [St. John the Baptist's] is under the building.

February 27. I left Florence for Leghorn, where great preparations were being made for the reception of the Grand-Duke.* I arrived there on the 28th.

March 5. There was an extraordinarily fine illumination with lamps upon the churches and houses; a pyramid with nine statues was erected in the market place; two fountains were there sending forth wine. The lamps were set in beautiful order. They shone finest when the figures were not intricate, as these:  etc.; more than half the surface of the water was illuminated by red, yellow, and white lamps. On March 6th they had a pyrotechnical display at considerable expense, but it was not marked by much ingenuity; the only noticeable piece was a coat-of-arms in blue flame on a black back-ground. On the 7th there was a "Togana," when provisions placed on obelisks *(på obelisks),* to the value of 10,000 rix-dalers, were given to the people. On the 8th they had horse races; on the 9th racing in chariots; and on the 14th pugilistic matches, for which handsome prizes were appointed.

March 14. I left Leghorn for Genoa in a felucca; on the way we were in great fear of the Algerines.

March 17. I arrived in Genoa; it has a beautiful harbour, splendid palaces of Balbi [-Piövera], Negro, Doria, and others. I saw the government building *(rådhuset)* and also handsome paintings, where I found more living persons represented than I had seen before; likewise [the monument of] Columbus, who was a Genoese. I saw the doge, who is always in red down to the very shoes; for two years he is not allowed to go out [of the town]. I noticed how they voted. There are about eight hundred nobles, all clothed in black with small caps;

* Duke Francis Stephen of Lorraine, who on the extinction of the line of the Dukes of Medici, ascended the Tuscan throne in 1737.

they have flat noses and countenances. I visited a magnificent garden [Villa Pallavicini?]. It is to be observed that in the middle of March everything was here in bloom; oranges and lemons were ripe; olives were being removed from the trees, this being the time when they are gathered.

[Here ends Swedenborg's description of his journey from 1736 to 1739, as contained in Codex 88, pp. 504 to 542. A continuation of the journal is promised on p. 737, but the leaves containing pages 730 to 745 have unfortunately been removed from the book. In the description of the Swedenborg manuscripts made by his heirs in 1772, and printed in 1801, the following account of the missing pages is given: "On pages 730 to 733 and 741 to 745 is contained a description of some of Swedenborg's dreams in 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, and 1740;" and in a footnote the following information is added: "These leaves were taken out of the volume into the safe keeping of the family itself." As the continuation of the journal of travel is promised on page 737, and the dreams are continued on p. 741, it appears that the missing portion of the journal amounts to two leaves only, and these leaves are now probably with those containing Swedenborg's dreams for the years abovenamed, which are still, it is hoped, in the possession of some member of the Swedenborg family.

From Document 124 it appears that about May 14, 1739, Swedenborg returned safely to Paris; between that time and November 3, 1740, when he reported himself again for duty at the College of Mines, (see Document 163) he published in Amsterdam his treatise entitled: *Œconomia Regni Animalis.* On the cover of Codex 88 the following words are written: "I finished writing my work on December 27, 1739, exactly at twelve o'clock" (see Vol. II of Swedenborg's photo-lithographed MSS., p. 141).]

## *DOCUMENT* 207.

# SWEDENBORG'S JOURNAL OF TRAVEL IN 1743.*

July 21. I left Stockholm, and arrived at Ystad on the 27th, after having passed the towns of Tölje, Nyköping, Norrköping, Linköping, Grenna, and Jönköping. At Ystad I met the Countess De la Gardie[150] with two of her daughters, also the two counts, her sons, and Count Fersen,[151] Major Lantingshausen,[152] and Magister Klingenberg.

July 31. General Stenflycht† arrived with his son and Captain Schächta. On account of contrary winds we could not sail until August 5. I travelled in company with General Stenflycht. On August 6 we arrived at Stralsund.

August 7. Early in the morning we entered Stralsund. The Countess and the General left the same day. I looked again at the fortifications of Stralsund from the Badenthor, as well as from the Franken, Triebseer, and Knieper-thor [see Document 205, p. 9]. I visited also the house where King Charles XII had lodged, the Meierfeld Palace, and the churches of St. Nicholas, St. James (which was reduced to ruins during the siege), and St. Mary. I visited Colonel Schwerin,[153] the commandant, the Acting Bishop *(Superintendent)* Löper, and Postmaster Crivits. In St. Nicholas' church I was shown a

* The Swedish original of this document is contained in Swedenborg's private note-book of the years 1743 and 1744, which is preserved in the Royal Library in Stockholm, and the contents of which were published in 1859 by Mr. G. E. Klemming, the Royal Librarian, under the title of "Swedenborg's Drömmar." A more detailed account of this work will be given in the Introduction to Document 208. With regard to the genuineness of the original see Note 149.

† Concerning General Stenflycht see footnote on p. 92.

clock which was struck by lightning in 1670, 1683, 1688, exactly at 6 o'clock, as marked by the hand. Afterwards I examined the new fortifications outside the Knieperthor. I met Carl Jesper Benzelius.[154] I examined the works by which the town is supplied with water; they consist of two Archimedean screws *(slanggångar)*.

August 9. After leaving Stralsund I passed through Dammgarten. In the Mecklenburg territory I passed Ribnitz in coming to Rostock, where I examined eight churches, five larger and three smaller ones, and also a convent; the ladies were, however, at liberty.

Thence I journeyed to Wismar, where there are six churches; the best among them are St. Mary's and St. George's.

August 11. After leaving Wismar I visited Gadebusch, where a battle was fought between the Swedes and the Danes, and then came to Ratzeburg, which is surrounded by a morass* which we crossed by a long bridge.

August 12. I arrived at Hamburg and took lodgings at the Kaisershof, where the Countess De la Gardie[150] likewise stayed. I met Baron Hamilton,[155] Reuterholm,[156] Trievald,[157] König,† Assessor Awermann, and was presented to Prince Augustus,[158] the brother of His Majesty, who spoke Swedish; afterwards I was presented by Lesch, the marshal in chief, to His Royal Highness Adolphus Frederic;[159] I submitted to him the contents [of the book],‡ which I am about to have printed, and showed him the reviews of the former [work].§

August 17. I left Hamburg, and, after crossing the Elbe, came to Buxtehude. I there saw, to the extent of a [German] mile, the most charming country I have yet seen in Germany, having passed through a continuous orchard of apple-, pear-, plum-, walnut-, chestnut-trees, limes, and elms.

August 18. I came to Bremen, which has good ramparts and suburbs; the best is the Neustadt. Near the bridge

* Now a lake.

† Concerning Agent König see footnote on p. 82.

‡ The book here indicated is the *Regnum Animale*, which Swedenborg was about to publish at the Hague.

§ The former work to which Swedenborg here alludes is his *Œconomia Regni Animalis*, which he had published in two volumes in Amsterdam in 1740.

leading to it are eleven river-mills lying close to one another. I examined the Town-Hall in the market-place, and the great Roland [statue], which is the sign of a free town; afterwards the Church of St. Nicholas, the Cathedral, and the Hospital. There are also some statues in the town.

August 20. I left Bremen for Leer, passing through Oldenburg, which is an earldom belonging to the King of Denmark. Leer has good ramparts, with sufficient water in the moats. I likewise passed through Neuschanz. Near Leer is a fortification called Leerort, belonging to Holland. I journeyed thence to Gröningen, which is a large town under the Prince of Orange. In Leeuwarden I saw his palace, and the one used by his mother, which is called the Princess's palace; likewise the Town-Hall and several other buildings. We arrived there by canal-boat.

There are two roads from Gröningen, one by Harlingen, and the other by Lemmer. The former place can also be reached by canal-boat, the latter, only by carriage; we chose the road to Harlingen through Leeuwarden.

From Harlingen which is a large town —

[Here the manuscript abruptly breaks off. The Swedish editor adds, "It is impossible to say whether the continuation was written or not, for the word *"stad"* (town) is at the bottom of page 6; this is followed by several blank pages; but it is certainly true that some pages (perhaps four) have been torn out. On the remnants of two of the pages which have been cut out large numerals, written by an unskilled (perhaps a child's) hand, are visible."

Swedenborg's only object in making this journey (as we learn from Document 164, B) was to print his *Regnum Animale* at the Hague; volumes I and II of that work were printed there. The Swedish editor was, therefore, quite right in making the following additional remarks in a note: "Whether the continuation of this journal of travel was written or not is uncertain: if it was, it could not have been very long; as the journey from Harlingen to the Hague was all that was left for him to describe."]

## *DOCUMENT* 208.

# SWEDENBORG'S SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCE IN 1743.

*INTRODUCTION.*

The contents of the Note Book, from which Documents 207-209 are taken, were published in Stockholm, in 1859, by Mr. G. E. Klemming, the Royal Librarian, under the following title: "Swedenborg's Drömmar, 1744, jemte andra hans anteckningar" (Swedenborg's Dreams, 1744, with some other memoranda from his hand). This publication he dedicated to Prof. J. F. I. Tafel, of Tübingen, and Dr. J. J. G. Wilkinson, of London. In the preface he gives the following account of the note-book:

"A short time ago (October, 1858) the Royal Library acquired by purchase the original manuscript which furnishes the greater part of the contents of this publication. For a long time it had been in the keeping of R. Scheringsson, professor and lector at Westerås, who died in 1849 in his ninetieth year; and it lay forgotten among his literary possessions for nearly ten years more, when it was offered for sale to the Royal Library. It was not possible to learn more of its history.

"The manuscript is an ordinary pocket-book in small octavo, and bound in parchment with a tuck, having pockets on each side, according to the custom of the last century. It contains sixty-nine leaves, some, which probably were blank, having been torn out; and only fifty-four of these leaves, or to state it more accurately, a hundred and four pages, contain writing. The first leaves are taken up with the notes which Sweden-

borg made in 1743 of his journey to the Hague [Document 207], where he had gone to begin the printing of the *Regnum Animale* and to write out its continuation. The notes of his journey were, however, abruptly broken off, and they are succeeded by short statements about dreams and visions, with which are interwoven various facts concerning his outward life. As these notes embrace the critical period of Swedenborg's life, when he passed from worldly to spiritual things, they are of great importance, since they enable us to judge of his mental state, which they present as in a highly excited condition, and enable us to regard it more profoundly, than was previously possible. The editor, however, acts altogether in the capacity of a student of the history of literature, and limits himself to a simple communication of the document in the original form in which he found it. Certain conclusions will naturally present themselves to the thoughtful reader; and, besides, commentators will probably not be found wanting.

"With respect to the mode in which these notes are published, the editor has perhaps gone too far in the matter of accuracy, by marking with italics the many words which were not finished or where single letters or portions of words are indicated by mere final flourishes. Yet in dealing with a manuscript which was penned with so little care, that the writing is in many parts almost illegible and the meaning often doubtful, he preferred to expose himself to this charge, rather than to the opposite one of carelessness; especially as by doing so he would remove every ground of suspicion that he had intentionally falsified any statement. Words and letters which were entirely left out in the original are put in brackets; likewise explanations of words incorrectly written. Entire words and sentences printed in italics are underscored in the original. As a proof of the authenticity and genuineness of the printed copy, the editor refers to the photographic reproduction of p. 57, at the end of the volume, and to the certificate of Mr. F. A. Dahlgren of the State Archives, our distinguished reader of manuscripts, who kindly assisted in reading the proof-sheets, and shrewdly suggested the reading of many of the more difficult words." The certificate of Mr. Dahlgren in which he testifies to the faithfulness of the

printed copy, is dated Stockholm, June 4, 1859. Such is the outward account of this important manuscript.

At the expense of one of the friends of the Swedenborg Society, an English translation of the Swedish original was prepared by Dr. J. J. Garth Wilkinson, shortly after one of the ninety-nine copies which had been printed by the Swedish editor arrived in London. Of this translation, which was deposited in the archives of the Society, a copy was taken without authority, we understand, and sent to the editor of the "Dawn: a Journal of social and religious progress," (published in 1861 and 1862); and the whole of the translation with the exception of nos. 190-192, and a few shorter paragraphs, appeared subsequently in the pages of that journal. With this translation, as contained in the "Dawn," our own translation which was prepared immediately from the Swedish original, has been carefully collated. That the translation in question, although furnished with notes by Baron Holmfeld, was not prepared specially for the "Dawn," but was simply a transcript made from an existing copy, appears very plainly from the fact that the copyist three times in succession mistook a capital L for a capital S; as appears from p. 41 of the "Dawn," where instead of "Major Lantingshausen, Superintendent Löper, Grand Marshal Lesch," we read "Major Sandstishusen, Superintendent Söper, Grand Marshal Sesch." As the original translation has disappeared from the archives of the Swedenborg Society, we were unable to make any further comparison.

The question of the genuineness of the original document will be found fully discussed, and settled in the affirmative, in Note 149, appended to this volume, to which we refer the reader; we shall, therefore, in this introduction limit ourselves to determining the place which the spiritual experiences recorded in Documents 208 and 209 occupy in the development of Swedenborg's character, and in his preparation for his mission.

Our next object, therefore, will be to present to the reader a clear outline of the mental and bodily states through which Swedenborg passed both before and after the experiences described in the following pages; and in doing so we shall strive to confine ourselves as much as possible to

Swedenborg's own words. For in order to do justice to an author, and to understand him truly, he must be studied objectively, *i. e.* he must be allowed to explain himself; and the reader and the commentator must endeavour to emancipate themselves from their own subjective states, *i. e.* from prejudice and all pre-conceived ideas.

The aim of Swedenborg's life, and thus the purpose of the experiences recorded in the following pages, are stated by him in his work entitled the "True Christian Religion" in these words:

"The Lord's Second Advent is made by a man before whom He has manifested Himself in person, and whom He has filled with His Spirit to teach the doctrines of the New Church by the Word from Himself. This is meant in the Apocalypse by the New Heaven and the New Earth, and the New Jerusalem descending thence" (see headings to nos. 779 and 781).

That he himself is the man by whose instrumentality the Lord would effect His Second Coming, is declared by Swedenborg in the following passage: "As the Lord cannot [now] manifest Himself in person, and yet foretold that He would come again, and establish a New Church, which is the New Jerusalem, it follows that He would do this by a man, who could not only receive the doctrines of that church in his understanding, but also publish them by the press. I testify in truth that the Lord manifested Himself before me, His servant; that He commissioned me to do this work, and afterwards opened the sight of my spirit, and so let me into the spiritual world, permitting me to see the heavens and the hells, and also to converse with angels and spirits, and this now continually for many years; and, likewise, that from the first day of my call to this office, I have never received any thing relating to the doctrines of that church from any angel, but from the Lord alone while I was reading the Word" (no. 779).

The necessity of a long preparation for this work he states in no. 850, in these words: "[On the question], Why did the Lord reveal the long list of arcana, which thou hast just enumerated, to thee who art a layman, and not to one of the clergy? I replied, that this was in the good pleasure of the

Lord, *who had prepared me for this office from my earliest youth;* but [I added] let me in turn ask you a question: Why did the Lord when He was on earth choose fishermen for His disciples, and not some of the lawyers, scribes, priests, or rabbis? Consider this subject well, draw your conclusions correctly, and you will discover the reason."

This question Swedenborg himself answered in another place ("Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," no. 20) in this manner: "I was once asked how I from being a philosopher had become a theologian. I replied, 'In the same way in which fishermen had been made disciples and apostles by the Lord; and that I also from my earliest youth had been a spiritual fisherman.' When asked what was meant by a spiritual fisherman, I replied that by a fisherman in the spiritual sense is meant a person who investigates and teaches natural truths, and afterwards spiritual truths in a rational manner. To the question, how this was proved, I answered, 'By these passages of Scripture,' quoting Isa. xix. 5, 8; Ezek. xlvii. 9, 10; Jer. xvi. 6; from which it appears why the Lord elected fishermen for His disciples and said to them, 'Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men' (Matt. iv. 18, 19; Mark i. 16, 17), and why He said to Peter after he had caught many fishes, 'From henceforth thou shalt catch men' (Luke vi. 9, 10). Afterwards I explained the origin of this meaning of fishermen from the 'Apocalypse Revealed,' where it is shown that natural truths are signified by water (nos. 50, 932), and also by a river (nos. 409, 932); further, that by a fish are signified those who are in natural truths (no. 405), and hence by a fisherman, those who investigate and teach truths."

That a thorough understanding of natural truths was one of the chief means by which Swedenborg was prepared by the Lord for his sacred office is clearly stated by him in the following passages:

"What the acts of my life involved, I could not distinguish at the time they happened, but by the Divine mercy of God-Messiah I was afterwards informed with regard to some, even many, particulars. From these I was at last able to see that the Divine Providence governed the acts of my life uninter-

ruptedly from my very youth, and directed them in such a manner, that *by means of the knowledge of natural things I was enabled to reach a state of intelligence*, and thus by the Divine mercy of God-Messiah, to serve as an instrument for opening those things which are hidden interiorly in the Word of God-Messiah. Those things, therefore, are now made manifest, which hitherto were not manifest." (Adversaria, Part II, no. 839).

In a letter addressed in 1766 to Prelate Œtinger Swedenborg specifies the time within which he was thus prepared. He says: "I was introduced by the Lord into the natural sciences, and thus prepared, *and indeed from the year* 1710 *to* 1744, when heaven was opened to me." From this passage we learn that when Swedenborg wrote the contents of his notebook in 1743 and 1744, the preparation for his work "by a study of the natural sciences" was at an end, and that the time was approaching when he was to enter upon that "office," for which "he had been prepared by the Lord from His earliest youth."

We see, therefore, that Documents 208 and 209 cover the ground of Swedenborg's transition period, when "from a philosopher he was made a theologian," and when the veil was removed, and "heaven was opened to him."

The following particulars, taken from Document 209, throw additional light on the nature of Swedenborg's office, and the preparation he underwent for the work he had to perform.

"I perceived that I had received a talent for the promotion of God's glory; I saw that all had worked together to this end, and that the Spirit had been with me from my youth for this very purpose" (no. 110, April 22, 1744).

That the time had approached when he must leave the investigation of natural things, and devote himself exclusively to spiritual things, he states clearly in no. 126 (April 29): "All this represents that I must employ my remaining time in writing upon higher subjects, and not upon worldly things, which are far below; indeed, that I must write about what concerns the very centre of all, and what concerns Christ. May God be so gracious as to enlighten me respecting my

duty; for I am still in some obscurity as to the direction whither I am to turn."

That Swedenborg's philosophical studies were one of the principal means by which he was prepared for the perception of spiritual truths, is stated in Part III of the *Regnum Animale,* which he was then, September 30, 1744, seeing through the press: "This signified that what I had written there with God's help, was of such a nature, that it would lead me on still farther, and that I should see still more glorious things" (no. 176).

The most pointed declaration, however, that he was about to be changed from a philosopher into a theologian, Swedenborg makes in no. 135, where he says: "Henceforth speculation, which has hitherto been *a posteriori*, will be changed into *a priori;*" in other words, from being an analytical philosopher, he is about to become a theologian, when he would see the truth from the Lord by the synthetic method.

Swedenborg's preparation for his office consisted, however, not only in a special training of his intellectual faculties, but also in a peculiar discipline of his will or affectional nature, as appears from no. 195. "This was a prediction that the Lord Himself will instruct me, as soon as I have attained that state in which I shall know nothing, and in which all my preconceived notions will be removed, which is the first state of learning; in other words, that I must first become a child, and that then I shall be able to be nurtured in knowledge, as is the case with me now."

In order, therefore, that Swedenborg might be instructed by the Lord, he had to become childlike and innocent, and thoroughly humble in heart. The terrible struggles and temptations which he had to undergo, before his will was thoroughly subdued, and he was willing to act as a mere "instrument" in the hands of the Lord (nos. 167, 177), he minutely describes in Document 209, from beginning to end. He there uncovers the uncleanness and the evils which were to be removed from him, and specifies the evils to which he is particularly inclined. But in the end he becomes thoroughly humble in heart (nos. 17, 63, 69), his sins are forgiven (nos. 90, 166), the Lord removes from him "the love of self and pride" (no. 200); and he is

finally told that "his looks have improved, and that his appearance is like that of an angel" (no. 196).*

That the Lord might fill this man with His spirit, and enable him "to teach the doctrines of the New Church by the Word from Himself," it was not however sufficient that "by means of the knowledge of natural things he should reach a state of intelligence," and that he should be in a state of good; it was further necessary that his spiritual sight should be opened, and that "he should associate with the angels of heaven." This he clearly states in the following passage: "This internal or spiritual sense, and the arcana of the state of the Church in the heavens and on the earth, which are contained in that sense, cannot be revealed to any one, unless he know that sense, and unless it be granted him at the same time *to have consort with the angels, and to speak spiritually with them*" ("Last Judgment," no. 42.)

Several reasons are given by him why it was necessary that his spiritual sight should be opened. He says in the "Arcana Cœlestia," no. 67: "The hidden things of the internal sense of the Word can never be known, unless the nature of the things in the other world be made known, because so very many of the things contained in the internal sense have respect to them, and describe and involve them."

This reason he states in the "Spiritual Diary," no. 200 in these words: "There are many things in the Word respecting God-Messiah, as well in the Old as in the New Testament,

* That Swedenborg's preparation for his office was not only of the understanding, but also of the will, and that he was regenerated as to his will, when his spiritual sight was fully opened appears from the following passage in the "Spiritual Diary:" "It was observed and instilled into my mind, that everything that a man has done in the life of the body returns in the other life. For there are perpetual changes of state, into which man is introduced, so that there is not a single state of the life of the body, which does not return in the other life; consequently hatreds and the like, which man has not only done, but also thought. * * * But it is to be observed that with the evil, all the evils which they have done and thought return in a most vivid manner; while with those who are in good and faith such is not the case: for with them all the states of good, of friendship, and of love return with the greatest delight and felicity. *Experimental proof that there is no evil with me*" (no. 4109).

which cannot but be unintelligible; the reason, however, is that the character of the men living at the present time has altogether changed from that of the men who lived in the Ancient Church, and afterwards in the Primitive Christian Church. If the men of modern times had lived in those times, they might have known these things well from experience and from inward revelation; yet these things may be known still better from the state of the spirits and human souls that now fill the lowest sphere of heaven. This also is the reason I am permitted to adduce from them the experience of things altogether obliterated in these days, and thus to remove this state of ignorance."

Again he says, "In order that the True Christian Religion might be manifested, it was absolutely necessary that some one should be introduced into the spiritual world, and receive from the Lord's mouth genuine truths from the Word. For to do this from the false churches which exist at the present day, where it is impossible to see a single genuine truth from the Word, except such as is encompassed with and steeped in falsities and coheres with falsities, would be like attempting to sail to the Pleiades, or like undertaking to dig out the gold which is in the centre of the earth" (*Invitatio ad Novam Ecclesiam,* no. 38).

Let us now see what is meant, in the case of Swedenborg, by *the opening of the spiritual sight.* In a tract on which he was engaged a short time before his death, and which was printed by Dr. Immanuel Tafel in the "Spiritual Diary," Part VII, Appendix I, pages 168 and 169, we read as follows: "In place of the miracles that were done in the Church before the Lord's Coming, at the present time [*i. e.* in the case of Swedenborg himself] there has been a manifestation of the Lord Himself, an introduction into the spiritual world, and thereby immediate light from the Lord, illustration in such things as constitute the interiors of the church, but principally an opening of the spiritual sense of the Word, in which the Lord is in His Divine light. These revelations are not miracles; for every man is as to his spirit in the spiritual world, yet without being separated from his body in the natural world. *In my case, however, there is a certain separation, but*

*only as to the intellectual part of my mind, and not as to my will part.*"

The opening of Swedenborg's spiritual sight implied therefore *a separation of the intellectual part of his mind from the body.* How this separation was effected shall now be examined. In the "Arcana Cœlestia," no. 9281, we read: "Man has an internal and an external respiration; his external respiration is from the world, but the internal from heaven. When man dies, external respiration ceases, but internal respiration, which is tacit and imperceptible during the life in the body, continues. This respiration is altogether according to the affection of truth, thus according to the life of one's faith. Those, however, who are in no faith, which is the case with those in hell, derive their respiration, not from the interior, but from the exterior; they thus breathe in a contrary way, wherefore on approaching an angelic society where respiration from the interior prevails, they begin to be suffocated, and become as if dead; they therefore cast themselves down into their hell, where they again receive their former respiration which is opposed to the respiration of heaven." In the "Arcana Cœlestia," no. 805 we read, "The man of the Most Ancient Church had an internal respiration, thus one which agreed with, and was similar to, the respiration of the angels; this respiration was varied according to all the internal states of man. This respiration, however, became changed in course of time among their posterity, until finally in their last posterity [before the flood] after every angelic quality had been destroyed, they could no longer breathe with the angelic heaven; which was the real cause of their extinction. After these times internal respiration ceased, *and thereby communication with heaven;* and external respiration succeeded."

From this it follows that for one to have communication with heaven, and have his spiritual sight opened, he has to be initiated into the internal respiration of the angels. On this subject Swedenborg relates with reference to himself: "I was first accustomed to this [internal] respiration in infancy while saying my morning and evening prayers, and also sometimes afterwards while examining the concordant action of the heart and lungs, and especially while in the act of composing

those works which have been published.* I then noticed for several years that there was a tacit respiration which is scarcely perceptible; about this it was also granted me afterwards to think and to speak. In this wise I was introduced from my infancy into such respiration, especially by intense speculations, in which [external] respiration is quiescent: for otherwise no intense speculation on the truth is possible. Afterwards also, when heaven had been opened to me, so that I could speak with spirits, I was so fully introduced into this respiration, that for the space of almost an hour I did not draw any breath: there was only so much air inhaled that I was able to think. In this manner I was introduced by the Lord into internal respiration. Perhaps also in my dreams; for I noticed again and again that after falling asleep, [external] respiration was almost entirely withdrawn from me, so that on awakening I gasped for breath. This kind of respiration, however, ceases when I do not observe, write, or think on any [*i. e.* spiritual] subject, and reflect only upon this, that I believe these facts, and that they take place in innumerable ways. Formerly I was not able to see these varieties because I could not reflect upon them; but now I am able to do so, because each state, each sphere, and also each society [of heaven], especially the interior ones, have in me a suitable respiration, into which I come without reflecting upon it. *By this means it is also granted me to be present with spirits and angels*" ("Spiritual Diary," no. 3464).

We are instructed here how the opening of Swedenborg's spiritual sight and the separation of his intellectual faculty from his body were effected. But as his understanding could only gradually be emancipated from the limitations of the body, and accustomed to breathe in the atmosphere of heaven, and to see in the light of the angels, therefore the opening of his spiritual sight was a very gradual process, as he declares in the following passage: "I was elevated into the light of heaven interiorly by degrees, and in proportion as I was elevated,

* Swedenborg means here "The Economy of the Animal Kingdom," "The Animal Kingdom," and "The Worship and Love of God," which were published by him before 1748, when the above paragraph was penned.

my understanding was elevated, so that I was gradually enabled to perceive things which at first I did not perceive, and finally such things as it had been impossible for me to comprehend" ("Heaven and Hell," no. 130).

The nature of Swedenborg's spiritual states, before the light of the spiritual world had perceptibly dawned upon him, he describes most clearly in the following passage written on the 27th of August 1748: "Before my mind was opened, so that I could converse with spirits, and thus be persuaded by living experience, there existed with me for several years such evidences, that I now wonder I could remain all the while unconvinced of the Lord's government by means of spirits. *During several years, not only had I dreams by which I was informed concerning the things on which I was writing* [see Note 161]; but I experienced also, while writing, changes of state, there being a certain extraordinary light in the things which were written. Afterwards I had many visions with closed eyes, and light was given me in a miraculous manner. There was also an influx from spirits, as manifest to the sense as if it had been into the senses of the body; there were infestations in various ways by evil spirits, when I was in temptations; and afterwards when writing anything to which the spirits had an aversion I was almost possessed by them, so as to feel something like a tremor. Fiery lights were seen,* and conversations heard in the early morning, besides many other things; until at last a

* This appearance of fiery lights Swedenborg describes more particularly in his "Adversaria," Vol. III, no. 7012, in these words: "Flames signify confirmation; such a flame has, by the Divine mercy of God-Messiah, appeared to me many times, and indeed of various sizes, and of different colours and lustre; so that while I was writing a certain little work, scarcely a day passed, for several months, without a flame appearing to me as bright as a chimney-fire; this was at the time a sign of approbation, and it was before the time when spirits began to speak with me in an audible voice."

An allusion to this sign of approbation will be found in the photo-lithographic edition of Swedenborg's Manuscripts, Vol. VI, page 318, where he treats in a compendious form of the "Corpuscular Philosophy" *(Philosophia corpuscularis in Compendio)*, and where, at the bottom of the page, he asserts the truth of his article in this form: "These things are true, because I have [received] the sign" *(Hæc vera sunt, quia signum habeo)*.

spirit spoke a few words to me, when I was greatly astonished at his perceiving my thoughts. I was afterwards, when my mind was opened, greatly astonished that I could converse with spirits; as the spirits were that I should wonder. From this it may be concluded how difficult it is for man to believe that he is governed by the Lord through spirits; and how difficult it is for him to give up the opinion that he lives his own life of himself without the agency of spirits" (Spiritual Diary, no. 2951). [See Note 162]. An additional reference to those dreams which Swedenborg had before he was fully introduced as to his spirit into the spiritual world, was made by him in the beginning of 1746, in the "Adversaria." After speaking of dreams, visions, and representations, in a general way, he says there: "That these things are so I can attest; and their being so ought the less to be doubted, because, by the Divine mercy of God-Messiah, they have happened so frequently, that they have become quite familiar to me. I learned them partly by dreams which I had at first during a number of years, *when I learned something of their real signification* [see Note 161], and partly by the other revelations [i. e. visions and representations]; and also by additional revelations, as, for instance, when the very letters appeared written before my eyes, and were read to me, &c. &c. But I am not yet permitted to say more concerning these" (Vol. II, no. 183).

Another description of the degree in which his spiritual sight was opened during that time is given by him in the "Spiritual Diary," under the date of August 31, 1747, in these words: "For nearly three years [about the middle of 1744], I was allowed to perceive and notice the operation of spirits, not by a sort of internal sight, but by a sensation which is associated with a sort of obscure sight, by which I noticed their presence, which was various, their approach and departure, besides many other things" (no. 192).

If now we take a retrospective view of Swedenborg's spiritual experiences before he was admitted consciously into the spiritual world, we find that his first spiritual manifestations were no doubt in the form of dreams, as appears from our concluding remarks on Document 206 (p. 130); for we see there that Swedenborg had commenced as early as 1736 to write down

some of his remarkable dreams, a practice which he seems to have continued till 1740. As the record of these dreams is, however, unfortunately lost, we cannot tell whether he was as early as 1736, "informed" by his dreams "concerning the things which he was writing." The next spiritual manifestation, in point of time, was the appearance of "fiery lights" mentioned in the footnote on p. 145, which we are able to trace back as far as 1740; for the article on "corpuscular philosophy," the truth of which Swedenborg declares was confirmed to him by "a sign," was written in the early part of 1740, as is proved by the dates affixed to the various excerpts and observations contained in the volume from which the article is taken.

The next record of Swedenborg's spiritual experiences consists of the memoranda constituting the present Document. In these the general contents of some dreams which he had in the month of December, 1743, are given, together with some references to his mental states and tribulations at that time. He began a minute account of his dreams on March 24, 1744, and of these dreams we know that "he learned in part their signification;" and that by them "he was informed of the things concerning which he was writing." These dreams alternating with minute descriptions of his mental states and temptations, and indications of his whereabouts during that time constitute Document 209.

This most important period of his life will be found more fully discussed in Note 168 treating of "the date of the opening of Swedenborg's spiritual sight."

After these preliminary explanations we direct the attention of our readers to the text of Document 208.

1. [December].*—[I dreamt] of my youth and of the Gustavian family.

2. Of Venice and the beautiful palace.

3. Of Sweden and the white clouds in heaven.

4. Of Leipzig, and the one who lay in boiling water.

5. Of him who plunged with a chain into the deep.

6. Of the king who gave something so precious in a peasant's hut.

* See Note 163.

7. December. Of the servant who desired me to depart.

8. Of my joys at night.

I wondered at myself, that so far as my own sensation told me, I had not any concern remaining for my own honour;

That I was no longer inclined towards the sex, as I had been all my life long.*

9. How I had been almost the whole time in a state of ecstasy, while awake.

10. How I opposed myself to the Spirit;

And how I then enjoyed this, but afterwards found that it was nonsense, without life and coherence;

And that, consequently, a great deal of what I had written, in proportion as I had denied the power of the Spirit, was of that description; and, indeed, that thus all the faults are my own, but the truths are not.

Sometimes, indeed, I became impatient and thought I would rebel, if all did not progress with the ease I desired, after I no longer did anything for my own sake. I found my unworthiness less, and gave thanks for the grace.

11. How, after arriving at the Hague [see Note 163], I found self-interest and self-love in my work had passed away; at which I wondered.

How my inclination *(hogen)* for woman, which had been my chief passion *(hufvudpassion)*, suddenly ceased.*

How during the whole time I slept extremely well at night; which was more than favourable.

About my ecstasies before and after sleep.

My clear thoughts about matters and things.

How I resisted the power of the Holy Spirit; and what took place afterwards. About the hideous spectres which I saw, without life; they were terrible; although bound, they kept moving in their bands. They were in company with an animal, by which I, and not the child, was attacked.

It seemed to me as if I were lying on a mountain, below which was an abyss; knots were on it. I was lying there trying to help myself up, holding on to a knot; without foot-hold, and an abyss underneath.—This signifies that I desire to rescue myself from the abyss, which yet is not possible.

* See Note 161, v, F.

How a woman lay down by my side; it seemed to me as if I were in a state of wakefulness. I desired to find out who she was. She spoke in a low voice; but said that she was pure, while I had a bad odour. She was, I believe, my guardian-angel, for temptation then began.

## *DOCUMENT* 209.

## SWEDENBORG'S SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCE IN 1744.*

1. March 24×25.† I was standing [in my dream] beside a machine which was set in motion by a wheel; I became more and more involved in its spokes *(stängar)*, and was carried up, so that I could not escape: when I awoke.—This means either that I ought to be kept longer in straits, or it describes the state of the lungs [with the embryo] in the womb, on which subject I wrote immediately afterwards.‡ It had reference to both.

* Concerning the original of this Document, see the Introduction to Document 208, p. 134. For the sake of convenient reference the editor has numbered the paragraphs of this Document.

As an Introduction to this Document read Note 161, containing "Swedenborg's Philosophy of Dreams."

† The mark × between two dates signifies the intermediate night. This sign is also used by Swedenborg in his manuscript Codex 58, p. 175, which is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. He says there: "What I wrote here was pronounced to me in a wonderful manner; see the dream of July 1×2" (*Vide somnium, July* 1×2).

‡ At the time when Swedenborg began writing his spiritual experience of 1744, he had prepared for the press the manuscript of the *Regnum Animale* as far as Vol. I, no. 272 (p. 331 of the Latin Edition, and p. 398 of the English Edition); for the allusion which he makes in no. 1 to "the state of the lungs in the womb," is one of the subjects discussed in that paragraph, where we read: "The lungs which open the scene and commence the drama of this life, are then constricted and closed, and neither emit nor admit the vital breath of the body." For further information on this subject see Note 164, iv, which treats of "Swedenborg's Studies in 1743 and 1744."

2. I was in a kitchen-garden *(örtegård)* containing many fine beds, one of which I desired to possess; I looked around, however, to see if there was a way out, and when it seemed to me that I saw one, I thought of another. Some one was there picking away a heap of small *(osynlig)* vermin, and killing them; he said that they were bugs which some one had brought and thrown in, and which infested those who were there. I did not see them, but I saw some other smaller vermin which I let fall into a white linen sheet, [and took] out together with some woman.—This meant the uncleanness which has to be rooted out of me.

3. I went confidently *(fritt)* and boldly down a large staircase, at the end of which was a ladder. At the bottom was a hole that went down to a great depth; it was difficult to cross over to the other side, without falling into the hole. On the other side were some persons to whom I reached out my hand to be helped: I awoke.—There is danger of my falling into the abyss, unless I receive help.

4. I spoke long and familiarly with our Successor in Sweden,* who was changed into a woman; and afterwards with Carl Broman† [to whom I said], that he ought to be in his favour; upon which he replied something. Afterwards I spoke with Erland Broman,[167] [and told him] that I had returned here.—I do not know what this signifies, unless it has something to do with what follows.

5. I came into a splendid room where I conversed with a lady who was the governess. She was just on the point of telling me something, when the queen entered, and passed through into another room. It seemed to me that she was the same woman who represented our Successor [see no. 4]; upon which I left the room; for I was rather meanly dressed, as I had just come off my journey, and wore a long, worn out over-coat, and was without hat and wig. I was surprised that she [the queen] deigned to come after me; she informed me, that some person had given his mistress all his jewels;

* Duke Adolphus Frederic[11] of Holstein-Gottorp; see also Note 159.

† See Note 113, Vol. I; the original has Carl Brokman.

but had received them back again, when she was told, that he had not given her the best; [upon hearing which] she threw away the jewels. She urged me to re-enter, but I excused myself by the plea that I was so negligently dressed, and had no wig, and so must go home first. She said that this did not matter.—The meaning of this is that I should then write and commence the epilogue of the second volume,* to which I wanted to write a preface, that was not, however, required. I acted on this instruction. What she said about the jewels had reference to the truths† which had, indeed, been discovered, but which were withdrawn again, because she was indignant at not receiving all. Afterwards I saw the jewels in [her] hands, and a large ruby in the middle.

6. March 25×26. It seemed to me as if I took a key and went in. The porter examined the keys which I had, when I showed them all, [to see] if I had two; it seemed, however, as if Hesselius[76] had another. I was arrested and put under guard, when many came to me in carriages. It appeared to me as if I had done nothing wrong; but it, nevertheless, occurred to me that the fact of my having taken the key might be interpreted unfavourably: I awoke.—This may be explained in several ways; that I had taken the key to anatomy, while the other one which Hesselius[76] had was the key to medicine,‡ or, that the key to the lungs, and consequently to the motion of the whole body, is the pulmonary artery;§ or else [it is to be explained] spiritually.

7. I desired to be cured of an illness. A heap of rags was offered me to buy for this purpose; I took half, and left the other half; but I gave all for the rags *(igen slarfworna)*. The person said that he himself would purchase something for me that would cure me.—The thoughts of my body were

* This epilogue closes Vol. I of the *Regnum Animale*, p. 424 of the Latin edition. See Note 164, iv, A.

† See Note 161, ix.

‡ See Note 161, i.

§ Swedenborg was then engaged in preparing for the press the second part of the *Regnum Animale*, which treats of the lungs and the organs connected therewith. See Note 164, iv.

rags, with which I desired to cure myself; but they were good for nothing.

8. Afterwards I stepped out and saw many black pictures. One that was black was thrown to me. I saw that he (the person) could not move *(foga sig)* on account of his foot.*—The meaning is, I believe, that natural reason *(ratio naturalis)* cannot agree with spiritual reason.*

9. March 30×31. I saw a number of women,† one of whom wrote a letter. I took it, but do not know what became of it. She was sowing *(sådt)*, and a yellow man struck her on the back; and wished her to have more blows; but it was enough.—This I believe concerns what I am writing, and have written, namely, our philosophy.†

10. I saw a handsome woman‡ at a window where a child was placing roses; she took me by the hand and conducted me.—This signifies what I am writing;‡ and also, as I believe, the source of my trouble *(min plåga)*, by which I would be led.

11. I saw a magnificent procession of men;§ they were adorned, and all looked so charming, that I have scarcely ever seen anything more beautiful; but it soon disappeared.—This, I believe, signifies experience, or experimental truth, which is now in a state of great abundance.§

12. April 1×2. I rode on a horse in the wind. I went into all the rooms, into the kitchen and other places seeking some one, but could not find him. The rooms were untidy. At last I was led in the wind into a hall, where I received two loaves of fine bread,** and also found him again. Many people were there and the hall was clean and in good order.—It signifies the Lord's Supper.**

13. King Charles [XII]†† was sitting in a dark room, and said something, but indistinctly. Afterwards some one at the table inquired whether he knew what he was asking for;

* See Note 161, xii, and Note 166, i.
† See Note 161, iv, A and vi.
§ See Note 161, vi.
†† See Note 161, v.
‡ See Note 161, iv, A.
** See Note 161, x.

when he said, Yes. He then closed the windows, and I helped him to arrange the curtains. I then got on horseback, yet did not take the way I thought; but went over hills and mountains, riding all the time, with a heavy load behind me. I could not ride away [from it], and the horse became fatigued by the load, when I desired it to turn in somewhere; it entered, when it became like some slaughtered, bloody, red animal, and lay down.—This signifies that I received everything I could think of for my information, and that I am perhaps pursuing a wrong method. The load behind me by which I became so weary and dead on the way, is the remaining part of my work.

14. I stepped out of a carriage, which was being driven into a lake. While driving into it the coachman called to another carriage to take care; there was real danger upon driving in. I looked at the other carriage; behind, it seemed to have a screen, which was opened like an umbrella. I, together with the person who sat behind, took the screen, stepped in and shut it up.—It meant that the beginning of my work was difficult. The second carriage was warned to be on its guard, and I, that I should draw in my sails, and not make my notes so long.*

15. April 2×3. Two persons came; they entered into a house which although built, was not yet furnished. They went round, but did not seem favourably impressed. We saw that our power was gone, and were afraid of them. One of them approached me and said that they had determined to inflict a punishment upon me next Maunday Thursday, unless I removed. I did not know how to get out, but he said he would show me the way: I awoke.—This signified that I had invited the Highest to me into an unprepared and untidy hut,† and that He found it unbecoming, wherefore I was to be punished. He, nevertheless, most graciously pointed out a way to me, by which I could escape their wrath.

A beggar was there, who exclaimed, that he wanted to

* Swedenborg alludes here to the notes under the text of the *Regnum Animale.*

† See Note 161, xiii.

have some bacon; when they offered him something else, he still called out for bacon: I awoke.—This, I believe, signifies the same.

16. I saw two troops of soldiers, dressed in blue, marching in two bodies past my window, which was partly open. I desired to look out and watch the marching of the first corps, which seemed to me magnificent: I awoke.—This means a gracious protection, so that I may escape destruction.*

17. *N. B.*—April 3×4, *the day before Easter.* I experienced nothing the whole night,† although I repeatedly woke up; I thought that all was past and gone, and that I had been either forsaken or exiled. About morning it seemed to me as if I were riding and as if I had had the direction pointed out. It was, however, dark, and when I looked I found that I had gone astray on account of the darkness; but then it brightened up, and I saw how I had gone wrong, and noticed the way, and the forests and groves which I was to go through, and also heaven behind; when I awoke. My thoughts then, of their own accord, turned upon this, and afterwards on the other life, and it seemed to me as if everything was full of grace. I burst into tears at not having loved, but rather provoked, Him who had led me and pointed out the way to the kingdom of grace; and also at my being unworthy of acceptance by grace.‡

18. April 4×5. I went to the Lord's table.

(One courier more was said to have come; I said that this probably was——)§

There was sung the melody and a line I remember from the hymn: "Jesus is my best of friends."**

It seemed to me as if the buds had opened and were green.

19. April 5×6. Easter was on the 5th of April, when I

* See Note 161, v.

† That is, Swedenborg had no dreams that night.

‡ See Introduction to Document 208, p. 140.

§ These words are crossed out in the original.

** The whole of this hymn, in an English translation, is given in Note 169.

went to the Lord's table. Temptation still continued,* mostly in the afternoon till six o'clock: but it assumed no definite form. It was an anxiety felt at being condemned and in hell; but in this feeling the hope given by the Holy Spirit,† according to Paul's epistle to the Romans v, 5, remained strong.

The Evil One had power given him to disturb my inmost mind by various thoughts. On Easter day,‡ after the Holy Supper, I was inwardly glad, although outwardly sad. The temptation came on in the afternoon, in an entirely different manner, but strongly; for I was assured that my sins were forgiven, and still I could not govern my fugitive thoughts so as to restrain some expressions opposed to my better understanding; I was, by permission, under the influence of the Evil One.§ The temptation was assuaged by prayer and God's Word; faith was there in its entirety, but confidence and love seemed to be gone. I went to bed at nine o'clock; but the temptation, accompanied by trembling,** continued until half-past ten. I then fell into a sleep, in which the whole of my temptation was represented to me; how Er[land] B[roman]††[167] sought by various means to get me on his side, so that I might be of the same party (in luxury, riches, pride);‡‡ but he could not gain me over; I persisted in my resistance even more strongly after he had incurred my contempt. Afterwards I was with a snake of a dark grey colour, which was lying down, and was B[roman's] dog. I struck at it many times with a club, but never could hit it on the head; it was in vain. It tried to bite me, but could not; I seized

* See Note 162, i, E. † See Note 165, iv.

‡ The original has *Pingstdagen* (day of Pentecost), but there is no doubt that the reading should be *Påskdagen* (Easter).

§ See Note 162, i, E. ** See Note 162, i, F.

†† The Swedish editor suggests here that Er. B. might also stand for Ericus Benzelius, but as the name Erland Broman has already occurred once in full, in no. 4 of the present document, and as the character of that man, as described by Swedenborg (see Note 167) accords fully with what he relates here concerning Er. B., we may take it for granted that these initials stand for Erland Broman, and not for Ericus Benzelius.

‡‡ See Note 161, i.

it by the throat, when it could not bite me, and I could not do it much harm; but, finally, I grasped it by the jaws, which I pressed hard, and also by the nose, which I squeezed so that something like matter or poison started from it. I was told that although the dog did not belong to me, yet if it bit me, I should have to chastise it. Thereupon it seemed to me as if I told him [Broman] that I was not going to say a single word to him, and thus had an estrangement from him. When I awoke, I was uttering the words: Hold thy tongue!—From this, without any further explanation, may be seen the nature of the temptation, and, on the other hand, the greatness of God's grace by the merit of Christ and the operation of the Holy Spirit;* to whom be glory forever and ever. The idea at once struck me, how great the grace of the Lord is, who accounts and appropriates to us our resistance in temptation; although it is purely God's grace,† and is His and not our work; and He overlooks the weaknesses which we display in it, which yet must be manifold. I thought also of the great glory our Lord dispenses, after a brief period of tribulation (see Note 165, iv).

20. I then fell asleep, and it appeared to me the whole night, how I was joined, first in various ways, with others, on account of being sinful; and how afterwards I was enveloped in wonderful and indescribable circumvolutions, and so, during the whole night, was inaugurated in a wonderful manner. It was then said, 'Is there any Jacobite more than honest' *(mon nogon jacobit är mehr än redlig),* and in conclusion I was received with an embrace; afterwards it was said that he ought not to be called so, the name being given, but so; but I do not recollect the name, unless it be Jacobite. The signification of this I cannot describe: it was a mystical series.

21. Afterwards I awoke and slept again many times; and all [I dreamt] was in answer to my thoughts; yet so, that in every thing there was such life and glory, that I can give no description of it; for it was all heavenly; clear to me at the

* See Note 165, vi. † See Note 165, viii.

time, but afterwards inexpressible. In short, I was in heaven, and heard a language, which no human tongue can utter with its inherent life, nor the glory and inmost delight resulting from it.*

22. Besides, while awake, I was in a heavenly ecstasy, which is also indescribable.*

I went to bed at nine o'clock, and arose between nine and ten; I had thus been in bed for twelve or thirteen hours. Praise, and honour, and glory be to the Highest; hallowed be His name! Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts!

23. How I learned by experience the meaning of this: not to love the angels more than God; as they had nearly overthrown the whole work. In comparison with our Lord no attention must be paid to them, *i. e.* to them in respect to the help they can render; since their love is far lower than His.

24. By some rays of light in me I found that it would be the greatest happiness to become a martyr; for on beholding inexpressible grace combined with love to God, a desire was kindled in me to undergo this torture, which is nothing compared with eternal torment; and [a conviction then] that the least of the things that one can offer is his life.

25. Both in my mind and body I had a sensation of such indescribable delight, that had it been more intense, the body would have been, as it were, dissolved in pure bliss.*

This took place in the night between Easter Sunday and Easter Monday, and during the whole of that day.

26. April 6×7. *N.B.; N.B.; N.B.* In the evening I came into another kind of temptation.† Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, while I was reading God's miracles wrought through Moses, it seemed to me as if something of my own understanding was mixed up with it,‡ so that I was not able to have so strong a faith as I ought. I believed, and yet did not believe. I was thinking that for this reason angels and God appeared to shepherds, and not to a philo-

* See Note 162, ii.

† See Note 162, i, E.

‡ See Note 166, i.

sopher, who allows his understanding to come into play, which at all times would lead him to ask, why God took the wind, when He called the grasshoppers together [Exodus x, 13], why He hardened Pharaoh's heart, and did not work directly, with other similar things, which I considered, and the effect of which was such, that my faith was not firm. I looked upon the fire, and said to myself, "In this case neither ought I to believe that the fire is, since the external senses are more fallacious than what God says, which is the Truth itself; I ought rather to believe this than myself.* With these and other similar thoughts I passed an hour, or an hour and a half, and in my mind was engaged with the Tempter. I must observe that on the same day I had gone to Delft,† and had had the grace of being engaged in profound spiritual thought, my thoughts being more profound and beautiful than they had ever been before, and, indeed, during the whole day. This was the work of the Spirit, who had been with me.

27. At ten o'clock I went to bed, and in little more than half an hour afterwards I heard a noise under my head. I then thought that the Tempter was gone.‡ Immediately afterwards a tremor came over me, powerfully affecting me from the head over the whole body, accompanied by some sound;§ this was repeated several times. I felt that something holy had come over me. I then fell asleep, and about twelve, one, or two o'clock at night a most powerful tremor seized me from head to foot, with a sound like the concourse of many winds.§ By this sound, which was indescribable, I was shaken, and thrown [from the bed] on my face. While at the moment I was thus thrown down, I became wide awake,** and I then saw that I had been prostrated. I wondered what all this meant, and then spoke, as

* See Note 166, i, and 165, ix, A.

† Delft is a Dutch town, not far from the Hague, in the direction of Rotterdam.

‡ See Note 162, i, E. § See Note 162, i, F.

** By Swedenborg's becoming "wide awake" is meant that his spiritual eyes were opened so that he could see into the spiritual world, where all those things happened which he relates.

if I were awake. I noticed, however, that these words were put into my mouth: "O Thou Almighty Jesus Christ, who of Thy great mercy deignest to come to so great a sinner, make me worthy of this grace!" I lifted up my hands, and prayed, when a hand came and strongly pressed my hands; I then continued my prayer, and said, "O Thou, who hast promised to receive in mercy all sinners, Thou canst not otherwise than keep this Thy word!" I lay on His bosom *(skötc*)*, and looked at Him face to face. It was a countenance with a holy expression, and so that it cannot be described; it was also smiling, and I really believe that His countenance was such during His life upon earth.† He addressed me and asked, if I had a certificate of my health *(om jag har sundhets pass)*? I answered, "O Lord, Thou knowest this better than I;" when He said, "Do it then!"—This, as I perceived in my mind, signified, "Love me really, or do what thou hast promised." O God, impart to me grace for this! I perceived that I could not do this by my own strength. *I now awoke in a tremor.*‡ I again came into such a state that, whether asleep or awake, I was in a train of thought. I thought, "What can this mean? Has it been Christ, the Son of God whom I have seen? But it is sinful in me to doubt this." As we are, however, commanded to try the spirits, I reflected on everything; and from what had happened the previous night I perceived, that during the whole of that night I had been purified and encompassed and preserved by the Holy Spirit, and thus had been prepared for this purpose; and then [I reflected] that I had fallen on my face, and I thought of the words I had uttered, and considered that the prayer did not come from me, but that the words were put into my mouth, yet so that it was I who spoke, and further, that all was holy.

* This word means both *bosom* and *lap*.

† The Swedish editor says here, "The time which had hitherto been accepted for Swedenborg's first revelation, viz. April 1745, in consequence of this notice has to be placed a whole year earlier, and the place where this revelation took place has to be changed from London to the Hague." As to the true date of the opening of Swedenborg's spiritual sight, see Note 168.

‡ See Note 162, i, F.

From all this I perceived that it was the Son of God Himself who had descended with such a noise, by which I had been prostrated on the floor; who made the prayer, and thereby Himself declared that He was Jesus. I prayed for grace, because I had so long entertained doubts on the subject, and because it had entered into my thoughts to demand a miracle, which I now found was unbecoming. Thereupon I began to pray, and prayed only for grace; more I could not utter; but afterwards I added to this prayer, and prayed that I might receive love, which is Jesus Christ's work, and not my own. In the mean time tremors often passed over me.*

28. About day-break I fell asleep again, and then had continually in my thought, how Christ conjoins Himself to mankind; holy thoughts came, but they were of such a nature as to be unfathomable; for I cannot express with my pen the least part of those things which happened. I only know that I have had such thoughts.

29. I saw my father in another dress, which was almost reddish. He called me, and took hold of my arms, which were in short sleeves, but with cuffs at the end. He took both cuffs or ruffles, and tied them with my ribbons.—My having ruffles signifies that I am not among the clergy, but that I am and ought to be in a civil office.

Afterwards he asked me what I thought about this question: that a king had given leave to marry, and thus to change their condition, to thirty who had been ordained into the priesthood. I answered that I had thought and written something on such a subject; but that this has no connexion with it. But immediately afterwards I found that I could answer in accordance with my conscience, that it is not allowable for any one to change that condition or state into which he has entered, no matter what it may be. He said that he was of the same opinion. But I added that if the king had resolved upon this, the matter was settled. He said that he would give his vote in writing; if there are fifty [votes] the matter remains as it is *(så blir derefter)*. I noticed as remarkable, the circumstance that I did not call him, My father, but My

* See Note 162, i, F.

brother. I afterwards thought what was the reason of this, when it seemed to me that my father was dead, and that consequently he who was [i. e. appeared as] my father must have been my brother.

I must not forget that it also entered into my thoughts, that the Holy Spirit desired to lead me to Jesus, and present me to Him, as a work that had been prepared by Him,* and that I must not claim anything to myself; but that all is His, although of grace He appropriates it to us.

I then sang the hymn which I had selected, "Jesus is my best of friends," no. 245.†

30. This much have I learned thus far in spiritual things, that there is nothing for it but to humble oneself, and with all humility to desire nothing but the grace of Christ.‡ I strove from my own self to obtain love; but this is presumptuous: for when any one has God's grace, he leaves himself to Christ's pleasure, and acts according to His pleasure; a person is happiest when he is in God's grace.‡ With the humblest prayer I had to ask forgiveness before my conscience could be appeased; for before doing so, I was still in temptation. The Holy Spirit taught me all this, but I in my weak understanding passed over humility, which yet is the foundation of all.

31. April 7×8. Throughout the whole night I felt as if I were going down deep by ladders and passing through various rooms; yet I was confident and felt safe, so that the descent was without any danger to me; in my dream also this verse occurred to me: "Depth below nor height above E'er shall hold my soul enticed," &c.§

32. It seemed to me afterwards as if I were with a number of others at a clergyman's to dinner. I paid about a louis-d'or for my meal, and thus more than I ought to have done. On taking my departure I had two vases of silver with me, which

* See Note 165, i.

† An English translation of this hymn will be found in Note 169.

‡ See Note 165, viii.

§ See hymn, "Jesus is my best of friends," Note 169.

I had removed from the table. This troubled me, and I tried to send them back again; it seemed to me also as if I had some plan for doing so.—This, I believe, signifies that in temptation I paid my own (with God's grace), and more than I was obliged (God's grace*); but that from this temptation I have learned much in spiritual things, which are meant by the vases of silver† I intended to send back to the clergyman, and indeed that for the glory of God we ought to make returns to the church at large in some form or other; this, it seems to me, will also perhaps be done.

33. Afterwards I was with a very large company at another clergyman's, where, it seemed to me, I had been before. Upon alighting it seemed to me as if there were so many of us that the clergyman would be over-run; I did not like his being burdened by so great a number.—This means that at improper times I had many unruly thoughts, which were beyond my control; these were also represented by roving Poles and hussars who had appeared to me before; they seemed, however, to go away.‡

34. I was also in a temptation,§ where thoughts invaded me which I could not control; nay they poured in so powerfully, that all my other thoughts were kept under, and full liberty was given them to resist the power of the Spirit, which leads in a different direction;** the infestation was, indeed, so strong that unless God's grace had been stronger, I must either have succumbed or become mad. During that time I could not direct my thoughts to the contemplation of Christ, whom I had seen for that brief moment (see no. 27). The action of the Spirit and its power affected me so, that I almost lost my senses.—My visit to the second clergyman was meant by all this. I can only compare this to a pair of scales, in one of which is our own will and our sinful nature, and in the other God's power.†† These our Lord disposes in temptation, so that they are in a state of equilibrium; as soon

* See Note 165, viii.
‡ See Note 161, vi.
** See Note 165, iv.
† See Note 161, xiii.
§ See Note 162, i E.
†† See Note 165, x.

then as it is borne down on this side, He helps it up again. Such have I found to be the case, speaking in a natural manner; from which it follows that this is far from being our own power, for that draws the scale down, and is rather opposed to, than co-operating with the Spirit's power; and, consequently, it is entirely our Lord's work, which is thus disposed by Him.

35. I then found that things were reproduced in my thoughts, which had entered into them long before; and I saw confirmed thereby the truth of God's Word that there is not the least word or the least thought which God does not know, and for which we ourselves should not be responsible, were it not for God's grace.*

36. This have I learned, that the only thing in this state —and I do not know any other—is, in all humility to thank God for His grace, and to pray for it, and to recognize our own unworthiness, and God's infinite grace.*

37. It was wonderful that I could have at one and the same time two thoughts, which were quite distinct: one for myself who was occupied entirely by different thoughts, and at the same time the thoughts of the temptation, in such wise that nothing was able to drive them away. This kept me in such a state of captivity that I was at a loss whither to fly, for I carried them with me.

38. Afterwards, when various things occurred to me, of which I had thought long ago, and which had become fixed in my mind, it was just as if I had been told that I had found reasons for excusing myself—this also was a great temptation for me—or again reasons for attributing to myself the good that I had done, or rather that was done through me: but God's Spirit prevented even this, and caused me to find it otherwise.

This last [temptation]† was severer than the first, as it went to the innermost, and to resist it I received a stronger evidence of the Spirit; for at times I broke into a perspiration. What then arose in my mind had no longer the

* See Note 165, viii.

† See Note 162, i, E.

effect of condemning me; for I had a strong assurance that I had been forgiven; but the desire came to excuse myself, and make myself free. Very often I burst into tears, not of sorrow, but of inmost joy at our Lord's deigning to be so gracious to so unworthy a sinner; for the sum of all I found to be this, that the only thing needful is to cast oneself in all humility on our Lord's grace, to recognize one's own unworthiness, and to thank God in humility for His grace: for if there is a feeling of glorification contained in it, the tendency of which is towards our own honour—whether it is a glorification of God's grace or of anything else—such a feeling is impure.*

40. While I was thinking, as is often the case, suppose some one should consider me as a saint, and on that account think highly of me; nay, suppose, as is done by some simple-minded people, he should not only revere but also adore [me] as one whom he considers a holy man or a saint; in this case I found that in the zeal in which I was, I was willing to inflict upon him the greatest possible pain, rather than that sin should be laid upon him. I saw also that I must entreat the Lord with the most earnest prayers, not to have any share in so damnable a sin, which would then be laid to my charge. For Christ, in whom dwells the fulness of the Godhead, must alone be addressed in prayer,† because He graciously accepts the greatest sinner, and does not take into account our unworthiness, wherefore we must not approach any except Him in prayer. He is omnipotent, and the only Mediator;‡ what He does on account of others who have been sanctified, is His concern, not ours.

41. I found that I was more unworthy than others and the greatest sinner, for this reason, that our Lord has granted me to penetrate by thought into certain things more deeply than many others; and the very source of sin lies in the thoughts I am carrying out; so that my sins have on that account a deeper foundation than those of many others; and in this I

* See Note 165, viii.

† See Note 165, ii.

‡ See Note 165, i, and v.

found my unworthiness and my sins greater than those of other men. For it is not sufficient to declare one's own unworthiness, since the heart may be far removed from such a declaration, and it may be a mere matter of the imagination; but actually to see that such is the case, is due to the grace of the Spirit.

42. Now, while I was in the spirit, I thought and strove by thought to attain a knowledge of how to avoid all that was impure; I noticed, however, that this intruded itself from the ground of the love of self, on all occasions* whenever anything was reflected upon; as, for instance, when any one did not regard me according to my own estimation of myself, I thought, Oh, if you only knew what grace I have, you would act differently; this then was not only impure, but originated in the love of self. At last I found this out, and entreated God's forgiveness, and I then wished that others also might have the same grace, as they perhaps either have had or will have. From this I observed clearly that there was still in me that same pernicious apple which has not yet been converted, and which is Adam's root and his hereditary sin.* Yes, and an infinite number of other roots of sin remain in me.

43. I heard some one ask his neighbour at the table, whether any one could be melancholy who had an abundance of money. I reflected, and if it had been proper for me in company, or if the question had been addressed to me, I would have answered, "A person who has every thing in abundance, is not only subject to melancholy, but is even exposed to that higher kind of melancholy which belongs to the mind and soul, or to man's spirit which causes it. I wondered that the person could raise such a question. To this I can the better testify, as all that I can reasonably require has been bestowed upon me by God's grace in abundance. I can live plentifully on my annual income; I can carry out what I have in mind, and yet have a surplus. I can therefore bear witness that the sorrow or melancholy which arises from want of the necessaries of life, is of a lower and corporeal kind, and does not equal the other. (The power of the Spirit prevails in the one kind,

* See Note 165, vii.

but whether it does in the other I do not know, for it is possible that the other is intensified on mere bodily grounds. Still I will not go further into this subject).*

44. I saw a bookshop, and immediately the thought struck me that my work would have more effect than that of others; yet I checked myself at once; for one serves another, and our Lord has more than a thousand ways by which to prepare a man, so that each and every book must be left to its own merits, as a means near or remote, according to the rational condition of every man. Still arrogance at once crops up: may God control it, for the power is in His hands!

45. I experienced so much of the Lord's grace, when I resolved to keep my thoughts in a state of purity, as to feel an inmost joy;† still this was accompanied by pain of body, which could not bear the heavenly joy of my soul, wherefore I commended myself most humbly to God's grace, that He would do with me according to His good pleasure. May God grant me humility to see my frailty, impurity, and unworthiness.

46. All the while I was in society constantly as before, and no one could [observe] the least change in me; this was of God's grace‡.... I was not allowed to mention the large measure of grace which had fallen to my lot; for I perceived that on the one hand it could serve no other purpose than to set people thinking about me either favourably or unfavourably, according to their disposition towards me; and, on the other hand, it would not be productive of any use, if the glorification of God's grace [served to encourage] my own self-love.§

47. The best comparison I could make of myself was with a peasant elevated to power as a prince or king, so that he could have whatever his heart desired; and yet there was

* The passage enclosed in parenthesis was evidently crossed out by the writer immediately after he had penned it.

† See Note 162, ii. ‡ See Note 165, viii.

§ This paragraph, according to a statement of the Swedish editor, is crossed out in the original, the pen having been drawn through each line. After a good deal of trouble a portion of the writing has been deciphered by him. The words in brackets have been supplied by the translator.

something in him which desired to teach him that he himself knew nothing. By this comparison, however, it is seen that it is Thy hand [O God] which causes this great joy. I was apprehensive, however, that he [the peasant] was not able to place himself in [the way of] this grace.

48. April 8×9. It seemed to me, as if I held a dog on my knees, which, to my astonishment, was able to talk, and ask after its former owner Swab.[66A]* It was of a blackish colour, and even kissed me.—I awoke, and entreated Christ's mercy for cherishing so much pride and arrogance, by which I flatter myself.

Afterwards it seemed to me that on my day of prayer, which was yesterday, many things had been packed up for the army.†

49. A young woman dressed in black then came in and said that I had to go to——.Whereupon she came behind me holding me so firmly along the whole back with her hands, that I could not move. I prayed some one standing by to help me, when he got her away; but I had no power to move my arm myself.—This had reference to the temptation on the previous day, and to my inability to do any good from myself.—I then heard as if some one were whistling, when he [she?] went away, and I was seized with a tremor.‡

50. Afterwards I saw some one in St. Peter's church going into the vault underneath, where Peter is lying. He was taken out, but it was said that another was hiding there.

It seemed to me as if I were at liberty to go in and out. May God lead me.

Afterwards I saw all my impurity, and recognized that I was unclean from head to foot.—I called on the mercy of Jesus Christ.

It then seemed to me that "I poor sinful creature" was brought before me. This [i. e. the prayer from the Swedish prayer-book containing this sentiment] I read the following day.

* See Note 161, i.

† That is, it had provided Swedenborg with states useful in his next temptations.

‡ See Note 162, F.

51. April 9×10. The whole day of the 9th I spent in prayer, in songs of praise, in reading God's Word, and fasting; except in the morning when I was otherwise occupied, until the same kind of temptation came, and I was compelled to think on subjects contrary to my own will.

52. This night I slept very tranquilly. At three or four o'clock I awoke and lay awake, but in a kind of vision. I could look up and be observant whenever I chose, so that I was not otherwise than awake, and yet in the spirit there was an inward gladness which diffused itself over the whole body. All seemed in a wonderful and transcendent manner *(på öfverswinnerligit sett)* to approach and conspire *(abouterade)*; to rise up as it were and nestle in infinitude as a centre, where Love itself was;* thence it seemed to extend itself around and thus down again. In this manner it moved in an incomprehensible circle [spire?] whose centre was Love, around and thus hither again; that Love moved towards and into a mortal body, so that I became filled with it. I likened that inward feeling of gladness to what is felt by a chaste husband who is in an actual state of love, and enjoys its supreme delight with his spouse. Such a supreme feeling of bliss was shed over my whole body, and indeed, for a long time, even during the whole time before I fell asleep, and after I awoke for a half, nay for a whole hour.† Now, when I was in the spirit and yet awake—for I could lift up my eyes and be awake—and when I came into the same state again, I saw and perceived that that supreme Love* was the source of that inmost and real feeling of gladness; and that in proportion as I could be in that Love, in the same proportion I was in a state of bliss; but as soon as I came into another love which did not centre in it, I was beyond its influence. When there was thus an affection for self, or some other affection, which did not centre in that supreme Love, I was no longer in that state of gladness; a slight chill crept over me, I shivered and felt a pain, whence I found that that was the source of my pains sometimes, and also of that great pain and sorrow when the spirit is troubled;

* See Note 165, ii and iv.

† See Note 162, ii.

likewise when a person receives Christ at the communion in an unworthy manner this causes him in the end to be in eternal torments and constitutes hell; for the Spirit visits upon man such an unworthiness.—From the state in which I was, I came still deeper into the spirit, and although I was awake, I could not control myself, but was seized with an irresistible impulse to throw myself on my face, to raise my hands, and pray, as before [see no. 27], about my unworthiness, and to ask with the deepest humility and reverence for grace, that I, who am the greatest of sinners, may receive forgiveness of sins. I then noticed that I was in a similar state to that in which I had been the night before; but more I could not see, as I was awake. I wondered at this, and it was then shown to me in the spirit, that a man in that condition is like one who has his head down and his feet up; and it occurred to me why Moses had to take off his shoes, when he was to approach the Holy One; and also why Christ washed the apostles' feet, and answered Peter that it is sufficient to wash the feet.*—Afterwards I perceived in the spirit that what proceeds from the centre itself which is Love, is the Holy Spirit,† which is represented by water;‡ for this was mentioned, and also *aqua* (water) or *unda* (a wave). In short, if a person is in such a state that he is not influenced by a love which centres in himself, but by one which centres in the common good, such as on earth or in the moral world represents love in the spiritual world; and if he is not in that love for the sake of himself or of society, but for the sake of Christ, whose love constitutes also the centre—if a person is in such a state, then he is in a right state; Christ is [then] the ultimate end, and the rest are mediate ends leading directly towards the ultimate end.§

53. Afterwards I fell asleep, and saw one of my acquaintances sitting at a table; he saluted me, but I did not notice it at once, and before I returned his salutation he became offended and addressed some harsh words to me. I tried to excuse myself, and at last succeeded. I said, I am

* See Note 161, xii.
† See Note 165, iv.
‡ See Note 161, vii.
§ Compare Note 166, iv.

habitually engaged in thought, so that I do not observe when I am saluted, and sometimes pass my friends in the streets without noticing them. I appealed to an acquaintance who was present to bear witness to that, when he affirmed it; I added that no one was more desirous to be polite and humble than I (and may God grant that this may ever be so). This was on account of the previous night, when I indulged in thoughts different from what I ought to have done. May our Lord, in His infinite grace, excuse me. My friend, however, made no reply; whence it seemed that he was satisfied, as I thought.

54. April 10×11. I came into a low room where there were many people; but I looked only at a woman who was in black, but not ill-looking; she went far into a chamber, but I would not follow, though with her hand she beckoned me towards the door. Afterwards I went out, when I found myself several times stopped by a spectre which attached itself to me, covering the whole of my back; finally it disappeared. I came out, when a hideous spectre approached me and did the same; it was an ugly old man; at last I escaped from them.—These were my thoughts on the previous day, when I, indeed, looked upon myself as entirely unworthy, and thought that I would never be able to continue in this state during the whole of my life-time; nevertheless I comforted myself with this thought, that God is mighty in everything, and that His power was doing this; yet there was something in me, that prevented my submitting myself to God's grace as I ought to have done, thus suffering Him to do with me according to His good pleasure.

55. On stepping out, I saw many people sitting in a gallery, when, lo, a stream of water* came rushing down through the roof; it was so impetuous that it penetrated everything that was in its way. Some tried to close the opening so that no water might come in; others tried to escape that it might not reach them; others again dissipated the stream into drops, while some directed it outside the gallery.—This, I believe, meant that the power of the Holy Spirit* flowed into my body

* See Note 161, vii.

and thoughts; part of it I stopped up, from another part I sought to escape, and still another part I turned aside: for the people* signified my thoughts and my will.

56. Afterwards I came out thence, and began in thought, in a certain way, to measure and divide into parts what proceeded from the centre to the circumference [see no. 52]. It seemed to be heaven; for there appeared afterwards a heavenly lustre.—I can, indeed, make guesses about this; but I am not allowed to look upon them as certain, because it concerns something in the future.

57. Whilst I was in the first struggle, I called on Jesus for help, and it ceased. I also folded my hands under my head, and then it did not come a second time. I was, nevertheless, in a tremor† when I awoke, and heard now and then a dull sound; but I do not know whence.‡

58. Afterwards, when awake, I began thinking whether all this was not mere phantasy; and I then noticed that my faith was vacillating. I therefore pressed my hands together, and prayed that I might be strengthened in faith, which also took place immediately. Again, when thoughts occurred to me about my being worthier than others, I prayed in like manner, whereupon these thoughts at once vanished; if, therefore, our Lord in the least withdraw His hand from any one, he is out of the true path, and also out of [a state of] faith, as has been manifestly the case with me.

59. I slept this night about eleven hours, and during the whole of the morning was in my usual state of internal gladness, which was, nevertheless, attended with a pang: this, I thought, arose from the power of the Spirit and my own unworthiness. At last, with God's help, I came into these thoughts, that we ought to be contented with everything which pleases the Lord, because it is for the Lord [and not for us] to say; and, further, that the Spirit is not resisted, when we receive from God the assurance that it is God's grace which does all things for our welfare:§ for if we are God's, we must be

* See Note 161, vi.
† See Note 161, i, F
‡ See Note 162, i, E.
§ See Note 165, viii.

delighted with whatever He pleases to do with His own; still we must ask the Lord for this, because not even the least thing is in our own power. For this the Lord gave me His grace. I reflected upon this, desiring to understand the reason why all this happens.* Yet this was sinful; for my thoughts ought not to have gone in that direction, but I ought to have prayed to the Lord for power to control them. It ought to be enough for us [to know] that it so pleases the Lord. In everything we ought only to call upon Him, pray to and thank Him, and with humility recognize our own unworthiness.

60. I am still weary in my body and mind; for I know nothing except my own unworthiness, and am in pain on account of being a wretched creature. I see by this knowledge that I am unworthy of the grace I have received.

61. I observed also that the stream of water which rushed down [cfr. no. 55] penetrated the clothes of some one, as he withdrew. It is possible that a drop of it reached me, and that it urges me on so; suppose the whole stream [had descended upon me]?

I therefore accepted the following creed: God's will be done; I am Thine and not mine.†

God give His grace for this [work]; for it is not mine.

62. I learned that a person may be in spiritual anguish; even though he be assured by the Spirit that his sins are forgiven, and although he have the hope and confidence that he is in God's grace.

63. April 11×12. I dreamt during the whole night, yet I recollect only very little. It seemed to me as if I were instructed the whole night in many things which I do not remember. I was asleep for nearly eleven hours, and what I recollect seems to be this: 1. The substantial or essential points which one ought to pay attention to and to seek after were mentioned. 2. The thymus gland and succenturiate kidneys were mentioned.‡ Of this I make the following explanation:

* That is, why Swedenborg had to experience these peculiar states.

† This is crossed out in the original. See also no. 69.

‡ The thymus gland and its relation to the succenturiate kidneys or suprarenal capsules *(glandulæ renales)*, are treated of by Swedenborg in

As the thymus gland secretes the impure serum from the blood, and the renal glands or succenturiate kidneys remit the same in a purified condition into the blood,* such is the case with us, I believe, in a spiritual manner. 3. My sister Caisa† appeared, who had done something wrong, and then lain down and screamed; when our mother came, she assumed quite a different expression and language.‡—The explanation of this shall be given afterwards. 4. A clergyman was there who preached to a large congregation, and at the end spoke against another person—whether he mentioned his name or not I do not know. A man, however, rose and spoke against him, saying that it ought not to be so. I met them afterwards in a private company, and the question arising, it was said that the punishment for such a course was disgrace and a fine of three marks Swedish. The preacher did not seem to know that it was a punishable offence. It was said that one begins with what amounts to a fine of one mark Swedish, then two marks, &c.—This signifies that it is wrong to preach, or speak, or write against any one in particular, because this is a punishable offence and libelous, as it affects one's reputation and honour. 5. Afterwards my knees moved involuntarily, which perhaps signifies, that I have become somewhat humble; which also is the case and the effect of God's grace; for this I give thanks in the most humble manner.§

64. Afterwards I perceived in myself, and perhaps from point 3 in my dream, that in every particular thought, and even in that which we consider pure, an infinite quantity of sin and impurity is contained,** and likewise in every desire which enters from the body into the thoughts; these spring from great roots. Although, therefore, a thought may appear pure, it, nevertheless, is a fact that a person may think in a

the *Regnum Animale*, Latin Edition, Vol. II, no. 379, p. 225; English Edition, Vol. II, no. 441, p. 290. See Note 164, iv.

* See *Regnum Animale*, English Edition, Vol. II, p. 290, no. iii; also Note 164, iv.

† Catharine, see Note 5, C., and Document 9, Table IV, p. 91.

‡ See Note 161, i.

§ See Note 161, xii, and Introduction to Document 208, p. 140.

** See Note 165, vii.

certain way from timidity, hypocrisy, and many other causes, as may also be traced out by an exploration of the thoughts; so that on this account man is so much the more unable to free himself from sin, and there is not a single thought which is not very much alloyed with uncleanness and impurity [compare no. 178]. It is therefore best that man should every hour and every moment acknowledge that he is deserving of the punishment of hell; but that God's grace and mercy which are in Jesus Christ overlook it [see Note 165, ii]. I have, indeed, observed that our whole will into which we are born, and which is ruled by the body and introduces thought, is opposed to the Spirit which does this;* wherefore there is a continual strife, and we can by no manner of means unite ourselves with the Spirit, which by grace is with us; and hence it is that we are dead to everything good, but to everything evil we are inclined from ourselves.† For this reason we must at all times acknowledge ourselves guilty of innumerable sins; because our Lord God knows all, and we only very little about them; we know only so much as enters into our thoughts, and only when it also enters into the actions do we become convinced of it.‡ (It is also to be noticed—§)

65. April 12×13. I perceived that it is as I had also thought by the Spirit on the previous day, and as had been represented to me by some sort of luminous spiritual writing,** viz. that the will has most to say in the understanding;†† for on inhaling the breath the thoughts press in from the body, and on exhaling it they are as it were driven out or rectified; so that the very thoughts have their alternate play like the respiration of the lungs. The inhalation of the breath belongs to the will, and its exhalation to nature, and at each respiration the thoughts also undergo their changes, so that when wicked thoughts entered the mind, I had only to hold in the breath, whereupon they ceased. From this the reason may be seen

* That is, which conveys to us God's grace and mercy; see Note 165, vii.
† See Note 165, vii. ‡ See Note 166, i.
§ These words are crossed out in the original.
** See Note 161, i, B, and G. †† See Note 166, ii.

why in deep thought the lungs are kept in a state of equilibrium and at rest, and breathe more naturally, and why the breath is then inhaled more rapidly than exhaled, just the reverse of what is usually the case; likewise, why, when a person is in a state of ecstasy and the breath is retained, the thoughts are as it were absent; which is also the case in sleep, when both the inhalation and exhalation belong to nature, and when that is represented which flows in from above. The same may be also deduced from the brain, where all the inmost organs together with the brain itself are in a state of expansion during inhalation, and where the thoughts originate and have their course.*

66. Afterwards I arrived at a place where amazingly large and high wind-mills were going at a frightful speed. I came then into darkness, so that I crept on the ground, being afraid of some of the sails taking hold of, and thus killing me; I really got beneath a sail, which then stopped, and I brought myself into such a position that the sail helped me.—On the previous day I had had conflicting thoughts, which were signified by the sails of the mill;† so that at times I was at a loss which way to turn. With God's grace, however, they were tempered, and I escaped safe and sound; wherefore, glory and honour be to God, who has respect for my weakness!

67. Afterwards it seemed to me as if I was in company with some, who appeared desirous of making gold; but they saw that they had to climb up, which they were unable to do, and that otherwise it was impossible for them to make gold. This continued for some time, until at last I was to-

* A summary of the action of the will and of nature in respiration is given by Swedenborg in the *Regnum Animale*, Latin Edition, Vol. II, no. 348, pp. 162, 163; English Edition, Vol. II, no. 410, p. 209 (u). This part he probably saw through the press at the time; while the part which he was preparing for the press was the chapter on the thymus gland, which he mentions in no. 63, (2). Still it is possible that during the day he was engaged on the chapter treating of the diaphragm, which follows that on the thymus gland, and where in the Latin Edition, no. 389, note I (English Edition, no. 451, note I, p. 318) he likewise discusses the action of the will and nature in respiration. See Note 166, iii.

† See Note 161, xiii.

gether with two, who, nevertheless, persisted in climbing up, although our Lord was not with them. I said that this could not be done, and then went up before them; I had a rope and pulled, and I then perceived that there was something beneath which pulled strongly against me, and at last I saw that it was a man against whom I struggled, and whom I thus brought up. I was glad then and told them it was as I had said.—The signification of this I think is, that gold means that which is good;* that *aurum* (gold), consequently, is that which is good and well-pleasing to God; in order to receive it we must climb up to Him, and this does not lie in our power, even though we suppose that we are able to do it from our own strength;† we then also find that there is some one who pulls strongly in an opposite direction; but ultimately the victory is gained through God's grace.‡

68. After this I was for a long time in the same thought, which gradually appeared in a reddish light; by which was signified the presence of God's grace in that thought.§ The sum and substance of this was, that we must really do what is good and execute it with God's grace and in the faith granted by God,** and that this is what is meant by making gold;* for in that case we receive from our Lord everything that we need, and what is useful to us. This was represented to me very powerfully, viz. that that which is good must be carried into effect, and that in this lay [the meaning of] gold.

69. After getting up, I was in great fear of our Lord. I was, as it were, in a state of cold, and at every least wink or thought which caused me to fear, I was seized with a chill. God's grace thus showed me that I had to strive after salvation amid fear and trembling.** But I have for my motto: God's will be done; I am Thine and not mine [see no. 61]; as therefore I have given myself from myself to the Lord, He may dispose of me after His own pleasure.†† In

* See Note 161, ix.
† See Note 165, vii.
‡ See Note 165, viii.
§ See Note 161, vii.
** See Note 165, x.
†† See Introduction to Document 208, p. 134.

the body there seemed to be something of discontent, but in the spirit joy;* for the grace of our Lord does this. May God strengthen me therein!

70. I was continually in a state of combat between thoughts which were antagonistic to one another. I pray Thee, O Almighty God, that Thou wouldst grant me the grace of being Thine and not mine. Pardon my saying that I am Thine and not mine; it is God's and not my privilege to say so. I pray *for the grace of being Thine, and of not being left to myself.*

April 13×14. 71. It seemed to me as if the grace of the Spirit was working in me during the whole night. I saw my sister Hedwig,[5] with whom I would have nothing to do†—This signifies that I must not touch the *Œconomia [Regni] Animalis*,‡ but leave it.

72. It seemed afterwards that when the time was passing slowly, she first said to her children, go out and lock [the house], and then that they might play at backgammon or cards; whereupon they sat down and beguiled their time with it, and likewise by sitting down to a meal.—This, I believe, signifies that there is nothing wrong in this, if it is done in the right [spirit]—§

73. During the whole day I was in conflicting thought, which tried to destroy that which was of the Spirit by abusive language. I found therefore that the temptation was very strong.** By the grace of the Spirit I was led to fix my thoughts on a piece of wood or a tree, then on the cross of Christ, and on the crucified Christ; and whenever I did so the other thoughts fell down flat, as of their own accord. I bore down this thought so strongly upon the other, that it seemed to me I should crush the tempter with the cross, and drive him away; when I was relieved for a time. Afterwards I had to fix my thoughts upon it so intently, that whenever it escaped

* See Note 162, ii. † See Note 161, i, C.

‡ That is, that Swedenborg must not go on with the method which he had followed in this work; but that he must follow that according to which he had worked out the *Regnum Animale.*

§ See Note 161, iv, F. ** See Note 162, i, E.

from them and my interior vision, I fell into temptation thoughts. God be praised who gave me this weapon! May God graciously keep me in it, that I may have my crucified Saviour constantly before my eyes. For I dared not look upon my Jesus whom I have seen,* because I am an unworthy sinner; but I ought rather to fall upon my face, and it is Jesus who then takes me up to Himself, that I may see Him. For this reason I look upon the crucified Christ.

74. April 14×15. It seemed to me as if I were racing down the stairs, lightly touching each step; I came down safely and without danger. A voice came from my dear father, "You are frightening people thus, Emanuel!" He said it was wrong, but he would let it pass.—The reason of this was, that I had been too bold yesterday in the use of the cross of Christ; but by God's grace I came through without danger.

75. I climbed up on a platform *[jay klengde mig på en lafwe]*, and broke off the neck of a bottle; some thick stuff came out, covering the floor upon which it flowed down.—This, I believe, means that yesterday a good deal of evil was rooted out of my thought. I sat down upon that which was written,† showing what I have still to do.

76. I heard a bear growling, but did not see it. I dared not remain in the upper story of the house, because a dead carcase was there which it might scent. I therefore came down into the room of Dr. Moræus,[166]‡ and shut the windows.—This signifies temptation, it may be to greed and also to something else; likewise, that I am progressing in my anatomical speculations.§

77. Doctor Moræus seemed to court a pretty maiden, and obtained her consent; he had permission to take her where he pleased. I jested with her, saying that she liked to say Yes, and the like. She was a handsome maiden, and grew

* See no. 27.

† Probably his MS. for the printer.

‡ The Swedish editor has *Dr. Morsus*, but he agrees with the editor of these Documents, that the original which is very difficult to make out, bears also the reading of *Morœus;* the letter *œ* being written *á* by Swedenborg, thus bearing a similarity to the written character of *s*.

§ See Note 161, i.

taller and more beautiful.—The meaning is, that I was to inform myself about the muscles and explore them.*

78. I had a preternaturally good and long sleep for twelve hours. On awaking I had the crucifixion of Jesus and His cross before my eyes. The Spirit came with its heavenly and almost ecstatic life in so high a degree, and permitted me, as it were, to rise higher and higher in it, that if I had ascended still higher, I should have been dissolved in this real life of joy.†

79. It then appeared to me, in the spirit, that I had gone too far; that I had embraced in my thoughts Christ on the cross, when I had kissed his feet, and afterwards moved to a distance, falling on my knees and praying before Him crucified: it seemed as if the sins of my weakness were forgiven, whenever I did this. It occurred to me that I might have Him before the eyes of my body in an image; but I found that such would be far from right, and, indeed, a great sin.

80. April 15×16. It seemed to me as if I were climbing up a ladder from a great deep; others, women, came after me.‡ I stopped, and frightened them purposely, and then went up. A green sward received me, where I lay down. The others came after me, they were women, and lay down beside me; one was young, and the other a little older. I kissed the hands of both, and did not know which of the two I should love.‡—Those who, finally, came up with me, and whom I met, saluted, and received again, were my thoughts and my mental occupation *(ouvrage d'esprit)*, which are of two kinds.§

81. Afterwards I came to a place where many men** were assembled; a great number of handsome young people were

* Swedenborg treats of the muscles in the *Regnum Animale*, throughout the whole of the chapter on the diaphragm; especially in the Latin Edition, nos. 387—390, English Edition, nos. 449—453. He also wrote a special treatise on the muscles about that time, which is contained in Codex 58 of his MSS., leaves 132 to 137, and which is photo-lithographed in Vol. VI of his MSS., pages 13 to 25. See Note 161, iv, and Note 164, iv.

† See Note 162, ii.

‡ See Note 161, iv, A, B.

§ See no. 85, (1).

** See Note 161, vi.

collected in a crowd in one spot; fresh numbers joined them, among them Henning Gyllenborg[170]* on horseback; I went to meet him, kissed him, and stood by him.—The meaning of this is, that I come back again to the things of my memory and imagination,† and salute them; consequently that I return to the upper and lower faculties.‡

82. Afterwards I returned, and was at home in my own house. I was visited by many people. I knew I had hidden away a pretty little woman§ and a lad, and I kept them hidden. There was otherwise but a poor store of provisions in a heap. I was unwilling to get out my plate, on which I was to have a collation; neither was I willing to lead them into an interior gorgeous room, which was well furnished.—This signifies that I have come home to myself again, having acquired that knowledge which is now written;** and that in time perhaps I shall make use of it, bring out the silver plate, and lead people into the handsome apartment.

83. It seemed to me, as if I were accusing some one, but I do not recollect whom; in the end, however, I crossed out and excused something; since the person himself had said it was so; the words, however, were buried.—This means that I accused, and again excused myself, because I confessed all myself.

84. The word *Nicolaitan,* or *Nicolaus Nicolai* (Nicholas of Nicholas) was mentioned.—I do not know whether this means my new name.

The most singular thing is, that I now represent the inner man, and, as it were, another than myself; that I visit my own thoughts, frighten them, i. e. the things of my memory; that I accuse another.—This shows that matters are changed now;

* See Note 161, ii. † See Note 161, vi.

‡ By the two faculties, the upper and the lower, Swedenborg means here those of the memory and the imagination. The relations between these and the supreme faculty of thought are described by him in the Epilogue to Volume II of the *Regnum Animale*, Latin Edition, no. 398, p. 270, and English Edition, no. 460, p. 348, especially in Note i; see Note 164, iv. § See Note 161, iv.

** Swedenborg seems to have finished here the manuscript for Vol II. of the *Regnum Animale*, which is all that he printed at the Hague.

and that I represent the inner man, who is opposed to another [i. e. the external man]. For I prayed to God that I might not be my own, but that God might please to let me be His.

This has now lasted for twenty-one days.

85. I have since found that most of this has a different meaning: 1. The two women* signified, that I would rather be in philosophical than in spiritual studies; that this, consequently, rather exhibited my own inclination. 2. My kissing Henning Gyllenborg, and seeing so many people,† signified that I not only was delighted at being in the world, but also inclined to boast of my work. 3. *Nicolaus Nicolai*‡ was a philosopher who every year sent loaves of bread to Augustus; this signified first of all, that I considered it my duty to be again reconciled to our Lord, since in spiritual things I am a stinking corpse.§ On this account I went to our Ambassador Preis[171] and he called on Pastor Pombo, that I might receive anew the Lord's Supper, which was also granted. I met him with the ambassador and went in with him; this was our Lord's providence. The same day I dined with Ambassador Preis, but had no appetite.

86. April 17. I received the Lord's Supper at the house of Pastor Pombo.

87. April 17×18. I had fearful dreams. I dreamt how the executioner roasted the heads which he had struck off; and how for a long time he put the roasted heads one after another into an empty stove, which never was filled; these were said to be his food. The executioner was a tall woman who laughed, and had a little girl with her.

88. Afterwards I dreamt how the Evil One led me into various deep places, and bound me. I cannot remember it all. Being thus tied, I was cast into hell.**

89. A great procession was to take place from which I was excluded; I was to have come away from it. Yet I insisted on making my way there, and sat down, but was advised to go

* See no. 80.
† See no. 81.
‡ See no. 84.
§ See Note 165, vii.
** See Note 162, i, E.

away. I went. I nevertheless had another place where I could see the procession, which had not yet come.

90. As I am certain, however, that God grants His grace and mercy to all poor sinners, who are willing to be converted, and who with unshaken faith take refuge in His inconceivable mercy and the merit of the Saviour Jesus Christ,* so also I feel assured of His grace, and leave myself to His protection, since I believe most firmly that I have received forgiveness of my sins.† This is my consolation, which may God for the sake of Jesus Christ‡ strengthen.

91. I was this day at intervals in interior anxiety, and at times in a state of despair; still I was assured of the forgiveness of my sins. In consequence of this a cold sweat *(en stark pers)* sometimes broke out on me until 10 o'clock, when with God's help I fell asleep.§ A voice then seemed to say to me that some command would be given me from within. I slept for an hour and a half; although in the night I had slept for more than ten hours. With God's grace I had a preternatural sleep; and this has been the case now for an entire half year.**

92. April 18×19. It seemed to me as if we were labouring a long time to bring in a box which contained precious things; the time, indeed, was so long, that it reminded one of Troy;†† they persevered with it, and at last removed the part below. It was then brought in in triumph, and they kept on sawing and sawing.—This shows how we must labour in order to gain heaven.‡‡

93. I seemed to have a plain watch with me, but at home a precious one, which I was not willing to exchange for one

* See Note 165. vi.

† See Introduction to Document 208, p. 140.

‡ See Note 165, i.

§ See Note 162, i, E.

** From this it would seem that Swedenborg came into this state about the middle of October 1743.

†† Swedenborg alludes here to the wooden horse which was with great difficulty dragged inside the walls of Troy.

‡‡ See Note 165, x.

of gold.—This signifies that I shall perhaps obtain knowledge of a noble kind, upon which I may expend my time.

94. My lower extremities *(nedwid)* seemed to be wrapped in several folds of blanket, which were wound around in various ways; and just then came a —— — This means that I continue to be protected so as to keep in the right direction.

95. There was a very well-trained dog, of a dark brown colour, which followed me. Whenever any reptile came, the dog raised itself up; when we approached a water, it went in, to explore its depth.—This means perhaps Tobit's dog.

96. I saw in a window a strange but lively animal of a dark brown colour; it rushed in through another window. What it had on its back was rubbed off, and was changed into a handkerchief. I examined it and found it to be small, but could not show it to any one else. It was in the interior of a chemist's shop. I asked whether I should shoot it.—This signifies that I am to be instructed in something which will be of use in curing, and in other things.

Afterwards it seemed that it was shown to me, that I should be told or given to understand when I went wrong.

97. I saw Mr. König* and Prof. Winbom[172] coming; i. e. I was going to live with them; on week-days, with those who are not Christians: for König was said not to be a Christian. By Winbom's coming and going were signified the Sundays.†

98. The same day I was somewhat disturbed in mind, as I could not control the thoughts, which flowed in against my will both in a negative and an affirmative form.‡ I was at Divine service, where I noticed that thoughts on matters of faith, respecting Christ, His merit and the like, even though they be entirely favourable and confirmatory, still cause a certain disquietude, and give rise to opposing thoughts which cannot

* The Swedish Agent Johann Frederic König at Hamburg; see Document 206, p. 82; and Document 207, p. 132.

† See Note 161, i. ‡ See Note 162, i, E.

be resisted, whenever man tries to believe from his own understanding, and not from the Lord's grace.* At last it was granted me by the grace of the Spirit to receive faith without reasoning upon it, and thus to be assured in respect to it; I then saw, as it were, below me my own thoughts, by which faith was confirmed; I laughed in my mind at them, but still more at those by which they were impugned and opposed. Faith appeared to be far above the thoughts of my understanding.* Then only I got peace: May God strengthen me in it! For it is His work, and mine so much the less, as my thoughts, and indeed the best of them, destroy more than they are able to promote. Man smiles at himself, both when he thinks in opposition to faith, and when he desires with his understanding to confirm what he believes. It is therefore a higher state—I am uncertain whether it is not the highest—when man, by grace, no longer mixes up his understanding in matters of faith; although it appears as if the Lord with certain persons permits the understanding to precede such states of assurance in respect to things which concern the understanding. "Blessed are they who believe and do not see."* This I have clearly written in the Prologue, nos. 21, 22;† yet of my own self I could never have discovered this or arrived at its knowledge; but God's grace has wrought this, I being unconscious of it; afterwards, however, I perceived it from the very effect and the change in my whole interior being. This, therefore, is God's grace and His work, and to Him alone belongs eternal glory.‡ From this I see how difficult it is for the learned, more indeed than for the unlearned, to arrive at such a faith, and consequently to conquer themselves [to such a degree] that they are able to smile at themselves:§ for man's worship of his own understanding must first of all be abolished and overthrown; and this is God's work and not man's. It is also God's work for man

* See Note 165, xi, A.

† The Prologue to the *Regnum Animale*, English Edition, Vol. I. pp. 13, 14.

‡ See Note 165, viii.

§ See Note 165, ix, A, and Note 166, i.

to continue in that state. Faith is in this wise separated from our understanding, and resides above it. This is pure faith; the other, so long as it is mixed up with our own understanding, is impure. Man's understanding must be put in bonds and under the government of faith.* The ground of faith, however, must be this, that He who has spoken it is God over all and Truth itself. That we must become like little children must, it seems, be understood in this sense.† Much of what I have experienced agrees with this, perhaps also the roasting of so many heads, which were the food of the Evil One, and their being thrown into a stove.‡

99. That confirmations also obscure faith, may be seen from this consideration, that the understanding never goes beyond mere probabilities, and thus is constantly engaged, as it were, in trying major and minor terms.§ On this account the confirmations of our own understanding are always subject to doubt, by which the light of faith is darkened.* Faith, consequently, is purely God's gift, and is received by man when he lives according to the commandments of God, and when he continually prays to God for it.**

100. April 19X20. I had a different kind of sleep altogether; I dreamt much, and afterwards a tremor came over me;†† yet I could not bring anything to my remembrance, for each time I tried it escaped me.

101. I clasped my hands, and on awaking it seemed to me as if they were pressed together by a hand or finger.—This means, with God's help, that our Lord has heard my prayers.

102. Afterwards I was in vision, which is neither a state of sleep, nor of wakefulness, nor of ecstasy.‡‡ It was represented to me that King Charles [XII][3] §§ the first time fought in vain; but that afterwards in his second battle against the Saxons he was victorious, and covered with blood. Still later the

* See Note 165, ix, A.
† See Note 161, vi.
‡ See no. 87.
§ See Note 166. i.
** See Note 165, ix, B, and x.
†† See Note 162, i, F.
‡‡ See Note 162, i, C.
§§ See Note 161, v.

Muses *(Camenæ)* also were victorious.—This signifies that with God's grace I conquered in the strife, and that the blood and merit of Jesus helped me;* further, that in my studies also I shall reach the end I have proposed to myself.

103. I then arose, full of God *(en hel Gud)*. God be thanked and praised! *I do not will to be my own; I am certain of it, and believe that Thou, O God, lettest me be Thine, all my life long, and that Thou dost not take away Thy Holy Spirit from me, which strengthens and upholds me.*

104. This day I was in most severe temptation,† so that whenever I thought of Jesus Christ, ungodly thoughts immediately pressed in, which I could not control as I wished. I beat myself. Yet I can affirm, that I never was of better courage than to-day, and that I was not in the least faint-hearted and pained as on previous days, although the temptation was most severe. The reason is, that our Lord has given me this strong faith and confidence, that He helps me for the sake of Jesus Christ‡ and according to His own promise; so that I then experienced what effect such faith has.

105. I was also possessed of such courage, and was so incensed against Satan, that I desired to slay him with the weapon of faith. Hence may be seen what effect the right kind of faith has, without being reasoned out and without being strengthened by man's reasoning.§ Yet this is God's grace alone. If this had happened before, I should, without doubt, have been faint-hearted. I was, nevertheless, afraid I might have offended our Lord by thus striving, as it were, to set myself free; wherefore I asked His forgiveness with all the humility of which I was capable.—This most probably was signified by Charles XII being all covered with blood.**

106. April 21×22. It appeared to me as if I had gone astray in the dark, and had not gone out with the others. I was keeping by the walls, and at last came to a handsome

* See Note 165, vi.
† See Note 162, i, E.
‡ See Note 165, i.
§ See Note 165, ix, A.
** See no. 102.

house, where there were some people who wondered at my coming that way. They came to meet me, and told me that this was not the way. I said that in the hall *(i wind)* perhaps there was an opening this way; which they denied.—This means that I had gone most fearfully astray on the previous day.

107. There was a great dog which came under the cover where I was lying, and licked my throat. I was afraid it would bite me; but this did not happen, and I was told that it would not bite me.—This signifies the incidental thoughts which I had, and that I was precluded from thinking on what is holy.

108. Afterwards I was with some actors. Some one said that a Swede had come to visit me. We drove in. A large staircase was got ready for him. It was a dog wrapt up, with a pup which it was suckling.—My awful thoughts were signified thereby. The dog was fastened to a measuring rod, or something like it, and would not go away; in another room it was at last torn off.—This means that I am freed from them.

109. It appeared to me in vision as if something were torn asunder in the air; which probably means that my conflicting thoughts are to be torn apart.

Upon awaking I heard the word: *alt nâd* (all is grace); by which is signified that all that has happened is grace,* and for the best.

110. Afterwards, because it seemed to me I was so far separated from God that I could not yet think of Him in a sufficiently vivid manner *(så lefvande)*, I came into a state of doubt whether I should not direct my journey homewards; a crowd of involved reasons [then] came, and my body was seized with a tremor.† Yet I gathered courage and perceived that I had come [to Holland] to do that which was best of all, and that I had received a talent for the promotion of God's glory; I saw that all had helped together to this end; that the Spirit had been with me from my youth for this very purpose;‡ wherefore I considered myself unworthy of life, unless,

* See Note 165, viii. † See Note 162, i, F.

‡ See Introduction to Document 208 p. 139.

I followed the straight direction. I then smiled at the other seducing thoughts; and thus at luxury, riches, and distinction, which I had pursued. All these I saw to be vain; and I discovered that he who is without them, and is contented, is happier than he who possesses them. I therefore smiled at all arguments by which I might be confirmed; and with God's help made a resolution. May God grant His help.

111. It seemed to me as if I heard a hen cackle, as happens immediately after it lays an egg.

I further noticed that faith is a sure confidence which is received from God, which, nevertheless, consists in every man's acting according to his talent for doing good to his neighbour, and continually more and more; that a man must do so from faith, because God has so ordered it, and must not reason any more about it, but do the work of love from obedience to faith, even though this be opposed to the lusts of the body and its persuasions.* Wherefore faith without works is not the right kind of faith.† A man must in reality forsake himself.

112. April 22×23. I had depressing dreams about dogs that were said to be my countrymen, and which licked my neck, but without biting; besides other dreams * * *‡ In the morning awful thoughts haunted me, just as on the preceding day, viz. that the Evil One had taken possession of me; yet with the consolation that he was without, and that I would soon be relieved. While I had the most damnable thoughts, the worst that possibly could be, Jesus Christ was presented vividly before my internal sight; and the operation of the Holy Spirit came over me, from which I knew that the devil was gone. On the following day also I was in a state of infestation, in conflicting thoughts, and in strife. In the afternoon I was mostly in a tranquil state, and thought of God, though engaged in worldly things. I was then travelling to Leyden.

113. April 23×24, in Leyden. It seemed to me as if I were put to flight by a woman, who drove me into the sea,

* See Note 165, x.

† See Note 165, ix, B.

‡ See Note 161, iv, F.

and upwards *[ochop]*; at last I struck heras hard as I could with a plate on the forehead, and pinched her face; so that she seemed to be conquered.—These were my infestations, and the struggle with my thoughts, which I had vanquished.

114. It seemed as if the words *interiorescit* (he becomes more interior), *integratur* (he is being made whole) were pronounced.—This means that I am being inwardly purified by means of my infestations.

Afterwards something holy was dictated to me during the whole night; the concluding words were *sacrarium et sanctuarium;* when I found myself in company with a woman* whom I loved * * *—This signifies extreme affection for what is holy; for all love derives thence its origin * * *

115. Afterwards I slept a little, and it appeared to me as if a quantity of oil mixed with mustard was floating about.—This probably denotes the state of my life in future; that there will be joy in it mixed with adversity; or perhaps it means a medicine intended for me.

This took place in Leyden on the morning of April 24.

116. April 24×25, in Amsterdam. During the whole night, for about eleven hours, I lay in a strange trance; [I know not] whether I was asleep or awake. I knew all that I dreamt, but my thoughts were kept bound, which at times produced perspiration. I cannot describe the nature of the sleep, during which my double [conflicting] thoughts were as it were severed, or rent apart. Among other things I dreamt that I spoke several times with King Charles XII.,† and that he spoke with me in broken French, which I did not understand; at which I wondered. Even when I conversed with others, and thought he did not hear me, he was close by, so that I blushed at what I said.—This signifies that God speaks with me, and that I comprehend only the least portion of what he says, because it is in representations, of which I understand as yet but very little;‡ and, further, that He hears and perceives everything that is spoken, and every thought that any one

* See Note 161, iv, B.

† See Note 161, v.

‡ See Note 161, i, A.

entertains. It is also most certain that not a single thought escapes from any man which He does not see; in fact He sees every thing; He sees [in me] a thousand times more than I see myself.

117. April 25X26.* It seemed as if women and men were sitting in a ship, ready to start off. One was holding my dog,† which I took from him. He showed me the way home into a beautiful room where there was some wine.—This perhaps means that I should send my work over to England; and that I was to be taken somewhere to-day where I should enjoy myself; which also took place at H. Hinr. Posch.‡

118. April 25X26, at the Hague. I enjoyed a good, refreshing sleep for about eleven hours, during which I saw several representations. It appeared to me as if a married woman was pursuing me, but I was saved.—This signifies that the Lord saves me from temptations and persecutions.

119. A married woman desired to have me, but I liked an unmarried one; whereat the former became angry and persecuted me. I, nevertheless, obtained the unmarried one,§ in whose company I was, and whom I loved.—This probably means my thoughts.

120. There was a woman who owned a large and fine estate;** I was to marry her, and we strolled over her possessions. It was piety and, I believe, wisdom** who owned this property. I was in her company and loved her in the usual way,†† which seemed to be in the place of marriage itself.

121. It was also represented to me in a certain manner that I was not to contaminate myself by reading other books treating on theology and similar subjects; because all this I have from the Word of God and the Holy Spirit.‡‡

122. April 28X29. Last night it seemed to me as if I

* This date is crossed out in the original.

† The original is either *hud* (skin) or *hund* (dog).

‡ The Swedish editor instead of *Posch*, suggests *Pasch*, which is a Swedish name.

§ See Note 161, iv.

** See Note 161, iv, A.

†† See Note 161, iv, B.

‡‡ See Note 162, iv.

saw King Charles XII., to whom I had previously dedicated my work; but now it seemed to me as if he had risen from the dead; and as if I were going out to dedicate [my work] to him as to any other.

123. I came out of a certain way, which was a cross-way. I was directed to go up [a certain eminence], but it seemed to me as if it were only for a few days, wherefore I went back again to the plain, where there were many people. I desired to go away, but was very much pushed about.

124. I gave some fruits to a gardener to sell. He sold them, and returned me two carolins, but it was said that he had retained for himself thirteen dalers; about which I did not trouble myself.

125. * * * I saw a fat and red woman who showed me something repulsive.* I would have nothing to do with her.

126. All this, it seems to me, represents that I must employ my remaining time in writing upon that which is higher, and not upon worldly things which are far below; and, indeed, that I must write about that which concerns the very centre of all, and that which concerns Christ.† May God be so gracious as to enlighten me respecting my duty; for I am still in some obscurity as to the direction whither I am to turn.

127. Some one, it seemed, wrote something short to King Frederic;[4] he observed that it was short, and gave several orders to a person, who first was a woman and afterwards a small man, to worry the writer in various ways with love-intrigues and the like. They did their best, but I saw that they could not do him any harm or injury. He said that now between the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh day (so many days had passed since my temptation) he would borrow a great deal and go to heaven, and that he would not pay those from whom he borrowed. This I told to Swab [either Anders or Anton, see Note 66] that he should report it to the King.—This seems to signify, that if I go on with the other [work] which I have proposed to myself, I shall have

* See Note 161, iv, C, F.

† See Introduction to Document 208, p. 139.

borrowed from the spiritual with which to go to heaven, which I am unwilling to repay until the very last.

128. April 30×May 1. I saw some one on guard armed with a sword; the sword was pointed and sharp; and he had something stuck on his coat-sleeves. I was in danger from him; for I saw that he was intoxicated, and, consequently, might do harm.—This signifies that on the previous day I had drunk more than I ought, which is not of the spirit, but of the flesh, and thus sinful.

129. Afterwards, it seemed to me, I was in company with my deceased brother Eliezer,* who was attacked by a boar, which laid hold of him and bit him; I tried to drag the animal down with a hook, but could not. Afterwards I went up and saw that he was lying between two boars, which were eating his head. I could not get any one to help him; I ran past.—This denotes, I believe, that on the previous day, I had indulged my appetite and partaken too freely of the necessaries of life, which is also a work of the flesh, and not of the spirit. For such is the life of swine, which are forbidden by Paul; of such a nature are the so-called feasts *(comessationes)*.

130. On the following day I was more on my guard, but I fell into a somewhat strong temptation.† At the idea that henceforth I should apply force to my appetite, I came into a strange condition, and as it were into a state of chagrin; yet I was soon relieved from it, after praying and singing a hymn; especially when I would no longer be my own, but live as a new creature in Christ.

131. Afterwards several days in succession I was generally for a few hours in spiritual anxiety, without being able to tell the cause; although I seemed to be assured of God's grace. In the afternoons, however, I was in a state of great happiness and spiritual peace.

132. On leaving the Hague in the "treckschuyt" for the land of the Meuse *(Marslandzskuten)*,‡ which was on the *thirteenth of May*, it seemed to me that my brother Jesper[52]* was

* See Note 161, ii. † See Note 162, i, E.

‡ The Swedish editor suggests *Maaslandskuiten, treckschuit från Maasland*, the "treckschuyt" from the land of the Maas or Meuse.

put in prison on my account, and also another person. I had put something into a carriage and imported it, for which, it seemed to me, I was responsible. The judges by whom he was to be judged came in, holding in their hands two papers covered with writing. In the mean time I saw birds* which came flying towards me; these I struck on the neck with a sharp knife, so that they died. The judges afterwards came and released my brother Jesper, whom I then kissed for joy.—This signifies that my thoughts,* had been running wild, but with the Spirit's help I killed them; and on that account was declared free.

133. On my arrival in England by Harwich *(Harderwick)* I slept only a few hours, when much appeared to me which seemed to concern my work here. This took place on May 4X5, according to the English calendar.†

(a) [It seemed to me] as if I had lost a bank-bill, and the finder got only nine stivers for it. The same was the case with another who found a similar note, and which was purchased likewise for only nine stivers. I then said in jest that it was puritanism *(pietasteri)*.—By this is probably shown of what quality people are in England, part of them honest, part dishonest.

134. (b) There were some who admired my engravings, which were well done. They desired to inspect my first sketches, to see whether I had been able to sketch them in the same way in which they were finished.—This apparently means that my work is approved, and that people believe that I possess the ability to do it.

135. (c) A little letter came into my hands for which I paid nine stivers. On opening it a large book with blank paper was contained in it; in the middle of it were many beautiful drawings; the rest consisted of blank paper. A woman was sitting at my left hand;‡ she came round to my

* See Note 161, xi.

† The Calendar as improved by Pope Gregory XIII was not introduced into England until 1752, wherefore upon arriving in England Swedenborg found himself thrown back twelve days. As we see from no. 132 he left the Hague on May 13, and he arrived in England in reality on the 16th.

‡ See Note 161, iv.

right, and turned over the leaves, when the drawings came out. It seemed to me that the meaning of the letter was that in England I should order a number of such designs or patterns to be drawn. The woman had a thick neck, and was bare on both sides down to the feet; her skin was bright as if it had been polished, and on her thumbs was a miniature painting.—This apparently signifies that with God's help I shall execute many handsome designs in my work; and that henceforth speculation, which has hitherto been *a posteriori*, will change into *a priori*;* this seemed to be signified by the change of position.

136. (d) It seemed to me as if I had been ordered on a commission with Bergenstjerna,[125]† money being granted for the purpose. The commission, with which I was very much pleased, was it seemed to me to be in Sicily; yet I was to be on my guard there against scorpions.—This probably means that, after my work is done, I shall receive something else as a commission, which perhaps will have to be carried on in some other place; perhaps also it means that the commission will be on some other matter.

137. May 5×6 [old style]. In London I was beaten by a big man, which I bore patiently. Then I had to sit on a horse and ride by the side of a carriage, when the horse turned its head, caught me by the head, and held me.—What this means I do not know. I must have done something wrong to a pious shoemaker, who had been with me on the journey, and with whom I was then lodging; or else it means that I did not think of my work.

138. *This is the sum of all:* 1. That there is nothing but grace, by which we can be saved. 2. Grace is in Jesus Christ, who is the seat of grace (the mercy-seat). 3. Love to God in Christ promotes salvation. 4. Man then allows himself to be led by the spirit of Jesus. 5. Everything that comes from ourselves is dead, and is nothing but sin, and worthy of eternal damnation. 6. For good can come from no other source save the Lord.‡

* See Introduction to Document 208, p. 140.

† See Note 161, i. ‡ See Note 165, ii, and vii.

139. May 19×20, in London. On the twentieth I was to go to the Lord's Supper in the Swedish church, after I had had many pernicious thoughts, from which I perceived that my body is in a continual state of rebellion; this was also represented to me by scum, which was to be skimmed off. On Sunday morning it came very clearly from the Spirit into my lips, that this [i. e. the Holy Supper] is the manna* which descends from heaven. This came to me neither in sleep nor in a state of wakefulness, but it came most distinctly into my thought and into my lips that by this is signified Christ in the Lord's Supper.* The day before I had been prepared, so that I was interiorly tranquil and peaceful, being contented with the Lord's dispensation; the whole time also I felt the strong influence of the Holy Spirit, and the whole body was filled with a delight in the heavenly kingdom upon earth.†

140. I could not control myself so entirely as not to have carnal desires; yet without any intention of causing their ultimation. Yet it seemed tome in my dream that my having accompanied Prof. Ehlreich[109]‡ to sundry places was not so altogether against the Divine Providence; as about it I did not receive an admonition, as about other of my doings. It however happened, as had been represented to me in a dream some days before, that I was in one day twice in danger of my life; so that if God had not protected me, I should have lost my life in two places. The particulars I will not describe.

141. The internal state of delight, however, continued so strong in the mornings, evenings, and during the day, especially when I was by myself alone, without company, that it may be compared to heavenly joy on earth.* In this state I hope to continue, so long as by our Lord's grace alone I walk in pure paths and have right intentions; for as soon as I turn aside, and try to find my joy in worldly things, this state of delight ceases. God alone knows whether the principle of the

* See Note 161, x.

† See Note 162, ii.

‡ See Note 160, iii.

interior which is the influx of God's Spirit,* is constantly with man. This [i. e. the interior] is sensible of every least degree of its exaltation; wherefore I was thinking, that if I have heavenly joy, why should I seek after worldly, which in comparison is nothing, is inconstant, pernicious, rebellious, and destructive.

142. By various circumstances I was led into the church belonging to the Moravian Brethren, who maintain that they are the true Lutherans, and that they feel the influx of the Holy Spirit, as they tell each other; further, that they have respect only to God's grace, to Christ's blood and merit,† and that they go about in simplicity. On this subject I shall speak more fully some other time; for as yet I am not allowed to join their brotherhood. Their church was represented to me three months ago just as I saw it afterwards; all were dressed there like clergymen.

143. June 11×12. I was thinking about those who resist the Holy Spirit, and about those who suffer themselves to be led by it. There appeared to me a man in white with a sword, another went to meet him, but was wounded by his sword; he renewed the contest, when he was very severely struck about the ears and temples. Another came and fought with him; he also was pierced so that blood appeared. I had a long spear, and was thinking that if he should come towards me, I would hold that before me; but just at the time when he was not far from me, I saw him cast away his sword, and go his way. As I was wondering at this, I perceived that one was going before me, who was offering his sword, and was willing to give it up, and surrender at discretion. This was the reason the other threw away his sword.

144. June 15×16. The 16th was a Sunday. My former life was represented to me, and how afterwards I walked where there were precipices on all sides, and how I turned away from them. I then came into a glorious grove,‡ with most beautiful fig-trees in all directions in vigorous growth and arranged in order, on one of which the withered fruit seemed

* See Note 165, iv.

† See Note 165, vi.

‡ See Note 161, viii.

to remain. The grove had trenches on all sides except that where I was. I contemplated passing over a high bridge, which had earth and grass on the top; yet I did not venture, because it looked dangerous. At some distance from it I saw a large and very handsome palace with wings; where, it seemed to me, I desired to take lodgings in order to have always the prospect of the grove and the trenches. A window was open a long way down in one of the wings; there I thought I should like to have my room.—This means that on Sundays I ought to be engaged with spiritual things, which were represented by the noble grove.* The palace* was most likely the plan of my work which looks towards the grove [i. e. spiritual things], whither I purpose to look by means of it.

145. June 20X21. It seemed to me as if a deliberation was carried on, whether I was to be admitted to the society there, or to any of their councils. My father came out and told me that what I had written on Providence was the finest. I recollect that I had written simply a small treatise on the subject.† Afterwards I was found one night in the church, but naked, with nothing on but a shirt, so that I did not venture to come out.—This means, perhaps, that I am not yet clothed and prepared, as I ought to be.

146. June 26X27. I was somewhere with many people. I went past my garden, which looked very much out of order; no doubt in comparison with the heavenly garden.—I heard for a long time a report, as if cannons were being fired against the enemy in various directions; I had an idea that the enemy were beaten. A messenger also came who stated that the Danes had made an attack with 10,000 men; that they had mostly advanced sword in hand, but had everywhere been beaten back. I was also in another place, and desired to start out to visit the battle-field. Many where I was intended to fly, as they were of the Danish party; but I advised them to remain, as they were in no danger but the Danish soldiers only.—I saw afterwards that I was protected by a large screen; also that

* See Note 161, viii.

† This work was never published by Swedenborg, although he had announced its publication (see Document 201, Vol. I). The manuscript has since been lost, or perhaps it was destroyed by the author himself.

I had something the matter with my left foot, of which I was not aware: it was bound up, but would soon be right again.—In a large cage there was a little bird, which had been hidden away a long time; it was still alive, and having got something to eat and drink it went in and out of the cage.—I saw Ericus Benzelius[6] wearing a wig with two locks behind; he walked as though weary and old. I followed him, and saw that he entered a church and sat down in the lowest place.

147. July 1×2. Something very wonderful happened to me. Violent tremors came over me, one after another, as many as from ten to fifteen*—just as when Christ manifested to me His Divine grace.† I expected to be thrown on my face, as happened the last time, but I was not. With the last of these tremors I was raised up; and with my hands I felt a person's back; I passed them over the whole back, and over the chest below. Immediately the person lay down, and I saw the countenance in front, but very obscurely. I was then upright on my knees, and was considering whether I should lie down beside him; but did not, as it did not seem permitted. All the tremors commenced in the body below, and ran up to the head. This took place in vision, when I was neither awake nor asleep;‡ but when I had all my thoughts collected. The internal man separated from the external felt all this. After I was fully awake, several tremors similar to the former passed over me. It must have been a holy angel, since I was not thrown on my face.—Our Lord knows best what all this means. It seemed to me as if I had been told before, that I should have something for my obedience or for something else. God's grace is exhibited both towards the internal and the external man with me. To God alone be glory and honour!

From what follows and from other indications I perceived that it signified this: that I shall discover the truths about the internal sensations, but on the back, and obscurely as to their front. For before this came over me, it seemed to me as if I had been told that this was an announcement in respect

* See Note 162, i. F.

† See no. 27.

‡ See Note 162, i, C.

to what I had hitherto done; afterwards also it appeared to me, as if it had come to a point when my mean stivers were exchanged for better coin; then also a little gold was given me, although there was some copper amongst it.*

148. July 3×4. With overflowing tenderness I, as it were, took leave from her [i. e. a female friend], kissing her; when another appeared at some distance from her.† The effect of this was, that upon awaking I was constantly in a state of heated love.‡ It was stated, however, and regrets were expressed that the subject treated by me was not understood.—This signifies that I have now finished writing on the senses in general and the operation of the interior faculties; which subject, in the form in which I have sketched it out, cannot be comprehended; and that now I approach the following part which treats on the brain.§

149. July 7×8. I saw how all in an oblong globe concentrated itself upwards in its higher part; in the lower part of the globe there was something like a tongue; which afterwards spread out.—This, as I believe, signifies that the innermost is a holy place *(sanctuarium)*, and that it is, as it were, a centre for the globe below; further, that, as is shown by the tongue, a greater part of this sanctuary will be discovered. I believe that I am destined for this. This was no doubt the meaning of the *sanctuarium* with which I was to busy myself [cfr. no. 114], and which is confirmed by this, that *all objects of the sciences are represented to me under the form of women*** It was also confirmed by this, that a deliberation was held whether I should be admitted into the society where my father was [cfr. no. 145].

150. I also lighted upon these assuring thoughts, that the Son of God is love, and that for the purpose of doing good to mankind, He took upon Himself their sins, even to their heaviest punishment; for if there be justice mercy must exist by love.††

* See Note 164, vi, vii, and ix, A.
† See Note 161, iv, A, and C. ‡ See Note 161, iv, B.
§ See Note 164, v to ix, also ix, B.
** See Note 161, iv, A. †† See Note 165, v.

151. July 9×10. I was in company with the King* and conversed with him; and then he went into a room. Afterwards I spoke with the Princes, his sons,* with whom I became acquainted; they talked among themselves about me. I said I felt overcome with love and veneration. On taking my departure I saw that the Queen's table was laid. I was not dressed as I ought to have been; for, as before [see no. 5], I had hastily taken off my white jacket; I wished to go upstairs and put it on again. I was speaking with my father, who kissed me, because I had reminded him not to swear: meanwhile the Queen came up with her suite.—This means that I am becoming acquainted with God's children; for on the previous day I had selected for myself other lodgings.

152. July 14×15. I was speaking with Brita Behm,[50]† who, it seemed to me, had given birth to a son; yet as Schwede[50] had been dead a long time, I wondered how this could be. The child, however, died, and in its stead were the two Rosenadlers.‡ She took me into a large and costly carriage, of surpassing magnificence, and conducted me to Count Horn.[104] There preparations were made for dinner; I went away, but was to come back again. I was flying along and came to a handsome town which I descried; yet I perceived that I was flying wrong, and turned back.—This signifies my work on the internal senses and the brain [see no. 148], which was compared to the two sons of Brita Behm.† My being conveyed in a costly carriage to Count Horn, who was the President of the College of Chancery and Prime-minister,§ and thence to another town, means perhaps that my work will be prolonged to the soul.**

* See Note 161, v.

† See Note 161, ii.

‡ By the two Rosenadlers are meant Johan Adrian and Carl Albrecht, the sons of Johan Rosenadler and Eva Schwede, the daughter of Brita Behm. See Note 51, Volume I.

§ See Note 161, v.

** Swedenborg's work on the brain, which is mentioned here and in no. 148, was continued to the Soul. For on pp. 221—223 of Codex 58 (Vol. VI of the photo-lithographed edition of his MSS., pp. 81—83), he introduces into his treatise on the brain a chapter on the soul; and after defining the soul on p. 221 as "the universal essence of its body," he declares on p. 223 (Vol. VI photo-lithographed MSS., p. 83) that "the

153. I crossed a water on a footbridge; a ship was lying by; I came to a hole. I then thought of bread,* that large and small lóaves were taken there every day.—It is probably the Lutheran church; Christ is compared to the spiritual bread.*

154. July 21×22. I saw a congregation where every one had a little crown on his head; and where two stood in front with very large and magnificent crowns. One of them spoke full of joy half in French, and half in German.—The martyrs who received crowns were denoted thereby; for of these I had thought on the previous day; but who the two [in front] were, and whether one of them was Huss, I do not know.

155. A little child† would take hold of me, and take me with him; but it seemed to me as if at last I refused [to go].—This means *that we must be like children in respect to the Lord.* Since children have now been represented to me twice, and also in the preceding night, I lighted upon these thoughts, that we must not trouble ourselves for what is spiritual to such a degree that it comes to us through our own power, nor for worldly things; but that like children we must cast all our cares upon the Lord.

156. I made my way into a church, and desired to come out in time; but it was full. I, nevertheless, forced my way through, when I came to an empty bench on which lay a cloth; with this I tried to cover myself.—This signifies that I desire to make my way into the church by my own care, and that I desire to preserve my incognito. This also I did on the previous day; yet such care ought to be submitted to our Lord.

soul is as it were a divinity presiding over a certain microcosm or universe," and proves this at some length. In a marginal note, however, which runs along the whole of this passage, he says: "It is to be observed that what is said here must not be inserted in the chapter or thesis, because it is premature; but it is to be kept in reserve. Such seems to me the purport of a command I have received (*Observandum, quod hæc non inserenda sint in capite seu these, nam præmaturum est; sed reservanda; ita videar jussus;*" instead of the word *jussus* Swedenborg first wrote *monitus*, but he crossed out *monitus*, and wrote *jussus* instead).—The admonition that Swedenborg was not to continue there his dissertation on the brain to the soul, he seems to have received above in no. 152. See Note 164, viii and ix.

* See Note 161, x. † See Note 161, vi.

157. On awaking I had a vision, when I saw much gold before me; the air was full of it.—It denotes that the Lord, who disposes all things, gives me in spiritual and worldly matters all that I need, whenever like a child I cast my care upon Him.

158. July 22×23. It appeared to me as if I took a very high flight, but in such a circle that I came down just as I became tired. I saw a beautiful saloon, with costly tapestry suspended from the walls, all in one piece.—This signifies that on the previous day I had this in my mind and at heart, that the sum of all is, that we must allow Christ to care for us in spiritual and worldly things.

I saw a boy running off with one of my shirts, and I ran after him.—It means probably that I had neglected to wash my feet.

159. July 24×25. Among other things it appeared to me as if I were in company with many persons, and as if we made merry. It seemed to me that I was to be some one's guest; I went thence on a journey, but was under the impression that I was to come back again. As I travelled on, however, without thinking of it I altered my course towards a different direction. I met one who said that he had cut out a set of bed-curtains for me; he said something, however, against my science.—I do not know whether I am to follow a different method with my work; and whether a preparation is to be made thereby for something else. I am in the dark about it.

160. July 27×28. I saw my father* in a beautiful surplice before a congregation. He conversed with me in a friendly manner, and desired to introduce me to some one in an inner room, who appeared to be asleep, and to whom he wished to speak about me. I withdrew softly, for fear of awakening him.—This meant, that I was then beginning to read the Bible in the evenings; and that on Saturday evening I was afraid I had not prepared myself properly.

161. July 29×30. I saw a great beast with wings, which at times looked like a human being, yet with a great gorge; it did not dare to touch me. I pursued it with a sword, yet,

* See Note 161, iii.

I had no chance, nor was I strong enough in my arms, to strike it. At last I saw it standing before me with a gun, from which it fired something like poison, without, however, doing me any harm: for I was protected. Immediately afterwards I thrust my sword into its jaws, yet without much effect. I ascended higher; it seemed to me as if some one said that it was slain.—The previous day I had been thinking of the woman and the dragon in the Book of Revelation [chap. xii], and I wished I could be instrumental in killing the dragon; when yet nothing is in my power, but only in the Lord's.

162. July 30×August 1. I was a long time in a state of holy tremor,* yet at the same time in a deep sleep. I was thinking I should see something holy, and it seemed to me that I was thrown on my face; but I cannot affirm this with certainty. Afterwards I was removed thence, and discovered near me beneath my back some one, with whom I seemed to be acquainted. I was annoyed at his having withdrawn me thence, and when he was about to depart I told him he must not do so again. The tremor continued; but I did not see anything else.—This signified that something holy had come to me, and had affected me thus; and also, that I was led to my work upon the senses, which I began writing to-day;† and that I did not wish to be drawn away by it from that which is more important.

163. Afterwards I was waiting for a procession of horses. Large, beautiful horses, of a yellowish white colour, came in great numbers, and were followed by some beautiful ones in pairs; they came to me fat, large, and beautiful, decorated with fine harness.

This signifies the work upon which I have now entered; the last was upon the brain. I find by this that I shall have God's assistance in it; I believe that He will aid me in it.‡

* See Note 162, i, F.

† Swedenborg began writing out for the press Part III of the *Regnum Animale;* a portion of which was published by him in London, in 1745. under the title, *De Cute, Sensu Tactus et Gustus; et de Formis Organicis in Genere* (the Skin, the Senses of Touch and Taste, and Organic Forms generally). See Note 164, ix, C.

‡ See Note 164, ix, C.

164. August 4X5. I saw one approaching me with a drawn sword; I also seemed to have a sword with a silver hilt. But when he reached me, I had nothing but a broken sheath. He lay down on my back and bit my hands; I called for help, but none came.

Afterwards, I boasted of my strength* in the presence of As[sessor] B*** This signifies that daily I sin against my God in the thoughts which cling to me; and from which no man, but God alone, can deliver me; likewise that I had boasted to D. H. about my work. On the following day I had intended to go to the communion; but I forbore, when from the above I found that none but God alone can give absolution from sins; wherefore it was given me also to observe some things with respect to confession [before the communion].

165. August 8X9. I arrived in Sweden and found the country divided into two kingdoms. The larger one was in the direction of Upland, the other in the direction of Örebro; there were two kings, the latter was less powerful; his dominion, nevertheless, was said to extend to Bohus[län]. I was with this king,† and his power increased. It seemed to me as if a decree were issued that I should become Secretary in Java; but I was found unfit for the place, as I could not converse in the language; I, nevertheless, went. Afterwards I dreamt about small birds, which alighted round my head, and had to be removed.—It means that I had not properly arranged and carried out the subject of the *corpus reticulare Malpighii*.‡

166. August 26X27. During the last few days I was very much troubled and oppressed by my sins, which, it seemed to me, had not been forgiven, and which prevented my attending the Lord's Supper the last time. [See no. 164.] The previous day, however, it seemed to me that I had been relieved. During the night the soles of my feet appeared all white.§—This signifies that my sins have been forgiven;** and

* See Note 161, iv, F. † See Note 161, v.

‡ This subject is treated of by Swedenborg in Part III of the *Regnum Animale*, nos. 433 to 437 of the Latin Edition, and nos. 495 to 499 of the English Edition (pp. 397 to 404). See Note 164, ix, D.

§ See Note 161, xii. ** See Introduction to Document 208, p. 140.

also many other things, as for example, that I was received again into favour.

167. August 27×28. It seemed to me as if I took a book out of my father's library. Afterwards I came into a ship and sat down with one where the rudder usually is; another was sitting at my right side. When I rose from my seat, some person occupied it, and when I desired to resume it, he moved up further to the right, and made room for me. A woman was sitting at my left, and another before me. I rose and allowed her to sit there; she sat down, but no fauteuil was there, only an arm-chair, and I was sitting in front of her. Wine was brought on board, which when poured into a wine-glass looked like cowslip wine. One of these glasses was offered to me, which I emptied at a draught. It was the most delicious beverage I ever tasted; and without knowing what it was, it entered into my thoughts that it was heavenly nectar. The same man continued to sit in his place on the right near the rudder.—This signifies the assistance I receive in my work from a higher hand, so that I am employed simply as an instrument;* on this account there was also one among those who followed me, whose business I said it was to sweep clean. This too signifies me.

168. September 1×2. I thought of going to the Lord's table on the second of August [September], since, according to my best knowledge, I was assured of being relieved from my sins;* but I then noticed a large dog which ran towards me, yet without doing me any harm; I pointed it out to one who sat beside me, to whom it likewise did no harm.—This means either that on the previous day I desired to boast of one of my visits, or that others around me use flattering language.

169. Afterwards it seemed to me as if I heard that Didron† had left his King with whom he was in great favour, and joined the Danes; also that he was slain there, and that his wife, who was false, was the cause of it. I waited for his body.—

* See Introduction to Document 108, p. 140.

† Didron is the name of a Swedish noble family, many members of which served with distinction in the Swedish army.

I heard just now, and it was also breathed into me, that I ought not to leave the Church of Christ, nor [go] to that place to take the Lord's Supper, that if I did so I should become again spiritually dead.* More I could not understand of this, so that there must be some mystery connected with it. When I abstained from the Holy Supper [cfr. no. 164], I was illuminated by the Holy Spirit, which is usually the case when I act according to command.

170. September 16; on a Sunday afternoon. In the night between the fifteenth and sixteenth I saw in my dream two kings, the King of France and the King of Poland† who proposed sublime things to me. Afterwards I saw a little girl who sang to me, when I went out.—This signifies that what I had written was well-pleasing; it was the last of the first chapter on the sense of touch.‡

171. Immediately after dinner, while I was sleeping, a woman§ appeared to me, but I did not see her face. She was very stout, and dressed entirely in white. I desired to purchase from her something to drink; she replied that she had nothing left. There was one present who yielded me his right to get a glass from her which she had concealed in her dress. She was looking for it, when I saw how very stout she was, as if she were with child.** After looking in the folds of her sleeve, she found again what she had for drinking. I thought it was chocolate, but it was wine. I thought I would not have it, if it were chocolate; but immediately afterwards I awoke. It seemed to me then, as well as several times before, that I perceived a very strong smell of wine. I wondered most at her snow-white clothes.—I do not understand very well what this signifies; and whether she was the woman who was with me, when the word *sanctuarium* was mentioned [cfr. no. 114], and who was now with child, for I

* See Note 161, ii. † See Note 161, v.

‡ The last portion of the first chapter on the sense of touch, which treats on the use of touch, extends from p. 136 to 144, in Part III of the *Regnum Animale*, Latin Edition, and from p. 555 to p. 561 in Vol. II of the English Edition. See Note 164, ix, E.

§ See Note 161, iv. ** See Note 161, iv, D.

did not see her face. It means probably that I am engaged now in writing and in bringing forth* what I have undertaken; as during the whole day I found myself in a full state of illustration respecting the matters I had in hand.†

172. September 17×18. I saw the King of Prussia, and one who said he was going to rouse a feeling of hostility between the Kings of Prussia and France.

173. September 18×19. It seemed to me that I was going over a field, which was very rough; I had an iron staff in my hand which towards the last was not heavy to walk with. I reached the end of the piece of ground, when I lay down in a bed. A very large ox, of a black colour, came against me with its horns, in order, as it seemed, to gore me. I was frightened, but was told that I should come safely through it; when I awoke.—Something will happen to me after I have gone through the first chapter on the sense of touch [cfr. no. 170].

174. September 21. Before I fell asleep that day, which was a Sunday, I was deeply occupied in my thoughts upon the things on which I am writing. "Hold your tongue," I was told, "or I will slay you;" and I saw some one sitting on a piece of ice. I was frightened. It came upon me just as in a vision. I then restrained my thoughts, and one of the usual tremors‡ came over me.—The meaning of this was, that I should not continue thinking so long, especially on Sundays; perhaps also in the evenings.

175. September 29×30. This was the night between a Saturday and a Sunday. I saw the gable-end of the most beautiful palace which could possibly be seen; its middle seemed illuminated as with bright sunshine. I was told that it was resolved in the society that I should become an immortal member of it, which no one ever before had been, unless he had died and were still living [in the other world]. Others said that there were several [in this condition]. The thought occurred to me whether it was not most important to be with God, and so to live as that He would look favourably

* See Note 161, iv, D.

† See Note 162, i, B.

‡ See Note 162, i, F.

upon what I had finished writing respecting Organic Forms generally,* and especially the conclusion.†

176. Afterwards some one told me that he would call upon me at ten o'clock, but he did not know where I lived; and I answered, as it then seemed to me, that I lived in the gable end of that palace.—This signified that what I had written there with God's help, was of such a nature that it would lead me on further and that I would see still more glorious things.‡

177. Afterwards I was with women,§ but would not touch them, as I had previously had to do with holier things. Many things then occurred to me which I left to God's good pleasure, since I am an instrument with which He may do what He pleases;** but I should like to be with those mentioned first; yet not my will but God's be done.

God grant that I do not mistake in this; I believe I do not.

178. October 3, in the afternoon. I was taking a little nap, when it was represented to me how the inmost of individualities *(unitates)* consists entirely of the end which is the reason of the cause;†† so that if our thoughts are also considered as individualities, they contain within themselves no other end and no other reason, than what comes either from the Spirit of God or from the body.‡‡ When this comes from the body, all from the inmost is sin: for all that we propose to ourselves is opposed to what is spiritual. What it is which governs us, we can easily find out, if we reflect on our loves which accompany [thought].††

179. October 3 to 6. I have noticed several times that there are various kinds of spirits. The one spirit, which is that of Christ, is the only one that has all blessedness with it;‡‡ by other spirits man is enticed a thousand ways to

* The dissertation on "Organic Forms generally" fills nos. 470 to 486, in the first chapter on the sense of touch in the Latin edition, and nos. 531 to 547, in the English edition; see Note 164, ix, F.

† In the conclusion of this dissertation Swedenborg shows how good and truth are appropriated by man, and evil and falsity rejected.

‡ See Introduction to Document 208, p. 149.

§ See Note 161, iv. ** See Introduction to Document 208, p. 140.

†† See Note 166, iv. ‡‡ See Note 165, iv.

follow them; but woe to those who do so. Another time Korah and Dathan occurred to me, who brought strange fire to the altar, and could not offer it;* such is the case when a different fire is introduced than that which comes from Christ. I saw also something like a fire coming to me.† It is necessary therefore that a distinction should be made between spirits; which, however, cannot be done except through Christ Himself and His spirit.‡

180. Afterwards it was represented to me in sleep what terrible danger I had been in the night between the 29th and 30th of last month, when I was upon ice which afterwards could scarcely bear me, and I came then to a fearfully great chasm; a person on the other side could not come to my assistance, wherefore I turned back. God alone through Christ§ has helped me in this danger: for He is as a Lord and Master to me, and I am His slave; and to Him, without whom no one can come to God,** be all honour and thanks!

181. October 6×7. There was a vivid and yet gracious appearance as if all was overcast by black crape or skin, which was shining, yet had no consistence; it was said that it could not endure, wherefore it was wrapped up, and I received a promise of greater enlightenment; there was also an appearance as of an inward light. This [viz. the wrapping up] I was trying to do from my own self on Sundays.—This denotes that by my own understanding and my own phantasy I desired to enter into something which is compared to crape, and which did not stand the proof.

182. I was further informed respecting my book upon the "Worship and Love of God," which was said to be a Divine book;††

* Book of Numbers, chap. xvi. † See Note 162, i, D.

‡ See Note 165, iv. § See Note 165, i. ** See Note 165, ii.

†† A work entitled "The Worship and Love of God" *(De Cultu et Amore Dei)* was soon after, in 1745, published by Swedenborg in London, containing two parts. Part III was left by him in an unfinished state, partly in proof-sheets and partly in manuscript, and in this condition is preserved now among the Swedenborg MSS. in the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. A fac-simile edition of this part is contained in Vol. VII of the photo-lithographic edition of the Swedenborg MSS. An English translation of Parts I and II appeared in London in 1801, and another in 1828; an American edition was published some time afterwards.

I believe it was to contain also something about spirits; my book on the Infinite *(de Infinito)** I thought treated on something similar; but I did not receive an answer to this [suggestion].

183. Afterwards I lighted upon these thoughts, and received this instruction, viz. that all love for whatever object, as, for instance for the work upon which I am now engaged—whenever such an object is loved [for its own sake], and not as a medium for the only love, which is to God and Jesus Christ,† is a meretricious love. For this reason also this love is always compared in God's Word to whoredom.‡ This I have also experienced in myself. But when love to God is man's chief love, then he does not entertain for these objects any other kind of love than that of promoting thereby his love to God.

184. I seemed also to see the Czar Peter, with other Russian magnates, who despised me because I had half sleeves. I do not know to what party they belonged.

On several occasions fine bread with other things was given to me. May God grant that this be, as I believe, the spiritual bread.§

185. From this, and from what has been said before, it may be seen how easily human beings may be led astray by other kinds of spirits,** who represent themselves to men according to the quality of the love of each: for loves are represented by spirits, even in the very operation when women [the rest of the sentence is wanting].

186. October 7×8. I desired to follow a certain way, but saw a little boy going up a narrow footpath. I followed him, but came into a fog. It seemed to me as if there were soldiers. I walked on crouching and was afraid. I thought, however, that they were not enemies, but some of our own people. But when I could not see any road before me, I turned about, and came into a room in a state of disorder. I asked for another apartment, and after obtaining it, I

* See first footnote on p. 6. Vol. II.
† See Note 165, i.
‡ See Note 161, iv, B.
§ See Note 161, x.
** Cfr. no. 179.

asked for some water. The person said it was fresh but muddy;* whereupon I ordered some milk, and awoke.—This means that I was on a wrong way, and followed my own understanding into a fog. In such a case we are afraid of our own people, as of enemies; but when we pursue the right way, we are afraid of nobody. By the water is meant that my understanding is still turbid;* and by the milk that it requires to be strengthened more.

187. Afterwards I saw in a vision somebody who wore a black cloak; this was taken away from him, when he disappeared.—This means that the former blackness [see no. 181] vanished; which is the case when a man follows this [i. e. the right] way and puts his trust entirely in God and Christ,† and not in himself; or in other words when he does not make flesh, i. e. his own understanding, his arm.

188. I found besides that we are soldiers to fight continually against Satan. If we have God's Spirit and life, then it is daily a victory, but if we have it not it is daily a defeat. We fall into one defeat after another.† If such be the case, we must not despair, but trust in God's grace.

189. Last night it seemed to me as if I had seen a commission of a lieutenant-captain or something of the kind; but I asked Secretary Bierchenius[129]‡ to report that I wished to retain my former appointment as assessor.—By which is signified that I did not know what is meant by being a soldier and fighting against Satan: for God sends angels to man to assist him to fight. This is meant by the black cloak which was taken off [see no. 187]. God Himself has deigned to enlighten me.

I saw also in vision a heart filled with blood, by which is meant love.§

190. October 8×9. This night was the most delightful of all; since I saw the kingdom of Innocence. Below my feet I saw the most beautiful garden which could possibly be seen. On every tree in the garden there gradually appeared white roses. Afterwards I came into a long room, where beautiful

* See Note 161, vii.
† See Note 165, iv.
‡ See Note 161, i.
§ See Note 161, xii.

white cups were standing, which were filled with milk and bread, and which looked so inviting that nothing can be imagined more so. I was in company with a lady, of whom I have no particular recollection. I then went back, when a dear little innocent child* came to me, and told me that the lady had gone without taking leave. She begged me to buy her a book, which she wished to take with her, but which she did not show me. I then awoke.

Besides this it seemed to me as if I entertained in a house or palace which stood apart a large company of people who were my acquaintances. Among them were Senators Lagerberg[86]† and, I believe, Ehrenpreus[173]† and others. All this was at my expense, and it seemed to me as if it was going to cost me a large sum; the thought kept coming continually, that it was expensive; but every now and then I did not care for that, for I noticed that the whole was borne by the Lord, who owned that property, or exhibited it to me.—This signifies that I was in the kingdom of Innocence, treating the worldly-minded people there without seeing them. It means either that my work is not like them, although I treat them with it, or something else. The child was innocence itself;* with this I was quite touched, and I wished that I might be in a kingdom where all is innocence. I regretted that on awaking I had to leave it. I do not know what is meant by the lady who went away without taking leave.

On the next day, or on the 9th, my eyesight was so strong that I could read the Bible with the small print without the least difficulty.

191. October 9×10. In a vision there appeared to me a fire as of coal, which was burning briskly.—This meant the fire of love [see Note 161, vii].

Afterwards there was signified to me by a representation * * * [see Note 161, iv, F], that on the previous day I was engaged with my work,‡ which is entirely different from the other§

* See Note 161, vi. † See Note 161, i.

‡ Swedenborg alludes here to the elaboration for the press of Part III of the *Regnum Animale;* see Note 164, x.

§ The other work is that on "The Worship and Love of God" (see no. 182).

and [proceeds from] an entirely different love; and [I was in doubt] whether the former work should prevail* *(om den skulle råda),* and whether it should not rather be regarded as mere talk and as a plaything only, when compared with the other. Upon awaking I fully made up my mind to abandon the former work;† and I should have done so, if it had not afterwards seemed to me in my sleep, that I had been sent to a certain place with a letter. I did not find the way; but my sister Hedwig[5] saw the letter, and said it was intended for Ulrica Adlersten,‡ who had it appeared longed for me. I went there, and saw also Schönström.[81] Afterwards I had continually a sensation as if they went up to the brain and down again.—By this I was confirmed to go on with my work.§ May God grant that this be not against His good pleasure, since as soon as I break off my sleep I at once come into the effort to abandon it; besides God Himself helped me to arrive at this resolution.** To God alone be praise and honour!

A child fell over my foot, hurt himself, and screamed; I helped him to get up, and said, Why do you race so?—This no doubt meant that I was too much in a hurry with that [i. e. the second work].††

192. October 10×11. I was in company with a woman,‡‡ yet did not approach her. I afterwards met a gentleman whom I asked whether I could enter his service, since I had lost my place through the war. The answer was, No. They

* The meaning of this seems to be, whether Swedenborg should go on with the *Regnum Animale*, or not.

† He alludes here to the elaboration for the press of Part III of the *Regnum Animale;* see Note 164, x.

‡ Ulrica Adlersten was the wife of Swedenborg's first cousin, Albrecht Schönström;[81] see Document 9, p. 85, no. 3.

§ Swedenborg seems to have been in doubt whether to proceed with the printing of Vol III of the *Regnum Animale*, or not; see Note 164, x.

** He appears to have gone on with the printing of the *Regnum Animale* until October 27, when he began the preparation of his other work, *De Cultu et Amore Dei;* see no. 202.

†† The other work is that on "The Worship and Love of God" (see no. 182).

‡‡ See Note 161, iv, E.

played as it were basset;* the money kept changing hands, and I was present with them all the time. I asked my servant whether he had said that I owned some [money]; he answered, No, and said that he would give no other answer. — This signifies the Moravian church [see no. 142], that I am with them and yet not accepted by them; also that I say I have no knowledge about religion, but have lost all;† further that they who play basset keep losing and winning.

193. October 12×13. It seemed to me as if some one was beaten and scourged; yet afterwards he preached above and below with greater zeal, and did the same [as before].—By this is meant that when any one receives chastisement from our Lord, he is afterwards gifted with greater zeal and spirit to go on with that to which he is led by the Spirit; so that chastisement and punishment augment them.‡ On the previous day I was thinking that I was so glad; I allowed my thoughts free course, [and wondered] whether punishment would cause a change in this: the above is the answer to this question.

194. Afterwards I seemed to say to myself that the Lord Himself will instruct me.§—For, as I discovered, I am in such a state that I know nothing on this subject [i. e. on religion, cfr. no. 192],† except that Christ must be all in all, or God through Christ, so that we of ourselves cannot contribute the least towards it, and still less strive for it: wherefore it is best to surrender at discretion, and were it possible to be altogether passive in this matter, it would be a state of perfection.**

195 I saw also in a vision how some beautiful bread was presented to me on a plate.††—This was a prediction that the Lord Himself will instruct me, as soon as I have attained that state in which I shall know nothing, and in which all my preconceived notions will be removed from me; which is the first state of learning: or, in other words, that I must

* Basset is a game of cards, played in the last century, resembling the modern faro; it is said to have been invented in Venice by a nobleman, who was banished for the invention.

† See Note 162, iii. ‡ See Note 165, iv.

§ See Introduction to Document 208, p. 140.

** See Note 165, vii. †† See Note 161, x.

first become a child, and that then I shall be able to be nurtured in knowledge, as is being the case with me now.*

196. October 13×14. Among other things I was told that during the last two weeks I have begun to improve in my looks, and to appear like an angel.†—May God grant that this be so! May God aid me in this, and not take away from me His grace!

197. October 15×16. In a vision I saw how some one bearing a heavy load of boards fell under its weight; another came to his assistance, but I did not see how he was helped.

In my sleep I saw that at last I went up by a foot-bridge, seeing a great gulf and dangers before me, but I managed to climb up after another person by means of a rope, without, however, seeing the top, or how I might reach it.—This signifies that they who strive to help themselves into the kingdom of heaven by their own effort, or to rise on high by themselves, labour in vain, and are exposed to constant danger; which labour becomes light, when they address themselves to God, who is man's help in such a case.‡

198. October 18×19. I dreamt how a big dog, which I thought was fastened, flew at me and bit me in the leg. Some one came and held its terrible jaws, so that it could do no more mischief.—The day before I had been at the Medical College hearing a lecture, when I was rash enough to think that I should be mentioned as one of those who understood anatomy best; I was glad, however, that this was not done.

It appeared to me in vision the following night as if a crooked leg *(snefot,* i. e. *snedfot)* went out of my body.—This probably signified that by that bite I had become like one with a crooked leg.

199. October 19×20. I dreamt how I saw one beast after another. When they opened their wings, I saw that they were dragons.§ I flew over them, but struck against one.—Such dragons signify spurious loves, which do not appear as

* See Note 162, iii. † See Introduction to Document 208, p. 141.
‡ See Note 165, vii. § See Note 161, xi.

dragons, until their wings are discovered.* I was engaged then in writing on this subject.

200. October 20×21. It was most gracious and wonderful that on the previous day I had felt myself unworthy of all the grace God had been pleased to exhibit towards me; for love of my own self and pride were so deeply rooted in me; I therefore prayed to God that He would remove them from me, since this is not in my own power.† In the evening I found myself in a most curious state of mind, such as I had never experienced before: for I despaired of God's grace, although I knew that God is so gracious, and that He has shown greater grace towards me than towards any one else. There was an anxiety in the soul, but not in the mind, though I became conscious of it only in the mind itself, without feeling any pain in the body.

Afterwards I fell asleep, when it seemed to me as if I were closely followed by two dogs: after a long time I got out of their reach, when I was told in my thoughts, that the object of these strange pains was to cure me of them. Whenever, therefore, the root of what is deeply ingrained in man is removed, such a feeling of pain is caused; this is well-worth being remembered and preserved in the thoughts.

201. Afterwards I saw a great King, who was King of France.‡ He went without a suite, and had but a small regal court. No one from these indications could have seen that he was a king. Some person with me, it seemed, would not recognize in him a king, whereupon I said that he was of those who did not care for such things. He was courteous towards all without distinction, and conversed also with me. On going out, too, he had no suite, but took upon himself the burdens of others, and wore garments similar to theirs.

Thence I came into another large society, where I found every thing much more magnificent.

Afterwards I saw the Queen; when the chamberlains entered and bowed before her, she also made a deep reverence; and there was no pride in her.—It signifies that in Christ

* See Note 161, xi. † See Introduction to Document 208, p. 140.
‡ See Note 161, v.

there is not the least pride, but that He makes Himself equal with others, although He is the greatest King.* He does not trouble Himself about what is great, and he likewise takes upon Himself the burdens of others. The Queen, by whom is meant wisdom, partakes of the same character. She also has no love of self; and does not think herself greater on account of being a queen.

202. October 26×27. It was foretold to me that the twenty-seventh of October would come again; when I undertook "The Worship and Love of God."† It seemed as if it were Christ Himself with whom I associated, as with another person, without ceremony. He borrowed a small sum of money from another amounting to about five pounds. I was disappointed that He did not borrow the money from me. I took up two bank-notes, of which methought I first let one drop, and then the other. He asked what they were; I replied that I had found two, one having been probably dropped by Him. I offered them and He took them. In such an innocent way we seemed to live together; it was the state of innocence.

203. Afterwards I was in my room with another, an acquaintance or relative. I told him that I would show him that I had a better apartment. I accordingly went out with him first into an adjoining room, which extended a great length; it was a whole suite of rooms, but did not belong to me. Some one in a bed asked what he wanted. I left, and went with him into my own saloon. On opening the door I found that a whole market-place was lodged there. Immediately before me many articles were exposed for sale. Beyond this the flank of a large palace was visible; but this was removed, and then everything before me and at the sides appeared full of beautiful earthen-ware; it looked like porcelain, and had just been placed there. On the side they were still busy arranging it. Afterwards I went into my own little chamber which was also shining.—By this is signified the whole of that work upon which I am now entering in God's name; in front, before me, is the part on "The Worship of God," at the sides that treating on "The Love" [of God]. There is also signified thereby that I

* See Note 165, ii. † See Note 164, x.

must not take of the articles manufactured by others,* as those were contained in the saloon which I had rented; but that I must use my own. My chamber, which was adjoining, signified this other work; and the room at the side signified the one which did not belong to me. May God lead me in the right way! Christ said that I must not undertake anything without Him.

204. I mounted a fine black horse. There were two of us. The horse was fiery; it first went out of the way, but afterwards turned round.—This signifies my undertaking, which as yet appears dark to me, but at last will move in the right track.

205. While I was going with my friend through a long passage, a pretty maiden† came and rushed into his arms and as it were sobbed. I asked her whether she knew him. She did not answer. I then took her away from him, and led her by the arm.—This was my new work to which she addressed herself, from which I took her in this way.

206. In the morning there appeared to me in a vision a market, like the "disting"‡ market. It was in my father's house at Upsal, in the saloon up stairs, in the entrance, and all over the house.—This signifies the same [as above, cfr. no. 203]; so that this must be done, and indeed with a greater degree of certainty.

207. In the morning, on awaking, I fell into a swoon or fainting fit, similar to that which I experienced about six or seven years ago at Amsterdam, when I entered upon the *Œconomia Regni Animalis;* but it was much more subtle, so that I was almost dead. It came upon me as soon as I saw the light. I threw myself upon my face, when it gradually passed off. In the mean time short interrupted slumbers took possession of me. So that this swoon or *deliquium* was

* See Note 162, iv. † See Note 161. iv, A.

‡ The "disting" is a large market or fair which is held at Upsal in the month of February. It is said to have taken its origin from a feast which was celebrated in ancient times, about that period of the year, in honour of the goddess Disa, and which was called "Disablot" (worship of Disa). About the same time also a "ting" i. e. a court was held among the assembled people, where goods were exchanged.

more interior and deeper; but I soon got over it.—This signifies that my head is being cleared, and is really being cleansed of all that would obstruct these thoughts; as was also the case last time; because it gave me penetration, especially whilst writing. This was also represented to me now, in that I appeared to write a fine hand.*

[Thus ends the remarkable diary of Swedenborg's spiritual experience in 1744. After a few blank pages there is another entry marked: 11×12, recording some experience he had with Prof. Œhlreich,[109]† similar to that described in no. 140, under the date, May 19×20. From this it would seem that the date of these memoranda is June 11×12, 1744, and that no. 208 which now follows ought in reality to come after no. 143.]

208. ***‡ I left Prof. Œhlreich.† On the way there was deep water; but at the side there was a passage *(en gång)*, where was very little; wherefore I stepped out at the side, for it did not seem necessary for me to walk through the deep water.

A rocket seemed to burst over my head, which shed many sparks of beautiful fire.—It means perhaps love for what is high.§

209. On another blank page in the back part of the original manuscript volume the author gives a further explanation, in Latin, of a statement made by him in no. 149, to this effect: All objects of the sciences, viz. all truths, were represented to him under the form of women or virgins,** and he declares himself there to be their "devoted servant;" although these words are afterwards crossed out.

* See Note 162, i, B.
‡ See Note 161, iv, F.
** See Note 161, iv, A.
† See Note 160, iii.
§ See Note 161, vii.

# *SECTION IX.*

# SWEDENBORG'S CORRESPONDENCE

# FROM 1749 TO 1772.

## *DOCUMENT* 210.

## FIRST LETTER OF J. WRETMAN[147] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Well-born Sir,

I was glad to learn from your esteemed letter of the 10th (old style), 21st (new style) of the present month that the letter from England which I forwarded to you had been duly received. Another letter from Sweden is now enclosed to you; the postage of both letters, according to your instructions, having been charged to your account.

I have the honour to remain

Your most obedient servant,

JOACHIM WRETMAN.

Amsterdam, Nov. 25, 1749.

To Mr. Em. Swedenborg, at the Sign of St. Joseph, Care of Mr. Beckers, Rue de St. Pierre, Aix La Chapelle.

* The Swedish original of this Document is preserved in the Archives of the Swedenborg Society, London, where it was deposited, with the other letters addressed by Wretman to Swedenborg, by the Editor of these Documents.

## *DOCUMENT* 211.

## SECOND LETTER OF J. WRETMAN[147] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Well-born Sir,

Taking the opportunity of sending you a letter from England, I have the honour of wishing you a very happy New Year. May you enjoy numberless returns of this festive season, in a state of perfect health and with all the blessings you may desire.

With these wishes I have great pleasure in commending myself to your favour, assuring you that, with all due deference, I shall forever be

Your most obedient servant,

JOACHIM WRETMAN.

Amsterdam, January 9, 1750.

To Mr. Em. Swedenborg, at the Sign of St. Joseph, Care of Mr. Beckers, Rue de St. Pierre, Aix La Chapelle.

* The Swedish original of this Document is in the Archives of the Swedenborg Society, London, (see foot-note to Document 210).

## *DOCUMENT* 212.

## THIRD LETTER OF J. WRETMAN[174] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Well-born Sir,

I was delighted to have the honour of receiving your acceptable letter of the 2nd inst., and should have liked very much to hear that the letter from England had duly arrived.

In case any parcels arrive from England by post, they shall be paid for and kept subject to your orders. Messrs. Grill[112] of this place have informed me that two parcels have been left in their care by a skipper from England; one of which is addressed to Jansonius Wacsberg and the other to Jacob Verlouw, Amsterdam; but as the latter bookseller has failed, and it is supposed that these parcels concern you, we desire to know in what way you would like to dispose of them. Meanwhile I remain, with all due deference,

Your most obedient servant,
JOACHIM WRETMAN.

Amsterdam, January 20, 1750.

To Mr. Em. Swedenborg, at the Sign of St. Joseph, Care of Mr. Beckers, Rue de St. Pierre, Aix La Chapelle.

* The original of this letter is in the Archives of the Swedenborg Society, London (see footnote to Document 210).

## *DOCUMENT* 213.

## FOURTH LETTER OF J. WRETMAN[174] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Well-born Sir,

In agreement with instructions contained in your honoured letters of the 11th and 24th of last month, I notified to Messrs. Grill[112] that the parcels of books which had arrived must remain in their care, until you dispose of them otherwise. Of the parcels which were to arrive from England by post, I have not yet heard anything. The *Mallium Sana* which you wish is not known here at all; at least it is not kept for sale; but they have promised to inquire for it. As soon as I receive even a small quantity of it, it shall be forwarded to you, together with the melon seeds; but I am at a loss to know what you mean by *cocombes,* unless you intend it for *coucombre* [cucumber] seed. I shall therefore delay executing your order until I receive more minute instructions. The bulbs of the tulips, hyacinths, and others must be put into the ground in autumn, before the frost begins; for if they be planted in spring all will not come up; the flowers must be left [i. e. they must not be cut off], or the bulbs will die. For four or five florins some of each might be collected, and sent to Sweden by the first ship. If then all the flowers do not come out, the loss will be small compared with the trouble of planting them.

With usual deference I remain

Your obedient servant,
JOACHIM WRETMAN.

Amsterdam, February 10, 1750.

To Mr. Em. Swedenborg, at the Sign of St. Joseph, Care of Mr. Beckers, Rue de St. Pierre, Aix La Chapelle.

* The Swedish original of this letter is in the Archives of the Swedenborg Society, London (see footnote to Document 210).

## *DOCUMENT* 214.

## FIFTH LETTER OF J. WRETMAN[174] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Well-born Sir and kind Patron,

I was delighted to hear by your kind letter of August 21 that you had safely reached home, and that the box containing the sugar had likewise been delivered in good time. I received at the same time your remittance of 52 florins 10 stivers by draft on Messrs. Anthon and John Grill,[112] which has been honoured, and by which your account with me has been settled. I was very glad to hear that your garden and residence escaped the last terrible fire in Stockholm. The signs of the times look threatening, especially for the Swedish shipping interest. When the Court of Denmark shows an ill-will against that of Sweden by calling back their Ambassador without his taking leave, it looks very badly, and the whole North in this case will be involved in war for the sake of France and England.

I commend myself to your constant favour, and I, with profound deference, have the honour to remain always

Your obedient servant,

JOACHIM WRETMAN.

Amsterdam, September 1, 1759.

To Mr. Em. Swedenborg, Assessor in the Royal College of Mines, Stockholm.

* The Swedish original of this letter is in the Archives of the Swedenborg Society, London (see footnote to Document 210).

## *DOCUMENT* 215.

## BARON VON HATZEL* TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.†

Well-born Sir,

From my venerable, pious, and deeply learned friend, his Excellency Count G. Bonde,[175] I first heard of the extraordinary insight and illumination wherewith the Almighty has been pleased to gift you; but subsequently I was able to perceive and see it more clearly by the writings which you have published in London, and some of which I have read with amazement. Now, as from my early youth, with the talent which God has entrusted to me, I have striven after truth, and have preferred theosophy to all other things, the desire has sprung up in me not only to make your acquaintance, but also in many things to become your disciple, and by following the same way in which you began and have succeeded so well, to reach, under your guidance, the same fountain of wisdom and intelligence, and taste of its waters; and in making this request of you I am not impelled by the desire to become great, or wealthy, or distinguished above others, but only to acquire wisdom. As you will not be displeased with my motive, and as you can be convinced of its purity by the spirits with whom at your own pleasure you hold familiar intercourse; and

* Some particulars respecting Baron von Hatzel are furnished by Count Gustavus von Bonde in Document 216.

† The German original of this letter is contained in the Bergius Collection, Vol. XVI, p. 278, in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm.

as you yourself know and teach that all good is and must be communicated to others, I therefore flatter myself that you will promote what I intend, and not withhold your help, and, especially, that you will kindly point out to me *in which of the five books of Moses, in which chapter, and in which two verses, lies concealed the power of entering into consort with spirits;** likewise, how this power is to be used, and how one must comport himself. It is a great favour which I here ask from you whom I love; yet, if I consider that true love refuses nothing, I am confident that you will the more readily grant my request, as you may rest assured, that I seek the good and the true solely for the sake of the good and the true and for the sake of their use; and that I shall be most profoundly grateful to you, my amiable preceptor, and prepared at all times to render any service in return. If you comply with my request, you will thereby facilitate and promote very much my intention to translate all your writings into the High German and French languages, in order that the Divine Truths contained therein may be made accessible even to the uneducated. Will you kindly take my ideas, or rather my request, into consideration, and examine whether I am a capable subject or not, and act according to your discretion; and whatever you may do, I shall be pleased therewith, and submit to your judgment respecting me? Should you be inclined to accept the testimony of his Excellency Count von Bonde, he will willingly speak in my favour, and endeavour to prevail upon you to answer me. He will also undertake to forward to me the letters with which you may graciously favour me. As soon as I receive your reply to which I look forward eagerly, I shall take the liberty frankly to communicate to you some points which have struck me in reading your writings. But meanwhile I pray that God may keep you for many years in a state of health, and that He may speed His work through you.

* The idea that there are two verses in the Sacred Scripture by which man receives the power of holding converse with spirits, has been widely spread among necromancers of all ages.

I commend myself to you with all due consideration, and have the honour to remain, with profound esteem and genuine love,

Your obedient and faithful servant,
L. Baron von Hatzel,
Chevalier Grand Croix de l'Ordre Constantinien de St. George.

P. S. Have you ever read Edelmann's[176] writings? What do you think of them?

## *DOCUMENT* 216.

## COUNT GUSTAVUS BONDE[175] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Well-born Assessor,

On account of our old friendship I hope you will not be displeased at the freedom I take in recommending to you one of my friends in Holland, and the request he makes in the enclosed letter. His name and address are as follows: M. d' Hatzel, Baron, Chevalier et Grand Croix de l'Ordre Constantinien, Rotterdam. After corresponding with him for several years on matters connected with medicine and some other sciences in which he is versed, he wrote to me in the spring that he had read some of your rare writings, and had heard that their author was living here in Sweden; wherefore he begged me very much to inquire about it, and to let him know. On receiving my answer he sent me the enclosed letter begging me to recommend its contents to you in the best manner. As his handwriting is very indistinct and illegible, I have had it copied, that you may read and understand it better. In his letter to

* A copy made from the original Document is contained in the Bergius Collection, Vol. XVI, p. 280, in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm.

me he writes that he has derived inexpressible pleasure and light from your writings in matters on which he has speculated for many years; wherefore he begged me the more to advocate his request. If you choose to grant his desire, and send me a reply to his letter, I will take care to get it into the hands of the owner.

I willingly make use of this occasion to remind you of a kind promise you made, to honour me this summer with a visit, and to examine my little garden, so far as it deserves this name; when you may rest assured that you will be more than welcome, and when I shall have an opportunity of assuring you still more of the constant esteem with which I am

Your most dutiful servant,

GUSTAVUS BONDE.

Hässleby, (Hesselby), August 7, 1760.

## *DOCUMENT* 217.

## EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO COUNT GUSTAVUS BONDE.[175]*

Your Excellency,

I thank you for the honour of your letter, and your very kind invitation to Hesselby. The letter from Baron Hatzel of Rotterdam, which you enclosed to me, I ought, in conformity with his wishes, to have answered; but as it concerns the writings which were lately published in England, and which appeared without my name, on that account I must not enter into any literary connection with any one abroad, and thereby

* The original of this important letter is preserved in the Archives of the Bonde Family in Säfstaholm, (see Forssell, Catalogue of the MSS. preserved in Säfstaholm). A copy of the original letter countersigned by Count G. A. Sparre and Baron Axel Hjalmar Leijonhufvud, was most kindly forwarded by these two nobles to the Editor of these Documents, on February 22, 1869. A copy prepared from Swedenborg's original draught of the letter is contained in the Bergius Collection, Vol. XVI, p. 281.

acknowledge myself as their author.* But it is different in my own country. Those abroad, however, may be answered through the medium of others; and I therefore humbly beg that you will remember me kindly to him, and excuse my not being able to give him an answer with my own hand; you will express to him also my pleasure at his having derived satisfaction and light from the perusal of these writings, which is a sign of his having been in a state of illustration from heaven; for the matters which are there treated of cannot be comprehended without illustration, since they do not belong to the external but to the internal understanding. With respect to some verses in the books of Moses, which possess the property and power of introducing man to intercourse with spirits or enabling him to speak with them; I do not know of any verses in Scripture which have this property more than others; I only know that the Word of God is everywhere written in such a style, that when a man reads it with affection and attention, spirits and angels have a part in it, and adjoin themselves to him; for the Word of God is so written that it forms a bond of union between heaven and earth (see what is written on this subject in the work on Heaven and Hell, nos. 303 to 310). The Lord, nevertheless, so disposes it, that spirits and men are seldom brought together so closely as to converse with one another;† for by intercourse with spirits men are brought into such a condition as to their souls, that they are speedily in danger of their life;‡ wherefore I would dissuade all from cherishing such desires. The Lord Himself has been pleased to introduce me into converse and intercourse with spirits and angels for the reasons which have been explained in my writings; wherefore I am protected by the Lord Himself from the many desperate attempts and attacks of evil spirits. The way in which spirits and men are kept

* In his original draught Swedenborg had added here the following words: "The bookseller who has these writings for sale has also been forbidden to make my name known."

† In the original draft the following words are added here: "for this is more dangerous than men suppose."

‡ The following words are added in the original draft: "Unless the Lord Himself bring them into this condition, and take them under His care, and protect them specially, as is the case with me."

apart is this; spirits are kept in spiritual, and men in natural, thought and speech; whereby they are separated so as to make one only by correspondences; the nature of which has likewise been treated of. As long therefore as spirits are in a spiritual, and men in a natural state, they are not brought together so as to converse with one another, although they are together in affection; but when spirits converse with men they are out of their spiritual state, and in a natural state like men, and then they may bring them into danger of soul and life, as has been stated above. For this reason they have to be kept apart, so that the spirits do not know anything of man, nor man of them, although they are always together; for man cannot live unless he be associated with spirits, through whom he is connected with heaven and hell, and thereby receives his life.

I am bold enough to pray you most humbly to write to Baron Hatzel; remember me kindly to him, give him my excuse, and communicate to him, as an answer to his letter, as much as you please of what I have here written; for he writes on this subject in his letter to me, and desires information. I remain, with all deference and respect,

Your most humble servant,
EM. SWEDENBORG.

Stockholm, August 11, 1760.

## *DOCUMENT* 218.

## EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO COUNT HÖPKEN.[28]*.

Your Excellency,

When I had the honour of being with you, I promised to send you my *Regnum Minerale;* but on looking for it I found that it was gone, and I remembered then that I

* The copy of Swammerdam's *Biblia Naturæ* presented by Swedenborg to Count Höpken containing the Swedish original of the above letter is now in the possession of Prof. Lovén of the Carolinska Institutet in Stockholm.

had given it to the Library in Stockholm. In order to fulfil my promise I send you instead Swammerdam's *Biblia Naturæ*, which will perhaps interest you more than the *Regnum Minerale*. I have no longer any use for this book, since my attention has been directed from natural to spiritual things.

I remain with deference,

Your most humble servant,
EM. SWEDENBORG.

April 10, [1760?]

## *DOCUMENT* 219.

## SIXTH LETTER OF J. WRETMAN[174] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Well-born Sir and kind Patron,

I was very much pleased to learn from your favour of June 21, that the pyramids of box-tree which I forwarded to you, have arrived safely, and that they meet with your approval. I have been also informed by my brother that the amount charged has been paid to him; for which I express to you my best thanks. A better opportunity could not have occurred, than when I sent it at your desire by Capt. John Frederic Last, with very small charges for freight.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Four figures of box-tree, packed in baskets, at 5 florins 5 stivers . . . . . | 21 | — |
| Baskets, earth, straw, &c. . . . . | 1 | 4 |
| Invoice, customs' examination, and taking on board | 1 | 16 |
| Sound dues and agio . . . . . | | 10 |
| The whole sum in Dutch currency . . . . | 24 | 10 |

Will you kindly pay this sum, like the last, to my brother, John Wretman in Stockholm, and also ask Mr. Peter Hultman,[111] on the strength of the contract which I made with the skipper, to have the figures delivered to him, and to give them good

* The Swedish original of this Document is in the Archives of the Swedenborg Society, London (see footnote to Document 210).

quarters. You must not think that they are dear, because they require several years' growth and watchful care before they are so far ready as to do service in the field, and I hope also that like faithful grenadiers they will stick to their posts.* I desire nothing more than that they may please you, and that I may forever enjoy the favour of being

Your humble servant,
JOACHIM WRETMAN.

Amsterdam, September 27, 1760.

To Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg, Assessor in the Royal College of Mines, Stockholm.

## *DOCUMENT* 220.

## EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO BISHOP FILENIUS.[9]†

Right Reverend Doctor and Bishop,
Most honoured Brother,

I had the honour of receiving your favour in which you informed me of the engagement which has since terminated in the marriage of your and my sister's daughter, Anna Dorothea Filenia, with Magister Samuel Älf,[177] professor and lector. With all my heart I wish them success and happiness; and may they be long and permanently blessed therewith, to their own and their parents' heartfelt joy, which will also be a joy to me.

With deference and hearty congratulations for a blessed New Year I remain, Right Reverend Doctor and Bishop,

Your most humble servant,
EM. SWEDENBORG.

Stockholm, January 6, 1763.

* Respecting these box-trees, which were planted before Swedenborg's house, see Document 5. no. 6.

† The Swedish original of this letter is preserved in the Cathedral-Library of Linköping among the letters of Bishop Filenius.

## *DOCUMENT* 221.

# FIRST LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.[22]*

Reverend Doctor,

As an opportunity offers, I make use of it to send you the beginning of the *Apocalypsis Revelata*, so far as it is printed. I send you two copies. The remainder, or as much as may then have appeared, will follow next spring, so as to complete your copies.

I remain in all friendship

Your obedient servant,

EMAN. SWEDENBORG.

Amsterdam, October 1, 1765.

* Swedenborg's letters to Dr. Beyer came at an early period into the possession of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm; where they were preserved among the Swedenborg MSS. Together with the original draughts of some of the letters which had remained in Swedenborg's possession these letters were bound in one volume at the expense of Augustus Nordensköld (see Note 35, Vol. I, p. 639). In a catalogue of the MSS. prepared by Secretary Wilcke, who died in 1796, it is stated that this volume was "lent to Wadström."[36] Of the nineteen letters belonging to the Collection, sixteen were printed in the "Samlingar för Philantroper," a Journal published by the Philanthropic Exegetic Society in Stockholm during 1788 and 1789 (see Note 20, Vol. I, p. 622). The letters seem to have remained afterwards in the possession of one of the heirs of Gustaf J. Billberg, Secretary of the Society "Pro Fide et Charitate" (see Note 119, Vol. I, p. 705), until some time in 1866 or 1867, when they were unfortunately dispersed. In 1868 and 1869 the Editor of these Documents obtained a clue to the whereabouts of some of the letters, and the Librarian Ahlstrand of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm, acting on his information, succeeded in establishing the proprietorship of the Academy to them. Mainly through the exertions of T. A. af Billbergh, Fiscal-Advocate in the Court of Appeals,

## *DOCUMENT* 222.

## DR. BEYER[22] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Well-born Sir,

A long felt sense of duty impels me to return you my humble thanks for the printed sheets of the *Apocalypsis Revelata* which you kindly sent me. Since receiving them my zeal has very much increased, and I rejoice at the good hope which you kindly hold out in respect to it. It cannot be otherwise, when one ponders over it more deeply, than that the spiritual sense reigns in this book hitherto so completely sealed. The desire was long since awakened in me, and becomes stronger from day to day, to go through the whole of your theological writings; and by the kindness of my cousin I have succeeded in getting most of them into my hands, and have also had the opportunity to read a great part of them.

most of the letters have been restored to the Library of the Academy. A few he was unable to regain; one of these has since found its way into the British Museum, where it is exhibited in one of the glass-cases. Ten of the letters which were published in the "Samlingar för Philantroper," appeared in an English translation in the New Jerusalem Magazine of 1790, and from that source they were introduced by Dr. Im. Tafel into Part II of his German collection of the Swedenborg Documents; to these he subsequently added six of the remaining letters which had been published in the Swedish periodical. All these letters were introduced into the enlarged edition of the English translation of the Swedenborg Documents, published in 1855; but only fourteen of them are in the American reprint of 1847.

The original of the above letter which has never before appeared in print, is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm.

* A copy taken from the Swedish original is contained in the Bergius Collection, Vol. XVI, p. 275, in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm.

I refrain from describing to you the joy I have often experienced, and how the glorious truths are beginning to shine before me; also how, in accordance with my wishes, I should not rest until I had read all the writings over and over again, were I not prevented by my daily occupations and engagements. I was pleased to see in the light of the sound and genuine philology of modern times, that your system of doctrine does not militate against it, but rather seems to kindle a purer light. But I have, nevertheless, been troubled for some time that you do not anywhere speak of the writings of the apostles as being God's Word. They had likewise an immediate influx of God's Spirit; they were God-inspired (Θεόπνευστοι) in no less a degree than the prophets. It has also seemed to me as if you were not willing to look upon their writings and declarations as correct in every way. Several things have occurred to me to afford some solution of it; and I respectfully submit to you whether it is to be understood that according to your opinion the apostles were certainly influenced by God's Spirit, and indeed to such a degree that, in agreement with God's distinct promise, the very words were instilled into them; but that the difference must be attributed to the doctrine, and the word out of which doctrine is derived, which had to be accommodated to the comprehension and the method of thought prevailing in the churches of that time; so that not the same relation of correspondence in spiritual and heavenly things can exist in their word and doctrine, as in the remaining portions of God's Word, which we have; but that the doctrine of the apostles was, nevertheless, pure, correct, and Divine. Paul, so far as I can see, certainly does not differ from you in the doctrine of faith, of good works, imputation, &c.; and he seems to confirm, in Hebrews, v, 11 to 14, the unpretending view which I have expressed above. I should like some expression from you on this subject, if it could be done without inconvenience to you. Another wish I have besides, to see the subject of marriage fully treated of, which among those who have delicate feelings awakens embarrassing questions of conscience, and by the generality of men is not well understood, and still less properly explained.

The great kindness you have already shown me, emboldens

me to ask you to procure for me through Captain Sjögård volumes I, II and VIII of the Arcana Cœlestia, *i. e.* everything before no. 2760 and after no. 9442. Mr. Beyer promises to pay for them in his account with Messrs. Hasselgren. All the remaining books have arrived from England, but these they were unable to find. I am under the sense of no small loss, as long as I have no access to them. I am also dissatisfied with myself for daring to cause you so much trouble. With all deference I remain

Your humble servant,

GABRIEL ANDERSSON BEYER.

Gottenburg, March 18, 1766.

## *DOCUMENT* 223.

## SECOND LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.[22]*

[Reverend Doctor],

I have at last brought the Book of Revelation to a close, and send you eight copies of it; two bound, and six in sheets, which you will please to dispose of in the following manner: one copy for yourself, one for the Bishop,† one for the Dean,‡ one for Dr. Rosén,[45] one for the burgomaster, Mr. Petterson, one for the library; the two remaining copies you may lend out to your friends. At the conclusion of every chapter there are memorable relations separated from the text by asterisks which you will please to read over first. From these a thorough knowledge may be gathered of the wretched state into which the Reformed Churches have been brought by Faith alone. I am now going from this place to England, where some noise is probably being made, on account of the

* The Swedish original of this Document is Letter II in the "Samlingar för Philantroper," from which the above translation has been made. In the English and American editions of the Swedenborg Documents this Document, in a translation taken from the "New Jerusalem Magazine" of 1790 (p. 139), figures as no. I of Swedenborg's Letters to Dr. Beyer.

† Bishop Lamberg (see Note 178). ‡ Dr. Ekebom (see Note 179).

bishops of England being somewhat severely treated in the memorable relations; yet necessity required it. I remain [with all friendship]

Your obedient servant,

EM. SWEDENBORG.

Amsterdam, April 8, 1766.

## *DOCUMENT* 224.

## THIRD LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.[22]*

Reverend Doctor,

I had the pleasure yesterday to receive your favour of the 18th of March. This week I will go to London, and towards the close of July or the beginning of August I intend to return to Sweden, when I shall be pleased to renew my conversations with you at Gottenburg.

I learn from your letter that you did not receive Vols. I, II, and VIII of the *Arcana Cœlestia,* when yet the person in London has still some complete copies in stock. As soon as I arrive there, I will inquire how this has happened, and send you the missing volumes; or else I will forward you a complete copy, without any payment whatever.

In respect to the writings of the apostles and Paul, I have not quoted them in the Arcana Cœlestia, because they are doctrinal writings, and consequently are not written in the style of the Word, like those of the prophets, of David, of the Evangelists, and the Book of Revelation. The style of the Word consists altogether of correspondences, wherefore it is effective of immediate communication with heaven; but in doctrinal writings there is a different style, which has indeed communication with heaven, but mediately. They were written thus by the apostles, that the new Christian

* The Swedish original from which the above translation has been made is preserved in the British Museum in London; part of it was printed as Letter III of the "Samlingar för Philantroper." A translation of this portion constitutes Letter II in the English and American editions of the Swedenborg Documents, taken from the "New Jerusalem Magazine" of 1790, p. 140.

Church might be commenced through them; wherefore matters of doctrine could not be written in the style of the Word, but they had to be expressed in such a manner, as to be understood more clearly and intimately. The writings of the apostles are, nevertheless, good books of the church, insisting upon the doctrine of charity and its faith as strongly as the Lord Himself has done in the Gospels and the Book of Revelation; as may be seen and found evident by every one who in reading them directs his attention to these points. That Paul's expression in Romans ii, 28, concerning Justification by Faith, has been quite misunderstood, is proved in the *Apocalypsis Revelata*, no. 417, to which you may refer; wherefore the doctrine of Justification by Faith Alone, which constitutes the theology of the Reformed churches at the present day, is built on an entirely false foundation. With my kindest remembrances to your and my friends, I remain with esteem,

Your obedient servant,
EM. SWEDENBORG.

Amsterdam, April 15, 1766.

## *DOCUMENT* 225.

## EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO THE [SWEDISH] AMBASSADOR [IN PARIS].*

Your Excellency,

I passed the winter at Amsterdam, and during that period published an Explanation of the Book of Revelation, entitled *Apocalypsis Revelata,* containing arcana hitherto

* The Swedish original of this letter is lost. The English translation of which the above is a reproduction with a slight alteration of style, was first published in the Appendix to the second edition of "A theosophic treatise on Influx," by Swedenborg, which appeared in 1784. The appendix was also published under the separate title of "An Eulogium on the lately deceased Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg, to which is added a variety of anecdotes and observations on Mr. Swedenborg," &c. (p. 37). The original draughts of Documents 225, 226, and 239 seem to have been discovered by the brothers Nordensköld among the Swedenborg MSS., and brought to London in 1783 by C. F. Nordensköld (see Note 20, Vol. I, p. 622).—The letter

unrevealed. I have sent your Excellency twenty copies of it. Messrs. Howen and Zoon are acquainted with the captain who has charge of them. Two copies of the work I addressed to the Cardinal de Rohan,* two to the Royal Society of Sciences, two to the Secretary of State, and one is intended for the Royal Library. In the same work are inserted various Memorable Relations of my intercourse with the spiritual world; these are separated from the text by asterisks, and are placed at the end of the explanation of each chapter: as they contain some remarkable particulars, they will probably excite the reader to a first perusal. Besides this I have published a New Method for finding the Longitude, which I discovered in my youth.† Of this I send your Excellency ten copies, that you may distribute them to such as possess a knowledge of astronomy. Should a suitable opportunity present itself, I shall esteem it a favour, if your Excellency would send two copies of it to the Royal Society in Berlin. This week I shall set out for London, where I intend to stay about ten weeks, and where I may be informed whether the books have arrived.

[EM. SWEDENBORG.]

[Amsterdam, about May or June, 1766.]

does not seem to be addressed to the Swedish Ambassador at the Hague, because Swedenborg speaks of having put the books "in charge of a captain," and he desires to be informed in London whether "the books have arrived." That the letter was written to the Ambassador in France is made probable from the fact that two copies of the work were addressed to the "Cardinal de Rohan," who was a Frenchman and lived in Paris. The Swedish Ambassador in Paris, at the time when Swedenborg wrote the above letter, was Count Ulric Scheffer, with whose brother, Senator C. F. Scheffer, he was intimately acquainted, and whom, with Senators von Höpken and Palmstjerna, he had defended before the Swedish Diet in 1761, (see Document 196). That Swedenborg, about the time when this letter was written, sent a box of books to France appears from Document 235.

* Cardinal de Rohan-Guémené was born in 1734, and on account of his distinguished birth was raised at an early period to the dignity of Archbishop of Strasburg. One of his ancestors, Duc Henri de Rohan, had been one of the chiefs of the Huguenots; and the family had always been favourably inclined towards Protestantism; which seems to have been one of the reasons why Swedenborg presented the Cardinal with two copies of his *Apocalypsis Revelata*. This distinguished prelate died in 1803.

† Concerning this edition of the "Method for finding the Longitude," see Document 203.

## *DOCUMENT* 226.

## EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE [IN STOCKHOLM].*

I have at last finished the explanation of the Book of Revelation, and circulated it in all the universities in Holland, Germany, France, and England; and am going to send seventy copies to Stockholm, of which your honour will please to take five, and give them to the following senators: Senator Höpken,[28] Senator Scheffer,[136] likewise to Nordencrantz,[133] the counsellor of commerce, and Bishops Menander[180] and Serenius;[181] the other five you will please to distribute among your friends. The remaining sixty copies I desire to be kept safe until my return home. I intend to distribute them among the academies and libraries of Sweden, and among clergymen who are qualified for a more than ordinary position. Four I intend to present to the Court, and the remainder to universities and [theological] seminaries in foreign parts. It will give me great pleasure to hear of your own and your dear father's welfare.

I remain

Your [obedient servant,]
[EM. SWEDENBORG.]

[Amsterdam, about May or June, 1766.]

P. S. I shall depart for London this week.

* The above Document was published in the English language in 1784, in the Appendix to the second edition of Swedenborg's "Intercourse between the Soul and the Body;" where the Swedish original is is not known. For further particulars respecting the history of this document see the footnote to Document 225.

## *DOCUMENT* 227.

## FOURTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.[22]*

Reverend Doctor,

I send you herewith a complete set of the *Arcana Cœlestia*, and likewise the last volume of those which were still wanting in yours; they are, however, all unbound. I thought at first of bringing them to you myself; but I changed my mind about travelling to Gottenburg, as an opportunity offered of going to Stockholm directly, which will be next week. Should any one be able to make use of my travelling carriage on his way to Stockholm, or should any one wish to buy it, it may be left to them.

The unbound copy of the *Arcana Cœlestia* is a present for the Bishop,† to whom you will please to give my best respects; as well as to my friends. With friendship and a desire to serve you I am

Your most obedient servant,
EM. SWEDENBORG.

London, August 22, 1766.

To the Reverend Doctor Beyer, Gottenburg.

* The original of this hitherto unpublished letter of Swedenborg to Dr. Beyer, is preserved among the Swedenborg MSS. in the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm.

† Bishop Lamberg (see Note 178).

## *DOCUMENT* 228.

# EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO ARCHBISHOP MENANDER.[180]*

Most reverend Doctor and Bishop,

I send you a lucubration of my youth on finding the longitude of places by land and sea by means of the moon, which has just been published at Amsterdam,† and communicated to the learned societes and universities; and I would kindly ask you to put it into the hands of the professor of astronomy at Åbo, so that if it meets with his approval, he may put it in practice. Several in foreign parts at present compute ephemerides by pairs of stars according to this method; and after they have been computed for several years, a great practical use is expected from them.

The Apocalypse has now been explained, or rather revealed, but I have not yet met with an opportunity for sending it to you, and at the same time to the Library.

* A copy of the Latin original of this Document was discovered by the Editor during his stay in Sweden in 1869. From this the above translation has been made. In 1784 an English translation of this letter was published in the appendix to the first English edition of the "Doctrine of the Lord;" and in 1785 a French translation appeared in the appendix to the French edition of the "Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," published in London. From the latter Dr. Im. Tafel prepared the translation which he included in his German edition of the "Swedenborg Documents." The English translation of this letter which is contained both in the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents" was prepared by the English editor either from the French translation of 1785, or from Dr. Tafel's German translation.

† Concerning this edition of the "Method for finding the Longitude." see Document 203.

Will you kindly point out to me some one in Stockholm who will take the copies in charge?

The question is discussed by some, whether the present day is the consummation of the age, and at the same time the Coming of the Lord, and [the establishment of] a New Church by Him. Some believe that the faith of the present day, which is a faith in God the Father for the sake of the Son, is the real saving faith; but in the *Apocalypsis Revelata* it is shown that that faith has destroyed the church, that it has abolished religion, and that it has thus devastated and consummated all things of worship, so that there is no longer any truth nor any good, and that the works which are called the fruits of that faith, are nothing else than such eggs as are treated of in Isa. lix, 5; wherefore they who have confirmed themselves in that faith with its [spider's] web, and who believe that the goods which they do are the fruits of that faith, are very much deceived and in a state of delirium; nor can they be led out of this state except by rejecting the confirmation of that faith, and by adopting faith in Jesus Christ, which contains no such things; concerning this faith see "The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem respecting Faith," nos. 34 to 37.

The falsities of the faith of the present time are these: *First,* That the Lord has taken away the damnation of the Law; when yet He has not taken away the least jot of the Law; for every one will be judged according to his works, Rom. ii, 10, 13; 2 Cor. v, 10, &c. But the Lord has taken away damnation, because without His coming into the world no one could have been saved. *Secondly,* That the Lord has fulfilled the Law is, indeed, the truth; for thereby He has alone become justice or righteousness; but thereby He has not delivered man from the Law: for the Lord fulfils it with all those who shun their evils as sins, and approach Him only; because they who shun certain sins which they discover in themselves, are in the effort to shun all sins, as soon as they become acquainted with them. *Thirdly,* That the Lord's merit should be imputed to man, is a thing impossible; the Lord's merits are two in number, viz., His having subjugated hell, and His having glorified His humanity. These

two cannot be imputed to another; but by them He acquired the power of saving those men who approach Him, who examine themselves, and shun their evils as sins. *Fourthly,* That God the Father should be approached in prayer, and be asked to have mercy for the sake of the Son, and to send the Holy Spirit, is an inverted way of worship, and also conveys a clear idea of three gods, viz. that the Father is one, the Son another, and the Holy Spirit a third; and if it is declared that by the Son is understood His human nature, then the idea of the Lord becomes that of two. *Fifthly,* That man is justified by an oral profession of the above faith, provided it be done with confidence and assurance, is false, see Romans ii, 10; James i, 22. In such a faith there is neither truth nor good, nor consequently anything of the church, nor of religion; for the truth of doctrine constitutes the church, and the good of life religion. *Sixthly,* It is maintained that good works or the goods of charity are the fruits of that faith; when yet the nexus between that faith and good works has not yet been discovered by the community of the church; nay, it is declared that good works by no means preserve or retain faith; and that therefore there are no other works of that faith except such as are of the Holy Spirit interiorly in man, concerning which man himself knows nothing; while any good works which he may do himself, are simply moral and civil goods, which contribute nothing whatever to man's salvation. *Seventhly,* That the saying of Paul, in Romans iii, 28, on which the theology of the present day in respect to salvation is founded, is falsely understood, has been clearly shown in the *Apocalypsis Revelata,* no. 417. Besides these there are many other things which I do not mention here, from which it may appear, that if any one produces fruits from that faith, he produces those eggs which are treated of in Isa. lix, 5. For it is taught in the New Church that faith can never produce the goods of charity, as a tree produces its fruits; but that the truths which are called the truths of faith teach how man ought to think concerning God, and how he ought to act towards his neighbour, and that charity receives these truths in its goods, as the fruits receive their juices and their flavour from the tree; and that thus the juices and flavours of the fruits or good works

springing from the faith of the present day, which is treated of above, consist of the confirmations of this faith, which are falsities; these are contained in its goods, of which man is ignorant, but which is felt by the angels.

[EM. SWEDENBORG.]

[Stockholm, middle of September, 1766; see Document 203, A and B.]

## *DOCUMENT* 229.

## FIRST LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO C. F. ŒTINGER.[182]*

Having returned within the last few days from a journey abroad to Holland and England, I received two of your letters, the one dated October 13, 1765, together with the other; for which I offer you my thanks. The words: "From things heard and seen" *(ex auditis et visis)* I have inscribed on five works, 1. Heaven and Hell, 2. The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine, 3. The Last Judgment, 4. The White Horse, 5. The Inhabitants of the Planets. The following works were published afterwards: 1. Of the Lord, 2. Of the Sacred Scripture, 3. The Doctrine of Life for the New Jerusalem, 4. Of Faith, 5. Of the Spiritual World, 6. The Wisdom of the Angels respecting the Divine Providence, 7. The Wisdom of

* The Latin original of this Document, from which the above translation has been made, was printed in Volume IV of Clemm's "Vollständige Einleitung in die Religion und gesammte Theologie" (Complete Introduction to Religion and the whole of Theology), Tübingen, 1767; it was afterwards reprinted in Dr. Im. Tafel's German edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," and in 1855 it was inserted in the enlarged English edition of these Documents ("Supplement," p. 75). The first English translation of this letter was published in the Appendix to the second edition of the "Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," London, 1784; where it is stated on p. 41, that it was prepared from the *Danish* translation. This translation was republished in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" of 1790, p. 34; and afterwards in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1840, p. 356. The same translation was afterwards introduced into the English and American editions of Dr. Im. Tafel's "Swedenborg Documents."

the Angels respecting the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom. These seven works, however, do not exceed seventy-two sheets. This year there has been published the *Apocalypsis Revelata,* which was promised in the treatise on "The Last Judgment," and from which it may be clearly seen that I converse with angels, because not the smallest verse in the Apocalypse can be understood without revelation. Who can help seeing that by the New Jerusalem is understood a New Church, and that its doctrines can be discovered only by the Lord alone, because they are described there by mere typical things, i. e. by correspondences; and, likewise, that these can be published to the world only by means of some one to whom a revelation has been granted? I can solemnly bear witness that the Lord Himself has appeared to me, and that He has sent me to do that which I am doing now, and that for this purpose He has opened the interiors of my mind, which are those of my spirit, so that I may see those things which are in the spiritual world, and hear those who are there, and which [privilege] I have had now for twenty-two years. The mere bearing witness, however, does not suffice at the present day to convince men of this; but any one of a sound understanding may be confirmed by the testimony of my writings, and especially by the *Apocalypsis Revelata.* Who has heretofore known anything about the spiritual sense of the Word? and about the spiritual world or heaven and hell? also, about man's life after death? Should these and many other things be perpetually hidden from Christians? They have now for the first time been disclosed for the sake of the New Church, which is the New Jerusalem, that they [its members] may know them; others, indeed, shall also know them, who yet do not know them on account of their unbelief.

The works which I mention above are sold by Mr. Lewis, Paternoster Row, near Cheapside, London, England. These writings of mine concerning the New Jerusalem cannot be called prophecies, but revelations.

Farewell, and remember kindly

Yours sincerely,

EM. SWEDENBORG.

Stockholm, September 23, 1766.

## *DOCUMENT* 230.

# FIFTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.[22]*

Reverend Doctor,

I arrived here in Stockholm as early as September 8. The trip from England was made in eight days; a favourable wind increasing to a perfect storm carried the ship along in this style. I have since received yours of the 17th inst., and am glad to hear that yourself and my other friends at Gottenburg are well. You will please remember me kindly to them all.

I wish much blessing to the intended "Collection of Sermons" *(Prædiko Bibliotheket);* and I send you herewith my subscription for it. I presume you will use all necessary precaution in this work, because the time has not yet arrived when the essentials of the New Church can be received in this manner. It is difficult to convince the clergy, who have been confirmed in their dogmas at the universities: for all confirmations in matters of theology are, as it were, glued fast in the brain, and can with difficulty be removed; and as long as they are there, genuine truths can have no place. Besides, the New Heaven of Christians out of which the New Jerusalem will

* The Swedish original of this Document is preserved among the Swedenborg MSS. in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It is printed in the "Samlingar för Philantroper," of 1788 as Letter IV. The first English translation was made by Mr. J. Strand, and printed as Letter II in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" of 1790, p. 31; thence it was introduced as Letter III into the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents."

descend from the Lord, Rev. xxi, 1, 2, is not yet fully established.

Here in Stockholm it is now generally believed that faith and charity must advance together, and that the one cannot exist without the other, as good works are the fruits of faith, and show themselves in a state of justification. Very few among the Lutherans, however, think beyond this; although the learned have not yet discovered any nexus between faith and good works; wherefore they class good works entirely among moral and civil things, and hence call them good, yet without their availing anything for salvation; besides several other things. They are also right in this, because from such a faith no other works can be derived; it is different with faith in Jesus Christ.

With respect to the Lord's Divine Humanity, it is not opposed to the *Formula Concordiæ*, where we are taught that "in Christ God is Man, and Man is God," and where Paul's statement is confirmed that "in Christ dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily;" besides other passages.

Of the writings of Böhme* I am unable to judge, as I have never read them. I remain with respect and friendship

Your obedient servant,

EM. SWEDENBORG.

Stockholm, September 25, 1766.

To the Reverend Doctor Gabriel Andersson Beyer,
Gottenburg.

* See Notes 40 and 41.

## *DOCUMENT* 231.

## C. F. ŒTINGER[182] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Stuttgart, October 7, 1766.

As I am here on matters of the Diet *(Landschaft),* I received yesterday your favour of September 23. I have in the mean time obtained the catalogue of your books, and have read the remaining books, especially that which treats of the Wisdom of the Angels;† and have found therein much that agrees with the Holy Scripture. But, my dear Sir, you will scarcely be willing to believe how much I had to suffer on your account, for having translated merely the things seen recorded in the first volume of your work.‡

You solemnly bear witness in your letter that the Lord Himself appeared to you and sent you to do that which you are now doing. I believe that your sight has been opened like that of Gehazi to see things which are without a parallel. I believe that from having been a celebrated philosopher you

* This letter was originally written in the Latin language; a German translation was published in 1767 by Dr. Clemm in his "Vollständige Einleitung," &c. (see footnote to Document 229), p. 210, and reprinted by Dr. Im. Tafel in his German edition of the "Swedenborg Documents" (p. 350 to 354). It has never before been translated into English.

† Prelate Œtinger means here "The Wisdom of the Angels respecting the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom," and "The Wisdom of the angels respecting the Divine Providence."

‡ In his work entitled: "The Earthly and Heavenly Philosophy of Swedenborg and others" (*Swedenborg's und anderer Irdische und Himmlische Philosophie,* Frankfort and Leipzig, 1765), Œtinger had translated the memorable relations appended to the various chapters in the first volume of the *Arcana Cœlestia.*

have become a prophet* and seer, as has been the case in the first times. But as the spirits of the prophets who speak from the spirit, are subject to the prophets to whom it is granted to speak according to the spirit, 1 Cor. xii, 1, you will have no objection to being tried.

Is not the Sacred Scripture, yea the Holy Revelation, a book to which all have access who read and hear? We read in Isa. xxxiv, 16, "Seek ye in the Book of the Lord; no one of these shall fail." An inhabitant of this earth is therefore told to seek even before he has received from you the discovery of the spiritual sense. If nothing of the unknown things of heaven may be understood without you, the Revelation, before your time, has been read in vain.† But it is given there to understand, that all have to expect a city whose architect is God.‡

What new doubts you raise thereby in me, who have been so anxious to hear of your discoveries! The world is unbelieving enough, without your depriving it of the power of under-

* Swedenborg expressly repudiates in his first letter to Œtinger (Document 229) the character of a prophet which he attributes to him here; for he says, "My writings concerning the New Jerusalem cannot be called prophecies, but revelations."

† Dr. Imanuel Tafel in reply to this says (p. 351), "This is a most incorrect conclusion. For is it the only purpose of the Sacred Scripture, to teach us 'the unknown things of heaven?' The Sacred Scripture has not been among men in vain, if it gave to each at all times what he then needed and was able to comprehend; and, according to Swedenborg, this knowledge the Sacred Scripture was able to dispense even before the revelation of the spiritual sense. It is quite possible, however, that our wants at the present time are different from what they were in former times; and, likewise, that our faculty of comprehension at the present time is more matured than it was formerly, and this might very well have been the reason why the spiritual sense is discovered now and was not before; besides, the revelation of the spiritual sense at the present time does not exclude the possibility of some, according to their need and their faculty of comprehension, discovering some things of the spiritual sense before, although not so clearly, and not so correctly."

‡ The same writer says (p. 351), "Certainly, 'a city was to be expected whose architect would be God;' yet it would be absurd, and at the same time contradictory, to understand a material city thereby; for by comparing collateral portions of Scripture, it becomes very evident that a spiritual city must be understood by it."

standing a real city by God's city. You say it must be understood spiritually. Please send me another reply before you die; or doubts will enter into our minds even on what you have stated concerning man's state after death.

Jehovah appeared unto Gideon (Judges vi, 4), saying, "I have sent thee." Gideon replied, "Shew me a sign that thou talkest with me." You have given us several remarkable signs touching man's existence after death. They are important, but not sufficient to cause us to believe that the Revelation of John is to be understood only spiritually, and not corporeally and literally. You also, I suppose, have asked for signs; but your signs are not for us. Give us a sign that your doctrine of the New Jerusalem is true; God cannot say anything contradictory to His spirit. I pray you therefore to crave permission from the Lord, who has appeared to you, to interrogate John as to the truth of your explanation. As you have conversed with Enos, you may unhesitatingly demand to speak with the twelve apostles and with Paul, whose epistles you do not quote. Or would you have us believe you rather than Paul, and rather than John? Does not Paul say, "Should any one preach another gospel unto you, let him be accursed?"* Why do you never make mention in your writings of having conversed with the twelve apostles or the twenty-four elders?

But suppose, as Paul says, a false angel of light, who is opposed to the literal sense of John's Revelation, should have resolved and said, "I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of Swedenborg" (2 Chron. xviii).

How important the Word spoken by Jesus at the end of the Revelation (xxii, 18), "If any one shall add,———and if

* Dr. Immanuel Tafel retorts here (p. 353), "This passage does not apply to Swedenborg; for by 'another gospel' Œtinger understood here either *a new Word of God*, or a *new doctrine from the Word opposed* to that which was preached by the apostles. Yet Swedenborg never pretended to publish a new Word of God, and it would have to be proved first that his doctrine is contradictory to that preached by the apostles. But the fact of Swedenborg's revealing many new things in the former Word, i. e. many things which were heretofore not noticed in it, and his confirming these things by corresponding experiences, does not by any means militate against the Word of God and against the doctrine of the apostles; but, on the contrary, is quite in conformity therewith."

any one shall take away from the words." But if you say, "the city is not a city of walls, of pearls, of the fountain of life," is not this equivalent to taking away? And again, by declaring in your book concerning the New Jerusalem, that the New Heaven and the New Earth signify the New Church, and that the city which comes down signifies its heavenly doctrine, do you not thereby take every thing in the Holy Revelation in a sense different from what is warranted by the unequivoval meaning of the words?*

You do not seem to be acquainted with the purpose of eternities in Christ, as taught in the Ephesians and Colossians, or you would not declare that the earth will continue to exist as a seminary of spirits. The planets, for all we know, may be seminaries of spirits. The Scripture is mute on the subject.

According to my opinion a person may have been in the spiritual world for two thousand years, as they have been described by Zinzendorf, and yet on the day of the Lord, after wood, hay, and stubble have been burnt up, he will have to think of it differently. All this I write out of love and remain

Your obedient servant,

F. C. ŒTINGER, Abbot.

## *DOCUMENT* 232.

## SECOND LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO F. C. ŒTINGER.[182]†

I. Query: Is a sign required to show that I have been sent by the Lord to do what I am doing? Answer: Signs and wonders do not take place at the present day, because they compel externally, and internally do not convince.

What effect did the miracles in Egypt and Jehovah's des-

* Dr. Immanuel Tafel says (p. 354), "It plainly appears from the above that Œtinger believed exclusively in the literal meaning of Scripture, the utter insufficiency of which has been glaringly shown in modern times."

† The Latin original of the second letter of Swedenborg to Œtinger, from which the above translation has been made, was likewise published

cent on Mount Sinai have upon the Israelitish people, who, notwithstanding, after the lapse of a month made for themselves a golden calf, and worshipped it in place of Jehovah. And what effect did the Lord's miracles have upon the Jewish nation, by whom He was notwithstanding crucified? The same would be the case now, should the Lord appear in the clouds with the angels and trumpets; as described in Luke xiv, 16, 29-31. The sign, given at this day, will be illustration, and thence an acknowledgment and a reception of the truths of the New Church; with some also there will be an illustration which speaks *(illustratio loquens)*,* which is more than a sign. But some sign will perhaps still be given.

II. Query: Whether I have conversed with the apostles? Answer: I have conversed with Paul for an entire year, and also on the subject of what he wrote in his epistle to the Romans, iii, 28. Three times I spoke with John, once with Moses, a hundred times with Luther, who confessed to me that, contrary to an admonition received from an angel, he accepted the doctrine of faith alone solely for the purpose of separating from the Papists. With the angels, however, I have now conversed for twenty-two years, and I am still conversing with them daily; these the Lord has associated with me.

There was no use in my mentioning this in my writings; for who would have believed it? and who would not have said, show me a sign that I may believe? And this every one would say who did not see it.

III. Query: Why from being a philosopher I have been chosen? Answer: The cause of this has been, that the spiri-

by Dr. Clemm in 1767, (see footnote to Document 229). It was afterwards reprinted by Dr. Im. Tafel in his "Swedenborg Documents," p. 355, and inserted in the supplement to the enlarged English edition of 1855, p. 76. The first English translation of this letter, prepared from the Danish translation, was published in 1784 in the Appendix to the second edition of the "Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," p. 42; and was transferred thence to the "New Jerusalem Magazine" of 1790, p. 34. The same translation was afterwards with a few changes introduced into the English translation of Dr. Im. Tafel's "Swedenborg Documents," published in England and America.

* Swedenborg here evidently means himself from what he has said in the *Invitatio ad Novam Ecclesiam*, nos. 43, 44, and 52.

tual things which are being revealed at the present day may be taught and understood naturally and rationally: for spiritual truths have a correspondence with natural truths, because in these they terminate, and upon these they rest. That there is a correspondence of all spiritual things with all things of man, as well as with all things of the earth, may be seen in the work on "Heaven and Hell," nos. 87 to 102, and nos. 103 to 115. For this reason I was introduced by the Lord first into the natural sciences, and thus prepared; and, indeed, from the year 1710 to 1744, when heaven was opened to me. Every one also is led by means of natural things to spiritual things; for man is born natural; by education he is made moral, and afterwards by regeneration from the Lord he becomes spiritual. The Lord has granted to me besides to love truths in a spiritual manner, i. e. to love them, not for the sake of honour, nor for the sake of gain, but for the sake of the truths themselves; for he who loves truths for the sake of the truth, sees them from the Lord, because the Lord is the Way and the Truth (John xiv, 6); but he who loves them for the sake of honour or gain, sees them from himself; and seeing from oneself is equivalent to seeing falsities. Falsities that have been confirmed close the church, wherefore truths rationally understood have to open it. How else can spiritual things which transcend the understanding, be understood, acknowledged, and received? The dogma which has been handed down by the Papists, and accepted by the Protestants, viz. that the understanding is to be held in bondage under obedience to faith, has a second time closed the church, and what else is to open it again, except an understanding illustrated by the Lord; but on this subject see the *Apocalypsis Revelata*, no. 914.

IV. I am very sorry that you should have had to suffer for the translation of the book on Heaven and Hell; but what suffers more at the present day than truth itself? How few there are who see it, yea, who are willing to see it! Do not allow yourself to be discouraged thereby, but be a defender of the truth. I remain

Your most obedient
EM. SWEDENBORG.

Stockholm, November 11, 1766.

## *DOCUMENT* 233.

## F. C. ŒTINGER[182] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Your favour of November 11 was received with the greatest pleasure. As this is a subject of prime importance to those who are of a clear mind, allow me to ask you for some further information for this purpose *(ea Lege)*, that you may not be under the impression, that instruction can be received from any man of God with the same degree of certainty as from the words of Jesus Christ, whether the words be dictated to him in heaven or on earth in the form of a canon. According to Matt. v, 18, heaven and earth shall pass away, but His words shall not pass away. He alone who dwells in the bosom of the Father has the prerogative, that His words shall endure through all ages, intensively, extensively, and protensively, without any increase or decrease; for, although the spirit of Christ has moved all the prophets, still no one has been inspired with the same purity, all being mere instruments.

You say there is no need of signs; yet you add, "But some sign will perhaps still be given." This is well.

Again you say that you have conversed with John three times; we therefore ask, in place of a sign from you, that you should converse with him a fourth time, and ask him, whether that city is to be understood in a proper or in a metaphorical sense; and also, whether your spiritual explanation agrees more with the words of the text, than that of our countryman, the

* The Latin original from which this translation has been made, was published by Dr. Clemm in 1767 (see footnote to Document 229); and was afterwards reprinted by Dr. Im. Tafel in his German edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," p. 359. It has never before been translated into English

late Prelate Bengel,[183] whose literal interpretation has acquired fame everywhere, even in Rome.

Some, indeed, maintain that it is wrong to interrogate the dead; but you, in accordance with Hebrews xii, 25, and with leave given from on high, have approached the living, the spirits of the just who have been made perfect; if therefore, most venerable man, you would relate to us the conversations you have had with Paul and John, with Moses and Luther, each of your books would acquire much greater power. In this particular, however, you do not favour us.

Most undoubtedly I have wondered much that you, from being a philosopher, should have become a seer and prophet. I have often said to the scoffers who pronounced me a fanatic on your account: Is it possible that a philosopher who, like Wolf,[18] has weighed and measured everything, should all at once, as is maintained, have become an imbecile; that he should have suddenly ceased to think according to the rules of order, and yet, for twenty-two years have written, from his own seeing and hearing, systematically and in agreement with sundry passages of Scripture, on man's state after death? Let philosophers solve the problem, how he could have come into such a state while exhibiting so much symmetry. A book has come into our hands entitled: Dreams of a Spirit-seer *(Träume eines Geistersehers),* in which the author* exalts you as much by praises on the one hand, as he drags you down by criminations on the other, for fear of his seeming a fanatic. The theologians in the universities condemn you on account of your errors in respect to the Trinity, justification, and redemption, which you explain according to Dippel's[185] method.

The nature of Christ's descent to hell is most admirably explained by you; and if your books had no other use but that, it would be sufficiently great. Many also by a perusal of your writings believe in the immortality of the soul, which they had denied before.

A most clear-headed man attributes [in your books] more to the science of correspondences, than to prophecy. Of what use is it, [says he,] to know anything from the mouth of angels,

* The philosopher Immanuel Kant (see Note 184).

when yet the angels together with the blessed have in the end to derive their information from the priesthood of Christ; which with your angels you certainly do not acknowledge with a sufficient degree of reverence, with your knees, as it were, bent, and your feet [un]covered.

Let this be sufficient, and may erroneous views like the above not deceive you in, and deprive you of, the hope of your New Church. One thing more I would like to ask you, viz. that you would write a history of your life explaining how and by what interior incidents it happened that from a philosopher you have become a revelator.

Farewell and remember

Your sincere and obedient

F. C. ŒTINGER.

Stuttgart, December 4, 1766.

## *DOCUMENT* 234.

## SIXTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.[22]*

*MEMORANDUM.*

Several questions have been propounded to me by your friend, to which you will please to receive the following as an answer:

I. *My opinion concerning the writings of Böhme† and L——* I have never read either; I was forbidden to read writers on dogmatic and systematic theology, before heaven was opened

* The Swedish original from which the above translation has been made is preserved among the Swedenborg MSS. in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was printed in 1788 in the "Samlingar för Philantroper," as Letter I. The first English translation was published in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" of 1790, p. 73; and it has been transferred thence, as Letter IV, to the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents."

† See Notes 40 and 41, and also Note 161, iv.

to me; because unfounded opinions and inventions might thereby have easily insinuated themselves, which afterwards could only have been removed with difficulty; wherefore, when heaven was opened to me, I had first to learn the Hebrew language, as well as the correspondences according to which the whole Bible is composed, which led me to read the Word of God over many times; and as God's Word is the source whence all theology must be derived, I was enabled thereby to receive instruction from the Lord, who is the Word.

II. Query: *How soon a New Church may be expected?* Answer: The Lord is preparing at this time a New Heaven of those who believe in Him, acknowledge Him as the true God of heaven and earth, and look to Him in their lives, which means to shun evil and do good; for from that heaven the New Jerusalem is to come down; see Rev. xxi, 2. I daily see spirits and angels, from ten to twenty thousand, descending and ascending, and being set in order. By degrees, as that heaven is being formed, the New Church likewise begins and increases. The universities in Christendom are now first being instructed, whence will come new ministers; for the new heaven has no influence over the old [clergy] who deem themselves too learned in the doctrine of justification by faith alone.

III. *About the promised treatise on infinity, omnipotence, and omnipresence.** Answer: There are many things on these subjects interspersed throughout the "Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Providence," nos. 46 to 54, and 157; also in the "Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom," nos. 4, 17, 19, 21, 44, 69, 72, 76, 106, 156, 318, and in the "Apocalypse Revealed," no. 961; these subjects will be further treated of in the arcana of Angelic Wisdom concerning Conjugial Love: for to write a separate treatise on these Divine attributes, without the assistance of something to support them, would cause too great an elevation of the thoughts; wherefore these subjects have been treated in a series with other things which fall within the understanding.

I have with pleasure perused your "New Essays on the

* This work was promised by Swedenborg in 1763 in the preface to the Doctrine of the Lord.

Gospels" *(Nya Försök öfwer Evangelierne)*; fine interpretations are given in respect to the First Coming of the Lord. I wish to give here the signification of a manger, of the baptism of John, and of Elias. A manger signifies instruction from the Word, because mules and horses signify the understanding of the Word (see "Apocalypse Revealed," no. 298); and a manger contains their food; there being no room in the inn, signifies that there was no place of instruction in Jerusalem; wherefore it is said to the shepherds, who signify the church to come, "This shall be the sign unto you; ye shall find the babe lying in a manger" (Luke ii, 12). The baptism of John prepared the heavens, so that the Jewish people might subsist, when God Himself should come down among them. John signified all the prophecies in the Old Testament respecting the Lord and His advent; likewise Elias, because he was the chief of the prophets.

As here [in Stockholm] they now begin to think more of charity than before, asserting that faith and charity cannot be separated, therefore faith alone begins also to be called Moravian faith.

[EM. SWEDENBORG.]

Stockholm, February, 1767.*

* The date in the original letter is not in Swedenborg's handwriting, but was inserted by Dr. Beyer. On the back of the paper is written: To the Reverend Doctor Beyer.

## *DOCUMENT* 235.

## SEVENTH LETTER OF JOACHIM WRETMAN[174] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Well-born Assessor and kind Patron,

It will be a great pleasure to me to hear that you continue to enjoy good health. I received the following answer from Rouen, dated June 29, 1766, concerning the books which were shipped last summer to France: "We received the box of books from Captain Peter Boores, and have consigned them to a friend for distribution. It is detained in the syndical chamber of the libraries in Paris; but as the books are addressed to gentlemen of note, they will no doubt be released, but not without causing our friend some trouble in going to and fro."† I have not heard anything since, wherefore I have no doubt that they were duly distributed. My chief object in making this communication is to have the opportunity of presenting to you some of the seed of the well-known egg-plant or tree, which must be sown as soon as the frost is out of the ground. I shall be glad to hear of their doing well, and of your being pleased with them.

Besides I have the honour of commending myself to your precious and constant favour, and remain always, with all due deference,

Your humble servant,

JOACHIM WRETMAN.

Amsterdam, March 21, 1767.

* The Swedish original from which the above translation has been made is in the Archives of the Swedenborg Society, London (see footnote to Document 210).

† Further particulars respecting these books may be learned from Document 225, whence it appears that they were addressed to the Swedish Ambassador in Paris, Count Ulric Scheffer. About the same time, and while the books were on their way to Paris, there was a change of administration in Sweden, which resulted in Count Scheffer's recall; so that on the arrival of the books he was no longer in Paris to receive them. He was succeeded by Count G. Ph. Creutz.

## *DOCUMENT* 236.

## FIRST LETTER OF J. C. LAVATER[186] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Most reverend and excellent Man,

I doubt not but that you are often troubled with letters from foreigners with whom you are unacquainted, and as you are much engaged in meditation, business, travel, and the company of persons of renown, you will probably consider the present application from an unknown Swiss as trifling and impertinent. Yet knowing that so great a man is my contemporary, I cannot help inquiring of him a few things which seem to me to be of the greatest importance; as I know no person in the world but yourself (who have given proofs of an extraordinary and almost Divine knowledge) capable of solving my questions, I will therefore take the liberty of proposing them, trusting that you will condescend to satisfy me therein as soon as possible.

I. I have been engaged these three years heart and soul in writing a poem on the future happiness of Christians,† and have lately written several letters particularly to Zimmerman,‡

* The English translation, constituting the above Document, appeared first in the "New Jerusalem Magazine," of 1790, p. 179; the editors of which state that the Latin original was then in their possession. It was afterwards introduced into the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents."

† The title of this work, which was published at Zürich from 1768 to 1773 in three volumes, is: "Prospects into Eternity" *(Aussichten in die Ewigkeit)*.

‡ Johan Georg von Zimmerman, the celebrated author of a work on "Solitude" *(Ueber die Einsamkeit)*, in four volumes.

in Hanover,* the present celebrated physician to the King of England, and my intimate friend, to the end that I might collect the opinions of the wise and learned, before I publish the poem itself. I most fervently wish to have your opinion also, which would be of great use to me; but I do not know whether you are conversant with the German language; I would willingly send you a copy, or if you please, translate the principal parts into Latin.

II. I have long been convinced from the Holy Scriptures and my own particular experience, that God frequently answers faithful and ardent prayers in such a manner, that on account of them not only wonderful things have been done, but even real miracles effected. I am now writing a dissertation on this subject, and therefore beg to know your opinion. You probably do not doubt that God and Christ still work miracles for the sake of the faithful, who are much united to him; perhaps some certain instances, which are beyond doubt, may have come to your knowledge.—Is it true that a very pious girl in Stockholm, of the name of Catherine Fagerberg, by means of prayer and an extraordinary faith, has, when asked, quickly cured many persons otherwise incurable? Could you furnish me with certain and authentic proofs of the truth thereof?

III. As I have heard and read much of your familiar converse with the spirits of the deceased, may I be permitted, most respected man, to propose to you some questions, from a mind that is very sincere and filled with respect towards you, by the solution of which I may be convinced concerning these almost incredible reports.

1. Felix Hess, a friend of mine, died March 3, 1768,—whether he will appear to me, while I am living, and when, and in what maner?—whether he will reveal to me any thing respecting the happiness of those in heaven, or concerning my ecclesiastical destination on earth?

N. B. I fervently desired him before his death to comply with my request if possible.

* The original English translation has here "Hanoverian," but as Zimmerman was a native Swiss, who subsequently resided in Hanover, we have taken the liberty of correcting this passage.

2. Henry Hess, brother of the deceased, my very good friend, whether, and when he will be convinced of that power of faith and prayer which I teach; and of which he still entertains doubts?—and which of the inhabitants of Zürich who are yet in a doubtful state will be convinced?

3. Shall I ever be so happy as to converse with angels or spirits of the deceased without any false fanaticism, and without disobedience to the commandment of God not to interrogate the dead; and by what manner of life, or by what virtues I can arrive at such a high privilege?

4. Whether the dream I had on June 9th, this year, proceeded from Felix Hess?

Be not angry, thou most excellent and learned man, with a very studious disciple of the truth, who will neither be rashly credulous, nor be a disbeliever, but who has an open breast, ready to receive from his inmost soul whatever truth beams forth. Farewell, do not suffer me long to wait in vain for an answer. May God and Christ, to whom we belong, whether living or dead, be with you,

JOHN CASPAR LAVATER
of Zürich,
Minister of the Word of God.

Zürich in Switzerland,
August 24, 1768.

## *DOCUMENT* 237.

## SEVENTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.[22]*

Reverend Doctor,

By Captain Magnus Sjögård I send you a copy of the recently published work on "Conjugial and Scortatory Love." Should any of the friends in Gottenburg desire it, you will find on a slip enclosed in the book, the address where it may be purchased in Amsterdam; as soon as I hear their wishes on the subject, the books shall be despatched by the first opportunity. My address you will likewise find on the slip of paper. Please give my best respects to the Bishop,† the Dean,‡ Burgomaster Petterson, and to Dr. Rosén.[45] I remain in all friendship and fidelity

Your most obedient servant and friend,

EM. SWEDENBORG.

Amsterdam. October 1, 1768.

To the Reverend Doctor and Lector Gabr. Ander. Beyer, Gottenburg.

* The Swedish original of this Document is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm.

† Bishop Lamberg (see Note 178).

‡ Dr. Ekebom (see Note 179).

## *DOCUMENT* 238.

# THIRD LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO F. C. ŒTINGER.[182]*

Reverend and Most Honoured Councillor,

I was glad to receive your letter, dated Murhard, October 28. I am sorry you have not yet received the three copies of the work on "Conjugial and Scortatory Love." I took them to a place in Amsterdam, whence similar parcels are despatched to various parts of Germany. I think they are first conveyed to Arnhem, and are taken thence by coach or carrier to their appointed places. I directed it to Wurtemberg. Should the parcel have arrived there, it is most probably in one of the hotels or inns where the carriers come, or

* The Latin original of this Document was in the possession of Prof. Veesenmeyer in Ulm, but after his death it could not be found among his papers. By the kind permission of the Professor, Dr. Im. Tafel took a copy of the letter in 1833, and inserted it in his German edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," p. 362. A portion of the letter, beginning with the second paragraph, had been previously printed by Œtinger himself in a German edition of Swedenborg's work "The Earths in the Universe," (p. 222), which was translated by one of his nephews, and seen through the press by him in 1770. In the Appendix to that work (p. 223) is also printed the Latin original of the paper on "The natural and spiritual sense of the Word," which accompanies this letter. Both these documents, as printed by Dr. Im. Tafel, were introduced into the Supplement to the enlarged English edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," pp. 78 to 81. The above is the first complete translation of the Document into English. As much of it as had been printed by Œtinger, had appeared before in an English dress in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" of 1790, together with the paper on "The natural and spiritual sense of the Word" (see pp. 35 to 38); and thence it was incorporated into the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents."

where they stay. If an opportunity offer, nine other copies shall be forwarded, together with the treatise on the Planets. I asked the porter by whom your letter was delivered, whether his master knew of another opportunity; but he has not yet returned to give me an answer; should one occur, I will not fail on my part to avail myself of it.

You suggest a doubt in respect to Christ's having power given Him over all flesh, when yet the angels and the inhabitants of heaven have not fleshy, but shining bodies. To this be pleased to receive kindly the following reply: In the above passage by all flesh are understood all men, wherefore in the Word in various places mention is made of all flesh, which signifies every man. With respect to the bodies of angels they do not appear shining, but, as it were, fleshy; for they are substantial though not material, and substantial things are not translucent before the angels. Everything material is originally from what is substantial; and into this every man comes after he has laid aside his material coverings by death. On this account man after death is a man, but purer than before; comparatively as what is substantial is purer than what is material. That the Lord has power not only over all men, but also over all angels, is evident from His own words in Matthew, "All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth" (xxviii, 18).

As in your letter you speak of the natural and spiritual sense of the Word, and lest it should be believed that I have written anything contradictory to these senses, I add a separate piece of paper on which these two senses of the Word are described. I shall ever remain, most venerable and excellent Sir,

Your most faithful servant,

EM. SWEDENBORG.

Amsterdam, November 8, 1768.

*THE NATURAL AND SPIRITUAL SENSE OF THE WORD.*

That in the Word there is an internal or spiritual sense, in its external or natural sense, as a precious stone in its matrix, or as a beautiful infant in its swaddling clothes, is a truth which has heretofore been altogether unknown in the

Christian world, and hence also it is altogether unknown what is meant by the consummation of the age, the Coming of the Lord, the Last Judgment, and the New Jerusalem, on which subjects many things are spoken and predicted in the Word of each Testament, both Old and New. Without the unfolding and opening out of the literal sense of the Word by its spiritual sense, how can any one know intellectually what is signified by the things which the Lord predicted in Matthew xxiv, and also in the Book of Revelation, and in like manner in Daniel, and in the Prophets, in many passages? Make the experiment yourself, if you be so disposed, and read those passages of the prophetic Word which treat sometimes of wild beasts and cattle, sometimes of pools and swamps, sometimes of forests and brakes, sometimes of valleys and mountains, sometimes of screech-owls, of ochim, tziim, satyrs, &c., &c.: try whether you can perceive anything Divine therein, unless you believe it to lie concealed interiorly, on account of its being inspired by God, just as a precious stone lies concealed in its matrix, as was said above. That the precious stones, or treasures, which lie concealed within are those things which the internal sense contains, is fully demonstrated in the Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the Sacred Scripture, nos. 5 to 26; and in the same Doctrine it is further proved that the literal sense is the basis, continent, and firmament of its spiritual sense, nos. 27 to 36; also that Divine Truth in the literal sense of the Word is in its fulness, in its sanctity, and in its power, nos. 37 to 40; and, likewise, that the doctrine of the church is to be drawn from the literal sense of the Word, and to be confirmed thereby, nos. 50 to 61; and, finally, that by the literal sense, through the medium of the spiritual sense, there is effected conjunction with the Lord, and consociation with the angels, nos. 62 to 69.

To the above I will add something new from the spiritual world: The rulers of the church who flock into that world after death, are first taught concerning the Sacred Scripture, that it contains a spiritual sense, which in the world was unknown to them; and they are also told, that the angels of heaven are in that sense, whilst man is in the sense of the letter; and further, that a translation or change of the latter

sense into the former is effected with man, while he reads the Word in a state of holiness; that there is then a kind of unfolding or unswathing, like the breaking of the shell enclosing an almond, whereupon the shell is dispersed and the naked almond passes into heaven, and is received by the angels; and that it is also like the casting of a seed into the ground, where it is stripped of its coverings, and the germ is put forth. The seed in this case is the Word in the sense of the letter, and the germ which is put forth thence is the spiritual sense; the latter passes to the angels, and the former remains with man. The seed, nevertheless, remains with man in his mind as in its soil, and in time produces its germ and fructifies it, provided man by the seeds of life which are the truths of faith and the goods of charity, is conjoined to the Lord, and consociated with the angels. The above rulers are further admonished to receive thoroughly this belief, that the Word in its bosom is spiritual, because Divine; and that unless they receive this belief, they may be seduced by satans, so that they even deny the sanctity of the Word; in which case the church with them is dissipated. This further argument is also urged upon them, that if they do not believe the internal sense of the Word, the Word may finally appear to them as some unpolished and unconnected writing, or even as a book of all heresies, because from the literal sense, as from a kind of lake, heresies of every sort may be drawn forth and confirmed. Those who believe the internal sense of the Word, are afterwards received into companies of angelic spirits, who in process of time are elevated into heaven and become angels; but those who do not believe, are removed into companies of spirits, who in course of time are cast into hell, and become satans. Those are called satans there, who in the world had falsified every truth of the Word, and who in consequence thereof had imbibed falsities, so that at last they could no longer see anything of truth.

## *DOCUMENT* 239.

## EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO A GENTLEMAN AT LEYDEN IN HOLLAND.*

I had lately the honour to send you a copy of a work published at this place, which contains an abridgment of all the doctrinal points treated or in all my other writings. I think of making a tour to Leyden in a few week's time, when I shall be glad to be informed of the opinion of the learned in your city respecting the work. It is sold by Christian Seep, Bookseller, Amsterdam.

[EM. SWEDENBORG.]

[Amsterdam, beginning of March, 1769.]

* The above, together with Documents 225 and 226, was originally published in the Appendix to the second edition of Swedenborg's work on "The Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," published in 1784. For further particulars see footnote to Document 225.

## *DOCUMENT* 240.

# EIGHTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.[22]*

Reverend Doctor,

I had the pleasure of receiving yours of November 23, 1768. The reason I did not answer it sooner was, that I postponed until a little work was published entitled, "A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church signified by the New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation," in which work are fully shown the errors of the hitherto received doctrine of justification by faith alone, and the imputation of the righteousness or merit of Christ. This treatise was sent by me to all the clergy in Holland, and will come into the hands of the most eminent in Germany. I have been informed that they have attentively perused it, and that some have already discovered the truth, while others do not know which way to turn; for what is written therein is sufficient to convince any one that the above-mentioned doctrine is the cause of our having at the present day no theology in Christendom. I intend sending to you by the first ship twelve copies of the work, which you will please to dispose of in the following manner: one copy to the Bishop,† one to the Dean,‡ and the

* The Swedish original, from which the above translation has been made, is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was published in the "Samlingar för Philantroper" in 1788, as Letter V. The first English translation appeared in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" of 1790, (p. 141). And this translation was afterwards introduced as Letter V into the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents."

† Bishop Lamberg (see Note 178).

‡ Dr. Ekebom (see Note 179).

rest, except your own, to the "lectors" of theology, and to the clergy of the town; since no one can better judge of the work, than he who has thoroughly mastered the arcana of justification. After this little work has been read, will you kindly request the Dean* to express his opinion concerning it in the Consistory; when all those that can, and are willing to see the truth, will accede.

Here [in Amsterdam] they frequently inquire of me respecting the New Church, when it will come? To which I answer: By degrees, in proportion as the doctrine of justification and imputation is extirpated; which perhaps will be brought about by this work. It is known that the Christian Church did not take its rise immediately after the ascension of Christ, but increased gradually, which is also understood by these words in the Revelation, "And the woman flew into the desert, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent" (xii, 14). The serpent or dragon is that doctrine.

In about a month I shall leave here for Paris, and that for a purpose which must not be divulged beforehand.

With respect to the visions of several persons mentioned in your letter, they are nothing but fantastic visions. With my respectful compliments to the Bishop,† and my other friends in Gottenburg, I remain with hearty friendship

Your faithful servant,

EM. SWEDENBORG.

Amsterdam, March 15, 1769.

To the Reverend Doctor and Lector Gabr. Anders. Beyer, Gottenburg.

* Dr. Ekebom (see Note 179).

† Bishop Lamberg (see Note 178).

## *DOCUMENT* 241.

# NINTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.[22]*

Reverend Doctor,

I herewith send you ten copies of the published treatise on "Conjugial Love," which when an opportunity offers you may sell at nine copper dalers per copy. The book is very much in demand in Paris, and in many places in Germany.

Of the work last published entitled, "Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Jerusalem," I sent you only one copy, which you will please to keep for yourself alone and not communicate to any one else: for it will cause a change in the whole of that theology which has up to the present time prevailed in Christendom, and partly sets forth also that theology which will be for the New Church. What is written therein will be thoroughly understood by scarcely any one in Gotten-

* The Swedish original, from which the above translation has been made, is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was printed in the "Samlingar för Philantroper" in 1788, as Letter VIII. An English translation is contained in the Supplement to the enlarged English edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," published in 1855 (p. 5).

The P.S. which is added to the letter has hitherto been published as a separate document; but by a comparison with Document 244, where Swedenborg introduced the identical words of this postcript, it is made evident that it belongs in reality to Document 241. The Swedish original of this postscript, written on a separate leaf, is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was printed in the "Samlingar för Philantroper" of 1788, after Letter XVIII. An English translation appeared in the Supplement to the enlarged English edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," p. 10.

burg except yourself. This little work has been sent to all professors and clergymen in Holland, and has already reached the principal universities of Germany; it is being translated into English in London, and will also be published in Paris. We must therefore first wait for the judgment which is passed upon it abroad, before it is generally made known in Sweden. You will, therefore, keep it for the present for yourself alone.

On April 26 I shall leave for Paris; and I remain, with loving friendship,

Your most obedient servant and faithful friend,

EM. SWEDENBORG.

Amsterdam, April 23, 1769.

P. S. In the short treatise [Brief Exposition], which I have sent you, as well as in all my former writings, I do not mean a Son of God born from eternity, but the Son of God conceived and born in the world, in whom is the Divine Trinity. In the Apostles' creed, which was the confession of faith of the Apostolic church, no other Son of God is mentioned, nor is any other meant in the Gospels, Luke i, 32, 35; Matt. iii, 17; xvii, 5; John xx, 31; 1 John v, 20, 21. The reason, however, why the Nicene Council afterwards adopted a Son of God from eternity, and added still another Divine person, was this, that it could not discover any other expedient for expelling the erroneous doctrine of Arius; and for this reason, especially, the present church insists that reason shall be bound, and placed under obedience to a blind faith. But, that this does not transcend man's faculty of comprehension, and that he is able to see and thus to believe, may be seen in no. 117, and afterwards in no. 44.

## *DOCUMENT* 242.

## SECOND LETTER OF J. C. LAVATER[186] TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

Most noble, venerable, and beloved in Christ our Lord,

I have taken the liberty of writing to you a second time, as it is likely you may not have received my other letter on account of your travels; but I have at last learned by what means this will probably reach you.

I revere the wonderful gifts you have received from God. I revere the wisdom which shines forth from your writings, and therefore cannot but seek the friendship of so great and excellent a man now living. If what is reported be true, God will show you how much I seek to converse with you in the simplicity of my mind. I am a young man not yet thirty years old, a minister of the gospel; I am and shall remain employed in the cause of Christ as long as I live. I have written something on the happiness of the future life. O, if I could exchange letters with you on this subject, or rather converse!

I add some [of my] writing: You shall know my soul.

One thing I beg of you, Divinely inspired man! I beseech you by the Lord not to refuse me!

In the month of March, 1768, died Felix Hess, my best friend; a youth of Zürich, twenty-four years of age, an upright

* The English translation, constituting this document, appeared first in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" of 1790, p. 245, together with Document 236; the editors state there that the Latin originals of these two documents were then in their hands. The letters, in the form in which they appear there, were subsequently embodied in the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents."

man, of a noble mind, striving after a Christian spirit, but not yet clothed with Christ. Tell me, I pray, what he is doing? paint to me his figure, state, &c., in such words, that I may know that God's truth is in you.

I send also a cipher writing which you will understand, if what is reported of you be true. I request it may not be shown to any person.

I am your brother in Christ; answer very soon a sincere brother, and answer the letter I have sent in such a manner, that *I may see* what I am believing on the testimony of others.

Christ be with us, to whom we belong living or dead.

JOHN CASPER LAVATER,
Minister at the Orphan Asylum.

Zürich in Switzerland,
September 24, 1769.

## *DOCUMENT* 243.

## TENTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.[22]*

Reverend Doctor and Dear Friend,

Shortness of time would not permit me in my last letter to answer the point about the boy from Skara. If the account about him is true, it proves the communication of spirits with man. A genteel and rich family here in Stockholm are desirous of taking the boy into their house, and of educating him in whatever branch he may wish to

* The Swedish, original from which the above translation has been made, is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was printed in the "Samlingar för Philantroper" of 1788, as Letter X. The English translation of the letter, which was incorporated in the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents," appeared originally in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790, pp. 30 and 75.

learn. Should this arrangement be acceptable to the boy, and an opportunity present itself of his being brought here in company with a person travelling this way, the family would be pleased; in that case thirty dalers in silver might be furnished him to cover his travelling expenses, and if on his arrival he address himself to me, he will be taken to the family.

I pass by his vision of white serpents, as this took place in his tender infancy; for which reason I do not enter into its explanation; besides, it may be explained either negatively or affirmatively. But his knowing the use of herbs and [the cure of] certain diseases, if really the case, is not on account of such diseases and cures existing in the other life among spirits and angels. There are, however, spiritual diseases [and cures] corresponding to natural diseases and cures in this world; wherefore, when such effects take place, they are due to correspondences. As there are no natural diseases among spirits in the spiritual world, neither are there any hospitals; but instead of these there are spiritual madhouses, in which are those who theoretically denied God, and in others such as denied Him practically. Those who in the world were idiots, on their arrival in the other world are likewise foolish and idiotic; but when their externals are removed and their internals opened, as is the case with all, then they are endowed with an understanding in accordance with their genius and their previous life; for real madness and insanity reside in the external or natural, and not in the internal or spiritual man.

I will now give you an account of my first youth: From my fourth to my tenth year I was constantly engaged in thought upon God, salvation, and the spiritual diseases *(passiones spirituales)* of men; and several times I revealed things at which my father and mother wondered; saying, that angels must be speaking through me. From my sixth to my twelfth year I used to delight in conversing with clergymen about faith, saying that the life of faith is love, and that the love which imparts life is love to the neighbour; also that God gives faith to every one, but that those only receive it who practise that love. I knew of no other faith at that time,

than that God is the Creator and Preserver of nature, that He imparts understanding and a good disposition to men, and several other things that follow thence. I knew nothing at that time of that learned faith which teaches that God the Father imputes the righteousness of His Son to whomsoever, and at such times, as He chooses, even to those who have not repented and have not reformed their lives. And had I heard of such a faith, it would have been then, as it is now, above my comprehension.

I remain with all affection and friendship

Your most obedient servant and friend,

EMAN. SWEDENBORG.

Stockholm, November 14, 1769.

To the Reverend and Most Learned Doctor and Lector Gabriel And. Beyer, Gottenburg.

## *DOCUMENT* 244.

## EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO COUNT HÖPKEN.[83]*

[Your Excellency,]

I had the honour to receive on the 14th inst. your Excellency's favour, dated November 5. I am glad that the last two books have arrived. It is certain that the "Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church" meets with adverse criticisms, as was foreseen by your Excellency; yet only in the beginning, as long as men are in darkness on account of preconceived and false principles. Since, however, that which is rational has light within itself, even in theological matters, therefore, the truth will gradually be seen and acknow-

* A copy of the Swedish original is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences; it is printed in Part III of "Nya Kyrkan och dess inflytande," &c., p. 7.

ledged, as has been the case in many places abroad. But as I am doubtful whether this change has already taken place in Stockholm, I have delivered only one copy to Bishop Benzeltjerna[10] with strict injunctions that it is by no means to be communicated to any one else; for Benzelstjerna in my estimation is a rational man even in theology, and does not accept irrational things from obedience to faith. The reason why a preference is accorded to Catholics is stated in no. 105 and the following numbers; but there is another reason besides, because the purpose is to establish a universal church in all Christendom. When this preliminary treatise was finished, the whole heaven from east to west, and from south to north, appeared to me covered with beautiful roses of a dark scarlet colour, so that all who were present with me in the world of spirits, were astonished at it; this was a sign of the assent and the joy of the New Heaven.* In the short treatise which I have sent you, as well as in all my former writings I do not mean a Son of God born from eternity, but the Son of God conceived and born in the world, in whom there is the Divine Trinity. In the Apostles' creed, which was the confession of faith of the Apostolic church, no other Son of God is mentioned, nor is any other meant in the Gospels, Luke i, 32, 35; Matt. iii, 17; xvii, 5; John xxi, 31; 1 John v, 20, 21. The reason, however, why the Nicene Council afterwards adopted the tenet of a Son of God from eternity, and added still another Divine person, was, that it could not discover another expedient for expelling the erroneous doctrine of Arius; and for this reason especially the present church insists that reason shall be bound, and placed under obedience to faith. But that this does not transcend man's comprehension, and that he is able to see and thus to believe, may be seen in no. 117, and after it in no. 44.†

* The same phenomenon is described by Swedenborg in a "Sketch of an Ecclesiastical History of the New Church," (see Volume VIII of the photo-lithographed MSS., p. 1) in these words: "After the 'Brief Exposition.' &c. had been written, the angelic heaven from the east to the west, and from the south to the north, appeared of a dark scarlet colour with the most beautiful flowers; it appeared so before me, the kings of Denmark, and others. At another time it had a beautiful flaming appearance."

† Compare postscript to Document 241.

Your Excellency's pleasure in my writings gladdens my heart, and I thank you for it with all due respect, remaining,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

EM. SWEDENBORG.

Stockholm, November 17, 1769.

## *DOCUMENT* 245.

## SWEDENBORG'S CONTROVERSY WITH THE CONSISTORY OF GOTTENBURG.

*INTRODUCTION.*

A carefully prepared digest of the acts of this important controversy occupies Part I of a work which appeared in 1847, in the Swedish language, under this title: "The New Church and its influence upon the study of theology in Sweden. A contribution to the Swedish Church history of later years" *(Nya Kyrkan och dess inflytande på Theologiens Studium i Sverige).* Upon this work, which we have reason to think was written by our well-known friend Dr. Kahl of Lund, we have mainly drawn for the materials used in the preparation of this Introduction, and of some of those historical parts which serve as connecting links between the particular documents composing this larger document.

The documents themselves which illustrate this episode in Swedenborg's life, are derived (1) from the "Nya Kyrkan," &c.; (2) from the "Minutes respecting Swedenborgianism and the so-called Sermon-Essays" *(Handlingar rörande Svedenborgianismen och de så kallade Prediko-Försök)*, under which title was published, in a quarto volume of upwards of 200 pages, the official record of the Proceedings of the Consistory of Gottenburg from March 22, 1769, to February 7, 1770; and (3) from the published and unpublished letters of Emanuel Swedenborg written during that period.

With respect to the origin of this controversy, we read in the "Nya Kyrkan," &c. (p. 10) as follows: "For twenty years

Swedenborg had continued to publish his theological works without being disturbed by any one, and he had distributed them to the libraries of universities and to the learned in England, Holland, France, Germany, and Sweden. Sundry theologians also, *e. g.* Hartley, Œtinger, Beyer, Rosén, and Lavater, had studied his writings, expressing admiration and approval of his teachings. Most, it is true, had simply glanced over the title-pages of these works without taking any further notice of their contents. But no one had considered himself called upon to protest against the circulation and the reading of these writings, although they contained views which could not easily be made to harmonize with what was regarded as orthodox in the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches of the eighteenth century. Swedenborg's writings, however, were composed in a language which was not generally understood. They were possessed only by the learned, who are not always inclined to judge the orthodoxy of theological productions by the standard of the conclusions of the Council of Trent, the Heidelberg Catechism, or the Formula Concordiæ, and who, besides, are not fond of submitting the settlement of doctrinal or exegetical controversies to spiritual or civil courts. But gradually Swedenborg's friends in his own country by reviews, translations, and sermons, began to introduce a knowledge of his religious views to a class of readers who, unaccustomed to a deeper investigation of the Scripture and to higher theological speculation, regard as heterodox and heretical all religious knowledge which in any degree changes or modifies the sanctioned doctrines, or which is above the sphere of the doctrinal text-books in current use. A new epoch now began to open in the history of Swedenborg's writings, at least in Sweden.

"Several of the Swedish clergy found fault with the views of the New Church, and insisted that they should be formally opposed, as militating against the Evangelical Lutheran faith. Such an opposition first manifested itself in the diocese of Gottenburg, and the immediate cause of it was as follows: In the 'Clerical News' *(Presttidningen)*" a monthly magazine, published at Gottenburg by Dr. Rosén a "lector" (professor) in that town, a review of Swedenborg's *Apocalypsis Revelata*

had been inserted; and another "lector," Dr. Beyer, had edited a collection of sketches for sermons under this title: 'New attempts at explaining the texts for Sundays and Holidays *(Nya Försök till förklaring öfwer Sön-och Högtidsdags-Texter)*, Gottenburg, 1767; in which the texts are explained in the spirit of Swedenborg's teaching. These literary productions strengthened in many quarters the conviction which had previously been gaining ground, that these theological doctors shared Swedenborg's religious views; and no length of time elapsed before the clergy gave evidence of this conviction, by word and deed.

"At a meeting of the clergy held at Gottenburg in September 1768, Dean P. Aurelius of Grimmeton insisted 'that, for his own sake and that of the brethren at home, the Consistory should employ the most stringent measures for stopping the circulation of such recently published books as contain doctrines which militate against God's Word and the symbolical [dogmatic] writings of the church' (see 'Handlingar' p. 3). In agreement therewith, but in less objectionable and more considerate terms, Dean A. Kollinius of Seglora submitted a memorial to the Consistory, dated October 12, 1768, in which he prayed, 'that the Bishop and the members of the Consistory, as the most competent judges in theological matters, would enlighten the clergy, as to how far the writings of Swedenborg are really objectionable; so that in case these writings contain merely innocent theological problems, a mistaken zeal may not raise up heaven and earth against them; but, in case they really militate against, and present as irrational, the evangelical doctrine in the form in which it is explained from God's Word in our symbolical writings it may be looked upon as a real crime, at least in those who exercise the function of teachers, to seek to imbue others with the religious principles of Swedenborg.'"

The author of "Nya Kyrkan" says here: "If Kollinius' prayer had been acted upon, and the members of the Consistory had gone into the fundamental question, *i. e.* if they had compared Swedenborg's and Luther's systems, and had examined how much of what is really bad and unchristian is

contained in the former system.... a long and wearisome religious contest would no doubt have been prevented." On p. 14, he continues, "A calm exegetical and critical examination of Swedenborg's system, however, was never considered for a moment; nothing was thought of but the stringent measures insisted upon by Aurelius, by which 'the circulation of Swedenborg's writings might be stopped.' Beyer's and Rosén's opponents, without making any previous examination, took it at once for granted, that Swedenborg's system was unbiblical and heterodox, and they, consequently, appealed first to the Consistory and afterwards to the higher authorities, as though they were tribunals of inquisition, with the keys of loosing and binding doctrinal questions in their hands, and which, without any previous examination and investigation, might pass sentence of condemnation in the most uncompromising spirit of hierarchy. The majority of the Consistory, nevertheless, disappointed the expectations of the dissatisfied members of the clergy in this respect. Bishop Lamberg[178] was not willing to treat this question in an inquisitorial fashion, and the attempt to make of the Consistory a tribunal on matters of faith miscarried in the very first instance. The majority of this body, consisting of Bishop Lamberg, and the "lectors" Beyer,[22] Rosén,[45] Roempke,[187] and Wallenstråle,[188] did not consider themselves called upon, 'as the most competent judges in theological matters,' to express an opinion with regard to the actual value *(halt)* of Swedenborg's doctrines, since thus far they had not had the opportunity of procuring for themselves his expensive theological writings, and still less had they time to study them."

Dr. Beyer, at the request of the Consistory, had prepared the draught of a reply to the resolution passed at the meeting of the clergy in 1768. From this we make the following extract:

## A.

*DR. BEYER ON SWEDENBORG AND HIS WRITINGS.**

"Swedenborg is generally known to be, as to his person and life, a God-fearing and virtuous, and also a quiet, peaceful, and well-reputed citizen; and in the public prints is declared to be a giant of learning in the various sciences; but especially is he known to have an unbounded veneration for the Divine Word. The thoughts of such a man on matters of religion ought surely not to be condemned rashly, and without a previous most thorough examination...

"So long, however, as such an investigation and examination have not been made, this Consistory does not deem itself justified in declaring that the works of Assessor Swedenborg are to be classed among the number of prohibited books; and, consequently, they do not feel themselves called upon to endeavour to obtain in the proper place an order for their prohibition.

"But meanwhile, both in respect to the writings of Assessor Swedenborg, which are written in Latin, a foreign tongue, and according to a transcendental method, as well as in respect to all other writings, the following words of the Lord and their meaning furnish a safe rule of criticism to all the learned, by the application of which they will not only not fail in their judgment, but also be freed from error: 'If any one will do the will of Him who has sent Jesus,' or if any one has the desire and purpose to live as the Lord has given us to understand is well-pleasing to Him—'he shall know,' or he is able to know 'whether a doctrine is of God,' and thus is Divine, or whether it has a merely human source and thus ought to be rejected" (John vii, 17).

In pursuance of a resolution written by

G. A. BEYER.

February 15, 1769.

The opposition in the Consistory consisted of Dean Ekebom,[179] Dean Kullin,[189] and Pastor Hempke,[190] whose senti-

* See "Handlingar rörande Swedenborgianismen," &c., p. 5.

ments found utterance in the following document from the pen of Dr. Ekebom, Dean of Gottenburg:

B.

*DR. EKEBOM'S[1?] CHARGES AGAINST SWEDENBORG.**

"On the question, whether the published theological writings of the well-born Assessor Swedenborg are to be regarded as orthodox or heretical, and in what light they ought to be looked upon and judged by the clergy of our diocese, I submit with due deference to the favourable consideration of the Bishop and of the Venerable Consistory the following remarks:

"*First,* To the person of Assessor Swedenborg I leave all the honour and esteem to which he may lay claim on account of his advanced age, his rank, his merits, and his insight into the various sciences. I do not judge either him or any one else. The Lord is He who knows and judges both him and me.

*Secondly,* I am not acquainted with the religious system of Assessor Swedenborg, nor shall I take any trouble to become acquainted with it. I am told that this knowledge may be chiefly acquired by studying his published writings on 'the New Jerusalem,' on 'Charity and Faith,' on 'the Lord,' &c., none of which works I have possessed, read, or seen.

"*Thirdly,* Nevertheless, in thinking of the conversations which Assessor Swedenborg had in this place, at various times, with myself and others, and in comparing them with his so-called *Apocalypsis Revelata,* of which he was kind enough to send me a copy from Amsterdam,† I must confess that his doctrines appear to me *corrupting, heretical, injurious,* and in the highest degree *objectionable.*‡

"In proof of this I will confine myself to stating the following points:

* See "Handlingar," &c., pp. 7 to 11.

† See Document 223.

‡ Read in this connection what the Rev. T. Hartley says in Document 258, no. 18.

(a) "*The Sacred Scripture has been hitherto badly and perversely explained* (A. R. p. 21, no. 1). Too much has been made of the literal sense, of which the true meaning cannot be comprehended, before the spiritual, the angelic, and the Divine sense has first been collected. Since the Last Judgment, which took place in the spiritual world as early as 1757, and since the Coming of the New Jerusalem, this sense has been for the first time revealed by God to Assessor Swedenborg, who, as far as this is concerned, does not seem to be unwilling to be regarded as a God-inspired man *(Vir Theopneustos)*. Again, *the Sacred Scripture has been written by mere correspondences; and without the knowledge of correspondences, and a special illustration and hence revelation, it cannot be understood in by far the greater number of passages* (see Preface). How then should he who is not in a state of illustration, or who does not understand the doctrine of correspondences, know e. g. that ἀναβλέψαι, to receive sight *(recipere visum)* signifies that they who have been in ignorance of the truth would receive intelligence ; that to receive hearing *(recipere auditum)* signifies, that they who had not heard before concerning God and the Word would listen and obey; that to be resuscitated from the dead signifies that they who otherwise would have perished are made alive; that a garden, a grove, a forest signify wisdom and knowledge; that the olive-tree, the vine, the cedar, the oak signify the celestial, the spiritual, the rational, natural, and sensual good and truth of the church; that a mountain, a hill, a valley signify the higher, lower, and lowest things of the church; that Egypt signifies knowledge, Ashur reason, Moab the adulteration of good, the sons of Ammon the adulteration of truth, Tyre and Sidon the thoughts of truth and good? I ask, can the Sacred Scripture with such an explanation remain any longer the fundamental ground *(principium)* for the knowledge of Faith, Religion, and Revealed Theology.

(b) "*God is one in essence and in person,* in whom is a Trinity, and the Lord is that God. *The Lord is the Only God, in whom is the Trinity (Preface). The whole Trinity is in the Lord. His Divine* (the Divine nature) is called Father. *His Human* (the Human nature) is the Son. And *the Divine*

*Proceeding* (*i. e.* as much as I could gather on this subject), the Divine virtue and operation which enlightens and sanctifies us, *is the Holy Spirit* (cfr. A. R. pp. 59, 629, Latin edition).

(c) "*No satisfaction for the sins of the world is given.* The purpose of Christ's Coming into the world was the subjugation of hell, and its removal from man; and Christ removed it by contests against it, and victories over it; and He reduced it into order and under obedience to Him (A. R. pp. 59, 60).

(d) "*Justification by faith alone* is abused, with gross contempt, throughout the whole of Swedenborg's work.

(e) The following is his explanation of the essential parts of the Holy Supper: By the bread and the blood of the Lord nothing else can be understood than the Divine in itself, and from itself; by flesh is understood the Divine Good of the Divine Love, and by blood the Divine Truth from that Good (A. R., p. 208, Latin Edition).

(f) "Of the conversations and statements of those who departed this life with a profession of faith alone, I find a short, but derisive doctrinal exposition in the memorable relation on p. 208 of the *Apocalypsis Revelata.*

"In consideration of what I have here quoted to you in haste, I submit to your judgment, whether Swedenborgianism is not in all its parts diametrically opposed to God's revealed Word, and the dogmatic writings of the Lutheran church; whether it is not full of the most intolerable fundamental errors, which overturn the very foundation of faith and of the whole Christian religion; and, consequently, whether it is, not merely schismatic, but in the highest degree heretical, and in most of its parts Socinian and thus, in every sense, objectionable?

"For the above reason, and by virtue of my office as a member of the Consistory, and as a pastor in this town where Assessor Swedenborg has resided some time,* and has had opportunity for spreading his views and attaching to himself disciples, I cannot refrain from urging the following resolutions:

* Swedenborg never resided in Gottenburg; he only passed through it on his way to Holland or England.

"*First,* that the clergy of the diocese be admonished in the most earnest manner to be on their guard against the theological writings published by Assessor Swedenborg.

"*Secondly,* That Pastor Kollinius be urged to make a positive statement containing the names of 'the leading men in this place of whom report says that they favour and follow Assessor Swedenborg's theological principles,' so that innocent men who shun all false and heretical learning may escape suspicion; and that those who favour and promote false views may be treated according to law and royal decrees.

"*Thirdly,* As leading men (by whom may be meant members of the clergy either of the town, or of the Diocese, or perhaps even members of the Consistory) seem to have become the subject of a most unworthy suspicion among the clergy of the diocese, that our Bishop, who is placed as a superintendent over the clergy, and likewise over the gymnasia and schools of his diocese, be instructed on the part of the Consistory, to report the present as a most important matter of the Church in the House of the Clergy at the approaching Diet, which will not fail to take such steps and measures to prevent the spread of Swedenborgian doctrines, as their precious official oath and the exigency of the case demand, and as the law prescribes.

"O. EKEBOM.

"Gottenburg, March 22, 1769."

On March 30, after the Minutes containing Dr. Ekebom's charges against Swedenborg had been read, Dr. Beyer caused the following reply to be inserted in the Minutes for publication.

## C.

*DR. BEYER'S REPLY TO DR. EKEBOM.**

"As a further and necessary complement of the passages which Dr. Ekebom[179] entered on the Minutes, on March 22, from Assessor Swedenborg's theological works, I desire to communicate here a passage upon which I lighted in his last published work on 'Conjugial and Scortatory Love' (no. 82); because it furnishes a kind of summary of the Assessor's system of religion. The passage referred to literally translated reads as follows: 'Afterwards a man came running from the northern quarter in great haste; he looked at me with a threatening countenance, and addressing me in a passionate tone of voice, said: "Art thou he that wishes to seduce the world by instituting a New Church which thou understandest by the New Jerusalem about to come down from God out of heaven; and by teaching that the Lord will gift with love truly conjugial those who embrace the doctrines of that church; the delights and felicity of which love thou exaltest to heaven? Is not this a mere fiction? and dost thou not hold it forth as a bait and enticement for others to accede to thy new [doctrines]? But tell me briefly, what are those doctrines of the New Church that I may see whether they agree or disagree?" I replied, "The doctrines of the church understood by the New Jerusalem are as follows: *First,* That there is one God, in whom is the Divine Trinity, and that He is the Lord Jesus Christ. *Secondly,* That a saving faith is to believe in Him. *Thirdly,* that evils are to be shunned because they are of the devil, and from the devil. *Fourthly,* that goods are to be done because they are of God, and from God. *Fifthly,* that these are to be done by man as from himself; but that it ought to be believed that they are done by the Lord with man, and by means of man." Having heard these things his fury abated for a while; but after some deliberation he again looked at me with a stern countenance, and said: "Are these five precepts the doctrines of the faith and

* See "Handlingar," &c. pp. 11 to 14.

charity of the New Church?" I replied, "Yes." He then asked sharply, "How can you demonstrate the *first,* that there is one God, in whom there is a Divine Trinity, and that He is the Lord Jesus Christ?" I said, "I demonstrate it thus: Is not God one and indivisible? Is there not a trinity? If God is one and indivisible, is He not one person? If He is one person, is not the trinity in that person? That He is the Lord Jesus Christ is evident from these considerations, that He was conceived from God the Father (Luke i, 34, 35), and thus that as to His soul He is God; and hence, as He Himself says, that the Father and He are one (John x, 30); that He is in the Father, and the Father in Him (John xiv, 10, 11); that he that seeth Him and knoweth Him, seeth and knoweth the Father (John xiv, 7, 9); that no one seeth and knoweth the Father, except Him who is in the bosom of the Father (John i, 18); that all things of the Father are His (John iii, 35; xvi, 15); that He is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; and that no one cometh to the Father, but by Him (John xiv, 6); also that He is of Him, because He is in Him; and, according to Paul, that all the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily in Him (Col. ii, 9); and, moreover, that He hath power over all flesh (John xvii, 2), and that He hath all power in heaven and in earth (Matt. xxviii, 18): from all of which it follows, that He is God of heaven and earth." He afterwards asked how I prove the *second,* "that a saving faith is to believe on Him?" I said, "By these words of the Lord: This is the will of the Father, that every one who believeth on the Son should have eternal life (John vi, 40). God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life (John iii, 15, 16). He that believeth on the Son, hath eternal life; but he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him" (John iii, 36). He afterwards said, "Demonstrate also the *third* and the following:" when I replied, "What need is there to demonstrate that evils ought to be shunned because they are of the devil and from the devil; and that goods ought to be done, because they are of God, and from God; also that the latter are to be done by man as from himself; but that

he ought to believe that they are to be done by the Lord with man, and by means of man? That these three points are true is proved by the whole Sacred Scripture from beginning to end; for what else is insisted upon there in general, except that man must shun evils and do goods, and believe on the Lord God? Besides, without these three points there is no religion; for does not religion relate to life? and what is life but to shun evils and do goods? and how can a man do the latter and shun the former except as from himself? Wherefore, if you remove these three points from the church, you remove from it the Sacred Scripture, and you also remove religion; and when these are removed the church is not a church." The man, after hearing these things, retired, and was musing; but still he departed in indignation.'

"As to the rest I fully agree with the Doctor where he says: 'I do not judge either him [Assessor Swedenborg], or any one else. The Lord is He who knows and judges both him and me.' But for this very reason I cannot agree with him in his judgment afterwards, where he declares at the same time that 'Swedenborgianism is in all its parts diametrically opposed to God's Holy Word, &c.; that it is heretical, Socinian, and thus in every sense objectionable.' I do not see any ground for passing this judgment without a previous knowledge of his system of religion, and before bringing the matter and the person in question in a lawful manner before the proper tribunal; otherwise we should be guilty of arbitrariness of the kind which is described in the Code of Laws, chap. xxv, §§ 21 and 22; in order to avoid this I deem it necessary that this subject should be submitted for lawful examination to the proper authority. Should the venerable Consistory nevertheless find sufficient reasons in what has thus far been advanced, for regarding the writings of Swedenborg as seductive—on which subject, for the reasons above stated, I suspend my own judgment—I still think that in this matter we cannot address ourselves in a lawful way to any one else than in humility to His Royal Majesty, who will perhaps most graciously decide, what steps are further to be taken with the matter in a lawful way.

"BEYER."

Dr. Rosén,[45] who had been absent at the last two sittings of the Consistory, handed in on April 5 the following opinion on Swedenborg's writings:

## D.

### *DR. ROSÉN[45] ON THE WRITINGS OF SWEDENBORG.**

"My thoughts respecting the well-born Assessor Swedenborg and his theological writings are as follows:

"Were I, in violation of the law, to condemn any one unheard, or to condemn the writings of an author without having properly examined them, I might, indeed, after a superficial examination find a good deal in these writings which is opposed to our accepted creed. Yet I should be very slow in regarding as a Socinian him who, with all due reverence, regards Christ as God, even though he should condemn a good many [other doctrines]. And, again, it would be difficult for me to believe that any one denies the atonement who attributes to the Lord all merit and all righteousness, and all possible as well as all real redemption, &c. As the author, however, on account of his absence cannot defend himself orally, and as I am not yet very well acquainted with his writings, the whole of which I have not yet seen, I consider it a Christian duty not scornfully to reject what I have not properly examined.

"It is true that in my "Clerical News" *(Preste-Tidningar)* for April 1768, I gave the general public some information about the *Apocalypsis Revelata;* yet I was neither then nor am I now prepared to give a circumstantial account of it, free from all mistakes. I have seen that the great Ernesti[38] has been too hasty in his judgment; and I see now that Dean Ekebom[179] has not been as accurate as he ought to have been, but attributes to Assessor Swedenborg expressions which do not at all occur on p. 21 of the *Apocalypsis.* In the edition of that work which is in my hands there is not a word written about the 'Sacred Scripture having been hitherto badly and perversely understood,' but we read that 'the Apocalypse

* See "Handlingar," &c., pp. 21 to 23.

has hitherto not been understood', and this is what every one says who ventures into its depths. Besides it is difficult for a man possessed of the greatest learning, even though he be thoroughly well disposed and impartial, to be assured that he has a true insight into the Swedenborgian system. On reading the first line of p. 275 of the *Apocalypsis Revelata*, where our Assessor makes this statement, that 'the Lord by the passion of the cross did not remove sins but bear them,' it struck me at once that our author contradicted altogether what is written in John i, 29. It was only, when a long time afterwards I came across the author's 'Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the Lord,' that I became acquainted with his true meaning: for there it is written on p. 23, that 'the Lord by the passion of the cross has not removed sins, but that He is removing them' *(quod non abstulerit peccata, sed auferat illa);* whence it appears that Assessor Swedenborg *according to the letter* does not contradict the above passage, but respects it as a part of God's Word. From this, however, I do not desire to draw any other conclusions than that, *first,* a person may easily run into error and pass a wrong judgment, if he draw rigorous conclusions from one or two passages taken out of their context, or which are picked up here and there in his writings; and *secondly,* that according to the Swedenborgian system *the Lord has both borne,* and *is removing* the sins of men.

"Nevertheless, I do not go security for the whole of the above-named system, nor for my accuracy in understanding it; wherefore I do not venture in so hasty a manner to enter into a criticism of the so-called 'Swedenborgianism;' especially as neither I nor my colleagues are under any order from those high in authority to examine it. Still I am examining it without any exhortation, as time and opportunity permit me, and as long as I enjoy the advantage of having in my hands the Assessor's *Arcana,* which the Right Reverend Bishop has lent to me...*

"With respect to the resolutions which were brought before the Consistory at its last meeting, it does seem just,

* Compare Document 227.

*first*, that the clergy should be informed what judgment has been passed on the writings of Swedenborg by the learned, whether this judgment be favourable or unfavourable; *secondly*, that the Bishop be requested to have the whole matter investigated in a legal manner, through the action of the venerable House of the Clergy; and *thirdly*, that Dean Kollinius should be requested to name the leading persons who in this place are promoting Swedenborgian views. I observe, however, that my vote in this matter is superfluous, as the Consistory have already executed the resolutions passed at their last meeting."

[Rosén.]

Meanwhile Swedenborg himself who was staying at the time in Amsterdam, had been informed by Dr. Beyer through a friend of the attempt which was being made by Dr. Ekebom[179] to cast odium on his writings and to deter others from reading them. He hastened to defend himself in a letter addressed to the Consistory, which was enclosed in the following letter to Dr. Beyer:

## E.

*ELEVENTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.*[224]*

"In a letter addressed to me by the highly esteemed Mr. Peter Hammarberg,[194] I received a copy of the opinion expressed by Dr. Olof Ekebom,[179] Dean of Gottenburg, on the subject of the writings which have been published by me. Enclosed you find my reply, which you will please to hand in to the venerable Consistory, after having first taken a copy of the letter for yourself, and another for the Bishop,[178] which you will please forward to him, so that my reply may not be suppressed in the Consistory. Should the Dean not be willing to withdraw and utterly repudiate his opinion, I insist

* The Swedish original of this letter, from which the above translation has been made, is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was printed as part of Letter VI in the "Samlingar för Philantroper" for 1788. An English translation of it was published in the Supplement to the enlarged English edition of the "Swedenborg Documents" (p. 4).

that both the Dean's opinion and my reply be printed, as is the case with the opinions expressed by the Council, the Courts of Appeal, and the various Departments, so that I may institute a criminal process. Next week I intend to set out for Paris; in case anything of importance take place in this matter, I may be informed of it by a letter addressed to me in Paris, Care of the Ambassador, Count Gust. Phil. Creutz.[193] Desiring to be remembered kindly to my friends and patrons in Gottenburg, I remain, most reverend and most learned Doctor and Lector,

"Your most obedient servant and faithful friend,

"EM. SWEDENBORG.

"Amsterdam, April 15, 1769."

## F.

*EMANUEL SWEDENBORG'S REPLY TO THE OPINION EXPRESSED BY DR. OLOF EKEBOM,*[194] *DEAN OF GOTTENBURG, BEFORE THE CONSISTORY, ON MARCH 22, 1769.**

Read before the Consistory on April 26, 1769.

"I have received the opinion expressed by the Dean of Gottenburg before the Consistory on the subject of the Doctrine of the New Church, which has been published to the world by our Saviour Jesus Christ, through me His servant, in the 'Doctrine of the New Jerusalem,' and in the 'Apocalypse Revealed;' and as I find that the Dean's opinion is full of reproaches, and also here and there contains untruths, I deem it too prolix to answer each of them separately, especially as I perceive that they are written by a person who does not seem to have a bridle for his tongue, nor eyes in his forehead, to see those things which are written in these works in conformity with God's Word and an enlightened understanding; such persons are described by the Lord Himself in

* The Swedish original of this Document from which the above translation has been made, was first printed in the "Handlingar," &c., of 1769 (pp. 25 to 28). Afterwards it was reprinted as part of Letter VI of the "Samlingar för Philantroper" for 1788. The first English translation appeared in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1812, from which it was embodied in the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents."

Matt. xiii, 13 to 15. I shall take from the Doctor's opinion only these words, that the doctrine is 'in the highest degree heretical and in most of its parts Socinian.'

"The doctrine cannot be called heretical, since it acknowledges and affirms: *first,* the Divine Trinity (see 'Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the Lord,' no. 55 and the following numbers, also 'Apocalypse Revealed,' nos. 961, 962); *secondly,* the Sanctity of the Holy Scripture, especially its literal sense (see 'Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture,' no. 27 *et seq.*, no. 37 *et seq.*, no. 50 *et seq.*, and 'Apocalypse Revealed' nos. 200, 898, 911); *thirdly,* a Christian Life (see 'Doctrine of Life for the New Jerusalem from the precepts of the Decalogue,' from beginning to end); *fourthly,* the connection between Faith and Charity (see 'Apocalypse Revealed,' in many places); *fifthly,* that Faith in God must be based upon our Saviour, according to His own words in John iii, 15, 16; vi, 40; xi, 25, 26; and xx, last verse; but especially John iii, 35, 36, and Col. ii, 9. Likewise, in accordance with the Formula Concordiæ, where we read that in Jesus Christ, God is Man, and Man God, pp. 607, 762, 763, 765, 840 *et seq.*; that His Human Essence has been exalted into Divine Majesty and power, pp. 337 *et seq.*, 607, 608 *et seq.*, 774, 834 *et seq.*, 844, 847, 852, 861, 863, 869; that Jesus Christ has all power in heaven and on earth, pp. 775, 776, 780, 833; that also as to His Human Essence He governs all things by His most immediate presence, pp. 337, 375, 600, 608, 611, 738, 768, 783, 784, 785, 786, Appendix, pp. 149, 150; besides many other things (see edition of Leipzig, 1765).

"On the strength of all these passages, and of what the Lord Himself teaches in John xiv, 6 to 11, according to the doctrine of the New Church, Faith in God is based on the Saviour Himself. From this alone it may be seen with how little show of reason and lack of pertinence this doctrine has been attacked with abusive language, and further, that no one of sound understanding can say that it is 'full of the most intolerable fundamental errors,' that it is 'corrupting, heretical, injurious, and in the highest degree objectionable.' Such abusive language is used, although the Dean in his Opinion (§ 2) admits his not having read my writings, in these words:

'I am not acquainted with the religious system of Assessor Swedenborg, nor shall I take any trouble in order to become acquainted with it. I am told that this knowledge may be chiefly acquired by studying his published writings on the "New Jerusalem," on "Charity and faith," on "The Lord," &c., not one of which works I have possessed, read, or seen.' Is not seeing and judging of any one's writings in this manner like being blind before and having eyes behind, and these even covered with a film? And can any one competent to judge in spiritual or temporal matters regard an outburst of feeling expressed in such language otherwise than as criminal? The 'Doctrine [of the New Jerusalem],' mentioned by the Dean, is in Gottenburg, and might have been consulted by him, if he had chosen to do so. The Dean likewise abuses the spiritual sense of the Word, which our Saviour suffers to be revealed at the present day; as if that sense prevented the Sacred Scripture 'from being any longer the fundamental ground of the knowledge of Faith, Religion, and Revealed Theology,' when yet in the 'Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the Sacred Scripture' the following points are proved and demonstrated: I. That the literal sense of the Word is the basis, continent, and firmament of its spiritual sense, nos. 27 to 36; II. That in the literal sense of the Word Divine Truth is in its fulness, its sanctity, and its power, nos. 37 to 49; III. That the doctrine of the church must be drawn from the literal sense of the Word, and be confirmed thereby, nos. 50 to 61; IV. That by the literal sense of the Word there is conjunction with the Lord, and consociation with the angels, nos. 62 to 68, besides several other things. Concerning the spiritual sense, and its inestimable benefits, see nos. 5 to 26, and also the 'Apocalypse Revealed,' nos. 200, 898, 911, as well as in a thousand other places.

With respect to the second point where the doctrine is called *Socinian*, it is a cursed blasphemy and lie: for Socinianism signifies a denial of the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; when yet His Divinity is principally affirmed in the Doctrine of the New Church, and it is proved therein that the Saviour has completely atoned for and redeemed mankind, so that no one could have been saved without His Coming (see 'Apocalypse

Revealed,' no. 67, and several other places); wherefore, I look upon the word 'Socinian' as a downright insult, and a diabolical mockery.

"This, together with the rest that is contained in the Dean's Opinion, may be taken for what is meant by 'the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth after the woman to drown her, when she was yet in the wilderness' (Rev. xii, 15); and it may come to pass that what is mentioned immediately afterwards, may likewise take place, 'And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ' (verse 17). That the New Jerusalem signifies the New Church, which is to be the Bride and Wife of the Lamb, may be seen in the 'Apocalypse Revealed,' nos. 880, 881; and that this church will undoubtedly come, because the Lord Himself has predicted it, you may see in the Revelation xxi and xxii; also in Zechariah xiv, 7 to 9; and in the last chapter of the Revelation in these words: 'I Jesus have sent mine angel, to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and race of David, the bright and morning star. And the spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him who heareth say, Come. And let him who is willing, receive the water of life gratis' (Rev. xxii, 16, 17).

"EM. SWEDENBORG.

"Amsterdam, April 25, 1769.

"P. S. I request that this letter be laid before the venerable Consistory. Likewise, that a copy of it be sent to the Right Reverend Bishop."[178]

On May 3, 1769, Dr. Beyer submitted to the Consistory the following letter from Emanuel Swedenborg, containing an additional reply to Dr. Ekebom:

## G.

*TWELFTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.*[178]*

"Reverend Doctor,

"Before departing for Paris next week I desire to make the following addition to the reply I made to Dr. Ekebom's Opinion. It is stated there that I have written: *First*, 'that the Sacred Scripture has been hitherto badly and perversely explained' (Apocalypse Revealed, p. 21, no. 1); this is a pure falsehood, for in the place quoted no expression like this occurs. *Secondly*, 'that no satisfaction is given for the sins of the world,' which is likewise a pure falsehood. *Thirdly*, 'that justification by faith alone is abused.' This is true, since faith alone is faith separate from charity or good works; and faith separated from charity has been rejected by the Court of Appeals in Stockholm; and also afterwards by the University of Upsal, and probably also by the Universities of Lund and Åbo. Dr. Ekebom,[179] it seems, does not yet know that good works which follow faith freely and spontaneously, and are called fruits of faith, works of the spirit, and works of grace, and which are done in a state of justification, according to the *Formula Concordiæ* itself have no connection with faith, and therefore do not contribute anything to salvation; nay it is stated that it would be injurious should they connect and mix themselves with faith; and that which has no connection is in itself separate. Among the quotations from the *Formula Concordiæ* concerning the Divinity of Christ which I sent in my last reply, some are erroneously given, viz. 337, 375 which ought to be 737, 775. On the same subject I add here a clearer and more comprehensive collection of extracts from the *Formula Concordiæ* (see the Leipzig edition of 1765),

* The Swedish original, from which the above translation has been made was printed first in the "Handlingar," &c. of 1769 (pp. 28 to 31). It was afterwards reprinted as Letter VII in the "Samlingar för Philantroper" for 1788. The first English translation was published in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1812, in conjunction with Document 245, F, and thence was transferred to the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents."

which is as follows: That in Christ God is Man and Man God, pp. 607, 765. That Christ, true God and Man, is in one indivisible Person, and abides to eternity, pp. 600, 762, 763, 840 *et seq.* That Christ, as to the Human Nature, has been raised to the omnipotent power of God; forasmuch as He was such a man, that the Human Nature had so close and so ineffable a union and communion with the Son of God, as to become One Person, p. 607. That Christ's Human Nature has been exalted to Divine Majesty and Power, is known from the Council of Ephesus, and Chalcedon; next from the Fathers, as Athanasius, Augustine, Chrysostom, Eusebius, Cyril, Eustachius, Gregory, Epiphanius, Theodoret, Basil the Great, Theophylact, Hilary, Origen, Nicephorus, Nyssenius, Vigilius Leo, pp. 840 to 878. It is also confirmed from the Word in many places, pp. 608, 844, 847, 852, 861, 863, 869. That Christ's Human Nature has received the most excellent, the greatest, and supernatural properties, and the celestial prerogatives of majesty, strength, and power, p. 774. Moreover, the spirit of all wisdom, pp. 781, 782. That Christ operates in, with, and through, both natures, and through the human, as by the organ of Deity, pp. 773, 779, 847. That this takes place by the hypostatic union, glorification, and exaltation, pp. 774, 779. That in the state of humiliation He emptied Himself, and did not put forth and manifest that majesty always, but when it seemed good to Him, until He put off the form of a servant after the resurrection, and entered into the very Divine Glory and Majesty, pp. 608, 764, 767. That by virtue of the hypostatic union He wrought miracles even in the state of exinanition, pp. 167, 767. That Christ is our Redeemer, Mediator, Head, High Priest, and King, as to both natures, p. 773. That Christ was essentially exalted to the right hand of God, according to His Human Nature, p. 608. That He is at the right hand of God, that He has risen above all the heavens, and actually fills all things, and rules everywhere, not only as God, but also as man, as the prophets have prophesied concerning Him, into the possession of which power He actually came according to the Human Nature, p. 768. That the right hand of God is everywhere, and that Christ according to His Humanity governs all things by His

presence, and holds all things under His feet, p. 600. That through the unity of the person were given to Christ, as to the Human Nature, Majesty, Glory, Omnipotence, and Omniscience, with the most inward dominion of all things, pp. 737 *et seq.*, 608 *et seq.*, 834 *et seq.*, Appendix, pp. 147, 148. That Christ, by personal union and exaltation according to the flesh, being seated at the right hand of God, received all power in heaven and on earth, p. 833. That Christ, even according to the Human Nature, has all power in the heavens and the earth, pp. 775, 779, and is confirmed by passages from the Scriptures, pp. 775, 776, 780. That Christ according to the Human Nature is omnipotent, pp. 3, 10, 611, 768, 783, 785, Appendix, p. 150. That the regal office of Christ is this, that as God-Man, in both natures, as King and Lord of heaven and earth, He might govern, by His inmost presence, all things in the kingdom of power, grace, and glory, pp. 787, 876, Appendix, p. 149. That the flesh of Christ is vivifying, and that Christ possesses the power of vivifying according to the Human Nature, pp. 776, 777, 783, Appendix, p. 152. That Christ, according to both natures, is to be adored and worshipped, agreeably to the Augsburg Confession, p. 226, Appendix, p. 151. That Christ overcame the devil, hell, and damnation, p. 767, and in addition, pp. 613, 614, 788, Appendix, p. 150.

"Should double the number of quotations from the *Formula Concordiæ* be required concerning the Person of Christ, as well as concerning Justification by Faith alone, they shall be produced another time.

"EM. SWEDENBORG.

"Amsterdam, April 22, 1769.

"P. S. Will you kindly communicate to the venerable Consistory either this original letter, or a copy thereof; it would be well that the Right Reverend Bishop should also receive a copy."

The author of "Nya Kyrkan," &c., says with regard to Swedenborg's reply to Dr. Ekebom (p. 21): "To a document like that of Dr. Ekebom, which lacked all scientific and diplomatic tact, no milder reply than that made by Swedenborg could be expected.... The Dean of Gottenburg made no

attempt to rebut Swedenborg's arguments, but contented himself with reproaching Dr. Beyer in the Consistory for acting as Swedenborg's messenger; he gave him also to understand that 'perhaps, before he was aware, he himself might be brought up on account of his Sermon-Essays.'"

The author of "Nya Kyrkan," &c., continues on the same page, "The old *odium theologicum,* so well known in ecclesiastical history, now took possession of the members of the Consistory of Gottenburg; and those of one party it filled with an extravagant zeal for orthodoxy, and those of the other with as great an anxiety on account of their faith. To the latter party belonged Beyer and Rosén,[45] against whom the persecution was directed, and most frequently they were joined by Roempke.[187] The other party was headed by Dean Ekebom,[179] who in most cases was supported by the Bishop[178] and the other members of the Consistory. The proceedings of the case were seen through the press by an Assessor, of the name of Aurell,[191] under the title, 'Minutes respecting Swedenborgianism and the so-called Sermon-Essays.' These Minutes begin with March 22, 1769, and were closed on February 7, 1770, during the whole of which time the Swedenborgian controversy continued without interruption; for as soon as one question was settled another was quickly raised. When Dean Kollinius refused to give the names of the 'leading men in the place who were thought to favour Swedenborg's theological principles,' saying in a discreet and noble manner that 'his object in sending in his memorial had been to obtain enlightenment, and not to bring any one into ill repute,' Aurell[191] directed his accusation against Beyer's Sermon-Essays, or his Collection of Sermons; and when this accusation also miscarried, since Roempke[187] with the consent of the Consistory had granted permission that it should be printed, Aurell procured from some of the students of the gymnasium the notes which they had taken of Beyer's lectures, and he requested permission to have them printed under the name of *'dictata,'* so that the public generally might convince themselves of their heterodoxy. Permission having been refused, 'since Beyer's *dictata* had been penned by inexperienced students who had neither sufficient intelligence fully to understand their teacher's meaning during the lesson, nor learning enough to

express it intelligibly and satisfactorily,' Aurell sent a copy of these 'dictata' privately to Bishop Filenius,[9] who was at the time the Speaker of the House of the Clergy, and, although related to Swedenborg, one of his bitterest antagonists. They did not even scruple to summon the students of the gymnasium before the Consistory, in order that they might bear witness against their teacher; in short Aurell and Ekebom left no means untried by which they hoped to calumniate a system of religion which they did not understand, and to cast odium upon such as favoured it, accusing them of a desire to proselytize among the students of the gymnasium, and among the public at large."

Meanwhile Bishop Lamberg[178] had gone to Stockholm, where Swedenborg had likewise arrived. From that place Swedenborg wrote the following letter dated October 13, 1769, to Dr. Beyer which proved another apple of discord. For Dr. Beyer having received the writer's permission, had it printed and circulated among his friends in Gottenburg. The following translation is made from the original letter, which contains some passages that were left out in the printed copy:

## H.

*THIRTEENTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.*[22]*

"Reverend Doctor and Dear Friend,

"Your letter of the 18th inst. came duly to hand, and in reply it may not be unpleasant to you to hear a short account of what occurred to me upon my arrival here.

* The Swedish original of this letter, from which the above translation has been made, is preserved among the Swedenborg MSS. in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm, together with Swedenborg's original draught of the same. In the form in which it was printed at Gottenburg, it appeared as Letter IX in the "Samlingar för Philantroper." The first English translation appeared in 1784 in the Appendix to the second edition of Swedenborg's work, "The Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," (p. 38); the same translation in an improved form was printed in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790 (p. 38), whence it found its way into the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents" as Letter VI.

I arrived here in Stockholm at the beginning of the month, and found high as well as low pleased that I had come, and favourably disposed towards me. I was soon invited to dine with His Royal Highness, the Crown-Prince,[12] and had a long conversation both with him and the Crown-Princess. Afterwards I dined with some of the senators, and conversed with the leading members of the House of the Clergy; likewise with the bishops who are here present, all of whom treated me with kindness, except Bishop Filenius.[9] On being informed that my copies of the work on 'Conjugial Love' had been confiscated at Norrköping, I inquired of Bishop [M]ennander[180] of Åbo, Bishop Benzelstjerna[10] of Westerås, Bishop Lütkeman[192] of Gothland, and Bishop Lamberg,[178] how the matter stood. They all answered that they knew nothing on the subject, except that the books were lying in store until my arrival, so that they might not be scattered; also that Bishop Filenius[9] had made an announcement to that effect in the House; that the House itself had not discussed the matter, and still less had given its consent to have them confiscated; no notice to that effect therefore had been entered in the Minutes, so that the Reverend House of the Clergy had no share in the matter, but only Bishop Filenius. I had some dispute with the latter on the subject, who insists that they be not delivered without an examination, and is unwilling to agree that the examination of this book, which does not treat of theology but chiefly of morals, is unnecessary, and that such a procedure is paving the way for a 'dark age' (*sæculum obscurum*) in Sweden. [This ill-will of Bishop Filenius is due to domestic affairs and to party-spirit, and is representative of the persecution by the dragon and the stinging of the locusts in the Revelation: such causes at least have suggested themselves to me, but I shall leave their determination to another time and opportunity.*]

"The procedure of Bishop Filenius, however, does not affect me, since I have brought with me thirty-eight copies, and had previously sent in five; more than half of these are already distributed to the Bishops, the members of the House of the Clergy, the Senators, and Their Majesties, the King

* This has been omitted in the printed copy.

and Queen;[77] and after the rest are distributed, there will be more than enough in Stockholm. Those that are detained at Norrköping will be sent abroad, where there is a great demand for them.

"I send you herewith a little tract which I published in London on 'The Intercourse between the Soul and the Body.' It has been sent to the various scientific societies and to the universities in England and France. You will please to read the very last lines in it. This tract is now probably translated into English.*

"The small treatise entitled 'A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church,' I have sent only to Bishop Benzelstjerna,[10] with strict injunctions not to lend it to any one: for there are few in Sweden who penetrate with their understandings into any matter belonging to theology, and unless they do so, they cannot receive any enlightenment from God's Word. For instance, they cannot understand that in Romans iii, 28, and Gal. ii, 16, an imputative faith in the merit of Christ is not meant, but the faith of Jesus, which is a faith from Jesus in Jesus; and, likewise, that the works of the law of the decalogue are not there meant, but the works of the Mosaic law, which were simply for the Jews; and, further, that in Romans iv is understood the imputation of the faith of the present church; nor are they willing to be enlightened in such texts of the Scriptures as concern God's Son, that by the Son of God is not understood a Son of God from eternity, but a Son of God conceived in time from Jehovah God, and born of the virgin Mary, according to the distinct words of Luke i, 32, 35; Matt. iii, 17; xvii, 5; John xx, 31; 1 John v, 20, 21, and other places. This is likewise agreeable to the Apostles' Creed, where no other Son of God is mentioned, whence it follows that the primitive church knew of no other. A Son of God from eternity was adopted in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, because they could find no other way by which to refute and expel the errors of Arius, (compare the Apostles' Creed). I therefore adhere to the Apostolic church.

* The first English translation of this work was prepared by the Rev. T. Hartley and printed in 1770.

"To worship God the Saviour cannot be prohibited throughout Christendom, and still less among the Lutherans (see the Augsburg Confession, p. 19, and also the 'Apology,' p. 226); nor can it be denied that in Christ Man is God and God is Man, with many other things which I mentioned in a former letter. The *Formula Concordiæ* explains also a divine trinity in those who are re-born by faith (p. 695, Apology, p. 130); how much more then is a Divine Trinity in God the Saviour, &c. &c. (Col. ii, 9). All this, however, and much more, will be demonstrated in a work which will be published two years hence.* The 'Brief Exposition' is a forerunner of it, and is to prepare the way for its reception. This little preliminary treatise has been spread throughout the whole of Christendom, Sweden excepted, because theology is now in its wintry state, and here in the north the night lasts longer than in southern parts; wherefore they in their darkness may be supposed to kick against everything of the New Church which belongs to the understanding or to reason. Still there are those in the ecclesiastical order who are exceptions to this rule; I apply also to myself what the Lord has said to His disciples in Matt. x, 16.

"What you relate respecting your wife in her dying hours, was caused especially by the impression of two clergymen, who associated her in her thoughts with those spirits, from whom she then spoke; it happens sometimes with some in the hour of death that they are in the state of the spirit. Those spirits that first spoke through her belonged to the followers of the dragon, which was cast down from heaven (see Rev. xii), and who became then so filled with hatred against the Saviour, and consequently against God's Word, and against everything belonging to the New Church, that they cannot bear to hear Christ mentioned. When the sphere of our Lord descends upon them out of heaven, they become like raving maniacs, and seek to hide themselves in holes and caverns, and thus save themselves, according to Rev. vi, 16. Your deceased wife was yesterday with me, and informed me of many things

* Swedenborg refers here to the "True Christian Religion," which was published in Amsterdam in 1771.

which she had thought, and spoken to you, her husband, and with those who led her astray. Were I at this time near you, I might relate to you many things on this subject, but I am not permitted to write about them.

"I have no time at present to express myself about the boy concerning whom you write.*

"With my kindest regards to you and to my friends, and especially to the Councilmen Wenngren[195] and Hammarberg,[194] I remain in all friendship and sincerity, reverend Doctor.

"Your most obedient servant,

"EMAN. SWEDENBORG.

"Stockholm, October 30, 1769.

"P. S. You may show this letter to others, and if you choose you may have it copied and printed. Two honourable friends in London† have invited me to England, and I am considering whether I shall go thither next spring.

"I have been informed that a letter has been printed in Gottenburg, in which it is stated that in Paris I was ordered to leave that city. This is a direct falsehood, as can be proved by Count Creutz,[193] our Ambassador in Paris."

On the effect which the printing of this letter produced in Gottenburg, the author of "Nya Kyrkan," &c. (p. 24) expresses himself as follows; "This letter, which was published separately, serves to show that even in the matter of exegesis Swedenborg was in advance of his age. But being printed in Gottenburg at a time when generally throughout Sweden they had not the faintest idea of the possibility of any other interpretation of the Bible than that supplied by the Reformers, it could not but pour oil upon the flames of controversy which raged for a long time both in the Consistory and in the Diocese. Speaking of the necessity of admitting the use of the understanding in matters of theology, and of the long winter of theology in the north; declaring that Romans iii, 28, treats simply of the faith of Jesus, and not of the imputative faith of the merit

* Concerning this boy, see Document 243.

† The Rev. Thomas Hartley[1] and Dr. Messiter,[2] see Document 1, Vol. I (p. 5).

of Christ; and desiring to enlighten the clergy in passages from the Word concerning the Son of God—all this opened old wounds and caused new sores."

The printing of Swedenborg's letter, however, created a stir, not only in Gottenburg but also in the Diet in Stockholm, as appears from the following letter, which was addressed by Bishop Lamberg[178] to the Consistory on December 4:

## I.

*BISHOP LAMBERG[178] TO THE CONSISTORY OF GOTTENBURG.**

"Yesterday afternoon I brought the [Swedenborgian] matter before the Ecclesiastical Committee, who had already held three sessions on the subject, and who will soon be prepared to bring it for discussion before the whole House. This much I can already state, that in future it will not be advisable for any one who fills the public office of a teacher to defend this doctrine, or to spread it among others. We demand, and justly, that no one shall be invested with the office of teacher, whether in the school or in the church, who has taken an oath on the Symbolic [dogmatic] Books, and yet prefers the writings of Swedenborg, although they militate against the principal points in these books.

"The scandal made by the letter which I mentioned in my last, and which was printed in Gottenburg, is indescribable. If any one has not read his writings, he may yet judge from this letter alone what the intention of this man is in respect to our precious doctrine of salvation. Socinianism† manifests itself there so clearly, that no one except the merest idiot in polemics can dare to deny it. What scandal this infamous *(ohyggeligt)* letter must also have caused among the honourable clergy of the diocese, who are so zealous to preserve purity of doctrine, upon discovering that this letter was printed in Gottenburg, in the centre of the diocese, and in that place where the Bishop and the Consistory have their seat. I cannot

* The first letter of the Bishop is printed in the "Handlingar," &c., p. 127; the second on p. 107.

† See what Swedenborg himself says on the charge of his being a Socinian in his reply to Dr. Ekebom (Document 245, F. p. 299).

express in sufficiently strong language the great sorrow I feel in this matter, and I urge upon you, as I have already done in my last letter, to send me as speedily as possible a reply to the questions I have propounded, so that those measures may be adopted which I counsel for checking in future the arbitrary spirit in our clergy."

The position which the Bishop of Gottenburg was determined to take, in respect to the doctrine promulgated by Swedenborg, appears still more clearly from the following extract from a letter which he addressed to a friend in Gottenburg, on November 16, and which was inserted in the Minutes of the Consistory of December 5:

...."I intend in future to keep the strictest guard, lest this cancer should spread. I have proposed to myself even to read all the writings of this singular man, in order to expose before the eyes of the diocesan clergy, by a pastoral letter or some other means, this doctrinal system, which is sufficiently tinged with Mohammedanism. I have long since regarded everything belonging thereto as so absurd, that no rational man, if he make but the least claim to education, can be beguiled by it. But when people get tired of God's Word, which is true and able to teach, then it seems that the Lord of the Word suffers them to be carried away by the most arrant nonsense".....

The person who had to suffer most for the printing of Swedenborg's letter was Dr. Beyer,[22] who, in his capacity of Dean *(Decan)* of the Consistory, had given his official consent to its being printed. Against him, therefore, were chiefly directed the attacks of Dr. Ekebom[179] and of his co-adjutor, Assessor Aurell;[191] and after the case of the Gottenburg Consistory against Swedenborg and Dr. Beyer had been brought by Bishop Lamberg[178] before the House of the Clergy, those two men sought by every means to stimulate the zeal and inflame the animosity of the leading men of that House. Assessor Aurell accordingly sent an inflammatory letter, dated December 9, to Bishop Filenius,[9] the Speaker of the House of the Clergy, in which he used the following language:

## J.

*ASSESSOR AURELL*[191] *TO BISHOP FILENIUS.*[*]

...“I entreat you to take the most energetic measures to stifle, punish, and utterly eradicate the Swedenborgian innovation and downright heresies, by which we are encompassed. Convinced, by the decided stand you have taken, that you have, as the foremost defender of our religion, both the power and the means in your hands of preserving God's honour, and having His power and will declared among men in a genuine and uncontaminated form, all those whose minds are still free from nonsense, and who are unaffected and undisturbed in their senses, place, like myself, their hope and consolation in you, and trust that you will take proper measures, so that the boar which devastates and the wild beast which desolates our country may be driven out with a mighty hand, and that that which God's hand has planted and confirmed may be established among us.”

The author of “Nya Kyrkan,” &c., remarks here: “By such language and by such means Aurell[191] sought to get the better of his adversaries. During the most illustrious times of Vaticanism, Rome's ‘defender’ had a Torquemada or some other Great Inquisitor to express such sentiments in the most beautiful language, and to execute his will. ‘God's honour, His power and will’ were then synonymous with the only saving Roman Catholic church, and all those who sought to reform its abuses and purify its doctrines were ‘driven out like wild beasts’ or burned at the stake. But such has never been the mode of proceeding in protestant Sweden, at least not in the eighteenth century. Ecclesiastical tradition among us had frequently to give way to Biblical truth, and an arbitrary will to argument. Nevertheless, Aurell's letter was received approvingly by the Speaker of the House of the Clergy, whose reply, which is dated December 28, is as follows:”

* See “Handlingar,” &c., p. 162.

## K.

*BISHOP FILENIUS' TO ASSESSOR AURELL.*[121]*

"I have the honour to offer you my best thanks for the two letters you had the kindness to address to me. The first, which was dated December 9, inclosed twelve sheets of the Minutes of the Most Venerable Consistory of Gottenburg concerning the circulation in the diocese of Gottenburg of the gross errors, which the well-born Assessor Emanuel Swedenborg has published in respect to our pure doctrine of salvation; likewise an infamous *(ohyggeligt)* letter of the above-named Assessor, dated October 30, which had been printed at Gottenburg, together with 'A Short Synopsis of some of his printed works,'** all of which unfortunately bear witness of his delusions and confused ideas in respect to most of the eternal fundamental truths of our Evangelical Christian faith; and also two copies of crude *dictata* composed in the Swedenborgian mode of thought and intended for the youth in the Royal gymnasium of your town. Your second letter, which has likewise reached me, was dated the 20th of this month; in this letter were enclosed sheets 13 and 14 of the printed Minutes mentioned above, together with a sad account of how this abominable infection, which is not grounded in sound reason, and still less in God's Holy Word, but consists of untruthful visions and dreams, by various means is beginning to spread like a cancer.

"Since the copies of Assessor Swedenborg's so-called 'Delights of Wisdom concerning Conjugial Love,' which arrived from Amsterdam on May 1 for the opening of the Diet in Norrköping, were at my request detained in the custom-house of that town, nothing more has been heard in Stockholm, either before or since, concerning the singular

* See "Handlingar," &c., pp. 130 to 133.

** Aurell seems to have printed a collection of passages from Swedenborg's published writings, to which Dr. Beyer refers in his 'Defence' (Document 245, P) under the title of *Excerpta.*

movements and sports of the delirious fantasy of the Assessor 'from things heard and seen,' except that soon after his arrival a petition was handed in to the House of the Clergy, requesting the release of the confiscated books. How very much, therefore, was I surprised when in the middle of October I learned for the first time what had happened in Gottenburg, through reading by mere chance eight sheets of the printed Minutes of the venerable Consistory, by which also the members of the House of the Clergy were amazed, when they saw how far the hallucinations of a human mind, disturbed by imaginary visions and fables, could go in their madness, when complete licence is given them to spread themselves, so that they impose even upon discreet people, who are unwilling to have their darkness enlightened by the good and pure revealed Word of a saving God, and who do not allow God's Spirit, which is always connected with the Word, to exert the vivifying force of the Word in their hearts. The House of the Clergy could not help being amazed also at the rashness of the printer Smitt, in daring to print the above-mentioned rude letter of the Assessor, dated October 30, which first came to my own knowledge and to that of the House in November.

"You, as well as Dean Ekebom[179] and the worthy Deans Aurelius and Kollinius, who, in these troubled times of our Zion, have displayed so much cautious attention and zeal in what concerns God's honour, will please rest assured, that throughout this confused affair all the Christian, delicate, cautious, and severe measures will be taken which the exigencies of the case require, so as to save from eternal damnation those souls which Jesus, the only begotten Son of God from eternity, has redeemed by His blood and His death.

"It is a matter of the deepest regret that Assessor Swedenborg, who has at all times been universally honoured, and who besides has been distinguished for his learning in the sciences of mining and physics, should now, at his advanced age, have been for several years in a state of second childhood, and so much possessed by a perverted imagination, as to be no longer able to bear contradiction or receive enlightenment. It is very grievous indeed, and to be lamented with tears,

that there should be men among us who 'went out from us, but have not been of us' (1 John ii, 19), and who suffer themselves to be deceived by all the puffs of a foolish learning, and for this reason have rendered themselves amenable to the severe judgment of God, 'because they received not the love of truth, that they might be saved; and for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie' (2 Thess. ii, 10, 11).

"May God for Christ's sake take pity on the flock of His heritage and on the vineyard which His right hand has planted, and not suffer it to become the prey of fools; but may He humiliate all haughty spirits, and those who with inflated arrogance try, by dazzling others with something new, however false and foolish it may be, to seduce their souls, and to falsify our true doctrine of God, by using all their power to undermine the foundations of our most holy faith, to defile our faith in Jesus Christ, our crucified Saviour, our only hope of salvation, and the immovable foundation and corner-stone of our faith; and who dare to set up in its place the most infamous and untruthful nonsense, until with a will-o'-the wisp, they extinguish the feeble light of reason in God's people, and lull to sleep the heart, which is deceitful above all things, in a licentious and carnal security, which is of nature and without grace in Christ.

"The whole of this infamous matter has, in accordance with the laws of the country, been entrusted, with entire confidence, to the highly enlightened and wise care of the judicial power, having been consigned to the hands of Mr. von Rosir,[196] the high, well-born Chancellor of Justice, and Knight of His Majesty's Order of the Polar Star, to whose solid learning and zeal for God's honour, for the sanctity of the law and the impartial administration of justice, His Royal Majesty, our Most gracious King, by the unanimous recommendation of the Houses of the Diet, has lately confided the trust of this high office. All the papers which have been received respecting this delicate matter have already been most respectfully submitted to his discreet, profound, and sympathetic consideration. With the sincerest wish for all grace and felicity in the New Year which will soon begin, and

ever afterwards, I remain, though personally unknown to you, with much respect and friendship

"Your most obedient servant,
"Petrus Filenius.

"Stockholm, December 28, 1769."

At the time Bishop Filenius sent the preceding letter to Assessor Aurell, Swedenborg wrote the following letter to his friend, Dr. Beyer:

## L.

*FOURTEENTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.*[224]

"Reverend Doctor and Dear friend,

"Your letter, which was written on the 2nd of December, I have received only to-day, through neglect of the letter-carriers who have kept it thus long in their hands. Your last letter also, containing 30 dalers in silver, was duly received, for which please accept my best thanks. I have likewise received the printed letter, about which there was at first a great ado in the House of the Clergy. Such a noise, however, does no harm; for its effect is like that of fermentation in the preparation of wine, by which it is cleared of impurities; for unless what is wrong is ventilated, and thus expelled, what is right cannot be seen and adopted.

"I have indeed heard about the doings in the Ecclesiastical Committee of the venerable House of the Clergy, yet have not taken a single step in defence of the case; for I know that our Saviour Himself defends His Church, especially against those who refuse to enter through the true door into the sheepfold, that is, into the church, and thus into heaven; such

* The original of this Document, from which the above translation has been made, together with Swedenborg's first draught of the same, is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was printed as Letter XI in the "Samlingar för Philantroper" for 1788. The first English translation was published in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790, and this translation was embodied in the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents."

are called thieves and robbers. The Lord Himself says, 'He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber; I am the door, by me if any one enter, he shall be saved, and shall find pasture' (John x, 1, 9). I have also been told by an angel from the Lord that 'I may rest securely on my arms in the night,' by which is meant the night in which the world is now immersed in respect to the things of the church.

"I have also read the Appendix to the 'Spy,' no. 48, and in the last expressions perceive the author's interior meaning, which is not difficult to see.

"With respect to the two clergymen of whom your deceased wife spoke, she did not mention their names, for which reason neither can I mention them. It is well known that among the clergy also there are false spirits, not only in this country, but also throughout the world. After saying these words among other things, she departed among the spirits of the dragon who in the day of her death first spoke through her, and she is still with them.

"An extract from Dr. Ekebom,[179] in the proceedings of the Consistory on December 6, has likewise been communicated to me, where he continues his usual unbecoming invectives. I look upon these as mere barkings, against which I must not lift a stone, and cast it at him with a view of driving the dogs away.

"I am glad that you are translating into Swedish the little work on the 'Intercourse between the Soul and the Body.' It has been very well received abroad in all places, as well as by many intelligent persons here in Stockholm. I remain in all friendship and affection, Reverend Doctor,

"Your most obedient servant and friend,

"EMAN. SWEDENBORG

"Stockholm, December 29, 1769."

Meanwhile the Chancellor of Justice, Rosir,[196] to whom, as we have seen from Bishop Filenius' letter, (p. 315) had been referred the difference between the Consistory of Gottenburg on the one hand and Emanuel Swedenborg and Dr. Beyer on the other, after examining carefully the whole case, ex-

pressed himself in his memorial to the King, dated December 29, 1769, to this effect: On the one hand he said "It is sometimes more prudent to leave erroneous and absurd doctrinal views alone, since, as experience has shown, by such an examination they become better known, and more widely spread:" on the other hand he said, the duty of his office required him not to disregard a matter of so great importance for the whole country, as the Swedenborgian theology has proved to be, from being able for a longer time to produce so great a stir, as is shown by the printed Minutes. He, therefore, in the above memorial proposed those measures which were carried into effect by the following Royal Resolution, dated January 2, 1770.

## M.

*ROYAL RESOLUTION.**

"Adolphus Frederic, by the grace of God, &c.

"Our especial favour and gracious pleasure, under God Almighty, to the true men and subjects, the Bishop and members of the Consistory.

"Our Chancellor of Justice in a humble memorial has reported to us the stir which the theological writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, and the so-called Swedenborgianism which thence has taken its rise, have caused in the diocese which has graciously been entrusted to your charge. We deem it necessary to make known to you this same memorial, which is enclosed to you herewith together with the sealed acts belonging thereto. It is also our gracious will and order that as soon as possible you report to us in a humble memorial, not only how you have found the doctrinal views of the above-mentioned Swedenborg, and in case they be deemed erroneous, what measures have been taken to prevent them spreading, and likewise why at the very beginning you did not make a humble report to us on this subject; also how you regard the so-called 'Sermon-Essays,' which have been examined by yourselves in your censorial capacity, and whether you have found them in

* See "Handlingar," &c., p. 163.

all points agreeing with our pure evangelical doctrine, or how far you have discovered in them anything deviating therefrom; in the latter case you will also report to us whether the author of these essays is known to you, or can be discovered by you. It is also your duty to make a more thorough examination of the so-called *dictata,* and to inform us how all these are connected; also whether it cannot be traced out how far the students, in what is found there to be erroneous and objectionable, have received instruction from others. The proceedings of all your examinations have to be submitted to us. Besides, Lector Dr. Beyer[22] will have to give an account of himself individually in those matters that have been brought up against him. Further, as we deem it indispensable that a legal investigation be made in respect to the person who caused Swedenborg's letter of October 30, 1769, to be printed, a gracious order in connection therewith has just been forwarded to the Court of Appeals at Jönköping. In respect to the importance and delicate nature of this matter, it is likewise our desire to enjoin you to have a watchful eye upon all theological works announced for publication, so that, in accordance with the laws in respect to the liberty of the press, they be first examined by you, and, in case any book appear without permission, or be found to militate against our profession of faith, that the copies be at once confiscated, and the author subjected to a fine; further, that reviews or translations of Swedenborg's works, or of other similar writings, which contain anything conflicting with our pure doctrine, are not to be passed without your most careful examination; especially when not written in the Latin language, and when they contain any refutation, in the substance of the review, by which they may exert an injurious influence upon the more simple-minded people, who are not thoroughly grounded in learning. Again, although we entertain a gracious confidence in our faithful subjects the clergy, that they will not allow themselves to be led astray by any erroneous doctrines, but rather that with attention and zeal for our pure faith they will seek to administer their precious office, and when called upon will meet diligently and prudently the erroneous views that may be brought up against it, we, nevertheless, desire to impress

upon them the warning, that they should carefully watch over themselves and their hearers, and that, in case they find anything erroneous obtruding itself upon them, they immediately make a report to you on the subject. And, finally, we desire to impress upon the Bishop, and in case of his absence upon his substitute, that he regularly and frequently inform himself as to the manner in which theology is taught in private and in public, in the gymnasia and in schools.

"All of this those whom it concerns have to carry into effect. And we hereby commend you to the grace of God Almighty.

"ADOLPHUS FREDERIC.

"The Council-chamber, Stockholm, January 2, 1770.

"P. F. VON HEGARDT."

The King's letter caused several resolutions to be passed by the Consistory of Gottenburg. A circular letter was sent to the clergy of the Diocese, containing the requisite warnings and monitions; and although in the Royal instruction not a single word about the suppression of Swedenborgianism is contained, Dr. Ekebom, nevertheless, gave utterance to this idea; notwithstanding the objection of most of the members of the Consistory that nothing had as yet been proved, either in Stockholm or Gottenburg, which deserved the epithet of heretical and false or which showed that Swedenborgianism had been refuted.

Doctor Beyer now voluntarily furnished the information, that he had had a hand in the composition of the "New Essays towards a Collection of Sermons" *(Nya försöken till en Hand-Postilla),* and that they might be regarded as his work, provided exception be made of the evening sermons, which were furnished by the Lector and Magister Gothenius;[197] as was likewise admitted by that gentleman. Dr. Beyer also acknowledged the above-mentioned *Dictata* as his own, so far as their contents were concerned, provided the grammatical and orthographical mistakes, the improper punctuation, the broken connection, and other faults of rhetoric be not imputed to him.

About this time Swedenborg wrote the following letter to one of his friends in Gottenburg, Mr. Wenngren,[195] who was one of the town-councillors.

N.

*EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO COUNCILLOR WENNGREN.**

"Esteemed Friend,

"I received your letter containing the notes respecting the boy who can cure diseases. I cannot express myself at present on this subject, because here as well as in other parts of the country, the cause of religion is agitated by the subject of my inspiration, which would enter in some small measure into this matter also.†

"Within the last few days the venerable House of the Clergy has arrived at a conclusion in respect to that part of the action brought before them which concerns me alone. Whether Dr. Ekebom[179] is as much pleased with the result as he has hitherto been, may be best found out at Gottenburg. Clergymen, and others also, will perhaps by letter give a definite account of this result in the course of next week. Among his party there have been some grievous slanderers, whose utterances fell like fire-balls from the clouds and became extinguished. I remain

[Your most obedient servant,]
"EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

"Stockholm, January 18, 1770."

But to return to Doctors Beyer and Rosén. The author of "Nya Kyrkan" says (p. 28): "Before the Royal Resolution [No. M] arrived at Gottenburg, it was preceded by a rumour, that the public teacher who had promoted the circulation of Swedenborg's views, and who professed them, had been sentenced to be removed from office and exiled;" and this re-

* The Swedish original from which the above translation has been made was printed as Letter XII in the "Samlingar för Philantroper" for 1788. The first English translation, which was subsequently introduced into the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents," appeared on p. 220 of the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790.

† Further particulars concerning this boy may be seen in Document 243.

port had been favoured by Bishop Lamberg's letter of December 4, 1765 (No. I). Such, however, as we have seen, was by no means the case. But one of the results produced by the Royal Resolution was this: not only Dr. Beyer, but also Dr. Rosén, in conjunction with Dr. Ekebom, in letters addressed to the King, expressed their views respecting the theological writings of Swedenborg, while Dr. Beyer had, besides, to defend himself from the charges which had been brought against him personally.

The author of "Nya Kyrkan" continues, "With a result before their eyes such as was indicated by common rumour and in the letter of Bishop Lamberg, it was by no means surprising that both Beyer and Rosén, who held ecclesiastical offices, should obey the royal injunction with a certain feeling of apprehension, and that with a trembling hand they should sign the papers containing their defence, which possibly might become the means of their being sacrificed to their religious convictions. These papers manifest on the one hand a free and undaunted spirit, and on the other they give evidence of a humble disposition, showing that their authors in the course they had chosen had taken fully into account both their privileges as men of science, and their duties as servants of the state and of the church. Their apologies seek to determine more accurately the terms symbolism and orthodoxy, and are of an historical, as well as dogmatic interest, because they seek not only to indicate, but also to develop, the relation of the new doctrine to the prevailing faith of the church. As Rosén's defence has hitherto existed only in manuscript, and as only a part of Dr. Beyer's has appeared in an English and German translation, this seems to be the place to make the reader acquainted with the first apologetic writings of the New Church in Sweden. Besides, from these papers we are able to form an idea of the individuality of these two men, both wherein they agreed and wherein they differed. Both apologies bear the impress of the interior character of their authors, and are in a certain sense an image of their souls; for the words of both speak the language of their hearts. Rosén, however, understood better than Beyer how to impart elegance to his language, and how to awaken an interest in the views he

defended by the vivacity of his style and the originality of his mode of presentation. On this account a comparison between the two will, perhaps, in the minds of most readers, be in favour of Dr. Rosén. Beyer's declaration is as follows:"

## O.

### *DR. BEYER'S DEFENCE.**

"By Your Royal Majesty's gracious letter of January 2, addressed to this Consistory, it was enjoined upon the members of the said Consistory, to report in a humble opinion how they have found the doctrinal views of Swedenborg, and I have, besides, been most graciously ordered to defend myself separately against that of which I have been accused individually. I appreciate in all humility this royal grace, and in accordance therewith I shall in all humility do my duty as a subject with obedience, sincerity, and truthfulness.

"For a long time I have entertained a secret desire to address myself to Your Royal Majesty, the most gracious father of his country, who, in your royal care for the Lord's church and kingdom upon earth, are the holiest representative of the Highest King; and in all humility to give expression to a deeply rooted conviction, and lay before you a faithful confession in respect to those things which are of paramount

* The Swedish original, from which the above translation has been made, is contained in the "Nya Kyrkan," &c., Part I, pp. 29 to 48. A German translation of a great portion of "Beyer's Defence," was published in Hamburg in 1770, among various other documents connected with Swedenborg's Controversy with the Consistory of Gottenburg. These documents were printed there under the auspices of Swedenborg himself, as appears from his Letter to General Tuxen (Document 245, U); and in the following year they were reprinted by Prelate Œtinger under the title of "Schwedische Urkunden" (Swedish Documents). An abridged English translation of the above Document was published in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1812, and was afterwards brought out by the Rev. S. Noble in the form of a tract, under the following title: "A Declaration respecting the Doctrines taught by Swedenborg, by Gabriel A. Beyer, D. D." This tract was afterwards embodied in the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents."

importance for time and eternity. It is therefore a source of rejoicing to me that an opportunity now offers for doing so. For I must look upon your instruction in this light, that I am to express in the Consistory, or publicly, my real sentiments in respect to Swedenborgianism so-called, and I am glad of this for several reasons. One is, that the public, and, indeed, also some among the learned, from their great ignorance of the subject, do not seem to be sufficiently prepared to hear truthful testimony respecting it; secondly, that it is necessary to put an end to the unpleasant controversies which are most certainly to be expected from the intense hatred with which even mere vague reports respecting Assessor Swedenborg's doctrinal views are regarded; a further reason is, that genuine truths require a calm, settled state of mind, and cannot thrive amidst turmoil, but if they are of God, they, nevertheless, cannot be overthrown (Acts v, 39); and a final reason is, that I could never expect to be treated according to law in the Consistory and in this place, as appears sufficiently from the printed Minutes of the Consistory, *e. g.* pp. 111 and 115.

"Your Royal Majesty's gracious order, under God's providence, does away with these objections, and in giving my humble opinion, and making my defence, this order shall be the pole star by which I shall be guided.

"Your gracious order expressly says, first, that a humble opinion should be submitted how the members of the Consistory have found Swedenborg's doctrinal views. Upon comparison with the memorial of the Chancellor of Justice, which has been most graciously communicated, it appears that the opinion should be expressed in positive terms, *after presumably complete information has been acquired from Assessor Swedenborg's theological works.* My own most humble opinion would certainly have influenced the general finding of the Consistory, which is obtained by a process of voting; but as this is in the closest connection with the separate defence which I am most graciously ordered to make, I entreat that I may, in all humility, be allowed to make my statement here as well.

"Having been from childhood interested and zealous in the study of the established form of doctrine, as is proved by

some small treatises I have published on this subject, about four years ago I happened to read something that Assessor Swedenborg had written. At first it appeared to me uninteresting, incomprehensible, and of small value to the study of theology. But when, led by curiosity, I had with awakened attention read half a volume, I soon discovered important reasons for not desisting until I had gone over all his writings of this description; and may I be allowed to observe in deep humility, that, although I uninterruptedly continued their perusal for a long time, employing for this purpose every moment I could spare from my public duties; and although I read them over several times, I, nevertheless, wish I could have studied them for several years longer, on account of their precious contents, so as to be able to submit to you a riper opinion respecting them.

"Assessor Swedenborg's works of this kind are all published in Latin, in large quarto volumes, viz. eight heavy volumes, entitled *Arcana Cœlestia*, which contain an explanation of the spiritual sense of every chapter and verse in Genesis and Exodus; the 'Apocalyse Revealed' is written in a similar style. Further, the 'New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine,' 'The New Jerusalem concerning the Sacred Scripture,' 'The White Horse,' 'The Doctrine of Life for the New Jerusalem, from the precepts of the Decalogue,' 'The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem respecting Faith,' 'Angelic Wisdom respecting the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom,' 'Angelic Wisdom respecting the Divine Providence,' 'Heaven and Hell,' 'Conjugial and Scortatory Love,' 'The Last Judgment and the Destruction of Babylon,' 'Continuation concerning the Last Judgment and the Spiritual World,' 'The Earths in the Solar System and the Starry Heaven,' 'Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church,' 'The Intercourse between the Soul and the Body.'

"It is impossible to pass a correct judgment upon these works unless several of them have been compared together; but before I proceed to give my humble opinion I must consider what the Lord's Word and His doctrine require, and in doing so I must keep in view the statutes of Your Royal Majesty and of the Church. So long as I allow myself to be directed

by them, I hope to be regarded graciously, even though I be totally ignorant of what may be brought forward as a settled matter from other quarters, and even by men of distinction.

"Your Royal Majesty graciously allows even your meaner subjects to speak according to the light which they possess.

'The words of the Lord are, 'But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your leader, even Christ; and all ye are brethren. And call no one your father upon the earth: for one is your Father which is in heaven. Neither be ye called leaders: for one is your leader, even Christ' (Matt. xxiii, 8—10). In agreement therewith a great apostle is unwilling that one should say that he is 'of Paul,' another that he is 'of Apollos,' a third 'of Cephas,' and a fourth 'of Christ' (1 Cor. i, 11, 12); this he calls carnal, for 'neither is he that planteth any thing, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase' (*Ibid.* iii, 4 *et seq.*). The former is done, and the latter avoided when we adopt the Lord's Word in the first place as our chief rule, and have regard to it only; and when we thus 'search the Scriptures, because they are they which testify of Him,' and when we know, for instance, that 'Moses wrote concerning Him' (John v, 39, 46). This conformity is commended as praiseworthy in the case of the Bereans (Acts xvii, 11). The consequence of this is, that a person is enabled to testify truthfully concerning him; even as He Himself says, 'And ye also (disciples of the Word, taught of God) shall bear witness' (John xv, 27); 'For whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven' (Matt. x, 32, 33). Therefore also the true disciple is described in Luke vi; which is a subject carried out a little in the 'New Attempt towards a Collection of Sermons,' which is humbly added to this memorial, and where it will be found written for the fourth Sunday after Trinity. Peter, the apostle, accordingly says, 'Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear' (1 Peter iii, 15). How much more then when those who are in authority mildly and from zeal for the Lord's cause graciously demand from you such an answer.

"Accordingly the worthy writers of the 'Formula Concordiæ' say, 'We believe, acknowledge, and teach, that the only rules and guides by which all doctrines and all teachers of doctrine must be viewed and judged are, and can be no other than, the prophetic and apostolic writings, as well those of the Old as those of the New Testament' (Leipzig Edition, p. 570). 'The Holy Scripture alone is acknowledged as a judge, a measure, and a rule; by which as by a touchstone, all doctrines must be most carefully investigated and judged, whether they are godly or ungodly, whether they are true or false; but the other forms of confession and other writings, which we have touched upon above, do not possess the power of acting as judges; for this dignity belongs only to the Sacred Scripture; but they simply bear witness of our religion *(Ibid.* p. 572). The same is again expressly stated on p. 632.

In Your Royal Majesty's gracious Order for the Church *(kyrkoordning)* for the years 1686 and 1687 all are admonished 'to abide constantly by God's Holy Word' (Chapter i, § 6). Clergymen above others are commanded 'to read the Sacred Scripture, and pray to God faithfully for grace and illustration, so that they may understand, teach, and explain the same correctly; whatever is spoken and taught must be founded in the Holy Scripture' (Chapter ii, §§ 1, 2). The oath administered to the bishops binds them 'to abide constantly by God's Word and the right religion' (Chapter xxi, § 2). He who is ordained into the ministry pledges himself 'not to entertain, spread, or preach any other doctrine than that which God the Holy Ghost has Himself dictated and taught, and which is extensively written in the Holy Bible, but briefly contained in the creeds and the symbolical writings' (Chapter xxii, § 2). The oath sworn by members of the Consistory obliges them 'not to utter any other views than such as God's Word teaches' *(Rättegångsförordningen,* § 6). The regulations for judges *(Domareregl*orna) likewise declare that 'he is not fit to be a preacher, who does not know what is written in the Scriptures, and what is the ground and the meaning thereof *(Eccl. werket,* p. 58). The oaths administered to the lectors and rectors of the gymnasia, in the Royal Regulations for the Schools *(Kongl. Scholaeordningen)* for the year

1727, contain similar words: and whenever the Symbolical books, on such occasions, are added in order after God's Word or the Sacred Scripture, it is in all humility and without pretence clear to me, that the meaning of the Royal Orders in respect to them is such as the first foundation and chief basis of the Symbolical books themselves, viz. that which before has been pointed out in all humility, yields without being forced.

"But above all Your Royal Majesty's most gracious decree about the freedom of the press, dated December 2, 1766, proclaims for all the inhabitants of Sweden a fundamental law, viz. all freedom in matters of religion which are not opposed to our genuine confession of faith and pure evangelical doctrine.

"And now, as, in accordance with what precedes, a doctrine is pure, when it is derived from and proved by the Word, and a confession is genuine when it agrees with such a doctrine; it is fortunate, that no one is charged with a transgression of the law in this respect, who confesses and teaches what is found and most clearly proved to be God's teaching in the Sacred Scripture.

"On such incontestable grounds I venture in my weakness, with confidence, and yet humbly, to utter the sentiments of my heart in respect to the theological writings of Assessor Swedenborg, and afterwards to do my humble duty in honestly defending myself against those charges which concern me individually.

"Convinced by experience, I must in the first place observe, that no one is competent to pass a judgment about these writings, who has not read them, or has not been willing to read them; nor is he who has read them only superficially, or who with a determination at heart to condemn them, has read a passage here and there without making a critical examination of them; nor again is he who rejects them as soon as he meets with some things which conflict with principles that he has long entertained and acknowledged as correct, and of which he is blindly enamoured. Again, all those are incompetent to pass a judgment in respect to these writings who are zealous dogmatists and but slightly acquainted with

the Scriptures; or who cleave to the letter, like the Jews, in their interpretation of the sense of Scripture; or who are timid and afraid of finding a ghost in every line; further, those who hate the very name of Swedenborg, or who are altogether unlearned, and not grounded in philology and the sciences; or those who have not patience to read and study a thing in its whole connection; or who are either unable or unwilling to use the faculties with which they have been endowed to follow the author by an orderly course of reasoning into the region of abstract ideas; and, finally, those who are entirely absorbed by lusts and by the world.

"But, on the other hand, the lover of the truth, who is free from all these things, and who is willing in a spirit of impartiality to try the spirits whether they are of God (1 John iv, 1), and especially he who prays to God for illustration and is willing to do the will of Him who sent Jesus (John vii, 16, 17), upon considering the writings of the above author will at once notice a circumstance which is rendered remarkable by the long time during which it has lasted, viz. that although more than twenty years have now elapsed since these particular writings began to be published, and distributed among the academies and libraries, and the most learned men in most European countries, not a single refutation of them has thus far, to the best of our knowledge, come to light; if we except a few one-sided reviews, filled with crude and derogatory assertions lacking all rational demonstration. Again, he will see that all Swedenborg's works give evidence of an unexpected insight into all the so-called learned languages, as the Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, without mentioning the Latin, which knowledge with him is fully commensurate with the importance of the matters on which he treats; further, that he possesses in a remarkable degree a knowledge of various commendable and useful sciences, as, of philosophy in its most abstruse depths, of mathematics, architecture, natural history, chemistry, experimental philosophy, astronomy, history, and especially of anatomy, and others; that a consistency prevails thoughout all his works, and that not a single real contradiction can be discovered there; that there is everywhere in his treatises an unbroken order, and wherever possible a

chain of argumentation which coheres no less perfectly than a series of mathematical demonstrations for him who is able to follow it, and which cannot be denied by any one who is accustomed to such demonstrations; that the first fundamental principles are always retained and observed in everything that follows, where they always fit in properly; that nowhere occur things impossible in themselves, but, on the contrary, all pure, universally acknowledged truths may be traced there again, and none of them is contradicted and weakened; that in this respect not a single instance in the history of literature can be brought forward, which can at all be compared with the works of this author; that all his theoretical propositions have a practical tendency, and are for the sake of practice; that the amendment of the life is therefore everywhere insisted upon, so as to make us fit and to dispose us for heaven; that it is impossible to form better subjects than by following out the precepts of this doctrine; and that in studying most things in these books diligently and impartially, experience teaches that the result of it is enlightenment in the understanding, and an inclination to assent to what is written. Let no one, therefore, in future apply to the author the words with which Festus addressed Paul (Acts xxvi, 24).

"If, now, we approach our subject more closely, and compare these books with the Holy Bible and with the books that have been adopted by the church, we find that the difficult passages of the former are satisfactorily explained according to Assessor Swedenborg's principles, and also that the things 'hard to be understood' in the writings of the Apostle Paul [see 2 Peter iii, 16] are comprehended without difficulty.

"With regard to the confessional writings of the church, the author adheres to the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds, in which only One God and Lord is mentioned; and in regard to the Athanasian Creed, that he acknowledges it as a whole and in part, with the exception of the particular, that we are to believe in God the Father, in God the Son, and in God the Holy Spirit, and at the same time to think that the Father is one, the Son another, and the Holy Spirit still another, whence, in spite of all precautions, the idea of three Gods becomes inevitably implanted in the minds of people

generally. He takes great pains in the examination of the dogmatic books, and nowhere does he express contempt for them; but in various points he desires to approximate them more closely to the real meaning of the Word, as in respect to the law, the gospel, faith, charity, justification, imputation, &c. He even approves and adopts a good deal of what is contained therein. Besides, nowhere in his writings does he ridicule or condemn any system of religion which teaches faith in One God, and a life of charity towards the neighbour, according to the light which is possessed.

"But let us take a closer view. These theological writings may be divided into three general classes; according to the nature of their contents. In the *first* may be included every thing that belongs to the interpretation of Scripture; in the *second* what has reference to the doctrines of religion; and in the *third* all experiences concerning the other or spiritual world.

"In order to give a definite, humble opinion in regard to the *first* class, it is absolutely necessary to have read, not merely to have glanced at, the *Arcana Cœlestia,* and the 'Apocalypse Revealed.' In respect to the *second* class, to have well considered and examined first of all and briefly the 'New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine,' and in addition 'The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem respecting the Lord, the Sacred Scripture, a Life according to the ten commandments, and respecting Faith,' and finally, the climax of all theology, the 'Angelic Wisdom respecting the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom,' and respecting the 'Divine Providence,' together with the dogmatic part, scattered throughout the *Arcana Cœlestia* and the 'Apocalypse Revealed,' as well as in the treatise respecting 'Conjugial and Scortatory Love.' In regard to the *third* class it is necessary to have seriously considered the memorable relations contained in the *Arcana Cœlestia,* the 'Apocalypse,' and in 'Conjugial and Scortatory Love,' as well as in other works.

"With regard to the *interpretation of Scripture;* we are soon able to discover, that what with Origen were mere obscure traces, what Coccejus attempted to guess at, and what several God-fearing and learned theologians saw through a

veil, has been manifested in clear daylight in the *Arcana Cœlestia* and especially the 'Apocalypse Revealed,' which have been published by Assessor Swedenborg. What immediately strikes one's attention is this, that when, according to the principles of the system, the signification of the words has been acquired, you can read in order, one after another, the contents prefixed to each chapter, and obtain a continuous, general idea of the whole Biblical book which is being explained; and this is even more the case when you approach each chapter separately, where the significations given to the particular words may be connected together into a whole chain-like explanation. The signification of each word remains ever the same; and after a knowledge of them has once been acquired, in accordance with sound rules of explanation, it may be applied to the explanation of other passages almost in the same way as the various meanings of a word recorded in the dictionaries are made use of, when you desire to become acquainted with an author in his own language. How surprised you are to discover by this means that, in a book which to all appearance is purely historical, there are contained only spiritual and heavenly things, that is, things in the highest degree worthy of the wisdom of God respecting Himself, and respecting heaven and the church; for instance, in the history of Lot and his daughters (Genesis xix, 31). And lest any one, with an appearance of right, should think that such explanations and interpretations are mere products of the author's brain, he observes with all possible care the recognized rule of interpretation, that Scripture must be interpreted by Scripture, and, indeed, according to a fixed mode of demonstration determined by the nature of the subject itself.

"When thus the glory and splendour of the Divine sense began to shine in the clouds of heaven or in the literal meaning of the Word, then also could be discovered to him what its genuine meaning must be in the doctrine of the church. For the church is spiritual, and must derive everything belonging to it from the spirituality of the Word, so that nothing can be true in the church without its being at the same time true in heaven; and the church cannot communicate with the Lord and heaven, except so far as the men of the church

think in agreement with heaven, and all their thoughts are from the Word and in accordance with the Word, for the Lord is the Word (John i, 1, 14). What other exalted ideas we ought to entertain respecting the incomparable Sacred Scriptures he shows and proves in his work respecting the 'Sacred Scripture,' and in that respecting the 'White Horse.' And in case the question should be raised, why such an understanding of the Sacred Scripture is now brought forward for the first time, a full and satisfactory answer will be found in many parts of his writings; as for instance in the book entitled 'The Angelic Wisdom respecting the Divine Providence,' no. 264.

"If now, after what has been said, we come to judge of the *doctrines* which are found everywhere in his writings, but especially in those books which with respect to their contents belong to the *second* class of his works, it can scarcely be expected otherwise, than that we shall find them everywhere resplendent with light, and confirmed by the distinct utterances of the Word itself, even by its very letter, and, indeed, in a manner which cannot be contradicted (my unpretending, humble meaning here is, that cannot be contradicted by impartial, diligent searchers for the truth). A fundamental rule with him in regard to every doctrine of the church is, that it must be drawn and collected from, and at the same time confirmed by, the literal meaning of the Word, but by one who has been duly illustrated for this purpose in the Word ('Sacred Scripture,' no. 50 *et seq.*). Thi srule he has observed with every one of his doctrines, and in agreement therewith he has clearly proved them by unanswerable passages of Scripture in more than a hundred places in his writings. For instance, with respect to the doctrine that there is only One God, and that Jesus Christ is that God, and that in His essence and person there is a real Trinity, called Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, see the 'Arcana Cœlestia,' nos. 3061, 3704, 9030; 'Apocalypse Revealed,' nos. 613, 962; 'Doctrine of the Lord,' no. 60. This doctrine, as taught there, agrees almost altogether with what a Lutheran teacher of the church, the very celebrated Chancellor Mosheim, has stated in his *Theologia Dogmatica*, pp. 310, 311, 312 (Edition of 1764), where he quotes what

Luther and Hunnius have said on the subject of three persons in the Godhead. It would be easy for me, in all humility, to quote passages where the remaining articles and doctrines are proved by a similar mode of demonstration, but this would be too prolix here; they can be gathered copiously from the passages selected from the 'Arcana Cœlestia,' which are contained in the book entitled 'The New Jerusalem,' and which ought to be consulted by every accurate reader. Nothing can be concluded rationally and accurately from the published *Excerpta;** for, without taking into consideration the manifestly uncharitable utterances of the compiler, none of the principal views professed by the author are introduced there; besides, there is an unmistakable indication of a desire on his part to uncover the weak side of these views, by an utter absence of all intermediate truths, by which their connection and their consequences might appear, and likewise by the omission of every kind of argument, by which one might be enabled to institute a rational investigation. An answer to this procedure seems to be furnished by Dr. Rosén's 'Unpretending Thoughts upon Swedenborgianism.'† Meanwhile, after due consideration, we are led to acknowledge that there is an undeniable conformity between these doctrines and the real meaning of God's Word, whereby they acquire a strength in demonstration which it is impossible to impair, when we accept it as a principle, that the doctrine of a church must be that 'wisdom which cometh from above' (James iii, 17); and from which it follows that we must first believe, and afterwards employ confirmations from various sources, even from good natural sciences; again, that there is an agreement throughout with the inspired doctrines contained in the writings of the apostles, which are enlightened and developed beautifully by the above-mentioned doctrines, and are thereby considerably increased, provided we take into due consideration what is stated about the primitive Christian Church in the treatise concerning 'The Lord' (no. 55); and, finally, we recognize as the sum and substance of all these

* Concerning these published *Excerpta*, see footnote to the letter which Bishop Filenius wrote to Assessor Aurell (Document 245, K, p. 313).

† See Document 245, D, p. 293.

doctrines, that we must believe in the Lord Jesus Christ as the only God of heaven and earth, the Creator, Redeemer, Saviour, Renovator, Regenerator, and Justifier, who blesses us to eternity, who is the All in all of heaven and the church; and that we must act according to His commandment or injunction, which is, 'to love Him above all things, and our neighbour as ourselves,' because He is Love itself.

"It is usually objected to the author's doctrines that they do away with Christ's satisfaction, turn people away from faith in Christ, set up self-righteousness and self-merit, and that they clearly teach Socinianism, Mahomedanism, &c. If we duly examine his teachings in this respect, we find that on grounds derived from the Word he develops and proves, that the Lord in the Humanity which He assumed fulfilled everything contained in the highest Divine sense of the Word, down to its lowest natural or literal sense; further, that in this same Humanity He combated the powers of hell, and overcome and subdued them; that He glorified this Humanity or made it Divine, and so is a perfect Saviour to eternity, and the Omnipotent God even in respect to His Humanity. Higher and more complete ideas respecting the satisfaction made by the Lord for the human race, cannot certainly be demanded.

"No one probably has urged more strongly the necessity of faith in Christ than he, who in a thousand places has quoted among other passages John iii, 16; xv, 4; and besides he inculcates everywhere, that it is impossible for a Christian, or for any one else, to enter heaven and be in the Lord, without the idea and the acknowledgment that He alone is God, the Redeemer and Justifier. Self-righteousness is not preached by the author, who uniformly keeps close to the above passage, John xv, 4; and insists that man must conform to Divine order by doing good as from himself, yet knowing and believing at the same time that it is in reality from the Lord; nay, he proves that all of man's own is nothing but evil and falsity, as it consists in the love of self and of the world. Wherefore no merit can be attributed to man, but all merit belongs to the Lord.

"No one teaches a doctrine more opposed to that of

Socinus and his followers, whose principles he quotes and refutes in many places; and no one has given a fuller description of the certain doom, which will overtake confirmed Socinians, (*e. g.* in 'Heaven and Hell,' no. 3.)

"So far as Mahomedanism is the result of Mahomed's own invention, he has a perfect horror of it; as can be sufficiently proved from what he says in the work on 'Conjugial and Scortatory Love' in the chapter on Polygamy.

"Another objection against his works is, that they do not keep within the established doctrines, and that with respect to the profundity of their truths they are altogether novel and unusual. Here it may be proper to observe in a general way, that no bounds can be set to the infinity of Divine Wisdom in the Word; and that with respect to the future of the Church, no one can draw a line which must not be overpassed in the revelation of Divine Wisdom. Ecclesiastical History teaches us that the Christian Church among various peoples and at various times had different limits assigned to it; and in making an application to the science of theology itself, it could not well maintain its high rank in the field of learning, if, by right and in an infallible manner, bounds could be assigned to it more than to all the other sciences, which, as is well-known, can never reach their greatest summit. The theologians have sufficiently proved this in their own persons by changing and improving the creeds in various ways, since the time of those who made them. What is spiritual transcends immeasurably what is natural in every respect; and who dares to prohibit Divine light from shining as much as it pleases? Or who does what is right and good, by closing the eye of his understanding against it, or by hiding the light under a bushel (Matt. v, 16)? When unknown and new truths, which yet in themselves are the ancient truths, are put forward, they require new terms and new expressions, so that they cannot but seem strange in the form in which they are communicated.

"In order to give in all humility a definite expression respecting the author's *experience*, I may state that a trust and confidence in it follow as a natural consequence from the ability to comprehend and to make yourself at home in

the principles which underlie the doctrinal system; e. g. in respect to the Sun of heaven, that in its essence it is the love and wisdom proceeding from the Lord, that thence is all good and all truth, and that from it originates every thing that is truly human; in respect to the will and understanding, that they constitute man, and that they are receptacles of good and truth; again, that without interior and exterior senses there is no consciousness of life, and that there is neither life nor sensation except in forms; further, that the Lord's kingdom in general is a kingdom of an infinite variety of uses, functions, and purposes, and, indeed, in every object from the greatest to the least; besides many other general principles, a complete knowledge of which may be obtained by studying the work on 'Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom.' And how little has mankind been hitherto enabled to form, in the least degree, a precise idea respecting the eternal world! With what delight then should we now strive to know what has hitherto remained unknown, and which it was impossible to know before; and which the more it is studied, is found the more to harmonise with what we read in Scripture, where these subjects are presented in a general form in the literal sense, and are treated of as to their particulars in the spiritual sense! I therefore purposely, with all due submission, pass by those epithets which are inconsiderately heaped upon the author, such as fanatic, visionary, enthusiast, &c., words in current use at the present time, but the meaning of which is not known: 'they speak evil of the things that they understand not' (2 Peter ii, 12).

"In conclusion, whatever may be said, in all humility, in respect to the three classes of books mentioned above, there is only one mode by which a satisfactory knowledge can be obtained respecting them, and that is, that whoever is anxious to arrive at certainty in his investigation of the truth, must undertake a study of these books for himself, or at least be willing to be instructed respecting them by others. For the most part their contents are too sublime to be read and comprehended by all; but it is the business of the learned and of the clergy to study them, so that they may obtain a knowledge of the principles taught therein, and may thus

be able to communicate them to others according to their requirements, and their capacity of comprehending them.

"In obedience to Your Royal Majesty's most gracious command, that I should deliver a full and positive declaration, I acknowledge it to be my duty to declare, in all humble confidence, that as far as I have proceeded, and agreeably to the gift bestowed upon me for investigation and judgment, I have found in the above-named writings of Swedenborg nothing but what closely coincides with the words of the Lord's mouth, and shines with a light truly Divine. A man who by nature is timid and reserved like myself, would not dare to give expression to these sentiments, unless the Lord had armed me with confidence in His cause, and His Divine Mercy, under the kind protection of a most gracious and just sovereign against grievous persecutions, had permitted me to give expression to these sentiments. One source of comfort for myself is the conviction, that however many of Your Royal Majesty's faithful subjects, who are thoroughly acquainted with these books, may be graciously questioned on this subject, their answers will undoubtedly be found to agree with the declaration which I herewith make in all humility.

"Entertaining at heart the thoughts which I here humbly express, I have from the very first, and repeatedly afterwards, in the Minutes of the Consistory, declared it as my opinion, that the question about Swedenborgianism, to which Assessor Aurell, through Deans Aurelius and Collinius, gave a public character, as well as all judgment in this question, ought, in accordance with the law, to be submitted in all humility for Your Royal Majesty's gracious examination and disposition; which opinion may be graciously found in the printed Minutes of the Consistory, pp. 7, 14, 19, 110, 115. And acting in accordance with this opinion, after the representations of Dr. Ekebom (see Minutes of the Consistory, pp. 10, 11), I have never taken any part in the common measures adopted by the Consistory, except so far as, in conformity with the law, I have signed the resolutions of the majority.*

* Dr. Beyer, on account of being Dean *(Decanus)* of the Consistory, had to sign all the resolutions passed by that body.

"A matter in itself so innocent and peaceful as the genuine so-called Swedenborgianism, according to all appearance would never have caused the least trouble, if Assessor Aurell had not been so very anxious to make it publicly hateful, and if Dr. Ekebom, who in this matter is leagued with the above-named assessor, had not been so zealous in calumniating and condemning the same publicly in the printed Minutes, and also several times on other occasions. Nevertheless no other disturbance has been noticed in the church, either in town or in the diocese at large; and, so far as is known or can be proved, no one who is favourably disposed to these doctrines has had any controversy or quarrel with any one on this subject; nor has any one been engaged in making proselytes, or talking derogatorily of the established religion. The author has not sought to be avenged on his opponents by involving them in law-suits; nor has he displayed arrogance in word or gesture, or provoked them by stinging expressions; because these and similar acts are in direct opposition to the Lord's Divine, gentle, peaceful, charitable, and humble doctrine. I must also in all humility add here that ever since the last meeting of the clergy, from September 1768 to November 1769, everything has remained perfectly calm, as well here as in other places, although the very disputation read before the meeting *(Prestmöts-disputationen)* bore a close relationship to the writings of Assessor Swedenborg, and the 'New Sermon-Essays' were then delivered to the clergymen present who had previously paid for them. This calm was not even disturbed, when Dr. Ekebom's dreadful declaration of March 22, 1769, about Swedenborg's writings* appeared in print, together with the extract from the work on 'Conjugial and Scortatory Love' containing a kind of synopsis of the doctrinal system of Assessor Swedenborg (see 'Minutes of the Consistory,' pp. 12, 13),† without mentioning Assessor Swedenborg's own memorable letters‡ ('Minutes of the Consistory,' pp. 25, 26). Although in the limited space of this humble opinion and declaration I have endeavoured to be as concise and brief

* See Document 245, B.

† See Document 245, C.

‡ See Document 245, F and G.

as possible, yet, on account of the many particulars that had to be included in it, I am afraid I have been unpleasantly prolix, without, however, having made my statement as complete as I could wish. The lofty judgment of Your Royal Majesty is able to discover in a few brief hints much more than a man of the greatest genius is able to express. I, therefore, ask your most gracious permission, that, in consequence of all that has been stated above, I may use the briefest and most direct language in making a humble declaration with respect to that with which I have been personally charged.

"I have had a hand in the composition of the 'New Sermon-Essays,' a copy of which is presented herewith, while suffering from much feebleness of body, and a chronic disease of the chest with fever, but with the faculties of the mind unimpaired, and the gift of writing undiminished, or rather increased. An exception, however, must be made of the so-called '*nyttorne*' (Evening-sermons), which in the first part, and also in the second, as far as Easter-Sunday and the first Sunday after Easter, were composed by Lector Gothenius:[197] for all the rest I am responsible. All that is good and true therein is mostly due to the reading of Assessor Swedenborg's books, while the Divine text in each particular case has been my guide, without which I was not willing to undertake the consideration of any doctrinal subject. All the defects that may be discovered therein must be put down to the account of my great imperfection, as well as to want of time, which prevented me devoting the proper attention to the proof-reading. It has been my constant endeavour to admit only such things as could not be objected to by the powers of the land, and as would not disturb the peace of the church, as may appear especially from the new essay for the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, pages 308 and 309. That these small essays have anywhere caused disturbance has not been noticed, nor has any public criticism of them appeared, although it is now three years since they first began to be issued in sheets. In respect to the permission to print them, a sufficiently minute account will be found in the printed 'Minutes of the Consistory,' p. 79. From private conversations only have I learned that this collection of essays is objected to for not containing discussions on certain

doctrinal subjects, which are usually insisted upon in public as being foremost in importance. As, however, I could not find these doctrines immediately in my texts, and as I had resolved to write nothing but what the sense of my texts required, and what was contained therein, it was not by my own choice that these subjects were left untouched.

"In the interleaved copy of the *Excerpta Svedenborgianismi** it is stated that the new essay for the twenty-sixth Sunday after Trinity contradicts the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh; yet that doctrine is not discussed there, and still less denied, but the subject of the resurrection is there so treated, that it does not interfere with the doctrine of the particular last judgment which awaits every man; and each and every one is left at liberty to think of his gross body of clay as he pleases; he may thus, if he choose, believe that that body will again be united to the spirit, although this certainly does not want it, and will never ask for it again.

"With respect to the contents of the interleaved copy of the so-called *dictata,* I acknowledge that in a private introductory course of lectures on the study of theology, which I delivered before the students of the gymnasium, I permitted the students to write down, that they might remember, certain passages in Latin, which I read and sought to make intelligible to them.

"These passages were from Assessor Swedenborg's writings, and especially from his work on the 'White Horse.' In selecting these I was most careful not to bring anything before the students which might invalidate the dogmatic books; being convinced that these passages are in strict accordance with the meaning of the Lord's Word, and firmly believing that it is always commendable to contribute to the increase of theological knowledge.

"When I delivered these lectures either in private or in public, the doors of the lecture-room in the gymnasium were never closed, so that visitors were occasionally present, and never have I mentioned the name of Assessor Swedenborg before the students, or recommended his writings to them. Wherefore, up to the present time, no cause has been discovered,

* Aurell's Compilation, see Document 245, K.

for which any action should be taken against me, in agreement with Your Royal Majesty's gracious orders for the government of the schools *(Scholae-ordning)*, Chapter 10, § 2, viz. that a reprimand should be administered to me for teaching contrary to God's written Word; which reprimand, when duly carried out, would have to be pronounced by the Bishop and the Consistory; and in case of non-compliance on my part, the matter would have to be reported, in all humility, to Your Majesty. In order to assure the public generally of the harmlessness of the principles taught in my lectures, I considered myself bound to publish the short Latin oration, which herewith follows, and which was pronounced in the presence of most of the members of the Consistory, and afterwards communicated to the Bishop of the diocese, and generally distributed, and against which no points of accusation were raised. How I have been treated by the Consistory, on account of these so-called *dictata*, may be seen from the printed 'Minutes of the Consistory,' p. 40, and in many other places afterwards.

"Next in order I have to defend myself, in all humility, on account of having given leave to print an extract from one of Swedenborg's letters, dated October 30, 1769, a point which the Chancellor of Justice has noticed. As I was at the time Dean of the Consistory, I considered myself not only justified, but even in duty bound to grant this permission. Our practice has been to acknowledge the office of the dean in printing matters in this wise, that small papers were not submitted to the whole Consistory, but were simply furnished with the dean's signature; an instance of which is furnished by the 'Gottenburg Magazine' *(Götheborgska Magasinet)* of 1766 and 1767, and the 'Clerical News' *(Prest Tidningarne)* of 1768, which even contained theological matters; this took place after Your Royal Majesty's most gracious order with respect to the freedom of printing was published. When the question of the printing of that letter came up before the Consistory, some of its members endeavoured to establish the position, that the printing of this letter ought legally to have been submitted to the action of the whole Consistory. Yet if this matter be fully examined, during the whole time the

present members of the Consistory have been in office only the following writings have been submitted to the action of the full board: Dr. Ekebom's discourse, delivered at Ljunby during the visitation of the late Bishop Wallin; the Swedish translation of Newton's remarks on the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation of John, and the disputation delivered before the meeting of clergymen by the late Lector Arwidson. All the other books which have been printed, and of which there is a great number, e. g. the translation of Tillotson's Sermons, in four volumes, &c., have not been formally submitted to the whole board, but the dean only has usually taken them in charge. My reasons, therefore, for not seeing any objection to granting leave for the printing of the letter, are these: that it was simply a letter, and not a theological treatise, in which case it would certainly have been brought under the notice of the whole board; that it did not seem to contain any of those matters which are forbidden in § 1 of the Royal Order mentioned above; but on the contrary, such as seem to be admissible according to § 5, and, as § 13 expressly declares, must not be rejected and excluded from printing on the plea of *containing vituperation, slander, or criticism.* For with respect to the theological matter which, according to the printed 'Minutes of the Consistory,' is said to be discussed in the letter, it may be mentioned by way of defence that there are great philologists and theologians in the Lutheran church at the present day, for instance Michaëlis, the aulic councillor in Göttingen, who have clearly proved that the meaning of Paul in his epistle to the Romans and Galatians, on account of their having been first addressed to the Jews, cannot justly be interpreted as having reference to the moral law, but must mean the law in that sense in which it was looked upon by the Jews themselves (J. D. Michaëlis, Introduction to the Divine Writings of the New Testament, edition of 1766, pp. 1424, 1430); from which it seems to follow that the question of justification and imputation, as indicated in these passages (Rom. iii, 28, and Gal. ii, 16), may be classed among those points on which teachers are not agreed among themselves, and which according to the Common Law (*Missgerningar,* B., Chap. i, § 4) cannot be visited with punishment.

"If the author has been too personal in his remarks, so that a just accusation may be brought against him, the aggrieved party has full opportunity furnished him for doing so in a lawful manner, since the well-known author of the letter is himself responsible for it. But that Dr. Ekebom, in his unfounded guesses and one-sided examination, has been entirely wrong, in asserting that I have been instrumental in getting the letter printed, is made plain and comprehensible to all by the free confession of the printer Smitt, made on p. 100 of the printed Minutes, that 'he had printed the letter on his own account and at his own expense.'

"The last point which in all humility I find has been brought against me, is Assessor Aurell's letter to Bishop Filenius, the speaker of the last honourable House of the Clergy.* If that assessor had been better informed in regard to the statements which he makes, I am sure he would not have written as he has; and if he did not entertain an undeserved grudge against me, which he proves by not mentioning Lector Roempke's disputation before the meeting of the clergy at the same time with my essay for Whit-Monday, which he declares in the 'Minutes,' he intends to publish in Swedish with notes—I say it in all humility, if he had not been filled with a feeling of enmity towards me, he might well have saved all his calumnies and detractions. The real state of the case I have already endeavoured to explain, and with the rest I in all humility need not trouble myself.

"Most gracious King, enemies, haters, and detractors shall now see their desires upon me gratified, if my most humble declaration and defence, which I herewith lay before the throne, is regarded with disfavour, in which case my misfortune would be evident. But I trust in the word of the Lord Jesus, the Almighty God, 'Behold I make all things new: I come quickly' *i. e.* surely, Rev. xxi, 5; xxii, 20: and from Your Royal Majesty's most gracious sympathy for the welfare of the Lord's kingdom upon earth, and your justice combined with mercy towards your faithful subjects, I, who have been for twenty-two years a diligent servant in the Consistory, and for eighteen

* An extract from this letter is contained in Document 245, J.

years in the gymnasium, and who am the father of five children unprovided for, hope that I shall receive from you protection, and a livelihood in connection with the office I have filled, and in which I have prospered during the course of my life. Your Royal Majesty's gracious order, with respect to what I shall publicly teach, or not, shall always be observed by me in humble obedience, and with the respect due from a subject. Hoping in all humility that I shall be most graciously permitted to explain further anything that may be found unsatisfactory in my humble declaration, or that may be advanced by my adversaries in their attempts to refute or weaken the same, I commend myself in my temporal affairs to Your Royal Majesty's good pleasure, and I remain with all due submission, most mighty and most gracious King,

"Your Royal Majesty's, &c.

"G. A. BEYER.
"Gr. L. L. ord. Pr. et Th. Doct."

Dr. Beyer's declaration was submitted to the Consistory on February 14, 1770. Dr. Ekebom's declaration, which is as follows, was received at the same time.

## P.

*DR. EKEBOM'S DECLARATION.**

A humble declaration:

"I. *With respect to the Swedenborgian doctrines in general.*

"Being called upon by His Royal Majesty's most gracious order, contained in His gracious letter to the Consistory of this place, dated January 2, 1770, to express a humble opinion in general upon the doctrines of the Well-born

* The German translation of this document, from which our version has been made, is contained in a work printed by Prelate Œtinger in 1771, under the following title: Swedish Documents respecting Assessor Swedenborg, which will be decided by the Swedish Diet, June 13, 1771 *(Schwedische Urkunden von dem Assessor Swedenborg, welche auf dem Schwedischen Reichstag den 13ten Juni*, 1771, *werden zur Entscheidung kommen)*, pp. 24 to 27. These documents had been previously published in Hamburg

Assessor Emanuel Swedenborg, in a like humble manner I refer to the written declaration on the same subject which I submitted to the Consistory on March 22, 1769, and which at my request was entered on its Minutes.

"I there made an honest confession, that I was then unacquainted with the religious system of Assessor Swedenborg, a knowledge of which I believed then, and I believe still, I may the more readily dispense with, as this would be of no use to me in the chief object of my public office of teacher, nor would it contribute in the least to the edification of my own poor heart. Besides, the Swedenborgian system of doctrine—if it deserves the name of a system—appears to me much more extensive than the numerous duties of my office, more useful studies, and the few leisure hours I have, permit me to examine.

"I commenced reading some of the theological writings of Assessor Swedenborg with a little more attention, when, after the time of his stay in this town, some unfortunate seed were scattered, and when especially during this last year the Swedenborgian weeds began to spread here. But I did not require to read very long, nor to weigh very seriously what I had read, before I became aware that the author, by his horrible deviations from our pure doctrine, had arrived at some intolerable conclusions, and at last at such doctrines, as undoubtedly bear witness to a troubled fantasy, and are unsupported by any other arguments than such as are derived from 'things heard and seen.' In my written declaration, which I submitted to the Consistory on March 22, 1769, I used these words: that the doctrines of Mr. Swedenborg are *'corrupting, heretical, injurious, and in the highest degree objectionable,'* and further that *'they are diametrically opposed to God's revealed Word, and the dogmatic writings of the Lutheran church.'* Such were my expressions then, and I cannot retract them now.

according to a statement made on p. 86: "The documents have already been published in Hamburg, and we desire to publish them here, so that every one may be able to decide patiently, how he must try them so that he may retain what is good."

II. *With respect to the book called 'New Essays.'*

"The author (Doctor Gabriel A. Beyer, lector in the Royal Gymnasium of this town) promises on the title-page an *edifying explanation* of the texts for Sundays and feast days. This explanation, however. is aranged entirely according to the Swedenborgian method of explaining the Sacred Scripture.

"In the explanation of most texts, I can see how the Lector has deviated entirely from the literal sense, and consequently from that explanation of the Gospel history which is founded on the pure Word of God and which harmonizes with the analogy of faith and of the Sacred Scripture, and which from the time of Luther has been approved by the whole Evangelical church; and that in its stead he has so zealously pursued a mystical, spiritual, and angelic sense, that a simple reader must necessarily be involved in obscurities and unintelligible things, not knowing whether everything perhaps which the Scripture sayr, and what he himself from childhood has read and heard in sermons, concerning the three persons in the godhead, concerning the doctrine of the atonement and redemption which have been effected in Jesus Christ, concerning justification by faith alone, concerning the sacraments and the last judgment, and concerning the person, offices, benefits, miracles, &c. of the Saviour—is not all an idle tale and fiction; since these doctrines, which are the very constellations of religion, that ought to be kept constantly before the eyes, are in these dsy, motley, insipid, and unworthy essays, put on artificial and refined screws, and are placed in great jeopardy, especially when a simple-minded man sees that every thing must be taken in a figurative, mystical, and abstruse sense.

III. *With respect to the so-called 'Dictata.'*

"These public lectures to which Dr. Beyer has directed the attention of the students of the gymnasium, which he dictated to them, are of two kinds:

"1. Those belonging to the so-called *Collegium Theologicum introductorium,* from which it is made very evident, that his intention has been no other than to initiate the students of

the gymnasium into an entire theological system according to the doctrine of Assessor Swedenborg and his new church.

"2. Those which are intended as an explanation of the history of the Lord's passion.

"It does not require a long examinaton before you recognize in these *dictata* the style and terminology of Assessor Swedenborg.

"It is well known that Sacred Scripture is the source of religion and of faith, or the fountain whence we must deduce all our knowledge of religion, and our doctrine of salvation. If this principle or this source is badly explained, there must necessarily arise thence a perverted religion and false doctrine. This also, as is well-known, is the principal source of all heresies. Besides, it is also known that Assessor Swedenborg has adopted an entirely different foundation for the explanation of the Sacred Scripture, from the one accepted by the Evangelical church; and which by the Lord's command must be accepted without contradiction. The Assessor bases his whole explanation of the Scripture on a spiritual sense, and upon his so-called correspondences. These, again, are said to rest on his immediate revelations, or on his oft repeated and quoted '*Audita et Visa e Cœlo*' (things heard and seen from heaven).

"Dr. Beyer declares that Divine inspiration is an influx of Divine Truth through the heavens into the world, wherefore this also has a triple sense, a celestial, a spiritual and a natural. These senses of the Word, he says, are above the human rational, because man's spirit is an organized substance, just as the body is; which human rational is made up of the appearances and fallacies of the external senses, &c.

"These significations in the Word, he says, no man is able to understand who does not know the science of correspondences, because the Word is written by mere correspondences. Because the Lord spoke from His Divine nature or (N. B.) the Father, He spoke by correspondences.

"O. EKEBOM,

"Th. Doct. and Dean of Gottenburg.

"Gottenburg, February 12, 1770."

A week before Drs. Beyer and Ekebom delivered their

statements, Dr. Rosén submitted to the Consistory the following declaration:

## Q.

*DR. ROSÉN'S DECLARATION.**

"A humble declaration:

"I see the arena before me, and I step forth to bear witness. Respectful silence is out of place. The King has said: 'Thou art permitted to speak for thyself' (Acts xxvi, 1). What dost thou believe and teach? Testify freely, and thou shalt fare well. Were Balaam's *'eyes open'* (Num. xxiv, 3)? Is *'the spirit of the holy gods'* in Emanuel (Dan. v, 11), or does he, 'deluded by soft dreams,' 'intrude into those *things which he hath not seen*' (Col. ii, 18)? Is there no more 'to be *any prophet*' (Ps. lxxiv, 9; 1 Sam. iii, 1); and shall we 'find *no vision* from the Lord' (Lam. ii, 9)? If so, abandon Swedenborg and reject visions.

"Sire and King! whether I speak or keep silence, I shall equally be regarded as a transgressor; for 'the adversary walketh about' (1 Peter v, 8). And yet I have done nothing that mercy and grace may not forgive. How then shall I answer Your Majesty, and how shall I bring my suit before your throne?

"Even 'though I were righteous, yet would I not answer, but would make supplication to my Judge' (Job ix, 15).

"May I say with David, '*Search me,* O God' (Ps. cxxxix, 23)? Though I should hear the words ring in my ears, Thou must *'bind up the testimony,* and *seal the Law'* (Isa. viii, 16); thou must retract thy faith, and reject, yea, reject it! — I shall yet do my duty, and *'give God the praise'* (John ix, 24), glad *'for conscience sake to endure grief, because this is acceptable with God'* (1 Peter ii, 19, 20). Let another *'confer with flesh and blood'* (Gal. i, 16). Shall I keep back my confession or speak enigmatically?

"Well then, Consistory, tell me what I shall reject? I receive

* The Swedish original of this Document is printed in the "Nya Kyrkan," &c., Part 1. pp. 48 to 51.

no answer, for the judge is angry. He has 'scourged without law and without judgment a Roman' (Acts xvi, 37). What shall I reject? Swedenborgian ideas, or statements which are not approved, and which must not be inquired into? What shall I reject? None of God's declarations, and no part of 'our most holy faith' (Jude 20); but Swedenborgian ideas, Swedenborg's whims, the creations of his brain and his perverted teachings.

"Be merciful, O King, and listen to the language of my heart! I never judge of doctrines by visions, but the reverse. I have dreamt no dreams, and abhor all idle talk. One thing, however, seems astonishing to me, and difficult to understand, how in ancient times persons believed that spirits could speak with men (Acts xii, 15; xxiii, 9).

"Being a subject I lay my hand on my mouth, and yet I know that Paul was *'caught up'* (2 Cor. xii, 2), and that *'heaven was opened'* for many (John i, 51; Acts vii, 56).

"Why then should visions and spirits be 'foolishness' to us, as the 'crucified Christ was unto the Greeks' (1 Cor. i. 23), and as the letter is to freethinkers? An extraordinary sign appears; it is our duty 'to discern' it (Matt. xvi, 3); and if it is really a fact that spirits or angels have spoken with Swedenborg, I am not disposed 'to *fight against God*' (Acts xxiii, 9); nor am I willing 'to curse him whom God hath not cursed' (Num. xxiii, 8).

"And withal none is infallible, 'none good and wise but one, that is, God' (Matt. xix, 17; Rom. xvi, 27).

"Away with a false spirit of compromise! away with idolatry! The Teacher who 'taught with authority' (Mark i, 27), 'who received honour from no man' (John v, 41), the 'ruler of my faith' (2 Cor. i, 21), He shall decide.

"'How can ye believe, which *receive doctrine* (mening) *one of another, and seek not the doctrine that cometh from God only*' (John v, 44)? — *'Christ is my Master'* (Matt. xxiii, 8), *'Scripture is my test'* (Symbolical Books, p. 572), *'doctrine is my lamp'* (Ps. cxix, 105); this also is my 'palladium,' the only *'image which has ever come down from heaven'* (Acts xix, 35): Ought we not to think of human writings in a human fashion, and to worship God as Paul has done?

"Behold, then, 'I believe all things which are written in

the Law and in the prophets' (Acts xxiv, 14), If, therefore, 'the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit,' I 'confess both' (Acts xxiii, 8). And 'for this I stand and am judged' (Act xxvi. 6).

"And this is the doctrine with respect to spirits which is condemned by the Consistory, a doctrine which comes accredited by Scripture.

"The prophet, however, discovered vanity in what is written by 'the scribes' (Jer. viii, 8). If the King grant me to confirm my declaration before a legal tribunal by clear references and lawful arguments, I will make it manifest that it is one thing 'to break the tradition of the elders' (Matt. xv, 2, 6), and quite another 'to walk aside from the rule' (Phil. iii. 16).

"If 'Abraham,' according to Paul, 'was justified by faith' (Romans iv, 3), and according to James 'by works' (James ii, 24), Emanuel gets ready his harrow, and, 'far from teaching for doctrines the commandments of men' (Matt. xv, 9), preaches that 'the Lord is our Righteousness or our Justification' (Jer. xxiii, 6), and is full of zeal against a wrong understanding, but never against faith.

"Let Scripture be interpreted by Scripture, and no empty word will be discovered therein! Let '*unity* and *purity*' be respected, which are demanded by Paul (Eph. iv, 3, 6); let us worhip '*one God*' (Isa. xlv, 21), and a '*Trinity*' in Him (Coloss. ii, 9); one God 'who *dwelleth on high*' (Isa. lvii, 15); *one Lord, the Saviour,* who has gained the victory (Ps. cx); *one Lord, 'who is the Spirit'* (1 Cor. iii, 17). John exclaims, '*He is Love*' (1 John iv, 8, 16); and Paul, that '*He was in Christ*' (2 Cor. v, 19). Our cause speaks for itself, and 'we see light in the light of Him who is true' (Ps. xxxvi, 9; 1 John v, 20), who is known every where and praised without end; whose 'second appearance' is expected (1 Tim. vi, 14), with 'peace upon Israel' (Ps. cxxv, 5). "JOHN ROSÉN."

The author of "Nya Kyrkan," in publishing for the first time this intrepid utterance of Dr. Rosén, says: "When Paul in former times defended Christianity before Agrippa and Festus, the last King of Israel is reported to have said to the apostle of the Gentiles, 'Almost thou persuad-

est me to be a Christian.' We do not know* what Adolphus Frederic said after hearing Rosén's declaration. But from the King's remark to Swedenborg, which we shall quote hereafter,† it would seem that Rosén's frank, as well as laconic and pithy, Bible language did not displease that monarch."

While the Documents O, P and Q were pending before the King and the Council of State, Swedenborg wrote the following letter to Dr. Beyer:

## R.

*FIFTEENTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.*[22]‡

"Reverend Doctor and Lector,

"Only two days ago I received your favour of the 21st of last March, and on reading it through I was surprised at the reports which are said to have reached Gottenburg from Stockholm to the effect that you and Dr. Rosén are to be deposed, deprived of office, and banished from the country, a report to which certainly I can give no credence; for it contradicts my reason in the highest degree to believe that a person may be deprived of office and banished from the country, on the mere allegation of his being heretical, without the principal point of accusation against him being investigated. In the printed Minutes I cannot find that they have taken a single step in regard to the question itself, but that they have simply busied themselves in making attacks in abusive and unseemly language, when yet the real point at issue is this, whether it is allowable to approach immediately our Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, or whether we must go a circuitous way, namely, to God the Father, that He may impute to us the merit and righteousness of His Son, and send the Holy Spirit. But that

* The King's official reply to the declarations of Drs. Beyer and Rosén is contained in Document 245, T.

† See Document 6, no, 37.

‡ The Swedish original of this Document, from which the present translation has been made, is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was printed as Letter XIII in the "Samlingar för Philantroper," and an English translation of it is contained in the Supplement to the enlarged English edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," published in 1855, pp. 6 to 9.

we may go the other, which is the direct way, namely, to our Saviour, Jesus Christ, is in accordance both with the 'Augsburg Confession,' and the 'Formula Concordiæ,' and also with our own prayers and hymns; and it entirely agrees with God's Word.

"In the 'Augsburg Confession' are the following words: 'For [the Scripture] sets before us Christ alone as the Mediator, the Propitiator, the High Priest, and the Intercessor; He is to be invoked, or addressed; and He has promised that He will hear our prayers; and the Sacred Scripture very greatly approves of this worship, viz. that He should be invoked in all afflictions' (1 John ii, 1).

"In the 'Formula Concordiæ' are these words: 'We have a command that we should call upon Christ according to this saying, 'Come unto me all ye that labour,' &c., which is certainly addressed to us; and Isaiah says, chap. xi, 'In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people. On Him shall the nations call.' And in Psalm xlv, 'The rich among the people shall entreat Thy countenance.' And in Psalm lxxii, 'And all kings of the earth shall fall down before Him.' And in another verse, 'They shall pray before Him continually.' And in John v, 23, Christ says, 'All shall honour the Son, even as they honour the Father.' See also Paul in 1 Thess. ii. These are the identical words quoted from the work.

"In our Hymn-book are prayers and hymns addressed to Jesus Christ alone; as Hymn 266, of which I will quote only what follows:

'Lo! Jesus is my might;
He is my heart's delight.
O Jesus, hear my voice.

If I of Christ make sure,
I'll ever feel secure,
And freed from all my sins.

As Jesus is my shield,
I'll ne'er to Satan yield
Tho' he against me rage.

My cares and all my woe
On Him alone I'll throw,
Who is my strength and guard.

By day and night I rest
Safely on Jesus' breast,
In whom alone I trust' (Verses 1, 3, 8).

"Besides all this, two of my letters, which have been inserted and printed in the Gottenburg 'Minutes,'* contain numerous proofs, adduced from the whole of the 'Formula Concordiæ,' that our Saviour, even as to His Humanity, is God, which Luther and the 'Formula Concordiæ' corroborate with all their power, and which is also in agreement with the entire Word of God. In proof of this I refer you only to Col. ii, 9; 1 John v, 20, 21. More to the same purport has been adduced from one of my works, an extract from which may be found in the printed 'Minutes' of the Gottenburg Consistory (Document 245, C, p. 291 et seq.). This doctrine they there call *Swedenborgianism*; but for my part I call it *Genuine Christianity*.

"This is the question now at issue, which the members of the Consistory have, on their part, not touched upon at all, but respecting which they have simply burst forth into abusive language, which affects not simply my person and honour, but our Redeemer and His holiness. How they will answer for this after death, I will not here consider.

"As to the Son of God from eternity, which is likewise a controverted point, I have proved, that in the Apostles' Creed, which is received throughout the whole of Christendom, and which contains the doctrine of the apostles themselves, no other Son of God is mentioned than the Son of God born in time, who is our Redeemer Himself, to whom every man can address himself, and to whom, by virtue of what is stated in the 'Augsburg Confession' and the 'Formula Concordiæ,' he must address himself, that he may obtain salvation. And if our freedom be interfered with in this respect, I would rather live in Tartary than among Christians. If any other be willing

* Document 245, F and G.

to go further—to a Son of God from eternity, he is at liberty to do so.

"Your letter, and your fear of harsh treatment, have induced me to develop and explain the point at issue in this manner, since theological subjects are of such a nature, that a person may easily wander about in darkness in respect to them, particularly if accusers, with a pretence of learning, try to blacken them by such coarse expressions, and seek to kill the 'man-child' with murderous words. However, I presume, and I believe it as a certainty, that His Royal Majesty with the enlightened members of the Council will judge of this matter in its true light, and not according to the glosses of the Dean and others. For if you should be removed from office and exiled, what could the present as well as future generations say, but that this had happened to you for no other reason than that you had approached immediately our Lord and Saviour, and that you had, notwithstanding, not denied the Trinity. What astonishment and indignation must not this cause in every one!

"This subject, in its whole extent, will soon be placed before the whole of Christendom,* and the judgment passed upon it I will hereafter submit to the King, and to the Honourable Houses of the Realm in general: for during a session of the Diet, the House of the Clergy is not at liberty to submit to His Royal Majesty its own separate or independent opinion, which shall afterwards have the force of law. Theological matters belong to the other Houses also.†

"With respect to your journey here, I do not think that your presence in Stockholm would greatly benefit your cause. I will only ask you to be kind enough to copy this letter, and send a copy to His Excellency Senator Stockenström,[198] and another to His Excellency Senator R. Hermanson,[199] informing

* The above letter was written on April 12, 1770, and in the "True Christian Religion," no. 791 Swedenborg states that that work was finished on June 19, 1770; so that the publication of that work was evidently before his mind when he penned these expressions.

† The Swedish Diet at the time of Swedenborg was divided into four Houses: the House of Nobles, the House of the Clergy, the House of Burghers, and the House of Peasants. Any measure to have legal power had to pass three out of the four Houses. This lumbersome legislative machinery was abolished in 1866, and the two chambers-system introduced.

them that it is done at my request. I intend to send a copy myself to the Chancellor of Justice,[196] and one to his Excellency Count Ekeblad.[200] I remain with all friendship and affection,

"Your obedient servant,

"Em. Swedenborg.

"Stockholm, April 12, 1770."

Two days after Swedenborg had addressed the preceding letter to Dr. Beyer, Dr. Rosén wrote the following letter to "one of the Senators," who had, as the author of "Nya Kyrkan" says, "desired a detailed account of the case." The following Document therefore may be regarded as a supplement to the declaration which Dr. Rosén submitted to the King (Document 245, Q.):

S.

*DR. ROSÉN TO A SENATOR.**

"High well-born Baron, Councillor of His Royal Majesty and the Kingdom of Sweden, Knight and Commander of your Order.

"Gracious Sir,

"As Swedenborgianism and I have fallen into the hands of your Excellency, I will not distress myself about a fortunate issue of our cause, and my acquittal. The exigency of the case, nevertheless, requires that, with your gracious leave, I should explain myself at greater length.

"The severest reproach against the doctrine to which I bear witness, is its difference from, and in some respects conflict with, the Confession of Faith, on which we have taken an oath; my crime also consists in nothing else than refusing, on that ground, to reject the doctrines of Swedenborg.

"Gracious Sir, the essence of the purity of our doctrine is its accordance with Scripture; and the laws of Sweden, especially

* The Swedish original of this Document is printed in "Nya Kyrkan," &c., Part I, pp. 51 to 58.

a law dating from the year 1766, indicate this.* If all Christians who are related to us by faith appeal to God's Word, though some do violence to it and strain it, nevertheless if we examine this matter justly and, as it were, standing in God's presence, the question resolves itself into this, Who has really the law and the Word on his side? He who has is orthodox, and he alone. A great advance in linguistics and an accumulation of inestimable philological and philosophical† discoveries, made in recent times, give me a just hope that an amendment in our faith and life, which is as possible as it is necessary, will eventually take place. And now it happens that a wonderful man, who gives evidence of a most unusual learning in natural and spiritual things, declares that he has been sent by the Lord for such a purpose; and on being asked for his credentials, he solves all involved theological problems,‡ strikes down naturalism and superstition, with the same weapons exposes the nakedness of the learned, and subjects himself to the good and evil report of the Lord's apostles; he manifests the greatest possible veneration for Scripture, he worships God, and urges man to sanctification: in short, he seeks to promote the honour of the Most High. It is excusable, if for such a man, whose 'eyes are open' (Num. xxiv, 4), and 'in whom is undoubtedly the spirit of the holy gods' (Dan. v. ii), I should conceive some veneration.

"Mere curiosity, however, has not led me to his doctrines,

* "The statutes concerning the freedom of writing and printing do not mention the dogmatic books, § 1, and admit of no other than a literal explanation."

† "The symbols are sacred among us, so far as they are the Word of God propounded as to its meaning and as to its words. If a different meaning should be laid upon them, by an advance in the study of theology, they are no longer the Word of God. The same would be the case, if a creed should originate in the notions of men.' See Schubert's *Consideration of the Articles of Faith.*

‡ "Paul, for instance, says (Romans iv, 3) that 'Abraham was *justified by faith*, and James (ii, 21) declares that he was *justified by works*. The apostle likewise states, that 'justification or righteousness is imputed to man without works' (Romans iv, 6; xi, 17); when yet 'God will render to every man according to his deeds' (Romans ii, 6). Of this subject Swedenborg gives a natural and unforced explanation."

but I have been drawn to them by their consistency with God's Word. If, for instance, Doctor Luther has taken the law in a sense that greatly astonishes Paul, it is the friend of angels, our celebrated countryman alone, who is acquainted with this circumstance. Still Grotius and Michaëlis interpret Romans iii, 28 in the same sense as Swedenborg; all of whom are giants in learning.

"What Mosheim, a man of like celebrity, thought about the doctrine of the Divine Trinity, he gives us sufficiently to understand, when he, who worships three persons, is unable to connect any thought with these expressions, and is unable to give a definition of a person and of an essence. In a similar manner Michaëlis, the aulic councillor, acknowledges the eternal birth of the Son, but is unable to find any passage from Scripture by which to confirm it.*

"Our last synodal disputation took exception both to the sentence of condemnation under which we are *(förkastelsedom)*, and to vindictive justice *(hämd-rättfardighet)*.

"To these views Swedenborgianism and the more enlightened doctrine of Christ's satisfaction are most closely related. This doctrine Grotius saw before Swedenborg.† The Dutch theologian also on the subject of justification entertains similar ideas with the Swedish theologian. How was it possible for the North to be enlightened two hundred and fifty years ago, when a canonized blindness was of more value than the light of the morning star?

"No visionary or dreamer has the honour to think alike with those harbingers of light, Grotius, Mosheim, Michaëlis, and others. Swedenborg is the man who utters 'unspeakable words' (αρρητα ρημματα, 2 Cor. xii, 4) in agreement with reason.

"No contradiction can be discovered in those dreams which he has had during twenty-six years, if, in accomodation to the notions of the world, it is just to call them so. Paul's sermons in olden times were considered foolishness. If an apostle has been caught up into the third heaven, the possibility of strange

* "He corroborated the Divinity of Jesus, and contents himself with not controverting the rest."

† Grotius *ad Corinthios* v, 19, 20, 21.

things ought at least not to be disputed. What happened to an Ezekiel and a Daniel, may certainly happen also to an Emanuel. Visions and revelations are certainly most unexpected things; but deliberate falsehoods and a fanciful confusion can certainly not be reconciled with so great and profound an insight. *'Standhafte Erfahrungen sind keine Einbildungen'* [a constant series of experiences is not a matter of the imagination], says Superintendent Œtinger[182] in relation to Emanuel Swedenborg, in his preface to 'The Earthly and Heavenly Philosophy of Swedenborg and others' (Swedenborg's und Anderer Irdische und Himmlische Philosophie). And who has ever *dreamt* about the world of spirits and the lower earth, about the heavens and the mansions that are there prepared? These subjects of superlative importance are now first understood by us on reading the Word. Read among others Isa. xiv, 9, 15; Ezek. xxxi, 14, 16; John xiv, 2.

"Our association with spirits, and by their means with heaven and hell, remains a psychological arcanum, which the world is unable to perceive; and yet Scripture treats of this subject (Matt. xvii, 15, 18; see also Grotius on Ephes. ii, 2; vi, 12). So long as this bond of connection between human souls and spirits escapes our notice, Swedenborgianism is madness in our eyes; not, however, when it is known in what mode and by what means spiritual blessings are communicated to us, and remain with us.

"Gracious Sir, permit me to insert here a brief summary of the, I hope, unpresuming ideas on the subject of Swedenborgianism which I submitted to the Consistory.

"I have declared, that there is a Trinity in God; but we must have a different idea of the three persons* from that which is commonly entertained. The doctrine, on examination in its extreme form, proves this sufficiently. For the Church, or to speak more correctly, the people, call upon the Father,

* "The offence given by a person who prefers to speak the language of Scripture rather than that of our Fathers of the Church, can certainly be only a light one; since the mere fear of committing a great error, by straying outside of Scripture on so important a question, must be esteemed much higher than deference to the conclusions of men."

as one God, to be conciliated for the sake of the second, and do such and such things by the operation of the third, as our Prayer-books tell us. Are we not told that one God was angry and implacable, until the death of the second? How does this strike the more enlightened theologians? Since these views are not met with in God's Word, and are opposed to reason, I cannot see why in a determined and free nation, they should be maintained to be infallible and pure doctrine. A religion which is not derived exclusively from the Word, but in a great measure from the human brain, may be examined throughout the whole world in a humble unpresuming manner; especially if it has been established by men like ourselves. I am far from declaring that the doctrine, considered as a whole, is of such a nature. Such is far from being the case. But with all due deference for the basis on which they rest, I do think that some of our dogmatic expressions confound the simple-minded and lead them into error.

"Further, I believe I have declared, or at least thought, that worship without understanding is no worship, and likewise that human fictions in matters of faith are bad materials for constructing the Church; nay, that they are an abomination, when they conflict both with reason and revelation.

"I believe I have declared, or at least thought, that reconciliation consists in this, that salvation from sin and the devil has been rendered possible; that man's state of captivity is spiritual,* and the ransom of a similar nature; that our deliverance has been represented in the Sacred Scripture by the most exact corresponding images of our own wicked nature; in short, that God does not change His disposition towards mankind, but that we through His grace change our disposition towards Him.

"I believe I have declared, or thought, that justification and faith are imputed to us, or are looked upon as ours,

* "'Spiritual captivity consists in being led away from truths and goods, and introduced into falsities and evils' (Apocalypse Revealed, no. 591). And deliverance out of this state of captivity, or redemption by the blood of Christ, has been effected by the same, understood in a spiritual manner, i. e. by Divine Truth. Faith is due to that blood."

although they come from above; that salvation actually takes place by a removal of evil and falsity from the heart, through the implantation of truth and charity by the Lord, and so forth. I know that much may be added here, and also many objections brought forward; but I hasten to that matter which concerns me more particularly.

"Gracious Sir, it is by no means unusual for a philologist to agree with Grotius, Mosheim, and Michaëlis, and to understand certain passages in Scripture differently from the old Reformers.

"It is perhaps not appropriate to declare what genuine Lutherans think. I, nevertheless, ventured to do so in support of Section I, chap. i, Misdemeanours B.' [of the Swedish Code of laws]; where most undoubtedly a distinction is made between errors and the views respecting which *Lutheran teachers are found to differ.*

"As regards myself, I have not discovered a new religion, nor have I propagated any other than the evangelical religion, so far as it harmonizes with our symbolical [dogmatic] books. I have admitted that Swedenborgianism diminishes our veneration for these books; and when I observed this I became much troubled in my mind about it, and the result of my investigations was that I halted in my resolution. Yet the teachers of our dogmas, far from putting their own declarations on a par with Scripture (how strange, if the Lutheran colony in Sweden should attribute to the Augsburg principles a greater weight than is done both in the fatherland of protestantism and by the originators of the law! To do so would be a sign of a fanatical and almost frantic zeal, and not of veneration for the Word, and gratitude towards its Giver), ascribe the power of judging to the Word alone; and as all human statutes in the Swedish laws are framed in accordance with Scripture, and are not placed above it; nay, as the free Houses of the Swedish Diet in 1766,* in describing the limits of the freedom of writing and

* "The force of this argument is derived from the intention of the statute. The preamble states, that the freedom of writing is intended to benefit the cultivation of the sciences without any exception. The free-

printing, have not mentioned, but have purposely, as it seems, disregarded every ecclesiastical standard which is generally more talked about than the Divine Word—I mean here everything concerning the symbolical [dogmatic] writings; I have, therefore, ventured, not to reject the Swedenborgian system on account of some differences between it and the usual forms of doctrine, being convinced that His Royal Majesty would not regard unfavourably, an unreserved veneration for Scripture, provided human zeal and praiseworthy well-intentioned measures are not blamed and abused.

"I call strict attention to the literal meaning of Section I in our most recent fundamental law, and maintain that a real distinction is there made between that which is usually called *'norma professionis'* (the rule of our profession) and our 'genuine Confession of Faith.' For 1. The *Apologia Aug. Confessionis* recognizes three or four sacraments, if I understand properly pp. 200, 201, while in Sweden we are satisfied with Baptism and the Holy Supper; 2. Assessor Swedenborg has discovered a gross contradiction, which has escaped the confessors, and of which he speaks on p. 32 of *'Summaria Expositio;'* while our true Confession of Faith is exempt from mistakes and errors; 3. Our dogmatic books admit of a rigorous investigation, but not so our true confession or creed; 4. our dogmatic books are controversial writings, composed for the purpose of exhibiting the distinction between us and other partakers of the Christian faith, but they do not contain the kernel of God's Word, and the whole doctrine of theology which is comprised in the Confession of Faith.

"Besides, I have neither confirmed another doctrine, nor

dom of writing and printing is unlimited in many things. In Divine matters God's and not men's definitions must establish just bounds; if in theology anything is to be gained by the statute. Besides, the symbolical [dogmatic] books are not mentioned in Section I, but only our genuine Confession of Faith. Now, as I have neither spoken nor written against that, I do not find myself guilty of any breach of the law; unless it consists in this, that I think in a human way about human writings, that I despise all theological subterfuges; that I disregard forced interpretations of Scripture, and by the evangelical doctrine understand no other than that which is correctly drawn from the Word of God, whether in olden or recent times."

have I spoken against our accepted doctrine, so far as Biblical religion, as it flows from the interpretation of the greatest Master, is identical with that of Sweden. Should there be any difference in the form of expression, this admits of a humble and unpresuming revision, and if it be so wished by those in authority, it can be more carefully compared with the Word. Our whole doctrine also admits of examination according to the example of the Bereans, and as long as God's Word is the standard, that doctrine is not discredited, if all the dark bonds and chains of hell, wherewith Satan holds men captive, are riven asunder in it.

"Finally, in the Consistory I declared my opinion on what constitutes a subject for a disputation, wherein, I believe, I was fully justified. In accordance with a resolution made at the meeting at Upsal, I am allowed to raise a point for a disputation without special occasion, and I am allowed to bring forward arguments in its support; how much more, then, am I permitted to put in their proper light controverted points, when ordered to do so by the King. It would not in such a case have been becoming to keep out of sight Biblical grounds of decision, against my better judgment. On the other hand, however, I will always consider it as censurable openly to defend Swedenborg, in case or whenever he is declared to be in error by His Royal Majesty.

"In conclusion I have drawn a clear distinction between the whole of Swedenborgianism and the three points of doctrine, which, according to the best of my knowledge, I have proved to be concordant with God's Word, when interpreted without prejudice. Nor did I enter into the whole width and depth of the interior, i. e. the spiritual, meaning of Scripture, but I confined myself to the doctrine, or the catechism, which is gathered from the literal meaning; and when examined by this criterion, I did not find the doctrine to conflict with the true confession. And last of all, if I have been in error in differing in opinion from the majority of the Consistory, I have erred in thought, and not in deed.

"His Royal Majesty has graciously demanded a humble and decisive judgment respecting the Swedenborgian doctrines. I considered it dangerous to testify in respect to them; since,

on the one hand our Confession does not admit of artificially constructed by-ways, nor of any private reservations, and on the other hand, respect for the fundamental law scarcely permitted any one to express himself with all frankness. Under such critical circumstances I ventured in all humility, as before God, to express myself in full freedom without having respect to any other language than that *which is certain, and is able to teach;* and which is an everlasting foundation, in accordance with which the King and the Houses will be judged hereafter, and, if they are wise, will themselves likewise judge. If, however, I be held responsible for thoughts which, compelled by Christian charity, I uttered in the right place and at the right time, I shall comfort myself among other things with Romans ix, 33; x, 9; x, 11.

"This, but no more, have I ventured, with all due submission to human authority, to bring forward, as long as the Swedenborgian controversy, placed before the highest tribunal, remains as yet unsettled; and I have been commanded to express myself, supported by arguments, and not blindly, nor with extreme arbitrariness, which is no less convenient than it is damnable. God forbid that by my word or thought I should have forfeited the Royal grace, and my privileges as a subject. After having served without reproach for many years, a prospect which is more than sad and an abyss of misfortunes open before me on account of this affair.

"Your Excellency will no doubt find means for my rescue.

"I hope I may be included for all time in your usual grace. But, gracious Sir, a confession at the expense of truth, and by which the cause of truth is injured, I deprecate more than all sufferings.

"With profound deference, gracious Sir, I remain

"Your Excellency's humble servant,

"Rosén.

"Gottenburg, April 14, 1770."

The deliberations of the Privy Council or Senate, to which the whole subject of the so-called "Swedenborgianism," embracing the declarations of Drs. Beyer, Rosén, and Ekebom had been

referred, resulted in two Royal Resolutions, Nos. T and U. The first of these resolutions, which is addressed to the Consistory of Gottenburg, concerns Drs. Beyer and Rosén. Of this the editor discovered one portion in a Swedish, and another in a German publication, and by adding the two portions together he is able to present it in an almost complete form to his readers. The second resolution concerns the introduction of Swedenborg's writings into Sweden.

## T.

*ROYAL RESOLUTION ADDRESSED TO THE CONSISTORY OF GOTTENBURG.**

(a) "His Royal Majesty could not help being troubled and disturbed at seeing that, although Swedenborg's errors are manifest, two clergymen, Rosén and Beyer, have nevertheless, distinctly declared that they are inclined to his doctrine, which they maintain to be in agreement with the Sacred Scripture; with this difference, however, that the former says he has not given instruction in it, while the latter has disseminated it so far as his 'Sermon-Essays,' his 'Dictata,' and Swedenborg's printed letter contain the said doctrine. His Royal Majesty supposed that Rosén and Beyer, in their capacity of clergymen, public teachers, and members of the Consistory, and as guardians of religion and Divine doctrine, would have done all in their power to promote the honour of God's name, to preserve the light of the gospel in its perfect clearness, and to direct the path of guileless youths in the same; and, further, that they would have observed the rules of religion, the regulations of the government, and the declarations of the King, all of which have for their objects

* The first portion marked (a) is extracted from a work entitled: "Frank Views respecting the mode in which to meet fanatical vagaries and religious errors, especially the so-called Swedenborgianism" *(Oförgripeliga Tankar, om Sättet at bemöta Swärmagtige Uptoger och Wilfarande Religions-Meningar; särdeles den så kallade Swedenborgianismen)*, Stockholm, 1788, p. 76. The portion marked (b) was found in German in an anonymous publication by Prelate Œtinger[182] entitled: "Schwedische Urkunden," &c. (see footnote to Document 245, P), 1771, pp. 16 and 17.

unity and purity of doctrine. But as His Royal Majesty has not discovered in them, what His Royal Majesty was justified in expecting from them, and what both the laws of God and of man demand, His Royal Majesty would have full cause for having them treated in accordance with the statutes of religion; yet out of mercy, and out of regard for their own welfare, and wishing to try whether they, like such as have gone astray, may be brought back again to the right way, His Royal Majesty is willing to waive severer measures at this time; and for this reason His Royal Majesty graciously orders Bishop Lamberg to summon them without delay before the Consistory, and to inform them, how His Royal Majesty has looked upon their behaviour, and afterwards to seek to convince them of their errors.

(b) "Further, it shall be the duty of Bishop Lamberg to inform them that their defence of Swedenborg's doctrine on the plea of its agreement with the Word of God can avail nothing; since it cannot be unknown to them that there is scarcely one of the numerous sects that have rebelled in the Christian church, from the first century after Christ to the present time, that did not base itself on the Sacred Scripture, yet according to a different interpretation of the same; nor that the statutes of religion, the constitution and the acts that have been sanctioned by the King, insist upon the unity and purity of that doctrine which is based on the Sacred Scripture, and expressed in the three symbols or creeds, and likewise in the unaltered Augsburg Confession, which was adopted by the Council of Upsal in 1593, and which is explained in the 'Formula Concordiæ;' and that the above statutes and bodies of law are totally opposed to any one explaining the Scripture, and especially the chief grounds of our faith, according to his own good pleasure and notions, and to his striving to make proselytes. Again, he is to inform them that there is no ambiguity either in the passages extracted from Swedenborg's writings by members of the Consistory, nor in what Swedenborg says in the treatise on the 'Intercourse between the Soul and the Body,' which appeared last year, and where he clearly insists, in several places, on his own revelations. And, finally, that no conclusion in favour of the Sweden-

borgian propositions can be drawn from this consideration, that no one has undertaken their refutation, although they have been published now for twenty years; for this merely shows that not every one who has read these writings, deems it necessary to refute absurd things, which fall to the ground when left to themselves, but which by a review might become more generally known. It must be shown to these gentlemen what great risk they run, were they treated in accordance with the statutes of religion; and they must be earnestly called upon to give up in future their erroneous views, which, however clear they are, may yet cause troubles in the church; and, finally, they are to be told that, by favour and grace, time is granted them for consideration and reflection, when they will have to express themselves distinctly and clearly in the 'Minutes' of your body, whether they will take this warning to heart, or whether they persist in their views. Of all this the Consistory will make a humble report, the sooner the better, so that we may see what other more vigorous measures may be necessary, to secure calm and rest in our Christian Church, and to render safe its doctrine by an act of sanctification——

"The Council Chamber, Stockholm, April 26, 1770."

The author of the "Nya Kyrkan," (Part I, p. 70) gives another extract from this resolution, where the members of the Consistory are instructed that "the whole of this matter must be treated with much privacy and caution, so as not to excite curiosity, and cause scandal among the public generally.

The other Royal Resolution, which is directed against the introduction of Swedenborg's writings into Sweden, is as follows:

## U.

*ROYAL RESOLUTION IN RESPECT TO SWEDENBORG'S WRITINGS.**

"Adolphus Frederic," &c. &c.

"Our especial favour, &c. By a memorial which we had read to us, we were informed that several of the theological works of Assessor Swedenborg, which have been

* A copy of the original Document was transferred from Count Engeström's library to the Royal Library in Stockholm, where it is now preserved.

printed abroad, have been imported into this country. And inasmuch as we consider it necessary in a general way that books containing erroneous views on our pure doctrine, should not be circulated among the people at large, it is therefore our gracious will, that a careful and cautious investigation be instituted, with a view of finding out what these books are, and how they have been imported into the country; and that, if any of these books can be discovered, the necessary measures be taken for having them confiscated; and, further, that those whom it concerns in bookshops and commission houses be warned to observe the law and the statutes in respect to theological writings. We also order that under this date a gracious letter be addressed to our General Custom House Office, instructing the intelligent officials in the commission houses and custom houses of our seaports, that in accordance with the Royal Resolution of April 22, 1735, which was issued at the instance of the House of the Clergy, no books imported from abroad are to be delivered, under a fine of fifty dalers in silver, before permission has been granted by the executive of the nearest Consistory.

"We hereby commend you, &c.

"ADOLPHUS FREDERIC.

"The Council Chamber, Stockholm, April 26, 1770.

"To the College of Chancery in reference to books and writings containing erroneous statements on our pure doctrine."

Of these royal resolutions, which were issued on April 26, 1770, Swedenborg, who was at the time in Stockholm, had not the remotest idea when writing a few days afterwards the following two letters; one to Dr. Beyer, and the other to General Tuxen of Elsinore, in Denmark.

## V.

*SIXTEENTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.**

"Reverend Doctor,

"I received your letter dated March 18, together with a copy of the one which you submitted to His Royal Majesty [Document 245, O]. You mention also that information had reached Gottenburg of a resolution which had been projected in the Privy Council; the subject, however, was re-considered, after a copy of the letter which I had written to you [Document 245, R], was sent to Senator Ekeblad[200] and the Chancellor of Justice,[196] and the final result is contained in the letter addressed by the Chancellor to the Consistory of Gottenburg [Document 245, T], of which you will kindly let me have a copy. Had they retained the first project, according to which Swedenborgianism was not to be talked of or mentioned in conversation, when yet it signifies the worship of the Lord, what would have been the result, but a fear in the clergy to speak about Christ and His care for humanity; for by doing so they would in this case have run the risk of a public admonition, for supporting 'Swedenborgianism,' and in consequence thereof Christianity would have declined in Sweden, and the country would have lapsed into Socinianism, and finally into heathenism, as may be concluded from Matt. xii, 30, and Mark ix, 40. Such an offspring would have been born from the first project. For this reason also, when certain clergymen of this town, who are animated by a genuine zeal, first heard of this report, they were astonished, thinking that thus Christianity would die out in our country. I have heard that the bishop and many members of the venerable House of the Clergy expressed

* The Swedish original of this letter is preserved among the Swedenborg MSS. in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was printed in the "Samlingar för Philantroper," for 1788 as Letter XIII. An English translation appeared in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790, p. 239, whence it was transferred as Letter IX to the editions in English of the "Swedenborg Documents" published in England and America.

themselves handsomely at the Diet upon the doctrines, discussed there.

"Nothing of what the Consistories submitted against my writings has been communicated to me, so that I am totally ignorant of what passed in the Privy Council.*

"Next June I will travel to Amsterdam, where I intend to publish the 'Universal Theology of the New Church.' The worship of the Lord is the foundation therein, and if upon that foundation the true house or temple be not built, others will erect upon it *lupanaria* or brothels.

"With respect to the dragonist spirits, they are all removed far away to the south, where certain places are assigned to the learned, to each his own cell, where they may confirm themselves in justification by faith alone, and those who confirm themselves therein by the Word of God, depart thence into a desert, and so on farther; and the rest, after making their escape, receive no homes; whither they direct their way I do not yet know: in heaven there is no place for them. Their fate will be, as described in the 'Apocalypse Revealed,' no. 421. But the abyss which is described there is now removed farther towards the south, as has been observed.

"I remain with all friendship and trust,

"Your most obedient servant,

"EM. SWEDENBORG

"Stockholm, April 30, 1770."

General Tuxen[201] was the first who called Swedenborg's attention to the printed Minutes of the Consistory of Gottenburg (see Document 245, X, p. 373), and Swedenborg acknowledged his kind offices by giving him in the following letter a general account of his difficulties with the Consistory. Swedenborg's letter to General Tuxen serves, therefore, in the place of a general résumé of these difficulties up to May 1, 1770.

* From this passage it appears, as if not only the Consistory of Gottenburg, but also the other Consistories of Sweden had been ordered to submit their opinions of Swedenborg's theological writings. Cfr. on this subject Document 6, no. 37.

## W.

*EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO GENERAL COMMISSARY C. TUXEN.*[201]*

"I received your letter of March 4 by your son, Lieutenant Tuxen, from whom I had the pleasure of receiving a visit. I ought to have answered your letter earlier; but as I waited for the conclusion of the Gottenburg affair, in order to inform you in respect to it, my answer has been delayed for some time. I suffered this matter, with all the ire that was poured out upon it at Gottenburg, to come to an end, and then I at last sent to the Chancellor of Justice[196] and Senator Ekeblad[200] a copy of the enclosed [Document 245, R], causing thereby a change in the affair, of which I shall inform you some other time.

"The affair took its rise at Gottenburg, principally from the Dean. The deputies of that place having been instructed to complain of me and of Dr. Beyer to the Diet, they pushed matters as far as they could, but would never have effected anything, had not Bishop Filenius, who was then the Speaker in the House of the Clergy, taken up the matter, and, by cunning and craft, gained over a crowd in the House. This the Bishop did at first from secret dislike, and afterwards from malice. The result was that a committee was appointed in the House of the Clergy on the Swedenborgian cause. Whilst they deliberated on this subject, I did not hear a word of it, as all was carried on with secrecy; yet the committee, which consisted of bishops and professors, found the matter quite different from what Bishop Filenius had represented: they terminated in my favour, and expressed themselves in the House with respect to myself very handsomely and reasonably. Bishop Filenius, nevertheless, succeeded in having a memorial submitted to His Royal Majesty and the

* A copy of the Swedish original of this Document is preserved in the Cathedral-Library of Linköping among the letters of Dr. Carl Jesper Benzelius.[99] An English translation was published by Mr. Augustus Nordensköld[35] in the Appendix to the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790; whence it was inserted in the English editions of the "Swedenborg Documents" published in England and America.

Privy Council, to this effect, that the Chancellor of Justice should endeavour to quell the disorders which had arisen at Gottenburg; whereupon the Chancellor of Justice sent a letter to the Consistories that they should express themselves in regard to this matter; and after their opinions had been received, the affair occupied the Privy Council for two days; and not until then did I come forward with the enclosed letter [Document 245, R], which was read before the Council. The conclusion is contained in a letter addressed by the Chancellor of Justice to the Consistory of Gottenburg, which is not against me, and the particulars of which I shall relate to you some other time. Of all this I knew nothing while it was being discussed; but, enjoying the calm in my chamber, I allowed the storm to rage as much as it pleased outside: for it had been resolved in the Diet, as well as in the Privy Council, that my person should not be touched.

"I send you the enclosed copy, which I have also presented to the Privy Council, that it may be communicated to Count Bernstorff[202] and Count Thott,[203] so that they may see what the state of the case really is, and that the printed Minutes of Gottenburg, which are filled with invectives, may not disturb the good opinion which they have hitherto entertained. If the enclosed could also be translated into German, and printed in Hamburg, I should be very much pleased.

"In the month of June next I intend to set out for Amsterdam, where I will publish the 'Universal Theology of the New Church.' If the ship then remains some time off Elsinore, I shall have the pleasure of coming to your house, to wish you and your dear wife and children all spiritual welfare. I remain, with all affection, trust, and friendship,

"Your most obedient servant,

"Em. Swedenborg.

"Stockholm, May 1, 1770.

"P. S. If I have failed to address you by your proper title, which I forget, I beg to be excused."

When Swedenborg became acquainted with the real result of the deliberations of the Privy Council as expressed in the

Royal Resolutions, contained in Document 245, T and U, he was anything but satisfied therewith, and protested against them in the following letter addressed directly to the King:

## X.

*EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO THE KING OF SWEDEN.*[*]

"Most powerful and most gracious King,

"I feel compelled at this juncture to have recourse to Your Majesty's protection; for I have been treated as no one has ever been treated before in Sweden since the introduction of Christianity, and still less since the establishment of freedom here. I will first give you a brief account of things as they have happened. Upon my return from abroad the last time I was informed, that Bishop Filenius had confiscated my work entitled *'De Amore Conjugiali,'* which had appeared in Holland and been sent to Norrköping. I therefore immediately enquired of some bishops whether this had been authorized by the House of the Clergy; they answered that they were aware of the confiscation but that no general action had been taken, and that not a word about it had been entered upon the Minutes. Immediately afterwards the clergy from Gottenburg made a noise in their House about my books, and pushed matters so far, that the House appointed a committee *de Swedenborgianismo* [on Swedenborgianism], which consisted

* A copy of the Swedish original of this Document is contained in Vol. XIV, p. 803 of the Bergius Collection of Letters belonging to the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. The Swedish copy contained in Part I of the "Nya Kyrkan," &c., p. 61, is a version made either from a German or English translation. A German translation of this letter appeared as early as 1771 in a publication of Prelate Œtinger's, entitled "Swedische Urkunden," &c., pp. 17 to 22. A French translation was published in the preface to Pernety's French version of "Heaven and Hell," in 1782; and an English translation in the collection of Documents appended to the second edition of the English translation of "The Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," printed in 1784, pp. 19 to 22. In 1790 this translation was reprinted in the "New Jerusalem Magazine," pp. 98 to 102; and was afterwards embodied in the English editions of the "Swedenborg Documents" published in England and America.

of bishops and professors. This committee sat for several months, and at last reported handsomely and reasonably on that subject, and thereby suppressed completely the disturbance which had been made; but to put an end to it still more effectually, it was resolved that a humble memorial should be addressed to Your Royal Majesty, requesting that the Chancellor of Justice should inquire about the disturbances which had arisen in Gottenburg. When the Bishop and the Dean of that place, who are the torch and trumpet *(fax et tuba)* in this affair, discovered that they made no progress in the reverend House of the Clergy, they, to stir up and kindle the flame anew, commenced a publication of twenty sheets or more about 'Swedenborgianism,' which is filled with invectives; and after this had been sent to Stockholm, the matter was taken up and settled by Your Majesty in the Privy Council, in consequence of which the Chancellor of Justice dispatched to the Consistory of Gottenburg an official letter, wherein, I have reason to think, he assented to the opinion expressed by the Consistory.

"I received no more intimation than a child in the cradle of all that took place, of the committee in the reverend House of the Clergy, of the memorial they submitted to Your Royal Majesty, of the publication in Gottenburg on 'Swedenborgianism,' of the resolution which was passed by Your Royal Majesty in the Privy Council, and of the letter embodying it which was dispatched to the Consistory in Gottenburg. Of all this, from beginning to end, I received not the least intimation: all was done without my receiving a hearing; when yet the whole matter was about 'Swedenborgianism,' and the papers printed in Gottenburg are filled with coarse and reprehensible language without touching materially the subject of 'Swedenborgianism,' which is the worship of the Lord our Saviour.* Of these printed papers I had no other knowledge than what I received from a general commissary of war[201] at Elsinore, and

* In the German translation by Prelate Œtinger the following words are added here: "Among these papers there are also two letters written by Bishop Filenius, who, nevertheless, had no right at all to meddle in these things."

afterwards from a friend here in Stockholm who lent them to me for a day. Wherefore I still insist that every thing that has taken place since my return home has, from beginning to end, been done without giving me a hearing.

"From a rumour which has spread here in town I have learned that from the office of the Chancellor of Justice a communication has been made to the Consistory of Gottenburg, to the effect that my books have been entirely forbidden to be imported into this country,* and, further, that the same office has stigmatized my revelations as untrue and false. In reply to this I humbly beg to make the following statement: That our Saviour visibly revealed Himself before me, and commanded me to do what I have done, and what I have still to do; and that thereupon He permitted me to have intercourse with angels and spirits, I have declared before the whole of Christendom, as well in England, Holland, Germany. and Denmark, as in France and Spain, and also on various occasions in this country before their Royal Majesties, and especially when I enjoyed the grace to eat at their table, in the presence of the whole royal family, and also of five senators and others; at which time my mission constituted the sole topic of conversation. Subsequently, also, I have revealed this before many senators; and among these Count Tessin,[39] Count Bonde,[175] and Count Höpken[28] have found it in truth to be so, and Count Höpken, a gentleman of enlightened understanding, still continues to believe so; without mentioning many others, as well at home as abroad, among whom are both kings and princes. All this, however, the office of the Chancellor of Justice, if the rumour is correctly etated declares to be false; when yet it is the truth. Should they reply that the thing is inconceivable to them, I have nothing to gainsay, since I am unable to put the state of my sight and speech into their heads, in order to convince them; nor am I able to cause angels and spirits to converse with them; nor do miracles happen now; but their very reason will enable them to see this, when they thoughtfully read my writings, wherein much may

* In the German translation these words are added: "under penalty of fifty dalers and of confiscation."

be found which has never before been discovered, and which cannot be discovered except by real vision, and intercourse with those who are in the spiritual world. In order that reason may see and acknowledge this, I beg that one of your Excellencies may peruse what has been said on this subject in my book, *'De Amore Conjugiali,'* in a memorable relation on pages 314 to 316; his Excellency Count Ekeblad and his Excellency Count Bjelke possess the book. If any doubt should still remain, I am ready to testify with the most solemn oath that may be prescribed to me, that this is the whole truth and a reality, without the least fallacy. That our Saviour permits me to experience this, is not on my own account, but for the sake of a sublime interest which concerns the eternal welfare of all Christians. Since such is the real state of things, it is wrong to declare it to be untruth and falsity; although it may be pronounced to be something that cannot be comprehended.

"If now the rumour which has been spread is correct, viz. that such things are contained in the letter which was sent from the office of the Chancellor of Justice to the Consistory of Gottenburg, it follows hence that my books are declared to be heretical, and that I am declared to speak untruths and falsehoods in matters of revelation, and, further, that, from beginning to end, all this has been determined upon without giving me a hearing. What else results from this, but that in agreement with the resolution any severe treatment* may be brought forward by the Consistory of Gottenburg and Bishop Filenius, and sentence may be pronounced upon me, without my being heard in the affair at all; for of what use is a declaration or a defence after the sentence has been pronounced?

"This is the reason why, as I said above, 'I am compelled to have recourse to Your Majesty, since I have been treated as no one has ever been treated before in Sweden since the introduction of Christianity, and still less since the establishment of freedom,' by being treated as I have been, without a hearing having been granted me.

* The German translation adds here, "even as to my being cast into prison."

"As this, however, concerns not only my writings, but as a natural consequence my person also, I make a humble request, that the memorial should be communicated to me which was addressed to Your Royal Majesty in this matter by the House of the Clergy, likewise the Minutes of the Privy Council, and the letter which was despatched from the office of the Chancellor of Justice to the Consistory of Gottenburg, in order that I may at once be heard, and may show forth the whole of my treatment before the public at large.*

"In respect to Doctors Beyer and Rosén of Gottenburg, I have given them no other advice than that they should approach our Saviour, *Jesus Christ, to whom all power has been given in heaven and on earth* (Matt. xxviii, 18), and should strive after their salvation; and as far as I have been able to learn, they have affirmed and insisted upon that one point, which is also in conformity with the 'Augsburg Confession,' the *Formula Concordiæ*, and the whole Word of God; nevertheless, for this acknowledgment alone they have become to a certain extent martyrs, at least so far as regards the cruel persecutions of the Bishop and the Dean of that town. The same expression also I apply to my books, which I regard as my own self, when, nevertheless, all that the Dean of Gottenburg has poured out against them, consists of sheer invectives, which do not contain a particle of truth.

"Your Royal Majesty's most humble and most dutiful servant and subject,

"EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

[Stockholm, May 10, 1770.]†

"I enclose two letters I have addressed to Dr. Beyer; the first of these concerns the worship of the Lord which is shown to be in agreement with the 'Augsburg Confession,' the *Formula Concordiæ*, and the whole Word of God."

* In the German translation the last two clauses read as follows: "in that I, like other subjects, may once have a hearing, and that I may enjoy the advantage *(beneficium)* of submitting a reply."

† In the Swedish copy from which the above translation has been made no date is given; we therefore supply the same from the French translation of Pernety.

No answer was received by Swedenborg to this letter, before he left for Amsterdam at the close of July, 1770, as appears from the following letter to one of his friends in Gottenburg, in which a copy of what he had written to the King was enclosed:

## Y.

*EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO AUGUSTUS ALSTRÖMER.*[*]

"Well-born Sir,

"As I shall leave next week for Amsterdam, and as I understand that the religious trial of Drs. Beyer and Rosén has been settled by the Privy Council in an unexpected manner (cfr. Document 245, T], and as this will probably be talked about for a long time in Gottenburg, I have the honour to communicate to you what I submitted on this subject to His Majesty, so as to break the force of the malicious comments, which will no doubt issue from the mouths of certain persons, originating in their interior stupidity and perversity.

"Two gentlemen of the Supreme Court of Appeals *(Justitiæ Revisionen)* told me that the Privy Council was the *pontifex maximus* in religious matters. At the time I did not make any reply; if, however, they should repeat this statement to me, I should say that, far from being the *pontifex maximus,* they are simply the *vicarius vicarii pontificis maximi,* since Christ, our Saviour is alone *pontifex maximus;* that the Houses of the Diet are His *vicarius,* and therefore are responsible to Him; and that the Privy Council is the *vicarius* of the Houses of the Diet, and only as such has plenipotentiary power; and, consequently, it is the *vicarius vicarii pontificis maximi.* Nor am I able to see in what their pontifical power consists, as they have simply assented to the opinion expressed by the Consistory of Gottenburg; and, without examining any of the

* A copy of the Swedish original of this Document is preserved among Swedenborg's letters to Dr. Beyer in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm.

religious subjects in my books, have nevertheless prohibited them. The Roman pope's styling himself *pontifex maximus* is due to arrogance; for he claims and takes upon himself all the power of Christ, our Saviour, making the people believe that he is Christ upon earth.

"I have not yet received any answer from the Privy Council; and when the subject was before them last week, it was resolved that it should be postponed, until those members who had gone into the country returned. I am well aware that they strike me upon my right cheek, but how they will be able to wipe off what the other cheek is anointed with, I cannot tell.

"Please give my kindest regards to Doctors Beyer and Rosén, and to all the rest who believe in our Saviour. I remain, with all respect and affection,

"Your most obedient servant,

"EM. SWEDENBORG.

"Stockholm, July 19, 1770."

The same sentiments, only in a rather more extended form, Swedenborg communicated to the Chancellor of Justice and the three Swedish Universities of Upsal, Lund, and Åbo in a letter wherein was enclosed a copy of that which he had addressed to the King. A copy of this letter, which constitutes Document 245, AA, he also enclosed to Dr. Beyer, as appears from the following:

## Z.

*SEVENTEENTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.*[22*]

"Reverend and most learned Doctor and Lector,

"As I shall depart in the course of a few days for Amsterdam, I desire herewith to take leave of you. I hope that our Saviour will sustain you in good health, preserve you from further violence, and bless your thoughts. I enclose

* The Swedish original of this letter is preserved among the Swedenborg MSS. in the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was printed in the "Samlingar för Philantroper" as Letter XV. The first English trans-

a copy of a letter which I have addressed to the universities and also to the Chancellor of Justice.[196] With kind remembrances to Dr. Rosén I remain, with all friendship and affection,

"Your most obedient servant.

"EM. SWEDENBORG.

"Stockholm, July 23, 1770."

## AA.

*EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO THE UNIVERSITIES OF UPSAL, LUND, AND ÅBO.**

"In a few days I shall depart for Amsterdam in order to publish there the 'Universal Theology of the New Church,' the foundation of which is the worship of the Lord, our Saviour; on which foundation if no temple be now built, *lupanaria* (brothels) will be erected. And now, as I understand that the religious trial of Drs. Beyer and Rosén has been taken up by the Privy Council and settled in an unexpected manner, and as this will probably be talked about here and there during my absence, therefore, in order to break the force of the malicious comments, which will probably issue from the mouths of certain persons, prompted by their stupidity and interior perverseness, it becomes my duty in the interest of this matter to make known to you what I have in the enclosed document (Swedenborg's letter to the King, see X, p. 373] submitted to His Royal Majesty.

"Two gentlemen of the Supreme Court of Appeals *(Justiciæ Revisionen)* told me that the Privy Council was the *pontifex maximus* in religious matters. At the time I did not make any reply; if, however, they should repeat this statement to me, I should say that far from being the *pontifex maximus,*

lation was published in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790, p. 240; whence it was introduced as Letter X into the English editions of the "Swedenborg Documents" published in England and America.

* The Swedish Copy of this letter which was sent by Swedenborg to Dr. Beyer is preserved in the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was published as a part of Document Z in the "Samlingar för Philantroper," the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790, and the various English editions of the "Swedenborg Documents." A German translation was published in 1770 in the "Schwedische Urkunden," &c., p. 22.

they are simply the *vicarius vicarii pontificis maximi,* since Christ, our Saviour, is alone *pontifex maximus;* that the Houses of the Diet are His *vicarius,* and therefore are responsible to Him; and that the Privy Council is the *vicarius* of the Houses of the Diet, and only as such has plenipotentionary power; and consequently it is the *vicarius vicarii pontificis maximi.* The Roman pope's styling himself *pontifex maximus* is due to arrogance; for he claims and takes upon himself all the power of Christ our Saviour, making the people believe that he is Christ on earth.

"Every lesser *pontifex* or every *vicarius pontificis maximi* ought to have his consistory. The Houses of the Diet have theirs in the reverend House of the Clergy; the Privy Council has its especially in the universities: but in the settlement of the present matter it has made the Consistory of Gottenburg its consistory, to whose opinions it is said to have adhered *verbatim;* without being aware of the fact that this trial has been the most important and the most solemn that has been before any council during the last 1700 years, since it concerns the New Church which is predicted by the Lord in Daniel and in the Apocalypse, and agrees with what the Lord says in Matthew xxiv, 22.

"I have not yet received any answer from the Privy Council; this matter has been before it once, when it was resolved to postpone it until those members of the council, who had previously examined it, should return.

"EM. SWEDENBORG."

The copy which was forwarded to the University of Lund, was addressed by Swedenborg to his nephew, Dr. Charles Jesper Benzelius,[99] among whose correspondence it is preserved in the Cathedral-Library of Linköping. This copy agrees in every particular with that which was communicated by Swedenborg to Dr. Beyer, except that it is introduced by the following words:

"Most honoured and dear Brother,

"Relying on our near relationship and friendship, I send you the enclosed, desiring you to communicate it to your University; as I have also done in the case of the two

other universities, and this because in a few days I shall depart for Amsterdam," &c.

The letter concludes thus: "I remain with all friendship and love, most honoured brother,

"Your faithful friend and servant,

"EMAN. SWEDENBORG.

"Stockholm, July 23, 1770."

The next development of the case consisted of another Royal order, dated December 7, 1770, in which Drs. Beyer and Rosén were called upon a second time to recant their erroneous views, and to promise to give up their belief in the Swedenborgian doctrines.*

That Drs. Beyer and Rosén refused to comply with the royal summons, is clearly stated by the former in a letter to Prelate Œtinger, dated June 15, 1771, where he says: "As Dr. Rosén, who has now removed to Stockholm, and I have distinctly refused to recant before the King our belief in the Swedenborgian principles, our case will now be brought before the Court of Appeals at Jönköping (Kongl. Götha Hof-Rätt), where it is to be examined further, and to be adjudicated.†

In the following letter Swedenborg, who had meanwhile published in Amsterdam the greater part of his "Universal Theology," makes his comment on this new state af affairs:

## BB.

*EIGHTEENTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.*‡

"Reverend Doctor,

"I received yesterday your last letter together with one from Dr. Rosén. Previously I had received one from Assessor Queckfelt,[204] from which I was led to infer, that the case would take a new turn, if I presented myself before

* See "Oförgripeliga Tamkar om Sättet at bemöta den ås kallade Swedenborgianismen," Stockholm, 1788, p. 77.

† See "Schwedische Urkunden," &c., p. 154.

‡ The Swedish original of this document is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was printed as Letter XVI in

the Privy Council as a *tertius interveniens;** yet to do so would do no good, as I distinctly did so a short time before my departure [see close of Document 245, X, p. 376], and supported with weighty arguments the cause itself, as well as your case. I wonder that they keep stirring up this affair at Gottenburg; I will complain of them at the next Diet, when I send over my *Universa Theologia Novi Cœli et Novæ Ecclesiæ,* which will leave the press towards the close of the month of June. I will send two copies of this work to each House, and request them to appoint for its consideration a general committee from all the Houses, in order to put an end to the affair in this way. I am certain of this, that after the appearance of the book referred to, the Lord our Saviour will operate both mediately and immediately towards the establishment throughout the whole of Christendom of a New Church based upon this 'Theology.' The New Heaven, out of which the New Jerusalem will descend, will very soon be completed (Rev. xxi, 1-3). When our adversaries enter the other life, they will have their places assigned to them. I pity them. With my kindest remembrance to Doctor Rosén, I remain, with all affection,

"Your most obedient servant and friend,

"EM. SWEDENBORG.

"Amsterdam, April 30, 1771."

The next letter, which was written after the "Universal Theology" had been published, contains the last utterance Swedenborg made on the subject of the difficulty with the Consistory of Gottenburg:

the "Samlingar för Philantroper" for 1788. It has not heretofore been translated into English.

* That is, if Swedenborg pled the cause of Drs. Beyer and Rosén before the Privy Council.

## CC.

*NINETEENTH LETTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG TO DR. BEYER.**

"Reverend Doctor,

"Captain Sjöberg informed me that he was commissioned by Mr. Hammarberg[194] to purchase some sets of the works written by me, *viz.* four of each, and among them also the last book which appeared a few days ago. On account of the strict prohibition [see Document 245, U] the captain did not dare to purchase more than one copy of each; besides this I presented him with a copy of the last work published. Perhaps Mr. Hammarberg may know of some way by which he could receive another copy if it were sent afterwards. In a few days I will send to Stockholm by the skipper Casper Nyberg two copies of the work just published entitled '*Vera Religio Christiana;*' one for Bishop Menander,[180] and the other for Bishop Serenius;[181] and among other things I will give them to understand, that as soon as the Diet is properly organized, I shall tender a formal complaint of the course of proceeding of the Privy Council in the Gottenburg matter, in respect to you and myself; from which I hope a favourable result. I enclose two copies of a printed *pro Memoria*† against Dr. Ernesti.[38] If you choose you may communicate one of them to the members of the Consistory; since it will be circulated in Germany. What is said therein is applicable also to your Dean. With my kindest regards to Dr. Rosén I remain, with all friendship and affection,

"Your most obedient servant and friend,

"EMAN. SWEDENBORG.

"Amsterdam, July 2, 1771."

* The Swedish original of this Document is preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. It was printed as Letter XVII in the "Samlingar för Philantroper." An English translation, which was originally published in the "Intellectual Repository," is contained in the Appendix to the enlarged edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," published in England in 1855, p. 9.

† A translation of this *pro Memoria* will be found in Section XI.

From this document we see that Swedenborg did not succeed by means of his letter to the King (Document 245, X) in removing the embargo laid upon the importation and sale of his books in Sweden; and as he never returned to his native country after writing the above letter, he could not carry out his intention of lodging a complaint against the action of the Privy Council at the Diet of 1772. The persecutions which he experienced in Sweden, and which are described throughout the whole of Document 145, were no doubt one of the reasons why he did not return to Sweden after publishing his last work entitled: "The True Christian Religion; or, Universal Theology of the New Church," and why he preferred to spend the remaining days of his earthly life in England, where he died on March 29, 1772.

In respect to the trial, however, as it affected Drs. Beyer and Rosén, the author of "Nya Kyrkan," &c., says (Part I, p. 70): "The wearisome trial in the end led to no other result than that the further publication of the Minutes of the Consistory of Gottenburg was prohibited by the government, and the whole procedure against 'Swedenborgianism' was finally stopped on account of 'the doubtful *(besynnerliga)* means which were resorted to in its prosecution.' Beyer and Rosén meanwhile retained their appointments as lectors in the Gymnasium of Gottenburg, but they were subjected to certain limitations in the choice of subjects on which they had formerly lectured—in other words, Dr. Beyer by a Royal Resolution was declared to be infected with erroneous doctrinal opinions, and unfit to instruct others in theological subjects.* The same limitations also, it seems, were imposed upon Dr. Rosén. This gentleman, however, did not long survive the close of the first religious trial of the New Church, in which he took such a distinguished part. He became ill in the middle of August 1773, and died on the 6th of the following month. Dr. Beyer, after having passed safely through this memorable trial, applied himself closely to the elaboration of his *Index initialis in opera Swedenborgii theologica,* which was printed in Amsterdam in 1779. After he had finished this laborious work, and had sent the last

* See "Biografiskt Lexicon," &c., Vol. XIX, p. 247.

sheet of the manuscript to Amsterdam, we learn, that "he died after a few days' illness, in the year 1779" (see "Nya Kyrkan," &c., Part III, p. 25, and also Note 22).

## *DOCUMENT* 246.

## FIRST LETTER FROM SWEDENBORG TO THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE-DARMSTADT.[205] *

Most Serene Duke,

On receiving your most gracious letter, I was doubtful for a time whether it was signed by yourself or not. The subject of this doubt I communicated to Venator,[205] who was with me. After hearing, however, that my suspicion was unfounded, and after my doubts were thus dispelled, I felt I had wronged you; but I deferred my reply until I had received from the press the theological work, just published, which is entitled, "The True Christian Religion, containing the Universal Theology of the New Church, predicted by the Lord in Daniel vii, 13, 14, and in the Revelation xxi, 1, 2." Of this I have sent your most Serene Highness two copies by the stage which leaves this city daily for Germany.

* The editor was fortunate enough to obtain Latin copies of Documents 246, 247, and 248, during his stay in Sweden in 1870. From these the above translations have been made. Documents 246 and 247 were originally printed in a French translation of the "Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," published in London in 1785. These two letters were republished in the Introduction to the French translation of "The True Christian Religion," published in Paris in 1802, together with a French translation of Document 248. Document 246 was translated into English by the Rev. Samuel Noble, and printed in the "Intellectual Repository," for 1815, p. 310, whence it was introduced into the English editions of the "Documents respecting Swedenborg" published in England and America. Documents 247 and 248 appeared in English for the first time in the edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," published in Manchester in 1841.

I hope that you may think favourably of this work, for it contains pure truths revealed from heaven. In respect to the work called *Arcana Cœlestia*, which was published in London, it can no longer be obtained either here in Holland, or in England, as all the copies are sold. But as I know that there are some persons in Sweden who possess the work, I will write to one of them and ask if he is willing to sell it. As soon as I receive a reply from them, or from one of them, I shall communicate it to you.

In your gracious letter you ask how I came to have intercourse with angels and spirits, and whether this state could be imparted by one to another. Deign to receive favourably the following reply:

The Lord our Saviour foretold that He would come again into the world, and institute a New Church; He predicted this in Revelation xxi and xxii, and also in several places in the gospels. But as He cannot come again into the world in person, it was necessary that He should do it by means of a man, who should not only receive the doctrine of that church by his understanding, but also publish it by means of the press; and as the Lord had prepared me for this from my childhood, He manifested Himself in person before me, His servant, and sent me to do this work. This took place in the year 1743; and afterwards He opened the sight of my spirit, and thus introduced me into the spiritual world, granting me to see the heavens and many of the wonderful things there, and also the hells, and to speak with angels and spirits, and this continually for twenty-seven years. I declare in truth, that this is so. This took place with me on account of the Church, which I mention above, the doctrine of which is contained in my books. The gift of conversing with spirits and angels cannot be transferred from one person to another, unless the Lord Himself, as has been the case with me, opens the sight of the spirit of that person. It is sometimes granted to a spirit to enter and to communicate some truth to a man; but still leave is not given to the man to speak with him mouth to mouth. This is also most dangerous, because the spirit enters into the affection of man's own love, which does not agree with the affection of heavenly love.

With respect to the man who is infested by spirits, I have heard from heaven, that this was caused by a state of meditation in which he indulged; but that no danger is to be apprehended from them, because he is protected by the Lord. The only means by which he can be cured, is conversion, and supplication to the Lord our Saviour Jesus Christ. I remain with profound respect, most serene Duke and Landgrave,

Your most humble servant,

E. S.

[Amsterdam, 1771.]

## *DOCUMENT* 247.

## SECOND LETTER FROM SWEDENBORG TO THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE-DARMSTADT.[205]*

Most Serene Duke,

I have received and read with pleasure the letter which you addressed to me. I hope that the work which has just been printed under the title of "The True Christian Religion," has reached you during the last few days. If you see fit, I should like you to instruct the learned among the clergy in your duchy to report concerning it; but I pray that such among the learned of your clergy be selected as love the truth and are delighted with it. If they are not in the way of truth, they will not see light in that work, but only shade. What is related of the daughter of the Prince Margrave has no foundation, but has been invented by some gossiping newsmonger; I never heard of it before; but what is reported concerning the brother of the Queen of Sweden[11] is true; yet it should not be regarded as a miracle, but only as

* With respect to the original of this letter, see footnote to Document 246.

a memorable occurrence of the kind related in the above work concerning Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin. For all these are simply testimonies, that I have been introduced by the Lord as to my spirit into the spiritual world, and that I converse with angels and spirits. It is further true that I conversed with the person whose name is mentioned in the journal in question, and six months ago with Stanislaus,[131] King of Poland, which took place in a certain congregation or company in which he was, where no one knew who he was. The delight of his life consisted in desiring to be present incognito in assemblies of spirits and angels, as if he were one of them, and to converse familiarly with them.

Afterwards I saw him transferred into the northern quarter, and I heard that he was placed over some section of Roman Catholicism, whose chief moderator he is. He has also conversed frequently with the Pope who died lately, with whom he dwelt after his death, and to whom he succeeded; he descended also to a congregation or company consisting of Jesuits, over whom he ruled for a month; and afterwards I saw him ascending from them, when it was granted me to speak with him several times. But about the course and state of his life I am not allowed to divulge anything. Concerning the pope who reigned some thirty or forty years ago, you may see what has been written in my latest work.

I pray you to favour all those things which belong to the honour of God, and I remain, with a mind full of veneration,

Yours, &c.

[EM. SWEDENBORG.]

[Amsterdam], July 13, 1771.

## *DOCUMENT* 248.

## EMANUEL SWEDENBORG'S LETTER TO VENATOR.[205]*

I hope that the work, entitled "The True Christian Religion," which has recently left the press, is now in your hands, and also that the two copies which I sent at the same time to his Serene Highness the Duke and Landgrave have reached him; for I greatly desire to have your opinion concerning the things contained therein, knowing as I do that by enlightenment from the Lord you will more than others see in light the truths which are manifested there from the Word. To-day I send also my reply to the letter which his Serene Highness the Duke wrote to me lately; and in compliance with his orders I speak to him of several conversations I had with, among others, the Queen of Sweden and her brother. But these must by no means be regarded as miracles; for they are simply testimonies that I have been introduced by the Lord into the spiritual world, and have intercourse and converse there with angels and spirits; in order that the church, which has hitherto remained in ignorance concerning that world, may know that heaven and hell really exist, and that man lives after death a man, as before; and that thus no more doubts may flow into his mind in respect to his immortality. Please, deign to satisfy the Duke, your prince, on this score, that these things are not miracles, but merely testimonies that I converse with angels and spirits. The fact and the reason that there are no miracles at the

* For particulars concerning the history of this letter, see footnote to Document 246.

present day, may be seen in the above mentioned work. The Lord says——Wherefore those who do not believe unless they see miracles, are very easily led into fanaticism. I have seen two volumes full of miracles wrought by a certain Paris,[206] which are nevertheless nothing but pure falsehoods, being in part fantastical and in part magical doings. The same is the case with the other miracles among the Roman Catholics. Examine also, if you please, those things which have been related by me on this subject in the above work. At this day faith will be established and confirmed in the New Church only by the Word itself, and the truths which are derived thence; if these shine in a certain light before the eyes of those who read my last work, it is a sign that the Lord is present and illustrates; because He is the Word itself, and also the truths that are derived thence. Farewell in the Lord.

[Em. Swedenborg.]

[Amsterdam, July 13, 1771.]

# *SECTION X.*

## TESTIMONY OF CONTEMPORARIES

RESPECTING

## SWEDENBORG'S LIFE AND CHARACTER

## FROM 1747 TO 1772.

# A.

# TESTIMONY COLLECTED IN SWEDEN.

## *DOCUMENT* 249.

## A.

## BARON TILAS'S[206] TESTIMONY.*

*FIRST LETTER OF BARON D. TILAS[206] TO A. F. CRONSTEDT.*[107]

Some years ago I had the honour to take part in a correspondence on magic and mystical philosophy. We have now got hold of the right man [for this purpose]. A very short time ago *(framför en dag)* the whole town was almost in alarm about it; and the affair spread surprisingly fast; for not a breath was heard respecting it before my departure.† It is Swedenborg, who has intercourse with the dead whenever he chooses, and who can inquire after his former departed friends when it pleases him, whether they are in heaven or hell, or whether they hover about in a third, nondescript place. He has had many conversations with Senator Ehrenpreuss;[173] likewise with Count Gyllenborg [either Carl of Note 87, or Frederic of Note 115], about whose condition he gives satisfactory accounts.‡ He called on Baron Horleman in order to

* The two letters containing Baron Tilas's testimony concerning Swedenborg were discovered in 1870 by the Editor of these Documents in the Bergius Collection of letters preserved in the Library of the Royal Academy in Stockholm.

† By this statement of Baron Tilas it is proved that before the beginning of 1760, no one in Sweden had any knowledge of Swedenborg's intercourse with the inhabitants of the spiritual world.

‡ This statement of Baron Tilas scarcely agrees with what Swedenborg himself has stated in his "Spiritual Diary," respecting the spirits of these men. The passages where he describes their states are enumerated, and partly quoted, in Notes 173, 87, and 115.

get from him the plan for some building,* and he found him taking a walk in his garden. For Broman [Erland[167]] he looked for a long time in heaven and on earth, and also in hell, and found him at last in *loco tertio* (a third place). Queen Ulrica Eleonora is doing well [see Note 4]; she is now married to another noble gentleman, and lives in a state of happiness. I am all in a flutter before conversing with him and hearing whom my late wife, Hedwig Reuterholm,† has married; I should not like it, forsooth, if she had become sultaness.

All this he reports without a screw seeming to be loose in the clock-work in any other respect. He has also written a book upon communication with spirits, which has been printed in England;‡ I have not yet seen it. Nor would I have lent any credence to all this stuff, had I not heard it yesterday from Count Tessin's own mouth [see Note 39; and also Document 250, p. 398]. He assured me that in the other world one amuses oneself with such things as bear a likeness to our affairs in this world; and for this reason Swedenborg promised that Count Tessin should one day sit again in the Privy Council; but the Count answered him smiling, that he had so much of this in the world below, that he did not desire anything but rest above [see Document 250, p. 400].

I wish you were here, that we might go to him together, but in that case I should have to caution you first with *"risum teneatis, amici"* (restrain your laughter, my friends).

[Daniel Tilas.[206]]

Stockholm, March 16, 1760.

* Baron Carl Hårleman was the one who finished the building of the Royal Castle in Stockholm; see Note 96.

† Baron Tilas was married twice; his first wife, Hedwig Reuterholm, who died in childbed in 1741, was the daughter of Baron N. E. Reuterholm. Her oldest brother Esbjörn Christian is mentioned by Swedenborg in Document 207, p. 132; see respecting him Note 156.

‡ Baron Tilas probably means the treatise on "Heaven and Hell," which was printed in London, in 1757.

B.

*SECOND LETTER OF BARON D. TILAS[106] TO A. F. CRONSTEDT.*[107]

Since writing my last letter I have been in company with this wonderful man. Many consider him crazy; but I desire to scan the matter more thoroughly before expressing myself upon it. Senator Höpken[28] has visited him for three or four hours; likewise Senator Tessin.[39] He has digested his theses in five books, but I do not recollect the names of all. One treats of Heaven, another of Hell, another of the "New Jerusalem," and the "Last Judgment," &c. Only three copies of these works have been introduced into the country; one for his own use and another for the censor; the third copy Senator Bonde[175] has procured for himself from abroad. He has now asked, and likewise obtained permission, to import fifty copies, with the proviso that he send in a list of those who receive copies. He intends to submit them to the judgment of the bishops at the Diet. Just hear this surprising news: The Last Judgment has already taken place in 1757, and he talks about it as familiarly as if he had been the secretary there, and taken down the minutes. Since that time the judgment board is constantly in session, and parties are judged as soon as they arrive.

This information must not be spread abroad, since I do not desire to be accountable for it. These things are known to thousands here; but I do not think it advisable they should become generally known. Yet I do not object to your having allayed the suspicions of the gentleman of whom you write in your last, since this was quite proper. But to specify merely what he says about the Last Judgment, this is such an extraordinary statement, that it seems quite necessary to move carefully in the matter.

D. TILAS.

Stockholm, March 24, 1760.

## *DOCUMENT* 250.

## COUNT TESSIN'S[39] TESTIMONY.*

### A.

1. When Polhem,[14] the Councillor of Commerce, was buried, Swedenborg took part in the procession, and reported that Polhem had come and was walking beside him, and that he asked what all this was about; whereupon Swedenborg informed him that it was his burial.†

2. Swedenborg perhaps of all visionaries wrote most, and gave most particulars. His book *"De Cœlo et ejus Mirabilibus, et de Inferno ex auditis et visis"* (Heaven and Hell, &c.) contains so many novel statements, that it may be read without making one tired: but it must be read with the same kind of faith which one places in Mohammed's Alcoran.‡

3. From mere curiosity, for making the acquaintance of a singular man, I went to see Assessor Swedenborg in the afternoon of March 5, 1760. He lives far up in Hornsgatan in a small, neat wooden dwelling on a large plot of ground with a garden, belonging to him. I found an old man, about seventy-

* The Swedish original of this Document is contained in a publication by Baron Ehrenheim entitled: *"Tessin och Tessiniana; Biographie med Anekdoter och Reflexioner, samlade utur framledne Riks Rådet, Grefve C. G. Tessins egenhandige Manuscripter"* (Tessin and Tessiniana; a biography with anecdotes and reflections from the late Senator Count C. G. Tessin's original manuscripts), Stockholm, 1819, Part A, pp. 355 to 358, and Part B, p. 368. The paragraphs have been numbered by the Editor for the sake of convenient reference.

† For further particulars respecting this circumstance, see the "Smaller Spiritual Diary," p. 65, as quoted in Note 14, Vol I, p. 614.

‡ From this and some other statements it appears that Count Tessin was not one of Swedenborg's followers.

three years old, with a countenance perfectly like that of the late Bishop Swedberg, but he was not so tall; he had feeble eyes, a large mouth, and a pale complexion; but he was cheerful, friendly, glad. and talkative. It seemed that I was welcome; and as I had not intended to make many preludes, I began at once by talking to him about the work on "Heaven and Hell." He said that besides his own copy he had only two others, which he had intended at the next Diet to hand over to two bishops; but as he had heard that one copy of it had come into the country without his knowledge, and that it had been sold to His Excellency Count Bonde,[175] he had reconsidered the subject, and given one of the copies to the Senator, Count Höpken,[28] and the other to Œlreich, the Censor of books and Councillor of Chancery. He expects fifty more copies from England next spring, when he will send me one.

4. For many objections he did not seem particularly prepared, but stammered in an uncertain manner. He said he was forbidden to repeat what the angels and the departed had told him, but that for sixteen years God had granted him revelations of this kind, that he might lead the world away from darkness and error, which of late had increased to such a degree, that the very existence of God was in effect denied.

5. During these revelations he has never been made acquainted with the first origin of the earth;* future things also have been reserved to the Lord Alone.†

6. Whenever he is alone, angels and the departed come to him; but only a few for a longer time than half a year; for gradually, he said, they forget temporal things, and remain in their heavenly homes.

7. Last Wednesday Senator Ehrenpreuss[173] was with him the whole day. He fills the office of judge in his society, but was ashamed of the little insight he formerly had compared with the light he has now.

8. After death men remain in their death-slumber not

* Swedenborg treats of this subject in the work entitled: "The Divine Love and Wisdom," which was published in 1736, three years later, and also in the chapter on Creation in the "True Christian Religion."

† Compare also Document 251, no. 4.

longer than forty-eight hours, until the motion of the heart has entirely ceased, when they wake up to eternal life.

9. All the heavens, he said, are divided into societies, and all these societies are classified according to the inclinations of men; so that all the members are in mutual accord. In case a wife and husband are not of the same disposition, they meet indeed in the other life—as all relations and acquaintances do in the beginning; but each is afterwards directed into his or her respective society, where they get another mate; for, according to him, all things in the other life, are circumstanced like the things in this life, only in a different degree.

10. Many thousand hells, he says, are there besides, which are likewise divided into societies, and governed by God; and where punishments are inflicted according to His all-wise measure.

11. Our conversation was interrupted; for he assured me that as soon as I came into the other world, I should certainly be appointed to the Privy Council. I thanked him, and assured him, that I had enough of it in this life.

12. As, God be thanked, I have both a sound faith and sound reason, it may well be inferred what my judgment is about this man. But as to the rest, he is entertaining in conversation, by no means obstinate, sensitive, or self-sufficient, but friendly, courteous, and open-hearted; he has a good judgment, both about the times and the people, explains every thing for the best, and seems to be a philanthropist who spends his life in contentment, and delights himself in his fantasies, for which perhaps no medicine can be given.

13. I asked him myself respecting his conversation with the Queen,[11] concerning her late brother, the Prince of Prussia,[207] and was told that Senator Scheffer[136] was present, and witnessed the Queen's fright.

14. It was the widow of the Dutch Minister Marteville,[43] who received information about the lost receipt.

## B.

In the afternoon of June 3, 1760, I visited Assessor Swedenborg with my brother-in-law,* my sister-in-law,† Countess Fersen,‡ and their children. He had now often seen Countess Sack,§ who favours his books, &c.—I do not know whether I should call fortunate or unfortunate a weak-minded man who finds enjoyment in his imagination.**

* Count Axel Wrede-Sparre. born in 1708, died in 1772; the brother of the Countess Tessin.

† The wife of Count Axel Wrede-Sparre was the daughter of Senator Törnflycht.

‡ The wife of Count Carl Reinhold von Fersen was the step-daughter of Count Tessin's sister Ulrica Maria, the second wife of Baron Frederic Henric Sparre.

§ Countess Sack, who was, it seems, in favour of Swedenborg's writings, was the wife of Baron Johan Gabriel Sack, Councillor of Chancery who died in 1751; she was the daughter of Count C. F. Bjelke, and hence was called Countess Sack; she died in 1778. Countess Tessin was the step-sister of Baron Sack, whence the interest the former took in Countess Sack.

** It is evident that Count Tessin had not read any of Swedenborg's writings, or he would not have called him "weak-minded."

## *DOCUMENT* 251.

# LIBRARIAN GJÖRWELL'S[208] TESTIMONY.*

Royal Library, August 28, 1764, afternoon.

1. A little while ago I, the undersigned, returned from a visit to Assessor Emanuel Swedenborg, on whom I had called in order to request, on account of the Royal Library, a copy of the works he has lately published in Holland.†

2. I met him in the garden adjoining his house in Hornsgatan in the southern part of Stockholm *(Södermalm)*, where he was engaged in attending his plants, attired in a simple garment. The house in which he lives is of wood; it is low and looks like a garden-house; its windows also are in the direction of the garden.‡ Without knowing me or the nature of my errand, he said smiling, "Perhaps you would like to take a walk in the garden." I answered that I wished to have the honour of calling upon him, and asking him, on behalf of the Royal Library, for his latest works, so that we might have a complete set, especially as we had the

* This testimony, which was, it seems, written by Carl Christoffer Gjörwell, the Royal Librarian in Stockholm, on the same day he called upon Swedenborg, he published in a work entitled "Anmärkningar i Swenska Historien" (Contributions to Swedish History), Vol. I, Stockholm, September 2, 1786; pp. 220 to 224.

† Librarian Gjörwell meant the "Four Primary Doctrines of the New Jerusalem respecting the Lord, the Sacred Scripture, Life, and Faith," and also "The Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom," and concerning the "Divine Providence."

‡ Gjörwell is evidently describing here Swedenborg's garden-house, where his library was, and where he frequently wrote; and which he mistook for his dwelling-house, which was separated from the garden by a yard; see Document 140, no. 3, Vol. I, p. 391.

former parts he had left with Wilde, the royal secretary. "Most willingly," he answered, "besides, I had intended to send them there, as my purpose in publishing them has been to make them known, and to place them in the hands of intelligent people." I thanked him for his kindness, whereupon he showed them to me, and took a walk with me in the garden.

3. Although he is an old man, and grey hair protruded in every direction from under his wig, he walked briskly, was fond of talking, and spoke with a certain cheerfulness. His countenance was indeed thin and meagre, but cheerful and smiling. By and by he began of his own accord to speak of his views; and as it had been in reality my second purpose to hear them with my own ears, I listened to him with eager attention, not challenging any of his statements, but simply asking him questions, as if for my own enlightenment. The substance of his statements, and of what I drew from him by polite questions, consists mainly in what follows:

4. His doctrinal system of theology, which he, in common with other Christians, bases upon our common revelation, the Sacred Scripture, consists principally in this: That faith alone is a pernicious doctrine, and that good works are the proper means for becoming better in time, and for leading a blessed life in eternity. That in order to acquire the ability or power* to do good works prayer to the only God is required, and that man also must labour with himself, because God does not use compulsion with us; nor does He work any miracles for our conversion. As regards the rest, man must live in his appointed place, acquiring the same learning, and leading a similar life as other honest and modest persons, who live temperately and piously. About the atonement and our Saviour he said not a single word. It is a pity I did not ask him about it. But his thoughts on this our fundamental article of faith may be inferred from his expression about faith alone. He also said that Doctor Luther was at the present time in a state of suffering in the other world, simply on account of having

* "I use everywhere Swedenborg's own words." C. C. G.

introduced the doctrine of faith alone; although he is not among the damned.

5. The transition thence to his own revelation was easy, since he said that he had often seen and conversed with Dr. Luther. His principle of knowledge *(principium cognoscendi)* is a supernatural sight and hearing, and the criterion that both his principle and his revelation are true is this: that God revealed Himself to him in May 1744, while he was in London, and that since that time God had prepared him by a thorough knowledge of all physical and moral powers *(virtutes physicæ et morales)* in this world for the reception of the new revelation; and ever since that time he has constantly and without interruption been in communion with God whom he sees before his eyes like a sun; he speaks with the angels and the departed, and knows everything that takes place in the other world, as well in heaven as in hell, but *he does not know the future.*

6. His mission consists in communicating this new light to the world; and whoever is willing to accept it, receives it; the Lord also has granted him this revelation, that he may make it known to others; which he has done in Latin, the most universal language in the world. He alone has received this revelation, which also is a most particular gift *(donum particularissimum)*, by which he profits for the enlightenment of mankind. He who does not scorn this light, and does not resist this revelation, receives it; and this revelation is a living truth. Its object really is, that a New Jerusalem is to be established among men; the meaning of which is, that a New Church is at hand, about the nature of which, and the way to enter it, his writings really treat.

7. About all this he spoke with a perfect conviction, laying particular stress upon these words: "*All this I see and know without becoming the subject of any visions, and without being a fanatic; but when I am alone, my soul is as it were out of the body, and in the other world; in all respects I am in a visible manner there, as I am here. But when I think of what I am about to write, and while I am in the act of writing, I enjoy a perfect inspiration* (så äger jag en full komlig Inspira-

tion); *for otherwise it would be my own; but now I know for certain, that what I write is the living truth of God.*"

8. When a man dies, his soul does not divest itself of its peculiarities *(böjelser);* these he takes with him: when I could not refrain from asking him what Professor D. Nils Wallerius[209] busies himself with; "He still goes about," he said, "and holds disputations."

9. His former works were printed in London, but his latter in Amsterdam. He has, nevertheless, been over to England, in order to present them to the Royal Society; and on his return home he presented them in Copenhagen to the King of Denmark; even as last week he presented them to both their Majesties in Drottningholm. They have been favourably received everywhere. He had only twelve copies of the works with him in this country, four of which are intended for the public libraries, and four more for our most prominent bishops.

That all this is Swedenborg's own relation, and that everything I have written I have seen and heard with my bodily eyes and ears, I attest with the signature of my name,

CARL CHRISTOFFER GJÖRWELL.

## *DOCUMENT* 252.

## COUNT HÖPKEN'S[28] TESTIMONY.

The circumstances under which this testimony was obtained, are stated by Count Höpken in a letter to Mr. Wargentin, introduced into Note 28 (Vol. I, p. 633) thus: "About a week ago I received a very courteous letter from an unknown gentleman in Denmark, in which he entreats me, for his own and his wife's sake, to give them some information about Swedenborg's system, and to act as their guide." This gentleman was Christian Tuxen,[201] General Commissary of war in Elsinore, and his letter resulted in a friendly correspondence with Count Höpken until the year 1781. In his letters, of which an English translation is given below, the Swedish statesman gives his estimate of Swedenborg's character and writings.

In respect to the publication of these letters, General Tuxen wrote, under the date of May 8, 1790, to C. F. Nordensköld,[20] as follows: "I will send your brother [Augustus Nordensköld[35]] at the earliest opportunity, according to his request, a short description of my acquaintance and conversations with the late Swedenborg [Document 255], as well as a copy of the only letter I received from him [Document 245, W, p. 371], likewise copies of the supplication to the King [Document 245, X, p. 373], and several other documents I myself received from him, together with certified copies of the four or five interesting letters which the late Count Höpken addressed to me. All these documents your brother said he would translate into English, and publish in a Magazine on Swedenborgianism, which would appear in London; by which means they would become quickly and widely known."

The documents forwarded by General Tuxen to Augustus Nordensköld were published in the English language in an "Appendix to the New Jerusalem Magazine," printed about the middle of 1791, pp. 267 to 274. They appeared afterwards in Noble's "Appeal," and were thence introduced into the English editions of the "Swedenborg Documents" published in England and America.

## A.

*FIRST LETTER OF COUNT A. J. VON HÖPKEN[28] TO GENERAL CHRISTIAN TUXEN.*[201]

"Sir,

"My stay in the country, at a distance from the capital and the great world, is the cause of my answering later than I ought the letter of April 21st, with which you have honoured me. The office with which I was invested in my country, has often made it my duty to give my opinion and counsel in delicate and difficult matters; but I do not recollect any one so delicate ever before to have been submitted to my judgment, as that which you have been pleased to propose to me. Sentiments and persuasions which one person may entertain, do not always suit others; and what may appear to me probable,

manifest, certain, and incontestable, may to others seem dark, incomprehensible, nay, even absurd. Partly natural organization, partly education, partly professional studies, partly prejudices, partly fear of abandoning received opinions, and other causes, occasion a difference of ideas in men. To unite and settle them in temporal concerns is not hazardous; but in spiritual matters, when a tender conscience is to be satisfied, I have not the spirit requisite for this, and I am also bound to confess my want of knowledge. All I could say by way of preliminary on this subject regards the person of the late Assessor Swedenborg. I have not only known him these two-and-forty years, but also, some time since, daily frequented his company. A man who, like me, has lived long in the world, and even in an extensive career of life, must have had numerous opportunities of knowing men as to their virtues or vices, their weakness or strength; and in consequence thereof, I do not recollect to have known any man of more uniformly virtuous character than Swedenborg; always contented, never fretful or morose, although throughout his life his soul was occupied with sublime thoughts and speculations. He was a true philosopher, and lived like one; he laboured diligently, and lived frugally without sordidness; he travelled continually, and his travels cost him no more than if he had lived at home. He was gifted with a most happy genius, and a fitness for every science, which made him shine in all those which he embraced. He was, without contradiction, the most learned man in my country; in his youth he was a great poet. I have in my possession some remnants of his Latin poetry, which Ovid would not have been ashamed to own. In his middle age his Latin was in an easy, elegant, and ornamental style; in his latter years it was equally clear, but less elegant after he had turned his thoughts to spiritual subjects. He was well acquainted with the Hebrew and Greek; an able and profound mathematician; a happy mechanician, of which he gave proof in Norway, where, by an easy and simple method, he transported the largest galleys over high mountains and rocks to a gulf where the Danish fleet was stationed. He was likewise a natural philosopher, but on Cartesian principles. He detested metaphysics, as founded on fallacious ideas, because

they transcend our sphere, by means of which theology has been drawn from its simplicity, and become artificial and corrupted. Having for a long time been Assessor in the College of Mines, he was perfectly conversant with mineralogy, on which science both as to theory and practice he also published a valuable and classical work, printed in Leipsic in 1734.* If he had remained in office, his merits and talents would have entitled him to the highest dignity; but he preferred ease of mind, and sought happiness in study. In Holland he began to apply himself to anatomy, in which he made singular discoveries which are preserved somewhere in the *Acta Literaria*.† I imagine this science and his meditations on the effects of the soul upon our curiously constructed body, did, by degrees, lead him from the material to the spiritual. He possessed a sound judgment upon all occasions; he saw everything clearly, and expressed himself well on every subject. The most solid memorials, and the best penned, at the diet of 1761, on matters of finance, were presented by him. In one of these he refuted a large work in quarto on the same subject, quoted all the corresponding passages of it, and all this in less than one sheet.‡ Of his method of teaching we see proofs in all his writings which relate to or are founded on the *Arcana Cœlestia*. He might, with or without reason, which I do not indeed venture to determine, be accused of having given a heated imagination too free play in his revelations. But, for my own part, I have nothing on which I could found this criticism. Whether or not our Lord, in our times, grants to particular persons particular revelations; what the nature of such revelations is; and what is the criterion for distinguishing the genuine from the false; upon all these I have no solid grounds for judging. The author of the *Monthly Review* judges admirably in every other respect except on matters of divinity; and his testimony on that head avails nothing with me. I once represented, in rather a serious manner, to this venerable man,

* See footnote 2, p. 5.

† Count Höpken was evidently not acquainted with Swedenborg's works entitled *Œconomia Regni Animalis* and *Regnum Animale*, which were published in Holland in 1740 and 1743.

‡ See Document 181, Vol. I, p. 516.

that I thought he would do better not to mix his beautiful writings with so many *memorable relations*, or things heard and seen in the spiritual world concerning the states of men after death, of which ignorance makes a jest and derision. But he answered me, *that this did not depend on him; that he was too old to sport with spiritual things, and too much concerned for his eternal happiness to yield to such foolish notions, assuring me, on his hopes of salvation, that imagination produced in him none of his revelations, which were true, and from what he had heard and seen.* This may be: the church cannot judge of mysteries, nor can I. The generality, when they are speaking of the theology of Swedenborg, always dwell on his *memorable relations,* and think that everything consists in them. In whatever he relates of the spiritual world, and the other progressions in the angelic heaven, there appears, as I think, an analogy and resemblance of the gradations which God has established in the world, and in which no variations or exceptions are admitted; insomuch, that Swedenborg has taken the same road by which we proceed from the visible to the invisible, from things known to things unknown, from several collected facts to one fundamental truth before unknown to us; in like manner as in arithmetic, we are led from known numbers to those we seek. We have no other way of obtaining knowledge. Few persons have judiciously read his works, which everywhere sparkle with genius; if I meet with anything unusual or extraordinary, and which might indicate a disordered understanding, I do not judge of it. We read Plato with admiration; but there is nothing to be met with in his works which, if related by another person, might not be deemed extravagant, inconceivable, and absurd. But I grow too prolix, Sir, and you may be tired with such a long and hastily written letter. This I have written with a view of satisfying in some manner your desire, and thus of proving the perfect esteem, with which I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"HÖPKEN.

"Skenninge, May 11, 1772.

"P. S. Your epitaph on Swedenborg is very beautiful, true, and worthy of the subject."*

## B.

*SECOND LETTER OF COUNT A. J. VON HÖPKEN[28] TO GENERAL CHRISTIAN TUXEN.*[201]

"Sir,

"From your long silence, I conclude you have not been satisfied with my last, containing my opinion on the late Assessor Swedenborg's System of Divinity; and from your letter of March 8th, I perceive I have some cause for my suspicions.† In every science but divinity, a man may give his opinion positively, and, if it be erroneous, endeavour to make others embrace it also; for this does not destroy the calm and quiet of the conscience. It is quite indifferent in the other life, with regard to happiness, to believe with Ptolemy, that the earth rests in the centre, and that the sun, with the other planets, revolves around it in twenty-four hours; or with Copernicus, the opposite. But as soon as the question is on a subject relating to salvation, which is to satisfy the conscience at every period of life, then my thoughts are of a more tender nature, and I am bound to use caution in communicating them to others. The late Swedenborg certainly was a pattern of sincerity, virtue, and piety, and at the same time, in my opinion, the most learned man in this kingdom; but all these qualities, which are so many evidences of an honest, virtuous, and pious life, do not, at the same time, prove, that he could not err like other men. What to my judgment may appear evident, convincing, and indisputable, may to others appear obscure, complicated, and problematical. So different are our intellectual faculties, as well as our education and circumstances;

* This epitaph which was composed in the Swedish language will be found in Note 210.

† General Tuxen himself says on this subject, "I embraced an opportunity, after the death of Swedenborg, of writing to his eminent brother, and of putting several questions to him, which he did not directly answer, yet very politely sent me the letters hereunto subjoined" (see Document 255, no. 22).

and hence proceeds all the diversity of opinions prevailing among men, which are never to be reconciled. I agree with you, Sir, in this, that the Swedenborgian system is more comprehensible by our reason, and less complicated than other systems; and while it forms virtuous men and citizens, it prevents, at the same time, all kinds of enthusiasm and superstition, both of which occasion so many and such cruel vexations, or ridiculous singularities, in the world: and from the present state of religion, more or less everywhere conspicuous, according to the more or less free form of government, I am perfectly convinced that the interpolations which men have confusedly inserted into religion, have nearly effected a total corruption or revolution; and when this is seen, the Swedenborgian system will become more general, more agreeable, and more intelligible than at present, *opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat,* says Cicero. The work of God is in its composition simple, and in its duration perpetual; on the contrary, the contrivances of man are complicated, and have no lasting subsistence. Those few truths which we possess, and perhaps want in this world, are equally intelligible to the most simple as to the most profound metaphysician. Tenets and arguments have troubled mortals more than convinced them; excited more religious quarrels and wars in Christendom, than they have made good Christians. The judgment of father Hellens has afforded me great pleasure; it proves him to be a reasonable man. The late Swedenborg did not, on his death-bed, recant what he had written; of this I have particularly informed myself. Your own opinion, Sir, on the Gottenburg affair, is a lively and exact representation of the persons interested. I remember here the expressions of an English poet:—

> 'Is there a churchman who on God relies,
> Whose life his faith and doctrine justifies?
> They hunt good livings and abhor good lives.'

No notice is to be taken of the English criticisms on the works of Swedenborg. I have got those journals, but have not yet been able to discover the nature of their religious opinions. The letter of David Paul ab Indagine is unknown to me; and I have reason to doubt whether Swedenborg, in

his life-time, ever knew of it.* In his later years, he never read the writings of others, being abundantly occupied in writing himself. Your correspondence, Sir, is not only very agreeable to me, but also very edifying. I wish my answer may afford you equal satisfaction; at least I can assure you of the sincere affection with which I have the honour of remaining, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,
"HÖPKEN.

"Skenninge, May 21, 1773."

## C.

*THIRD LETTER OF COUNT A. J. VON HÖPKEN[28] TO GENERAL CHRISTIAN TUXEN.*[201]

"Sir,

"Partly travels, and partly indisposition, have prevented my answering your favour of the 28th May; besides, the contents of that letter are such as to require much time for reflection, much attention, and still greater caution in the execution, than questions of another nature in general demand. I am not surprised, that the late Assessor Swedenborg left the objections of Paul ab Indagine† unanswered; for though the system of the former has not a more powerful adversary than this man, yet it runs no risk, as nothing is objected to Swedenborg, but what might on equally good ground be objected to orthodoxy, as it is called; even his Autopsy, or *Visa et Audita*, are of such a nature, that they can never be proved, nor do they cause any faith and belief except as the rest of his tenets are well founded, and possess force and authenticity. Those who take upon themselves the business of refuting the opinions of others, ought first to obtain a perfect idea of the system they mean to refute, and not catch at trifles,

* This letter, which was written by John Christian Cuno of Amsterdam, and a copy of which will be found in Document 256, C was most undoubtedly known to Swedenborg, as appears from 476.

† John Christian Cuno, see Document 256, C.

which, by themselves, are apparently of no consequence, but in their connection with the whole are of importance: secondly, to be cautious of making such objections as may, with equal force, reason, and authority, be urged against what is called orthodoxy. I think Paul ab Indagine has acted contrary to these rules; I am persuaded, Sir, you must already have observed these defects, which consequently need not be pointed out by me. I am no theologian; but I do not build my religion on that artificial and confused theology, which ambition, enthusiasm, and superstition have spun out, which gives rise to sects, and excites in weak minds anxiety and despair. If we look around us in Christendom, we shall find the state of religion to be such as I have described, and that there is no other cause for it.—I have the honour to remain, with particular esteem, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,
"HÖPKEN.

"Skhenninge-Ulfåsa, August 1, 1773."

## D.

*FOURTH LETTER OF COUNT A. J. VON HÖPKEN[28] TO GENERAL CHRISTIAN TUXEN.*[291]

"Sir,

"By last post I received your honoured letter with the greatest pleasure, and acknowledge the interest you have been pleased to take in the change of my situation.* My experience has proved to me, that we are not masters of our own fate in this world, but that it is governed by a superior Power, which demands submission to its decrees. I should be too great a loser if, on this change of my situation, I were to lose your useful correspondence. This it is which I therefore request of you, when you have matter and opportunity; and, be-

* Count Höpken, who was obliged to retire from his post of Prime Minister of Sweden in 1761; was again chosen a member of the Privy Council or Senate in 1773, upon which occasion General Tuxen congratulated him.

sides, I assure you, that with me *honores non mutant mores;* on the contrary, I shall endeavour on all occasions to show the sincere and perfect esteem with which I always am, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"HÖPKEN.

"Ulfåsa, January 13, 1774."

## E.

*FIFTH LETTER OF COUNT A. J. VON HÖPKEN[28] TO GENERAL CHRISTIAN TUXEN.*[201]

"Sir,

"I have had the honour of receiving your letter dated Elsinore, June 16th. But I am very sorry that I could only enjoy an hour of the edifying and learned conversation of Dr. Bastholm, and that I could not shew him more attention and civility, as he was to continue his journey the next day through Upsal, without returning to Stockholm. I found him to be a very rare clergyman, for he spoke reasonably and without acrimony of all the different opinions which have of late arisen in matters of religion. He was by no means a Swedenborgian, for he did not understand his *memorable relations;* and I could wish the happy deceased had left them out, as they may prevent infidelity from approaching his doctrines. I represented to him these inconveniences; but he said that he was commanded to declare what he had seen in the other world; and he related it as a proof that he did not reveal his own thoughts, but that they came from above. As for the rest, I find in his system a simplicity and gradation, and such a spirit as the work of God in nature everywhere proves and exhibits; for whatever man creates is complicated, laboured, and subject to vicissitude. The authors of the *Monthly Review,* who every month publish criticisms that are rather severe, speak of Swedenborg as an extraordinary and wonderful man, and, without adopting his principles, treat him with much regard and respect. The sentence said to have been pronounced on Swedenborg by a committee during the

Diet, which you request of me, has not reached my knowledge, and probably does not exist in the manner of approbation. The matter began at Gottenburg particularly against the late Dr. Beyer, and was continued here by the Chancellor of Justice, but came to nothing; for neither the accuser nor the judges understood Swedenborg, and had no lights, or capacity, to judge upon such matters. Dr. Beyer bestowed a vast deal of pains upon his Index,* which deserves all admiration, and is well worth possessing. Here it is not to be had except at the house of the deceased. It may be had also from Amsterdam where it was printed.

"I have the honour to be, with the most perfect esteem, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"HÖPKEN.

"Stockholm, July 6, 1781."

"The above letters are faithful copies from the originals in my hands.

"C. TUXEN."

## F.

*COUNT A. J. VON HÖPKEN[28] TO A FRIEND.*

"Dear Sir,

"The present religion is mystical and filled with paradoxes; it is as incoherent and unreasonable, as if formed for cattle, and not for rational men: agreeably to its prevailing tenets, you may perpetrate any villanies, and yet be saved. The doctrine of the priests is Polytheism. They assert that *One* is the Creator of the world, and *Another* the Author of religion; they make all to depend upon faith and instantaneous salvation. But the doctrine of Swedenborg is the most rational of all Christian doctrines, and urges, as its first object, to be of good and honest principles. There are two circumstances in the doctrine and writings of Swedenborg: the first is his *Memorable Relations;* of these I cannot judge,

* *Index Initialis in Opera Swedenborgii Theologica*, Amsterdam, 1779.

not having had any spiritual intercourse myself, by which to judge of his assertions either approvingly or disapprovingly, but they cannot appear more extraordinary than the Apocalypse of John, and other similar relations contained in the Bible: the second is his *Tenets of Doctrine;* of these I can judge: they are excellent, irrefutable, and the best that ever were taught, promoting the happiest social life. I know that Swedenborg has related his *memorabilia bonâ fide.* I asked him once, why he wrote and published those *memorable relations,* which seemed to throw so much ridicule on his doctrine, otherwise so rational; and whether it would not be best for him to keep them to himself, and not to publish them to the world? But he answered, that *he had orders from the Lord to publish them;* and that *those who might ridicule him on that account would do him injustice*; *for,* said he, *why should I, who am a man in years, render myself ridiculous for fantasies and falsehoods.* I have sometimes told the King, that, if ever a new colony were to be formed, no religion could be better, as the prevailing and established one, than that developed by Swedenborg from the Sacred Scriptures, and this for the two following reasons: 1. This religion, in preference to, and in a higher degree than, any other, must produce the most honest and industrious subjects; for this religion properly places *the worship of God in uses:* 2. It causes *least fear of death,* as this religion regards death merely as a transition from one state to another, from a worse to a better situation; nay, upon his principles, I look upon death as being of hardly any greater moment than drinking a glass of water. I have been convinced of the truth of Swedenborg's doctrine from these arguments in particular, viz.: That *One* is the author of every thing, and that a separate person is not the Creator, and *another* the Author of religion; that there are degrees in every thing, and these subsisting to eternity — the history of creation is unaccountable, unless explained in the spiritual sense. We may say of the religion which Swedenborg has developed in his writings from the Word of God, with Gamaliel: '*If it be of God, it cannot be overthrown*; *but if it be of man, it will come to nought.*'

"HÖPKEN."

## *DOCUMENT* 253.

# TESTIMONY OF THE REV. NICHOLAS COLLIN, RECTOR OF THE SWEDISH CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA.

The Rev. Samuel Noble expresses himself in his "Appeal" (p. 188) in respect to the testimony of this gentleman as follows: "The Rev. Nicholas Collin does not profess the sentiments of Swedenborg: but in the year 1801, when, in consequence of the adoption of those sentiments by many in America, the character and life of Swedenborg had there become the subject, as he states, of 'frequent and sedulous inquiries,' he published the above letter of his illustrious countryman, with a comment of his own, in the *Philadelphia Gazette* of August 5th, 8th, and 10th. It was reprinted in the *New Jerusalem Church Repository,* published at Philadelphia in 1817, at which time Mr. Collin was still performing the duties of pastor of the Swedish church in that city. Mr. Collin was well qualified to give authentic information, having, when a very young man, lived three years in Stockholm, when 'Swedenborg was a great object of public attention in that metropolis, and his extraordinary character was a frequent topic of discussion. Not seldom he appeared in public, and mixed in private societies; therefore sufficient opportunities were given to make observations on him.'"

## A.

*COLLIN'S BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.*

"His family connections were such as he relates,* and well-known in Sweden; some of them by myself personally; particularly Bishop Benzelstierna [see Note 10]. The mention of his father being, though honourable, modestly short, I shall enlarge upon it. This Jesper Swedberg was well qualified for one of the principal bishoprics in Sweden, by his piety, learning, integrity, benevolence, and all other virtues. His plain manner of living enforced his zealous remonstrances against pomp and luxury, which, if not very common, were yet the more pernicious in that distressful period, when Sweden, having lost her veteran armies, depended in a great measure on lads and old men against the combined forces of Russia, Poland, and Denmark, and was moreover consuming by famine and pestilence. The Bishop's influence animated that patriotic fortitude, which sustained such burthens and misery, and blazed in so many battles. His popularity gave particular energy to some public regulations, which lessened the havoc of pestilence: a judicious and pathetic address to the people convinced them, that interring in new grounds was a necessary measure, though a temporary sacrifice to their laudable attachment to the consecrated grounds in which the earthly remains of their beloved relatives reposed. The Bishop was for many years superintendent of the Swedish mission about Delaware. His letters to the clergy and the congregations, which are preserved on his records, bear witness to his zeal, kindness, and love of science. He requested of the missionaries to inform him of any extraordinary events, in the moral and physical world, which happened in these parts of America. Some of these relations are recorded: one I find less credible, but founded on popular belief, and in part on some very remarkable facts. As this excellent man has been charged with a fondness for the marvellous, and the same foible is imputed as hereditary

* Collin alludes here to Swedenborg's *Autobiography*, contained in Document 2.

to the son, I will candidly mention the only fact within my knowledge, which may be so construed: a female head-dress, called in French *fontange,* made up of laces or ribbons to a monstrous height of several stages, had long been an object of his indignation. In a parish of his diocese, a female still-born child had a monstrous excrescence on its head, very similar to this ornament of the ladies. He regarded this as an ominous commination from heaven against the sinful vanity, and published a very spirited poem, with a drawing of the hideous forms. Those who sarcastically criticise this, ought, however, to reflect, that the most learned physiologists cannot yet decide what effect monstrous figures may, by affecting the mother, produce on the unborn babe. Certain it was, that the Bishop struck a death-blow to many thousand *fontanges,* and so far saved many fathers and husbands from expense and vexation.*

"Swedenborg is silent on the merits of his youth, which were great. The author of a dissertation on the Royal Society of Sciences at Upsal, published in 1789, thus mentions him as one of its first and best members: 'His letters to the Society while abroad, witness that few can travel so usefully. An indefatigable curiosity directed to various important objects, is conspicuous in all. Mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics seem to have been his favourite sciences, and he had already made great progress in these. Everywhere he became acquainted with the most renowned mathematicians and astronomers, as Flamstead,[56] Delahire,[59] Varignon,[60] &c. This pursuit of knowledge was also united with a constant zeal to benefit his country. No sooner was he informed of any useful discovery, than he was solicitous to render it beneficial to Sweden, by purchase, or sending home models. When a good book was published, he not only gave immediate notice of it, but contrived to procure it for the library of the University.'†

"That Swedenborg, on his return, was honoured by frequent conversations with Charles XII,[3] may well be believed by all who knew the real character of that King: he was not a mere warrior, but fond of useful sciences, though impeded

* See also Vol. I, p. 150.

† See Documents 40 to 45.

in promoting them by a long unremitting warfare, which was indeed, after the defeat at Pultowa, a necessary struggle for the independence of his country. He had also acquired some knowledge of the Mathematics, and used, at leisure hours, to amuse himself and his officers with the solution of problems.

"Swedenborg composed an Algebra in the Swedish language,* published in 1718. His *Regnum Minerale*,† which he mentions, is well known, and may be seen in the Library of Philadelphia. The office of Counsellor [Assessor] in the Metallic College [College of Mines] was conferred on him by King Charles, as a reward for knowledge acquired by the labours of youth, and a means of making it very beneficial to the nation:‡ that Board having inspection over the mines and metallic works, so important in that country, and being a constitutional department of the government.

"Swedenborg asserts with truth, that he was in favour with the royal family, and generally respected by the highest classes. This was due to his learning and excellence of character. The then queen, Louisa Ulrica,[11] sister of Frederic, the celebrated King of Prussia, had extraordinary talents and literary acquirements. She patronized the arts and sciences in Sweden. Her large and excellent library, which I have seen, employed much of her time. Gustavus,[12] her son, then hereditary prince, afterwards king, was distinguished by his talents and his promotion of the sciences, both useful and ornamental. The prelates and others of the clergy, many of whom were his relatives and friends, honoured him on the same ground, being themselves scholars and well-bred persons. He could therefore assure his friend that he was in no danger of persecution; besides, the National Church has never been severe;§ and his works were at that time in the Latin language, beyond the reach of the common people. I must, however, observe, that but few paid him this respect on account of his fellowship with angels. Some rather considered his theological theories as imbecilities;

* See Document 76, Vol. I, p. 290.

† See Vol. II, p. 5, footnote 2.

‡ Cfr. Document 144, Vol. I, p. 403.

§ Document 245, containing Swedenborg's Controversy with the Consistory of Gottenburg gives a different view.

the author above-mentioned,* so candid in his eulogium, laments, nevertheless, the striking contrast between the *Algebra* and the visions of the New Jerusalem.

"Swedenborg states properly his rank of nobility. He had the common degree; and was not, as many in America style him, a baron; which title denotes the second class of noblemen; the first among the three classes being counts."

## B.

*COLLIN'S CONVERSATION WITH SWEDENBORG.*

"In the course of my education at the University of Upsal, I had free access to its excellent library, which, by its own revenue and by donations, receives continually one or more copies of every interesting new book. There I perused the theological treatises of Swedenborg, published in the year 1765; among them *Arcana Cœlestia*, *De Cœlo et Inferno*, &c. In that year I went to reside in Stockholm, and continued partly in that city, and partly in its vicinity, for nearly three years. During that time, Swedenborg was a great object of public attention in this metropolis, and his extraordinary character was a frequent topic of discussion. He resided at his house in the southern suburbs, which was in a pleasant situation, neat and convenient, with a spacious garden and other appendages. There he received company. Not seldom he also appeared in public, and mixed in private societies; therefore sufficient opportunities were given to make observations on him. I collected much information from several respectable persons who had conversed with him; which was the more easy, as I lived the whole time, as private tutor, in the family of Dr. Celsius,[211] a gentleman of distinguished talents, who afterwards became Bishop of Scania: he and many of the eminent persons that frequented his house knew Swedenborg well.

"In the summer of 1766, I waited on him at his house; introducing myself, with an apology for the freedom I took;

* That is, the author of a "Dissertation on the Royal Society of Sciences at Upsal."

assuring him that it was not in the least from youthful presumption, (I was then twenty,) but from a strong desire of conversing with a character so celebrated. He received me very kindly. It being early in the afternoon, delicate coffee, without eatables, was served, agreeably to the Swedish custom: he was also, like pensive men in general, fond of this beverage. We conversed for nearly three hours; principally on the nature of human souls, and their states in the invisible world; discussing the principal theories of psychology, by various authors; among them the celebrated Dr. Wallerius,[209] late Professor of Natural Theology at Upsal. He asserted positively, as he often does in his works, that he had intercourse with spirits of deceased persons. I presumed, therefore, to request of him as a great favour, to procure me an interview with my brother, who had departed this life a few months before, a young clergyman officiating in Stockholm, and esteemed for his devotion, erudition, and virtue. He answered, that God having for wise and good purposes separated the world of spirits from ours, a communication is never granted without cogent reasons; and asked what my motives were. I confessed that I had none besides gratifying brotherly affection, and an ardent wish to explore scenes so sublime and interesting to a serious mind. He replied, that my motives were good, but not sufficient; that if any important spiritual or temporal concern of mine had been the case, he would then have solicited permission from those angels who regulate such matters.* He showed me the

* Here the Editors of the *New Church Repository* published in Philadelphia in 1817, appended a note as follows:—"Although as to substance there can be no doubt of the correctness of Mr. Collin's memory, yet with due deference to that respectable gentleman, we cannot but remark, that we are of opinion he must have misapprehended one of Swedenborg's expressions. We allude to that which is expressed by Mr. Collin in the following words: '*That if any important spiritual or temporal concern of mine had been the case, he would then have solicited permission from those angels who regulate such matters.*' Now, as far as we are acquainted with the writings of Swedenborg, we have no recollection of his ever having inculcated the idea, that application for any favour, natural or supernatural, should be made to angels, *but to the Lord alone.* We cannot, therefore, but conclude, that the declaration was either misunderstood, or mis-remem-

garden. It had an agreeable building; a wing of which was a kind of temple, to which he often retired for contemplation; for which its peculiar structure, and dim religious light were suitable."*

## C.

*COLLIN'S DESCRIPTION OF SWEDENBORG'S EXTERNAL APPEARANCE.*

In a letter addressed by Mr. Collin to the Rev. John Hargrove,† of Baltimore, dated Philadelphia, March 16, 1801, which was lately found among the papers of Mr. Hargrove after his decease, Mr. Collin states respecting Swedenborg as follows:—

"Swedenborg was universally esteemed for his various erudition in mathematics, mineralogy, &c., and for his probity, benevolence, and general virtue. Being very old when I saw him, he was thin and pale; but still retained traces of beauty, and had something very pleasing in his physiognomy, and a dignity in his tall and erect stature. On my requesting his

bered." Upon which Dr. Collin, in a letter to the Editors, gave the following explanation:—

"Gentlemen,

"Permit me to explain the following words in my conversation with Swedenborg: 'That if any important spiritual or temporal concern of mine had been the case, he would then have solicited permission from those angels who regulate such matters.' This answer to me is correctly translated from the Swedish. It does not imply, as you apprehend, any worship of angels, but only a request to them, as agents, by Divine commandment. Christians have generally believed such agency, as appears from the Bible and ecclesiastical history. Many persons, not chargeable with credulity, have ascribed to them influence on the human mind, and aid in dangers, when human means and other causes were incompetent, though this agency was not seen, heard, or felt by the bodily organs. Swedenborg did, indeed, assert a very familiar intercourse with them, but not any sort of adoration.

"NICHOLAS COLLIN."

* Mr. Collin means by this structure what is known as Swedenborg's summer-house which is preserved at the present time, and is officially described in Document 140, no. 6, under the heads *fourthly* and *fifthly*.

† The Rev. John Hargrove was the first New Church Minister in America.

aid in procuring an interview with a brother lately deceased, he answered very properly, that the partition-wall between this and the other world could not be opened without some important cause, and not to gratify mere curiosity. When I come to Baltimore, sometime this spring, I shall tell you more.

"I am, &c.

"NICHOLAS COLLIN."

## *DOCUMENT* 254.

## DR. BEYER'S[22] TESTIMONY.

In addition to Dr. Beyer's testimony concerning Swedenborg in Document 222, and in A, C, and O of Document 245, to which we refer the reader, we are able to add the following letter which the Doctor wrote to C. F. Nordensköld[20] in 1776, and to which we referred in Vol. I, p. 68. In this letter he gives an independent account of the Lord's appearance before Swedenborg, at the time when he entered upon his mission.

*"DR. BEYER[22] TO C. F. NORDENSKÖLD.[20]**

"Well-born Sir,

(1) "The desire expressed in your very welcome letter of the 7th inst., that the writings [of Swedenborg] which are mentioned therein, should first be made generally accessible to the public at large by publication [in Swedish], agrees in every respect with the thoughts and wishes I have enter-

* A copy of this letter was discovered by Dr. A. Kahl in 1842 among the papers of Major Gyllenhaal, a disciple of Swedenborg, who died in 1840. This copy the Doctor kindly presented to the Editor of these documents in 1870. A copy of this letter Dr. Kahl sent in 1842 to Dr. Im. Tafel who published the Swedish text with a German translation in Part IV of his "Documents concerning Swedenborg," printed in 1845. The above is the first English translation of this document.

tained on this subject for a long time.* In accordance with your wishes I have made arrangements that a clean copy should be written out of the "*Nova Hierosolyma et ejus doctrina cœlestis*," and for this purpose [have engaged the services] of Mr. Ölisch, of the clearing-house, who is well known to Captain Iben. Afterwards I shall see that the treatise *De Cœlo et Inferno* is intelligibly translated, carefully examined, and written out for the printer; even as I, God willing, and if no other work prevent, shall undertake the translation of the work *De Amore Conjugiali et Scortatorio*, one of the most difficult to translate into Swedish. The Index† will still occupy me for some time; for I shall have to revise and complete it. It seems to me also that first of all a short epitome in the form of a catechism ought to be printed. Captain Iben will show you a little work of that kind entitled: 'A Short Compendium of the True Christian Doctrine and Worship;' and it is worthy of remark that a clean copy of this work was sent by Mr. Habicht, a member of the town-council, at his own request, to Lilienstråle, the Chancellor of Justice, during his last visit to Gottenburg. This copy was handed by the Chancellor of Justice to His Royal Majesty,[12] who received it graciously and said, 'This will be a pleasant study for my mother.'[11]

(2) "A noble work would be accomplished if, while we are engaged here in translating and writing out clean copies for the press, copies were taken in Stockholm of [Swedenborg's] explanations of the remaining books of the Word; these explanations are of the same calibre and of the same value as the published 'Arcana Cœlestia;' besides, they are carefully bound, and not scattered about in the box [where they are kept] like the other; two years, however, will be required for copying them. The cause also would be encouraged in many places, and an interest would be excited among many persons, so as to induce them to take a vigorous part in our under-

* Mr. Nordensköld had conferred with Dr. Beyer about the publication of some of Swedenborg's writings in the Swedish language.

† Dr. Beyer's Index to Swedenborg's theological writings; see Note 22, Vol. I, p. 626.

taking, if it were countenanced by those high in authority, and especially if his Excellency Senator von Höpken would let us know his heart's opinion on this subject. Wherefore I can scarcely express how very much I desire that you should soon be received into his confidence, and hear what hope he holds out; and whether he advises us to go on, or to hold back. He knows the works very well, so that it is not necessary for you to present the subject formally to him.

(3) "The information respecting the Lord's personal appearance before the Assessor, who saw Him, in imperial purple and in majestic light, seated near his bed, while He gave Assessor Swedenborg his commission, I had from his own lips at a dinner-party in the house of Dr. Rosén,[45] where I saw the old gentleman for the first time. I remember that I asked him, how long this lasted; whereupon he answered, About a quarter of an hour: also, whether the strong light did not affect his eyes; when he said, No.

(4) "It would be very desirable indeed, as you have intimated, to collect anecdotes respecting him. They might be got together, if every one would note down, what he knows for certain. In connection with the occasion mentioned above, when the Lord in a miraculous manner opened the interiors of His servant, and thus the sight of his spirit into the other world, I may mention here that this opening did not take place completely at once, but gradually. Something on this subject in general may be found in the Work *De Amore Conjugiali et Scortatorio,* no. 39. A preparation had to precede; and what the nature of this was, he gave us to understand very clearly in a memorandum *(pro memoria)* which he addressed to me in 1767,* where he says, 'When heaven was first opened to me, I had to study the Hebrew language, as well as the correspondences in which the whole Bible is written; by which I was led to read through God's Word many times; and since God's Word is the source whence all theology is taken, I was thereby enabled to receive instruction from the Lord, who is the Word.' It was not consequently in the year 1743 (which is not written by a mistake, but agrees with all the information

* See Document 234, p. 261.

on the subject contained in his books), that he was all at once at home in the truths, which three or four years afterwards he collected together, and was able to publish in due order in the *Arcana Cœlestia,* in 1749. Meanwhile he had explored and instructed himself in natural things, and afterwards in spiritual things in a rational manner. He was thus occupied until the year 1745, according to the enlightenment in which he was at that time on such things (cfr. the work *De Influxu* or *Commercia animæ et corporis,* no. 20). For this reason the work *De Cultu et Amore Dei,* is not of importance in respect to theological doctrine; but in respect to natural truths it contains many beautiful and profound thoughts. On the subject of God, and love and wisdom, on the Son, the person of Adam, the sources of life, and imputation, he expressed himself quite differently after he had received instruction from the Lord in the above manner; wherefore the above work is never cited in the other works. I never succeeded in reading the *Regnum Animale;* but there seems to me good ground for supposing that hypotheses and fallacies in that work will disappear when they are properly examined. Besides, on hypotheses he writes in the work *Sapientia angelica de Amore et Sapientia,* no. 303; he also expresses himself in many places in the more recent books, on fallacies, the perception of effects from their causes, and the deduction of causes from their effects, so that I cannot but think, that if there were important mistakes, he would not have failed to warn his readers against his former writings. You would, nevertheless, oblige me very much by pointing out some of these mistakes.

(5) "In respect to the historical accounts in Genesis, mentioned in your esteemed letter, they are of two kinds. The first kind which occurs in the first seven, and even to the twelfth chapter, sounds like history, yet is not history; but is written in imitation of it. All that follows afterwards is real history, and has actually taken place, as it is there recorded (cfr. *Arcana Cœlestia,* nos. 1401 to 1403). History does not constitute one of the chief purposes of the Word; the interior and spiritual sense, which is holiness itself, and which in every least particular has reference to the Lord and His kingdom in heaven and in the church, is the chief thing (cfr. *Arcana Cœ-*

*lestia*, nos. 3880, 549, 3993). For the sake of that sense, and in order that there may be an exact correspondence, each word is used in a natural sense, and for this purpose also, the occurrences mentioned took place naturally. In this respect it is a general rule that each word is significative and each thing representative. The result is that many things in the Word considered in themselves and in a merely natural sense, appear partly to be of no value or of little account, partly to be not very modest, partly to be full of contradictions, and partly to be nonsensical; when yet it is indispensable that they should be so on account of the interior sense. No other book can be compared with the Sacred Scripture. That the Word in the original text could not be otherwise than it is, may be easily inferred from what we read in *Heaven and Hell*, no. 254, *Arcana Cœlestia*, nos. 3039, 7055. None of those who penned the Divine writings knew the science of correspondences, except Moses, who was educated in the learning of the Egyptians. Nor was it at all necessary that they should understand it, since the Lord Himself through an angel dictated each word to them. That science was entirely extinguished with every Jew, and did not exist in the least with the evangelists. All the occurrences which they wrote, they naturally had to inquire about and to collect, but when they began writing the gospels, every least particular of what they wrote was from the Spirit of the Lord's mouth, without their knowing anything about it themselves, or paying the least attention to it. The history contained in the gospels is of the same kind as the true Biblical history of which I spoke above; that is, it is not for the sake of the history related in the natural sense, but for the sake of the Lord and His kingdom, which in a continuous series is treated of in the spiritual sense; different in one gospel from what it is in another; for the series of spiritual things are manifold and innumerable, as appears among other things from the difference in the genealogical records in many places, and also in the genealogical accounts furnished by Matthew and Luke; for by the names in the former is described the Lord's assumption of humanity and His birth in the world; and in the latter His second birth, or the glorification of His humanity. There is no interior spiritual sense in the 'Acts of the

Apostles,' the nature and quality of which is described above (with the exception of the Lord's own words quoted therein); for they describe merely natural occurrences, without any higher signification. The Book of Job was written at the time of the Ancient Church by mere correspondences, and therefore does not contain a real history; it must therefore be understood according to its interior meaning, yet that meaning is not in a connected series (see 'Arcana Cœlestia,' no. 2622, 'White Horse,' no. 16). The meaning of the jots and tittles may be seen in the work, on 'Heaven and Hell,' no. 260 (cfr. also 'Arcana Cœlestia, no. 9198).

(6) "Swedenborg's Latin translation of the Book of Revelation can be fully depended upon, for he knew what the genuine reading was, viz. from the connection of the internal sense. Bengel[183] depends upon his critical knowledge of various readings, which may be turned in any direction. Swedenborg has generally clung to the received text, but not always; but he has not followed Bengel's edition. May we soon be in possession of the whole theological work of the old gentleman! With affectionate respect, I remain

"Your humble servant,

"G. A. Beyer.

"Gottenburg, March 23, 1776."

## *DOCUMENT* 255.

# GENERAL CHRISTIAN TUXEN'S[201] TESTIMONY.*

1. A report having been circulated, that the late Queen-Dowager of Sweden, Louisa Ulrica, had given Assessor Swedenborg a commission to speak with her deceased brother the Prince of Prussia; I inquired (says the General) of a certain minister,† a nobleman of great learning, who for several years past had honoured me with his intimate friendship, whether he had heard any thing of this report, and what kind of person Swedenborg was, and what character he bore. He answered me, that the report was not ill-founded; that it had been communicated by all the foreign ministers in Stockholm to their respective courts; that Swedenborg from his youth was acknowledged to be one of the most learned men in Europe, parti-

* Gen. Tuxen wrote his testimony in the Danish language, and forwarded it on May 8, 1790 to Augustus Nordensköld[35] (see Introduction to Document 252), by whom an English translation was published in the Appendix to the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790, pages 257 to 265. The whole of this document was inserted by Dr. Tafel in his German edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," yet only a portion of it was introduced into the English editions of these documents published in England and America. For the sake of convenient reference this document has been divided by the Editor into numbered paragraphs.

The documentary value of Gen. Tuxen's testimony is somewhat impaired, on account of our not having access to the Danish original, but only to the English translation prepared through the agency of Augustus Nordensköld, whose character as a faithful witness we were obliged to impeach in Notes 27 and 35 of Volume I, to which notes we shall have occasion to refer the reader in no. 18 of this Document.

† From no. 22 of this Document we learn that this nobleman was Baron Carl Frederic von Höpken (see Note 134, Vol. I), a younger brother of Count A. von Höpken.[23]

cularly in mineralogy; but added, at the same time, that since he had, during the last twenty-seven years of his life, given himself up to the study of theology, it was thought by many, that, as he pretended that he could speak with the dead, his understanding was deranged.

2. As I lived at Elsinore, I also heard several other things concerning him; that he often passed the Sound in his travels to and from Amsterdam and London; and in what manner he had answered his landlord who kept the sign of Charles XII, who, on asking him how that king fared in the other world, replied that he retained the same sentiments and conduct in the world of spirits as he had done in this world (see Note 3).

3. I have heard also the following anecdote from a very respectable friend, who was a witness of it, viz.: That himself, together with the other officers of the custom-house at the Sound, had been invited by the Swedish consul, Mr. Kryger, to dine in the company of Swedenborg, whom many of the first people in town (also purposely invited) wished to see and know. All being seated at table, and none of them taking the liberty of addressing Swedenborg, who was likewise silent, the Swedish consul thought it incumbent on him to break silence, for which purpose he took the occasion of the death of the Danish King, Christian VI [Frederic V?],* which had happened the preceding year, to inquire of Swedenborg, as he could see and speak with the dead, whether he had also seen Christian VI [Frederic V?] since his decease. To this Swedenborg replied in the affirmative; adding, that when he saw him the first time, he was accompanied by a bishop, or some other prelate, who humbly begged the king's pardon for the many errors into which he had led him by his counsels. A son of the said deceased prelate happened to be present at the table;

* Gen. Tuxen evidently meant here King Frederic V, the son of Christian VI; for Christian VI died in 1746, fourteen years before it was generally known in Sweden that Swedenborg had intercourse with the inhabitants of the spiritual world (see Document 249, A, footnote); while Frederic V died January 14, 1766. It must be remembered here that Gen. Tuxen was seventy-seven years of age, when he wrote his testimony about Swedenborg; that therefore his memory of dates and persons was then already weakened. Compare also no. 6, where he speaks of "the lately deceased King Frederic V."

the consul, Mr. Kryger, therefore fearing that Swedenborg might say something further to the disadvantage of the father, interrupted him, saying, Sir, this is his son! Swedenborg replied, It may be, but what I am saying is true.

4. This and other relations induced me a few years afterwards to solicit the Swedish consul, Mr. Rahling, to acquaint me the next time Swedenborg came to Elsinore; he soon afterwards informed me, by means of his nephew, Mr. Beyer, that Swedenborg was then at his house at dinner, together with the captain who brought him over, and desired I would make great haste, as the wind proved favourable, and they were on the point of embarking. I made all possible haste, and on entering the house, I addressed the Assessor as being an intimate friend of the consul's, who came on purpose to have the honour of the acquaintance of so celebrated and learned a man as himself; and I requested his permission to ask him a few questions. To this he civilly and mildly answered, "Ask what you please; I will answer all in truth." My first question was, Whether the relation, reported as having passed between himself and the Queen in Stockholm, was true? He answered; Tell me in what manner you have heard it related, and I will tell you what part of it is true or otherwise. I replied, that as I saw he was on the point of going on board the vessel, I supposed there was no time to lose, and therefore desired he would have the kindness to relate the affair to me. He consented, and told it me in the same manner as I had been informed of it before by means of letters from people of credit; adding, however, the following circumstances:

[The particulars related by Gen. Tuxen respecting what had passed between Swedenborg and the Queen will be found in Document 274, A.]

5. In the course of further conversation on the principles of religion advocated and explained by him, I took an opportunity of asking him, How a man, who was confident that he was serious in his duty towards God and his neighbour, could be certain whether he was in the right road to salvation or not? I was answered, That this was very easy; and that such a man need only examine himself and his own thoughts according to the Ten Commandments; as, for instance, whether

he loves and fears God; whether he is happy in seeing the welfare of others, and does not envy them; whether, on having received a great injury from others, which may have excited him to anger and revenge, he afterwards changes his sentiments, because God has said, that vengeance belongs to him, and so on; then he may rest assured, that he is on the road to heaven; but when he discovers himself to be actuated by contrary sentiments, on the road to hell. This led me to think of myself as well as of others.

6. I also asked him, Whether he had seen the lately deceased King Frederic V., adding, that although some human frailty or other might be attributed to him, yet I had certain hopes that he was happy? His answer was, "Yes; I have seen him, and I know that he is very happy, and not only he, but likewise all the kings of the house of Oldenburg, who are all associated together. This is not the happy case with our Swedish kings, some of whom are not so well off." This he said in the presence of the consul and the Swedish captain with whom he sailed.

7. He added further: "In the world of spirits I have not seen any one so splendidly served and waited on, as the deceased Empress Elizabeth of Russia."* As I expressed much astonishment at this, he continued, "I could also tell you the reason, which few would surmise; viz. That with all her faults she had a good heart, and, with her neglect or indifference, a certain consideration which induced her purposely to postpone signing many edicts and papers that were from time to time presented to her, for which reason they multiplied to such a degree, that at last she could not examine or peruse them, but was obliged to believe the representations of the ministers, and sign as many as possible; after which she would retire into her closet, fall on her knees, and beg forgiveness of God if she had, against her will, signed anything that was wrong."† When this conversation was ended, Swedenborg in a friendly and civil manner took leave, and went on board.

* She died January 5, 1772. Concerning her see the "Spiritual Diary," no. 6027, as printed by G. E. Klemming in the Appendix to "Swedenborg's Drömmar," pp. 66 to 70.

† Compare also Document 5, no. 19 (Vol. I, p. 38).

8. Some time afterwards I was informed that he had returned by way of Gottenburg to Stockholm, and as I had accidentally heard that the Consistory had begun to examine into a letter written by him to a doctor of divinity at the College (Dr. Beyer), which was declared by the Dean (Dr. Ekebom) to be heretical, I endeavoured to obtain the extracts of the Minutes that were printed, and which were to prove the doctrine of Swedenborg to be erroneous; but these extracts aimed chiefly at blackening the character of Dr. Beyer and a learned Dr. Rosén. I therefore wrote to Swedenborg, and requested him to inform me concerning these transactions, and received a letter from him in answer, an attested copy of which is hereunto annexed.*

9. Some time afterwards, I learned that Swedenborg, who was on his last journey to Amsterdam and London,† had been detained for four days by a contrary wind on board a Swedish ship, anchored a few miles from Elsinore. I therefore took a boat and went off to see him; on my inquiring whether Assessor Swedenborg was on board, the captain answered in the affirmative, bade me welcome, and opened the cabin-door, which, as soon as I entered, he shut after me.

10. I found the Assessor seated in undress, his elbows on the table, his hands supporting his face, which was turned towards the door, his eyes open, and much elevated. I was so imprudent as immediately to address him, expressing my happiness at seeing and speaking with him. At this he recovered himself (for he had really been in a trance or ecstasy, as his posture evinced), and rising with some confusion, advanced a few steps from the table in singular and visible uncertainty, expressed by his countenance and hands, from which, however, he soon recovered, bidding me welcome, and asking me whence I came. I answered that, as I had heard he was on board a Swedish ship lying below the Koll, I was come to invite him

* This letter constitutes Document 245, W (p. 371). In his letter to the King (p. 374) Swedenborg declares that the first information about the printed Minutes of the Gottenburg Consistory was received by him from Gen. Tuxen.

† Swedenborg left Stockholm for Amsterdam towards the close of July 1770; see Document 245, Y and AA.

on the part of my wife and myself, to favour us with his company at our house. To this he immediately consented, pulling off his gown and slippers, putting on clean linen, and dressing himself as briskly and alertly as a young man of one-and-twenty. He told the captain where he was to be found, if the wind became favourable, and accompanied me to Elsinore.

11. Here my wife, who was then indisposed, was waiting to welcome him, and to request him to excuse us if our house should in any respect fall short of our wishes to entertain him, adding, that she had for these thirty years past been afflicted with a violent hysterical disease, which occasioned her much pain and uneasiness. He very politely kissed her hand, and answered, Oh dear! of this we will not speak; only acquiesce in the will of God; it will pass away, and you will again attain the same health and beauty as when you were fifteen years of age. I do not recollect what she or I answered to this; but I remarked that in answer to us he replied, Yes, in a few weeks; from which I concluded, that diseases, which have their foundation in the mind, and are maintained by the infirmities and pains of the body, do not leave man immediately on the separation of the body.

12. We then conversed on the various kinds of pain my wife had suffered. Afterwards he said, among other things, that for twelve years past he had been afflicted with a very weak stomach, and during that time had scarcely taken any other food than coffee and biscuits.

13. I do not recollect on what occasion he told me that the King had issued a circular letter to all the Consistories in Sweden, requesting them to send a statement of their grounds of complaint against Swedenborg's writings and explanations in religion; and that the King the last time he spoke with him on the subject, familiarly laid his hand on his shoulder and said, They will not make any reply to me although I have demanded their explicit answers.*

14. Nor do I remember on what occasion we were conversing on certain passages in his writings, when I produced some of them, and in searching we found the letter which he

* Compare Document 6, no. 37 (Vol. I, p. 72).

had written to a learned friend in England, [the late Rev. T. Hartley,] which begins, I think, with these words: "I was born in Stockholm, 1689."* Here he told me he was not born in that year, as mentioned, but in the preceding one. And on my asking him whether this was a fault in the printing, he answered: "No; but the reason was this: You may remember in reading my writings, to have seen it mentioned in many places, that every figure or number in the spiritual sense has a certain correspondence or signification annexed;" and he added, that when he had first put the true year in that letter, an angel present told him, that he should write the year now printed as much more suitable to himself than the other; and you know, said the angel, that with us time or space are nothing: "for this reason it was," continued he, "that I wrote it."†

15. On my observing here, that it was impossible for me to remove time and space from my thoughts in reading his writings, he answered, "*that* I easily believe; it also took me some time before I could do it; but I will show and teach you in what manner it may be done." Hereupon he entered upon a very ample and rational explanation, but was interrupted by a person coming from the Swedish merchant to invite him to dinner; as we went out I had no opportunity of conversing with him till he returned from his visit.

16. Being then together, in company with my wife, my now deceased daughter, and three or four young ladies, my relations,

* See Document 2 (Vol. I, p. 7).

† Dr. Immanuel Tafel says in this connection in the German edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," p. 40: "The accuracy of this statement of the General, which he wrote long after the occurrence had taken place, was questioned by a critic in the 'Intellectual Repository,' London, 1833 (p. 497 *et seq.*); yet it is worthy of being taken into consideration, whether the number 1689 is not really more correct; since, if Swedenborg was born in the year which is written 1688, he was actually born in the 1689th year after Christ; for have we not been in the nineteenth century, ever since the figure 1800 has been used? It appears, however, from the memorable relations in the 'Apocalypse Revealed,' that what took place with Swedenborg frequently had a representative meaning; in that work also peculiar stress is laid upon the number three and a half. Why then could not this have been the case with the year of Swedenborg's birth?" Compare also Document 4 (Vol. I, p. 14).

he entertained them very politely and with much attention on indifferent subjects, on favourite dogs and cats that were in the room, which caressed him, and jumped on his knee showing their little tricks.

17. During these trifling discourses mixed with singular questions, to all of which whether they concerned this or the other world, he obligingly answered, I mentioned once, that I was very sorry I had no better company to amuse him, than a sickly wife and her young girls. He replied, "And is not this very good company? I was always partial to ladies' company."*

18. This led me jocosely to ask him, whether he had ever been married, or desirous of marrying. He answered, No; but that once in his youth he had been on the road to matrimony; King Charles XII having recommended the famous Polhem[14] to give him his daughter. On my asking what obstacle had prevented it, he replied: "She would not have me, as she had promised herself to another person to whom she was more attached." I then craved his pardon if I had been too inquisitive. [He answered, ask whatever question you please, I shall answer in truth. I then inquired, whether in his youth he could keep free from temptations with regard to the sex? He replied, "Not altogether; in my youth I had a mistress in Italy.]†

19. After some little pause he cast his eyes on a harpsichord, and asked whether we were lovers of music, and who

* Compare Document 4, Vol. I, p. 29.

† The portions in brackets for reasons which we have stated at large in Note 27 of Volume I, we declare not to be genuine. In addition to the reasons which we have furnished there, we adduce here the following: According to the English translator, who is answerable for the statement in brackets in the first place, Gen. Tuxen asked Swedenborg the question attributed there to him in the presence of "his own wife, his now deceased daughter, and three or four young ladies, his relations." Now, no gentleman would ask such a question of another gentleman in the presence of his wife, and four or five young girls; wherefore on the grounds of morality and gentlemanly conduct we declare it to have been utterly impossible for Gen. Tuxen to have asked this question of Swedenborg then and there; even as we have already proved in Note 27, that Swedenborg's alleged answer contains a flat contradiction.

played upon it. I told him, we were all lovers of it, and that my wife in her youth had practised it, since she had a fine voice, perhaps better than any in Denmark, as several persons of distinction who had heard the best singers in France, England, and Italy, had assured her; and that my daughter also played with pretty good taste. On this Swedenborg begged her to play. She then performed a difficult and celebrated sonata, of which he beat the measure with his foot as he sat on the sofa; and when finished, he said, "Brava! very fine." She then played another by Ruttini; and when she had played a few minutes, he said, "this is by an Italian, but the first was not." This finished, he said, "Brava, you play very well. Do you not sing also?" She answered, "I sing, but have not a very good voice, though I am fond of singing, and would sing, if my mother would accompany me." He requested my wife to join; to which she assented, and they sang a few Italian duets, and some French airs, each according to her respective taste, to which he beat time, afterwards paying many compliments to my wife, on account of her taste, and fine voice, which she had preserved notwithstanding so long an illness.

20. I took the liberty of saying to him, that since in his writings he always declared, that at all times good and evil spirits of the other world were present with every man, I would make bold to ask, whether now, while my wife and daughter were singing, there were any from the other world present with us? To this he answered, "Yes, certainly." And on my inquiring who they were, and whether I had known them, he said, that it was the Danish Royal Family, and he mentioned Christian VI, Sophia Magdalena, and Frederic V, who through his eyes and ears had seen and heard it. I do not positively recollect whether he also mentioned the late beloved Queen Louisa among them.

21. After this he retired, and while preparing for rest, I took occasion when we were alone to ask him whether there were any in Sweden who approved and took delight in his system of theology, and whether he could mention any such to me. To this he answered, Yes, but few; and he would willingly mention them to me, but that probably I did not know them. I replied, It might happen that I knew some one or other. He

then named a few bishops, and some of the senators, among others he mentioned Count Anders von Höpken,[28] the celebrated minister and senator, of whom he spoke favourably.

22. As I had been so happy as to enjoy for several years the familiar acquaintance of the younger brother of Count Höpken, Baron Charles Frederic Höpken,[134] who was Ambassador of Sweden at our court, and who had been in the like capacity at Constantinople, and who was, moreover, a very courteous and agreeable nobleman, I embraced an opportunity, after the death of Swedenborg, of writing to his eminent brother, and of putting several questions to him, which he did not directly answer, yet very politely sent me the letters hereunto subjoined;* all which are attested copies. They give a faithful account of our late benefactor, and indeed not only of ours, but that of all mankind, if they are seriously solicitous about their future state after death. For my part, I thank our Lord, the God of Heaven, that I have been acquainted with this great man and his writings. I esteem this as the greatest blessing I have ever experienced in my life, and I hope I shall profit by them in working out my salvation.

23. My valued guest afterwards took his coffee with a few biscuits, and I accompanied him on board the vessel. Here he took leave of me for the last time in a very affectionate manner, and I hope I shall in the other life testify to him my grateful heart.

This, to the best of my recollection, is all that passed between us, and of which my dear friend [Augustus Nordensköld[35]] may print whatever he pleases, and leave out what he thinks of less consequence or use, and he may rest assured I shall always regard it as an honour and happiness to be

His most obliged friend and servant,

CHRISTIAN TUXEN.[201]

Elsinore, May 4, 1790.

* These letters are contained in Document 252, A to E.

24. In a postscript General Tuxen makes the following additional statement: I once asked the late Assessor whether there were any, and how great a number of persons whom he knew in this world, to favour his doctrine? He answered, Not many yet, that he knew of, yet he might compute their number at perhaps *fifty* or thereabouts; and in proportion the same number in the world of spirits.

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To the testimony collected concerning Swedenborg in Sweden must be added the narratives of Sandels, Robsahm, and the two Nordenskölds, which are included among the "General Biographical Notices" given in Section I; where they figure respectively as Documents 4, 5, and 6. To these we beg to refer the reader.

## B.

## TESTIMONY COLLECTED IN HOLLAND.

### *DOCUMENT* 256.

### TESTIMONY OF JOHN CHRISTIAN CUNO.[212] (DAVID PAULUS AB INDAGINE.)

*INTRODUCTION.*

This important testimony is contained in one of the four folio MS. volumes which are preserved in the State Library of Brussels under the title: *Joh. Christian Cuno's eigenhändige Lebensbeschreibung* (John Christian Cuno's Autobiography). The portion concerning Swedenborg was copied from these volumes by Dr. Aug. Scheler, the royal librarian in Brussels, and published in an octavo volume of 172 pages under the following title: *Aufzeichnungen eines Amsterdamer Bürgers über Swedenborg* (Notes of an Amsterdam citizen on Swedenborg), Hanover, 1858. From this volume the translation of the greater part of what follows has been prepared.

Dr. Scheler gives the following account of the original MS. volumes: "Not very long ago one of my literary friends in this place submitted for my examination four staunch folio volumes bound in morocco which he had bought from a dealer in second-hand goods for upwards of six Prussian thalers. These volumes bore on their backs in letters of gold the above inscription. After turning over a few leaves I discovered that I had before me about four thousand pages of the MS. autobiography of a man who, although resident in Holland, occupied a by no means enviable position in the history of German literature as the author of a 'Messiad' in twelve cantos (Amsterdam, 1762), and also of many poems,

mostly of an ecclesiastical nature; of the same Cuno in fact concerning whom some notices may be found in Stosch's *'Neuem gelehrten Europa'* (The New learned Europe), Vol. XVI, pp. 980 to 1031; and also in Jörden's *'Lexicon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten'* (Lexicon of German Poets and Prose-writers), Vol. V, pp. 838 to 840. I found his name also mentioned in the French biographical collections, yet with errors in their treatment of him, which they probably derived from German sources.

"At first I did not feel much interested in reading four thousand folio pages on a man who is scarcely known by name to the great public acquainted with literature, and who moved during the greater part of his life in the sphere of commerce, and indeed of a sea-port removed from the current of thought of the German fatherland; my hope also was but slight of meeting there with anything of interest to the history of literature. Very soon, however, I felt attracted, partly by the moral dissertations and theological disquisitions, both in prose and poetry, which abounded in the volumes, and partly by the vigorous and ever honourable character of the author, and his thorough appreciation and understanding of everything pertaining to science, art, and social interests; but especially by the chequered course of the events of his life, so that I read nearly three-fourths of the legible and well arranged manuscript.

"Cuno's style is often prolix and laboured, and his language intermixed with Dutch expressions, but his account is always elevating and attractive from his great mental activity, his fund of knowledge and experience, and his strict morality; of all which his pages offer vivid testimony."

Dr. Scheler afterwards gives an interesting biographical account of Cuno, a great part of which is embodied in Note 212; and on page 16 he continues, "An episode in the year 1769, during which he was fortunate enough to associate with Swedenborg, seemed to me of especial value, and the extract from Cuno's Memoirs, which is given in the following pages, will I think be generally welcomed."

## A.

### CUNO'S EXPERIENCE OF SWEDENBORG IN 1769.*

1. I must remain faithful to a promise made last year, and begin by giving an account of the most singular saint who has ever lived, Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg. As nothing concerns me more in this world than the worship of God, and as I found interspersed in the last work of that man such strange and singular things, I was naturally impelled by an irresistible curiosity to make the acquaintance of the author. On reading the beginning of this book, which like all his other works is written in Latin, and which bears the title, "The Delights of Wisdom concerning Conjugial Love," after which follow "The Pleasures of Insanity concerning Scortatory Love," I could not think otherwise than that its author was insane. Curiosity, however, induced me to read on, and occasionally I found him uttering such thoughtful things, as I had never before heard from academical desks and pulpits, and which never before had entered my thoughts.

2. I submit to the judgment of my readers, what we ought to think concerning a man, who begins his preliminary chapter on the joys of heaven and nuptials there in these words: "I am aware that many who read the following pages, and the Memorable Relations annexed to the chapters, will believe that they are fictions of the imagination; but I protest in truth that they are not fictions, but were truly done and seen; not seen in any state of the mind asleep, but in a state of full wakefulness: for it has pleased the Lord to manifest Himself to me, and to send me to teach the things relating to the New Church, which is meant by the New Jerusalem in the Revelation: for which purpose he has opened the interiors of my mind and spirit; whereby it has been granted me to be in the spiritual world with angels, and at the same time in the natural world with men, and this now for twenty-five years." Such an unexpected assertion, which has never

* For the sake of convenient reference the paragraphs of this Document have been numbered by the Editor.

been made by any man before, would be sufficient to induce any intelligent reader to throw the entire work under his chair.

3. When a certain scholar could not understand the dark satires of Persius, he is said to have dashed them down full of impatience, exclaiming. "If you refuse to be understood, you ought not to be read" *(si non vis intelligi, non debes legi).* Still we should wrong Swedenborg very much by charging him with want of clearness. His style is very simple, clear, and intelligible; sometimes indeed his descriptions are so full of details and so picturesque, that they could easily be painted, and represented in interesting pictures. In respect to his Latinity, it must certainly not be submitted to a critical Latin scholar; for it can be very easily seen that he does not wield the pen of a Petrus Biermannus Secundus; nevertheless, he can say everything he pleases in Latin, and be understood by his readers. Besides, the Latinity of most of the Fathers of the Church, and even of many theologians of the present time when they write on theological and Biblical matters, is far from being Ciceronian. But let me pass from words to things.

4. The Christian worship of God is subject to this sad calamity in this world, that attacks are made upon it either by arrogant fools who call themselves strong-minded, or by visionaries; the latter rendering it ridiculous sometimes without wishing to do so, but the former endeavouring to do so with all their power. The learned Mr. Swedenborg cannot be classed among freethinkers and enemies of the Christian religion; for he writes with the greatest reverence for God and His Word. He has impressed upon me the most profound reverence for the adorable Saviour of the world, and his entire system of doctrine is based upon His Divinity. Although, on the other hand, his writings contain many evident errors, so that he must be classed among the heretics[!], I nevertheless cannot discover in him so very easily those motives by which most heretics are carried away. Those who know this man and desire to judge of him without prejudice, may indeed declare him to be somewhat eccentric in his habits and his mode of living, yet they cannot charge him with anything wrong or disorderly. I scarcely believe that he has

any enemies; at all events he could not have made them by the innocent, even sainted, tenor of his life; and should he have them, it would be impossible for them, as well as for the scoffers who examine closely all modes of life different from their own, to discover anything in him which they could justly find fault with, or even calumniate. Before making his more intimate acquaintance, I inquired most particularly after these points especially among the Swedish merchants, among whom there was one of his countrymen, Mr. Joachim Wretman,[174] whom I could trust as imbued with Christianity, and a man of intelligence.

5. My first acquaintance with him dates from November 4, 1768, when I happened to meet him in the French book-shop of Mr. François Changuion. The old gentleman speaks both French and High German, yet not very readily. Besides, he is afflicted with the natural infirmity of stuttering; yet at one time more than at another. Our first meeting was pleasing and sympathetic. He permitted me to call upon him at his own house; which I did on the following Sunday, and I continued to do so almost every Sunday, after attending church in the morning. He lodged near our old church in Calf-street *(Kälbergasse),* where he had engaged two comfortable rooms. One of my first questions was, whether he had no male attendant to wait upon him in his old age, and to accompany him on his journeys? He answered that he needed no one to look after him, because his angel was ever with him, and conversed and had intercourse with him. If another man had uttered these words, he would have made me laugh; but I never thought of laughing when this venerable man, eighty-one years old, told me this; he looked far too innocent, and when he gazed upon me with his smiling blue eyes, which he always did in conversing with me, it was as if truth itself was speaking from them.

6. I often noticed with surprise how scoffers, who had made their way into large societies where I had taken him, and whose purpose it had been to make fun of the old gentleman, forgot all their laughter and their intended scoffing, and how they stood agape and listened to the most singular things which he like an open-hearted child told about the spiritual

world without reserve and with full confidence. It almost seemed as if his eyes possessed the faculty of imposing silence on every one.

7. He lived with simple burgher folks, who kept a shop in which they sold chintz, muslin, handkerchiefs, and the like, and who had quite a number of little children. I inquired of the landlady whether the old gentleman did not require very much attention. She answered, "He scarcely requires any; the servant has nothing else to do for him, except in the morning to lay the fire for him in the fireplace. Every evening he goes to bed at seven, and gets up in the morning at eight. We do not trouble ourselves any more about him. During the day he keeps up the fire himself; and on going to bed takes great care, lest the fire should do any damage. He dresses and undresses himself alone, and waits upon himself in every thing, so that we scarcely know whether there is any one in the house or not. I should like him to be with us during the rest of his life. My children will miss him most; for he never goes out without bringing them home some sweets; the little rogues also dote upon the old gentleman so much, that they prefer him to their own parents. I imagine, that he is very rich."

8. This last remark of the good lady must be very true; and we may infer it from this circumstance alone that he has published his manifold writings in England and in this country entirely at his own expense; and has never gained a farthing from their sale. All these writings are printed on large and expensive paper; and yet he gives them all away. The booksellers to whom he gives them for sale charge as much for them as they can get. Indeed, they sell them dear enough, as I found out by my own experience; for I had to pay four florins and a half to the bookseller Schreuder in this town for a copy of his *Apocalypsis Revelata*. The bookseller himself, however, mentioned to me that the author never demands an account either from himself, or any other dealer. I have been told that Mr. Swedenborg has a draught for 2000 ducats, at three days' sight, on the large firm of Messrs. Hope & Co., at whose house he often dines; and that he has not touched this sum for many months, although he daily

spends large sums of money on account of his latest work [Conjugial Love], which fills upwards of forty sheets in large quarto. I have been assured that his annual income amounts to 10,000 florins.* His capital must be considerable to yield such interest. He told me himself that his father was Bishop of Sweden [of Skara], but he himself superintendent [assessor] of mines; and it is quite possible that under such circumstances he was able to save a good fortune; for he himself has never expended much on his own body, and he has never been married. How snugly he might live on such a fortune in Stockholm, where he has a splendid palace[!] and garden. But as it is, he has been travelling about for many years, and has lived mostly in London, and recently for nearly three quarters of a year in Amsterdam; and in this place at least he has lived in a most simple style.

9. The cause of his journeys, I believe, has been exclusively, because here and in London he had full liberty accorded to him to print whatever he liked; which liberty would never have been granted to him in his native town, and probably nowhere else in Christendom.

10. He has himself lived very frugally. Chocolate and biscuits served in his own room usually constituted his dinner; and of this his landlord, his landlady, and the children generally received the greater part. If he had a better appetite he went into a neighbouring restaurant in the so called "holy way;" and this after much inquiry I learned from himself only a short time before his departure. He was far from being misanthropical and obstinate. Whoever invited him to his house was sure to have him. In addition to Messrs. Hope & Co., who were his bankers, he sometimes dined with his countrymen, the Messrs. Grill,[112] and others. With Mr. Wretman[174] he dined almost every Sunday; he also was his most intimate companion.

11. When I first invited Swedenborg to my house, I extended the invitation also to Mr. Wretman. I might have invited many more; for many were anxious to make the

* Swedenborg's annual income in 1766 amounted to 5196 dalers in copper; see Document 138.

acquaintance of so singular a guest; but, as I was not yet sufficiently acquainted with him myself, I did not venture to invite more; for I was continually afraid that some one would make sport of him. He was in very good spirits at my house, and uncommonly frank and open-hearted, as I have always found him since.

12. It was exactly on the 16th of November, 1768, when he told me that then for the first time he had met in the spiritual world with King Stanislaus.[131] He had appeared there a considerable time before,* but no one knew who he was, although all the spirits were very anxious to find out. Swedenborg himself, therefore, was requested to accost the unknown person, and inquire after his name. He did so, and as no one in the spiritual world is able to dissemble or to keep back the truth, the King not only told him his own name, but led him also at once to his daughter, the late Queen of France. Should my readers be surprised at this statement, they will become still more surprised on reading his own writings, and the memorable relations contained therein, where he speaks of his oral communications with the Popes, Dr. Luther, Calvin, Melancthon; yea, with the old pagan philosophers, and those of modern times, and who knows with how many other celebrated men.

13. It soon become known in town that I associated with this remarkable man; and everybody troubled me to give them an opportunity of making his acquaintance. I advised the people to do as I had done, and to call upon him, because he willingly conversed with every honest man. Mr. Swedenborg moves in the world with great tact, and knows how to address the high, as well as the low. I should have liked very much to introduce him into our club, because he told me that he was fond occasionally of playing a game of l'hombre; but as I knew that he did not stop anywhere after seven, and as no High German and only very little French is spoken in our circle, I had to give it up. For the same reason I could not gratify the wishes of some curious ladies.

14. Once, however, at the urgent request of the wife of

* King Stanislaus Leczinsky died in 1766.

my friend Mr. Nicolam Konauw, I agreed to bring him to dinner. The old gentleman consented and was prepared at once to go. Mr. Konauw sent his carriage for us. On presenting ourselves to Madame we found among other guests the two Misses Hoog, who had been highly educated, and had been introduced, beyond the common sphere of woman, into the higher, especially the philosophical, sciences. Mr. Swedenborg's deportment was exquisitely refined and gallant. When dinner was announced, I offered my hand to the hostess, and quickly our young man of eighty-one years had put on his gloves, and presented his hand to Mademoiselle Hoog, in doing which he looked uncommonly well. Whenever he was invited out, he dressed properly and becomingly in black velvet; but ordinarily he wore a brown coat and black trousers. I never saw him dressed otherwise than in one of these two suits of clothes. Our old gentleman was seated between Madame Konauw and the elder Demoiselle Hoog, both of whom understood thoroughly well how to talk; but they had to promise me beforehand, that, at least during dinner, they would allow the old gentleman to eat in peace. This promise they kept faithfully, and he seemed to enjoy very much to be so attentively served by the ladies. This time he displayed such a good appetite, that I was quite surprised. They could not prevail on him to take more than three glasses of wine, which were besides half filled with sugar, of which he was more than ordinarily fond. During the dessert the talking went on very freely, and it continued afterwards while we took tea and coffee, and thus uninterruptedly until seven o'clock, when I had taken care that the carriage should be ready to take us home. It is astonishing what a number of questions the ladies addressed to him; all of which he answered. I should have to write a great deal, were I inclined to write down all these questions and answers. But one thing I shall have to mention.

15. The conversation turned upon a certain distinguished personage, I think an ambassador, who had died some time ago at the Hague. "I know him" exclaimed Mr. Swedenborg, "although I never saw him in his life-time. As you mention here his name d'Abricourt, I know him and that he left

a widow. But he has already married again in the spiritual world, and he has now a wife for all eternity, who is more perfectly in harmony with his disposition, than the one he left behind in this world." It may easily be imagined how many new questions this singular story caused; all of which he answered. The ladies also were so well-bred and discreet, as to content themselves with his answers as he gave them.

16. I dined with him several times afterwards at Mr. Konauw's, and also at the house of Mr. Odon, one of his partners; and each time we there met different ladies. To speak of all this, however, would be too prolix; for I shall have presently to give my readers some ideas of his writings.

17. In respect to Mr. Swedenborg's external appearance, he is for his years a perfect wonder of health. He is of middle stature, and although he is more than twenty years older than I am, I should be afraid to run a race with him; for he is as quick on his legs as the youngest man. When I dined with him the last time at Mr. Odon's, he told me that a new set of teeth was growing in his mouth; and who has ever heard this of a man eighty-one years old? In respect to his features, I would certainly have had his portrait taken in order to preserve them, if an artist like Abel had been at hand; but I would not risk half a dozen ducats with another artist, of whom I could not be so sure that he would produce a likeness. Still I heard from Mr. Christian Paulus Meyer, who is a great scientist and an intimate friend of Mr. Konauw, that a copper engraving of Swedenborg is contained in his mineralogical work,* which is far-famed in the world; and this engraving is said to be very much like him.

18.† Having procured access to Swedenborg for my young friend, Mr. John Lublink, he fell in with the old gentleman's ideas, and acted as if he believed everything. Among other things he mentioned that within the last twelve years extraordinary changes had taken place in the Romish Church, especially in respect to the Jesuits. It was a matter of surprise, that the King of Portugal had caused even the Bishop

* See also no. 20.

† See "Aufzeichnungen," &c., p. 59.

of Coimbra to be hung.* "It is not true," said the old gentleman, "the Bishop has not been hung, or else I should have known it; only recently I spoke concerning him with the one lately deceased, and I rallied the pope on that case." The young Mr. Lublink hastened at once with what he had heard into the bookshop of Pieter Meyer, and related it in the presence of many of us, who had congregated there before change. Most exclaimed, "It is only too true, for it is written in all our public papers with all the attendant circumstances." Mr. Pieter Meyer replied, "I will take a note of this; for it will soon appear whether it is true or not." "Yes," said one of those present, "the old gentleman is crazed in his head. Besides, he no longer visits the Hague, where formerly they made so much ado about him, especially Baron de Breteuil,[213] the ambassador of France, who had formerly been ambassador to the Swedish court, and who tells everywhere such great things about this eccentric man, because he is simple enough to believe them himself. But now Breteuil has to be so much the more ashamed of him: for it is known that some time ago many current rumours related that Voltaire was dead; wherefore also everybody believed him to be dead. On a certain day, while Swedenborg was dining at the French Ambassador's, the old gentleman appeared quite melancholy; so much so that Baron de Breteuil asked him to tell him the reason, when he replied, that he was frightened at the terrible state in which he had met the late Voltaire in the spiritual world. A few days afterwards the papers retracted the false news which they had spread about the decease of the French poet; where-

* During the reign of Joseph II, from 1750 to 1777, Pombal, his minister, introduced many wholesome reforms into Portugal, by which the power of the nobility and the clergy was curtailed. In 1758 an attempt was made on the life of the King, and this resulted in the abolition of the order of the Jesuits, and an expulsion of its members for all time from the country. In 1760 even the Papal nuncio was taken across the border; and in 1761 one of the leading Jesuits, Father Malagrida, was executed. The energy with which Pombal carried out his reforms in Portugal drew the attention of the whole of Europe to that country; and hence the interest which was universally felt in the fate of the Bishop of Coimbra, Coimbra being the university town of Portugal.

upon Swedenborg quietly left the Hague, and probably will never go there again in his life, for he would be stigmatized there as a false prophet, an arch-dreamer, and a liar."

This arrant falsehood was most cunningly invented, and on that account very probable, and not at all incredible; but it was easy for me to demonstrate its falsity. "He who has related this for the first time," I replied, "understood the art of telling a likely falsehood better than I. It was last year that the papers represented Voltaire as dead, and again as living. But I can easily prove, that during the time it was reported that Voltaire was dead, and again as having revived, Mr. Swedenborg did not stir a foot towards the Hague, but during the whole winter remained constantly in Amsterdam. If any one, therefore, knows it to be true, as he may easily know if he chooses, that during that time the old gentleman was nowhere but in Amsterdam, he can never believe that at that very same time he committed at the Hague a foolish action, for which he himself and his friends would have to blush. I can add to this, that I have seen letters at the old gentleman's from the French and the Swedish ambassadors inviting him to the Hague. His first journey from here will, therefore, be to the Hague. He is almost on the point of departing, and is waiting only for the confinement of the Princess of Orange, when he will start on his voyage, so that upon his return to Sweden he may tell the Queen that he has seen the new-born Prince or Princess of Orange. I am not at all willing to go security for the old gentleman to the extent that everything he tells in his writings should be believed; but I am willing to remain responsible for this statement, that what I have just heard concerning him is an arrant and manifest falsehood."

I do not believe that the narrator, nor perhaps the inventor of this story, has told it any further. It was interesting, however, that in a few days the papers really retracted the statement of the Bishop of Coimbra having been hung. The old gentleman, therefore, was at once regarded again as a prophet.

I generally repeated to him what I had heard concerning him. He smiled when I told him the story about Voltaire,

and merely said, "I have not, indeed, been at the Hague for six months, and for many years have not thought of anything in connection with Voltaire. How people will lie! In respect to the Bishop of Coimbra, other rational people besides myself probably doubted the story. A bishop is not so easily hung; it is, nevertheless, true, that he is a prisoner, and that I have spoken respecting him with the late pope." I should have spoiled everything with him, had I chosen to contradict him here; and I had to treat him then, as always, like a hypochondriac. May he relate whatever he believes to be true; for, in truth, I know that he is too honest a man deliberately to lie; and may he declare himself to be an extraordinary and entirely new teacher; if he only would not teach things contradictory to old truths, which, however, to my great sorrow he frequently does.*

19.† I asked Mr. Swedenborg about the dogma concerning the restoration of all things; but this he denies *in toto*. The damned remain damned, and the wicked disposition which they bring into the spiritual world from the natural world, not only remains as it has been, but as opportunity is afforded in the societies to which they belong, and with which their affections agree, they grow continually worse. They do not even desire to become blessed, because the privilege is still accorded to them of following their own inclinations, and of heaping sins upon sins.

20.‡ If any one desire to have an idea of Swedenborg's looks, he will find his portrait in his work entitled, *Emanuelis Swedenborgii Opera philosophica et Mineralia. Tres tomi in folio, Dresdæ et Lipsiæ Sumptibus Frederici Hekelii, Bibliopolæ regii.* MDCCXXXIV; which portrait, although finished forty years ago by the skilful engraver Bernigroth, is still perfectly like him, especially in respect to the eyes, which have retained their beauty, even in his old age.

21.‡ On the 24th of April of this year [1769] he departed for Paris with the intention of remaining there for some time,

* See Cuno's ideas about Swedenborg's writings in section B of his testimony.

† See "Aufzeichnungen," etc., p. 81.

‡ See "Aufzeichnungen," etc., p. 153.

and afterwards of going to London, whence he intends to embark for Sweden.

I shall never forget, as long as I live, the leave which he took of me in my own house. It seemed to me as if this truly venerable old man (it is perhaps an inherent fault of mine, but as long as I can remember, I have felt immoderately drawn to little, as well as to old, children), was much more eloquent this last time, and spoke differently from what I ever heard him speak before. He admonished me to continue in goodness, and to acknowledge the Lord for my God. "If it pleases God, I shall once more come to you in Amsterdam;* for I love you." "O my worthy Mr. Swedenborg," I interrupted him, "this will probably not take place in this world, for I, at least, do not attribute to myself a long life." "This you cannot know," he continued, "we are obliged to remain as long in the world, as the Divine Providence and Wisdom see fit. If any one is conjoined with the Lord, he has a foretaste of the eternal life in this world; and if he has this, he no longer cares so much about this transitory life. Believe me, if I knew that the Lord would call me to Himself to-morrow, I would summon the musicians to-day, in order to be once more really gay in this world." In order to feel what I felt then, you would have had to hear the old man say this in his second childhood. This time also he looked so innocent and so joyful out of his eyes, as I had never seen him look before. I did not interrupt him, and was, as it were, dumb with astonishment. He then saw a Bible lying on my desk, and while I was thus gazing quietly before me, and he could easily see the state of my mind, he took the book, and opened it at this passage: 1 John v, 20, 21. "Read these words," he said, and then closed the book again, "But that you may not forget them, I will rather put them down for you;" and in saying these words he dipped the pen into the ink in order to write them on the leaf which is preserved here; his hand, however, trembled, as may be seen from the figure 1. This, however, I could not bear, wherefore I asked him in a friendly

* Dr. Scheler adds here in a footnote: "Cuno added here a marginal note to this effect, 'He was true to his word, for I have conversed with him on change here, on September 10, 1770.'"

manner, to mention the passage to me. I, therefore, put down the passage myself. As soon as I had done so, he arose. "The time now approaches, [he said] when I must take leave of my other friends." He then embraced and kissed me most heartily.

As soon as he had left, I read the passage which he had recommended to me; it sounded thus: "But we know that the Son of God has come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, even in His Son, Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life. Little children, keep yourselves from idols. Amen."

## B.

### *CUNO ON SWEDENBORG'S DOCTRINES.*

Cuno's testimony respecting Swedenborg is perhaps more valuable because he cannot be accounted one of his followers. He loved and respected Swedenborg personally; he did not dispute his doctrine of the unity of God, and distinctly agreed with him that faith and charity must ever be united; but in all other respects he had confirmed himself in favour of the Lutheran doctrines, and regarded these, and the Word as it appears in the light of these doctrines, as his criterion of the truth. Besides, he was thoroughly satisfied with the Lutheran church, and did not think that it stood in need of any renovation or improvement; wherefore he did not see the necessity of Swedenborg's mission, and hence was unwilling to acknowledge it. As he was withal a conscientious, straightforward man, we must not be surprised at his showing strong disapprobation of some of Swedenborg's doctrines, and becoming, according to Count Höpken, "the most powerful adversary of his system" (see Document 252, C). Such being the character of Cuno, it is worth while to examine what he has to say respecting Swedenborg's writings in the "Aufzeichnungen," &c., and also in other places; especially, as he submitted all his objections to Swedenborg himself both orally and in a written form. He says:

1.* "In respect to his 'Revelation Revealed' or *Apocalypsis Revelata,* Amsterdam, 1764, I am astonished that the theologians of every denomination keep silence about it, and allow this man to write everything he chooses, as long as the day lasts. We can easily comprehend why the Protestants should not object to his saying anything he pleases about the destruction of Babel and the Babylonian whore, because all that is set forth on this subject is also applied by others to Rome and popery; but the Protestants themselves are not treated better by him: for the apocalyptic dragon is with him an emblem of the Protestants.† Man being saved by faith alone without the works of the Law he calls unhesitatingly a draconic doctrine; and against this he declaims as much as against the Babylonian whore. Faith and love, according to him, must be married, else faith is a mere matter of the imagination and a nonentity. *Herein he is perfectly right.*" He continues, "If we understand by faith the idea, that, because the one Man, the only and perfect Mediator between the most holy God and the poor sinner, has from grace done everything for us, we are not obliged to co-operate in our salvation, we not only act foolishly, but even wickedly." We see therefore that in respect to the importance of conjoining faith with charity, Cuno thoroughly agreed with Swedenborg, and thus was willing to embrace one of the fundamental doctrines of the New Church.

On the other hand he declares in the same place, "If man was able of himself and by his own power to fulfil the Law and to do good works, and, indeed, such good works as find grace before the most holy eye of a just God, he would be justified in expecting a reward for them; but as the bare reason of a man who examines himself, and who is not blinded by a foolishly arrogant self-love, must convince him, that all the good he does is fragmentary and imperfect, and that it would be irrational to expect a reward for such imperfect and frail works, it follows hence of its own accord,

* See "Aufzeichnungen," &c., p. 51 *et seq.*

† Swedenborg's own definition of the dragon is as follows: "By the dragon are here understood those who are in faith alone, and reject the works of the Law as contributing nothing to salvation" (A. R. 537).

that we can have recourse to no other doctrine but *faith alone.*" This course of reasoning, that all good which man does in obedience to God's truth is tarnished with the idea of merit and reward, Cuno borrowed from the Lutheran church, while his former sentiment that "it is foolish and wicked to think that we are not obliged to co-operate with the Lord in our salvation," he derived from his own independent study of God's Word.

In order to reconcile these two contradictory positions, he says on p. 53, that all depends on the definition of faith; and he claims that the faith of the Lutheran church is a faith conjoined with love. Yet he is not so very sure that faith in that church is conjoined with love; for in discussing on p. 133, Swedenborg's work entitled "The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem respecting Faith" he says: "Here the author asserts that a blind faith prevails among the Evangelical, who have separated charity, and, if it is true that the true Evangelical church has separated charity from faith, he is right." But immediately afterwards, in discussing Swedenborg's statement that those who live in faith separate from love are understood in Daniel and Matthew by the he-goats, he says at p. 138, "This may be so; but, nevertheless, the Evangelical acknowledge no other faith except one which is active by love."

It is evident, therefore, that while Cuno individually believes only in a faith conjoined with love, he would fain believe that the faith taught in the Lutheran church, to which he belonged, is likewise a faith conjoined with love. But as that church evidently teaches that man is saved by faith alone without the works of the Law, in order to preserve his allegiance to that church he is driven to make such manifestly contradictory statements as these:

"The late Luther has beautifully compared sanctification by works to Saul, and faith without works *(unthätiger Glaube)* to David, concerning whom Israel shouted of yore, 'Saul has slain his thousands, but David his tens of thousands;'" while on the very next page he declares faith operating without love to be a nonentity, "a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal;" and in support of this doctrine he says, "Our Saviour has most undoubtedly directed us to have faith in Him, but He has also

commanded us to deny ourselves, to follow Him, and to strive to enter in at the strait gate; yea, to conquer the kingdom of heaven. 'Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of My Father which is in heaven.' Fire without light and heat is a nonentity, and does not exist in nature, but is an insipid thing of the imagination, and so it is with faith without love and good works."

How well Cuno appreciated the result of a marriage of goodness and truth, and how much, therefore, he was in favour of one of the essential doctrines of the New Church, we can see from the following description which he gives of a regenerate Christian. "A regenerate Christian," he says, "who has once pressed on to the life which is from God, and who walks in His strength, whose grace is mighty even in the weak, does not trouble himself much about the disputes of the learned. Without compulsion he is diligent in the performance of good works; humility which is so very necessary, and inseparable from all genuine Christianity, preserves him from that dangerous fallacy of claiming reward on account of his own merit. After having done all those things which it was his duty to do, he regards himself as nothing more than 'an unprofitable servant.' He still prostrates himself before God as a poor sinner, not relying on his own righteousness, but solely on God's great mercy, and on the grace which has place through Jesus Christ."

The establishment of humility in the heart, and the acknowledgment of the Lord Jesus Christ as the source of all good and truth is, according to Swedenborg, the effect which is wrought in the human heart by regeneration. And Cuno says that "such an honest man only," as is humble in heart, and prostrates himself before God as a poor sinner, "is deserving of the name of an 'Evangelical Christian.' This also, and no other," he says, "is the fundamental doctrine of the Evangelical church, and if this is perverted, it is not the fault of the church, but of our own foolish and indolent hearts." By the Evangelical church, however, he understands the Lutheran.

Swedenborg and Cuno, therefore, have the same end in view. But Swedenborg says that, for the regeneration of

mankind to be realized, it had become necessary that the Lord should effect His Second Coming, and, at that Coming, by means of the doctrines of the internal sense of the Word which He would then reveal to mankind, establish a New Church upon earth, which is meant by the New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation. This Cuno denies, maintaining that this same end is now being attained by the Evangelical or Lutheran church.

Cuno, therefore, while acknowledging one of the fundamental doctrines of the New Church, which he claims to be a doctrine of the Evangelical church, denies the Lord's Second Coming; he denies the mission of Swedenborg, which consisted "in receiving the doctrines of the internal sense in his understanding, and publishing them by the press" (T. C. R. 779); and he denies the church of the New Jerusalem, which, by means of these doctrines, is to be established upon earth. Yet with all this he evinces a friendly disposition towards Swedenborg personally, and declares (p. 114), "For my own part I cannot regard our seer otherwise than as a pious, honest man, of whom I cannot believe that he could possibly tell a deliberate falsehood;" but still he is unwilling to accept him as a witness in his own case, and refuses to accept the testimony which he adduces in proof of the opening of his spiritual sight.

Such is the contradictory standpoint which Cuno occupies in respect to Swedenborg, and which induces him alternately to accept and to condemn his views.

2. Regarding the *Apocalypsis Revelata* he says further (p. 56), "In this very same work Mr. Swedenborg displays very great learning, and it is difficult to reconcile how a man who at best may be called a spiritual hypochondriac, is able to utter such profound things as nobody has ever before thought of .... It cannot be denied that innumerable explanations and interpretations of the Apocalypse have been printed, which are all contradictory to one another. Mr. Swedenborg states as the reason of this, that the spiritual sense of that work has been heretofore unknown. This is certainly worth hearing. But if I should admit, that he is the first mortal to whom this sense has been discovered, and that it is his immediate mission to communicate these new discoveries

to the world, I can the less believe it, as his discoveries contain so much that is manifestly contradictory. Of this I will give only one instance: He asserts in the driest manner, that the last judgment must no longer be expected, but that it has already taken place in the world of spirits in 1757. [This is contradictory to a merely literal interpretation of the Word of God, based on a wrong translation of the words: τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, which are commonly translated 'the end of the world,' when yet their real meaning is 'the consummation of the age.'] This I found assured in clear and distinct words in the above work, where he referred to a separate treatise entitled: 'The Last Judgment and the Destruction of Babylon.' It can be readily supposed that I became curious to read that; wherefore I applied to Swedenborg for the loan of the book, which I obtained from him. It bears the title: *De Ultimo Judicio et de Babylonia destructa. Ita quod omnia, quæ in Apocalypsi prædicta sunt, hodie impleta sunt. Ex auditis et visis. Londini*, 1758. From the mere title it appears, that this book contains unheard of news, and who would not believe them, as the author has been present, and has seen and heard every thing!? Really, not often a worldly event of any importance has been described with more confidence and assurance, than our Swedenborg relates that the Last Judgment has taken place in heaven. [He does not say that it has taken place in heaven, but in the world of spirits.]

3.* "His *Arcana Cœlestia,* to which he constantly refers, I have not read; they are said to constitute eight thick quarto volumes, which were printed in London at his own expense between 1747 and 1758. Who has patience enough to read such extensive works? Perhaps I should have had it, but as the author did not have the volumes with him, and I heard from him that they cost over a hundred florins in England, I did not feel very strongly tempted to purchase them.

4.† "Nothing is repeated more frequently in his writings, than that all angels and devils have been human beings. I often interrogated him orally on this subject, but never could

* See "Aufzeichnungen," &c., p. 77.

† *Ibid.*, p. 86.

get any satisfactory answer from him. He obstinately insisted on his own opinion, without answering the doubts which I raised against it, and the absurdities which result thence. [The obstinacy was probably more on Cuno's, than on Swedenborg's side.] It is surprising, with what boldness this man writes books day after day, and still more how his books have been for years before the public, without a single theologian taking any notice of them.

5.* "Besides, this new teacher, who has no authority to show for his mission, denies most deliberately before the whole world the resurrection of the flesh [!] and the last judgment; [he does not deny the last judgment] and the whole world keeps silence. Methinks it is by no means sufficient to look upon the good and honest Swedenborg simply in the light of a madman, and meanwhile give him permission to write and print as much as he chooses. If ever I made the acquaintance of an ignorant, and so much the more impudent man, it was the notorious John Chr. Edelmann,[176] who has now been dead for many years. This man, who was, in comparison with the deeply learned and pious Swedenborg, a beastly blasphemer of the Word of God and of the church, raised against himself whole armies of scholars, by whom he was refuted. A silly fellow like him was not worthy of such treatment; for he made a name for himself simply by impudence and foolish arrogance. And what was the result of all this? He was infuriated more and more, so as to spit out more poison and gall, and utter incendiary language. I am by no means able to defend the honest Swedenborg. Yet if, eleven years ago, a thorough theologian had taken up his work on 'Heaven and Hell,' if he had acknowledged all the good that is contained in it, and had quietly refuted the errors and contradictions contained therein, and if thereby he had not cured him of his imaginations, he would at least have compelled him to be more cautious, and not to flood the world with his manifold writings."

6.† Concerning "The New Jerusalem and its heavenly Doctrine," Cuno says, "In judging of his *new* heavenly doctrine

* See "Aufzeichnungen," &c., p. 113.

† *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[Swedenborg does not speak of his "*new* heavenly doctrine"] in a general way, the mere epithet *new* is enough to raise a prejudice against it. We have an old, prophetic, and 'more sure Word' (2 Peter i, 19) which we must observe. The apostle John says in his first epistle (iv, 1), although our new teacher has the daring to regard it not as the Word of God, 'Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God.' And the apostle Paul reminds us (1 Thess. v, 19-21), 'Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesyings. Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.' Whoever is patient, and able to prove, will still find some good [in this work]. It may in truth be said concerning it: *sunt bona mixta mali* (good are mixed with evil things). I at least am willing, nay contrained to confess, that he has said many things of which I had never thought. No scholar, at least not one versed in natural science, will doubt Mr. Swedenborg's science. It does not seem to me sufficient, that a theologian who, from pride or indolence, is not willing to examine his works, should shout with a loud voice with Festus (Acts xxvi, 24), Swedenborg is beside himself, much learning has made him mad; what wisdom can be expected from a madman; or that others, who like to be considered as faithful watchmen on the walls of Zion, should say superciliously, 'The good that Swedenborg has said is old, and all the new which he says is good for nothing.' I admit that a good deal of this may be true; still if the theologians, whose vocation it is to examine and defend the truth, had acted conscientiously and honestly, they would not have kept silence so long, and they would not have allowed this man to write unchallenged all these things, which may be true or untrue. I have listened to the judgment of many men concerning Swedenborg. Some, especially such as knew the character of this intrinsically amiable man, have pitied him; others have called him a visionary. A certain young scholar, who had only read his treatise *De Amore conjugiali*, was inclined to consider him a Socinian. I could very easily convince him that he had but turned over the leaves of his book, and had read it without reflection. If ever there has been a zealous Anti-Arian and Anti-Socinian, that man without doubt is Emanuel Swedenborg."

8. On p. 128, Cuno expresses himself as follows, "God is a spirit, although in the Sacred Scripture He ascribes to Himself eyes, ears, and other human organs, yea, human passions such as hatred, anger, wrath, and the like. I often tried, especially during the last days of his stay here, to enter into a conversation with the old gentleman, Swedenborg, on this subject. But you might as well try to debate a question with a little child, as with him; for from simplicity, or rather obstinacy, he constantly persisted in saying, that God certainly is a spirit, that nothing is more certain than this; but that in heaven all spirits become visible. That God had created man according to His likeness; and he asked me what idea I derived from this statement? That all spirits appear in heaven in the human form, and that whenever they have appeared in this world, they were likewise seen in that form. So also the triune God in One person was in the human form; and as body, soul, and spirit constitute only one man, so also there was only one God; that the Son was the body, the Father the soul, and the Holy Spirit the Divine power proceeding from the Divine body and the Divine soul."

8.* "I asked him once, 'Whence came the serpent by whom Adam and Eve were seduced?' 'All evil comes from hell,' he answered. 'But my dear, old, honest Mr. Swedenborg, what are you thinking of? You wish to inculcate upon the world your new doctrine, that in heaven there is not a single angel, and in hell not a single devil, who has not been a human being in the world before.' 'Yes, indeed, that is true, and must remain true.' 'But I beg you, at the time when the serpent was the seducer there were no human beings. Moses writes God's Word which you yourself acknowledge; Abel therefore according to him must have been the first angel, and Cain the first devil; but perhaps the serpent is the divinity of hell in distinction from the Divinity of heaven.' You can scarcely believe, how much our seer became confused thereby; he did not wish to be taken for a Manichean, and therefore preferred to assume Pre-Adamites. I had previously heard him stutter at various times, but never so

* See "Aufzeichnungen," &c., p. 140.

much as then. I had pity on him, and broke off the conversation." [We must not forget that we have here only one side of the story; Swedenborg himself perhaps would have told a different one. All that Swedenborg needed to tell Cuno on this subject was to refer him to Volume I of his "Arcana Cœlestia," where the whole of this subject is abundantly treated from nos. 190 to 233; which also was probably done by him.]

9.* "In the work which appeared last year [*De Amore Conjugiali*, p. 328] by which he first became known to me, he made the following announcement: 'Within two years you will see in its fulness the doctrine of the New Church which was predicted by the Lord in the Book of Revelation, xxi, xxii.' This time appeared to him too long, and already in the beginning of this year [1769] he appeared with a quarto volume bearing this title: *Summaria Expositio doctrinæ Novæ Ecclesiæ, quæ per novam Hierosolymam in Apocalypsi intelligitur, ab Emanuele Swedenborg, Sueco, Amstelodami,* 1769. He had long before told me of this intended publication, but notwithstanding my entreaties he would not show me a single line of the projected work. I opposed its publication with all my might; and as this proved unavailing, and as I did not like to see the good and honest man run any danger, I thought my remonstrance might prove more effective, if I should expostulate with him at table in the presence of a large company, in these words: 'As your faithful friend I must advise you not to come out with your new doctrine, or at least to allow the two years, which you have announced, to elapse, or you will expose yourself to the danger of being banished from the city.' He could not be moved, however, and before the month of January came to a close, the compendium of his new doctrine was printed, bound, and dispatched to the preachers and priests of all sects, and at the same time scattered throughout all the towns and universities of Holland. No less than ten copies were brought to me to my house. On examining it more closely, I found that this work was not so dangerous as I had expected. He investigates the doctrine of the Roman Catholics after the Council of

* See "Aufzeichnungen," &c., p. 145.

Trent, and compares it with the doctrine of the Protestants in respect to justification, as set forth in the *Formula Concordiæ* of the Augsburg Confession. His doctrine in general insists most strongly on good works. In his twenty-fifth thesis he declares that the Roman Catholics, in respect to justification, would be able to enter into the New Jerusalem before the Evangelical. He tells both to their face that they are wrong in worshipping three persons in the Godhead; that the Lord alone is God, and that in His person there is a threefold Divine Essence. Be this as it may, I fully expected that one of the many priests and preachers of our large town would rise up against him. But after waiting in vain for more than a month, I could no longer regard the matter with indifference and coldness, and I therefore addressed the following letter to him:

## C.

### *CUNO'S LETTER TO EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.**

"To the Most Learned and celebrated Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg.

"I have read your works, and especially the brief treatise lately published, where I have carefully noted what seemed to me novel and paradoxical. As I have nothing more at heart than religion and Christian truth, I deemed it worth my while, not only to read your writings cursorily, but also to examine and try them to the best of my ability. I cannot deny that I have found in them much

* The original letter, of which a copy is preserved in Cuno's MS. Autobiography, bears the following address: *Doctissimo ac celeberrimo viro Emanueli Swedenborg S. P. D. Joannes Christianus Cuno, mercator Amstelodamensis, Societatibus Teutonicis Gottingiæ, Gryphswaldiæ, Jenæ, et Helmstadiæ adscriptus.* It was printed in Hamburg in 1771, together with a German translation, and an additional account of Swedenborg by Cuno (see Document 256, E), under the pseudonym of David Paulus ab Indagine; The German translation was also reprinted by Prelate Œtinger in his "Schwedische Urkunden," &c., 1771, pp. 113 to 124, and afterwards in Hirsching's *Historisch-Litterarisches Handbuch*, Vol. XIV, pp. 18 to 25, under the head of Swedenborg.

that is worthy of attention. They are refulgent with beauties; but I likewise became aware of many blemishes. I am willing either to keep silence, or to ask you to indulge my freedom in addressing you. For it is my custom either to be silent, or, when summoned to speak, to tell the truth; but you are accustomed to listen graciously: for, according to Pliny, those who are most willing to hear of their faults, deserve most to be praised.

"You have greatly recommended to me your latest publication entitled, 'A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church, signified by the New Jerusalem in the Revelation of John,' and you have asked me in all friendship and without reserve to communicate to you my judgment. I have carefully perused it, and weighed it in the impartial balance of reason. Whether I have done so justly or not I will not decide. To give oracular decisions in theological matters of such great importance is beyond my capacity, nor does it belong to my office. I am an apprentice and not a master; and yet you desire that I should give my opinion freely and without circumlocution. Well then, I shall obey your behests. But I wish you to observe that you have not to do with a theologian, but with a Christian, not with a professed clergyman, but with a layman, not with a hostile antagonist, but with a friend, and a man with whom you may communicate freely and intimately.

"After having carefully read the sixteen works which you published at your own expense in London and Amsterdam, and extracted all those parts which seemed obscure, I have been waiting wistfully for the more extensive work promised within two years, concerning *the Doctrine of the New Church* in its fulness,* an epitome of which you have published, as I entertained a firm hope, that the doubts which arose while reading your previous works, would there be solved and removed. My expectation, however, has been disappointed. You have added nothing to your system in your recent book, which was not known to me from my previous reading. Your first principle, therefore,

* Cuno writes here *new doctrine*, although Swedenborg says distinctly *Doctrine of the New Church.*

remains still to be proved; and as long as this is not accepted, there is no ground on which to base a discussion.

"I have closely examined the basis of your system. Its chief authority are the things you testify to have seen.* You relate wonderful things you have seen and heard. You desire to inform the world that it is granted to you to be at the same time in the spiritual world with angels, and in the natural world with men. You talk of great things, which the incredulous world is unwilling to believe. Such of your readers as are not concerned about their eternal salvation, laugh at such a new and, so to speak, amphibious teacher; the possibility of whose existence no one who is endowed with sound reason, can imagine to himself; and still

* By no means. Swedenborg himself states the basis of his system thus: "As the Lord cannot [now] manifest Himself in person, and yet foretold that He would come again, and establish a New Church, which is the New Jerusalem, it follows that He would do this by a man who could not only receive the doctrines of that church in his understanding, but also publish them by the press. I testify in truth that the Lord manifested Himself before me, His servant, that He commissioned me to do this work, and afterwards opened the sight of my spirit, and so let me into the spiritual world, permitting me to see the heavens and the hells, and also to converse with angels and spirits, and this now continually for many years; and, likewise, that from the first day of my call to this office, I have never received anything relating to the doctrines of that church from any angel, but from the Lord alone while I was reading the Word" (T. C. R. 779).

Swedenborg himself, therefore, declares that "nothing relating to the doctrines of the New Church was received by him from any angel, but from the Lord alone *while reading the Word;*" whence it follows again that the whole of the doctrine of the New Church is drawn from the Word; that therefore the Word of God is the basis of his system, and not "things heard and seen." The things seen and heard by Swedenborg in the spiritual world are simply confirmatory of the New Church, but are not the basis on which it rests.

In order therefore to try Swedenborg's system honestly and fairly, it must be tried in the light of the Word of God. And if any one has once recognized the scriptural character of his teachings, he finds no longer any difficulty in admitting his testimony in respect to "things heard and seen;" because they uniformly confirm the doctrines which "he received from the Lord alone while reading the Word."

See also the Rev. T. Hartley on this subject in Document 258, nos. 23, 33 to 37.

less is he willing or able to believe the accounts which such a teacher furnishes.

"Thus far the following of your works have reached the light of day: 'The Last Judgment and the Destruction of Babylon,' 'Heaven and Hell,' 'Continuation concerning the Last Judgment,' 'The White Horse,' 'The Earths in the Universe,' 'The Wisdom of the Angels,' &c. Your 'Arcana Cœlestia,' embracing eight volumes, I have not yet succeeded in reading, nor even in turning over its leaves. Several additional writings like these have been published by you. You have sent copies of them to all the bishops in England; yet not a single one has made a reply to it. The Dutch have only noticed your work, the last but one, treating on 'Conjugial Love,' and they reviewed it with great judgment and praiseworthy moderation. The Amsterdam critic suspended his judgment until the work on *the new doctrine in its fulness*,* which was promised within two years, should make its appearance. He says, 'We expect, therefore, in time a more ample explanation. Meanwhile, according to my opinion, the theologians may without danger be spared the trouble of refuting the ideas of this extraordinary man.'

"Your last work you have distributed among the clergy of every denomination in this city, not only among the Reformed, but also among the Roman Catholics. You have also made it known in other towns, and in the universities of Holland. Almost a whole month has since elapsed, and I do not hear of a single person who is rising up against you. It seems, therefore, as if you were looking for adversaries; but to say it openly, I am afraid you will find none. For most people despise your memorable relations, which are indeed wonderful but not proved, and they ridicule them as the mere outbirth of your imagination. Others again are delighted with them, as with fairy tales, but nevertheless make sport of them. Still others from common report speak of you as a heretic; and others regard you as a madman. Others, finally,——but why

* Swedenborg does not entitle his work "On the new doctrine in its fulness," but says "within two years you will see in its fulness the *doctrine of the New Church* which was predicted by the Lord in the Revelation xxi, xxii."

should I mention still more? Our age is either too wise, or it looks upon religion as a matter of little account.

"Meanwhile sound reason declares that an author is in duty bound to prove what he writes. In the beginning of one of your last works you say, 'I am aware that many who read my memorable relations will believe that they are fictions of the imagination.' But you protest that they are not. Yet no one can be a witness in his own cause, and especially not in one upon which the welfare of the whole human race depends.

"Far be it from me to put a limit to the Divine Omnipotence. And I lay aside all my metaphysics and my psychology in order not to wrong a venerable old man of eighty years and upwards, not to injure a righteous, just, and most learned man, or detract from his merits. I am willing therefore to grant that it has pleased the Lord to manifest Himself to you, and to send you to teach new things which have hitherto been concealed from the church and the whole race of mankind. Nay, I am willing to admit that it has been granted to you to be in the spiritual world with angels and at the same time in the natural world with men, and indeed for twenty-five years.

"Yet, my dear friend, why do you not convince the incredulous world of this your legitimate mission? It is your duty publicly to set forth, with all attendant circumstances which you can truthfully adduce, your mission, which is such as has never since the time of the first man been entrusted to any man; and totally to remove from the minds of your readers all doubts that may occur to them. If you refuse to do so, you must not take it amiss, if in the whole world you do not find a single reader willing to believe you.

"It is stated that you verbally reported from the spiritual world a conversation, which the Queen of Sweden had at one time in the natural world with her brothers, the King and the Prince of Prussia, at Charlottenburg; and that the Queen, who knew that no one was secretly present who could have related the least word of it, was compelled to acknowledge that you became acquainted with the most minute circumstances of this conversation by the relation of her departed brother,

and, indeed, exactly as it had taken place. It is well known that people are generally interested in new and wonderful things, and listen to them most eagerly. Several of my friends have related to me this occurrence. Yet each time I heard it, gossip had added some new and curious circumstances to your miracle. You yourself have told me, that this occurrence has actually taken place. Tell it then to the unbelieving world. You owe this to the cause of truth; for you have at least a Queen and the great King for your witnesses. Perhaps they will suffice.*

"One eye-witness is worth more than ten who have heard a thing by report. You have both heard and seen things. Yet the world has the right to exact additional testimony to your own, that you have actually seen and heard those things.

"Royal ambassadors have credentials without which they are neither accepted nor listened to. You present yourself before the world without credentials as an ambassador from heaven; and, indeed, such a one as was refused by Abraham to Dives in hell (Luke xvi, 25 et seq.). For Abraham replied to the rich man: 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.' But what mortal is willing to believe another mortal who still dwells among the living?

"We have Moses and the prophets, and we have the adorable Author of Christianity: let us hear them. 'We have,' according to the testimony of Peter (2nd Epistle i, 19), 'a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day-dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.'

"If, therefore, a new ambassador wishes to teach something new about heaven or hell, let him take heed, that he advance not things which contradict the old truths, founded in such a sure word.† It will be easy for me to prove that your

* On this subject read the pertinent remarks which Swedenborg addressed to Venator, the minister of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, in Document 248.

† All these remarks arise from the wrong basis which Cuno attributes to the doctrines taught by Swedenborg, see footnote on p. 486.

writings are contradictory thereto. For instance, you accept two fundamental elements which are ever opposed to each another, both of which according to your doctrinal definitions seem to me equally eternal.* This very same doctrine was formerly taught by Manes. The orthodox teachers will, therefore, undoubtedly regard you as a follower of Manicheism. Again, you deny the creation of angels and the fall of Lucifer, the author of pride and of sin.† Concerning the fall of our first parents you keep silence altogether.‡ You assert in your usual manner that in the whole heaven there is not a single angel who had been created from the beginning; and that in hell also there is no devil who had been created an angel of light, and had been cast down; but you declare that all in heaven, as well as in hell, originated from the human race. You deny the resurrection of the flesh, and the destruction or at least the dissolution of the world at the Last Judgment, which, according to things seen by you, was accomplished in the spiritual world in 1757, and in respect to the Dutch on January 9.

"I postpone for a future more convenient place and occasion an expressiou of my opinion on these and the other remaining things. I am writing a letter now and no dissertation. I will be brief. As long as you do not prove your visions and support them by more solid arguments, neither a theologian, nor a

* This is a mere assumption on the part of Cuno, which has no basis whatever in Swedenborg's writings. All good, Swedenborg says, comes from God; all evil, and hence hell, from man. Yet Swedenborg teaches nowhere, that man, and hence evil, are from eternity.

† Swedenborg teaches that the Word of God is written not only for men upon earth, but also for angels in heaven; that therefore there is an angelic or spiritual meaning, within its literal sense; and while the creation of angels cannot be proved from the letter of the Word at all, he holds that the fall of Lucifer has a different spiritual meaning from what appears in the letter; by Lucifer, in fact, he says, are represented those who are from Babel or Babylon, i. e. followers of Roman-Catholicism, and whose dominion extends even into heaven. And by the fall of Lucifer is meant the downfall of their dominion (see H. H. no. 544, and D. P. no. 231).

‡ Their fall Swedenborg treats at great length in the *Arcana Cœlestia*, Vol. 2, in giving the spiritual explanation of Genesis iii.

critic, will take up his pen against you. You will then have written in vain, and your future writings too will be to no purpose. You have published your writings at a great expense of money; and as soon as they have been published you have distributed them. Of what use has all this been? Of none whatever. As long as you start from unproved principles, and as long as you do not adduce a Divine testimony in Divine matters, and fall short of your extraordinary reputation, so long every divine will hesitate to dispute with you on theological matters, and to contend with you concerning the spiritual sense of the Word, which you attribute to yourself alone. No one will acknowledge the angelic wisdom, as you call it, and will so much the less because all your spirits are men, metamorphosed into angels, concerning which metamorphosis, or change into a new race of beings, the Scripture, which Christians consider as divine, does not say a single word.

"It is a thesis, or at least a hypothesis [it is well that Cuno himself acknowledges it to be a mere hypothesis], very well known in the church and among the learned, that the angels were created together with primeval light on the first day of creation. That the angels were created in various orders, and hence under various names, such as Cherubim, Seraphim, thrones, dominions, and principalities, appears very clearly from the testimony of Paul in his epistle to the Colossians i, 16 [Paul in that passage does not apply these terms to created angels]; and that a part of the angels sinned and were cast down from heaven may be read in the Epistle of Jude (verse 6),* and of Peter (2 Epistle ii, 4). And, besides, your entirely new doctrine is disproved by the truth itself; for our Saviour Himself states in clear words, in John viii, 44, that 'the devil did not abide in the truth.' [True, but it does not follow from this, that devils are fallen angels; they are fallen men because 'they did not abide in the truth.'] What more do you wish?

"No one, I think, will deny that in the literal sense there is a spiritual sense; and I willingly admit that you are most

* Jude and Peter derived this idea from the merely literal meaning of Scripture.

versed in that spiritual sense; nay, I acknowledge it with admiration. Your little treatise on 'The White Horse' would please me above your other works, if towards the close you did not rashly deny the inspiration and Divine authority of the apostolic epistles of Paul, Peter, John, James, and Jude; because, in your opinion, they have no internal sense. Yet I pass over these things with many others.

"I will now say a few words about your conversation with spirits, which no one will believe, or deem worthy of belief, so long as it rests on your own, and no other, testimony. Most reverend man, by my intercourse with you I have been convinced of your probity and your sincere love of the truth. Your idea of the incarnate Word, the Redeemer of mankind, who can never sufficiently be venerated and loved, has inspired me with the deepest reverence for you. But I will not enter more into details.

"Permit me, my dearest friend, to value this pledge of your love most highly, viz. that I may tell you freely and candidly what your haughty and envious readers are unwilling to tell you. Pardon me, if I do not acknowledge as sufficient your own testimony on the things you have 'heard and seen.' Ecclesiastical history informs us, that many distinguished, pious, and most learned men, by indulging too much in their meditations in religion, have fallen into Scylla, while endeavouring to avoid Charybdis. I will mention but one instance—Theophrastus Paracelsus.[214] This great investigator of nature, and finally of the mysteries of religion, was a real ornament of his age and a paragon of learning. His contemporaries admired in him the great physician and chemist; and posterity will still admire these qualities in him. Yet the church and Christendom abhor him as a mystic, and as a man who would judge of Divine things from natural things. Men in endeavouring to avoid faults are apt to run into extremes.

"But let me use your own words. You say in your work on 'Heaven and Hell,' no. 249:* '[To speak with spirits is at

* As Cuno quotes here the words of Swedenborg, we consider it due to the reader, to quote the whole of the paragraph, of which he cites a portion.

this day rarely granted, because it is dangerous: for the spirits then know that they are present with man which they otherwise know not; and evil spirits are of such a nature, that they regard man with deadly hatred, and desire nothing more than to destroy him both soul and body. This effect is actually experienced by those who have indulged much in fantasies, going to the extreme of banishing the enjoyments suited to the natural man. Persons, also, who pass their life in solitude, sometimes hear spirits speaking to them, without its being attended with danger: but the spirits that are present with them are at intervals removed by the Lord, lest they should know that they are present with a man: for most spirits do not know that there is any other world than the one inhabited by them, nor, consequently, that there are men elsewhere; wherefore it is not allowable for the man to speak to them in return, for if he did, they would know this.] Persons who think much on religious subjects, and dwell upon them so incessantly as at length to see them inwardly, as it were, in themselves, also begin to hear spirits speaking to them: for religions subjects of whatever kind, when a man, of his own accord, dwells upon them incessantly, and does not occasionally vary his meditations by attending to things which are of use in the world, penetrate to the interior, and there fix themselves, taking possession of the whole of man's spirit; when they enter into the spiritual world, and act upon the spirits who are there. These, however, are visionaries and enthusiasts, who believe any spirit whom they hear speaking to be the Holy Spirit, although he is only an enthusiastic spirit. Those spirits who are of this description see falsities as truths, and because they see them, they persuade themselves and also others with whom they communicate by influx. As these spirits also began to persuade men to evils, and led them to commit them, they were gradually removed. Enthusiastic spirits are distinguished from others by this peculiarity, that they believe themselves to be the Holy Spirit, and what they say to be Divine oracles. These spirits do not offer injury to a man, if he pays them Divine worship and honour. I, also, have sometimes conversed with these spirits, and then their nefarious practices were discovered.'

"So excellently you judge of visionaries, enthusiasts, and

fanatics of this sort. But where is that specific difference, which distinguishes you from them?* I have never doubted your honesty and sincerity. But your spirits appear too suspicious to me, and the wisdom which you attribute to them sometimes verges into insanity, *e. g.* when they desire that you should assert from their mouth, that in the whole of heaven there is not a single angel who was created such in the beginning.

"I am afraid that such nefarious spirits sometimes were not sufficiently explored by you, and that they have imposed upon you. For 'Satan himself,' according to the weighty testimony of Paul (2 Cor. xi, 14) 'is transformed into an angel of light'.

"If I have succeeded in expressing to you my first doubts, and have pointed out to you where your system requires additional proofs, I am satisfied. You yourself can, if you choose, discover other reasons by which you may remove the remaining doubts in incredulous readers.† You will please look upon this letter as a mere precursor. The remainder of what I have to say cannot be treated lightly and cursorily. Farewell.

[JOHN CHRISTIAN CUNO.]

"Amsterdam, March 8, 1769."

"Just as my letter is written here, I sent it to him sealed, and waited a few days to see whether he would answer me. As he did not do so, I went to see him. I found him quite cold; nay, to say the truth, he appeared to me even a little angry. Nothing seemed to surprise him more than that I had suspected his honest angels, and regarded him as simple enough to be their dupe. He told me dryly, 'If you are not willing to believe me, you have expended far too much trouble in studying my writings so attentively as you have.' When he said these words it seemed to me, as if the smiling and innocent expression, which I was accustomed to see in his face, had totally vanished. As I was thus deprived of all hope

* See Swedenborg's statement to Count Bonde in Document 217, p. 232.

† All objections brought forward here by Cuno are abundantly answered by the Rev. Thomas Hartley in Document 258, the careful perusal of which we recommend to the reader, especially of nos. 14, 16, and 24.

that he would, according to my wishes and expectations, enter more deeply with me into some parts of his new doctrine, I nevertheless had an opportunity thereby of defending myself from the charge of being infected by him and of being one of his proselytes. I had been frequently seen with him; and in all companies where I was asked about him, I had commonly expressed myself as much in his favour as I could with truth and by conviction; nay I had defended and sheltered him against all sorts of gossip which I knew consisted of falsehoods. On this account scoffers might have circulated reports about me which might have been anything but pleasant; even as it has happened to me more than once, that silly talkers, who the less they know about religion are inclined to ridicule it the more, repeatedly gave me to understand that I had already become a heretic. I therefore could not refrain from communicating my letter to others, and, for the sake of those who did not understand Latin, from translating it into the Dutch language. I was asked to publish the letter; but I refused to do so for several reasons. I did not consider it as part of my office. There are public teachers enough, who declare themselves to be ordained ministers of the Divine Word, whose duty and office it is. I cannot comprehend how they could allow the old gentleman for such a long time to write whatever he pleased; for on all ordinary occasions, whenever the least deviations and peculiar ideas on matters of religion are expressed, and sometimes such as are quite harmless, they at once put on their armour, and make a great ado. When all kept silence, I considered it a matter of conscience to keep silence too. If any one reads my letter he will at least not regard me as a flatterer. Perhaps the old gentleman also did not expect that I would give him such a piece of my mind, or else he would not have become angry. At all events the anger which he seemed to entertain against me did not last very long; and he soon became reconciled again. A short time afterwards he came to me, and put the adjoined paper into my hand. It is, indeed, not an answer to my letter,* but at all events it is an autograph

* It is certainly an answer to Cuno's letter; for in that letter he denied the reality of Swedenborg's mission; wherefore Swedenborg in the above

of one of the most singular men that have ever lived, and on account of its strange contents also is worthy of preservation."

The paper in question is a copy of the concluding paragraph of Swedenborg's little treatise entitled, "The Intercourse between the Soul and the Body" (no. 20), which we have already quoted in the Introduction to Document 208, p. 138.* This little work Swedenborg soon after published in London.

After adding two more paragraphs (nos. 20 and 21 on p. 453), Cuno sums up his estimate of Swedenborg in the following words:

## D.

*CUNO'S ESTIMATE OF SWEDENBORG.*†

1. "Dear reader, in all that precedes methinks I have given you some information deserving to be known. Judge of it yourself: for to tell you the truth, I do not know at the present moment what I ought to think of him. I am quite willing to grant that the honest man is in his second childhood; but I still believe that whoever desires to make out that he is insane, commits a sin against him.‡ Let him give an account of his errors before God. I am not willing to judge him, so that I may not be judged. My intention in writing to him was sincere, both in respect to him and in respect to others who knew him, or who, impelled by sheer curiosity, may become acquainted with him, in order to see something rare or extraordinary. I, therefore, cannot feel any regret for having written against him or for having allowed others to make copies of my letter. As for the rest time must teach what will be the fate of his manifold writings in the world. I remember here the words of Gamaliel, in Acts v, 38, 39, 'If this counsel

extract submitted to him some rational considerations, which might enable him to understand why the Lord had chosen him for this particular work.

* Dr. Scheler, the Editor of the "Aufzeichnungen," &c., adds here in a footnote, "Swedenborg's autograph which is here inserted in the MS. imparts a peculiar value to the four volumes which have cost only six thalers, and it made me not a little jealous of my friend's discovery.

† See "Aufzeichnungen," &c., pp. 156 to 168.

‡ See on this subject the Rev. T. Hartley in Document 258, no. 29.

or this work be of men, it will come to nought. But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it.' Far be it from me to pronounce a final opinion as to how much there is here of God, and how much of man; this I leave for those to decide who are professional theologians. Every Christian who cares for his salvation and for the truth is enjoined 'to try the spirits whether they are of God' (1 John iv, 1), and I follow the advice given in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians (v, 19-21), 'Quench not the spirit; despise not prophesyings; but prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.'

2. "No one will be able to deny that Swedenborg is a philosopher, and indeed one of the first magnitude; and if no other proof existed of this than the three volumes in folio quoted above: *Principia rerum naturalium sive novorum tentaminum phænomena mundi elementaris philosophice explicandi. Cum figuris æneis.* In the whole history of the world therefore I have found no other scholar with whom I could compare him except the great physician and chemist Theophrastus Paracelsus.[214] I have perused Swedenborg's philosophical works somewhat, and do not wish to enter here upon the discussion of them, in order not to become too diffuse. I will leave his philosophy where I found it; only, neither in his philosophy must he offend against the Sacred Scripture. He concludes his first part with the following words of the great philosopher Wolf,[18] 'Full liberty must be granted to all who philosophize in a philosophical manner, nor have we any reason to apprehend from such a liberty any danger either to religion, to virtue, or to the state.'

3. "I accept this sentiment of the late Christopher von Wolf without hesitation; yet I should like to submit this point for consideration, whether it is not a great offence that the description of the creation should be quite different with the philosophers from what it is in Moses . . . What Swedenborg in his chapter xii says about the earthly paradise and the first man, methinks is out of place in a work on philosophy, just as much as where he supports this saying of Wolf, that no danger accrues thence to religion.

4. "What I desire to state here, however, is that Mr. Swedenborg as a philosopher is quite modest and unassuming, but as

a theologian more than arrogant. Suffice it to say that his language as a theologian sounds thus: As a divine I have received a calling immediately from the Lord; I have been sent from heaven in order to disabuse the whole world of its prejudices, and to discover arcana which no man has ever before known. This is the reason why I am writing so many books; but if any one does not choose to believe the testimony I bear concerning myself, he must not read my books.* How modestly, on the other hand, he writes as a philosopher (p. 451, Latin edition; Vol. ii, p. 366, English edition), 'Should any one undertake to impugn my sentiments, I have no wish to oppose him; but in case he desire it, I shall be happy to explain my principles and reasons more at large. What need however is there of words? Let the thing speak for itself. If what I have said be true, why should I be eager to defend it?—surely truth can defend itself. If what I have said be false, it would be a degrading and silly task to defend it. Why therefore should I make myself an enemy to any one, or place myself in opposition to him.'

5. "While writing the above a little work was brought to my notice which had been printed at Königsberg in 1766, thus three years ago, bearing the following title: 'Dreams of a spirit-seer explained by dreams of metaphysics.' The author does not give his name.† He uses a fiery and satirical pen. Mr. Swedenborg is his spirit-seer, and he seeks to make him ridiculous; and yet he has no proper knowledge of him, and constantly calls him 'Schwedenborg;' perhaps because he has

* Swedenborg's own language is perhaps still stronger: for he declares in so many words that the Lord effected His Second Coming through his instrumentality. See footnote to p. 467. It is singular that Cuno throughout his whole lengthy account of Swedenborg and his writings, never mentions the Lord's Second Coming and its connection with Swedenborg's mission; although this had been very clearly explained by Swedenborg, in sundry places especially in the *Apocalypsis Revelata*, no. 320; see also footnote to p. 467.

† "The 'Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek,' Vol. IV, p. 281, calls him I. Kant and says: The jocular and at the same time profound spirit in which this little work is written, sometimes leaves the reader in doubt whether Mr. Kant desired to ridicule metaphysics, or to make spirit-seeing credible."

hitherto published his works anonymously, and has put his name only before his recent works, published last year and during the present one; yet his name and official character are given in full in his philosophical and mineralogical works printed in 1734; besides, his name is sufficiently well-known in the learned world, so that to be ignorant of it is not particularly flattering to a critic of philosophy and metaphysics. You may read, however, two-thirds of the work before you find Swedenborg's name mentioned, and meanwhile the author makes sport of metaphysics and the learned generally. His style is lively and readable.

6. "From the way the writer introduces the three stories respecting Mr. Swedenborg, you might, unless you had read the whole treatise, suppose that he is more in favour of than in opposition to the seer. At all events he surpasses the seer in this respect, that he tells the stories, while the seer himself keeps silence. I am sorry that I did not know anything about the Gottenburg story, or else I should have asked Mr. Swedenborg about it, as I did concerning the story about the Prince of Prussia which I have mentioned above, and concerning that respecting the lost receipt. The truth of both of these stories he affirmed; but he did not dwell long upon them, remarking that there were hundreds of similar stories; but he did not think it worth while to waste many words upon them. He said that they were trifles, which made people forget the great object of his mission...

7. "The author of the above treatise is certainly right in 'refraining from meddling with the fantastic explanation of the first two books of Moses,' but I am truly obliged to him for having informed me that Dr. Ernesti's[38] 'Theologische Bibliothek' does take notice of those treatises [Swedenborg's *Arcana Cœlestia*]. I recollect having heard Mr. Swedenborg say as much; though as far as I can recollect of his conversation, he did not know in what manner he had been judged there; neither does he seem to trouble himself very much about it. He goes on writing and writing; and if any one is not willing to believe him, he may leave his writings aside, although he sends them everywhere with the expectation, no doubt, of having them read...

8. "I will leave the old gentleman Swedenborg alone. God knows him better than I do. I must consider him a scholar and a learned man; but is it a proof of true humility for him to say of the Evangelical Christians, 'They place the understanding under obedience to faith, and call that faith which is not understood?'"

## E.

### *CUNO'S EXPERIENCE OF SWEDENBORG IN 1770.**

Cuno's Memoirs, according to Dr. Scheler, refer once more to Swedenborg, in the year 1770 (p. 803), where we read:

"Last year I gave my readers many sheets to read respecting my dear old Swedenborg; but I am by no means done yet with this singular man, and as long as my eyes remain open, I shall not so easily turn them away from him.

"I still hear news concerning him from Sweden, nay, a short time ago he desired to be remembered to me, and sent me word that he hoped to embrace me this summer. The clergy have made an assault upon him with all their power,† but they could not do him any harm, because those high in authority, yea, it is said, the King and the Queen, love him.

"I received a letter from a friend now studying in Leipzig enclosing Number 6, Vol. I, of the 'Theologische Bibliothek' (Theological Library) of Dr. Ernesti. As I have read the whole of Swedenborg's writings with great patience, and as the only work which I have not read, and which was offered to me about a year ago for 120 Dutch florins, but now can no more be had for money, I shall content myself with the epitome made by so learned a man as Dr. Ernesti; it will cost me but little trouble to copy it.

"Time alone will show what will in the end become of this good man. When I saw him on September 10th this year on change with his friend, Mr. Wretman, he looked much more cheerful than when he took leave of me last year. Up

* See "Aufzeichnungen," &c. pp. 169, 170.

† See Document 245.

to the time I am now writing this (October 15) I have not yet had a call from him, and my time has not permitted me to visit him. He certainly has not come here for any other object than to get something printed again."

## F.

*CUNO'S EXPERIENCE OF SWEDENBORG IN 1771.**

1. Cuno in a letter, addressed to an intimate friend in Hamburg, which is dated January 26, 1771, says,

"You ask me what this old man is now doing? I will tell you. He eats and drinks very moderately, but sleeps pretty long, and thirteen hours are not too much for him. When I informed him that his work 'The Earths in the Universe' had appeared in a [German] translation, his eyes, always smiling, became twice as bright. He is now indefatigably at work; yea, I must say that he labours in a most astonishing and superhuman manner at his new work. Sixteen sheets, in type twice as small as those used in his former works, are already printed. Only think! for every printed sheet he has to fill four sheets in manuscript. He now has two sheets printed every week. These he corrects himself; and consequently he has to write eight sheets every week. And what appears altogether incomprehensible, he has never a single line in reserve. His work is to consist, as he says himself, of eighty printed sheets;† he has thus calculated al-

* The following two letters were addressed by Cuno to two of his friends in Hamburg. They were first printed in Hamburg in 1771 in a pamphlet bearing the following title: "*Sammlung einiger Nachrichten Herrn Emanuel Swedenborg und desselben vorgegebenen Umgang mit dem Geisterreich betreffend*" (Collection of some news respecting Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg and his alleged intercourse with the Spiritual World). The whole of this pamphlet was inserted by Prelate Œtinger in his "Schwedische Urkunden," &c., pp. 101 to 121; whence it was introduced into Dr. Im. Tafel's German edition of the "Swedenborg Documents." An English translation is likewise contained in the English and American editions of these documents.

† The editor of the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790, who quotes (pp. 223 and 224) a short extract from this letter, says in a footnote, "This

ready that it cannot be finished before Michaelmas. I will also tell you the title of the work he has in hand: it is as follows: 'True Christian Religion, containing the Universal Theology of the New Church, predicted by the Lord in Daniel viii, 1, 3, 14, and in the Apocalypse xxii, 1, 2,' by Emanuel Swedenborg, servant of the Lord Jesus Christ. I could not, in my open manner, conceal my astonishment that he should declare himself on the title-page the servant of the Lord Jesus Christ. But he replied, 'I have asked, and have received not only permission, but also an express command.' You can scarcely believe with what confidence the old gentleman speaks of his spiritual world, his angels, and of God Himself. If I were to give you only a summary of our last conversation, I should fill many pages. He spoke of naturalists [who ascribe all things to nature], with whom he conversed recently after their death; most of these had even been theologians, or such as during their life in the body had made theology their profession. Things were then said which caused my ears to ring, but which I pass over, in order not to be too precipitous in my judgment. I am quite willing to confess that I do not know what to make of him. He remains to me a riddle which I cannot solve. In 1766 a little work was published in Königsberg by John James Kanter [*sic*] bearing the title: 'Dreams of a spirit-seer explained by dreams of metaphysics.' The author is anonymous. In Volume IV of the 'Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek,' which is published in Berlin (p. 281), he is called I. Kant.* But this is a satire which is directed more against the learned in general than

work was, indeed, comprized in sixty-eight sheets, but had Swedenborg been able at that time to have completed and subjoined to it the whole of his appendix, it is more than probable, it would have exactly answered to the above number. Speaking of this Appendix [known as the Coronis to the T. C. R.] we beg leave to observe, that what was printed in London after his decease, is but an incomplete part of it; the truth is, (as we were informed by Doctor Messiter,[2] in whose hands his valuable manuscript was left,) that nearly one half of the copy had been mislaid and finally lost at the Doctor's house."

* The editor of "Sammlung einiger Nachrichten," &c., adds here, "This is quite right. His name is Immanuel Kant, and last year, viz. 1770, he became professor of logic and metaphysics in Königsberg. In the third volume of the 'Greifswalde Neue kritische Nachrichten' (p. 257) we read

against the spirit-seers in particular. I wish very much that upright men, whom God has placed as watchmen upon the walls of Zion, had occupied themselves with this man some time ago. I have read his writings, and proved them impartially; but in my opinion dogmas are taught there which deserve to be examined more thoroughly by upright theologians, and there are others which ought to have been refuted at the very beginning."

2. Cuno in a second letter addressed to a prominent merchant of Hamburg, dated March 5, 1771, says as follows:

"I cannot forbear to tell you something quite new about Swedenborg. Last Thursday I paid him a visit, and as usual found him writing.

"He told me that the same morning he had been in conversation with the late King of Sweden,* for three hours in the spiritual world. He had met him there already on Wednesday, thus the day before; but as he had seen that he was deeply engaged in conversation with the Queen, who is still living, I would not disturb him then. I let him talk on, but at last asked him, how it was possible to meet in the spiritual world with a person who is still in the land of the living? He answered me, 'It was not the Queen herself, but her familiar spirit' *(spiritus familiaris)*. 'What sort of a thing is that?' I continued; for of this new kind of appearances I had never heard from him before, nor had I read about them. He then informed me that every man has his good or bad spirit, who is not only constantly near him, but sometimes also with-

as follows: 'The author of this work who is said to be a Mr. Kant, M. A. of Königsberg, had his attention directed to the writings of Swedenborg and his phenomena, and he was induced to institute investigations, the results of which he now communicates to the world. His work consists of two parts, a dogmatic and an historical. In the latter he relates the principal phenomena of Mr. Swedenborg, most of which are known to our readers, and which perhaps might be augmented by them with additional ones; and afterwards he gives extracts of the particular sentiments of the author. In reality, however, he considers simply 'the things heard and seen,' without taking into consideration the *Arcana Cœlestia*, a work filling eight quarto volumes, and in which is contained an entire hermeneutical and theological system. We leave it to Mr. Kant, to answer for his judgment which sometimes is very severe and bitter," &c.

* Adolphus Frederic (see Note 11), who had died on February 11, 1771.

draws from him, and appears in the spiritual world. But of this the man still living knows nothing; the spirit, however, knows everything. Such a familiar spirit has everything perfectly in common with his human companion; he has in the spiritual world visibly the same figure, the same countenance, the same tone of voice; wears also the same garments as the man on earth; in short, Swedenborg said, the familiar spirit of the Queen appeared exactly as he had so often seen the Queen herself in Stockholm and had heard her speak.

"In order to lessen my astonishment, he added, that Dr. Ernesti[18] of Leipzig had appeared to him in a similar manner in the spiritual world, and that he had had a regular disputation with him. I wonder what this learned professor will say when he hears of this. Perhaps, 'The old gentleman is crazy, and in his second childhood.' He will laugh at it, and who can blame him for it? It is inconceivable to me how I myself can refrain from laughing, when I hear such extraordinary things of him. And what is more; I have often heard him relate similar things in large parties consisting of ladies and gentlemen, among whom I knew very well were persons given to mockery; but to my great astonishment no one thought of laughing. As long as he speaks, it is as if every person who hears him was charmed, and compelled to believe him. He is reserved to no one. Whoever invites him, is sure to have him. Last week a certain young gentleman invited him to his house; and although he was not acquainted with him, he appeared at his table, where he met with Jews and Portuguese, and conversed with them freely without distinction. If any one is curious to see him, he has no great difficulty; all that is necessary for him to do is to go to his house, where he admits every one. It can easily be seen, that the numerous calls which he thus receives draw largely upon his time; and so much the less can I understand, how he, nevertheless, accomplishes his design, of having printed every week two closely set up sheets, and to compose ten sheets of manuscript, without having a single line in reserve. He says, that his angel dictates to him, and that he can write fast enough. I have no more space to tell you more about him."*

* See on this subject the footnote on p. 62. Vol. I.

## *DOCUMENT* 257.

## JUNG-STILLING'S[215] TESTIMONY.*

### A.

In a work entitled, "Theorie der Geisterkunde, von Dr. J. H. Jung, surnamed Stilling," Nuremberg, 1808 (of which an English translation by Samuel Jackson was published in London in 1834, under the title, "Theory of Pneumatology," &c.), we read as follows (pages 90—96):

"As so very much has been written both for and against this extraordinary man [Swedenborg], I consider it my duty to make known the *pure truth* respecting him, since I have had an opportunity of knowing it pure and uncontaminated."

After making some general statements concerning Swedenborg's life, his writings, and his learning, he continues on p. 91: "Unexpectedly to everybody this intelligent, learned, and pious man began to have intercourse with spirits. He made no secret of this, but frequently at table, even in large companies, and in the midst of the most rational and scientific conversations, would say, 'On this point I conversed not long ago with the apostle Paul, with Luther, or some other deceased person.' It can easily be imagined that the persons present opened their mouths and eyes, and wondered whether he was in his sound senses. Still occasionally he has fur-

* Stilling's testimony respecting Swedenborg was first published in English in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1820, p. 116; for which it was translated by Mr. D. Thun. The English editor of the "Swedenborg Documents" used Samuel Jackson's translation, which was published in London in 1834, upon which we have also drawn for the greater part of our translation.

nished proofs, against which no objection can be raised. The veracity of these relations has been impugned, and the good gentleman has even been charged with imposture; but this charge I deny emphatically. Swedenborg was no impostor, but a pious Christian man. Three proofs that he had actually intercourse with spirits are generally known concerning him."

Stilling gives here an account of the occurrence with the Queen of Sweden, of Swedenborg's second sight in describing at Gottenburg a conflagration that took place in Stockholm, and the story of the mislaid receipt. In respect to the truth of these relations Stilling gives some independent testimony, which we shall examine in subdivision E of the present Section. He then continues:

"But I must add here a fourth experimental proof which has not been made public before, and which is fully as important as any of the foregoing. I can vouch for the truth of it with the greatest certainty:*

"About the year 1770, there was a merchant in Elberfeld, with whom, during seven years of my residence there, I lived in close intimacy.† He was a strict mystic in the purest sense. He spoke little; but what he said, was like golden fruit on a salver of silver. He would not have dared, for all the world, knowingly to have told a falsehood. This friend of mine, who has long ago left this world for a better, related to me the following anecdote:

"His business required him to take a journey to Amsterdam, where Swedenborg at that time resided; and having heard and read much of this singular man, he formed the intention of visiting him, and becoming better acquainted with him. He therefore called upon him, and found a very venerable-looking friendly old man, who received him politely, and requested him to be seated; on which the following conversation began:

*Merchant.* Having been called hither by business, I could not deny myself the honour, Sir, of paying my respects to you: your writings have caused me to regard you as a very remarkable man.

*Swedenborg.* May I ask you where you are from?

* See English translation, p. 90. † Stilling left Elberfeld in 1778.

*M.* I am from Elberfeld, in the duchy of Berg. Your writings contain so much that is beautiful and edifying, that they have made a deep impression upon me: but the source from whence you derive them is so extraordinary, so strange and uncommon, that you will perhaps not take it amiss of a sincere friend of truth, if he desire incontestable proofs that you really have intercourse with the spiritual world.

*S.* It would be very unreasonable if I took it amiss; but I think I have given sufficient proofs, which cannot be contradicted.

*M.* Are these the well known ones, respecting the Queen, the fire in Stockholm, and the receipt?

*S.* Yes, those are they, and they are true.

*M.* And yet many objections are brought against them. Might I venture to propose, that you give me a similar proof?

*S.* Why not? Most willingly!

*M.* I had formerly a friend, who studied divinity at Duisburg, where he fell into consumption, of which he died. I visited this friend, a short time before his decease; we conversed together on an important topic: could you learn from him what was the subject of our discourse?

*S.* We will see. What was the name of your friend?

The merchant told him his name.

*S.* How long do you remain here?

*M.* About eight or ten days.

*S.* Call upon me again in a few days. I will see if I can find your friend.

"The merchant took his leave and dispatched his business. Some days afterwards, he went again to Swedenborg, full of expectation. The old gentleman met him with a smile, and said, 'I have spoken with your friend; the subject of your discourse was *the restitution of all things.*' He then related to the merchant, with the greatest precision, what he, and what his deceased friend had maintained. My friend turned pale; for this proof was powerful and invincible. He inquired further, 'How fares it with my friend? Is he in a state of blessedness?' Swedenborg answered, 'No, he is not yet in heaven; he is still in Hades, and torments himself continually with the idea of the restitution of all things.' This

answer caused my friend the greatest astonishment. He exclaimed, 'My GOD! what, in the other world?' Swedenborg replied, 'Certainly; a man takes with him his favourite inclinations and opinions; and it is very difficult to be divested of them. We ought, therefore, to lay them aside here.' My friend took his leave of this remarkable man, perfectly convinced, and returned back to Elberfeld.

"What says highly enlightened infidelity to this? It says, 'Swedenborg was a cunning fellow, and employed a secret spy to get the matter out of my friend.' To this I reply in kindness, that Swedenborg was of too noble a mind, and had too much of the fear of God; and my friend was too discreet [for the matter to admit of such an explanation]. Such like evasions may be classed in the same category as the 'transfiguration of the Redeemer by means of moonshine!'*

"That Swedenborg for many years had frequent intercourse with the inhabitants of the spiritual world, is not subject to any doubt, but is a settled fact."

## B.

In his memorandum-book for 1809, Jung reports as follows:†

"A certain beloved friend for many years, who is far advanced in Christianity, communicated to me from Holland, in a letter written last summer, the following authentic and interesting story about Swedenborg:

"'I am acquainted with many things about Swedenborg, of

* The Editor of the English "Swedenborg Documents" adds here in a footnote, "As is taught in the rationalistic Schools of Theology in Germany, where they endeavour to account for all the miracles mentioned in the Scripture on merely natural principles. These rationalists, as they are called, are the confirmed Sadducees of the present day." This rationalistic school, however, is no longer so prevalent in Germany as it was.

† See "Zerstreute Aufsätze aus Jung's (Stilling's) Taschenbuch 1805 to 1816," in his "Sämmtliche Schriften," edition of 1835 to 1839, Vol. XIII, pp. 395 *et seq.* We translate the above from Vol. IV of Dr. Im. Tafel's German edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," p. 93 *et seq.*

which I have been informed by old Sch——* (K——'s son-in-law). His brother-in-law P. d. Sch——, whose first wife was a sister of Sch——'s wife, married a second time a certain Miss G——. During the wedding celebration the conversation turned upon spiritual apparitions. All the three clergyman B——, E——, and S—— were present, and took opposite grounds to Sch——, who maintained their possibility. At last Swedenborg's name was mentioned, and he was at once condemned by the preachers as a fanatic and heretic, and his relations were stigmatized as falsehoods and reveries. "Gentlemen," said the bride's brother who resided in Amsterdam, "are you willing to believe me, if I tell you something concerning Swedenborg which I have seen and heard." Everybody knew Mr. G—— to be a man who feared God and loved the truth, and therefore all acknowledged that they would feel compelled to believe his testimony. He continued, "In the year 1762, on the very day when the Emperor Peter III of Russia[216] died, Swedenborg was present with me at a party in Amsterdam. In the middle of the conversation, his physiognomy became changed, and it was evident that his soul was no longer present in him, and that something was taking place with him. As soon as he recovered, he was asked what had happened? At first he would not speak out, but after being repeatedly urged, he said, 'Now, at this very hour the Emperor Peter III has died in prison, explaining the nature of his death. Gentlemen, will you please to make a note of this day, in order that you may compare it with the announcement of his death, which will appear in the newspapers.' The papers soon after announced the death of the Emperor, which had taken place on the very same day."

"Such is the account of my friend. If any one doubts this statement, it is a proof that he has no sense of what is called historical faith and its grounds; and that he believes only what he himself sees and hears."

Concerning Jung-Stilling's explanation of Swedenborg's mental state, see Note 215.

* Jung-Stilling adds here, "I am personally acquainted with all the persons whose names occur in this narrative; and the bride who is mentioned here has since been a patient of mine."

In the same volume ("Sämmtliche Werke," Vol. XIII, p. 399), Jung gives some additional testimony respecting the story of the lost receipt, which was communicated to him by a distinguished Russian gentleman, who was intimately acquainted with the Russian Ambassador accredited for many years, during Swedenborg's life-time, to the Court of Sweden. "This ambassador," he states, "had often met Swedenborg; he had seen him in his trances, and heard wonderful things from him." The testimony of this Russian ambassador will be critically examined in subdivision E of the present Section.

## C.

# TESTIMONY COLLECTED IN ENGLAND.

### *DOCUMENT* 258.

## TESTIMONY OF JOHN LEWIS, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER.

### A.

*FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT OF SWEDENBORG'S THEOLOGICAL WRITINGS.**

*Paternoster-Row*, February 5, 1750.

ADVERTISEMENT, *by* John Lewis, *Printer and Publisher, in Paternoster-Row, near Cheapside, London. Be it known unto all the learned and curious, that this day is published, the first number of* ARCANA CŒLESTIA, *or* Heavenly Secrets, *which are in the Sacred Scriptures, or word of the Lord, laid open; as they are found in the* Sixteenth Chapter *of* Genesis: *together with the wonderful things that have been seen in the world of spirits, and in the heaven of angels.*

This work is intended to be such an exposition of the whole Bible as was never attempted in any language before. The author is a learned foreigner, who wrote and printed the first volume of the same work but last year, all in Latin, which may be seen at my shop in Paternoster-Row, as above-mentioned.

And now the second volume is printing, both in Latin and

* From the "Magazine of Knowledge" for 1790, Vol. I, p. 395 *et seq.;* whence it was reprinted in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1829, p. 537 *et seq.*

English; to be published in cheap numbers, that the public may have it in an easier manner, in either tongue, than in whole volumes.

It must be confessed that this nation abounds with a variety of commentaries and expositions on the Holy Bible; yet when we consider what an inexhaustible fund of knowledge the Sacred Scripture contains, the importance of the subjects it treats of, and the vast concern every man has in those things they relate and recommend, we may cease to wonder that so many ingenious pens have been employed in sounding the depths of this vast ocean; and he must be a very dull writer indeed, who does not find a pretty large number of readers of any work he may publish of this kind. I would be far from depreciating the merit of any man's performance, nay, I will allow, that it is owing to the labours of learned and pious men, in their disquisitions after truth in the Bible, that we of this kingdom have been enabled to discern truth from error, and to know more of the mind and will of God in His Word, than the priests of Rome were willing we should. Yet give me leave to add, that these sacred writings are capable of speaking to the heart and understanding of man, by more ways than have been thought of, or put into practice; and he who can discover new treasures in these sacred mines, and produce from them such rich jewels as were never yet seen by the eye of man, will undoubtedly challenge our strictest attention, and deserve encouragement in his pious labours. This, then, may be said of our author. He has struck out a new path through this deep abyss, which no man ever trod before; he has left all the commentators and expositors to stand on their own footing; he neither meddles nor interferes with any of them; his thoughts are all his own; and the ingenious and sublime turn he has given to every thing in the Scriptures, he has copied from no man; and therefore, even in this respect, he has some title to the regard of the ingenious and learned world.

It is true, when a reader comes to peruse his work, if he expects to understand him with a slight and cursory reading, he will find himself greatly mistaken; his thoughts are too sublime and lofty to be surveyed with a weak or a wanton

eye; his language is quite different from the common modes of speech; and his sense is sometimes so deep and profound, as not to be readily apprehended by a common understanding. Whoever, therefore, takes this book in hand, and finds passages in it not easily intelligible, let him not throw it by as a thing of no value, nor content himself with a bare perusal; but let him read it over and over again; let him study the drift and design of the author; and I will answer for it, that the more and oftener he reads it, the more instruction and delight he will receive from it. The author has a depth, which, if once fathomed, (and it is not unfathomable,) will yield the noblest repast to a pious mind. But if any one imagines that I say this to puff a book, in the sale of which my interest is so nearly concerned, any gentleman is welcome to peruse it at my shop, and to purchase it or not, as his own judgment shall direct him.

Nothing recommends a book more effectually to the public than the eminence and credit of its author; nothing is more notorious, than that a weak performance, if it appears under a great name, shall be better received in the world than the most sublime and ingenious productions of an obscure person: so that it is not merit but prejudice that generally governs the judgment of men.

Though the author of *Arcana Cœlestia* is undoubtedly a very learned and great man, and his works highly esteemed by the *literati*, yet he is no less distinguished for his modesty than his great talents, so that he will not suffer his name to be made public. But though I am positively forbid to discover that, yet I hope he will excuse me if I venture to mention his benign and generous qualities. How he bestowed his time and labours in former years, I am not certainly informed (though I have heard by those who have been long acquainted with him, that they were employed in the same manner as I am going to relate); but what I have been an eye-witness to, I can declare with certain truth; and therefore I do aver, that this gentleman, with indefatigable pains and labour, spent one whole year in studying and writing the first volume of *Arcana Cœlestia,* was at the expense of two hundred pounds to print it, and also advanced two hundred pounds more for

the printing of this second volume; and when he had done this, he gave express orders, that all the money that should arise in the sale of this large work should be given towards the charge of the propagation of the gospel. He is so far from desiring to make a gain of his labours, that he will not receive one farthing back of the four hundred pounds he has expended; and for that reason his works will come exceedingly cheap to the public.

I further declare, I have not the least reason in the world to believe him a bigot to any mode or method of religion; I know not what community he belongs to, or whether he belongs to any; if any one can guess by his writings, he knows where to find them. But it matters not what or who the person is that writes, if his writings are founded on truth, and agreeable to such learned men as are competent judges of them. The deepest and most learned, as well as the most valuable pieces, are sometimes misunderstood and rejected for many years, even by learned men themselves; to instance only three performances out of the many that might be produced, viz., Locke on the *Human Understanding*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Prideaux's *Connexion of the Old and New Testaments*. Those who have been conversant with books, especially in the trading way, cannot be ignorant of the difficulties these valuable pieces have met with in making their way into the world: and it is as remarkable now to observe, how they have been called for and admired for many years past.

How this great work of *Arcana Cœlestia* will succeed in the world, is impossible, at present, to determine. If all men of learning were of the same mind with the ingenious and pious Mr. Penny,[217] of Dartmouth, we need not fear success; for in his letter to me,* on the publication of the first volume, are these following words: "I have long ardently wished to see the historical part of the Old Testament, which seems only to regard the Jewish dispensation, (and upon that account is too lightly regarded by the major part of the present Christian world,) proved to be as delightful, instructive, and as necessary for the knowledge of Christians as the New.

* This letter is contained in subdivision B of the present Document.

This *Arcana Cœlestia* gives me fullest satisfaction of," &c. A copy of this letter was printed at large in the *Daily Advertiser* of Christmas-day, 1749. Now this delightful, instructive, and necessary knowledge cannot be expected from this part of Holy Writ, unless the historical part of the Old Testament be allegorized in some such manner as our Latin author has here done it. And the great and learned, as well as the inspired Apostle Paul, clearly give encouragement to this way of writing (Gal. iv, 24). And our author neither rejects, nor disturbs the literal sense by his allegorical exposition.

Soon after the publication of Mr. Penny's letter beforementioned, a grave, judicious, and learned gentleman was pleased to call at one of the bookseller's where this famous Latin book was appointed to be sold: and when he had cast his eye over part of the work, he inquired who the author was; but being told that the author would not be known, "Well," said the gentleman, "I confess that at these years I am not fond of new acquaintance, but should be extremely glad to have some conversation with him; for," continued he, with great earnestness, "I never saw, nor heard, nor read of so surprising a man in all my days!"

Any one of small judgment may guess at the cheapness of the work, when he finds that six hundred and forty quarto pages, in Latin, of the first volume, are sold for no more than six shillings unbound. But this second volume, which is now publishing in Latin and English, will be unaccountably cheap, as any one may conclude, even by the postage of the Latin copy from abroad: for the bare postage of this first number cost no less than twelve shillings, and now it is printed, does make fifty-two quarto pages in the English tongue; and all to be sold for no more than eight-pence, which is not half the price that such a quantity of paper and print is generally sold for. The postage of the second number came to eighteen shillings; and that of the third amounted to one pound two shillings;* and yet these two numbers are to be sold for no

* Swedenborg, while preparing the MS. for the second volume of the *Arcana Cœlestia*, was at Aix-La-Chapelle, as appears from Documents 210 to 213.

more than nine-pence each; so that from hence it is easy to imagine how cheap the whole will be, especially when printed in such a grand and pompous manner at so low a price. But it is the generous author's absolute command that it should be so, who, it is plain, wants neither purse nor spirit to carry on his laudable undertaking.

As the copy comes from a foreign country, and as one number may contain nearly double the quantity of another, it is utterly impossible to fix a certain regular time for the publication of each. But this the public may be assured of, that when a fresh number is published, it shall be advertised in the newspapers. Those who are pleased to give their orders to the news-carriers, will have every number as certainly as though they were apprised of the certain time of its coming out. And the price will be printed on the title of each English number, (and every Latin number will be of the same price with the English,) so that the readers may be sure that they will not be imposed upon; for sometimes the bulk of the book will plainly appear to be worth five times as much as will be required for it.

Those who are so happy as to be well acquainted with the Latin tongue, will be highly delighted with the author's elegant and sublime language.

## B.

*MR. JOHN LEWIS TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY ADVERTISER.**

Sir,

If you will insert the following letter in your paper, it may induce the curious in the learned world to peruse a work very entertaining and pleasant, and oblige, Sir,

Yours, &c.,

JOHN LEWIS.

* From the "Intellectual Repository" for 1826, p. 179.

"TO MR. JOHN LEWIS, IN PATERNOSTER-ROW, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON.

"Dartmouth, October 15, 1749.

"Mr. John Lewis,

"Sir,—Accidentally reading the advertisement of the *Arcana Cœlestia*, excited by the oddness of the title, I presently ordered my friend in London to send me one. The extraordinary degree of pleasure the reading of it has given me, and the yet more expected from what more is to be published, induces me to request advice as often as any new publication happens, which I apprehend to be designed annually. My reason for troubling you, is, because I very rarely see any of the public papers, and, consequently, future advertisements may escape my knowledge; which, I hope will excuse me.

"I have long ardently wished to see the historical part of the Old Testament, which seems only to regard the Jewish dispensation, (and upon that account is too lightly regarded by the major part of the present Christian world,) proved to be as delightful, instructive, and as necessary for the knowledge of Christians as the New. This *Arcana Cœlestia* gives me the fullest satisfaction of. But the illumined author, whoever he is, (is it Mr. Law?)* must expect a considerable army of

* William Law, the author of many works of popularity, was born in 1686, and died 1761. As a theologian, Law held tenets peculiar to himself, which, either from being misunderstood, or misrepresented, subjected him at different times to two very opposite imputations, that of being a Socinian, and that of being a Methodist. It was in his latter days that Mr. Law became most confused, according to one of his biographers, from having bewildered his imagination with the reveries of Jacob Boehme, for whose sake he learned German that he might read his works, and whom he pronounces "the strongest, the plainest, the most open, *intelligible*, awakening, convincing writer that ever was." Walton in his "Notes and Materials for an adequate Biography of Law" publishes the following letter, from which it appears that Law was acquainted with Swedenborg's writings:

"King's Cliff, Northamptonshire, April 9, 1758.

"Pray tell Mr. Wood that I desire him to buy me the 8th volume of the *Arcana Cœlestia:* he bought the first seven volumes for me, and so knows the volume that I have not. I shall never go through them, but as I have gone so far in the expense I shall take his last volume."

gown-men to draw their pens against him: it is a blessing their power is prescribed within impassable bounds.

"The favour of a line in answer, to know what dependance I may make upon you, will very much oblige, Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"STEPHEN PENNY.[217]

"P. S. Perhaps the author was concerned in the publication of Mr. Hutchinson's works?* Has he published any other work, and at what price?"

To this the bookseller appends the following notice:—

"This large Latin book is nearly printed in 4to; and sold by Mr. Nourse, at the Lamb, opposite Katharine-street, in the Strand; Mr. Ware, at the Bible on Ludgatehill; and by John Lewis, printer of the same, as above-mentioned: price 6s. unbound."

In his early days he had been tutor in the house of Mr. Gibbon, the Historian, who says respecting him, "Mr. Law's master-work, the 'Serious Call' is still read as a popular and powerful book of devotion. His precepts are rigid, but they are founded on the gospel."

* John Hutchinson was born in 1624. In 1724 he published in Latin the first part of a work entitled, "*Moses' principia*," in which he defended the Mosaic cosmogony, and attacked Newton's theory of gravitation. He died in 1737. His collected works were published in thirteen octavo volumes from 1749 to 1765. His followers are called the "Hutchinsonians." The Gentleman's Magazine for 1796, Vol. I, p. 23, says concerning him, "The opinions of Hutchinson are for the most part worthy of attention; those which are the least tenable are innocent. Instead of having the mastery of his system, he, like other theorists, sometimes lets his system get the better of its author, and carry him into devious paths; and in his controversial writings, he did not always remember that brotherly kindness is the test of true Christianity; and that while knowledge puffeth up, charity alone really edifieth." The substance of his philosophy, so far as it concerns the creation of the world, was published in 1738 by Mr. Calcott in the Latin language. A translation of this treatise, with a preliminary dissertation, was published in 1822 by Alexander Maxwell, Esq., author of "Plurality of Worlds," under the title, "The Ancient Principles of the True and Sacred Philosophy, as lately explained by John Hutchinson, Esq."

## *DOCUMENT* 259.

# TESTIMONY OF THE REV. THOMAS HARTLEY, M. A.[1]

## A.

*From the Preface to his English Translation of the work "On the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body."**

1. "It is said in the prophet Amos, 'Surely the Lord will do nothing, but He revealeth His secrets unto His servants the prophets.' He has done this in olden times, and is He a variable God, that He will not do the same in the last times? Is He less communicative, or His servants now less dear to Him? This cannot with truth be said. The deluge, the destruction of Sodom, the liberation of the Hebrews from Egyptian bondage, the revolutions in the kingdom of Israel, their victories, captivities, and dispersion; the great Restorer of the true Israel, the states of the Christian church, its apostacy, and its restoration in the New Jerusalem Church, with numberless other particulars, have all been revealed by the Lord to certain of His chosen ones before these great events came to pass; and can we suppose that the last of these, *which is the most concerning of all*, will want its previous messenger to prepare the church for its approach? It has long been a time of trouble and of treading down, and shall there not be a time of refreshing and raising up, when the children of Zion shall be made joyful with the glad tidings of The Coming of their King? Shall the profane insults,

* A Theosophical Lucubration on the Nature of Influx, as it respects the Communication and Operations of Soul and Body. By the Honourable and Learned Em. Swedenborg. Now first translated from the original Latin. London, 1770.

rebuke, and blasphemy of the enemies of our faith continue to mock the patient hope of the Christian; and will not the Lord send some enlightened Seer with a message of peace and comfort to His people, some Caleb to testify unto them of the good land which he hath seen, and also bearing with him a cluster of the fruit of it, for their encouragement to go up to possess it?

2. "He has done this in the person and writings of the Honourable Emanuel Swedenborg, who for these five-and-twenty years past has been favoured with an open vision of the spiritual worlds, and still continues to enjoy the same, and to communicate to his brethren many curious, wonderful, and instructive discoveries, relating to his converse with angels and the things of their kingdom, as may be seen in his other writings: so that infidels can now no longer plead that challenge in excuse of their unbelief: 'Shew us one who can testify of these things from his own knowledge, and we will believe;' for such a witness, and a credible one too, is alive at this day.

3. "I have conversed with him at different times, and in company with a gentleman of a learned profession and of extensive intellectual abilities [Dr. Messiter[2]]: we have had a confirmation of these things from his own mouth, and have received his testimony, and do both of us consider this our acquaintance with the Author and his writings among the greatest blessings of our lives. We cannot doubt but that the same evidence, which has appeared credible to us, must appear the same to many others: and where men of liberal minds and education think otherwise, this single line will amicably settle the difference betwixt us, *Veniam petimusque damusque vicissim* [Freedom we ask from you, and are willing to grant to you]. But where any wrong bias, bigotry to a system, worldly interest, or a confirmed habit of unbelief, lead any to a determined opposition, there argument must lose its force on any subject, for *non persuadebis etiam si persuaderis.* [Convince a man against his will, he's of the same opinion still.]

4. "As the Author, when in England last summer, was called upon in a letter from a friend (to the truth of which I can fully testify) to give some account of himself for the

reasons therein suggested, (his answer to which letter I have translated and annexed to this work,* there is the less occasion to enlarge on what relates to his personal circumstances. However, we cannot but take notice here of the kind and honourable treatment he continues to meet with in his own country,† as a circumstance which does honour to the Royal Family, the Grandees, the Senators, and the Bishops of the Swedish nation; for every one that comes to us in the name of a Prophet, a Messenger of the Lord, or a Seer, with credible marks of his Mission, is certainly entitled to high respect from such distinction of character.

5. "That Mr. Swedenborg's life, qualifications, and high pretensions, have passed through a strict scrutiny in his own country, as to every part of his character, moral, civil, and divine, is not to be doubted; and that he maintains dignity, esteem, and friendship there with the great, the wise, the good, I am well informed by a gentleman of that nation, now residing in London [Christopher Springer[121]]; and from whose mouth I could relate an instance of the Author's supernatural knowledge, as well known in the Court of Sweden, and not to be evaded or called in question, if the fact be as related: but as I have not the Author's leave for this, I think myself not at liberty to mention it.

6. "Thus far I think that the credibility of Mr. Swedenborg, as a witness to the truth of what he relates, stands unimpeached: the extensive learning displayed in his writings, evinces him to be the Scholar, and the Philosopher; and his polite behaviour and address bespeak the Gentleman: he affects no honour, but declines it; pursues no worldly interest, but spends his substance in travelling and printing, in order to communicate instruction and benefit to mankind; and he is so far from the ambition of *heading a sect,* that wherever he resides on his

* See Documents 1 and 2, Vol. I.

† Swedenborg continued to meet with this kind and honourable treatment until his return to Sweden, after writing to Mr. Hartley the letter to which he refers above; but from the beginning of 1770 he no longer led an unchequered existence, as appears from the various accounts introduced in Document 245. See also what Mr Hartley wrote in 1778, in no. 20 of the present Document.

travels, he is a mere solitary, and almost inaccessible,* though in his own country of a free and open behaviour; nor does he persuade any to leave that established church to which they belong.†

7. "Till very lately he has not set his name to any of his theological works: he has nothing of the precisian in his manner, nothing of melancholy in his temper, and nothing in the least bordering upon the enthusiast in his conversation or writings, in the latter of which he delivers facts in the plain style of narrative, speaks of his converse with spirits and angels with the same coolness that he treats of earthly things, as being alike common to him; he proves all points of doctrine from Scripture testimony; always connects charity and *good life* with true faith, and is upon the whole as rational a divine as I have ever read.

8. "If these parts of character may be allowed to gain credit to his testimony, I think it may be pronounced concerning him, that he is the most extraordinary Messenger from God to man, that has appeared on earth since the Apostolic age, and that he may properly be called the Living Apostle of these days.

9. "As to his writings, the subjects of them are confessedly not only new, but *greatly interesting;* such as the Spiritual Sense of the Scriptures, many of the most difficult and hitherto unknown passages of which he explains by the rule of Correspondences, shewing how things spiritual are represented or signified by things natural. He lays open to view the errors which have been introduced into the church, and still subsist in it, and establishes the fundamental articles of faith on the Divine Authority of the Sacred Writings, without quoting the authority of any man, or offering any thing in the uncertainty of opinion.

* Compare in this respect Cuno's testimony, Document 256, F. 2, p. 485.

† Swedenborg's own words on this subject are as follows: "Before the church is fully devastated, the interior Word is revealed, *i. e.* according to the spiritual sense; *because then a New Church will be instituted into which are invited those of the former church,* and for the New Church interior Divine Truth is revealed .... This New Church will be called the New Jerusalem" (Apocalypse Explained, no. 948).

10. "In his character of Seer (which some in derision perhaps will call visionary, though both the office and name have been honourable in the church of God in old times), he draws aside the curtain which divides between mortality and immortality, and opens a prospect into the world of spirits, presenting to us the different states of souls after death, their communications with angels and one another, their preparation in the middle state (not according to the figment of a Romish purgatory) for final bliss or misery; and numberless other wonderful discoveries relating to their condition, the different classes in the different communities of angels in their respective heavens, and likewise to the infernal kingdom. Of these he treats professedly in his book entitled, 'Heaven and Hell, from things heard and seen,' which is but a small part of his works: it would require a volume to give even a general character of them all, and therefore I shall forbear to particularize here, observing only that the amazing treasure both of curious and *useful knowledge* exhibited in his writings, concerning things natural and revealed, moral, philosophical, and Divine, does not only excel whatever has come down to us of Hermes, Pythagoras, and Plato, but even surpasses, in importance of matter and extent of discovery, all that the Fathers have written or divines have taught.

11. "On the first view of things so strange, many will be apt as it were to start back, and to pause with a kind of surprise; and upon finding them so different from their present ideas, or having *no ideas at all about them,* they will be inclined to reject them as fable or delusion. This may be the case not only of such as are chained down to their present belief or unbelief, but even of some less contracted and fixed in preconceived opinions; but men of enlarged minds, improved by a liberal education, are not so hasty to condemn what they cannot immediately close with, but will give a *fair trial* to what is offered, and admit of so much as the nature of its evidence demands; and to such I address myself with respectful deference, recommending to their perusal the Author's works as worthy of their attention and remarks.

11. "In this great variety of materials, many things will be found better suited to some than to others; and there are

also many which may be passed over as matters of indifference; but let us not quarrel with variety, but take that which is suited to our own apprehension and use, and leave the rest to others, remembering that the Lord is good to all, and not only provides for us things necessary, but also for change, entertainment, and delight, as well in our spiritual as in our natural state.

13. "Let it likewise be observed, that in things relating to the condition and laws of the spiritual world, we are not to set up our customary ideas, or the philosophical notions we may have imbibed in this, as an adequate measure of truth; for things spiritual and things natural are dissimilar and heterogeneous, and yet, when compared in the light of true philosophy, they are analogous and corresponding: but then the mind must familiarize itself by degrees, and acquire a habit of abstraction, to the contemplation of spiritual subjects, before it be able to form proper and satisfactory ideas of them, and then it may; for the capacities and faculties of the human mind are immense, and by suitable discipline and exercise may even in this life be accommodated to the reception of celestial science."

14. In another part of his preface Mr. Hartley makes the following useful remarks on the cry after wonders and miracles: "As to that common custom of calling out for miracles, as the *only proof* of the commission of those who make fresh discoveries of truth to us; it is to be observed, that the appeal to this test generally proceeds from much ignorance, both as to the nature of miracles and the nature of truth. That miracles have frequently been used in condescension to the infirmities of human nature, and to stop the mouths of gainsayers, as also upon other accounts, we are to acknowledge with thankfulness, and adore therein the mighty power of God: nay, that they have all along subsisted in the church, and do subsist, I make no doubt, nor yet condemn the disbelief of others as to this article; but that they are necessary, or promised to be the only evidence to the authority of every extraordinary messenger, or new discovery of the truth, *does not appear;* and should the heathens of the East or West Indies put our missionaries to *this proof* of their authority, it

might go near to hazard the success of their benevolent labours. Miracles have no necessary connection with truth, nor do they enlighten the mind with any knowledge of it; the reality of them may be questioned, or they may be ascribed to other causes than the true one (for false prophets and seducing spirits may work wonders); the evidence of them may be resisted, or the force of that evidence may be overpowered by worldly considerations and influence; of all which we have examples in Scripture. Now where miracles fail of their proper effect, by not proving the means of our conviction, they add condemnation to the sin of unbelief, and therefore they are often witheld in mercy to the incredulous: accordingly it is recorded of our Lord, that He did not many mighty works in Nazareth because of their unbelief. But are there no other ways of admitting the force even of any kind of truths, than by miracles, and those better suited to the nature of the human understanding, viz. by the testimony of credible witnesses, by moral evidence and solid reasoning, and above all, by purity of intellect in certain defæcate minds, between which and truth there is a certain affinity or sympathy which unites them without the intervention of argument?"

## B.

*FROM HIS PREFACE TO THE WORK ON "HEAVEN AND HELL."*

15. "The honourable and learned author of this treatise, Emanuel Swedenborg, was a native of Sweden,* of eminence and distinction in his own country, having had an honourable employment under the crown, and being a member of the House of Nobles; of respected estimation in the royal family during the late reigns; of extensive learning, as his voluminous writings demonstrate; and, as to private life and character, irreproachable. Something more particular, as to his personal character, has been spoken in the Preface to the *Treatise on the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body;* and Mr. Sweden-

* The first English translation of "Heaven and Hell" was published in 1778; thus six years after Swedenborg's death.

borg's *Letter to a friend* [Document 2], giving a particular account of himself and family, annexed to that work, is subjoined to this Preface, the original of which is in my hands.

16. "The same question that will be asked here, has been briefly noticed already, viz. If a testimony to so extraordinary a dispensation does not require the extraordinary seal of miracles to render it credible? To which be it further answered, that many of the prophets worked no miracles, and yet were believed upon their own private testimony; and that we believe many things of the highest consequence in religion upon human authority, where the persons transmitting and delivering them appear properly qualified and circumstanced to give credibility to what they relate. But this argument has been considered in the Preface to the *Treatise on the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body* [see no. 14], before mentioned; and from the reasons adduced, and such as are ready to be further produced if called for, we look upon our author's testimony as worthy of our acceptation in this matter, and venture to rely on his own integrity and piety, and his disinterested and indefatigable labours to instruct the world in the most important truths relating to salvation, at the expense of his fortune, and the sacrifice of all worldly enjoyments, during the last thirty years of his life. And if we further reflect, that the whole scope and tendency of his writings is to promote the love of God and of our neighbour; to inculcate the highest reverence for the Holy Scriptures; to urge the necessity of practical holiness; and to confirm our faith in the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: these considerations, I think, may be allowed to be sufficient credentials (as far as human testimony can go) of his extraordinary mission and character, and as convincing marks of his sincerity and truth; especially as we have to add, upon the credit of two worthy persons, (one of them a learned physician [Dr. Messiter[2]] who attended him in his last sickness), that he confirmed the truth of all that he had published relating to his communications with the world of spirits, by his solemn testimony, a very short time before he departed this life, in London, *anno Dom.* 1772.

17. "Reader, might it not seem a wonder, if a person of

so extraordinary and so apostolical a character, should better escape the imputation of madness, than the prophets of old? And accordingly some have given out, that he was beside himself, and, in particular, that it was occasioned by a fever which he had about twenty years before his death. Now it is well known by all his acquaintance, that our author recovered of that fever after the manner of other men; that his extraordinary communications commenced many years before that time, and that his writings, both prior and subsequent to it, entirely harmonize and proceed upon the same principles with an exact correspondence; and that in the whole of his conversation, transactions, and conduct of life, he continued to the end of it the same uniform, excellent man. Now, if to write many large volumes on the most important of all subjects with unvaried consistency, to reason accurately, and to give proofs of an astonishing memory all the way; and if hereto be joined propriety and dignity of character in all the relative duties of the christian life; if all this can be reconciled with the definition of madness, why there is an end of all distinction between sane and insane, between wisdom and folly. Fie upon those uncharitable prejudices, which have led so many in all ages to credit and propagate slanderous reports of the best of men, even whilst they have been employed in the heavenly work of turning many from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God!

"Were an angel from heaven to come and dwell incarnate amongst us, may we not suppose that his conversation, discoveries, and conduct of life, would in many things be so contrary to the errors and prejudices, the ways and fashions of this world, that many would say with one consent, he is beside himself? And where any one of our brethren, through the Divine favour, attains to any high degree of angelical illumination and communications, may he not expect the like treatment? I forget the name of the philosopher, whose precepts and lectures were so repugnant to the dissolute manners of the Athenians, that they sent to Hippocrates to come and cure him of his madness; to which message that great physician returned this answer. That it was, not the

philosopher, but the Athenians that were mad.* In like manner, the wise in every city and country are the smaller part, and therefore must be content to suffer the reproachful name that in truth belongs to the majority. This has been the case of all extraordinary messengers for good to mankind, and the world is not altered in this respect.

18. "But it may be said, that though it be thus with the ignorant and profane, yet men of education and learning will form a more righteous judgment of the matter, and be determined impartially according to the nature of the evidence: and it would be well if it were so; and therefore we find, that in all ages such among the learned as devoted themselves *to support the credit and interest of their particular professions*, were always the most violent persecutors of the truth: for though truth has its conveyance through the intellectual part in man, yet it never gains its effect, or operates as a principle, till it be received into the affection and will; and so man is said in Scripture to be of an understanding heart. So that knowledge is productive of the greatest good, or the greatest evil, according to the ground or disposition in which it resides; when joined with piety and humility, it adds both lustre and force to truth; when joined with the corrupt passions of our nature, it is the most violent persecutor of it: this was the case with the scribes and Pharisees and doctors of the law; no greater enemies to Christ than they; the pride of reputation for learning, and the authority of public teachers, unfitted them for becoming learners at the feet of the lowly Jesus; and therefore to them were directed those words of our Lord: 'How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh of God only' (John v, 44); giving us hereby to understand, that the dominion of any wrong passion over the mind, will prove a certain hindrance in our way to Divine Truth.

19. "We are not unprepared for the opposition that may be expected to any fresh discoveries of truth, especially, as has been observed before [no. 18], where the credit or interest

* One of the editors of "Heaven and Hell" says, "The story of Democritus and the citizens of Abdera seems to be that here alluded to."

of any considerable profession or body of men is concerned. Established doctrines and opinions are considered as sacred, and the sanction of custom gives them, with many, the firmness of a rock; as is known to have been the case in physics, astronomy, and natural philosophy, in which truth, though supported by the evidence of demonstration, has scarcely been able to make its way in a century. Besides, the pride of learning is strong on the side of established institutions, and for men to part with what they have been building up with much study and pains for a great part of their lives, is a mortifying consideration; they are startled at the thoughts of becoming thus poor, and some would be as willing to part with their lives as with their acquisitions of this kind; and hence it is, that we read of so many martyrs to error and folly in all ages.

20. "These things considered, we are not to wonder that our author's publications have met with no better encouragement hitherto in his own country, (as is usually the case with prophets,) we being informed some time ago by a worthy merchant at Gottenburg, that but few of the clergy (as far as had come to his knowledge) had there received them; and that the Reverend Dr. Beyer,[22] a learned man, and lector in the gymnasium of that town, had suffered much persecution for adopting and propagating the truths contained in his writings, and was not suffered to print his explication and defence of them in Sweden.* But, to the honour of our constitution, we can as yet call the liberty of the press (and a liberty within the bounds of decency may it always be) the privilege of Englishmen, and therefore may reasonably hope for better success to our author's writings in this land of freedom; not that we expect any encouragement on their behalf from our Pharisees and bigots of any denomination, for they are the same everywhere; but our hopes are from men of unprejudiced minds, dead to self and the world, of a simplified understanding, and such as are friends to wisdom wherever they find her; in a word, whose spirit harmonizes with truth, and whose hearts are in unison with heavenly things."

* For further particulars see Document 245.

## C.

*FROM A LETTER OF THE REV. T. HARTLEY TO THE REV. J. CLOWES.*[218*]

21. "The great Swedenborg was a man of uncommon humility, and so far from affecting to be the head of a sect,† that his voluminous writings in divinity continued almost to the end of his life to be anonymous publications; and I have some reason to think that it was owing to my remonstrance to him on this subject, that he was induced to prefix his name to this his last work.

22. "He was of a catholic spirit, and loved all good men in every church, making at the same time all candid allowance for the innocency of involuntary error; but as he found himself obliged to point out the false doctrines in the several churches with an impartial freedom, it must be expected that his writings will meet with opposition from bigots in all churches:

"The *zealous Roman Catholic* will be against him, as he censures that church for arrogating to itself the power of Christ, of dispensing with the Divine laws, and of exercising spiritual jurisdiction over the consciences of its members.

"The *Solifidian*, who separates faith from practice in religion, and makes belief to constitute the whole of it, will also be against him, as our author fundamentally lays down the inseparable union of both as necessary to salvation, shewing that neither without the other can be called faith or good works, in a Christian sense, nor can subsist as divided any more than heat and light in the sun.

"The rigid *Calvinist*, who confines the mercy of God to a small part of mankind by a partial decree, will reject a writer who asserts the goodness of God, in its utmost possible extent towards all, on the clearest proofs both of Scriptural and moral evidence, and explains the consistency betwixt the freedom of the human will and the operations of Divine grace to the conviction of the rational mind, showing that if positive decrees

* This letter was inserted by Mr. Clowes in the preface to his translation of the "True Christian Religion," published in 1781.

† See footnote to no. 7 of the present Document.

in respect to our salvation were compatible with human liberty, not a single soul would be lost.

"To the foregoing adversaries of our author may be added *the narrow Sectarian*, whether it be a leader that seeketh the honour that cometh of man, or others under him who have shut up their minds against all further light, as determined to maintain the interest and credit of their party on its present foundation.

"The *Deist and Naturalist*, who are nearly the same, and from the depth of a metaphysical darkness, talk of an unknown God without the least idea of Him, and confound the Divine Essence with what they call Nature, still more unintelligible, will professedly oppose the writings of our illustrious author, who so frequently and sedulously inculcates the Divinity of Jesus Christ, by His personal union with the Father, from whence arises this distinguishing grace and privilege of the Christian, that whereas the eternal, invisible Jehovah manifested Himself before and under the Law to mankind by the ministration of angels, He now communicates Himself to us through the adorable Jesus, in our own nature, glorified as God and Man in a Divine personality.

"Lastly, *the mere Formalist* in religion, the self-righteous Pharisee, and all such as live according to the course of this world, with minds and hearts directed thereto, however decent they may appear externally, will all join in opposition to so spiritual a messenger, who strenuously insists on the inward principle of good, without which all externals are unavailing to salvation, and that it is only through the energy of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Divine Humanity of the Son in hearts duly prepared for, and receptive of, such influence, that we are made meet to be the partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light.

"Now that any extraordinary messenger to the world, faithful to his commission in the delivery of Divine Truths, without respect of persons, should meet with opposition, is so far from being any just cause of offence to us, that it should serve to confirm us in the belief of his legation, inasmuch as Divine Truth must ever be contrary to the inclinations, maxims, and pursuits of a degenerate world, the reasonings

of which will ever be according to its governing principles, and therefore it was that the essential Truth of God in the person of Christ was to suffer persecution; but wisdom is justified of her children, even such as have their hearts turned towards God; and in respect to such, Truth carries in it native evidence and conviction, so as to supersede the necessity of argument, according to those words of our Lord, 'If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.'

23. "Our author ever kept the Holy Scriptures in view; they were his light and guide, his shield and buckler on all occasions; his reasonings are grounded on their authority, and he is abundantly copious in the proofs he draws from them in support of whatever doctrine he advances. On this foundation he builds, and a surer can no one lay; he expounds the lively oracles by their harmonizing sense in different parts of them, and opens their spiritual meaning, like the scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven; and of this he has in particular given us satisfying evidence in his exposition of the Apocalypse.

"And yet let it be remarked here, that however high he stands in the character of the enlightened divine, however zealous he appeared for Truth and the instruction of his brethren; and lastly, however self-denying in his own particular case as to gratifications and indulgences, even within the bounds of moderation, yet nothing severe, nothing of the precisian appeared in him; but, on the contrary, an inward serenity and complacency of mind were manifest in the sweetness of his looks and outward demeanour; and in his writings so far is he from affecting any stoical stiffness or severity, that in several parts of them he allows to Christian liberty its full scope, and nowhere censures social entertainments and amusements properly conducted.

24. "This highly gifted man's visions and communications with the spiritual world, in a frequent visible intercourse with angels and other spirits, will be looked upon by many as an exceptionable part of his writings, owing to a general disbelief of these things, helped on by the weak arguments of some, who have a reputation for learning, in order to

discredit the reality of such supernatural discoveries, urging, that since the publication of the gospel, they have ceased as useless. Yet it is most certain that after the publication of the Law they were frequent, and, if any credit is to be given to the best human testimonies, have been vouchsafed to some in every age of the Christian church; and I verily believe, with our author, that we have all of us communications with the spiritual world, by our connections with good or evil spirits, according to the fitness of disposition and choice that lead to such associations respectively, and that we receive influx from them. But few understand this, through want of visible natural representations, though the truth of the matter is provable from the Sacred Writings; and as to that portion of Scripture, on which they mistakenly lay so much stress, viz. 'If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead,' it is spoken of such as have hardened themselves in unbelief with respect to a future state, who therefore would bring themselves into still greater condemnation should they have the offer of such additional evidence as they would be sure to reject; whereas the same extraordinary vouchsafements to certain believers may be considered as their privilege, and of benefit to themselves or others; or if dispensed to such as are weak in the faith, may serve for their confirmation in it. But of these matters we are seldom competent judges, as they are among the secrets of Divine Wisdom.

25. "I forbear to enlarge on this subject here, as I have spoken more fully of it in my Preface to the translation of the author's book, *De Cœlo et Inferno,* 'Concerning Heaven and Hell;' in respect to which translation I find myself called upon, in order to rectify and obviate some mistakes, to observe as follows: Mr. William Cookworthy,[219] of Plymouth, began and carried on a considerable part of that translation. I translated and finished the remainder. He submitted his part of the translation to my revisal and corrections: but I found it needful to form his part from the original Latin into a similarity of language with my own, and accordingly completed it; to which I added the preface, and the whole of the notes. I think myself obliged to mention this, that whatever degree

of credit may be allowed to that work, the share which that estimable man had in it may be ascribed to him; and this also is said for the satisfaction of his surviving friends. I am to observe, that Mr. Cookworthy was at the whole expense of the publication.

26. "As the credibility of Swedenborg's extraordinary dispensation, in respect to his commerce with the invisible world, would receive addition from his private good character, I was accordingly led to call upon him by letter to publish some particulars of himself, for the satisfaction of the public, which he answered, giving me some account of himself and family, which was confirmed to me by some who well knew him in his own country, together with the honours with which he was dignified there as a member of the House of Nobles, by the high esteem in which he was held by the Royal Family in Sweden, and also by the most pious and excellent men of that kingdom, as also with some other memorable particulars, not here to be mentioned. The above-mentioned letter to me* I have given in my translation of a small treatise written by our author, 'On the Nature of Influx,' under the prefixed title of a 'Theosophic Lucubration.' I am to observe here, that I am indebted to Christopher Springer, Esq.,[121] formerly member of the Diet in Sweden, who has resided in London many years, for many satisfactory circumstances relating to his life and character.

27. "And yet the great Swedenborg, who employed his peculiar talents and the greater part of a long life for the benefit of his brethren, high in honour and esteem as he was, lived several years in an obscure lodging in London in which he ended his days. O Lord, how wonderful are Thy dealings with Thy most favoured servants, to bring them into a conformity to Thy low and abject state on earth, in order to exalt them to that glory which thou hast prepared for them!

28. "I saw him in the beginning of his last illness, and asked him if he was comforted with the society of angels as before, and he answered that he was. I returned home, about a day's journey from London, and heard soon after that he

* It constitutes Document 2 in Vol. I.

was near his departure, and expressed his desire to see me, but as some hindrances to the visit happening at that time, I did not embrace the opportunity, which I should have done, for those hindrances might have been surmounted. My neglect on this occasion appears to me without excuse, and lies very heavy on my mind to this day.

29. "That so highly gifted a messenger from the Lord (as I verily believe he was) should meet with the reproach of being beside himself, will be so far from appearing strange to such as are acquainted with the Scriptures, that they would expect it: and it is credible, that an Angel from heaven in a human form, with a like message to an apostate world, would find no better treatment from it. But let the authors of such a calumny look well to the danger they incur by it; for where a person is advanced to any good degree of usefulness in the cause of virtue and religion, and more particularly if led to consecrate very exalted talents to the honour of God, and the spiritual benefit of his brethren, *such a character is sacred,* and to go about to defeat the success of such labours is nothing less than a degree of profanation; and the like conduct in any of the clergy, whether proceeding from envy, jealousy, or any partial regard to their own particular credit or interest, is still more blamable. And as to such as are led by a mistake, or a zeal for some particular opinions, to oppose the usefulness of eminently good men, because they think and walk not in all things according to their rule, they would do well to remember that there are diversities of gifts, and differences of administrations of the same Spirit, and all for the edification of the body of Christ. Thus some are more in the literal, whilst others excel in opening the spiritual, sense of the Scriptures; some are eminent for their active usefulness in public exhortation, teaching, and preaching, whilst others are more fitted for writing in defence of the Truth, or find themselves called to perfect their states respectively in the various exercises of a retired piety. Some Christians have little more of grace than is sufficient for themselves, others have a larger portion of it for the benefit of their brethren also, whilst all are graciously provided with instruments and means suited to their recipiency and several

occasions. Thus the church, like the natural body, has its different members, all which may contribute to the welfare of the whole, by the concurrence of their several functions uniting in love, whilst no one can say to another, 'I have no need of thee.' Why then do men, called religious, go about to reproach and vilify one another on account of their several distinguishing gifts, which, like as one star differs from another star in glory, may and should all attune in one Divine harmony to the praise and glory of God?

30. "The unchristian spirit of calumny and detraction here mentioned, leads me to observe in this place, that some have taken pains to represent our author as mad, in order to discredit his character and writings, grounding their charge on the following circumstance. He was seized with a fever, attended with a delirium, common in that case, about twenty years before he died, and was under the care of a physician; and they have gone about to pick up what he said and did, and how he looked at that time, and have propagated this both in private and in print, a proceeding so contrary to common humanity, that one cannot think of it without offence, nay even horror; but there is not the least occasion for a particular answer to so malignant a charge, as it receives its full confutation from the consistency and wisdom of his numerous publications since that time, insomuch that we can here apply to him the apostle's answer to Festus' imputation of madness, that he speaks the 'words of truth and soberness;' and if this be not allowed as a proof in point, where is the test whereby we are to distinguish between sane and insane?

31. "It may reasonably be supposed, that I have weighed the character of our illustrious author in the scale of my best judgment, from the personal knowledge I had of him, from the best information I could procure concerning him, and from a diligent perusal of his writings; and according thereto I have found him to be the sound divine, the good man, the deep philosopher, the universal scholar, and the polite gentleman; and I further believe that he had a high degree of illumination from the Spirit of God, was commissioned by Him as an extraordinary messenger to the world, and had communication with angels, and the spiritual world, beyond

any since the time of the apostles. As such I offer his character to the public, solemnly declaring that, to the best of my knowledge, I am not herein led by any partiality, or private views whatever, being much dead to every worldly interest, and accounting myself as unworthy of any higher character than that of a penitent sinner. I pretend to no authority over the mind of the reader; and if I have erred in any thing here delivered, I trust that it is in the innocency of error, and it shall be retracted on conviction.

32. "I have further to declare it as my belief, that we draw nigh to the last of the latter days spoken of in Scripture, and that the woes are already begun, which are to prepare the way for the New Jerusalem from above, to the truth of which our honoured author appears to have been called to bear a particular testimony, in which vocation I believe he will soon be succeeded by others. The doctrine of judgment-work approaching, will meet with no favourable reception from those that are of this world, and are satisfied with the present condition of it; but the children and heirs of that kingdom, which shall have its sure foundations in Christian love, righteousness, and peace, will, through the power of faith, be enlightened to see the foregoing scourges as preparatory to the manifestation of Christ's glorious kingdom on earth, and together with all the present mourners in Sion be enabled to rejoice in hope, with the Divine witness in the revelations, saying, and earnestly praying, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.'"

In an earlier part of this letter, Mr. Hartley expressed himself on the writings of Swedenborg as follows.

33. "The writings of this honourable man recommend themselves, at first sight, to the discerning reader, by their genuine simplicity, by the profound veneration of the author for the Sacred Scripture, and also by his deep penetration into, and his clear elucidation of, their spiritual sense, and of the mysteries contained therein, carrying with them a convincing evidence to the judgment of simplified impartial minds, between which and the Truth there is a certain congruity that disposes the former for an immediate reception of the latter; and this simplicity is termed in Scripture 'the single eye,' according to

those words of the Lord (Matt. vi, 22), 'If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light.'"

The relation of the doctrines taught by Swedenborg to the Sacred Scripture, Mr. Hartley defines in the following paragraphs.

34. "The establishment of a Divine Revelation, even by God Himself, does not appear to have been designed, in any age of the church, to supersede the vouchsafement of particular revelations to particular persons, at different times, and on certain occasions; and credible it is, that seers of visions, and extraordinary messengers, variously gifted, will be occasionally commissioned, for the benefit and comfort of the church in the future times of it; and if in reply to this it should be asked, To what purpose then is the establishment of a Divine Revelation, if it answer not all human requirements in religion on every occasion? be it answered, That though an established system of Divine institutes be of the highest importance and benefit to mankind, as it serves for a common and safe directory, both for faith and practice, and so to all the purposes of life and godliness, yet through a deplorable propensity in our nature to degenerate, it has so happened, that every church has by degrees departed from its primitive purity, and either through the ease and temptations of civil establishments, or other manifold causes, sadly apostatised from virtue and piety, to the love of the world, infidelity, and impiety. In this case a people stands in a different and degraded relation to their God, who, of His infinite compassion, is graciously pleased to grant them extraordinary means for their warning and conversion where, through their own fault, the ordinary ones have failed of their due influence.

35. "Another important use of the established institutes of a revealed religion, in connection with the vouchsafement of extraordinary dispensations to particular persons, is that of their serving as a criterion or test, whereby to 'try the spirits whether they are of God;' for in our present state of probation we stand betwixt the two worlds of light and darkness, truth and error, and as we have good spirits to befriend us, so there are evil spirits to mislead and delude us. The prophet Isaiah has laid down the following rule for distin-

guishing in such doubtful cases, where any were liable to be deceived by wizards, and such as had familiar spirits (viii, 20), 'To the Law and the Testimony: If they speak not according to this Word, it is because there is no light in them.' Our application of this rule is to bring every doctrine to the test of the Gospel of Christ, and whatever agrees not with this Divine standard is to be rejected as false; for 'He is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.'

"36. 'To this test, viz. the authority of the Sacred Scriptures, we offer the writings of the inspired Swedenborg, for examination and decision in every point of doctrine, and may challenge the most able opposer to shew wherein he has falsified, or even misapplied any part of them in what he has advanced; nay, I think it may be affirmed with truth, that no one ever more highly exalted their honour and dignity, or exhibited more demonstrative proofs of a clear and comprehensive understanding of them; and even where he enters upon the allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures of the Old Testament ('for these things,' according to Paul (Gal. iv, 24), 'are an allegory'), he executes this part of his office with so much religious reverence for the letter, that they who have not as yet attained to the spiritual sense of them, (if they are serious and unprejudiced,) will be so far from having any reason to be offended, that they will rejoice to find that those portions of Scripture, which at first sight seem to contain so little of Divine instruction, are significant of the most important truths, even 'the wisdom of God in a mystery.' Thus the pious mystical, and the pious literal Christian may unite in the spirit of love, and have, as different parts of the same temple, their respective degrees of sanctity.

37. "It is particularly observable, that no writer, the knowledge of whom has come down to us, has opened the relation which things bear to each other in the natural and spiritual worlds, in the way of *correspondence,* in any degree equal to what our learned author has given us on this subject, shewing how the invisible things of God in the latter may be clearly seen and understood by the things that do appear in this visible creation. His exposition of Genesis and Exodus, entitled *Arcana Cœlestia,* in eight volumes, quarto, abound with instances

of this kind, and are a rich treasure of heavenly secrets. In the same work we are given to see how the Spirit of God shadowed forth, and delineated the great mysteries of Gospel redemption, through regeneration, before and under the Law, and so forming them into one consistent plan of the Divine Wisdom and Goodness for the recovery of poor lost man, by the great Jehovah's assuming our human nature in the person of Jesus Christ.

"But our enlightened author proceeds still further in the following work (the 'True Christian Religion'), and goes on to comfort us, under the present sad degeneracy of the Christian church, with a prospect of the New Jerusalem from above, whereby Jesus Christ will bless the earth, under the administration of the spirit of peace and love, and by which, as he proves from Scripture, is to be understood *the Second Coming of our Lord;* not for the destruction of the earth and visible heavens, but for the renovation of the Gospel spirit in the church, now so sadly corrupted and fallen, as to render such a new dispensation necessary to the existence of a True Christian Church on earth."

38. In conclusion Mr. Hartley addresses the following letter privately to the translator of the "True Christian Religion:"

"Dear Sir,

"I have here given my most serious thoughts on the writings and character of the great Swedenborg, and if you approve of this performance, so far as to think it may be prefixed to your translation, with any degree of usefulness, I freely offer it to your service. I thank you, Sir, for the favourable opinion of me, expressed in your last letter, and must own that I esteem it a comfort to have been instrumental in some degree in promoting the knowledge of our author's writings, and wish you more successful in your able endeavours to forward the same. It is matter of great satisfaction to find that the small part of his works which has already been translated into English, has met with more success than might be expected in so short a time; and by the accounts received of the favourable reception of them in foreign countries, we have good reason to hope, that this highly gifted ministry

will in due time more fully appear, as a light shining in a dark world, to check the progress of infidelity, to diffuse the right understanding of the Sacred Scriptures, and to turn many to the knowledge of the Lord. I am sure that you join with me and many more in this good wish, and remain, Dear Sir,

"Your affectionate humble servant,

"T. HARTLEY."

## *DOCUMENT* 260.

## TESTIMONY OF DR. H. MESSITER.[2]*

### A.

*DR. MESSITER TO THE PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AT EDINBURGH.*

"October 23, 1769.

"Rev. Sir,

"As I have not the honour of knowing your name, I hope you will not attribute that deficiency in the superscription to a want of respect towards the professor of a science which I have ever held in the greatest veneration. The Hon. Mr. Swedenborg has desired me to send you, as a present, some of his late Tracts, which, should you think proper to peruse them, I doubt not but you will consider them as very extraordinary, and certainly more proper to be submitted to the scrutiny of gentlemen of your dignity and profession, than to that of those whose want of a proper scale of literature but ill qualifies them to judge of their sublimity. As I have had the honour of being frequently admitted to the author's company when he was in London, and to converse with him on various points of learning, I will venture

* The above correspondence was first printed in the "Intellectual Repository," Vol. III (first series), p. 449 *et seq.;* and was introduced thence into the several editions of the "Swedenborg Documents."

to affirm, that there are no parts of mathematical, philosophical, or medical knowledge, nay, I believe I might justly say, of human literature, to which he is in the least a stranger; yet so totally insensible is he of his own merit, that I am confident he does not know that he has any; and, as himself somewhere says of the angels, he always turns his head away on the slightest encomium. What he knows of the most interesting and noble science of all, I most humbly submit, Sir, to your better judgment: yet I must say, that though I have read much of the historical and mystical proofs of the truth of Scripture, I have never yet met with any assertions so wonderfully affecting the mind of man; and wherever I have read of anything of this nature approaching in some measure to the gift of our author, it has generally been delivered by persons whose education would scarcely secure them from the censure of enthusiasm or imposture. I should be glad, Sir, to be honoured with a line from you when you get the books, and happy to receive your opinion when it may be suitable to you to confer that favour on me.

"I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

"Your most obedient and most humble servant,

"H. MESSITER."[2]

"At Broom House, Fulham, Middlesex."

*THE PROFESSOR'S ANSWER.*

"Edinburgh, Nov. 6, 1769.

"Sir,

"I have received the books concerning which you were pleased to advise me in your favour of the 23rd of October, for which I return you cordial thanks. I have at present, and shall have during the winter season, but little respite from the duties of my office of Divinity Professor here; so that it will be seven or eight months ere I can purpose to peruse them deliberately, and with that care and attention which the serious and important nature of the subjects therein treated plainly requires. I have, however, seen enough to convince me that the honourable author is a very learned and pious man,—qualities that shall ever command my respect.

His sentiments, in several theological points of importance, differ not a little from those that are entertained in our North British Church, and he supports them not wholly by argumentation from Scripture, but rests a good deal on visions of angels and intercourse with the spiritual world: as I cannot boast of any experience of that kind, I am the less qualified to judge of the weight that ought to be laid on that means of proof. This is all I can presume to say at present, and on the footing of a very slight and cursory inspection of the books. Meanwhile, as you have sent a copy of the *Apocalypsis Revelata,* and another quarto, in which *Amor Conjugialis et Scortatorius,* or *Fornicatio Vaga et Libidinosa,* are explained and contrasted in respect of their spiritual and mystical meaning, I shall deposit these in the theological library here, as also a single copy of each of the other papers and pamphlets, reserving to my own proper use only a single copy of each of those publications of which you have transmitted several copies; the residue I shall give away, as from you, to such of the ministers of this city as, to the best of my judgment, will most thankfully receive them.

"I am, with sincere respect and gratitude, Sir,

"Your most obedient and most obliged servant,

"ROBERT HAMILTON."[220]

## B.

*DR. MESSITER TO THE PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.*

"Rev. Sir,

"Had I the honour of your acquaintance I should not have addressed you in the general term of Professor of Divinity, and therefore hope your candour will not suffer you to construe my ignorance into a disrespect I would not willingly be thought guilty of. The Hon. Mr. Swedenborg has desired me to send you, as a present from him, some late Tracts of his writing, I hope not more extraordinary than true. As I have had often the honour of conversing with him, I can with great truth assert, that he is truly

amiable in his morals, most learned and humble in his discourse, and superlatively affable, humane, and courteous in his behaviour; and this joined with a solidity of understanding and penetration far above the level of an ordinary genius. Thus much I know of him, and therefore sacredly affirm, though not without a humble deference to your opinion of his writings. If this character be allowed him, as I am confident it will in time, it will remove the most general objections offered by the most violent and daring Deists to revealed religion, viz., that the authors [who profess to have received revelations] are obscure illiterate enthusiasts. The two last charges, his writings (if not what is above said) will soon refute, and the first will be removed by the account given of himself in the letter to his friend, which you have at the end of the *Summaria Expositio*. Though I must beg pardon for having taken up thus much of your time, I must yet take the liberty to remark, that the translation of the above-mentioned Treatise is designed as a present for any English reader you might think proper to present it to, but as it is very indifferently executed, I am confident it will do the author no honour, and therefore wish he had omitted it. I shall be glad to be honoured with a line on receipt of the books, and on any future convenient occasion shall be happy to receive your opinion of them.

"I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

"Your most humble and most obedient servant,

"H. MESSITER."[2]

*THE PROFESSOR'S REPLY.*

"Sir,

"I am favoured with yours of the 23rd October, signifying that you had sent me as a present, from the Hon. Mr. Swedenborg, some of his late Tracts. The box with the books came to my hand some days before I received your letter, and you may judge of my surprise when I could not conjecture how or by whom they were sent. I beg you will be so good as to return my thanks to the honourable gentleman for his present. I dare not presume in a hasty manner

to pass any judgment upon performances which seem to contain several things not a little extraordinary. Considering the excellent character you give the author, I am persuaded he has the interest of religion at heart, and every friend of that interest cannot but wish success to intentions so pious and so disinterested. I am sorry you think the translation of the *Summaria Expositio* so ill executed, because it is natural to apply to the translation for a general notion of the author's principles and views; and, if I mistake not, the original is not to be found in the parcel which I have received.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"R. TRAILL.[229]

"College, Glasgow, Nov. 3, 1769."

## C.

*DR. MESSITER TO THE PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.*

"Rev. Sir,

"I hope the want of knowledge of your name will apologize for the direction on the superscription of this letter, which I address to you in obedience to the desire of my learned friend the Honourable Mr. Swedenborg, who has desired me to present you with some late pieces of his writing. I wish, good Sir, you may think them worthy of your perusal, as they are the productions of a man whose good qualities, resulting from his natural, acquired, and blessed abilities, I can with much truth, from my frequent converse with him, assert, are a high ornament to human nature. Credulity, prejudice, or partiality seem to have no share in his compositions or character, nor is he in the least influenced by any avaricious or interested view. A proof of this last assertion was afforded me by his refusing an offer of any money he might have occasion for while in England, which was made him on a supposal that his want of connexions in a place where he was a stranger might prove an obstacle to his Divine pursuits. I am inclined to mention this circumstance to obviate the jealousies most men are apt to entertain of works of this

sort, which they think only designed *ad captandos denarios:* but this suspicion seems also pretty well removed in the printed letter entitled *Ad Amicum Responsum.* His learning, like his charity, is universal: but what his merit in these performances may be, I humbly submit to your superior judgment.

"Excuse this liberty, and believe me to be, with the most profound respect, Sir,

"Your most humble and obedient servant,

"H. MESSITER."

*THE PROFESSOR'S ANSWER.*

"Aberdeen, November 7, 1769.

"Sir,

"It is about a week since I received the favour of yours of October 23, but the books to which it refers came to hand only last night. I have had scarce time at all to look into them, and therefore can pretend to give no opinion of them; but, as you desired to hear from me on my receiving them, I could not think of delaying to return my thanks to you and Mr. Swedenborg for the present to which I have no sort of title. I hope you will do me the honour to offer him my best respects. The necessary business of my profession at this season will probably make it some time before I can read the pieces sent me with such care as to form an opinion of them: as soon as I am able to form it, I shall be very ready to communicate it to you.

"In the meantime, I am, Sir,

"Your obliged humble servant,

"ALEX. GERARD."[220]

## *DOCUMENT* 261.

# CHRISTOPHER SPRINGER'S[121] TESTIMONY.*

*C. SPRINGER TO ABBÉ PERNETY.*[34]

Sir,

1. By the letter with which you have honoured me, dated Berlin the 6th of December last, which came very late to hand, I perceive that you desire to have some of the works published by the late Assessor Emanuel Swedenborg, and likewise a narrative of the conversations, which I had with him during his life-time; and that my friends, the Nordenskölds [Charles Frederic[20] and Augustus[35]] have directed you to me for such information. I shall endeavour to comply with your wishes, so far as my strength and sight will permit me, which during the last two years have failed me considerably, and which is the less to be wondered at, as I shall very soon have attained my seventy-ninth year.

* This letter was originally written in the German language. It was translated by Pernety into French, and introduced in the Preface to his French translation of "Heaven and Hell," which appeared in Berlin in 1782 (pp. 91 to 98). An English translation of this French version was published in 1784 in the Appendix to the second edition of the "Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," together with the remaining documents which had been collected by Pernety, viz. "Sandel's Eulogium" (Document 4), and "Pernety's Account" (Document 6). This publication bears the title: "A Theosophic treatise on the Nature of Influx, together with an Eulogium," etc. We were not aware of the existence of this collection of documents on writing the Introduction to Document 6 (Vol. I, pp. 52 to 55), or we would not have made a declaration to this effect, that "our translation of 'Pernety's Account' is really the first complete one that had been published in the English language." The translation of Springer's letter contained in that volume, which was partly reproduced in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790 (pp. 191 to 193), seems to have been the one introduced with some slight verbal alterations into the English editions of Dr. Im. Tafel's "Swedenborg Documents" published in England and America.

2. It is to be observed that Assessor Swedenborg was not a count but only a simple nobleman from the year 1719. His father, Jesper Swedberg, was Bishop of Skara, a man of great learning; but this Emanuel Swedenborg received richer endowments from God. His knowledge, as well as his sincerity, was great. He was constant in friendship, extremely frugal in his diet, and plain in his dress. His usual food was coffee with milk, and bread and butter; sometimes, however, he partook of a little fish, and only at rare intervals he ate meat; and he never drank above two glasses of wine. He was indifferent to places of honour, wherefore about 1746 he determined to apply for a discharge from his official duties [see Document 166, B]; but the King granted to him as a pension half the salary of his office, which he enjoyed until the time of his decease.

3. I am delighted from my whole heart to learn that you intend to translate some of his works, that they may become more generally known; and that you have chosen the one which is entitled *Arcana Cœlestia*. It consists of eight volumes, and costs at present eight guineas, or eight pounds, eight shillings sterling. His work entitled, *Coronis seu Appendix ad Veram Christianam Religionem*, sells for two shillings. The expenses for carriage may amount to three shillings; so that the total sum for these works will be eight pounds, thirteen shillings. An opportunity of sending them viâ Hamburg will occur every month.

In accordance with your wishes I presented myself before the Count de Luzi and informed him of the commission with which you had charged me. He replied that he had not yet received any advice, but as he was very well acquainted with you, this would suffice, and that he would take upon himself to advance the money for the books; he, however, added afterwards that he considered it advisable to inform you of the price, before making the shipment. It will, therefore, entirely depend upon you to inform me whether you wish to have them sent.

4. I suppose you possess another Latin work of the late Swedenborg entitled, *De Cœlo et Inferno*. I could wish, nevertheless, that you were in possession of the English translation prepared by the learned Rev. Thomas Hartley. It is

furnished with notes and remarks by the translator. This work costs ten shillings.

5. This same Mr. Hartley has likewise translated into English, with notes and learned observations, a work of the late Swedenborg, entitled, "A Theosophic Lucubration on the Nature of Influx, as it respects the Communication and Operation of the Soul and Body," in quarto. The price of this translation is two shillings and sixpence. It concludes with a letter from the late Swedenborg to Mr. Hartley.

6. There is still another small volume in 8vo, the Latin title of which is *Nova Hierosolyma;* this has also been translated into English, but very badly. The Latin copy is therefore more worthy of perusal on that account. It may interest you to know, that although this translation is very defective,* not a single copy of it remains on sale. As to the *Arcana Cœlestia* only two copies of it remain unsold. Of these I have bespoken one, in case you desire to have it.

7. I will now satisfy the desire which you have expressed of being informed of the conversations I had with the above-mentioned Swedenborg, both when alone with him, and also in company with others; but I must observe that it would be too much and too difficult to relate them all here.

8. It is certain that two or three weeks, and not two or three days before his decease, as his adversaries insinuate, I asked him, when he believed that the New Jerusalem, or the New Church of God, would manifest itself, and whether this manifestation would take place in the four quarters of the world. His answer was that no mortal and not even the celestial angels could predict the time; that it was solely in the will of God. "Read," said he, "the Book of Revelation xxi, 2, and Zechariah xiv, 19, and you will see there that the New Jerusalem will undoubtedly manifest itself to the whole earth."

9. I asked him in like manner concerning the letter written by the Queen of Sweden to the late Margrave, her brother. He replied, "Much of this is true, and much is not

* The English Editor remarks here, that "The extracts from the *Arcana Cœlestia* were omitted in that edition."

true; and perhaps the whole matter is better known in Berlin."*

10. I then asked him whether it was true, as I had been informed, that when he was at Gottenburg (a town about sixty Swedish miles from Stockholm) he had foretold to his friends, three days before the arrival of the post, the precise hour of the great fire that had happened in Stockholm, to which he replied that it was entirely true.

11. I put also many questions to him concerning Charles XII, King of Sweden, and received surprising answers from him.

12. I will now relate to you some things which I have both seen and heard. Fifteen years ago,† Swedenborg set out for Sweden, and asked me to procure a good captain for him, which I did. I contracted with one whose name was Dixon. Swedenborg's luggage was taken on board the vessel; and as his apartments were at some distance from the docks, we engaged lodgings for the night in an inn near the harbour, as the captain above-named was to call for him in the morning. He went to bed, and I sat in another room with the landlord, with whom I conversed. We heard a noise; and not being able to tell the cause, we approached a door, which had a little window looking into the room where Swedenborg was sleeping. We saw him with his hands raised towards heaven, and his body apparently very much agitated.

* The English Editor of "An Eulogium," etc., London, 1784, adds here in a footnote (p. 33), "A friend of Mr. Swedenborg's writings [Mr. Peckitt, see Document 263, B, 13,] was informed of the following particulars respecting this transaction, by the writer of the above letter, which, containing some things not found in the account related in the Anecdotes [Document 6, no. 25], is inserted for the reader's perusal: 'The Queen had sent some letters of a secret nature to her brother, the Prince of Prussia, and being desirous to know whether he had received them, she consulted Mr. Swedenborg concerning it, who told her he would inform her whether he had or not in a few days. On his going to the Queen at the time appointed, he told her that her brother had received them, and was going to answer them, and that in the escritoire of the prince was an unfinished letter, that was intended to have been sent to her, before his decease. On this she sent to the King of Prussia, and the letter was found as Mr. Swedenborg had predicted, which the King sent to her.'"

† On September 1, 1766; see Document 227, p. 244.

He spoke much for half-an-hour, but we could not understand what he was saying, except when he dropped his hands, when we heard him say with a loud voice, "My God!" but could not hear more. He remained afterwards very quietly in his bed. I stepped into his room with the landlord, and asked whether he was ill. "No," said he, "but I have had a long discourse with the angels and the heavenly friends, and am at this time in a great perspiration." As his things had been taken on board, he asked the landlord for a fresh shirt and a fresh sheet. Afterwards he went to bed again, and slept till morning. When the captain of the vessel called for Swedenborg, I took leave of him, and wished him a happy journey: having then asked the captain, if he had a good supply of provisions on board, he answered me that he had as much as would be required. Swedenborg then observed, "My friend, we have not need of a great quantity; for this day week we shall, by the aid of God, enter into the port of Stockholm at two o'clock." On Captain Dixon's return, he related to me that this happened exactly as Swedenborg had foretold.*

13. Two years afterwards Swedenborg returned to London, where we continued our former friendship. He told me, that he had sent his works to the bishops of Sweden, but without result, and that they had received him with the same indifference that he had experienced from the bishops of England. What a remarkable change I noticed among the bishops in London. I had witnessed myself with what coldness he was received by them before his departure for Sweden, and I saw that on his return he was received by them with the greatest civility. I asked him how this change could have come, when he answered, "God knows the time when His church ought to commence."

14. His intimate friends were the Rev. Thomas Hartley;[1] the late doctor in Philosophy Hampe, a learned man, who had been preceptor to George II, and also Messiter,[2] a doctor of medicine; but Mr. Hartley, a man of profound learning,

* See Document 230, p. 250, where Swedenborg states, that "the trip from England was made in eight days; a favourable wind increasing to a perfect storm carrying the ship along in this style."

and a true servant of God, was his most intimate friend. It was he who translated into English, as was observed above, the work of Swedenborg entitled, *De Cœlo et Inferno*, with excellent notes; as also that which is entitled, "A Theosophic Lucubration," etc., likewise with excellent notes. This gentleman, who is very old, is still alive.

15. As to what relates to myself, I cannot give you a reason for the great friendship Swedenborg entertained for me, who am not a learned man. It is true, we were good friends in Sweden, but that this friendship between us should have become as constant as it has been, I never expected.

16. All that he has told me of my deceased friends and enemies, and of the secrets I had with them, is almost past belief. He even explained to me in what manner peace was concluded between Sweden and the King of Prussia; and he praised my conduct on that occasion. He even specified the three high personages whose services I made use of at that time; which was, nevertheless, a profound secret between us.* On asking him how it was possible for him to obtain such information and who had discovered it to him, he replied, "Who informed me about your affair with Count Claes Ekeblad?[200] You cannot deny that what I have told you is true.† Continue," he added, "to merit his reproaches; depart not from the good way either for honours or money; but, on the contrary, continue as constant therein as you have hitherto, and you will prosper."

I should like, Sir, to be able to repeat all that he has told me; but I must finish my letter, in assuring you of the esteem with which I am,

Yours, &c.

CHRISTOPHER SPRINGER.[121]

London, January 18, 1782.

* For further particulars respecting this affair, see Note 121, Vol. I, p. 708.

† Respecting the affair with Count Ekeblad, see Document 262.

## *DOCUMENT* 262.

## TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM SPENCE, M. D.[221] *

1. The late Christopher Springer,[121] Esq. was my patient the two or three last years of his life. Having read a letter of his to the Abbé Pernety, wherein he mentions that, "All that he has told me of my deceased friends and enemies, and of the secrets I had with them, is almost past belief," and wishing to hear the circumstances from himself concerning Count Ekeblad,[200] Mr. Springer told me before Mr. F. Nordensköld,[20] Mr. B. Chastanier,[222] and others, that the Count had provoked him to draw his sword upon him, differing about politics, but that they had made it up, and promised not to mention it to any while in life; that afterwards the Count had attempted to bribe him with 10,000 rix-dalers, which sum and circumstances Mr. Swedenborg particularly mentioned to him as having from conversing with the Count just then deceased. Mr. Springer each time, for he told it more than once, threw down his handkerchief on the floor, while relating that part by my fire-side, to shew with what abhorrence he refused the purse. He also said, Swedenborg had told him, their once adversary in politics was not so bad a man as they had thought him, for that he was then preparing for heaven. He likewise confirmed how Swedenborg had related to him, what particular share he had in settling the peace, which was a profound secret, as may be seen in the above-mentioned printed letter.

2. Another anecdote from Dr. Messiter,[2] who attended Swedenborg in his last illness, I shall willingly publish, as

* This document was published by the Doctor himself in 1792, in a work bearing the following title: "Essays in Divinity and Physic," &c., by William Spence, M. D., nos. 47 and 48.

it may rectify a false aspersion on Mr. Swedenborg's character, lately put in print by Mr. Petit Andrew's, who I wish had inquired better into it. Having had the favour of the doctor's company to dine with me and a few friends, a few weeks before his decease, some of the company having heard that the doctor had asked the question, wished to know whether Swedenborg had mentioned when this New Jerusalem Doctrine might be established, as at that time the regular clergy seemed almost all to refuse it; to which the Dr. said;—The Baron's answer to me was, "that times and seasons were in God's hands, therefore he could not positively say when; yet thus much he was allowed to tell him, that he would probably live *thirteen years,* just to see it in its bud." "Now (says the Dr.) it is just *thirteen years* that I have lived, as he foretold, to see it in its bud, through your little society's encouraging the printing of his works." The Dr. also confirmed what Mr. Shearsmith and his wife, in whose house he died, have declared upon oath, that Swedenborg knew and foretold the Sunday evening he was to leave them, and that, to the last, he asserted that the "doctrine would be received in God's good time, because the Lord has promised it in His Word." Mr. Andrew's tale from his acquaintance, that Swedenborg had affirmed he could not die till his return to Sweden, needs no other refutation. "I had promised," says Dr. Spence, "to return the doctor's visit with my spouse, the first good weather; but a few weeks after, hearing that Dr. Messiter had died suddenly, I told my wife that she was now too late in returning the doctor's visit, as his thirteen years were now quite out; yet luckily the Dr. did not seem to suspect it in the limited sense."

3. Several more remarkable, and some publicly authenticated proofs of his supernatural communications are on record, particulary that grand testification given to the Queen of Sweden; I allude to the secret he revealed to that Princess, which she proved no mortal besides himself and her deceased brother the Prince of Prussia could know anything of. The fact is still well known at the Courts of Brunswick and Sweden, and is of itself a sufficient proof of Swedenborg's most extraordinary spiritual communications.

## *DOCUMENT* 263.

# TESTIMONY COLLECTED BY PETER PROVO.[223]*

## A.

*TESTIMONY COLLECTED FROM MR. ERIC BERGSTRÖM.*[224]

On May 2, 1787, Mr. Provo called on Mr. Bergström, who keeps the King's Arms Tavern, in Wellclose-square; who, in a conversation ot an hour's length, related to him as follows:—

1. I was personally acquainted with Assessor Swedenborg: he frequently called on me, and once lived ten weeks together with me in this house; during which time I observed nothing in him but what was very reasonable and bespoke the gentle-

* This Document was inserted in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1836, by the Rev. S. Noble, who, in a letter to the Editors of that work, gives the following account of its contents:—

"Gentlemen,

"In my '*Appeal in Behalf of the Doctrines of the New Church*,' &c., I have made some use of the following Anecdotes. Except as to the extracts given there, they have never been printed. Every authentic testimony, however, respecting the gifted individual to whom they relate, ought, I think, to be put on record in some permanent Repository. I therefore transmit them for your work. The paper sent was transcribed by me from a copy in the handwriting of the late Mr. Servanté,[227] lent by that gentleman to me for the purpose. He informed me that his was transcribed from a copy in the possession of Mr. J. A. Tulk;[228] who, Mr. Servanté understood, had it from Mr. Provo himself. Mr. Peter Provo was a respectable gentleman of the medical profession, who published the work called '*Wisdom's Dictates*.'

"I am, &c.

"S. NOBLE.

"Dec. 15, 1835."

man. He at that time breakfasted on coffee, ate moderately at dinner, and drank one or two glasses of wine after it, but never more. In the afternoon he drank tea, but never ate any supper. He usually walked out after breakfast, generally dressed neatly in velvet, and made a good appearance. He was mostly reserved, but complaisant, to others.

2. He has told me that very few were given to see the things that he did, and that he often saw many extraordinary things. Mr. Springer[121] once asked him, when at dinner here, about the state of a person who was the occasion of Mr. Springer's being obliged to leave Sweden, and who was deceased; to which he answered that it was very bad, and that he hoped his would be better. A secretary of Baron Nolcken,* who was present, put an impertinent question to him of a similar kind, which he refused to answer, observing, that he never answered such questions as originated in ill-will or malice.

3. He commonly retired to his chamber in the evening, and once I heard some noise from that part, and went to speak to him about it; and as he seemed rejoiced, I asked him the occasion; when he told me that he had seen some extraordinary things which pleased him.

4. He told me the story about the Queen of Sweden's [Ulrica's] brother:† she had secretly burnt a letter of his to her, sent a short time before a battle in which he was killed, and she wanted to know some other particulars relative to the contents: Swedenborg, some days after her application to him, returned, and told her that her brother was offended that she had burnt his letter; and as this was known to none but herself, she nearly fainted at hearing it; and was always very courteous to him afterwards.

5. He also related the affair of the Countess de Marteville,* from whose husband's information, after his decease, he told her where a receipt for a sum of money lay; where she found it; for which she wished to make Swedenborg a handsome present, but he refused it.

* Baron Gustavus Adam von Nolken was the Swedish Ambassador at the Court of St. James' from 1763 to 1794. He died in 1812.

† See Document 274, Q and R.

6. Also the story of the fire in Stockholm: that after he had gone out from the company into the garden of the house at Gottenburg, he returned, and told the company soon after, that his house and garden were safe, and described how near the flames had come to it, though no account from thence had then arrived.*

7. The remarkably speedy voyage that Captain Hodson† had when he carried him to Stockholm, he related to me, being but seven days on the voyage, and that the captain never once dropped anchor all the time, a thing he was greatly surprised at himself, and said that he found Swedenborg's company so agreeable, that he was much delighted and taken with him.

8. He once lived in the Minories; and after that in Coldbath Fields, where I often went to see him; and he told me, some short time before he died, that as it had pleased God to take away the use of his arm by a palsy, his body was now good for nothing but to be put into the ground. I asked him whether he would take the sacrament, and whether I should bring Mr. Ferelius, the Swedish minister? He said, Do: and we both returned soon after. He told the priest to pronounce or read the blessing on it (or the consecration), and leave the rest of the form to him, as he knew very well what it meant and was: this he did: and after Swedenborg had taken it, he perceived a strong degree of heat in his face. He was quite clear in his mind at the time, and said all was then properly done, and thanked the clergyman for attending. This was on the Friday; and he died on the Wednesday following. Mr. Charles Lindegren[117] sent his effects to Sweden.

9. Mr. Mathesius[118] was an opponent of Swedenborg, and said that he was lunatic, &c.; but it is remarkable that he went lunatic himself, which happened publicly one day when he was in the Swedish Church, and about to preach: I was there, and saw it: he has been so ever since, and sent back to Sweden, where he now is: this was about four years ago.

10. In general, Swedenborg kept retired, and sought to

* See subdivision E of the present Section.

† This name should probably have been Dixon; see Document 260, no. 12.

avoid company, and making known the knowledge of where he was. Some of his friends here spoke against him, and some were for him: for my own part, I think he was a reasonable, sensible, and good man: he was very kind to all, and generous to me. As for his peculiar sentiments, I do not meddle with them.

11. I do not know of any of his manuscripts being left here; and as for his books, I think Mr. Lindegren,[117] who is at present in the Royal Exchange Assurance Office, can best tell what was done with them. Swedenborg received his remittances from him. He always appeared to have money sufficient for him. A Mr. Grill,[112] in Dunster-court, Mincing-lane, also knows something of him. I do not remember seeing any books in his chamber, and, not understanding Latin, I never read any of his works.

## B.

*TESTIMONY COLLECTED FROM MR. COOKWORTHY.*[219]

12. Mr. Cookworthy related to Mr. Provo, in 1778, that he had been with Mr. Hartley[1] to see Swedenborg in Coldbath Fields, a few years before he died, and that he was near two hours with him, and well satisfied with his company. A person was there who objected to some things that Swedenborg said, and argued the point in his way; to which Swedenborg said, "I converse with angels, or received information from them, about such things:" which offended that person; though Mr. Cookworthy saw that it was the most forcible argument that could have been used; and as a proof of his approbation of the testimony, he afterwards published the first edition of the treatise on *Heaven and Hell*, which cost £100.

## C.

*TESTIMONY COLLECTED FROM THE REV. THOMAS HARTLEY.*[1]

13. In 1781, Mr. Hartley[1] related to Mr. Provo, that he had been with Swedenborg in Coldbath Fields several times; that he was a kind and sensible man, and had something so

loving and taking in his manner as highly delighted those he spoke with: but what his sentiments of him were, may be seen in the prefaces to the works on *Influx, Heaven and Hell,* and *Universal Theology;* and by his executing the translation of the *Heaven and Hell*, when near seventy years of age, and subject to many bodily infirmities, solely from a desire to render the work public for the general good of the world.

## D.

*TESTIMONY COLLECTED FROM MRS. JOHN LEWIS AND MR. HART.*

14. Mrs. Lewis [an advertisement at the end of the *Delitiæ Sapientiæ, &c,* states that the works are sold by Mr. Lewis, Paternoster Row, and Mr. Hart, in Poppin's-court, Fleet-street,] told Mr. Provo, about the year 1778, that she thought Swedenborg a good and sensible man, but that it appeared to her that he was too apt to spiritualize things (when speaking of their correspondence). She said he was very abstemious, and lived chiefly on almonds and raisins.

15. Mr. Hart related to Mr. Provo, about the year 1779, that he thought Swedenborg a remarkable man, for whilst he was abroad, old Mr. Hart, his father, died in London. On Swedenborg's return he went to spend an evening at Mr. Hart's house, in Poppin's-court. After being let in at the street door, he was told that his old friend, Mr. Hart, was dead; to which he replied, "I know that very well, for I saw him in the spiritual world whilst I was in Holland, at such a time [near the time he died, or soon after]; also whilst coming over in the packet to England: he is not now in heaven," continued he, "but is coming round, and in a good way to do well." This much surprised the widow and son, for they knew that he was just come over, and they said that he was of such a nature that he could impose on no one, that he always spoke the truth concerning every little matter, and would not have made any evasion though his life had been at stake. Mr. Hart, the father, printed all the *Arcana Cœlestia,* in Latin; Swedenborg was fond of his company, and often went to spend an evening

there: he used to take particular notice of Mr. Hart's little girl, whom Mr. Provo saw at the time, then about ten years old.

## E.

*TESTIMONY COLLECTED FROM MR. BURKHARDT.*

16. Mr Burkhardt, a Swede, and formerly clerk to the Swedish Chapel here, told Mr. Provo, in 1783, that he knew Swedenborg, and was present once when he dined in London with some of the Swedish clergy; he said that some argument passed between Swedenborg and one of them concerning the Lord, and the nature of man's duty of life to him, and that Swedenborg overthrew the tenets of his opponent, who appeared but a child to him in knowledge. Mr. Burkhardt added, that Swedenborg was a holy, good man, much given to abstraction of mind; that even when walking out he sometimes seemed as if in private prayer, and latterly took but little notice of things and people in the streets. After his decease he was carried to this person's house, and buried from thence.*

17. In 1785, Mr. Keene went down into the vault of the Swedish Chapel, and saw his coffin, which lies next to Dr. Solander's.

* Consult footnote to Document 263, no. 1.

## *DOCUMENT* 264.

# TESTIMONY COLLECTED BY HENRY PECKITT, ESQ.[229]*

## A.

*TESTIMONY COLLECTED FROM MR. AND MRS. SHEARSMITH.*[226]

1. London. January 24, 1778. I, Henry Peckitt, went to Bath Street, Coldbath Fields, to one Mr. Shearsmith's, a Barber, at whose house the learned and Honourable Emanuel Swedenborg lodged, and died March 29, 1772; and was then, as I since found, eighty-four years old. He, by the order of

* Of this document there exist two copies. With respect to the first J. J. Garth Wilkinson, Esq., M. D., wrote to Dr. Im. Tafel under date of March 26, 1842 (See German edition of "Swedenborg Documents," Vol. IV, p. 198): "Among the papers left by Mr. Peckitt there is one of considerable interest, and I am empowered to make it public. I expect to see it in the April number of the 'Intellectual Repository;' and if it does not I shall send you a copy of it. It ought to have a place in your documents." Dr. Tafel continues, "On June 30, 1842, he accordingly sent me a copy of the document, informing me that this same copy had been sent to the 'Intellectual Repository,' and had been printed there in the July number of 1842; this copy had been taken by Mr. Wilkinson himself from the original; it bore the following title, *Memoranda respecting Swedenborg by the late Mr. Peckitt.*"

The second copy of these documents had been in the hands of Mr. Robert Hindmarsh,[225] and was introduced by him into his manuscript history of the "Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church," which was printed in 1861 under the editorship of the Rev. Edward Madeley of Birmingham. Mr. Hindmarsh[225] says in connection with the year 1783, on p. 18, "Mr. Henry Peckitt[229] also now joined us, and brought with him a rich harvest of information concerning the personal character, circumstances, and habits of the great Swedenborg. This information he had carefully taken down in

one Mr. Charles Lindegren,* a Swedish Merchant, who lives in Mincing Lane, Fenchurch Street, was laid in state at an Undertaker's,† and deposited in three coffins in the vault of the Swedish Church, in Prince's Square, Ratcliffe Highway, with all the ceremonies of that Church.

2. It seems by the account of Mr. Shearsmith, that the Baron‡ had visited England three or four different times. He

writing with a view to its being preserved for the gratification of those, who, like him, might hereafter regard every little anecdote of his life, that could be depended on for its truth and accuracy, as a most precious relic. Being myself in possession of all the particulars alluded to, I take this opportunity of giving them to the public, in Mr. Peckitt's own words, from the original manuscript deposited in my hands upwards of forty years ago." To Mr. Peckitt's Memoranda, Mr. Hindmarsh, and also the editor, the Rev. E. Madeley, added an abundant store of notes. Some of Mr. Hindmarsh's notes constituted an independent testimony respecting Swedenborg, and they will be found in Document 264, B. The other notes of a mere explanatory character we have retained as footnotes to the present documents.

The text of the following document has been taken from the "Intellectual Repository," and thus from that copy which had fallen into the hands of Dr. Wilkinson; the words in brackets [] have been added from Mr. Hindmarsh's copy.

* Respecting Mr. Lindegren see Note 117, and respecting the disposition which he made of Swedenborg's property, see Document 141, and also Document 263, nos. 8 and 11.

† Mr. Hindmarsh adds here in a note, "This undertaker's name was Robinson; and he kept a shop in Ratcliffe Highway, to which place the remains of Swedenborg were conveyed in a hearse after his decease. I once saw this Mr. Robinson, but had not an opportunity of conversing with him." From Document 262, no. 15, it appears that "after his decease, Swedenborg's body was carried to the house of Mr. Burkhardt, the clerk of the Swedish church, and was buried from thence." This seems more probable; although Robinson may have taken charge of the remains at Shearsmith's house.

‡ The Rev. E. Madeley adds here in a note: "Swedenborg is generally designated 'Baron' by the earlier readers of his writings. In all the documents that are reprinted in this work ['Rise and Progress,' &c.], that designation is retained; but in other cases it is altered. His rank of nobility in his own country was that of the Equestrian Order [that is, he was simply a nobleman, or belonged to the lowest order of nobility]. It did not confer upon him any title, it consisted only in the change of his name. But it has been customary to call him 'Baron,' because that is the lowest order of nobility in England. On the continent he was sometimes called 'Count.' When he was ennobled by the Queen of Sweden, Ulrica Eleanora, his name was changed from Swed*berg* to Swede*nborg*."

had [before] lodged in Coldbath Fields; and upon his return to England, came to the same place: but the people had removed and he was recommended to Mr. Shearsmith's, where he lodged about two years. Then he left England, and went to Amsterdam in Holland, at which place he had published many of his Latin works. He stayed there some time, and then returned to England, and came to the same place to lodge with Mr. Shearsmith, and remained at his house till his death, which might be about two years. [Compare Document 269, B; where this portion of Peckitt's testimony is analyzed.]

3. The dress that he generally wore, when he went out to visit, was a suit of black velvet, made after an old fashion; a pair of long ruffles; a curious hilted sword; and a gold-headed cane.* He ate little or no animal food, only a few eels sometimes. His chief sustenance was cakes, tea, and coffee made generally exceedingly sweeet. His drink was water. He took a great deal of snuff.†

4. Mr. Shearsmith was affrighted when he first lodged with him, by reason of his talking in the night and day. He said, he would sometimes be writing, and sometimes would stand talking in the door-stead of his room,‡ as if he was holding a conversation with some person: but as he spoke in a

* Concerning this cane, see Document 265, no. 12.

† Mr. Hindmarsh says here, "One advantage of the Author's profuse snuff-taking appears to have been the preservation of the Manuscripts; for when printing his posthumous work, entitled, *Apocalypsis Explicata*, I found everywhere between the leaves a sufficient quantity of snuff to prevent their being perforated and injured by those little active mites or insects which are so destructive to old books and papers." The editor of these documents can likewise attest that when he took some of Swedenborg's MSS. out of their original binding, with a view of having them photo-lithographed, a large quantity of snuff was found in the back of the volumes; especially of that volume which contains one of Swedenborg's Indexes to the "Apocalypsis Revelata," Codex 7.

The Rev. Mr. Madeley, adds here, "Swedenborg's visits to the European mines, his chemical and anatomical researches, and his voyages in ill-ventilated vessels, will go far to account for this habit."

‡ See in this connection the anecdote told by Mr. Hindmarsh in Document 265, no. 8.

language Mr. Shearsmith did not understand, he could not make anything of it.

5. During the time he was at Mr. Shearsmith's, some learned men came to converse with him, especially a Rev. Mr. Hartley,[1] of East Malling, in Kent, and a physician called Messiter.[2]

6. He did not know the English language so as to hold a running conversation in it. He had an impediment in his speech.

7. He lay some weeks in a trance, without any sustenance; and came to himself again. This was not long before his death. He seldom or never complained of any bodily pain; but was attacked, before his death, with a kind of paralytic stroke.

8. He had no books, no, not so much as a Directory. He was far from being verbose [or addicted to many words]. It was said, he had conversation in spirit with Luther and Calvin. During his last visit to England, he chose to be mostly retired.

9. It seems he had no particular regard for times or seasons, or days or nights; only taking rest when nature required it. He did not indulge in needless gratifications. He went not to any place of worship during his abode with Mr. Shearsmith [see Document 267, no. 12]. He did not want money. Dr. Messiter[2] had some manuscripts of his [which] he had by him at his death.* The grand quantity were sent into Sweden, and are in one of the libraries.

The above is what I gathered from Mr. Shearsmith.

10. December 4, 1783, I went again to Mr. Shearsmith's, to read over to him the above account, to know if it was just in every particular; and he told me it was. Mr. Shearsmith not being at home when I called, I stayed till he came in, and had some conversation with the maid who attended the Baron.†

* Mr. Hindmarsh adds here the following note, "This manuscript though incomplete, was afterwards printed at London, in the year 1780, at the expense of Mr. Frederic [?] Nordensköld,[20] under the title of *Coronis, seu Appendix ad Veram Christianam Religionem.* The work was afterwards translated by me, and published in the year 1811, being the 'Coronis'; or, Appendix to the True Christian Religion," &c.

† "This servant-maid," says Mr. Hindmarsh, "who attended upon Swedenborg, afterwards became Mr. Shearsmith's second wife, and was

She said, that he was a good-natured man; and that he was a blessing to the house, for that they had harmony and good business, while he was with them. She said, that before he came to their house [the first time,] he was offered another lodging in the neighbourhood, but he told the mistress there was no harmony in the house; which she acknowledged, and recommended him to Mr. Shearsmith's.

11. Upon asking the maid if he ever ate any animal food she said, he once had some pigeon pie. She said that he told them a few days before his death, when it would happen; and, said she, "he was pleased," and she made a comparison that the pleasure was such, "as if he was going to have a holiday, to go to some merry-making."

## B.

*TESTIMONY COLLECTED FROM MR. SPRINGER.*[121]

12. London, March 16, 1778, I, Henry Peckitt, called on Mr. Springer, no. 12, Craven Buildings, near Wych Street, who is Counsellor of Commerce for Sweden. He had been acquainted with the Baron Swedenborg for many years. It seems that the Baron had visited England many times during his life. Mr. Springer told me, the Baron had a fine house and garden at Stockholm; and [that on one occasion] he was sitting with company at Gottenburg, which is 188 miles[?] from Stockholm; when he told them, that that part of the town was then on fire, where his house and garden were [situated]; but he hoped his house would escape the flames, 1759. He shortly after told them, his house was safe, but *the garden was destroyed*,* and when the post arrived a few days after, it was as he had predicted.

13. Mr. Springer also told me, that the Queen of Sweden had written letters to her brother, a Prince of Prussia; and that, having no answers, she doubted whether he had received

employed by the Society in Cross Street, Hatton Garden, to clean the church, and open the pew-doors, when the Temple was first opened for public worship in 1797."

* This statement is not quite correct, see Document 272, E, no. 2.

them or not. The Baron at that time had converse with the Queen, and her brother died in Prussia. She was very desirous to know if he had received the letters. She consulted the Baron who said he would inform her in a few days. He did so, and told her, he had received them, and was going to answer them, and that in an escritoire of the Prince was a letter unfinished intended for her; but he was taken ill, and died. She sent to the King of Prussia, and it was as the Baron had foretold—the King sent her the unfinished letter.

14. It seems the Baron was always subject to an impediment in his speech. He wrote none of his theological works for gain. So much from Mr. Springer.

## *DOCUMENT* 265.

## TESTIMONY COLLECTED BY ROBERT HINDMARSH.[225]

*FROM HIS WORK ENTITLED, "A VINDICATION OF THE CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF THE HONOURABLE EMANUEL SWEDENBORG," PUBLISHED IN MANCHESTER,* 1821.

1.* I well knew Mr. Richard Shearsmith,[226] who lived in Coldbath Fields, Clerkenwell, and at whose house Swedenborg lodged and died; and I have often had occasion to speak to him of the character, habits, and manners of the Baron: and he uniformly gave the most unequivocal and honourable testimony concerning him, both with respect to the goodness of his heart, and the soundness of his understanding. He declared himself ready to attest (upon oath, if required) that "from the first day of his coming to reside at his house, to the last day of his life, he always conducted himself in the most rational, prudent, pious, and Christianlike manner: and he was firmly of opinion, that every report injurious to his character had been raised merely from malice, or disaffection

* See p. 21.

to his writings, by persons of a bigoted and contracted spirit." Mr. Shearsmith has been dead now for some years. I saw him not long before his death; and he continued to bear the same testimony which he had so often repeated in my hearing during the thirty years that I had known him.

## B.

*FROM HIS POSTHUMOUS WORK ENTITLED, "RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH," PUBLISHED IN LONDON,* 1861.*

2.† I have frequently heard Mr. Shearsmith[226] say, that every thing went on prosperously with him, while Swedenborg lodged at his house. When I resided at 32 Clerkenwell Close, from 1783 to 1793, I employed him in the way of his profession, and consequently had many opportunities of gaining information from him concerning Swedenborg and his habits of life. As Mr. Shearsmith advanced in years, his business declined; and I have heard him, with much feeling, regret the loss of one, whom he always considered as his best friend. "If I have not a friend in this world," said he, "I know I have one in the other" (meaning Swedenborg).

3. On the arrival in London of the vessel [in which Swedenborg sailed from Holland in 1771], he took a hackney coach, and directed the coachman, as well as he could, to Mr. Shearsmith's in Great Bath Street, Clerkenwell, where he had before lodged. Mr. Shearsmith was going out on business, when he heard behind him a voice calling out of the coach-window, in broken English, *"Dat be he! Dat be he!"* The coach stopped, and Mr. Shearsmith, coming to the door, immediately recognised his former noble lodger, Emanuel Swedenborg, whom he assisted to alight from the coach, and conducted into his house. On Swedenborg's telling him that he was come to lodge with him again, Mr. Shearsmith informed him, that his apartments were at that time occupied by a family: "but," says he, "I will go upstairs to them, and ask them if they will

* This work was published under the editorship of the Rev. Edward Madeley, who added valuable notes to it.

† See p. 21.

quit the lodgings to make room for you." On his return, he told him, that they were willing to accommodate him; and what is very singular, they immediately removed without further notice, and gave up their apartments to Swedenborg that very day, though a perfect stranger to them. This information I had from Shearsmith's own mouth.

4. On one occasion Swedenborg desired the people of the house where he resided to shake his carpet, which usually had a surcharge of snuff upon it, and in the operation of cleansing excited considerable sneezing. It happened to be Sunday, of which he did not seem to be aware. Mr. Shearsmith observed to him, that it was the Sabbath, and he would prefer having it done the next day. *"Dat be good! Dat be good!"* immediately replied Swedenborg, and most readily assented to the proposed delay.

5. A certain professor of religion, hearing that Swedenborg did not pay that formal attention to particular days, which others are in the habit of doing, observed to Mr. Shearsmith, that on that account he could not be considered a good Christian. To which Mr. Shearsmith replied, that "to a good man, like Swedenborg, every day of his life is a Sabbath."

6. Mr. and Mrs. Shearsmith both informed me, that when the day of his departure [into the other life] arrived (which he had foretold a month before it took place), he asked them what time of day it was: and when he was told that it was nearly five in the afternoon, he replied, *"Dat be good!* Me tank you, God bless you." He then bade them farewell, saying his time was come; and in a few minutes after he calmly resigned his breath.

7. Mr. Shearsmith informed me, that after the decease of Swedenborg, Mr. Lindegren[117]* came to his house and claimed the property left by Swedenborg, for the purpose, as he said, of transmitting the amount to his surviving relations in Sweden. There was in Swedenborg's pocket-book a bill for £400 sterling, drawn upon the house of Mr. Hope, a banker in Amsterdam. This bill was delivered into the hands of Mr. Lindegren by Mr. Shearsmith, who yet doubted in his own mind whether Mr. Lindegren had a right to demand it. But as he had no

* See footnote to Document 264, no. 1.

means of ascertaining who was the proper heir to the property, and Mr. Lindegren at that time had the reputation of being a respectable and substantial merchant, well acquainted with Swedenborg's family in Sweden, and in the habit of corresponding with some of them, he thought himself justified in giving up the property to him, that it might eventually reach the legal owner or owners.

8. The following anecdote was communicated to me by Mr. Shearsmith. Among the many gentlemen and others, who, from time to time, came to his house, to make inquiries concerning Swedenborg, after his decease, one gentleman from St. Croix called to see the apartments, which so great and extraordinary a man had occupied; and being led up to the one pair, he was shown the front and back rooms, in which the Author was wont to write and sleep. The stranger quickly passed his eye over the two rooms, and then cast them to heaven, as if in the greatest astonishment, that so humble a dwelling should have been chosen for the abode of such an exalted genius as he considered Swedenborg to be. After putting some questions to Mr. Shearsmith, and receiving his answers, he then said, "Place me, as near as you possibly can, on the same spot in the room, as that on which he formerly stood: that is all I request." Mr. Shearsmith accordingly took him to the door-way between the two rooms, where he had often observed Swedenborg to stand, while he was conversing with his invisible friends. "Here," says Mr. Shearsmith, "place your feet on these boards, and you will be on the very spot you desire." The gentleman, then, standing as he was directed, said, "Am I now exactly in the position, and on the very spot of ground, on which you have observed Swedenborg to stand?" "You are, Sir," replied Mr. Shearsmith. "Then here is half-a-guinea for you," said the gentleman, "I am abundantly satisfied with the honour of having for once trod in the footsteps of so great a man."

9. In the printed Anecdotes of Swedenborg [Pernety's Account," Document 6], annexed to Sandel's *Eulogium,* p. 17, of the first edition in 1784, it is said, "that he usually spoke very distinctly, but stammered a little when he spoke too fast." It may be regarded as a singular coincidence that

Moses, who was the chief instrument, in the Lord's hands, of raising up the Jewish and Israelitish Church, was of "*no eloquence*, but *slow of speech*, and of *slow tongue*," (Exod. iv, 10;) and that Swedenborg, the chief instrument in founding the New Jerusalem Church, was also a man of *no eloquence*, but on the contrary *defective in the powers of elocution*, and apt *to stammer in his speech*. But as the external imperfection of Moses was amply made up by the superior oratorical talents of his brother Aaron, of whom it is written, "I know that he can *speak well*," (verse 14;) so it appears, that the defect of Swedenborg as a *public speaker*, which was a character he probably never attempted to assume, was more than compensated by the uncommon facility, order, and correctness, with which he *penned* his voluminous writings. In the former instance, two distinct persons, Moses and Aaron, were necessary to the conveyance of heavenly instruction to the Israelites; the one as an organ for the *immediate* reception of the Divine law from Jehovah, and the other as a *medium* for its further external and audible propagation among that people: whereas in the latter instance a single person only, Emanuel Swedenborg, was, by his extraordinary mental endowments and due preparation of the Lord, perfectly qualified to receive himself *immediately*, and by his superior capacity as a writer to communicate *mediately*, through the Latin language and the press, the interior things of the same Divine law to all the nations of the earth.

10. I may here add, that a picture of Swedenborg, painted by my late brother John Hindmarsh, about the year 1785, from Swedish and English engraved prints, corrected by Mr. Shearsmith's description of his person and dress, so as to form, in his estimation, a most perfect likeness, is also in my possession. Of the striking resemblance which this picture bears to the original, the reader may judge from the following anecdote, related in the "Intellectual Repository," Vol. III, for 1816 and 1817, p. 515. "The reader may feel an interest in being informed that he (the late* Mr. Henry Servanté,[227]

* "Mr. Servanté died August 23, 1817, in his seventy-sixth year."—E. Madeley.

of London,) was one of the last remaining individuals who remembered the person of Swedenborg, though at the time he saw him he did not know him. He was once passing along St. John's Street, London, in the neighbourhood of which Swedenborg lodged, when he met an old gentleman of a dignified and most venerable appearance, whose deeply thoughtful yet mildly expressive countenance, added to something very unusual in his general air, attracted his attention very forcibly. He turned round, therefore, to take another view of the stranger, who also turned round, and looked again at him. Some years afterwards, when Mr. Servanté had received the writings, he called on Mr. Hindmarsh for some of them; when seeing in that gentleman's parlour a portrait of the Author, he instantly recognised in it the venerable stranger whose appearance had so much interested him. The portrait, which he saw, was copied from the print engraved by Martin, representing Swedenborg in advanced age, the fidelity of which is thus singularly proved."

11. The strong resemblance which this picture bears to the original, was further confirmed by Dr. Messiter,[2] an intimate acquaintance of Swedenborg. Being informed that the Doctor was paying a visit, on a certain day, to his friend Dr Spence,[221] of Marylebone, I sent the picture to him, with a view to obtain his opinion of its accuracy and fidelity; when he immediately pronounced it a very striking likeness.*

12. The gold-headed cane, as it is called, of Swedenborg, is now in my possession, having been purchased of Mr. Shearsmith by the Rev. S. Dean,† late of Manchester, when in London, who left it to his widow; and she, before her death,

* "This painting," says Mr. Madeley, "is now in the possession of Mr. J. S. Hodson, who purchased it of the author's grandson." It has since been acquired by the Swedenborg Society, and hangs in their Committee Room, 36 Bloomsbury Street. London. Respecting the history of the various portraits of Swedenborg in existence, see Note 231.

† "The Rev. S. Dean was at one time Head-Master of the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth and minister of St. Paul's church, Blackburn; and afterwards for a short term minister of the New Jerusalem Temple, Hatton Garden, and author of a series of letters 'On the Nature, Evidence, and Tendency of the Theological Writings of Swedenborg."—E. Madeley.

gave it to Mrs. Marsden,* who presented it to me a few years ago. It has the cipher E. S. engraved upon it in a foreign style: but on examination it does not appear to be gold, but copper, which was probably gilt so as to have the appearance of gold. The stick itself is a painted *thorn*, and not a *cane*.†

13. It cannot be said that the members of the New Church are particularly fond of being possessed of relics, like the members of the Old Romish-Christian Church, whether they be old bones, old sticks, or old boards. But I must acknowledge, that a little spice of that taste adheres to myself, as well as to some others of my friends of the New Church. And first of all, it shews itself in my attachment to the walking stick before mentioned [in no. 12], which I prize, not for its real value, but merely because it was once a kind of support to the hand of that great Man, whose works I can never think of without the most intense admiration, and gratitude for the benefits they confer.

14. In the next place, I must suppose, that my friend, Mr. John Barge, of Manchester, has a similar feeling of admiration for the works of the same great Man, because he purchased, at more than treble its value, an old table, formerly

* "The widow of Mr. G. B. Marsden, a member of Mr. Hindmarsh's Society, Bolton Street, Salford."—E. Madeley.

† This cane is now in the possession of Mr. H. Bateman, F. R. C. S. 14 Canonbury Lane, Islington.

"Besides the walking stick here mentioned," says Mr. Madeley, "of the genuineness of which there cannot be any doubt, the Rev. S. Noble had a cane presented to him, by the late Mr. Holder, of Highbury, also said to be that of Swedenborg's,—which he left, with his other property, to the Cross Street [now Camden Road] Society, and is now in its library. Upon investigation and inquiry, as well as from a recollection of Mr. Noble's opinion respecting it, this also may have belonged to Swedenborg. It has the initials J. L. engraved on the head. The conjecture is, that it was presented to Swedenborg by John Lewis, the Bookseller, who appears to have had a great veneration for him, and who may have taken this as one way of manifesting it. It is not altogether unusual for the donor's name to be engraved on such presents. This cane is a genuine *Malacca*, and has a metal head, called *gold*, but is most likely a metal then known as *pinchbeck*, which was much in use at one time as a substitute for gold. Malacca canes, at the period in question, were comparatively rare, and this would have been of the value of twenty shillings, without the mountings, so that it would not have been a very unsuitable present."

the property of Mr. Shearsmith, and the very same on which Swedenborg wrote several of his latest productions. This table Mr. Barge keeps in his parlour, and justly regards it rather as a *memento*, than a *relic*, calling his attention, whenever he sees it, to those great truths, which were first spread upon it in the shape of written papers, before they were sent to the press, and thence propagated in all directions throughout the world at large.* How different a feeling of sentiment this from the idle superstitions, and idolatrous reverence paid to old bones, rags, chips, nails, and crosses, by the ignorant and deluded sons and daughters of the Roman Catholic Church!

## *DOCUMENT* 266.

## TESTIMONY COLLECTED BY J. J. GARTH WILKINSON, M. D.[230]†

*MR. SHEARSMITH, TESTE MRS. SHAW.*

1. Swedenborg left Fetter Lane, because the persons he lodged with used to meddle with his papers. Shearsmith was a peruke-maker.

2. Mrs. Cartwright, a lady of property, knew Swedenborg, and he complained to her. She recommended the Shearsmith lodging. Shearsmith used to dress her hair. The other people

* "Into this table," says Mr. Madeley, "now supposed to be in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Tyrrell, Mr. Barge had a brass plate inserted recording to whom it belonged." This table, at the present time, is owned by Thomas Watson, Esq. 19 Highbury Crescent, London.

† In a letter addressed to Dr. Im. Tafel on March 26, 1842, Dr. Wilkinson observes, "I have in my own possession a document of this kind, which I obtained through the kind offices of a relative, Mrs. Shaw, and which contains some particulars which she heard from Mr. Shearsmith himself, and which I have not seen anywhere else. I shall communicate them to you some time. Still this document is not of the same authority as that of Mr. Peckitt [Document 264], since Mrs. Shaw did not pen it at the time when she had her conversation with Shearsmith, but dictated it to me only last year." Dr. Im. Tafel publishes this testimony in the German edition of his "Swedenborg Documents," Vol. IV, pp. 306 to 308.

were so angry at his leaving them, that they spread a report that he was mad.

3. Swedenborg said that his doctrine would not be preached for twenty years after his death: and Mr. Shearsmith went to hear the first sermon by Mr. [James] Hindmarsh at that time.

4. Swedenborg desired Mr. Shearsmith never to disturb him, when in his spiritual state. Sometimes he was two or three days in it. Shearsmith remarked a very peculiar look about his face at such times, and sometimes feared Swedenborg was dead. He, however, told him never to be troubled: all would be well.

5. Swedenborg took a great deal of snuff.

These things were told to me by Mrs. Shaw, who had them from Mr. Shearsmith personally. Mrs. Shearsmith was then dead.

Written down by J. J. G. Wilkinson.

This is all true.

E. O. Shaw, 13 Store Street, Bedford Square.

July 17, 1841.

[The following memoranda were written on the reverse page:]

6. Swedenborg's hair was not dark, but approaching to a pale auburn. His eyes were gray, approaching to brown. He wore a wig, as was the custom of his time.

7. Flaxman[232] examined the skull of Swedenborg at Mr. Charles A. Tulk's[233] in the presence of Mr. Clowes[218] and Mr. Clover,* and he said: "How beautiful the form—how undulating the line here; here's no deficiency, Mr. Clowes." Smiling he said, "Why I should almost take it for a female head, were it not for the peculiar character of the forehead." On the question of whether a cast should be taken, Mr. Flaxman

* Probably Mr. Joseph Clover of whom Mr. Madeley gives us in Hindmarsh's "Rise and Progress," &c. (p. 317) the following account: "Mr. Clover was Barrack-Master at Norwich, and was extensively known and respected: he departed this life on June 10, 1824, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. He may be said to have been the founder of the Norwich Society, and he was also one of the trustees of Mrs. Mary Berry, and, with his colleagues, gave to the Conference the first donation on its list, amounting to £300, and which is now called the Berry Gift."

observed, that "the skull was worthy of it for its mere beauty."*

8. Swedenborg was a very temperate man. He had wine only on two occasions; once during sickness, to make whey; and once, when he took the sacrament from Mr. Hartley.

9. Swedenborg used to receive numerous letters of thanks from the different universities and persons to whom he had presented his works, but he merely opened them, and threw them away.

10. When his landlord wanted money, he used to send him to his drawer.

11. On one Sunday he desired Shearsmith to shake his carpet, but on being reminded of the day, he remarked, "Oh that be good."†

12. Mrs. Cartwright told the Shearsmiths, that they would be pleased to have such a lodger with them. Mr. Shearsmith spoke of Swedenborg with great affection.

Written down by J. J. G. Wilkinson.

These things are true.

E. O. Shaw, 13 Store Street, Bedford Square.

July 17, 1841.

## *DOCUMENT* 267.

## TESTIMONY OF THE REV. ARVID FERELIUS.[119]

### A.

*FERELIUS TO PROFESSOR TRÄTGÅRD IN GREIFSWALDE.*‡

Honourable and widely celebrated Professor,

As you probably are not aware that I have been ill the whole time, without mentioning the heavy work in my parish and the deanery to which I have been promoted,

* Concerning the fate of Swedenborg's skull. see Note 234.

† Compare Document 264. no. 4.

‡ A Swedish copy of this letter was sent by Dr. A. Kahl of Lund to Dr. Im. Tafel, and printed by the latter in his German edition of the

especially in the beginning of the year, I should not be at all surprised if you include me in the number of those who are ungrateful. Yet I assure you that the favour that was shown to me during my stay in Greifswalde,* as well as during my residence in London, shall never be forgotten by me; and I herewith render to you my best thanks for it. I thank you likewise for your favour dated the 7th of last December, and according to your request will communicate to you as much as I can remember about our late celebrated countryman.

1. Assessor Emanuel Swedenborg died in the month of March, 1772, and was buried by me on April 5 in the burying vault of the Swedish Ulrica Eleonora church; which was the last clerical duty I performed in that country. Towards the close of the year he was touched by paralysis on one side, which rendered his speech indistinct, especially when the atmosphere was oppressive.

2. I visited him several times, and asked him each time, whether he had an idea that he was to die this time. Upon which he answered, "Yes."

3. Upon this I observed to him, that, as quite a number of people thought that his sole purpose in promulgating his new theological system had been to make himself a name, or to acquire celebrity, which object, indeed, he had thereby attained, if such had been the case, he ought now to do the world the justice to retract it either in whole or part, especially as he could not expect to derive any additional advantage from this world, which he would soon leave. He thereupon half rose in his bed, and laying his sound hand upon his breast said with some manifestation of zeal: "As true as you see me before your eyes, so true is everything that I have

"Swedenborg Documents," Vol. III, pages 40—46. An English translation of this letter appeared in the "Intellectual Repository" for December, 1842, and was afterwards introduced into the Appendix to the English edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," published in 1855.

The editor of these Documents succeeded in obtaining in Sweden, in 1870, a certified copy of the original letter which contains some particulars omitted in the copy printed by Dr. Tafel. From this certified copy the present translation is made.

* Ferelius took his degree of A. M. in Greifswalde in 1757.

written; and I could have said more, had it been permitted. When you enter eternity, you will see every thing, and then you and I shall have much to talk about."

4. When I asked him whether he was willing to receive the Lord's supper? he replied, "With thankfulness;" and then he added, that my question was very opportune *(at det var väl påmint);* and although, being a member of the other world, he did not need this sacrament, he would still take it, in order to show the close relation which exists between the church above and the church here below; and he then asked me whether I had read his views about the sacrament of the altar (the communion)? I then asked, whether he acknowledged himself to be a sinner? He replied, "Certainly, as long as I carry about this sinful body." With much devotion, folding his hands and uncovering his head, he read the confession of sins, and received the holy sacrament. Afterwards, from gratitude, he presented me with a copy of his larger work, the *Arcana Cœlestia;* of which only nine copies remained unsold, which were to be sent to Holland.

5. When I visited him another time, while I was in the hall and going up stairs, I heard him speaking with the greatest energy, as though he were addressing a large company; but as I came into the ante-chamber, where his female attendant was sitting, and asked her who was with Assessor Swedenborg, she replied, "No one;" adding that he had been speaking in this manner for three days and nights. Upon entering his sleeping room, he bade me welcome with great calmness, and asked me to take a seat; he then told me that for ten days and nights he had been tormented by evil spirits whom the Lord had sent up to him; and that never before had he been infested by such wicked spirits; but that now he was again in the company of good spirits.

6. While he was still in health, I came to him once with the Danish pastor; when he was sitting and writing at a round table in the middle of the room, with the Hebrew Bible before him, which constituted his whole library. After greeting us, he pointed to a place opposite and said, "Just now the apostle Peter was here and stood there; and not very long ago all the apostles were with me; indeed, they

often visit me." In this manner he always expressed himself without reserve; but he never sought to make proselytes.

7. That upon which he was engaged at the time, he said, was to be a demonstration from the writings of the apostles, that the Lord was the only and true God, and that there is no other besides Him.

8. Upon being asked several times why no one besides himself enjoyed such revelations and intercourse with spirits, he answered, that every person might enjoy it now as in the [times of the] Old Testament, but the real hindrance is that men at the present time are so carnally minded.

9. Among other news which on one occasion I received from Sweden by the post, was the announcement of the death of Swedenborg's sister, the widow Lundstedt [see Note 5, D]. I communicated this at once to a Swedish traveller whose name was Meyer, who was at my house at the time. He immediately went to the Assessor, and on his return said, that there was no truth in Swedenborg's allegation that he had intercourse with the dead, since he knew nothing of the death of his sister. I told this to the old gentleman when he said, "The man ought to know that I have no knowledge of such cases, except so far as I desire to know about them."

10. The celebrated Springer,[121] who is still living in London, informed Swedenborg that a distinguished Swedish gentleman, whose name I believe was Höpken,* had died. Some days afterwards, when they met again, the Assessor said to him, "It is true that the gentleman in question is dead; I have conversed with him, and have learned that you and he were comrades in Upsal, and that afterwards you had partly similar, and partly dissimilar views on matters of the Diet;" he also related several anecdotes about him which Springer found to be true, and with which he believed he could have become acquainted only from above; on this account he became a Swedenborgian.

11. When Assessor Swedenborg, on one occasion, was about to depart from London to Sweden, and had agreed with a

* This gentleman was probably a younger brother of Count A. J. von Höpken, named Ulric Frederic, who was a royal chamberlain, and died in 1768.

captain about his passage, he removed into the neighbourhood of the river and stayed with a Swedish innkeeper, of the name of Bergström,[224] who is still living, and resides at present at the King's Arms in Well Close Square, and who was commissioned to lay in provisions for him. As Swedenborg among other things took daily a certain portion of coffee, Bergström asked him for how many days he should lay in ground coffee, he answered, "For six days." Bergström said that this was too little, as it was impossible that he, the Assessor, could be in Stockholm in so short a time, when Swedenborg replied, "Yes, lay in enough for seven days." What happened? In the course of six days the ship was at Dalarö, and on the seventh in Stockholm. The captain who was an Englishman, and whose name I think was Mason [Dixon? see Document 261, no. 12], on his return to London is said to have remarked, that never in all his life had he experienced such a favourable wind as on that occasion, and that it followed him at every turn he made.

12. Although Swedenborg was several times in the Swedish church, and afterwards dined with me, or some other Swede, he said that he had no peace in the church on account of the spirits, who contradicted what the minister said, especially when he treated of three persons in the Godhead, which is the same as three gods.

13. On my return from England in 1772 I was requested by the House of the Clergy at the Diet, through their speaker Bishop Forssenius,[235] to give an account of Swedenborg, similar to the one I am now giving, which I did on three sheets; but I regret not having taken a copy of it, as I am doing this time.

14. Some one might think that Assessor Swedenborg was eccentric and whimsical; but the very reverse was the case. He was very easy and pleasant in company, talked on every subject that came up, accommodating himself to the ideas of the company; and he never spoke on his own views, unless he was asked about them. But if he noticed that any one asked him impertinent questions, intended to make sport of him, he immediately gave such an answer, that the questioner was obliged to keep silence, without being the wiser for it.

[15. It was among his peculiarities that he never washed his face and hands, nor brushed his clothes, saying that no dust or impurity clung to him.*]

16. He could not bear linen sheets, but lay between English blankets.

But I have to close here after retailing some anecdotes, which were not known before. I beg, however, expressly that you will not mention my name in connection therewith, during my life-time.

Commending myself to your customary favour, I am, with great esteem,

Your obedient servant,
ARVID FERELIUS.

Sköfde, March 17, 1780.

P. S. A violent anti-Swedenborgian, Bishop Lamberg,[178] of Gottenburg died recently.

That the above copy of Dean Ferelius' letter to Professor Trägård of Greifswalde, agrees in every particular with the

* This statement seems exceedingly improbable to us, and we agree with Dr. Im. Tafel, that it was one of those falsehoods which were circulated about Swedenborg, and which Ferelius reported on mere hearsay. Dr. Im. Tafel says, "In respect to the wonderful quality attributed here to Swedenborg's face, hands, and clothes, Ferelius does not say that he was informed concerning it by Swedenborg himself, nor does he say that Swedenborg's words on this subject were addressed to himself. Besides, there is no internal probability at all that Swedenborg of himself should have talked on this subject with Ferelius or any one else. And how else should it have been known?" Besides, we add, Shearsmith is silent about this, and Robsahm, and in fact every one who gives his testimony respecting Swedenborg's exterior. And should the reverse have been true, i. e. should Swedenborg have had an unwashed appearance, and should his clothes have appeared dusty, not only Ferelius, but others also would have commented on this circumstance. Moreover, Robsahm informs us (Document 5, no. 3) that Swedenborg required of his gardener's wife that she should daily place "*a large jug of water* in his ante-room," and C. F. Nordensköld learnt from her besides (see Vol. I, p. 53), that "Swedenborg gave orders that they were not to awake him, nor to touch him when he lay in bed, but to place *a basin of water* before his bed." Surely this "large jug of water" in Swedenborg's ante-room, and the "basin of water" which was placed before his bed, could only have been for the purpose of washing. We

original which the said professor sent in 1796 to a correspondent, B[ilberg] in Stockholm [see Note 119], I certify herewith.

H. BRUNSTEDT.

## B.

*A VISIT OF CARL JOHAN KNÖS[236] TO FERELIUS.**

On the twelfth of August, 1784, I went with my brother Olof† to Sköfde, where we stayed over night with the vicar of the place, Dean Ferelius, a very genial and honourable man, who had travelled much, and had been pastor of the Swedish church in London. He was well acquainted with the famous and admired Assessor Emanuel Swedenborg. About this countryman of ours he related to us all sorts of anecdotes, especially about his last hours, when Dean Ferelius was present with him, and administered to him the Lord's Supper, which was received by the Assessor with much devotion.

*Dean Ferelius' account of Swedenborg's last hour, gathered and written down by myself from his own oral communications, on August* 12, 1784:

1. As soon as the Dean had heard of Swedenborg's illness, he paid him a visit, and desired to speak with him. After he had entered the house, he heard a kind of noise from the interior of the room; wherefore he asked whether

therefore quite agree with Dr. Im. Tafel, that there in no ground at all for considering this statement as historically true. He continues, "It is not improbable that Ferelius states here a mere rumour, and that this is one of those falsehoods which were divulged about Swedenborg by Ferelius' colleague, Mathesius, who was at the time in London and who became his successor;" whose propensity for doing such things will be proved in Division D of the present Section. "Or else," says Dr. Im. Tafel, "this rumour may have been originated by some other thoughtless individual, who was given to say uncommon things about uncommon men."

* This visit, during which Ferelius gave to Knös an account of Swedenborg's last hours, is described in Knös's Diary, which was kindly communicated to the Editor of these Documents, during his stay in Sweden in 1870, by some of Knös's descendants.

† Olof Andersson Knös, the elder brother of Carl Johan Knös, was born in 1756; he became lector of the Greek language at the gymnasium of Skara in 1796; and died in 1804.

there were any strangers with the Assessor, upon which his lady attendant said, "No, this noise has continued during the last few days." The Dean entered. The Assessor received him with a glad and cheerful countenance, saying, "Be welcome, reverend Sir! God has now delivered me from the evil spirits, with whom I have had to struggle for several days. Now the good spirits have come back again." Dean Ferelius said, "Mr. Assessor, I heard that you were sick, and as pastor of the Swedish church in this place, I considered it my duty to visit you." Whereupon he proposed to the Assessor to receive the Holy Communion. The Assessor thanked him for the offer three or four times and said, "I acknowledge that I have not received it for several years; but I did not need it; for I have been a member of the heavenly church. But now I am willing to receive it, in order to show what a close union there is between the visible and the invisible church." Dean Ferelius then asked him, "Mr. Assessor, is it to acquire a name, or for some other reason that you have written your various writings? If so, retract them. You are celebrated enough, and if you have spoken lies, and remain in them, you cannot be saved." The Assessor answered, "Mr. Pastor, as true as you see me here, and as true as I live, I have not written any thing from myself, but the truth from God; and if you will pay attention to the truth, we shall some time in eternity have important things to talk over together." The Dean answered, "Do you, Mr. Assessor, acknowledge yourself to be a sinner, then raise your hands, and read the confession of sins." "I am," said the Assessor, "most undoubtedly, a sinner; for what other reason should I have to carry about with me this sinful body?" Whereupon he read the confession of sins, and received the Holy Communion.

2. The last official act which the Dean performed in England, was the Assessor's burial. As a burial fee he received the copy of the Hebrew Bible, in two volumes, quarto, which constituted the Assessor's travelling library, and which he had most frequently made use of, and underscored everywhere.

3. The Assessor was a most cheerful and genial man. Far from desiring to force his discoveries on any one, he never

spoke of them, except when he was asked, in which case he gave precise answers. When he was contradicted, he kept silence.

4. Ferelius asked him about the well-known story concerning the unexpected answer, which he gave to Queen Louisa Ulrica;[11] whereupon he answered, "She asked me about a circumstance, which no one in the whole world knew except herself and her brother, who was already dead; and when I conveyed to her an answer, she was so much overcome, that she almost fainted. This is the truth about it."

5. When Ferelius at one time visited Swedenborg, he said, "Just now the apostle Peter has been with me; there he stood."

6. Ferelius saw Swedenborg's manuscripts; they were all written out in a clear hand, without his having first made a rough draught. Nowhere could a single word be found crossed out; but all that was once written, remained written, just as if it had been dictated."

## *DOCUMENT* 268.

## JOHN WESLEY'S[238] TESTIMONY CONCERNING SWEDENBORG IN 1772, AND 1773.*

"Among Mr. Wesley's preachers, in the year 1772, was the late Mr. Samuel Smith, a man of great piety and integrity, who afterwards became one of the first ministers in our church. Having heard a curious anecdote, said to rest on his authority, I wrote (says Mr. Noble,) to Mr. J. I. Hawkins,[239] the well-known engineer, who had been intimately acquainted with Mr. Smith, to request an exact account of it. The following (a little abbreviated) is his answer; it is dated February 6th, 1826:—

* The whole of this Document is taken from the Rev. S. Noble's[237] "Appeal in behalf of the Doctrines of the New Church," (Sterotype edition, pp. 243 to 249;) whence it was introduced into the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents."

"Dear Sir,

"In answer to your inquiries, I am able to state, that I have a clear recollection of having repeatedly heard the Rev. Samuel Smith say, about the year 1787 or 1788, that in the latter end of February, 1772, he, with some other preachers, was in attendance upon the Rev. John Wesley, taking instructions and assisting him in the preparations for his great circuit, which Mr. Wesley was about to commence; that while thus in attendance, a letter came to Mr. Wesley, which he perused with evident astonishment; that, after a pause, he read the letter to the company; and that it was couched in nearly the following words:—

'Great Bath-street, Coldbath Fields, Feb.—, 1772.

'Sir,—I have been informed in the world of spirits that you have a strong desire to converse with me; I shall be happy to see you if you will favour me with a visit.

'I am, Sir,

'Your humble Servant,

'EMAN. SWEDENBORG.

"Mr. Wesley frankly acknowledged to the company, that he had been very strongly impressed with a desire to see and converse with Swedenborg, and that he had never mentioned that desire to any one.

"Mr. Wesley wrote for answer, that he was then closely occupied in preparing for a six months' journey, but would do himself the pleasure of waiting upon Mr. Swedenborg soon after his return to London.

"Mr. Smith further informed me, that he afterwards learned that Swedenborg wrote in reply, that the visit proposed by Mr. Wesley would be too late, as he, Swedenborg, should go into the world of spiritis on the 29th day of the next month, never more to return.

"Mr. Wesley went the circuit, and on his return to London, [if not, as is most probable, before,] was informed of the fact, that Swedenborg had departed this life on the 29th of March preceding.

"This extraordinary correspondence induced Mr. Smith to examine the writings of Swedenborg; and the result was, a

firm conviction of the rationality and truth of the heavenly doctrines promulgated in those invaluable writings, which doctrines he zealously laboured to disseminate during the remainder of his natural life.

"That Mr. Smith was a man of undoubted veracity, can be testified by several persons now living, besides myself; the fact, therefore, that such a correspondence did take place between the Honourable Emanuel Swedenborg and the Rev. John Wesley, is established upon the best authority.

"On referring to Mr. Wesley's printed journal, it may be seen, that he left London on the 1st of March in the year 1772; reached Bristol on the 3rd, Worcester on the 14th, and Chester on the 29th, which was the day of Swedenborg's final departure from this world. Mr. Wesley, in continuing his circuit, visited Liverpool, and various towns in the north of England, and in Scotland, returning through Northumberland and Durham to Yorkshire, and thence through Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire, to Wales; thence to Bristol, Salisbury, Winchester, and Portsmouth, to London, where he arrived on the 10th of October in the same year, having been absent rather more than six months.

"I feel it my duty to accede to your request, and allow my name to appear as your immediate voucher.

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Yours very sincerly,

"JOHN ISAAC HAWKINS." [239]

"To this I can add, that the Rev. M. Sibly[240] has assured me, that he has heard Mr. Smith relate the above anecdote; and that he could mention, if necessary, several other persons still living who must have heard it too. He fully, also, supports Mr. Hawkins' statement in regard to Mr. Smith's veracity. Thus it is impossible to doubt that Mr Smith affirmed it; and it is difficult to suppose that he could either wilfully or unintentionally misrepresent an incident which must have impressed him so strongly, and of which his consequent adoption of Swedenborg's sentiments formed a collateral evidence.*

* Mr. Hawkins' letter to Mr. Noble was inserted by Robert Hindmarsh in his "History of the Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church"

"It may here be proper to observe, that the translation of Swedenborg's little work on the *'Intercourse between the Soul and the Body'* had been published not long previously (in 1770), with a preface by the translator, addressed to the Universities, urging the author's claims to attention. This Mr. Wesley had probably seen, and had thence conceived the desire he acknowledges to see the author. The discovery that this desire, though it had remained a secret in his own breast, was known to Swedenborg, must have affected him very strongly: it must have convinced him that Swedenborg's assertion, that he possessed the privilege of conversing with angels and spirits, was true: and it is natural to suppose that he would conclude from it that the cause assigned by Swedenborg of his having

(pp. 62, 63); but he adds there the following additional account which he received from another gentleman present, when Mr. Smith made his statement about Wesley and Swedenborg: "Another gentleman, Mr. Benedict Harford, now of Liverpool, who was also present when Mr. Smith stated the above particulars to the Society [which worshipped in the Eastcheap chapel], gives a similar account from his recollection, which was minuted by him in writing, and delivered to me, on the 5th of August, 1822. It is as follows:

'An anecdote of the late Rev. John Wesley and the late Hon. Emanuel Swedenborg, as related by Mr. Samuel Smith, a Methodist Preacher, who had it from Mr. Wesley's own mouth.—Swedenborg, a little previously to his decease, sent a note to Mr. Wesley to the following effect: "I perceive in the spiritual world; that you have a desire to see me. If you would see me, you must call before such a day; for after that I must go to the angels, with whom I have been associated these twenty seven years." "It is certain," said Mr. Wesley, "that I had a strong desire to see the Baron; but how he came to know it, I have not an idea, as I never told any creature that I had such a desire"

(Signed) 'BENEDICT HARFORD.'"

Mr. Hindmarsh adds to this account, "I was myself also present, with several others now living, but not mentioned, when Mr. Smith related these particulars; and though I do not charge my memory with the exact words of Mr. Smith, yet I well remember, that the account given above is substantially correct, having frequently heard him repeat it."

The following is a short account given by Mr. Hindmarsh respecting Mr. Smith: "Soon after the opening of the chapel, Mr. Samuel Smith, an itinerant preacher among the Methodists, joined the Society, and gave proof of his ability to serve the cause by his valuable assistance in the work of the Ministry." Mr. Samuel Smith was ordained into the New Church Ministry on June 1, 1788.

received this privilege, namely, that he might be qualified for a holy office to which he had been called, was true also. There is, further, the strongest evidence that Mr. Wesley's conviction went as far as this. I had heard an anecdote demonstrating it related in conversation by the reverend and venerable Mr. Clowes,[218] Rector of St. John's, Manchester, whose high character for every quality that can adorn a minister of the gospel and of course for veracity among the rest, is acknowledged by all who knew him (and few were known through a wider circle)—by those who differed from him as well as by those who agreed with him in theological sentiment; I therefore wrote to him, to request a written statement of the particulars, with leave to publish it with his name; with which request he kindly complied. The part of his letter (dated January 19, 1826), which relates immediately to this subject, is as follows:—

"'My very dear Sir,—In full and free compliance with your wishes, as expressed in your kind favour of the 16th, I send you the following memoir of the late Mr. Wesley, as communicated to me by my late pious and learned friend, Richard Houghton, Esq., of Liverpool, who was also intimately acquainted with Mr. Wesley, insomuch that the latter gentleman never visited Liverpool without passing some time with Mr. Houghton. As near as I can recollect, it was in the spring of the year 1773 that I received the communication, one morning, when I called on Mr. Houghton at his house, and at a time, too, when the writings of the Hon. E. Swedenborg began to excite public attention. These writings were at that time unknown to myself, but not so to my friend Mr. Houghton, who was in the habit of correspondence with the Rev. T. Hartley[1] on the subject, and was very eager to make me acquainted with them. Accordingly, in the course of our conversation, my friend took occasion to mention the name of Mr. Wesley, and the manner in which he, on a late visit to Liverpool, had expressed his sentiments on those writings. '*We may now,*' said Mr. Wesley, '*burn all our books of Theology. God has sent us a teacher from heaven; and in the doctrines of Swedenborg we may learn all that it is necessary for us to know.*'

"The manner in which Mr. Wesley here expressed himself

was strong indeed; so much so, that were it not certain that his mind must have been at that time under a very powerful influence in Swedenborg's favour, he might be suspected to have spoken ironically. This I observed in my letter to Mr. Clowes; to which he replies, 'I can hardly conceive, from the manner in which it was expressed by Mr. Houghton, that irony had any thing to do with it:' and Mr. Houghton must have known with certainty whether it had or not. His repeating Mr. Wesley's observation to Mr. Clowes, as an inducement to him to peruse the writings of Swedenborg, is a complete proof that Mr. Houghton believed it to mean what it expresses. But an examination of dates will shew, that Mr. Wesley's statement to that gentleman was made while the impression from Swedenborg's supernatural communication was acting in all its force. Mr. Clowes' interview with Mr. Houghton was in the spring of 1773. Mr. Wesley does not appear to have been at Liverpool between that time and the 10th of the preceding October, when he returned from his last great circuit. In that circuit he did visit Liverpool, and was there early in April, 1772. This, then, must be the "late visit" mentioned by Mr. Houghton; *and this was within six weeks after he had received the extraordinary communication from Swedenborg.* This is certain: and it is also highly probable, that, at the time of his visiting Liverpool, the effect of that communication was greatly strengthened, by the verification of the announcement, which, we have seen, Swedenborg had made to him, of the day of his own death. He died, as he had announced, on the 29th of March: there can be little doubt that a notice of it appeared in the papers; it would thence, it is highly probable, be known to Mr. Wesley when he was at Liverpool, about a fortnight afterwards: and the words he then uttered to Mr. Houghton will not appear stronger than he might be expected to use, when two such recent and completely incontrovertible proofs of the truth of Swedenborg's claims were operating on his mind.

"Yet Mr. Wesley, thus miraculously convinced of the truth of Swedenborg's claims, (as far, at least, as relates to his intercourse with the spiritual world,) afterwards exerted himself to check the extension of the same conviction to others! in which, however, he only afforded a proof of Swedenborg's

constant assertion, that miraculous evidence is inefficacious for producing any real or permanent change in a man's confirmed religious sentiments. When Mr. Wesley uttered the strong declaration respecting Swedenborg and his writings, he spoke of the latter, rather from what he expected to find them, than from what he actually knew them to be. The probability is, that he at this time knew little more of them than he had learned from the tract *'On the Intercourse:'* which contains probably nothing that he would except against; especially as it is certain, as will be seen presently, that even the treatise *On Heaven and Hell*, which gives the main results of Swedenborg's spiritual experience, was not condemned by him. But when he came to find that Swedenborg's writings militated against some of the sentiments that he had strongly confirmed in his own mind; these, which were his interior convictions, gradually threw off the exterior conviction arising from merely outward though miraculous evidence: hence he afterwards accepted the false report of Mathesius,[118] [See Document 270, A] and promoted its circulation. Indeed, there can be no doubt that, then, such a statement as that of Mathesius would operate as a relief to him; for though he could not receive the whole of Swedenborg's doctrines, the positive proof he possessed of the author's supernatural knowledge must often have disturbed him in his rejection of them: he must therefore have been glad to meet with anything which could make him, in regard to that rejection, better satisfied with himself. Finally, perhaps, other causes assisted to strengthen his opposition. When first he published the slanderous report (in 1781), he still seems to have had some misgivings; hence he prefaced it with the acknowledgment, that Swedenborg was *'a very great man,'* and that in his writings *'there are many excellent things:'* when he afterwards seemed less inclined to admit so much, although, no doubt, he still spoke sincerely, a little human frailty, perhaps, influenced his judgment. It is well known that Mr. Wesley was always prompt in taking measures to put down any thing like rebellion among his disciples,—any thing that tended to the diminution of his authority over their minds. Now it is a certain fact, that Mr. Smith was not the only one of his pupils who began to think the doctrines of the New Church

superior to those of Methodism: among his other preachers who came to the same conclusion, were Mr. James Hindmarsh, Mr. Isaac Hawkins, and Mr. R. Jackson, deceased, with Mr. J. W. Salmon and Mr. T. Parker, still living;* all of whom became active promoters of these doctrines: it therefore is not to be wondered at, if Mr. Wesley at last took the most decisive steps to check their further extension among his flock.

"The above," concludes Mr. Noble, "appears to me to be a fair and highly probable account of the progress, on this subject, of Mr. Wesley's mind."

* When the first edition of the "*Appeal*" was published.

# D.

## REFUTATION OF FALSE REPORTS.

### *DOCUMENT* 269.

### THE CHARGE OF SWEDENBORG HAVING RETRACTED HIS WRITINGS IN HIS LAST MOMENTS CRITICALLY EXAMINED.

The history of this charge and of its refutation is given in full by Mr. R. Hindmarsh[225] in his "History of the Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church." We thence extract the following (pp. 35 to 39):

"Among the various persons, in different parts of the world, with whom I corresponded, in consequence of its being pretty generally known, that I was the printer of Swedenborg's writings, was an English gentleman at the Hague, William Gomm, Esq.,[241] Secretary to the British Ambassador at that place, and brother-in-law to the late Lord Malmesbury. He was a most zealous and cordial approver of the New Jerusalem doctrines, and took an active part in disseminating them in the higher circles of society. He translated into the French language such of the proceedings of our Society,* as he thought were likely to interest foreigners in favour of the New Church; and wherever he met with opposition to the truth, or heard

* "The Theosophical Society, instituted [in 1784] for the purpose of promoting the Heavenly Doctrines of the New Jerusalem, by translating printing, and publishing the Theological Writings of the Honourable Emanuel Swedenborg."

of reports injurious to the character and writings of Swedenborg, he exerted himself most strenuously in their defence, as will in part appear from the following letter which he addressed to me on a particular occasion:

## A.

*WILLIAM GOMM, ESQ.*[241] *TO ROBERT HINDMARSH.*[225]*

'My dear Sir,

——'I am now to trouble you upon an important and interesting subject to us both, and indeed to all real admirers of Baron Swedenborg.

'A Mr. Vosman (Keeper of the Prince of Orange's Museum, or Chamber of Natural Curiosities,) who was personally acquainted with the Baron, and who received a volume of his writings, in which I have read these words in the Baron's own handwriting, *"Dono miss. ab Auctore,"* asserts in the most positive manner, that a Swedish Nobleman, (I think a Baron or Count Rosenberg,† whom he had desired, upon his leaving him here in his way to London, to give him the most circumstantial and authentic account of what he could collect of Baron Swedenborg's behaviour in his last hours,) had informed him, (and he declares it in the most unreserved manner,) that he had been assured, "that a few hours before his death, Baron Swedenborg had retracted all he had written."

'I need not tell you how truly afflicting such a report is to all true recipients; nor (however improbable it seems to most of us) how very prejudicial it is to Baron Swedenborg's reputation. I therefore know you will think no pains a task, which you can possibly take to enable me to destroy what I take to be so palpable, as well as disingenuous and illiberal, a falsehood.

'Consult every body you can think of, my dear friend, who

* This letter was first printed in the "Magazine of Knowledge," 1791, Vol. II. pp. 296 to 298.

† There is no such name on the roll of the Swedish nobles, as contained in Anrep's "Ättar-Taflor." His name may have been Rosenborg; but the bearers of that name have never been Barons or Counts.

is likely to be assistant in clearing it up. I shall use every endeavour in my power, in consequence of yours, to destroy this prejudice, if it be in our power; and therefore wish the lines you may favour me with, in answer to these, may be written apart from any other matter whatever, as I shall be able to make the better use of them in that shape.

'I need not say, I am sure, how anxious I shall be to receive them. Your zeal in so good a cause makes all further apology, I well know, entirely superfluous.'

'I beg you will continue to believe me,

'Dear Sir, affectionately yours,

'WILLIAM GOMM.

'Hague, October 14, 1785.'

'P. S.—A part of the Swedish Nobleman's information is said to have come *from the people of the house, where Baron Swedenborg lived and died.* This being so near at hand, may possibly be cleared up by yourself, dear Sir, (at least to the satisfaction of candid people,) by what you may be able to collect from these living witnesses, upon proper queries; as, Who visited the Baron in his last hours? What language did they speak with him in? What questions did they ask him? and, What do they recollect to have heard, *at the time*, of his answer? &c., &c.'

Mr. Hindmarsh continues, "As soon as I received this letter from Mr. Gomm, I called on my friend Mr. Thomas Wright, of the Poultry, Watchmaker to the King, and consulted with him on the measures most proper to be taken to meet the occasion; and we came to the resolution, in the first instance, of waiting upon Mr. Shearsmith, at his house in Great Bath Street, Cold Bath Fields, Clerkenwell, to ascertain from his own mouth the truth or falsehood of the report alluded to. Accordingly we immediately proceeded to Mr. Shearsmith's house, and, after stating to him the cause of our visit, requested that he would openly and candidly declare, whether to his knowledge or belief, there was any foundation in truth for the report in question. His answer was prompt and satisfactory: he assured us, in the most positive terms, and in a manner which bespoke the sincerity of his heart, that the report was

altogether destitute of truth, and that it must have originated with, and proceeded from, some malicious person, whose enmity to Swedenborg's writings had suggested such a falsehood. His wife, who was present, and who had constantly attended Swedenborg until the time of his decease, corroborated her husband's testimony; and they both freely offered to make an affidavit before a Magistrate, that the report, which had been raised and circulated to the prejudice of Swedenborg, was altogether false and groundless.

"Satisfied with this information, anxious to give it publicity in an authentic shape, Mr. Wright and I proceeded to the house of Mr. Pritchard, a proctor, in Doctor's Commons, who, on hearing the particulars, prepared an affidavit in legal form, the contents of which were sworn and signed by Mr. Shearsmith and his wife, on the 24th of November, 1785, before the Lord Mayor of London, whose name also was Thomas Wright, though no relation of my friend the watchmaker. A copy of this affidavit, together with a letter enclosing the same, was then forwarded to Mr. Gomm, at the Hague; which were as follows:

## B.

*ROBERT HINDMARSH*[225] *TO WILLIAM GOMM, ESQ.*[241*]

'Dear Sir,

'I am in possession of the most authentic proof of the falsity of the report you mention to have gained credit in Holland, regarding Baron Swedenborg's having disowned, or retracted, his doctrines and communications when he was drawing near his end. The persons in whose house he lived, and where he died, upon being told this circumstance, freely offered, of their own accord, to take their oaths before a magistrate, that the whole of the said report is totally void

* This letter was first printed in the English language in the "Magazine of Knowledge," 1791, Vol. II, pp. 298, 299; from which it was introduced into the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents." It had previously been printed in a French translation in a work published in 1785 by B. Chastanier under the title: "Tableau analytique et raisonné de la Doctrine Céleste," &c., pp. 243, 244.

of foundation, to the best of their knowledge. You will see this accordingly confirmed by the inclosed document, sworn to in the presence of the Lord Mayor of this city, and of which you are at full liberty to make whatever use you may think proper, in order to destroy the influence of so malevolent an insinuation. Allow me to add here, what I have further learnt from Mr. Springer, a Swedish gentleman residing here, and a very intimate friend, as you may have heard, of Swedenborg's:—"When the deceased found his end approaching, and expressed a wish to have the communion administered to him, somebody present at the time proposed sending for Mr. Mathesius, the officiating minister of the Swedish church. This person was known to be a professed enemy of Swedenborg, and had set his face against his writings: it was he that raised and spread the false account of Swedenborg's having been deprived of his senses. The Baron therefore declined taking the sacrament from him, and actually received it from the hands of another ecclesiastic of his own country, named Ferelius, who at that time was a reader of Baron Swedenborg's writings, and is said to have continued to do so ever since, in Stockholm, where he is now living; and I have been assured that, on this occasion, Swedenborg expressly exhorted him to continue steadfast in the truth."

'Mr. Mathesius is said to have become insane himself, a short time after this; and becoming thereby incapable of his function, has existed ever since, in that melancholy state, upon the bounty of the King of Sweden.

'Mr. Springer further says, "That a short time before his death, Baron Swedenborg had his spiritual or internal sight withdrawn from him, after having been favoured with it during so long a course of years: that he was under the greatest tribulation of mind on that account, calling out, 'O my God! hast thou then at last abandoned thy servant?' This seems to have been the last of Swedenborg's trials. He continued several days in that deplorable condition; but at length recovered his spiritual or internal sight. He was then comforted again, and became happy as before."

'Mr. Springer received this assurance from Swedenborg's

own mouth; and what I write now is from an exact copy of part of a letter written by Mr. Springer himself.

'I remain, dear Sir,

'Yours, &c.

'ROBERT HINDMARSH.

'London, Nov. 28, 1786.'

## C.

*AFFIDAVIT OF MR. AND MRS. SHEARSMITH.*[226*]

"Richard Shearsmith, of Coldbath Fields, London, perukemaker, and Elizabeth Shearsmith, formerly Reynolds, his present wife, jointly and severally make oath, and say, That the late Honourable Emanuel Swedenborg came to lodge a second time at his, this deponent's, house, No. 26, Coldbath Fields aforesaid, in the month of July or August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one, and continued to lodge there until his death, which happened the twenty-ninth of March following. That a short time before Christmas, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one, he had a paralytic stroke, which deprived him of his speech, and occasioned his lying in a lethargic state for three weeks and upwards, during the whole of which time he took no sustenance whatever, except a little tea without milk, and cold water occasionally; and once, about two tea-spoonfuls of red currant jelly. That about the expiration of three weeks from the time he was so struck, he recovered his speech and health a little, and eat and drank toast, tea, and coffee, as usual. That from that time to the time of his death he was visited but by a very few friends only, and always seemed unwilling to see company. That about a month before

* Mr. Hindmarsh adds here in a note: "This affidavit has been strangely mutilated and misrepresented, first by the Editors of the 'New Jerusalem Magazine' for 1790, p. 225, and since that time by almost all the writers who have had occasion to quote it; although it was correctly printed in the 'Magazine of Knowledge' for 1791, p. 300, from the original document which is still in my possession." It had previously been printed in a French translation in a work published in 1785 by B. Chastanier under the title: "Tableau analytique et raisonné de la Doctrine Céleste," &c. pp. 240 to 242.

he died, he told this deponent, then Elizabeth Reynolds, spinster, who was then a servant to her fellow-deponent, and Mrs. Shearsmith, her then mistress, that he should die on a particular day, which, to the best of her recollection and belief, happened on the day he had foretold. That about a fortnight or three weeks before he died, he received the sacrament in bed from the hands of a foreign clergyman,* and enjoyed a sound mind, memory, and understanding to the last hour of his life. That about five o'clock on Sunday the twenty-ninth day of March, he asked her, this deponent, and her then mistress, who were sitting by his bed-side, what o'clock it was? and upon their answering him that it was about five o'clock, he replied, 'Dat be good, me tank you, God bless you,' or to that effect; and in about ten minutes after, he heaved a gentle sigh, and expired in the most tranquil manner. And these deponents jointly and severally on their oath declare, that, to the best of their recollection and belief, no person whatever visited him, either the day before, or the day on which he died. And these deponents positively declare that they never did, either directly or indirectly, say or assert to any person or persons whatsoever, that the said Emanuel Swedenborg had, a few hours before his death, retracted or contradicted any part of his writings, as has been falsely reported; nor did they ever hear him, nor do they believe he ever did, say a word that expressed or implied such an idea; nor were these deponents ever asked a question relative to that circumstance, by any person or persons whatsoever, until the twenty-second day of October last, when Mr. Thomas Wright, of the Poultry, London, watchmaker, and Mr. Robert Hindmarsh, of Clerkenwell Close, printer, called upon them to inquire into the truth or falsehood of such report, which these deponents then declared to them, and now again on their oaths declare, to be a false and groundless report.

"RICHARD SHEARSMITH,

"The Mark of × ELIZABETH SHEARSMITH.

"Sworn at the Guildhall, London, the 24th day of November, 1775, before me,

"T. WRIGHT, Mayor."

* Pastor Ferelius, see Document 267, A, no. 4, and B, no. 1.

Mr. Hindmarsh says, "Mr. Gomm, on receipt of this affidavit translated it into French, and caused it to be printed at the Hague; by which means the false report, that had gained credit there, was completely refuted, and the enemies of truth on this occasion were effectually silenced."

He afterwards continues, "Besides the proof, above adduced, of the falsehood of the report of Swedenborg's having recanted his writings, another arises from the evidence of Count Höpken, who in a letter to General Tuxen, dated Skenninge, May 21, 1773, expressly says, 'The late Swedenborg did not, on his death-bed, recant what he has written; of which I have particularly informed myself.'" [See Document 252, p. 411.]

## D.

### BENEDICT CHASTANIER'S[222] TESTIMONY.

The substance of Shearsmith's affidavit was published in the preliminary discourse to a work entitled: *"Abrégé des Ouvrages d'Em. Swedenborg"* (Abridgment of the Works of Em. Swedenborg), published in Strasburg and Stockholm in 1788, and the editor added to this the following statement: "To this affidavit we will add, having received it from creditable persons, that a few days before Swedenborg's death his intimate friend addressed him in the following manner; 'In the name of God, in whose presence you are soon going to appear, and in the name of sacred friendship, declare to me, I beseech you, whether that which you have written is the truth.' Swedenborg answered him, 'My doctrine is true, it has been revealed to me; and after 1780 it will spread very much,'" (p. lxxi.)

An English translation of this statement appeared in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790, p. 226; and to this Benedict Chastanier[222] added the following declaration: "As a strong confirmation of the above testimony, I, Benedict Chastanier, A. M., surgeon of No. 62, Tottenham Court Road, am happy in being able to declare, that I had it from the mouth of the late Rev. Mr. Hartley, that he was the very friend alluded to in the above article; for this respectable

clergyman of the Church of England declared to me, on the very first visit he paid me in 1778, at my house, then in Grafton Street, Soho, that three or four days before Swedenborg's death, he waited on him with Dr. Messiter,[2] and in the doctor's presence earnestly pressed him openly to declare whether all he had written was strictly true, or whether any part or parts thereof were to be excepted? 'I have written,' answered Swedenborg with a degree of warmth, 'nothing but the truth, as you will have it more and more confirmed hereafter all the days of your life, provided you always keep close to the Lord, and faithfully serve Him alone, in shunning evils of all kinds as sins against Him, and diligently searching His Sacred Word, which from beginning to end bears incontestable testimony to the truth of the doctrines I have delivered to the world.'* Dr. Messiter,[2] lately deceased, has also more than once affirmed to me this plain declaration of his intimate friend, the Rev. Thomas Hartley, as witness my hand on the Lord's day, May 9, 1790.

"BENEDICT CHASTANIER."

In the preface to a work published by him in 1786 under the title: "*Tableau Analytique et Raisonné de la Doctrine Céleste de l'Église de la Nouvelle Jérusalem,*" he makes the following additional statement respecting the charge which had been brought forward against Swedenborg, and which has been refuted in the preceding pages:

"As we were engaged in preparing the present compilation, a report reached us, that a certain Swedish Count whose name we have forgotten, is circulating in Holland a fictitious account respecting our author, which, he says, he has learned from a very good quarter, viz. 'that Emanuel Swedenborg in the hour of his death resolved to make a general recantation of everything he has written since 1743; that he has done so in the presence of the Swedish clergyman who administered to him the last sacrament of the holy eucharist; and that he declared to that minister that it was all false, and that nothing of what he had communicated to the world in his theological

* Compare Mr. Hartley's own statement of this occurrence in Document 259, no. 16.

writings had been communicated to him by the Lord or His angels,' &c.

"We know from a still better source, than this pretended count whose name is not even known to his countrymen, that this assertion is absolutely false and fictitious: for Mr. Springer,[121] a respectable Swedish merchant who retired to London twenty years ago and a pious man with whom we frequently meet, and who was intimately befriended with Swedenborg, has given us all possible information on this subject in the presence of a large and respectable company. The substance of what he has told us is this, that when he felt his last hour approaching, the coming of which he had some time before foretold, and being at the time in the enjoyment of all his senses, he desired to receive, and accordingly did receive the sacrament of the eucharist from a Swedish clergyman, by the name of Ferelius; and in the conversation which ensued afterwards, he advised him very strongly to attach himself to the doctrine of the New Jerusalem, without minding the opposition which he would meet with from men in general, and particularly from his colleague Mathesius,[118] another Swedish minister, who had already expressed himself strongly against these doctrines."

Mr. Chastanier's testimony is fully borne out by that of Ferelius himself in Document 267, A, no. 3, and B, no. 1; and it is also confirmed by the information which Mr. Hindmarsh collected on this subject from Mr. Springer, and stated to Mr. Gomm in Document 269, B (p. 576).

## *DOCUMENT* 270.

## CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE CHARGE OF INSANITY BROUGHT AGAINST SWEDENBORG.

The charge of insanity was first raised against Swedenborg during his life-time, when, as Robsahm tells us (Vol. I, p. 47), "a cunning stratagem was planned by some members of the House of the Clergy, by which he was to be summoned be-

fore a court of justice, and after the first examination to be declared a man who had lost his senses by his speculations in religion, whom it was most dangerous to leave in freedom, and who therefore ought to be confined in a lunatic asylum." This plot, however, miscarried, because his enemies were unable to establish their charges, and because, as Robsahm further tells us, "they did not dare to carry out their persecution, when they considered that he was the head of a family, and related to other influential families, both in the House of Nobles and in the House of the Clergy."

It would seem that, if a charge of insanity cannot be proved against a man during his life-time, and if his contemporaries see in such a charge a mere "persecution," it is more than preposterous, nay it is downright malevolent and wicked, to attempt to raise this charge against him after his death. But such has been the fate of Swedenborg. The charge of insanity which was made against him during his life-time, and which utterly broke down on account of the lack of evidence, was revived after his death by John Wesley in the "Arminian Magazine" for 1781 and 1783, on the statement of Mathesius,[118] a personal enemy of Swedenborg; and the doubtful testimony of this man has more recently been propagated by Mr. Wm. White,[242] in his work: "Emanuel Swedenborg: his Life and Writings," London, 1867; where he speaks of it as being "plainly a straightforward and well-authenticated story."

This charge, it is true, has been made also by others, and, indeed, not only against Swedenborg, (see Note 242) but also against his followers; and in fact it is not unfrequently brought by materialists and sensualists against all those who believe in a Divine revelation; and even by professed church members against those who believe in a future life and in a spiritual world not only in a general way, but who hold that under exceptional circumstances a man may have a glimpse into the spiritual world, while as to his body he still remains in this world.

It is not in this general way, however, that Mathesius, and after him John Wesley[238] sought to establish the truth of their charge against Swedenborg, but they brought forward

specific grounds on which they declared him to have been insane.

But before investigating these specific charges, let us advance some general common-sense arguments, showing the utter unreasonableness of their attempt.

In the *first* place, supposing Swedenborg to have been insane, his insanity must be dated from the time, when, according to his own testimony, his spiritual eyes were opened, which event took place about the year 1743; if a later date is accepted for the beginning of his insanity, there is an utter want of logic in the charge. Suppose then Swedenborg to have become really insane at the time from which he dates the opening of his spiritual sight; yet what are we to think of an insane man who for nearly eighteen years carefully conceals his insanity from the gaze of every body, so that not even the slightest suspicion is raised against him? Such is the case with Swedenborg; for suppose him to have become insane in 1743, when, as he declares, his intercourse with the spiritual world commenced; yet as we have documentary proof (see Tilas's Letter, Document 249, p. 395), that until 1759 no one in Stockholm had the slightest idea of his intercourse with the spiritual world, he must actually have been insane for upwards of seventeen years without any one being aware of it.

Again says Mr. Hartley (Document 259, no. 17), "If to write many large volumes on the most important of all subjects with unvaried consistency, to reason accurately, and to give proofs of an astonishing memory all the way; and if hereto be joined propriety and dignity of character in all the relative duties of Christian life; if all this can be reconciled with the definition of madness, why here is an end of all distinction between sane and insane, between wisdom and folly."

But let us proceed to an examination of the specific charges made against Swedenborg by John Wesley.[238]

## A.

*JOHN WESLEY*[238] *ON EMANUEL SWEDENBORG IN* 1783.

In the "Arminian Magazine" for 1783 (Vol. VI, p. 437 *et seq.*) John Wesley writes in a lengthy article entitled, "Thoughts on the Writings of Baron Swedenborg," as follows:

In paragraph 1 he first gives some extracts from Swedenborg's "Autobiography" (Document 2), and then concludes: "This account is dated, London, 1769; I believe Swedenborg lived nine or ten years longer."*

In paragraph 2 he continues: "Many years ago the Baron came over to England, and lodged at one Mr. Brockmer's: who informed me (and the same information was given me by Mr. Mathesius,[118] a very serious Swedish clergyman, both of whom were alive when I left London, and, I suppose, are so still,) that while he was in his house he had a violent fever; in the height of which, being totally delirious, he broke from Mr. Brockmer, ran into the street stark naked, proclaimed himself the Messiah, and rolled himself in the mire. I suppose he dates from this time his admission into the Society of Angels. From this time we are undoubtedly to date that peculiar species of insanity which attended him, with scarce any intermission, to the day of his death.†

3. "In all History I find but one instance of an insanity parallel to this: I mean that related by the Roman poet, of the gentleman at Argos, in other respects a sensible man,

*Qui se credebat miros audire tragœdos*
*In vacuo lætus sessor plausorque theatro.*

Who imagined himself to hear admirable tragedies, and undoubtedly saw as well as heard the actors, while he was sitting alone, and clapping them in the empty theatre. This seems to have been a purely natural disorder, although not

* Compare therewith Wesley's testimony concerning Swedenborg in 1771 and 1773; from which it appears that he was then very well acquainted with the real time when Swedenborg died. See Document 268.

† The whole of this paragraph, so far as it rests on the testimony of Brockmer, is declared by that gentleman to be "entirely false;" see Document 270, p. 601.

easy to account for. Whether any thing preternatural was added in the case of the Baron, I do not undertake to determine.*

4. "The accounts of those 'admirable tragedies' which he has published, take up many quarto volumes. I have read little more of them than what we have in English, except his inimitable piece *(De nuptiis cœlestibus,)* of marriages in heaven. To the reading of this I acknowledge I was invited by the newness of the subject. And I cannot doubt, but the same circumstance (though they were not sensible of it) contributed much to the pleasure which those pious men, Mr. Cl[over?],† Mr. Ha[rtley],[1] and Mr. Cl[owe]s,[218] have received from his writings. The same pleasure they naturally desired to impart to their countrymen by translating, publishing, recommending, and propagating them with their might. They doubtless found an additional pleasure from the huge admiration wherewith many received them. And I should not wonder if some of these should be adopted into the Society of Angels, just as the Baron himself was: nay, I cannot but apprehend, that they have already attained to a degree of the same *illumination.*‡

5. "Desiring to be thoroughly master of the subject, I procured the translation of the first volume of his last and largest theological work, entitled 'True Christian Religion.'

* Mr. Beatson in his reply to Mr. Wesley (see "Magazine of Knowledge," Vol. II, p. 97) says, "You say, you find but one instance parallel to Swedenborg's in all history, viz. the gentleman at Argos. Sure you forgot St. John, Ezekiel, and many other patriarchs, and apostles: for I will undertake to find as unintelligible and incomprehensible matter in their writings, as any Mr. Wesley can in the relations and spiritual communications of Swedenborg; but with this difference, that he has brought a key along with him, not only for the opening of his own visions, but likewise of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles."

† See Document 266, no. 7, p. 555.

‡ On this paragraph of Mr. Wesley's article Mr. Beatson expresses himself thus (*Ibid.*, p. 97), "Your fourth subject seems to be calculated only to convey the ridicule you think you have raised against Swedenborg, to those friends of mankind, who have taken the trouble of translating his works. Now I think their judgments were too mature to be imposed upon, merely by the novelty of the subject; as you doubt not but they were, though you at the same time very charitably suppose they were not conscious of it themselves."

(The original the Baron himself presented me with, *a little before he died.**) I took an extract thereof from the beginning to the end, that I might be able to form a more accurate judgment. And one may trace through the whole, remains of a fine genius, 'Majestic, though in ruins!' From the whole I remark, that what Mr. Law oddly imputes to Sir Isaac Newton, is truly imputable to the Baron. He 'ploughed with Jacob Behmen's heifer,'† and that both in Philosophy and Divinity. But he far exceeded his master: his dreams are more extraordinary than those of Jacob himself," &c.‡

In an earlier part of his "Arminian Magazine," January, 1781, he had previously published the following account by Mathesius, to which he evidently refers in no. 2 of the above article.

## B.

### *MATHESIUS'*[118] *ACCOUNT OF SWEDENBORG.*§

Mr. Wesley introduces this account with the following words: "The following authentic account of a very great man

* Compare this statement with what Wesley says in no. 1 of his account.

† Swedenborg never read Jacob Boehme; see Note 41.

‡ Mr. Beatson continues (*Ibid.*, p. 204), "Your fifth paragraph begins very curiously. 'To become *thoroughly* master of Swedenborg's comprehensive and voluminous works, you procure the first volume of his last and you say 'his largest work,' which is contrary to the truth; the last it was, but his largest theological work is the 'Arcana Cœlestia,' in which his system of correspondences of natural with spiritual things is most wonderfully demonstrated. This is the key before alluded to, which explains not only his own memorable relations, &c., but likewise the whole Word. But however, to become thoroughly master of the subject, you make extracts from beginning to end—of what?—of the first volume of his last work. Admirably well prepared you must be, to pass so peremptory and decided a judgment upon his truly systematic writings .... So might, in all probability would, a person of good capacity pronounce upon astronomy, or any other of the sciences, supposing only the results were proposed to him, independent of the mode of acquirement .... Probably, on his first cursory view of many of Sir Isaac Newton's works, he would, like you, have pronounced him mad, and exclaimed, 'Though this man is evidently mad, yet one may trace through the whole, remains of a fine genius, Majestic, though in ruins!'"

§ Mr. White in his "Life of Swedenborg," instead of publishing the account furnished by Mathesius to Mr. Wesley in 1781, prints what purports

was given me by one of his own countrymen [Mathesius]. He is now in London, as is Mr. Brockmer also, and ready to attest every part of it. In the Baron's writings are many excellent things; but there are many likewise that are whimsical to the last degree. And some of these may do hurt to serious persons whose imagination is stronger than their judgment.

1. "Some time in the year 1743,* a Moravian Brother, by name Seniff, in his return to London from Holland, where he had been visiting his children, became acquainted in a packet-boat with Baron Emanuel de Swedenborg; who desired to be recommended to a family in London, where he could live retired.† Mr. Seniff brought him to Mr. Brockmer.‡ This gentleman was very easily prevailed upon to take him under his roof.

2. "The Baron behaved very decently in his house: he went every Sunday to the chapel of the Moravians in Fetter Lane.§ Though he lived very recluse, he nevertheless would often converse with Mr. Brockmer, and was pleased with hearing the Gospel in London. So he went on for several months, continually approving of what he heard. At last he came to Mr. Brockmer, and told him, that he rejoiced that the Gospel was preached to the poor; but lamented over the learned and the rich, who he said must all go to hell.

3. "Some months after, he told Mr. Brockmer he was

to be a translation from the Swedish of Mathesius, under the date of August 27, 1796. Instead of taking the evidence of a man given soon after a supposed occurrence, he prefers to accept his testimony on the same subject as written down *sixteen years later*, and after he had an attack of insanity. There is a considerable discrepancy between these two accounts, as we shall have occasion to show.

* Swedenborg was not in London in that year; he arrived there in May, 1744; see p. 193.

† Mr. Seniff may have been "the pious shoemaker," in whose company Swedenborg travelled from Holland to London in 1744; see Document 209, no. 137, p. 194.

‡ Swedenborg mentions under the date of July 9, 1744 his having "selected for himself other lodgings;" see Document 209, no. 151, p. 200.

§ That Swedenborg on arriving in London in 1744, "by various circumstances was led into the church belonging to the Moravian Brethren," appears from Document 209, no. 142, p. 196.

writing a pamphlet in the Latin language, which he would send gratis to all learned men in the universities.*

4. "After that he did not open his chamber-door for two days, neither would permit the maid to come in to make the bed and sweep the room.

5. "One evening Mr. Brockmer was at a coffee-house, and the maid came to fetch him home, informing him, that something extraordinary had happened to Mr. Swedenborg: that she knocked several times at his door, but he had not opened it: upon this Mr. Brockmer came himself and knocked; calling him by his name, he jumped up from bed. Mr. Brockmer asked, whether he would not let the maid make the bed? He answered, No: and desired to be left alone, for he was about a great and solemn work.

6. "When Mr. Brockmer retired to his room, which was about nine o'clock, he ran after him, looked very frightful: his hair stood upright, and he foamed a little at his mouth. He wanted to talk with Mr. Brockmer, but as he had an impediment in his speech, it was long before he could bring forth a single word. At last he said, he had something very particular to communicate: namely, that he was the Messiah: that he was come to be crucified for the Jews; and that as he had a great impediment in his speech, Mr. Brockmer was chosen to be his mouth, to go with him the next day to the synagogue, and there to preach his words. He continued, 'I know you are a good man, but I suspect you will not believe me. Therefore an angel will appear at your bedside early in the morning, then you will believe me.' Mr. Brockmer now began to be frightened. He hesitated before he could answer, and at length he said, 'Mr. Swedenborg, I am much inclined to think, that a little medicine would be of service to you. There is our dear Dr. Smith, with whom you are intimate; he will give you something, which I am certain will be of immediate use. Now I will make this agreement with you; if the angel appear to me, as you have mentioned, I will be obedient to the angel; but if he do not, then you shall go

* On October 27, 1744, Swedenborg began writing his work entitled "The Worship and Love of God;" see Document 209, no. 202, p. 217.

along with me to-morrow morning to Dr. Smith.' He repeated it over and over again, that the angel would appear; upon which they took leave of each other, and went to bed.

"Mr. Brockmer lay the whole night restless: however, he got up at five o'clock. As soon as the Baron heard him over-head, he jumped out of bed, threw his night gown over him, and with a night cap half on half off, came running up to Mr. Brockmer in a great hurry, to know if the angel had appeared.

"Mr. Brockmer did all he could to divert him before he would give him a direct answer: but he foaming continually cried out, 'But how, how, did the angel come?' He answered, 'No: and now I expect you will go with me to Dr. Smith.' He replied, 'I will not go to any doctor.' Then he talked a long time to himself, and said, 'I am now conversing with spirits, one on the right hand, and the other on the left; the one bids me follow you, because you are a good man, and the other saith, I shall have nothing to do with you; you are good-for-nothing.' Quickly he [Swedenborg] went down stairs, as he had no business in his room.

"Then the Baron sitting down in a chair cried like a child, and said, 'Do you think I should hurt you?' Mr. Brockmer likewise began to cry, and the Baron went down stairs.

7. "Mr. Brockmer dressed himself, and when he came down, he found the Baron sitting dressed likewise, in an easy chair, and his door being open, he cried out, 'Come in, come in!' Mr. Brockmer ordered a coach, but as he refused going with him, he went himself to Dr. Smith, informing him what had passed, and likewise begged of him to receive the Baron, but the Doctor having no room in his own house, took a lodging for him at a Peruke-maker's in Cold Bath fields, three or four doors from his own house.

8. "During the time that Mr. Brockmer was gone to Dr. Smith's, the Baron went to the Swedish Ambassador, but on account of that day being post day, the Ambassador could not see him. He then went to a place called the Gully-hole, undressed himself, rolled in very deep mud, and threw the money out of his pockets among the crowd.

"Some of the Swedish Ambassador's servants happening

to come by, and seeing him in that condition, brought him home to Mr. Brockmer covered over with mud. Mr. Brockmer told him, he had got a lodging for him near Dr. Smith, and asked him if he would go there? He replied, Yes. When he arrived he desired that a tub with water and six towels might be brought to him. Then he went into the back room and locked himself in. Mr. Brockmer being apprehensive that he might hurt himself, had the lock taken off. They found him washing his feet: he had wetted the six towels, and asked for six more. Mr. Brockmer then left him with two men. Dr. Smith visited him every day, and gave him medicines which did him much good. Mr. Brockmer went to the Swedish Envoy, and told him what had happened, who thanked him much for all his trouble.

9. "After that Mr. Brockmer continued to visit him: he had often expressed his thanks to him for his great care, but would never give up the point that he was the Messiah; on which Mr. Brockmer always declined to dispute.

10. "One day when Dr. Smith had given him a purging powder, he went out into the field, running as quick as possible. The man who then attended him, could not overtake him: the Baron sat down on a stile, and laughed heartily:—when the man came near him, he ran to another stile, and so on. This was in the dog-days, and from that time he grew worse.

"Mr. Brockmer had very little conversation with him afterwards, except that he now and then met him in the streets, and found that he still held to his point."

A part of this account, from nos. 1 to 5, we have reason to regard as genuine; since it is confirmed by collateral testimony. But the rest of the account from paragraphs 6 to 10 is an unmitigated falsehood, as we shall presently prove.

Any one who is at all acquainted with Swedenborg's writings, or who is only superficially acquainted with his life as a scholar, must know, as Mr. Noble observes (Preface to the second edition of his translation of "Heaven and Hell," p. xxviii,) that Swedenborg, in the interval between 1743 and 1745, "not only showed no symptoms of delirium, or derangement, but continued his wonted course of philosophical study and publication; for the first two parts of his *Regnum Animale*

were printed at the Hague in the year 1744, and the third part, at London, in 1745; as was also in the same year his *De Cultu et Amore Dei.* If, then, it even were true that he had a fever with delirium in 1743, it is obvious that he had completely recovered from it, when he appeared again as a laborious writer on profound philosophical subjects, in the years 1744 and 1745, composed in precisely the same style and spirit as his *Œconomia Regni Animalis*, printed in Holland, in two parts, in 1740 and 1741."

Again from August, 1745, to July, 1747, we find him engaged in his official duties at home, as is proved from Documents 165 to 167. It is true he is no longer at the College every day, because a substitute had been appointed for him during his absence from the College from 1736 to 1740, and he had ever since been only on half-pay; wherefore we frequently notice his absence from the College after August, 1745; yet we find him but rarely absent on account of illness, and never on account of a prolonged illness. In the Minutes of the College of Mines for 1745 he is marked "unwell" five times, and in 1746 four times; and in 1747 he is never marked absent on account of illness. So little, indeed, was he suspected by his colleagues at the College of Mines of being in the least mentally *non compos* in 1747, that they unanimously recommended him to the King for the councillorship of mines which had become vacant by the retirement of Bergenstierna (see Document 166, A); and when in June, 1747, he applied to the King for a release from his office, that "he might finish the work on which he was then engaged," the King on accepting his resignation used the following language: "Although we would gladly see him [Swedenborg] continue at home the faithful services he has hitherto rendered to us and his country, still we can so much the less oppose his wish, as we feel sufficiently assured that the above-named work, on which he is engaged, will in time contribute to the general use and benefit, no less than the other valuable works written and published by him have contributed to the use and honour of his country, as well as of himself. We therefore decree, and by this open letter, release Emanuel Swedenborg from the office of Assessor in our and our country's College of Mines,

which he has hitherto filled with renown; and as a token of the satisfaction with which we look upon his long and faithful services, we also most graciously permit him to retain for the rest of his life the half of his salary as an Assessor."

It is difficult to understand how, in the face of this testimony received from the King of Sweden in 1747, and from his colleagues at the College of Mines, who had daily an opportunity of watching and observing him, a Swedish minister of the Gospel could dare to publish a report that Swedenborg, ever since 1743 had been insane; and indeed on the strength of an occurrence which happened thirty or forty years before he circulated this report; and still more difficult is it to understand how his biographer who must have been acquainted with the real state of the case could conscientiously endorse, and publish as true, such testimony. Yet more surprising still it seems that a professed historian, who ought to be accustomed to weigh impartially contradictory evidence, can totally ignore historical facts that happened in his own country, and prefer to put faith in doubtful stories which originated abroad.

As Mr. White, however, in his "Life of Emanuel Swedenborg," and Mr. And. Fryxell in his biography of Swedenborg printed in Vol. XLIII of his "Berättelser ur Svenska Historien," (Stockholm, 1875,) in which he repeatedly quotes from the first volume of the "Documents respecting Swedenborg," fully endorsed Mathesius' account of Swedenborg, the former calling it "plainly a straightforward and well-authenticated story" (p. 132), and as this story has been accepted as such by Dr. H. Maudsley in the "Journal of Mental Science," July, 1870, no. 70; we feel ourselves called upon to expose thoroughly its untruthful character; and first of all we propose to institute a comparison between Mathesius' statement in 1781, as published by Mr. Wesley in the "Arminian Magazine," and the version of his statement in 1796, of which a translation is printed in Mr. White's "Life of Swedenborg" (pp. 129 to 132).

| *MATHESIUS IN* 1781. | *MATHESIUS IN* 1796. |
|---|---|
| § 1. Swedenborg desired to be recommended to a | Mr. Swedenborg *who was a Godfearing man*,* wished to |

* The words in italics have been omitted or altered in either of the two accounts.

*MATHESIUS IN* 1781.

family, where he could live retired.

§ 2. At last he came to Mr. Brockmer, and told him that he rejoiced that the Gospel was preached to the poor; but lamented over the learned and rich, who he said must all go to hell.

§ 6. *When Mr. Brockmer retired to his room,* which was about nine o'clock.

His hair stood upright, and he foamed *a little* at his mouth.

He wanted to talk with Mr. Brockmer, but as he had an impediment in his speech, it was long before he could bring forth a single word.

He continued, "I know you are a *good* man, but I suspect you will not believe me. *Therefore an angel will appear at your bedside early in the morning, then you will believe me.*"

He said, "Mr. Swedenborg, I am much inclined to think that a little medicine would be of service to you.

There is our dear Dr. Smith, with whom you are intimate; he will give you something, which I am certain will be of immediate use.

*MATHESIUS IN* 1796.

be directed to some house in London where he might live quietly and economically.

One day he said he was glad the Gospel was preached to the poor; but *complained* of the learned and rich, who, he thought, must go to Hell. *Under this idea he continued several months.*

This was about nine in the evening.

His hair stood upright, and he foamed round the mouth.

He tried to speak, *but he could not utter his thoughts,* stammering long before he could get out a word.

He continued, I know you are an *honest* man, *for I am sure you love the Lord,* but I fear you do not believe me.

I said, You are Mr. Swedenborg, *a somewhat aged man, and, as you tell me, have never taken medicine;* wherefore I think some of a right sort would do you good.

Dr. Smith is near, he is your friend and mine, let us go to him, and he will give you something fitted to your state.

*MATHESIUS IN* 1781.

Mr. Brockmer lay the whole night restless; however, he got up at five o'clock.

He foaming continually cried out, *"But how, how, did the angel come?"* He answered "No: and now I expect you will go with me to Dr. Smith."

.... 'The one bids me to follow you, because you are a good *man,* and the other saith, I shall have nothing to do with you; you are good for nothing.'

Quickly he [Swedenborg] went down stairs, as he had no business in his [Brockmer's] room.

§ 7. When Brockmer came

*MATHESIUS IN* 1796.

*In expectation of the angel* I could not sleep, but lay awake the whole might. *My wife and children were at the same time very ill, which increased my anxiety.* I rose about five o'clock in the morning.

He foamed and cried again and again, *But how—how—how? Then I reminded him of our agreement to go to Dr. Smith. At this he asked me straight down, Came not the vision?* I answered, No; and now I suppose you will go with me to Dr. Smith.

One asks me to follow you, for you are a good *fellow;* the other says I ought to have nothing to do with you because you are good for nothing. *I answered, Believe neither of them, but let us thank God, who has given us power to believe in His Word.*

He then went down stairs to his room, *but returned immediately, and spoke, but so confusedly that he could not be understood. I began to be frightened, suspecting that he might have a penknife or other instrument to hurt me. In my fear I addressed him seriously, requesting him* to walk down stairs, as he had no business in my room.

When I came down I found

*MATHESIUS IN 1781.*

down, he found the Baron sitting dressed likewise, in an easy chair, and his door being open, he cried out, 'Come in, come in!'

The Doctor having no room in his own house, took a lodging for him at a Peruke maker's in Cold Bath Fields, three or four doors from his own house.....

.....Then he went into the *backroom* and locked himself in. *Mr. Brockmer* being apprehensive that he might hurt himself, had the lock taken off.

Mr. Brockmer then left him with *two* men.

Mr. Brockmer went to the Swedish Envoy, and told him what had happened, who thanked him much for all his trouble.

*MATHESIUS IN 1796.*

Mr. Swedenborg also dressed, sitting in an armchair *with a great stick in his hand* and the door open. He called, Come in, come in, *and waved the stick.*

He had however no room for him, but engaged apartments for him with *Mr. Michael Caer,* wig maker, *in Warner Street,* Cold Bath Fields, three or four houses from his own. *I sent for a coach, but Mr. Swedenborg would walk, and with the help of two men he reached his new lodgings.*

.....Entering *one of the inner rooms he locked the door, and spite of all entreaties would not open it.* In fear lest he should hurt himself the door was forced.

I then went *home,* and left *six* men as guards over him.

I then went to the Swedish Envoy, told him what had happened, *and required that Mr. Swedenborg's rooms in my house might be sealed.* The Envoy *was infinitely pleased with my kindness to Mr. Swedenborg,* thanked me very much for all my trouble, *and assured me that the sealing of Mr. Swedenborg's chambers was unnecessary, as he had heard well of me, and had in me perfect confidence.*

| *MATHESIUS IN* 1781. | *MATHESIUS IN* 1796. |
| --- | --- |
| § 9. After that Mr. Brockmer continued to visit him. | After this I continued to visit Mr. Swedenborg, *who at last had only one keeper.* |
| § 10. The man who then attended him, could not overtake him. | *His keeper* could not follow him. |

The two accounts from nos. 1 to 5, vary but little, and so far we are inclined to regard as genuine Brockmer's account as given by Mathesius. But it is remarkable how much these two accounts differ from no. 6 to the end; and how much more explicit and extensive Mathesius is in his account in 1796 from what he was in 1781; in fact quite a number of particulars which had escaped his memory in 1781, emerge from it as fresh as ever in 1796, so that we are almost involuntarily led to the belief, that they were got up as the occasion seemed to require; and this belief acquires additional strength when we notice the nature of these additions.

In 1781 Mathesius says, "Swedenborg foamed *a little* at his mouth," in 1796 the words "a little" are left out.

In 1781 he makes Swedenborg say, "But how, how, did the angel come?" But in 1796 he puts these nonsensical words into his mouth, *"But how—how—how?"*

In 1781 he makes this simple statement, "Mr. Brockmer found the Baron sitting dressed in an easy chair; but in 1796 he declares, "that he found him sitting there *with a great stick in his hand;"* and while in 1781 he reports that Swedenborg simply said the words, "Come in, come in;" in 1796 he said, that Swedenborg not only spoke these words, but, also *"waved his stick."*

In 1781 he states that "Brockmer left him with *two* men;" while in 1796 these two men have increased to *six.*

In 1781 we read that "Brockmer continued to visit him;" but in the account of 1796 we read not only that "he continued to visit Mr. Swedenborg," but also that *"at last he had only one keeper."*

It is very plain from these instances that while Mathesius in 1781 did not feel prepared to push the charge of insanity

very strongly, in 1796 he was more reckless in this respect, and laid on his colours much more thickly.

Yet this is not the only difference; the two accounts are also contradictory in some respects: In 1781 Mathesius states that Swedenborg from his visit to the Swedish Ambassador, which is recorded in no. 8, returned to Brockmer's house, and that "Mr. Brockmer being apprehensive that he might hurt himself, had the lock taken off." In the account of 1796 all this happened in another house to which Brockmer had removed Swedenborg.

Again, according to the account of 1781, Dr. Smith "took a lodging for Swedenborg at a peruke-maker's in Cold Bath Fields;" and this peruke-maker, as Mr. Hindmarsh no doubt was informed by Mr. Brockmer himself, was Shearsmith; for he says in Document 270, D, p. 605: "Mr. Brockmer died a few months after he made the declaration above recited: but the peruke-maker alluded to by Mr. Welsey, namely, Mr. Richard Shearsmith, who lived in Cold Bath Fields, Clerkenwell, and at whose house Swedenborg afterwards lodged and died, survived Mr. Brockmer many years." Besides, the Rev. S. Noble declares (Preface to the second edition of his translation of "Heaven and Hell," p. xxviii) that "it is actually said in a manuscript copy of the statement in the 'Arminian Magazine,' *which was seen by himself,* that Swedenborg did reside with Shearsmith in 1743." As to the mode, however, in which Swedenborg came from Mr. Brockmer's house in Fetter Lane to Shearsmith, this latter gentleman made the following explicit statement to Mrs. Shaw (Document 266, nos. 1, 2), "Swedenborg left Fetter Lane, because the persons he lodged with used to meddle with his papers. Shearsmith was a peruke-maker. Mrs. Cartwright, a lady of property, knew Swedenborg, and he complained to her. She recommended Shearsmith's lodging. Shearsmith used to dress her hair. The other people were so angry at his leaving them, that they spread a report that he was mad." From all this it seems very plain that when Swedenborg left Brockmer in Fetter Lane, he removed to Mr. Shearmith in Cold Bath Fields.

There is but one statement conflicting with this, viz. that made by Henry Peckitt in Document 263, where we read,

"It seems by the account of Mr. Shearsmith, that the Baron had visited England three or four different times. He had lodged in Cold Bath Fields; and upon his return to England came to the same place: but the people had removed, and he was recommended to Mr. Shearsmith's, *where he lodged about two years.* Then he left England, *and went to Amsterdam in Holland,* at which place ..... he staid some time, and then returned to England, and came to the same place to lodge with Mr. Shearsmith, and remained at his house till his death."

According to Mr. Peckitt's statement, Swedenborg removed to Shearsmith not from Fetter Lane, but from Cold Bath Fields. As Peckitt took his testimony from Shearsmith before Hindmarsh and Mrs. Shaw, the probability lies in favour of his account; yet as several statements which Mr. Peckitt in no. 2, of Document 264 attributes to Mr. Shearsmith are erroneous, viz. that when he first removed to his house, he stayed there *for two years,* when yet he stopped there at the utmost but two months; and that when he left England in 1769, he went to Holland, when the fact is that he returned then to Sweden; it is quite possible that there is an error also in his other statement, namely, where he states that Swedenborg removed to Shearsmith's house from Cold Bath Fields. In this particular, therefore, we oppose to Mr. Peckitt's testimony that of Messrs. Hindmarsh and Noble, and of Mrs. Shaw, and on the authority of these witnesses we believe that when Swedenborg left Mr. Brockmer's house in Fetter Lane, he removed to Mr. Shearsmith's in Great Bath Street, Cold Bath Fields.

In accepting this statement we are, however, obliged to assume that Swedenborg lodged twice at the house of Mr. Brockmer, once in 1744, and again in 1769, when he removed thence to Mr. Shearsmith's. Excepting Mr. Peckitt's statement, which we have analyzed above, there is no other testimony which conflicts with this assumption, or renders it impossible. The fact, however, being assumed that Swedenborg removed from Brockmer's house to Shearsmith's, that removal could have taken place only in 1769 and not in 1744, as is clearly proved by Mr. Noble in what follows (Preface to "Heaven and Hell," p. xxviii):

"Another mark of falsehood in Mr. Wesley's statement, and which he derived from the Swedish clergyman Matnesius, is, that it represents Swedenborg, while under the influence of the fever and delirium, and attended by a physician, as being removed to a lodging near Cold Bath Fields; whereas there is no reason for believing that he ever resided in that vicinity, before he went to Shearsmith's in the year 1769, in whose house, during a second visit, he died, in 1772. Out of these facts, that he did reside at Shearsmith's, in Great Bath Street, Cold Bath Fields, in 1769, and again in 1772, appears to have been formed the notion that he also resided there in 1743 [1744], and it is actually said so in a manuscript copy of the statement in the 'Arminian Magazine' for 1781, which has been seen by the present writer. But this is impossible, for Shearsmith was conversed with by the Writer of this note in the year 1812, and died a few years afterwards, at about the age of eighty-four: although, therefore, he did reside in Cold Bath Fields for several years, he could not have had Swedenborg for his lodger in the year 1743 [1744], being himself at that time not *fifteen* years of age. Whether, therefore, the date preferred for the imputed fever, be that of Mr. Hartley [Document 259, no. 30], who fixes it at about the year 1752 [see Document 270, p. 608], or that of Mr. Wesley, who declares absolutely that it occurred in 1743, Mr. Hartley's conclusion respecting it is equally applicable, namely, that he 'recovered from it after the manner of other men;' and 'that his writings both prior and subsequently to it entirely harmonize, and proceed upon the same principles with an exact correspondence.' These particulars appear highly worthy of attention, and have never been noticed before."

The dilemma pointed out here by Mr. Noble, Mathesius sought to avoid in his account of 1796, by stating that the peruke-maker's name into whose house Swedenborg removed on leaving Brockmer's house in 1743 was not Shearsmith, but Caer; for he says that "Dr. Smith engaged apartments for him with Mr. Michael Caer, wig maker, in Warner Street, Cold Bath Fields."

There are several exceptions to be taken to this explanation; for in the *first* place Swedenborg was not in London in 1743,

as the account states. *Secondly* none of Swedenborg's friends has ever stated that he lived at the houses of two peruke-makers, both in Cold Bath Fields; which singular circumstance they would not have failed to record, had it been true. *Thirdly,* Mr. Hindmarsh, who interrogated Mr. Brockmer, after Wesley's second attack on Swedenborg had been made in 1783, states distinctly that the peruke-maker alluded to by Mr. Wesley was Mr. Richard Shearsmith." *Fourthly,* no one, besides Mathesius, has ever stated that Swedenborg lived in Warner Street. According to Bergström's testimony (Document 263, no. 8), Swedenborg lived in the Minories, in the Cold Bath Fields [with Mr. Shearsmith], and once he lived for ten weeks with Bergström in the King's Arms Tavern in Wellclose Square; and, besides, Mrs. Shaw states on the authority of Mr. Shearsmith, that Swedenborg removed to his house from Fetter Lane; yet nowhere is mention made that he had lived at a second peruke-maker's in Cold Bath Fields. *Fifthly,* granted that Mr. Peckitt's statement is correct, and that Swedenborg had lodged in Cold Bath Fields before removing to Shearsmith's, even in this case it must have been as late as 1766 (see Introduction to Doc. 272), and not in 1743, as is alleged by Mathesius.

We see, therefore, that Mathesius' testimony when examined exclusively in its own light, breaks down completely; for it is shown to be full of inconsistencies, and downright contradictions. We shall now hear what Mr. Brockmer has to say in respect to it, whose words Mathesius pretended to quote.

Soon after the publication of John Wesley's attack on Swedenborg in the "Arminian Magazine" for 1783, Mr. Robert Beatson,* of Rotherham in Yorkshire, undertook a vindication of Swedenborg's writings which had been "so grossly misrepresented, misquoted, and falsified by Mr. Wesley." After

* The Editors of the "Magazine of Knowledge" say concerning this gentleman in 1791, "Mr. Robert Beatson, late of Rotherham, in Yorkshire, but now an inhabitant of the spiritual world (to whose uncommon virtues and eminent piety we can, from personal knowledge, bear public testimony), a short time before his death employed himself in vindicating the writings of Baron Swedenborg, which have been so grossly misrepresented, misquoted, and falsified, by Mr. Wesley."

finishing his vindication, a portion of which was subsequently printed in the "Magazine of Knowledge," Vol. II, 1791, he came to London, and in company with Mr. Robert Hindmarsh and two other friends called on Mr. Brockmer in order to interrogate him with respect to the truth of the statement which Mr. Wesley attributed to him. The result of their interview with Mr. Brockmer was published in the "Magazine of Knowledge" for 1791 (Vol. II, pp. 92 to 96), and is as follows:

C.

*BROCKMER'S ACCOUNT OF SWEDENBORG.*

1. "After communicating to Mr. Brockmer the purport of their visit, Mr. Beatson and his friends requested to know whether he had ever given any account of Baron Swedenborg to Mr. Wesley; for that he (Mr. Wesley) had publicly asserted this in his 'Arminian Magazine.' Mr. Brockmer immediately denied the fact, positively declaring 'that he had never opened his mouth on the subject to Mr. Wesley;' and seemed much displeased that Mr. Wesley should have taken the liberty to make use of his name in public print, without his knowledge or consent.

2. "The following paragraph was then read to Mr. Brockmer, from the 'Arminian Magazine' for August, 1783, page 438: [See Document 270, A, no. 2, p. 584.]

"As soon as the above paragraph was read, Mr. Brockmer said, 'That it was entirely false; that he never gave any information of the kind to Mr. Wesley, but supposed that some other person might have made such a report to Mr. Wesley, who he said was very credulous, and easy to be imposed upon by any idle tale, from whatever quarter it came.' Mr. Brockmer further added, 'That Baron Swedenborg was never afflicted with any illness, much less with a violent fever, while at his house; nor did he ever break from him in a delirious state, and run into the street stark naked, and there proclaim himself the Messiah.' Mr. Brockmer acknowledged, 'that he had *heard a report*, that Baron Swedenborg had rolled himself in the mire; but he could not be certain of

the fact, because he did not see it himself, *but was only told so.*'

3. "Mr. Brockmer was then asked, whether another account of Baron Swedenborg, given by Mr. Wesley in his 'Arminian Magazine' for January, 1781, was true or not. [See Document 270, B, p. 586.] After reading it, he replied, 'That to the best of his knowledge and recollection, some things in that account were true; that other things were absolutely false; and that the whole was exaggerated and unfairly stated.' He said it was true, that Swedenborg once called himself the Messiah; but not true that he always persisted in it, whenever he saw him afterwards, as Mr. Wesley insinuates. It was true that his hair stood upright, for as he wore a wig, it was necessary to keep his hair cut short, in which case any person's hair will stand upright; but it was not true that he looked frightful or wild, for he was of a most placid and serene disposition. It was true that he had an impediment in his speech, and spoke with earnestness; but not true, that he foamed at the mouth, as Mr. Wesley had represented him.

4. "The following question was then put to Mr. Brockmer, 'Supposing it to be true, that Baron Swedenborg did actually see and converse with angels and spirits, did you ever observe any thing in his behaviour, that might not naturally be expected on such an extraordinary occasion?' He replied in words to the following effect: 'If I believed that to be true, I should not wonder at anything he said or did; but should rather wonder that the surprise and astonishment which he must have felt on such an occasion, did not betray him into more unguarded expressions than were ever known to escape him; for he did and said nothing but what I could easily account for in my own mind, if I really believed what he declares in his writings to be true.'"

Mr. Brockmer, therefore, denied the truth of the following points which had been raised against Swedenborg by J. Wesley or Mathesius:

1. That he ever gave information respecting Swedenborg to Mr. Wesley.

2. That Swedenborg ever was afflicted with a fever at his house.

3. That he ever broke from him in a delirious state, and ran into the street, proclaiming himself the Messiah.

4. That Swedenborg ever looked frightful or wild.

5. That he ever foamed at his mouth.

6. He acknowledged, that *he had heard a report*, that Baron Swedenborg had rolled himself in the mire; but he did not see it himself, and was only told so.

We see therefore that Mr. Brockmer, the authority to whom both Mathesius and Wesley appeal for the truth of their charges against Swedenborg, gives them both the direct lie in respect to the leading points which Mathesius raises against Swedenborg in nos. 6 to 10 of his relation ("Arminian Magazine" for 1781), and in respect to those which were advanced against him by Mr. Wesley in no. 2 of his account ("Arminian Magazine" for 1783).

The editors of the "Magazine of Knowledge" add to this (Vol. II, p. 95), "In addition to the above it may be observed, that Mr. Brockmer was one of the people called Moravians; and it has been judged by many, not without some reason, that he had conceived a prejudice against Swedenborg, because in certain parts of his writings he cautions his readers against the dangerous errors of the Moravians, and particularly speaks of Count Zinzendorf, their head, whom he had seen in the spiritual world, as one who denies the Divinity of the Lord."*

According to Chastanier (Document 270, F, no. 3) Swedenborg himself declared, "that the whole of this false rumour had been spread by that good Moravian, Mr. Brockmer, who could not forgive him for what he had written about the Moravians at the end of his tract, called the 'Continuation concerning the Spiritual world,' and who had sworn that he would avenge his sect for the injury that had been inflicted upon them by Swedenborg."

Besides we read in Document 266, no. 1, that according to the testimony of Shearsmith,[226] "Swedenborg left Fetter Lane, because the persons he lodged with [Brockmer] used to meddle with his papers," and also that "these people were

* See "Continuation of the Last Judgment," nos. 86 to 90.

so angry at his leaving them, that they spread a report that he was mad."

From all this it appears that not only Mathesius, but also Brockmer had some share in the production of the account published by Mr. Wesley in the "Arminian Magazine;" and although it seems as if the resentment which the latter originally bore against Swedenborg had in a great measure subsided, when he was interrogated by Messrs. Beatson, Hindmarsh, and others; indeed, so much so that he was able to acknowledge the falsity of several of the statements that appeared in the published account, he still cannot be accepted as a perfectly fair and impartial witness *in re* Swedenborg v. Mathesius and Wesley. We consider ourselves therefore fully justified in refusing to receive as historically true the following statement which Brockmer persisted in making when interrogated by the above gentleman, viz. that "Swedenborg once called himself Messiah;" in which statement Brockmer stands entirely alone among those who have borne testimony respecting Swedenborg from their own personal knowledge; or in which he is at best supported by Mathesius.

Although the falsity of Mathesius' account of Swedenborg, as published by J. Wesley in the "Arminian Magazine," had been thoroughly demonstrated in the "Magazine of Knowledge" for 1791, this account was nevertheless afterwards reprinted and circulated very extensively among the Methodists, and in 1819 was pointedly referred to by the Rev. J. G. Pike of Derby in a pamphlet entitled, "Swedenborgianism depicted in its true Colours." The attacks of the Rev. Mr. Pike were met by Robert Hindmarsh in a work entitled, "Vindication of the Character and Writings of the Honourable Emanuel Swedenborg," Manchester, 1821. In the first Section of that work he devoted a chapter to the "Refutation of the false reports propagated by Mr. Wesley;" and after repeating some of the statements which Mr. Brockmer had made in his presence, and which we have given above from the "Magazine of Knowledge," he summed up the whole case, as follows:

## D.

*R. HINDMARSH[225] ON J. WESLEY[238] AND MATHESIUS.[119]*

1. "It appears, then, that the report of Baron Swedenborg's having been seized with a fever, in the height of which he broke from Mr. Brockmer, ran into the street naked, and proclaimed himself the Messiah, is totally false. But even supposing it to be true, that he once had a fever accompanied with delirium, an affliction to which the wisest and best of men are subject, what has this to do with the general tenor of his writings, composed while he was in perfect health? Is the character of a man to be estimated by what he says or does in such a state? Would Mr. Wesley, or any other person, wish to be judged in this way?

2. "Mr. Brockmer died a few months after he made the declaration above recited: but the peruke-maker alluded to by Mr. Wesley, namely, Mr. Richard Shearsmith, who lived in Cold Bath Fields, Clerkenwell, and at whose house Swedenborg afterwards lodged and died, survived Mr. Brockmer many years. Him also I well knew, and have often had occasion to speak to him of the character, habits, and manners of Swedenborg: and he uniformly gave the most unequivocal and honourable testimony concerning him, both with respect to the goodness of his heart, and the soundness of his understanding. He declared himself ready to attest, (upon oath, if required,) that, 'from the first day of his coming to reside at his house, to the last day of his life, he always conducted himself in the most rational, prudent, pious, and Christian-like manner: and he was firmly of opinion, that every report injurious to his character had been raised merely from malice or disaffection to his writings, by persons of a bigoted and contracted spirit.' Mr. Shearsmith has been dead now for some years. I saw him not long before his death; and he continued to bear the same testimony, which he had so often repeated in my hearing during the course of the thirty years that I had known him.

3. "The other person, whom Mr. Wesley names as having given him the same information as Mr. Brockmer had done,

was Mr. Mathesius, a Swedish clergyman. Of the credit due to this Mathesius, the following extract from a letter by Christopher Springer, Esq., a Swedish gentleman of distinction then resident in London, and the intimate friend of Baron Swedenborg, will enable the reader to form a just and correct estimate. Speaking of Swedenborg's death, he observes, 'When the deceased found his end approaching, and expressed a wish to have the communion administered to him, somebody present at the time proposed sending for Mr. Mathesius, the officiating minister of the Swedish Church. This person was known to be a *professed enemy* of Baron Swedenborg, and had set his face against his writings. It was he that raised and spread the false account of Swedenborg's having been deprived of his senses. Swedenborg therefore declined taking the sacrament from him, and actually received it from the hands of another ecclesiastic of his own country, named Ferelius, who at that time was a reader of Baron Swedenborg's writings, and is said to have continued to do so ever since, at Stockholm, where he is now living (in 1786); and I have been assured, that, on this occasion, Swedenborg expressly exhorted him *to continue steadfast in the truth.* Mr. Mathesius is said to have become insane himself, a short time after this; and becoming thereby incapable of his function, has existed ever since, in that melancholy state, upon the bounty of the King of Sweden.'

4. "What now are we to say of the report first invented by Mr. Mathesius the Lutheran divine, afterwards propagated by Mr. Wesley the Arminian divine, and lastly by Mr. Pike the Baptist divine, but that they each found it the easiest and most convenient argument to be drawn against the heavenly doctrines contained in the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg? When the theologians of former days found themselves unable to withstand the new, but powerful, doctrines of Divine Truth delivered by the Saviour of the world, some said, 'He is a good man: others said, Nay; but he *deceiveth the people*' (John vii, 12). 'He is *beside himself*' (Mark iii, 21). 'And many of them said, He hath a devil, and *is mad;* why hear ye him? But others said, these are not the words of him that hath a devil: can a devil open the eyes of the blind?' (John x, 20, 21). Now we know the truth of our Lord's words, when He

saith, 'The disciple is not *above his master,* nor the servant *above his lord.* It is enough for the disciple to be *as his master*, and the servant *as his lord:* if they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household' (Matt. x, 24, 25). And again, 'The servant is *not greater* than his lord. If they have persecuted *me,* they will also persecute *you*' (John xv, 20). In all ages of the church, Divine Truth has been persecuted in the persons of those who have been its most strenuous asserters and advocates; and in general according to the degree in which they have manifested their sincerity, integrity, and faithfulness in the discharge of their duty, in the same degree have they been subjected to the derision and scorn of the world. It was not therefore to be expected, that Swedenborg, the distinguished and devoted servant of his Lord, would escape the malevolent and bitter attacks of his enemies, who, either through ignorance of the doctrines he taught, or through envy at their success, are disposed to treat the disciple in the same ungenerous manner as their predecessors of old treated his Divine Master. But as Michael the archangel, in disputing with the devil about the body of Moses, (the historical sense of the Word,) durst not bring against him a railing accusation, so it is the duty of those who are engaged in the defence of a good cause, to imitate so illustrious an example, and to leave all judgment to Him who cannot err."

Before the interview had been arranged between Messrs. Beatson, Hindmarsh, and the others, and Mr. Brockmer, and thus before it was known that that gentleman denied point-blank the specific grounds on which Mr. Wesley, abetted by Mathesius, sought to establish the charge of insanity against Swedenborg (see p. 586), Mr. Hartley, Chastanier, and others had endeavoured to establish the real facts out of which the slanderous account of Mathesius had been manufactured. Mr. Hartley, it seems, found by his investigations that Swedenborg really had been ill at one time during his stay in London. The result of his investigations is contained in his letter to Mr. Clowes published in 1781 as an Introduction to the English

translation of the "True Christian Religion," (see Document 259, no. 30). For the convenience of our readers we shall reproduce this paragraph here:

## E.

*REV. T. HARTLEY ON MATHESIUS' CHARGE AGAINST SWEDENBORG IN* 1781.

"The unchristian spirit of calumny and detraction here mentioned, leads me to observe in this place, that some have taken pains to represent our author as mad, in order to discredit his character and writings, grounding their charge on the following circumstance: He was seized with a fever, attended with a delirium, common in that case, *about twenty years before he died* and was under the care of a physician, and they have gone about to pick up what he said and did, and how he looked at that time, and have propagated this both in private and in print, a proceeding so contrary to common humanity, that one cannot think of it without offence, nay even horror."

This probably happened in 1749, thus *twenty-three years* before Swedenborg died; for he arrived in London in November 1748,* and left it again in 1749 for Aix la Chapelle, a celebrated watering place in Germany where he spent the winter.† It is quite possible that he was advised to go there by his London physician. The next time he visited London must have been in 1756, or in 1757, when he published there five works which he had brought with him from Sweden.

The slander of Mathesius consists in his antedating this occurrence seven years, in order to connect it with the opening of Swedenborg's spiritual sight. That he altered dates to suit his own purposes appears also from this consideration, that he placed his whole account in the year 1743, when yet Swedenborg did not arrive in England until May, 1744 (see p. 193).

The results of B. Chastanier's[222] investigations are contained in the Preface to his "*Tableau analytique et raisonné*

* See Document 136, and also "Spiritual Diary," nos. 3422 to 3427.

† See Documents 210 to 213.

*de la Doctrine Céleste de l'Église de la Nouvelle Jérusalem,*" where (pp. 21 to 24) he furnishes the following interesting account:

## F.

*B. CHASTANIER*[222] *ON MATHESIUS*[118] *AND J. WESLEY,*[218] *IN* 1785.

1. "Mr. Springer[121] informed us yesterday, November 15, 1785, in the presence of a numerous and respectable company, that Swedenborg had presented his *Arcana Cœlestia* to Mathesius, who was never willing to read the work, and who, from hostility he had conceived against the doctrines contained therein, had been constantly one of the greatest antagonists of Swedenborg; and who had contributed not a little to circulate and affirm the egregious falsehood which John Wesley, a minister of the Anglican Church and one of the chiefs of the sect called Methodists, was inconsiderate enough to insert in the January number of the 'Arminian Magazine,' I believe for 1781 or 1782. Wesley himself, however, is by no means the author of that falsehood, which he endeavoured to make as plausible as possible; the leading features of which are as follows: [Chastanier gives here an abstract of Mathesius' account of Swedenborg, as contained in Document 270, B].

2. "Mr. Springer[121] confirmed yesterday what we had previously learned concerning this affair, viz. that it owes its origin to two circumstances: The *first* is due to the advantage which two Jews took of a swoon, or a kind of ecstasis or trance into which Swedenborg fell in their presence in his own house; when they profited of this ecstasis, to steal from him his gold watch. As soon as Swedenborg recovered his consciousness after his trance, he noticed that his watch had been taken from his pillow, and he asked the two Jews who were with him to restore it. They said to him, 'Do you not know that in your ecstasis you seized your watch yourself; that you went out into the street, and threw it into the gutter.' Swedenborg contented himself with replying, 'My friends, you know that this statement is false.' Being afterwards advised to prosecute these two rogues in a court of justice, he said, 'It is not

worth while; these good Israelites by this action have injured themselves more than me. May the Lord have pity on them.'

3. "The other circumstance which helped to originate this false story, was communicated to me by another person, who died several years ago. This person, whose name was Brooksbank (Brocksbank), was very well acquainted with Swedenborg, and was informed by him, that the whole of this false rumour had been spread by that good Moravian, Mr. Brockmer, who could not forgive Swedenborg for what he had written about the Moravians at the end of his tract, called 'Continuation concerning the Spiritual world,' and who had sworn that he would avenge his sect for the injury which had been inflicted upon it by Swedenborg. It is certain that Swedenborg unmasked this heretical sect, and sectarians do not like to be unmasked.

4. "Mr. Springer informed us yesterday that Mathesius, who had succeeded in supplanting the good Pastor Ferelius, and who is now in Sweden, had become mad, and had in consequence of this been suspended from his ministry, and recalled to Stockholm, where he is now living on a pension granted by the King. Brockmer has not shared the same fate, but he is living at present in London upon the poor rate."

We close our present document with the following remarks by the Rev. S. Noble extracted from his "Appeal," (p. 243) on the subject of Mathesius' insanity:

## G.

*REV. S. NOBLE*[237] *ON MATHESIUS.*[118]

"We are by no means prone to assume the distribution of Divine judgments; but it really is difficult to avoid thinking that we behold one here. All must allow it to be a remarkable coincidence, that the man who first imputed insanity to Swedenborg, and was the chief cause of its being believed by others, should himself have experienced the deplorable visitation; which happened, also, soon after he gave the information to Mr. Wesley. The *Abrégé des Ouvrages d'Em. Swedenborg*, which was published *at Stockholm* in 1788,

states in the preface,* that Mathesius had become insane, and was then living in that state *in that city*. The same is affirmed in the *New Jerusalem Magazine*;† one of the editors of which was Mr. C. B. Wadström,[36] a Swedish gentleman of great respectability, well known for his efforts in the cause of the abolition of the slave-trade, and who must have had ample means of knowing the fact. In a MS. minute, also, in my possession, of a conversation held by Mr. Provo, May 2, 1787, with Mr. Bergström,[224] master of the King's Arms (Swedish) Hotel, in Wellclose-square; the latter says as follows:‡ 'Mr. Mathesius was an opponent of Swedenborg, and said that he was lunatic, &c.; but it is remarkable that he went lunatic himself; which happened one day when he was in the Swedish church and about to preach: *I was there and saw it*: he has been so ever since, and sent back to Sweden, where he now is: this was about four years ago.' All the accounts agree: and thus evident it is, that into the pit which this unhappy man digged for another, did he fall himself."

Additional testimony to the effect that Mathesius actually became insane is furnished by Mr. Springer (see Document 270, D, no. 3, and F, no. 4), and likewise in the published "Records of the Swedish Church in London" *(Anteckningar rörande Svenska Kyrkan i London)* where we read (p. 89): "In the summer of 1783 Pastor Mathesius was overtaken by a severe illness, whereby he was disabled from continuing his office. At the quarterly meeting which was held on August 18 of the same year, it was announced that Ambassador Baron von Nolcken had made arrangements with the Danish minister to hold services in the Swedish Church every alternate Sunday. On May 16, 1784, in the presence of Mathesius, Magister Andreas Leufenius was installed as his successor. Mathesius had been so far restored that, after being relieved from the ministerial office, he was able to return to his native country, where he remained until his death."

It is true, the nature of Mathesius' illness is not stated here, but this information has been supplied by two of his parishioners, who were at the same time members of the church

* On page lxx. † See p. 224. ‡ See Document 263, no. 8.

committee, viz. Christopher Springer,[121] and Eric Bergström.[224]

Of Mathesius[118] himself we learn further in the *"Anteckningar,"* &c. that he returned to Sweden in 1784, and at his own request, and by the recommendation of the Archbishop, was formally released from his duties in London by a Royal Decree, dated May, 1785, receiving at the same time a yearly pension of 66 rix-dalers, 32 shillings, until he should be preferred to a pastorate in Sweden. In 1805 in the sixty-ninth year of his life, he was at last declared so far recovered that he was put in charge of another pastorate. He died, however, in 1808. For further particulars respecting the character of the man who had raised the infamous slander of Swedenborg's insanity, see Note 118.

## E.

# EXTRAORDINARY FACTS PROVING SWEDENBORG'S INTERCOURSE WITH THE OTHER WORLD.

*INTRODUCTION.*

Before entering upon the discussion of the three extraordinary facts which are generally quoted in proof of Swedenborg's intercourse with the spiritual world, viz. 1. The conflagration in Stockholm, 2. The lost receipt, and 3. The affair with the Queen of Sweden, we desire first of all to call attention to the light in which Swedenborg himself desired that these facts should be regarded.

In his letter to Louis IX, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt (Document 247), he says: "As to that which is related of the brother of the Queen of Sweden, it is true; but it should not be regarded as a miracle; it is simply one of those memorable relations. which in the work mentioned ['The True Christian Religion'] have been told respecting Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and the rest. Yet both the former and the latter are simply testimonies, that I have been introduced by the Lord into the spiritual world, as to my spirit, and that I speak with angels and spirits."

To Venator, the ducal minister, he repeats the same thing, only in stronger language; he says: "In my letter to His Highness, the Duke, I speak of conversations [I had in the spiritual world], and also of that which I had with the Queen of Sweden and her brother; yet these ought by no means to be regarded as miracles; they are only testimonies that I have been introduced by the Lord into the spiritual world; and that there I am enjoying the intercourse and conversation of angels and

spirits for this purpose, that the church which has hitherto remained in ignorance concerning that world, may know that heaven and hell exist in reality, and that man lives after death, a man, as before; and that thus there may be no more doubt as to his immortality. I beseech you, therefore, to try to convince the Duke, your sovereign, that these are not miracles, but only testimonies that I speak with angels and spirits. In the above-mentioned work ['The True Christian Religion'] you may see that there are no more miracles, at this time; and the reason why. It is, that they who do not believe unless they see miracles, are easily led into fanaticism." And in his letter to Prelate Œtinger (Document 232), he adds, "Signs and wonders do not take place at the present day, because they compel externally, and internally do not convince.... The sign, given at this day, will be illustration, and thence an acknowledgment and a reception of the truths of the New Church."

The Rev. S. Noble in adverting to the extraordinary facts discussed in the present division of our work, makes the following pertinent remarks ("Appeal," p. 199): "It may perhaps be thought, that if, in consequence of having been called by the Lord to a holy office, Swedenborg really had the privilege of conversing with angels and spirits, some plain proofs of it, beyond his own assertions, might occasionally occur. Now that such proofs did occur, is a certain fact. He indeed never appeals to them in support of his mission: he shows, in various parts of his writings, that where the mind is not receptive of truth by its own evidence, no external testimony will force it in: he therefore affirms, that it would have been incompatible with the nature of the truly spiritual dispensation to be opened by the Second Coming of the Lord, to prove it by miracles. To the performance of miracles, therefore, he made no claim: yet as Providence permitted him, on some occasions, to give full demonstration of his supernatural knowledge, we must conclude that it was granted for some useful end. That end may be, to afford satisfaction to those who, though favourably inclined towards the doctrines of the New Church in general, would yet feel more assured by some external tokens. On those who are decidedly opposed to the truths contained in our author's writings, no external tokens whatever, we are

quite certain, would induce reception: but to others. those which follow may be useful as confirmations: in which light, only, they are offered."

With these sentiments of Mr. Noble we heartily concur; and for this reason we think it of importance that the historical truth in respect to these facts be carefully established. For these facts or stories, by having passed from mouth to mouth, have to some extent shared the fate of most stories, i. e. heterogeneous and sometimes entirely fictitious additions have been made to them. It is our object to reconcile these various accounts, and to establish, if possible, their original form. Besides, the historical truth of these facts has been denied, and attempts have been made to explain away their force. The futile nature of these explanations will have to be exposed, and their illogical and fictitious character demonstrated. In this delicate undertaking we shall have the invaluable aid of the truly meritorious work done by the late Dr. Im. Tafel in Vol. IV of the German edition of his "Swedenborg Documents," which has only in part been brought to the notice of Swedenborg's admirers in Great Britain and America. In some part of our work, however, we shall have the advantage of some additional documentary evidence, which had not come to the knowledge of our predecessor, and which will render our task a little easier.

## *DOCUMENT* 271.

## A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION OF DATES.

Our first object will be to establish the precise dates when these extraordinary facts, viz. 1. The conflagration in Stockholm which was foretold by Swedenborg; 2. The fact of the lost receipt, and 3. The occurrence with the Queen of Sweden, occurred.

They took place during the time intervening between Swedenborg's return to Sweden from Amsterdam in 1759, and the beginning of 1762, when he departed again for the same place.

### A.

The date of the conflagration in Stockholm is July 19, 1759, as is proved by Dr. Im. Tafel (Vol. IV, pp. 232, 233) by the following contemporaneous sources:

1. In Büsching's "Neue Erdbeschreibung," Part I, fourth edition, Hamburg, 1770, p. 451, we read: "In 1751, three hundred and ten houses were burned down together with the Church of St. Clara. In 1759 the *Södermalm* (southern suburb) was almost entirely devastated by a conflagration." See also the Schaffhausen edition of the same work, published in 1766, p. 374.

2. The "Neue Europäische Staats- und Reisegeographie," Vol. 14, Dresden and Leipzig, 1767, page 800, declares, "In the year 1759 almost the entire *Södermalm* was laid in ashes."

3. J. Hübner's "Reales Staats-, Zeitungs- und Conversations-Lexicon," Leipzig, 1789, observes (p. 2466): "Stockholm was visited in 1710 by a pestilence, and in 1723, 1751, 1759, 1768, and 1769 by great conflagrations."

4. A minute description of the fire was given in the "Frankfurter Mess-Relation, das ist, Halbjährliche Erzählungen der neuesten Staats- und Weltgeschichte, wie solche zwischen der

Frankfurter Ostermesse und besagter Herbstmesse 1759 durch zuverlässige Nachrichten zu unserer Wissenschaft gekommen" (Chronicle of the Frankfort Fair, or Semi-annual record of historical events that came to our notice through reliable sources between the Easter and autumn fairs), where we read (p. 74) under the head: "*Great Fire in Stockholm.*—Considering the state of the internal and external affairs of the crown of Sweden it is a matter of great regret, that in addition to all its other misfortunes, its capital Stockholm has been visited by a great conflagration. On the 19th of July last, at three o'clock in the afternoon, it broke out in three places at the same time, viz., in the *Södermalm, Norrmalm,* and Holland Street. The fire was quickly subdued in the two latter places; but in the first it seized the whole north-western part of the *Södermalm* together with St. Mary's Church; and a strong north-east wind drove the flames towards the *Mälar,* the Market, the iron depot, the Russian depot, and other buldings situated along the *Götgatan,* and near the southern bridge of boats, and consumed them all together with a large number of smaller houses constructed of wood; so that altogether seventy houses of stone and one hundred and eighty of wood were destroyed. The damage is calculated to amount to nine million dalers."

5. That this fire took place in the summer of 1759 is also proved by Document 214, where J. Wretman, on September 1, 1759, wrote to Swedenborg, "I was very glad to hear that your garden and residence have escaped the last terrible fire in Stockholm." See also Document 5, no. 16, where reference is made to the fire of 1759.

B.

The date of the story of the lost receipt is determined proximately by that of the death of M. de Marteville which took place on April 25, 1760, as is proved by Dr. Im. Tafel by the following reference:

1. In the "Neue Generalogisch-Historische Nachrichten von den vornehmsten Begebenheiten, welche sich an den Europäischen Höfen zutragen, worin zugleich vieler Standes-Personen Lebensbeschreibungen vorkommen," Part 136, Leipzig, 1761,

we read (pp. 244, 247) as follows: "Some recent memorable deaths. In April, 1760. —— 7. Louis de Marteville, extraordinary ambassador of the General States of the United Netherlands in Sweden, died April 25 in Stockholm, aged fifty-eight years and eight months. He had been in that country since 1752."

2. The same date is furnished by the Countess Schwerin, the sister of Madame de Marteville, who states that "M. de Marteville died in the month of April, 1760."

How soon after the death of M. de Marteville the story of the lost receipt happened, cannot be determined with certainty. Most authorities simply say "some time afterwards;" while the second husband of Madame de Marteville says "a year afterwards," which would fix the date in April or May, 1761.

C.

With regard to the third fact it must have happened after the second, since the Queen of Sweden told the Academicians Thiébault and Merian (see Document 275), that "she had been previously acquainted with the anecdote of the lost receipt."

The precise date of this occurrence, however, Dr. Im. Tafel derives from the following statement of Kant the philosopher made during his investigation of these extraordinary facts (Document 272), viz. that he had obtained his account from "a Danish officer, his friend and former student, who was present at the table of the Austrian Ambassador Dietrichstein at Copenhagen, when he received a letter from Baron von Lützow, the Mecklenburg minister in Stockholm, in which this gentleman gave him an account of the story of the Queen which had happened just then." Kant wrote to his friend, and asked him for further particulars, when he advised him "to write to Swedenborg, as he himself was then about *to depart for the army under General St. Germain.*"

"This particular," says Dr. Tafel (p. 234 *et seq.*), "furnishes an additional landmark by which to determine the date of this occurrence. The aforesaid Count de St. Germain entered into the service of Denmark in 1761; but only after the Emperor Peter III had ascended the Russian throne on January 5, 1762, was Denmark compelled to make warlike

preparations; and on March 2, 1762, the Count collected an army of 13,000 men near Segeberg. After Peter III, on July 9, 1762, was deprived of his throne and his freedom, and, on July 17, of his life, and when in consequence thereof the Empress Catharine recalled her troops, the Danish army also, on August 9, returned to its former quarters."

This historical statement, the truth of which Dr. Im. Tafel proves (pp. 235, 236) by references to four historical and biographical works,* furnishes us with two dates. In the first place it shows that Swedenborg on July 17, 1762, had left Stockholm and was in Amsterdam; for on that day he announced in a company in that city that "Peter III had died in prison, explaining the nature of his death" (see Document 257, B). And, on the other hand, it shows that either towards the close of February, or the beginning of March, 1762, the Danish officer, Kant's friend, received the professor's letter asking for further particulars, so that, allowing a month for the letters to pass to and from Copenhagen and Königsberg, the letter of the Mecklenburg Ambassador, Baron von Lützow, probably reached Copenhagen some time in January, 1762. This places the memorable meeting of Swedenborg and the Queen of Sweden somewhere in the latter part of 1761; thus agreeing with Kant's statement made in 1766, that "Swedenborg towards the close of 1761 was called to a princess" [Louisa Ulrica]. As Fryxell, however, reports ("Berättelser ur Svenska Historien," Vol. XLIII, p. 184) that an ambassador of Saxony, in a letter dated December 8, 1761, alludes to this occurrence, its true date must be placed towards the close of November, 1761.

The result of our preliminary investigation into the dates of the extraordinary facts in question is therefore as follows:

1. The conflagration in Stockholm took place on July 19, 1759.

* 1. "Allgemeine Weltgeschichte" after W. Guthrie, J. Gray, and others, by D. F. Wagner, Vol. 16, 1. Leipzig, 1785, p. 246.

2. "Die Neuen Genealogisch-Historischen Nachrichten," etc., Part 152, Leipzig, 1762, p. 301.

3. "Fortgesetzte Neue Genealogische Nachrichten" etc., Part V, VI, Leipzig, 1762, pp. 337, 350, 363.

4. "Biographie Universelle," Vol. XXXIX, 1825, p. 583.

2. Madame de Marteville found the lost receipt in April or May, 1761.

3. Swedenborg made the remarkable announcement to the Queen of Sweden towards the close of November, 1761.

The necessity for our instituting this preliminary investigation will appear in the succeeding documents.

## *DOCUMENT* 272.

## THE RESULT OF PROF. KANT'S[242] INVESTIGATION.

In 1766 Prof. I. Kant published anonymously a work entitled: "Träume eines Geistersehers, erläutert durch Träume der Metaphysic" (Dreams of a spirit-seer, explained by dreams of metaphysics), which has been adverted to above (Documents 233 and 256, F,). In this work he satirises on the one hand metaphysics and the metaphysicians, as the representatives of reason, and on the other hand the spirit-seer Schwedenberg *(sic!)*, as the representative of credulity; and after relating to his readers the three extraordinary facts discussed in the present division of our work, he writes, "Madness and intelligence have not clearly defined bounds, wherefore I leave it to the good pleasure of my readers, after perusing the wonderful account to which I treat them here, to resolve into its elements for my benefit the ambiguous mixture of reason and credulity which I offer them in my book."

Soon after the appearance of this volume Charlotte von Knobloch (afterwards the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel von Klingsporn), a lady full of an enthusiastic love for knowledge, who was highly esteemed by Kant, asked him for further particulars respecting Swedenborg; her interest in him having been awakened by a perusal of Kant's book.

Kant in reply sent her a letter containing the result of his further investigations into the truth of the extraordinary facts related in his book respecting Swedenborg. This letter

was printed in a work prepared by L. E. Borowski, (afterwards the only evangelical archbishop ever appointed in Prussia,) which was entitled: "Darstellung des Lebens und Charakters Immanuel Kant's" (Sketch of the Life and Character of Immanuel Kant), revised and corrected by Kant himself, Königsberg, 1804. It is a most remarkable fact, however, that all the dates given in that letter have been falsified, so as to cause the appearance of its having been written before, and not after, the above volume.

The letter itself purports to have been dated Königsberg, August 10, 1758; but as it discusses facts, all of which, as we have proved in Document 270, took place between 1759 and 1762, the letter itself must have been written not in 1758, but after the beginning of 1762. Dr. Im. Tafel, however, by the following course of procedure has proved incontestably that it was written not only after 1762, but even after 1766.

He *first* calls attention to this passage in Kant's letter, "In the meantime I made the acquaintance of an English gentleman who spent the last summer at this place, and whom, relying on the friendship we had formed, I commissioned, as he was going to Stockholm, to make particular inquiries respecting the miraculous gift which M. de Swedenborg is said to possess."

Dr. Im. Tafel remarks here (p. 237), "In respect to Kant's friendship with an Englishman it may be reasonably expected that it would be noticed by his biographers; wherefore the Englishman mentioned in the letter could not have been other than the Englishman Green,[243] with whom Kant had a close friendship. Concerning this gentleman we find further particulars in Kant's Biography, Vol. II, which was begun by Borowsky, and finished by Jachmann, the councillor of education. It is there stated that this friendship commenced in the beginning of the war of independence in America (see Note 243). F. W. Schubert, however, has already shown in his life of Kant (p. 53), that the origin of Kant's friendship with Green must be dated earlier, since Kant and Green were intimate friends long before the beginning of the American war, as appears from many passages in Hamann's letters. The beginning of this friendship must therefore really be

placed between 1768 [1767] and 1770; because Hamann makes mention of the Englishman Green as Kant's friend not only as early as 1770, but also on Whit-Monday, 1768, speaks of Kant as having been present with himself at Green's house."* From all this Dr. Im. Tafel concludes that the beginning of Kant's friendship with Green must be dated to the year 1767 or 1768.

Again Kant writes in his letter, that Swedenborg told his friend, that "he would proceed to London in the month of May, this year, where he would publish a book in which an answer to his letter in every point might be met with."

The question now arises in what year, after 1762, did Swedenborg go to London in the month of May, in order to publish there a work which would answer all the points raised in a letter written by a professional metaphysician like Kant?

The occurrence with the Queen happened towards the close of November, 1761. In the beginning of March of the following year Kant's correspondent, the Danish officer, left Copenhagen to join the army of St. Germain, and advised Kant to write to Swedenborg. Kant wrote a letter to Swedenborg, probably during March, which that gentleman promised to answer, but never did. Soon afterwards Swedenborg left Stockholm for Amsterdam, where he was in a company on July, 17, 1762, the day on which the Emperor Peter III died (see Document 257, B); and to be there at that time, he must have left Sweden some time in May or June.

As Swedenborg omitted to answer Kant's letter, that gentleman commissioned an English friend who proceeded to Stockholm, "to make particular inquiries respecting Swedenborg." This could not have been in 1762; for some time must have elapsed before Kant could feel sure that Swedenborg "had omitted to write to him."

Besides, when Kant's friend came to Stockhom, Swedenborg told him that "he should proceed to London in the month of May this year," from which it would follow that his friend saw him some time in March or April; yet Kant became aware of the Queen's story only in March; and his

* See Hamann's "Schriften," (Hamann's Writings), edited by Fr. Roth, Part III, 1822, p. 381 *et seq.;* and also Part IV, 1823, p. 367.

friend could not proceed to Stockholm in March or the beginning of April, as the navigation between Königsberg and Stockholm does not open before the middle, and frequently not before the end, of April.

Further, in 1762 Swedenborg did not proceed to London in order to publish a book there; but to Amsterdam, where, during 1763 and 1764, he published the following works: "The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem respecting the Lord, the Sacred Scripture, a Life in agreement with the Decalogue, and Faith," and likewise "Angelic Wisdom respecting the Divine Love and Wisdom, and respecting the Divine Providence."

He does not seem to have spent the whole of these two years in Amsterdam, but to have returned to Stockholm in the latter part of 1762, since we have a letter from him dated Stockholm, January 6, 1763 (see Document 220). In the same year, however, he proceeded again to Amsterdam in June (see Document 282, A, 1) to see through the press "The Divine Love and Wisdom," and "The Divine Providence," which bear the date of 1764, while the "Doctrine respecting the Lord," and the others, bear that of 1763.

In August 1764 he returned to Stockholm, where he was visited soon after by the Librarian Gjörwell (see Document 251 and also 282, A, 3), to whom he said that his last works had been printed in Amsterdam, although "he had been over to England, to deliver them to the Royal Society;" not, however, to print a book there, as he had mentioned to Kant's friend.

In 1765 Swedenborg proceeded again to Amsterdam for the purpose of printing there his "Apocalypsis Revelata"(see Document 282, B, 1); and on the way thither he became acquainted with Dr. Beyer at Gottenburg; his first letter to Dr. Beyer is dated October 1, 1765. According to Document 223 he left Amsterdam for London in the latter part of April 1766, and stayed there until the end of August (see Document 227), yet neither then did he publish there any book, as he had said he would do to Kant's friend.

Swedenborg arrived in Stockholm on September 8, 1766 (see Document 230). It seems probable that he remained in Stockholm during the whole of 1767, leaving there early in 1768, in order to print in Amsterdam his "Conjugial Love,"

and his "Brief Exposition," and in London his "Intercourse between the Soul and the Body." The work on "Conjugial Love" left the press in Amsterdam towards the close of September, 1768 (see Document 237), and the "Brief Exposition" in the beginning of March, 1769 (see Document 240). On April 26 he left Amsterdam for Paris (see Document 241), and proceeded thence to London, where he published his little treatise on the "Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," and in the beginning of October, 1769, he returned finally to Stockholm (see Document 244, H).

Such is a brief outline of Swedenborg's movements between 1762 and 1769, and the question now arises, when, during that time, could he possibly have seen Kant's friend in Stockholm, and told him that "he would proceed to London in the month of May this year, where he would publish a book," &c.

There can be little doubt that the book which Swedenborg said he would publish in London, was that on the "Intercourse between the Soul and the Body;" for this is the only work which he published in London between 1762 and 1769, and, besides, it treats of the three philosophical hypotheses of Aristotle, Descartes, and Leibnitz, and thus most likely contains an answer to those questions which Kant had propounded to him.

From this then it would follow that Kant made the acquaintance of his friend Green[243] during the summer of 1767, which fully agrees with all the dates on the subject; that Green saw Swedenborg early in 1768, and returned to Königsberg in time to meet Kant and his friend at his house on Whit-Monday, 1768.

The only difference in the programme, as Swedenborg had stated it to Green, is this, that instead of proceeding from Stockholm first to London, to print his "Intercourse" there, and thence to Amsterdam, in order to publish his "Conjugial Love" and his "Brief Exposition," he inverted his programme, by going first to Amsterdam, and afterwards to London.

Dr. Im. Tafel, besides, directs attention to the fact that Kant, in his work "*Träume eines Geistersehers*," &c., called Swedenborg constantly *Schwedenberg*, while in his letter to Charlotte von Knobloch he gave him his correct name. Moreover,

in his work of 1766 Kant declared that the three extraordinary facts respecting Swedenborg had "no other foundation than common report, which is very exceptionable" (p. 86); while in his letter he gave two of these facts on the authority of his English friend, who had carefully examined them on the spot.

We therefore consider it established that Kant's letter to Charlotte von Knobloch was not written in 1758, but in 1768; and from our investigations, as given in Document 271, we likewise consider it satisfactorily proved that the conflagration in Stockholm happened, not in 1756 as is twice asserted in Kant's printed letter, but in 1759.

By whom this falsification was perpetrated, whether by Kant himself or his biographers, we do not undertake to determine here; we content ourselves with having restored its true dates to the following letter, which contains some of the most important testimony preserved to us respecting two of the extraordinary facts which are now engaging our attention:

*IMMANUEL KANT*[242] *TO CHARLOTTE VON KNOBLOCH.**

"I would not have deprived myself so long of the honour and pleasure of obeying the request of a lady, who is the ornament of her sex, in communicating the desired information, if I had not deemed it necessary previously to inform myself thoroughly concerning the subject of your request.... Permit me, gracious lady, to justify my proceedings in this matter, inasmuch as it might appear that an erroneous opinion had induced me to credit the various relations concerning it without careful examination. I am not aware that anybody has ever perceived in me an inclination to the marvellous, or a weakness tending to credulity. So much is certain, that, notwithstanding all the narrations of apparitions and visions concerning the spiritual world, of which a great number of the most probable are known to me, I have always considered it to be most in

* The German original of this letter is contained in Borowsky's "Darstellung des Lebens und Charakters Immanuel Kant's," Königsberg, 1804, pp. 211 to 225.

The first English translation of this letter was printed in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1830, p. 53, to which, according to Mr. Noble, it was furnished by the Rev. J. H. Smithson.

agreement with the rule of sound reason to incline to the negative side; not as if I had imagined such a case to be impossible, although we know but very little concerning the nature of a spirit, but because the instances are not in general sufficiently proved. There arise, moreover, from the incomprehensibility and inutility of this sort of phenomena, too many difficulties; and there are, on the other hand, so many proofs of deception, that I have never considered it necessary to suffer fear or dread to come upon me, either in the cemeteries of the dead or in the darkness of night. This is the position in which my mind stood for a long time, until the report concerning Swedenborg came to my notice.

"This account I received from a Danish officer, who was formerly my friend, and attended my lectures; and who, at the table of the Austrian ambassador, Dietrichstein, at Copenhagen, together with several other guests, read a letter which the ambassador about that time had received from Baron de Lutzow, the Mecklenburg ambassador in Stockholm; in which he says, that he, in company with the Dutch ambassador, was present, at the Queen of Sweden's residence, at the extraordinary transaction respecting Swedenborg, which your ladyship will undoubtedly have heard. The authenticity thus given to the account surprised me. For it can scarcely be believed, that one ambassador should communicate to another for public use a piece of information, which related to the queen of the court where he resided, and which he himself, together with a distinguished company, had the opportunity of witnessing, if it were not true. Now in order not to reject blindfold the prejudice against apparitions and visions by a new prejudice, I found it desirable to inform myself as to the particulars of this surprising transaction. I accordingly wrote to the officer I have mentioned, at Copenhagen, and made various inquiries respecting it. He answered that he had again had an interview concerning it with Count Dietrichstein; that the affair had really taken place in the manner described; and that Professor Schlegel, also, had declared to him, that it could by no means be doubted. He advised me, as he was then going to the army under General St. Germain, to write to Swedenborg himself, in order to ascertain the particular circumstances of

this extraordinary case. I then wrote to this singular man, and the letter was delivered to him, in Stockholm, by an English merchant. Information was sent here, that Swedenborg politely received the letter, and promised to answer it; but the answer was omitted. In the meantime I made the acquaintance of a highly educated English gentleman who spent the last summer at this place, and whom, relying on the friendship we had formed, I commissioned, as he was going to Stockholm, to make particular inquiries respecting the miraculous gift which Swedenborg is said to possess. In his first letter, he states, that the most respectable people in Stockholm declare, that the singular transaction alluded to happened in the manner you have heard described by me. He had not then had an interview with Swedenborg, but hoped soon to embrace the opportunity; although he found it difficult to persuade himself that all could be true, which the most reasonable persons of the city asserted, respecting his secret communication with the spiritual world. But his succeeding letters were quite of a different purport. He had not only spoken with Swedenborg himself, but had also visited him at his house; and he is now in the greatest astonishment respecting such a remarkable case. Swedenborg is a reasonable, polite, and open-hearted man: he also is a man of learning; and my friend has promised to send me some of his writings in a short time. He told this gentleman, without reserve, that God had accorded to him the remarkable gift of communicating with departed souls at his pleasure. In proof of this, he appealed to certain well-known facts. As he was reminded of my letter, he said that he was aware he had received it, and that he would already have answered it, had he not intended to make the whole of this singular affair public before the eyes of the world. He would proceed to London in the month of May this year, where he would publish a book, in which an answer to my letter in every point might be met with.

"In order, gracious lady, to give you two proofs, of which the present existing public is a witness, and the person who related them to me had the opportunity of investigating them at the very place where they occurred, I will narrate to you the two following occurrences."

Kant relates here the story of the lost receipt, and of the conflagration in Stockholm, as he himself had been told it by his friend Green, and as it will be found in Documents 273 and 274; and concludes his letter thus:

"What can be brought forward against the authenticity of this occurrence [the conflagration in Stockholm]? My friend who wrote this to me has examined all, not only in Stockholm, but also, about two months ago, in Gottenburg, where he is well acquainted with the most respectable houses, and where he could obtain the most authentic and complete information, for, as only a very short time has elapsed since 1759,* most of the inhabitants are still alive who were eye-witnesses of this occurrence."

"I am, with profound reverence, &c., &c.

"EMANUEL KANT.

"Königsberg, August 10, 1768.†"

## *DOCUMENT* 273.

## THE CONFLAGRATION IN STOCKHOLM.

### A.

*KANT'S*[242] *ACCOUNT.*‡

"The following occurrence appears to me to have the greatest weight of proof, and to place the assertion respecting Swedenborg's extraordinary gift beyond all possibility of doubt.

* The German original has 1756; see Document 271, A.

† The German original has 1758; see Introduction to the present Document.

‡ Extracted from Kant's letter to Charlotte von Knobloch, first printed in Borowsky's "Darstellung des Lebens und Characters Immanuel Kant's," revised and corrected by Kant himself, Königsberg, 1804, pp. 211 to 225. The first English translation of that letter was printed in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1830, p. 53, to which, according to Mr. Noble, it was furnished by the Rev. J. H. Smithson.

In the year 1759,* towards the end of September,† on Saturday, at four o'clock, p.m., Swedenborg arrived at Gottenburg from England, when Mr. William Castel invited him to his house, together with a party of fifteen persons. About six o'clock, Swedenborg went out, and returned to the company quite pale and alarmed. He said that a dangerous fire had just broken out in Stockholm, at the Södermalm, (Gottenburg is about 50 German miles‡ from Stockholm), and that it was spreading very fast. He was restless, and went out often. He said that the house of one of his friends, whom he named, was already in ashes, and that his own was in danger. At eight o'clock, after he had been out again, he joyfully exclaimed, 'Thank God! the fire is extinguished, the third door from my house.' This news occasioned great commotion throughout the whole city, but particularly amongst the company in which he was. It was announced to the governor the same evening. On Sunday morning, Swedenborg was summoned to the governor, who questioned him concerning the disaster. Swedenborg described the fire precisely, how it had begun, and in what manner it had ceased, and how long it had continued. On the same day the news spread through the city, and, as the governor had thought it worthy of attention, the consternation was considerably increased; because many were in trouble on account of their friends and property, which might have been involved in the disaster. On Monday evening a messenger arrived at Gottenburg, who was despatched by the Board of Trade during the time of the fire. In the letters brought by him, the fire was described precisely in the manner stated by Swedenborg. On Tuesday morning the royal courier arrived at the governor's, with the melancholy intelligence of the fire, of the loss which it had occasioned, and of the houses it had damaged and ruined, not in the least differing from that which Swedenborg had given at the very time when it happened; for the fire was extinguished at eight o'clock."

* The German original has 1756; see Introduction to Document 271.

† The conflagration did not take place in September, but on July 29; see Document 271, A.

‡ About 300 English miles.

This is the most minute account which we have of this occurrence; and as Kant's friend, the Englishman Green,[243] according to Kant, "examined all, not only in Stockholm, but also in Gottenburg, where he was well acquainted with the most respectable houses, and where he could obtain the most authentic and complete information," we have full reason to place implicit reliance upon it.

B.

*JUNG-STILLING'S*[215] *ACCOUNT.*

In his "Theorie der Geisterkunde,"* p. 90, he says: "As so much has been written and is being said in favour of, and in opposition to, this extraordinary man (Swedenborg), I consider it my duty to make known the *pure truth* respecting him, since I have had an opportunity of knowing it pure and uncontaminated."

He then continues, "Swedenborg arrived at Gottenburg from England with a company of travellers. There he stated, he had been told by the angels, that a fire was raging in Stockholm, in such and such a street. Stockholm citizens were among the company, who were startled at the news. Soon he entered, and said that they need no longer be uneasy, because the fire was extinguished. On the following day† they learned that all was true. *This story is certain and true.*"

As Jung furnishes here some additional particulars of this occurrence, his testimony would have been exceedingly valuable, if he had communicated to us the source whence it was derived. Still Dr. Jung's confirmation of this account gives it considerable weight.

C.

*PERNETY'S*[244] *ACCOUNT.*‡

Pernety's account of this occurrence differs from that of all the rest. He says, "On arriving from London at Gotten-

* The title of the English translation of this work is: "Theory of Pneumatology," &c. Translated by Samuel Jackson, London 1834

† This should be, "two days afterwards."

‡ See Document 6, no. 18.

burg, Swedenborg was told that his house had been consumed by a great conflagration, in which almost the whole of the southern suburb of Stockholm was destroyed in 1759. 'No,' replied he, 'my house was not burnt; the fire did not extend so far.' He spoke truly, and the occurrence had been so recent, that he could not have received the particulars by letter, or from any other person."

This version of the story is not corroborated by any other authority; while the leading features of the account, as furnished by Kant and Stilling, are confirmed by Swedenborg himself, who told the story to Bergström as follows:

## D.

### SWEDENBORG'S ACCOUNT TO BERGSTRÖM.*[224]

"Swedenborg also related the story of the fire at Stockholm: that after he had gone out from the company into the garden of the house at Gottenburg, he returned, and told the company soon after, that his house and garden were safe, and described how near the flame had come to it, though no account from thence had then arrived."

## E.

### SPRINGER'S[121] ACCOUNT.

1. The account which Springer himself gave in his letter to Pernety (Document 261, no. 12), in the form in which he had derived it from Swedenborg is as follows:

"I asked Swedenborg whether it was true, as I had been informed, that when he was at Gottenburg (a town about sixty Swedish miles from Stockholm), he had foretold to his friends, three days before the arrival of the post, the precise hour of the great fire that had happened in Stockholm, to which he replied that it was exactly true."

2. Peckitt[229] gives us the story from Mr. Springer's mouth

* See Document 263, no. 6.

in the following form:* "The Baron was sitting with company at Gottenburg, which is 188 miles [?] from Stockholm; when he told them, that that part of the town was then on fire where his house and garden were [situated]; but he hoped his house would escape the flames, 1759. He shortly after told them his house was safe, *but the garden was destroyed*, and when the post arrived a few days after, it was as he had predicted."

The statement that "his garden was destroyed," is not corroborated by any other authority; in fact Swedenborg himself stated to Bergström that "his house and garden were safe" [see above, section D].

## F.

*LETOCARD'S† ACCOUNT.‡*

"On the 19th of August [July], 1759, when Swedenborg returned from London, whither he went from time to time to print new works, he said *on landing at Gottenburg* [?], that on this very day there was a great conflagration in Stockholm in the Södermalm, and that his house, which was situated there, would be preserved. A few days afterwards a confirmation of this statement was received in Gottenburg."

Most of the accounts concur in the statement that Swedenborg told this news, not *while he was landing*, but while he was assembled with many others at the house of a merchant.

On comparing the various accounts, it seems as if the story, as told by Immanuel Kant in section A, contained the real facts of the case; while from Stilling's account, section B, the particular may be added that "he was told so by the angels."

* See Document 264, no. 12.

† Letocard was the Secretary to the Dutch Ambassador Marteville.[43]

‡ See Document 276, p. 683.

## *DOCUMENT* 274.

## THE LOST RECEIPT.

Many versions of this story exist, which may be traced back to eleven different sources.

From the two *dramatis personæ*, viz. Swedenborg and Madame de Marteville, no direct testimony is preserved; although Robsahm and Bergström relate their narrative as they heard it from Swedenborg's own lips.

Next in importance is the testimony of Mr. Letocard, the Secretary of the Dutch embassy in Stockholm, who lived at the house of M. de Marteville, and was an eye-witness of the whole affair. His testimony agrees with that of Mademoiselle de Marteville, the ambassador's daughter. The testimony of these two persons was collected in 1788 by the Countess de Schwerin,[249] sister of Madame de Marteville,* and was published in 1789 by L. L. von Brenkenhoff,[253] in a separate little work,† to which we shall have occasion to refer more fully in Document 276. This little work escaped the attention of Dr. Im. Tafel, and hence its contents have not heretofore become known to the admirers of Swedenborg.

We shall begin our investigation with Mr. Letocard's testimony, which, according to the Countess de Schwerin, thoroughly agrees with that of her niece, Mademoiselle de Marteville. Concerning Letocard himself, she says: "The gentleman who for twenty years was Secretary of the Dutch Embassy, under my late brother-in law, is called Letocard.

* See Notes 43 and 249.

† "Paradoxa, zweites Bändchen, nicht militärischen sondern die Pseudo-Aufklärung betreffenden Inhalts," von L. L. von Brenkenhoff, Potsdam, 1789.

This old gentleman has retired from public life, and lives at present with his family in Pomerania. As he still keeps up a correspondence with Sweden, I asked him to collect some additional true anecdotes about the late Swedenborg."

## A.

*LETOCARD'S ACCOUNT.**

"Mr. de Matevell [Marteville], envoy extraordinary of the United Provinces at the Court of Sweden, died in Stockholm in April 1760. Some time afterwards his widow was called upon by a silversmith to pay for a silver service. She was astonished at this demand, in view of her husband's punctuality in the settlement of his accounts, but was unable to find the silversmith's receipt, nothwithstanding all her researches. As she was very much importuned by that man, she applied to Mr. Samuel [Emanuel] de Schwedenborg, who told her that he would see her again in a few days, and give her the answer. He kept his word and said 'Madame, I have asked the spirit of your late husband, and he has told me that this receipt is in the secret drawer of such and such a writing-desk; where it was really found."

Another account furnished by Letocard and where the name "Marteville" is spelt correctly, occurs in a Swedish work entitled "Samtidens Märkvärdigaste Personer," Upsal, 1820 in which a short biographical sketch of Swedenborg is given, which is in part based on oral communications. We read there (p. 146), "'The husband of Madame de Marteville, who had been Dutch minister in Stockholm, died during the month of April 1760; and some time afterwards a goldsmith presented a bill, in which he demanded payment for a silver service which he had furnished. The widow who was not left in very good circumstances, knew that the bill had been paid, although she could not find the receipt for it. As the goldsmith threatened to go to law, and she was afraid that she

* Letocard's Account is contained in Letter 2 in the "Paradoxa."

would have to pay the sum, which was considerable, a second time; she resolved as a last resort to beg Swedenborg to ask her husband's spirit about this receipt. She related to him most faithfully all the circumstances, and some days afterwards Swedenborg brought back the reply from her husband, that the receipt, together with some other important papers, was in a secret compartment in the writing-desk which he had formerly used; where it was found.'—The above account has been acknowledged as true, both orally and in a written form, by Letocard, the secretary of the legation, in his capacity of executor of Marteville's estate."

Letocard's testimony is fully borne out by that furnished by Kant's English friend, Green, who was in Stockholm in 1767 or 1768, and who made it his particular business there to learn the truth of this affair; of him also we read that he became personally acquainted with Swedenborg, who, in proof of his own supernatural gift, called Mr. Green's notice "to certain well-known facts," i. e. the three facts which are now engaging our attention.

## B.

*TESTIMONY OF KANT'S FRIEND, GREEN.*[243]*

"Madame Harteville [Marteville], the widow of the Dutch ambassador in Stockholm, some time after the death of her husband was called upon by Croon, a goldsmith, to pay for a silver service which her husband had purchased from him. The widow was convinced that her late husband had been much too precise and orderly not to have paid this debt, yet she was unable to find the receipt. In her sorrow, and because the amount was considerable, she requested Mr. Swedenborg to call at her house. After apologizing to him for troubling him, she said, that if, as all people say, he possess-

* This account is contained in Kant's letter to Charlotte von Knobloch (Document 271, p. 627), where further particulars respecting its history may be found.

ed the extraordinary gift of conversing with the souls of the departed, he would perhaps have the kindness to ask her husband how it was about the silver service. Swedenborg did not at all object to comply with her request. Three days afterwards the said lady had company at her house for coffee. Swedenborg called, and in his cool way informed her that he had conversed with her husband. The debt had been paid seven months before his decease, and the receipt was in a bureau in the room upstairs. The lady replied that the bureau had been quite cleared out, and that the receipt was not found among all the papers. Swedenborg said that her husband had described to him, how after pulling out the left hand drawer a board would appear, which required to be drawn out, when a secret compartment would be disclosed, containing his private Dutch correspondence, as well as the receipt. Upon hearing this description the whole company rose and accompanied the lady into the room up-stairs. The bureau was opened; they did as they were directed; the compartment was found, of which no one had ever known before; and, to the great astonishment of all, the papers were discovered there, in accordance with his description."

The leading features of this account were confirmed by Swedenborg to Bergström,[224] who gave the following account of it to Provo.

## C.

*BERGSTRÖM'S*[224] *ACCOUNT.**

"Swedenborg also related the affair of the Countess de Marteville, from whose husband's information, after his decease, he told her where a receipt for a sum of money lay; where she found it; for which she wished to make Swedenborg a handsome present, but he refused it."

* See Document 263, no. 5.

## D.

*DR. CLEMM'S ACCOUNT.**

"In Stockholm a widow was hard pressed by a creditor, after the death of her husband. As she well knew that her husband had always been accustomed to settle his accounts promptly, she took refuge with Mr. Swedenborg, requesting him to interrogate the spirit of her late husband on this subject. This he did, and he brought back the answer, that the document on which the creditor acknowledged the receipt of the money would be found in a certain place in a bureau, described by him. The receipt is said to have been discovered there."

This is one of the three facts related by Dr. Clemm. The editor of a collection of documents concerning Swedenborg published in Hamburg in 1770, furnishes the following confirmation of this account: "The correctness of the facts related by Dr. Clemm has been attested by a distinguished Swedish gentleman, who was in the suite of the present King of Sweden, when as Crown-Prince he passed last year through Hamburg on his way to France. In a large and distinguished company, while they were sitting at table, he declared that these facts were commonly known as such in Stockholm, and that they were not subject to any doubt." This distinguished gentleman, we have reason to believe, was Count C. F. Scheffer (see Note 136).

Stilling's account in his "Theorie der Geisterkunde" scarcely differs from that of Dr. Clemm.

The story of the "Lost Receipt," as told by Mr. Letocard and endorsed by Mademoiselle de Marteville, and further as

* "Einleitung in die Religion und gesammte Theologie" (Introduction to Religion and universal Theology), by Dr. Heinrich Wilhelm Clemm, professor of theology in Tübingen, Vol. IV., p. 205, &c., published in Tübingen in 1767. As in the same volume, and in the same part of the volume, Dr. Clemm publishes the Latin originals of Swedenborg's letters to Prelate Œtinger, it seems probable that his account of the "three extraordinary facts," including that of the "lost receipt," was furnished to him by that gentleman.

corroborated by Kant's friend, Mr. Green, by Dr. Clemm, and Jung-Stilling, we hold to be the genuine account of this occurrence; and especially also because its general features are confirmed by Swedenborg himself in the account which he gave of this occurrence to Bergström.

We shall now have to present those accounts which vary in some of their features from the above; and first of all that of Swedenborg's friend Robsahm:

E.

*ROBSAHM'S[19] ACCOUNT.**

"The Dutch ambassador, Marteville, died in Stockholm. His widow, some time afterwards, was asked to pay a large sum of money, which she knew had been paid. At last she discovered the document among his papers; and there was a general talk in town, that Swedenborg had contributed towards it by his conversation with the deceased ambassador. I asked Swedenborg about it, and he said that the lady had been to see him, and had told him the circumstance, and that he promised her that if he should meet Marteville he would mention it to him. This was done; and 'the ambassador answered me,' said Swedenborg, 'that he would go home that same evening, and look after it, but I did not receive any other answer for his widow. I have heard since, that she discovered the important document; but I have had no other share in bringing this matter to light than what I have stated.' The general rumour was, that the widow dreamt that she was speaking with her husband, who told her where the paper would be found, in the place where he used to put things away."

This account, on first sight, we admit, has a very strong probability in its favour; for Robsahm, whom we have recognized as a faithful witness, reports the identical words of Swedenborg, by whom he was assured that the information concerning the whereabouts of the lost receipt was conveyed to the widow not by himself, but by the ambassador, who appeared to her in a dream. If Robsahm's testimony was confirmed by that of Bergström, we should feel strongly in-

* See Document 5, no. 45.

clined to adopt it; but Bergström distinctly learned from Swedenborg that "he himself told the Countess de Marteville where the receipt for the money lay."

Besides, Swedenborg was not the only actor in this affair. Madame de Marteville, her daughter, and Mr. Letocard, the secretary of the embassy, were likewise ocular witnesses of this occurrence; and although we have no direct statement from Madame de Marteville herself, we have the concordant testimony of her daughter and Mr. Letocard, both of whom declare that Swedenborg himself came to the embassy, and delivered his message. Moreover, this account is corroborated by Mr. Green, Kant's friend, and Dr. Clemm, whose statement is supported by Count Scheffer who, as we shall presently see, was one of the chief actors in the affair with the Queen.

As the account which Bergström received from Swedenborg is confirmed by the testimony of the other eye-witnesses, we are compelled, by the rules of evidence, to prefer his testimony to that of Robsahm; although Robsahm's statement that Madame de Marteville "had been to see Swedenborg," and not, as Mr. Green states, that "she had sent for him," has the greater probability in its favour.

The next variation of this story is that which the brothers Nordensköld sent in 1781 to Pernety, and which is based on the accounts they received from Count Höpken, and the wife of Swedenborg's gardener. This narrative combines the leading features of Robsahm's and Bergström's evidence, declaring that the ambassador both appeared to the widow, and delivered a message to Swedenborg.

## F.

*PERNETY'S ACCOUNT.**

"Senator Count Höpken and the wife of Swedenborg's gardener both informed me with regard to the two following facts. After the death of M. de Marteville, a considerable sum of money was demanded from his widow, which it was stated her husband owed. She knew very well that this pretended

* See Document 6, no. 24.

debt had been paid, but she did not know where he had placed the receipt. In her trouble she applied to Swedenborg. He informed her *next morning,* that he had spoken with her deceased husband, and that he had declared to him where he had placed the receipt, and that it would be found in the place described. *The deceased person appeared also to his widow, in the same dressing gown which he wore before his death, and having given her the same indications, departed. She was so much frightened by this, that she wakened the lady attending her, who was sleeping in the same room, and related this occurrence to her.* The receipt was found in the place Swedenborg had named. This occurrence made a great deal of noise at the court and in town, and every one related it in his own fashion."

The portions of the narrative in *italics* we challenge as to their accuracy; for both Letocard and Mr. Green state that Swedenborg called on Madame de Marteville not "next morning," but after a few days. Besides, if there had been any truth in the statement, that "the deceased person had appeared to his widow *in the same dressing gown which he wore before his death,*" Letocard and the daughter of Madame de Marteville would certainly have mentioned this circumstance in the account which they gave of the affair.

Pernety's version of this story was introduced in 1788 into a work entitled: *Abrégé des ouvrages d'Em. Swedenborg. Stockholm et Strasbourg* (Preface, p. XVIII), and likewise into the German translation of that work published in Leipzig, 1789, under the title: *Emanuel Swedenborg's theologische Werke oder .... Auszug aus seinen sämmtlichen Schriften* (p. 19).

We noticed above that Madame de Marteville did not leave any direct testimony in respect to this affair; but she has left indirect testimony through her second husband, the Danish General v. E. (von Eiben, as is suggested by Dr. Im. Tafel in Part III of his German edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," p. 28). Mr. v. E.'s account agrees in its main feature with that furnished by Pernety (Section F); but it contains some particulars which the narrator could have derived only from Madame de Marteville herself. These particulars, however, are blended with some evidently fanciful

embellishments, printed by us in *italics,* which impair somewhat the documentary character of the account.

Mr. v. E.'s testimony is contained in a letter addressed to a clergyman in 1775, and published by Baron von Bibra, Canon at Fulda, and editor of the *"Journal von und für Deutschland,"* in the volume for 1790 (nos. 1 to 6, pp. 33, &c.).

## G.

*TESTIMONY OF MADAME DE MARTEVILLE'S SECOND HUSBAND.*

"Most Reverend, most learned, and most respected Sir,

"An indisposition deprives my wife of the pleasure, most reverend Sir, of answering your favour, wherefore the pleasant duty devolves upon me, of furnishing you with a true and veritable statement of how the history happened, in which you seem to be so deeply interested. As all true occurrences become mixed with false accounts so also it has been with this. The facts of the case are as follows:

"About a year after the decease of M. de Marteville my wife thought of visiting the notorious and celebrated Mr. Swedenborg, who was then her neighbour in Stockholm, in order to make the acquaintance of such a strange wonder of humanity. She spoke of her desire to see him to several ladies, and they agreed to form a party on a certain day. All the ladies were admitted. Mr. Swedenborg received them in a very fine garden, *and in a magnificent saloon which was vaulted, and in the centre of the ceiling had a sky-light, by which, as he said, he frequently conversed with his friends, viz. the spirits.**

"Among other things my wife asked him, whether he had been acquainted with M. de Marteville? which he denied, as during this gentleman's stay at the Swedish court, *he had been almost constantly in London.*†

* This is evidently fanciful, as Swedenborg had no magnificent saloon with a sky-light, as represented by the narrator.

† M. de Marteville, as we learn from Document 271, p. 617, had been in Stockholm since the year 1752. Swedenborg was in Stockholm from the middle of 1750 (see Document 213, where he ordered seeds from

"I must mention here incidentally that the history of the 25,000 Dutch gilders (N. B. they had not been demanded a second time) is correct so far, that my wife was exercised about it, as she could not find a receipt. Nevertheless, at their visit to Swedenborg, nothing about this circumstance was mentioned.

"Eight days afterwards the late M. de Marteville appeared to my wife in a dream, and pointed out in an English case (*in einer englischen Schatulle*) the place where there was not only the receipt, but also a hair pin with twenty brilliants, which was likewise considered lost.*

"This was about two o'clock in the morning. She rose full of joy, and found everything in the place pointed out. She then retired again, and slept until nine o'clock in the morning. Towards eleven o'clock Mr. von Swedenborg begged to be announced. Before he had heard a word from my wife he related, that last night he had seen various spirits, and among them M. de Marteville. Swedenborg desired to converse with him, but he refused; because, as he said, he had to go to his wife, and relate to her something of importance; when he would leave the colony [society] in which he had been for about a year, and pass into one which is much more blessed.

"These are the real circumstances of the case which happened to my wife in connection with the receipt, and also in connection with Mr. von Swedenborg. I do not undertake to penetrate the mysteries in which this affair is involved, neither is it my vocation. I was simply requested to relate the story. This duty I have fulfilled, and I shall be very much pleased if it be deemed satisfactory by you.

"My wife desires to be remembered to you. I remain with all deference, most reverend Sir,

"Your obedient servant

"von E[IBEN?].

"G....., April 11, 1775."

Holland for his garden in Stockholm) probably to the end of 1756, when the last volume of the *Arcana Cœlestia* was printed in London, and when he went thither to publish his work on "Heaven and Hell," with four smaller treatises. He returned to Stockholm in the autumn of 1759.

* This is the only account where it is stated that the lost receipt was found in a case or box.

General von E., by applying to Swedenborg the epithet "notorious," seems to have regarded him in the light of an astrologer, or something similar; and throughout the whole of his narrative appears to have been trying to remove from his wife the suspicion of her having visited him in a professional capacity.

Dr. Im. Tafel makes the following remarks on his testimony (Part III, pp. 27, 28), "1. It is not very probable that Madame de Marteville in visiting Swedenborg was actuated entirely by curiosity; this may have been the ostensible reason she assigned to the other ladies; but it looks very much as if her visit had been a preparatory step. She could not very well in the presence of the other ladies ask Swedenborg about the lost receipt, and it seemed to her improbable that, in the presence of such witnesses, he would tell her anything which might have the appearance of soothsaying. But after having made Swedenborg's acquaintance in this manner, she might hope that he would not deny her his help, if afterwards she should visit him alone. 2. Her second husband does not mention this second visit for reasons that may easily be imagined; yet his account does not exclude such a second visit; it could easily have taken place during the eight days which intervened between her first visit and the appearance of M. de Marteville."

We now approach some versions of this story where the original circumstances of the case have been completely changed by "Dame Rumour." Of this description is the account furnished by the Academician Thiébault, and which he said he received from Chamberlain von Ammon, the brother of Madame de Marteville.[249]

## H.

THIÉBAULT'S[244] ACCOUNT.*

"I know not on what occasion it was, that conversing one day with the Queen† on the subject of the celebrated visionary, Swedenborg, we [the members of the academy], particularly M. Mérian[245] and myself, expressed a desire to know what opinion was entertained of him in Sweden. On my part, I related what had been told me respecting him by Chamberlain von Ammon,[249] who was still alive, and who had been ambassador from Prussia both to Holland and France. It was, 'That his brother-in-law [the Count de Marteville], ambassador from Holland to Stockholm, having died suddenly, merchants came to his wife, who was the sister of Baron von Ammon, and demanded from her the payment of a bill for some pieces of cloth which they had furnished, and which she remembered had been paid in her husband's life-time: that the widow, not being able to find the receipt of the merchants, in whose books the account had not been entered as paid, had been advised to consult Swedenborg, who, she was told, could converse with the dead whenever he pleased; that she accordingly adopted this advice, though she did so less from self-interest than curiosity; and at the end of a few days Swedenborg informed her, that her deceased husband had received the receipt for the money on such a day, at such an hour, as he was reading such an article in Bayle's Dictionary in his cabinet; and that his attention being called immediately afterwards to some other concern, he put the receipt into the

* This account is contained in *"Souvenir de vingt ans de séjour à Berlin"* by Dieudonné Thiébault, Member of the Royal Academy of Berlin, Vol. II, Paris, 1804 (pp. 254, *et seq.*). The first English translation of this narrative appeared in the "Appeal," by the Rev. S. Noble (pp. 200 to 202). It was transferred thence to the English and American editions of the "Swedenborg Documents" collected by Dr. Im. Tafel.

† Queen Louisa Ulrica, after the death of her husband Adolphus Frederic, went to Berlin in the autumn of 1771, where she was received in great state. She returned to Sweden in August, 1772. (See Fryxell "Berättelser," &c., Vol. 43, p. 20.) Her interview with Thiébault and other academicians took place during that time.

book to mark the place at which he left off; where in fact it was found, at the page described.' The Queen replied, that.... she was previously acquainted with the anecdote I had related, and it was one of those that had most excited her astonishment, though she had never taken the pains to ascertain the truth of it."

The Queen afterwards gave to the academicians an account of her own experience with Swedenborg, which will be found in Document 275.

Jung-Stilling in Vol. XIII of his "Sämmtliche Schriften" (Collected Writings), p. 339, communicates the following additional account of this story, which he had derived from a Russian gentleman. It furnishes some particulars, not previouly known, of the mode in which Madame de Marteville was led to apply to Swedenborg; but otherwise the original facts of the case are even more disfigured than in Thiébault's account. In fact the following narrative in some of its features approaches very much the usual ghost-stories.

## I.

*ACCOUNT OF THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR [OSTERMANN].**

Jung says, "I am acquainted with a very distinguished Russian gentleman, who fills a high office in his country, and at the same time is a highly enlightened Christian, and altogether a most excellent man. He related to me, that he knew very well, and was intimately connected with the Russian ambassador, who, during Swedenborg's time, was for many years in Stockholm.* That ambassador had often been in Swedenborg's company; he had often seen him in his trances, and had heard wonderful things from him. The universally known story, how Swedenborg had helped a certain widow to find a receipt, in doing which he is said to have acted deceitfully,† took place in the following manner, which is strictly true:

* Compare Document 5, no. 19; where the name of the Russian Ambassador in Stockholm, during Swedenborg's time, is given as Count Ostermann.

† This charge was made in the "Berliner Monatsschrift" for 1788, p. 318; and is disproved in Document 276.

"A distinguished gentleman purchased in Stockholm *an estate* from another gentleman. He paid his money, and received a receipt. Soon after the purchaser died; and after a while the vendor demanded from the widow payment for the estate, threatening her, that otherwise he would again take possession of the estate. The widow was frightened; she knew that her husband had paid for the property, and looked everywhere for the receipt, but without being able to find it. Her anxiety increased; and as her deceased husband had been acquainted with the Russian ambassador, and stood in friendly relations with him, she had recourse to him.

The ambassador knew from his own experience what Swedenborg in similar cases had done before; and as the widow was not acquainted with him, the ambassador undertook the management of the affair. As soon as he found an opportunity, he spoke with Swedenborg on the subject, and recommended to him the cause of the widow. After a few days Swedenborg came to the ambassador and commissioned him to tell the widow, *that on such and such a night her husband would appear to her at* 12 *o'clock, and tell her where the receipt was.* However terrible this was for the widow, she had to make up her mind to the interview, because the second payment of the estate would have plunged her into poverty, or perhaps she would not have been able to raise the money at all. She therefore resolved to meet her fate, and sat up during the appointed night; but she kept a maid with her, who very soon fell asleep, and could not be kept awake. At 12 o'clock the deceased appeared; he looked serious, and seemed displeased, and then pointed out to the widow the place where the receipt was, viz. in a certain house, in a little closet in the wall, which it was very difficult to notice. He then disappeared. Next morning the widow went to the appointed place, and found the receipt."

This narrative is an instance of the extent to which a simple story is sometimes disfigured and changed by rumour and gossip. The only real fact of the case seems to be, that Madame de Marteville was advised by the Russian ambassador, who had been a friend of her husband, the Dutch ambassador, to apply in her need to Swedenborg.

## *DOCUMENT* 275.

# SWEDENBORG AND THE QUEEN OF SWEDEN.[11]

The first point to be established in regard to this document is, that the extraordinary incidents, which are recorded to have taken place between Swedenborg and the Queen of Sweden, are historically true. Before specifying the particulars of that occurrence we are therefore called upon to furnish some general proofs of its reality.

For this purpose we shall first of all adduce Swedenborg's own direct testimony, contained in a letter which he addressed to Louis IX, Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt (Document 247):

## A.

*SWEDENBORG'S OWN TESTIMONY.*

.... "As to what is related of the daughter of the Prince Margrave, it is a fiction invented by some idle newsmonger, and I never even heard of it before; but what is reported of the brother[246] of the Queen of Sweden is true; yet it should not be regarded as a miracle, but only as a memorable occurrence of the kind related in the work entitled, 'The True Christian Religion' concerning Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and the rest. For all these are simply testimonies, that I have been introduced by the Lord as to my spirit into the spiritual world, that I converse with angels and spirits."

Swedenborg was besides interrogated on this affair by some of his friends. To Springer he said as follows:

## B.

*SPRINGER'S[121] TESTIMONY.**

"I asked him [Swedenborg] concerning the letter written by the Queen of Sweden to the late Margrave, her brother.[246] He replied, Much of this is true, and much is not true; and perhaps the whole matter is better known in Berlin."

Cuno, who likewise interrogated Swedenborg on the same subject, says (Document 256, p. 480,) as follows:

## C.

*J. C. CUNO'S[212] TESTIMONY.*

"I am sorry that I did not know anything about the Gottenburg story or else I should have asked Mr. Swedenborg about it; as I did concerning the story about the late Prince of Prussia,[246] and the lost receipt. The truth of both these stories he affirmed, but he did not dwell long upon them, observing that there were hundreds of similar stories; but he did not think it worth while to waste many words upon them; saying that all these things were trifles placing in the shade the great object of his mission."

The Queen of Sweden, the other actor in this drama, is no less explicit in her asseveration of the truth of this occurrence. A sceptical correspondent of the "Berliner Monatsschrift" for 1788, who writes anonymously, but whom the editors of that journal characterize as "a distinguished nobleman," had occasion to visit Stockholm, where he asked the Queen respecting this occurrence. His account is as follows:

## D.

*TESTIMONY OF THE "BERLINER MONATSSCHRIFT."†*

"In the meantime, I found an opportunity of speaking with the late Queen Dowager about Swedenborg, when she

* See Document 261, no. 9.

† The German original of this testimony is contained in the "Berliner Monatsschrift" for 1788, p. 306. An English translation of it was printed

herself told me the anecdote respecting herself and her brother, with a conviction which appeared to me extraordinary. Every one who was acquainted with this really enlightened sister of the great Frederick, will agree with me that she was the very reverse of fanatical (*schwärmerisch*), and that the whole tenor of her mind was free from all such weaknesses. Nevertheless, she appeared to me to be so convinced of Swedenborg's supernatural intercourse with spirits, that I scarcely durst venture to intimate any doubts, and to express my suspicion of secret intrigues; and a royal air—'*Je ne suis pas facilement dupe*' (I am not easily duped), put an end to all my attempts at refutation.'"

Jung-Stilling in his account of this occurrence (see Document 275, p. 659), appeals to a "distinguished theologian of Würtemberg" (most undoubtedly Prelate Œtinger[182]) in the following words:

## E.

*PRELATE ŒTINGER'S*[182] *TESTIMONY.*

"A distinguished theologian of Würtemberg wrote to the Queen, and asked her respecting this affair. In her reply she acknowledged it to be true."

Dr. Im. Tafel adds to this the following particulars (see Part I of the German edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," p. 128), "This 'distinguished theologian of Würtemberg' was without any doubt Prelate Œtinger, who in his 'Instruction in the Sacerdotal Office of Christ' (*Unterricht vom Hohenpriesterthum Christi*), 1772, p. 45, says, that 'Swedenborg had visions since 1743,' and that 'he is still conversing with spirits, *has been confirmed by the Queen of Sweden.*"

in the "Intellectual Repository" for May, 1845; and in 1855 it was reprinted in the Supplement to the enlarged English edition of the "Swedenborg Documents," p. 57.

The testimony of the "distinguished chevalier" whose letter was inserted in the "Berliner Monatsschrift" is examined more in detail in Document 276.

Before entering on a discussion of the particulars of this occurrence, we have to observe, that for a whole year before the Queen's brother, the Prince of Prussia,[246] died, which took place in June, 1758, and also at the time when the Queen interrogated Swedenborg concerning her brother, Sweden was involved in war with Prussia; that therefore the message which Swedenborg conveyed to her from her deceased brother, concerned her intercourse with parties in the enemy's country; which circumstance not only made the Queen herself unwilling to communicate to others the contents of that message, but also imposed upon Swedenborg the propriety of keeping silence on this affair, at least in Sweden, and up to a certain time.

The most reliable witness concerning the *particulars* of this affair is Swedenborg himself, who, in a conversation with Gen. Tuxen,[201] told him as follows:

## F.

*SWEDENBORG'S ACCOUNT TO GENERAL TUXEN.**

Gen. Tuxen after making several preliminary remarks says: "This and other relations induced me a few years afterwards to solicit the Swedish consul, Mr. Rahling, to acquaint me the next time Swedenborg came to Elsinore. He soon afterwards informed me, by means of his nephew, Mr. Beyer, that Swedenborg was then at his house at dinner, together with the captain who brought him over, and desired I should make great haste as the wind proved favourable, and they were on the point of embarking. I made all possible haste, and on entering the house, I addressed the Assessor as being an intimate friend of the consul's, who had come on purpose to have the honour of the aquaintance of so celebrated and learned a man as himself; and I requested his permission to ask him a few questions. To this he civilly and mildly answered, 'Ask what you please; I shall answer all in truth.' My first question was, Whether the relation, reported as having passed between himself and the Queen in Stockholm, was true? He answered,

* For further particulars of this account, see Document 255.

Tell me in what manner you have heard it related, and I will tell you what part of it is true or otherwise. I replied, that as I saw he was on the point of going on board the vessel, I supposed there was no time to lose, and therefore desired he would have the kindness to relate the affair to me. He consented, and told it me in the same manner as I had been informed of it before by means of letters from people of credit; adding, however, the following circumstances:

"The Senator, Count Scheffer,[136] came one day to see him, and asked him whether he would accompany him to the court next day; Swedenborg inquired why he proposed it, as he very well knew he occupied himself with other concerns than going to court. Count Scheffer replied, that the Queen, a few days before, had received a letter from her sister the Duchess of Brunswick, in which she mentioned a censure or criticism she had read in the gazette of Göttingen, on a man in Stockholm, who pretended to speak with the dead; and she wondered much that the Queen, in her letters to her, had never mentioned a word on that subject. The Queen then inquired of those present, Whether it was true that there was such a man, and whether he was not insane? To this Count Scheffer answered, that he was far from being insane, but was a sensible and learned man. Upon this, the Queen expressed a wish to see him; when Count Scheffer said that he was intimately acquainted with him, and would propose it to him. The Count accordingly made Swedenborg promise to accompany him to court, which he did. The King[11] and Queen having arrived, they entered into conversation with the foreign ambassadors and other principal characters at court, and then approached Count Scheffer, who presented Swedenborg. The Queen expressed her satisfaction at seeing him, and asked him, 'Whether it was true, that he could converse with the deceased?' He answered, 'Yes.' She inquired further, 'Whether it was a science that could be communicated to and by others?' 'No.' 'What is it then?' 'A gift of the Lord.' 'Can you, then, speak with every one deceased, or only with certain persons?' He answered, 'I cannot converse with all, but with such as I have known in this world; with all royal and princely persons, with all renowned heroes, or great and learned men, whom I have

known, either personally or from their actions or writings; consequently, of all of whom I could form an idea; for it may be supposed that a person whom I never knew, or of whom I could form no idea, I neither could nor would wish to speak with.' The Queen then asked him, 'Whether he would undertake a commission to her lately deceased brother?'[246] He answered, 'With all my heart.' On this he followed the Queen, with the King and Count Scheffer, to a window in the apartment, where the Queen gave him his commission, to which he promised to bring her an answer. After this he was invited to the royal table, where they put a thousand questions to him, which he answered truly. Some time afterwards, Count Scheffer paid him another visit, and asked him whether he would accompany him to court again, to which he consented. The Queen on seeing him, said, 'Do not forget my commission.' He answered, 'It is already done.' And when he delivered her his message, she was extremely surprised, and became suddenly indisposed; and, upon recovering herself, she said, 'This no mortal could have told me!'

"On my inquiring whether any person had heard what the Queen had said, when she gave him the commission, he answered, 'I do not know; yet she did not speak so low but that the King and Count Scheffer, if they had attended, might have heard it.' This account is trustworthy, as the late venerable man himself related it to me."

This interview between Swedenborg and Gen. Tuxen seems to have taken place in the spring of 1768, when Swedenborg journeyed to Amsterdam to print there his "Conjugial Love" and other works; and whence he returned to Stockholm in the beginning of October, 1769; thus agreeing with Gen. Tuxen's statement (Document 255, no. 8), that some time after he was informed that he had returned by way of Gottenburg to Stockholm." This interview could not have taken place in 1765; for from that journey Swedenborg returned to Stockholm, without passing through Gottenburg (see Document 230, p. 250).

Concerning the truth of Swedenborg's affair with the Queen, Gen. Tuxen had been previously informed by Baron C. F. von Höpken,[134] brother of Count A. G. von Höpken;[28] see Document 255, no. 1, where Gen. Tuxen says as follows:

## G.

*BARON C. F. VON HÖPKEN'S*[131] *ACCOUNT TO GEN. TUXEN.*

"A report having been circulated, that the Queen dowager of Sweden, Louisa Ulrica, had given Assessor Swedenborg a commission to speak with her deceased brother, the Prince of Prussia,[246] I inquired of a certain minister [Baron C. F. von Höpken; see footnote to Document 255, p. 430], a nobleman of great learning, who had, for several years past, honoured me with his intimate friendship, whether he had heard any thing of this report .... He answered me, that the report was not unfounded; that it had been communicated by all the foreign ministers in Stockholm to their respective courts."

In the account furnished by Swedenborg to General Tuxen it will be noticed that he spoke there simply of a commission with which he had been charged by the Queen, without specifying the nature of that commission.

It is to be observed that in none of the accounts of this occurrence which had been published previous to the year 1768, was the nature of this commission explained; as appears from the narratives published by Kant in 1766, and of Dr. Clemm in 1767.

That of Kant which was printed in his "*Träume eines Geistersehers*" (p. 85, etc.), was derived from the Danish officer mentioned in his letter to Charlotte von Knobloch in Document 272. This officer had read it in a letter addressed by Baron von Lützow, the Mecklenburg ambassador in Stockholm, to Dietrichstein, the Austrian ambassador in Copenhagen. This account is as follows:

## H.

*KANT'S TESTIMONY.*

"Towards the end of the year 1761 Mr. Schwedenberg *[sic!]* was called to a princess, whose great understanding and penetration ought to have made an attempt at imposition almost impossible. He was summoned to her on account of the general

rumour which had reached her of his being the subject of visions. After asking him some questions, more for the purpose of deriving sport from his imagination than of obtaining information from the other world, the princess dismissed him, after having charged him first with a secret commission touching his intercourse with spirits. After a few days Mr. Schwedenberg appeared again with a reply of such a nature, that the princess, according to her own confession, was greatly astonished; for his reply was true, and yet no living person could have given it to him. This narrative is derived from the report of an ambassador at the Swedish court, to another ambassador in Copenhagen; besides it agrees with what we were able to learn by special investigations."

Dr. Clemm published a similar account in his "*Einleitung in die Religion und die gesammte Religion*" (Vol. IV, p. 205 *et seq.*), Tübingen, 1767; only he speaks of the deceased *husband*, and not of the deceased *brother* of a great princess; wherein he was certainly mistaken. The truth of Dr. Clemm's account was attested in Hamburg, in 1770, by Count Scheffer;[136] see Document 274, p. 637.

## I.

*DR. CLEMM'S ACCOUNT.*

"A great princess commissioned Swedenborg in 1763 [1761] to put a question to her deceased *husband* [brother][246] on a certain subject, concerning which nothing was known by any one except by the deceased; if he should bring a correct answer, she would believe him. It is said that the reply which he brought back was of such a kind, that she was extremely surprised at it."

How very anxious every body in Stockholm was to know the nature of the commission with which Swedenborg had been charged by the Queen, appears from the following account which C. F. Nordensköld[20] received from the wife of Swedenborg's Gardener:

## J.

*THE WIFE OF SWEDENBORG'S GARDENER TO C. F. NORDENSKÖLD.*[243] *

"The wife of Swedenborg's gardener related to us that for days following the occurrence carriages stopped before the door of her master, from which the first gentlemen of the kingdom alighted, who desired to know the secret of which the Queen was so much frightened, but her master, faithful to his promise, refused to tell it."

During her stay in Berlin in 1772, after her husband's death, the Queen was more communicative to some Academicians, Messrs. Mérian[245] and Thiébault;[244] the latter of whom in a work entitled, *Mes Souvenirs de vingt ans de Séjour à Berlin; ou Frédéric le Grand,* etc., Paris, 1804 (Vol. II, pp. 254 to 257), gives a long account of a conversation which they had with the Queen respecting Swedenborg. First Thiébault related the story of the "lost receipt," as he had heard it from Chamberlain von Ammon,[249] the brother of Madame de Marteville (see Document 274, p. 644); and then the Queen made her statement.

## K.

*QUEEN LOUISA ULRICA TO THE ACADEMICIAN THIÉBAULT.*[244]†

M. Thiébault says, Though the Queen was but little disposed to believe in such seeming miracles, she nevertheless had been willing to put the power of Swedenborg, with whom she was acquainted, to the proof: she was previously acquainted with the anecdote I had related, and it was one of those that had most excited her astonishment, though she had never taken the pains to ascertain the truth of it; but Swedenborg having come one evening to her court, she had taken him aside, and begged him to inform himself from her deceased brother, the Prince Royal of Prussia,[246] what he said to her at the last moment

* See footnote to p. 65. Vol. I.

† An English translation of this account appeared first in Noble's "Appeal," &c., pp. 201, 202.

she saw him, before departing for Stockholm.* She added, that what she had said was of a nature to render it impossible that the prince could have repeated it to any one, nor had it ever escaped her own lips: that, some days after, Swedenborg returned, when she was seated at cards, and requested she would grant him a private audience; to which she replied, he might communicate what he had to say before every body; but Swedenborg assured her he could not disclose what he had to say in the presence of witnesses: that in consequence of this intimation the Queen had already become very much agitated, and giving her cards to another lady, she requested the Senator von Schwerin[247] (who also was present when she related the story to us,) to accompany her: that they accordingly went together into another apartment, where she posted M. de Schwerin at the door, and advanced towards the farthest extremity of it with Swedenborg; who said to her, 'You took, madam, your last leave of the Prince of Prussia, your late august brother,[246] at Charlottenburg, on such a day, and at such an hour of the afternoon; as you were passing afterwards through the long gallery, in the castle of Charlottenburg, you met him again; and there he took you by the hand, and led you to such a window, where you could not be overheard, and then said to you these words——' The Queen did not repeat the words, but she protested to us they were the very same her brother had pronounced, and that she retained the most perfect recollection of them. She added, that she nearly fainted at the shock she experienced: and she called on M. de Schwerin to answer for the truth of what she had said; who, in his laconic style, contented himself with saying, 'All you have said, madam, is perfectly true—at least as far as I am concerned.' I ought to add, M. Thiébault continues, that though the Queen laid great stress on the truth of her recital, she professed herself, at the same time, incredulous as to Swedenborg's supposed conferences with the dead. 'A thousand events,' said she, 'appear inexplicable and supernatural to us, who know only the immediate consequences of them; and men of quick parts, who are never so

* Louisa Ulrica left Berlin for Stockholm in 1744; see Document 275, N.

well pleased as when they exhibit something wonderful, take an advantage of this to gain an extraordinary reputation. Swedenborg was a man of learning, and very able in his profession; he has always had the reputation of being an honest man; and I cannot comprehend by what means he obtained the knowledge of what no one could know. However, I have no faith in his having had a conference with my late brother.' "

The Queen must have given special instructions to these gentlemen not to communicate what they had heard to any one; for another member of the Academy, M. Pernety, who was very intimate with one of these academicians, could not extract the least information from him; as appears from what follows:

## L.

### *PERNETY'S*[38] *ACCOUNT.**

"The Queen having come to spend a few months in Berlin after the death of her husband, some academicians, to whom she did the honour of inviting them to her table, took the liberty of asking her whether that report was true. She avoided a reply, saying, 'Oh, with regard to the history of the Countess de Marteville, that is certain;' but she said nothing respecting the matter that concerned herself. I was told this by M. M[érian], one of these academicians, to whom this princess afterwards sent some works of Swedenborg as a present, and who most kindly lent them to me. I subsequently procured them for myself, and the satisfaction I experienced in reading them again, induced me to translate some of them into French."

After the Queen's visit to Berlin in 1772, her version of her experience with Swedenborg seems gradually to have gained ground in Sweden; for from that time we meet with the following accounts from Swedish sources, all of which agree in the statement that Swedenborg was commissioned by

* See Document 6, no. 26.

the Queen to obtain a report of the substance of a conversation which she had had with her brother.

The first of these is Robsahm's account, which bears the date of the year 1782.

## M.

*ROBSAHM'S[19] ACCOUNT.**

"Swedenborg was once in the presence of a certain high personage [Queen Louisa Ulrica[11]], who asked him whether he could meet her late brother [the Prince of Prussia[246]], and whether he could find what these high personages had *said* to one another on a certain matter. Swedenborg promised; and he came back a few days afterwards to give the answer, which he did in the presence of a high gentleman [Senator von Schwerin[247]]. The high personage then took Swedenborg aside to one part of the room, where he told her in private what she desired to know from the deceased gentleman. The high personage thereupon became amazed, and said that this was altogether incomprehensible, inasmuch as no one in the world knew anything about this, except herself and her deceased brother."

The next testimony is from Letocard, the Secretary of the Dutch embassy, who wrote his account to the Countess von Schwerin in 1788 (see Document 275, p. 682).

## N.

*LETOCARD'S ACCOUNT.*

"The late Queen of Sweden desired to test Swedenborg's supernatural gift of conversing at his good pleasure with the souls of the departed, and charged him *to raise the spirit* of her late brother, the Crown-Prince of Prussia,[246] and to demand from him a positive answer as to what had been the subject of the conversation which the Queen had with the prince alone by himself in the embrasure of a window of

* See Document 5, no. 46.

the palace in Charlottenburg, in the month of July, 1744. A short time afterwards Swedenborg brought back an answer to the Queen, with which Her Majesty seemed to be entirely satisfied; for she said, she was perfectly convinced that no living soul, except the prince, her brother, and herself could know any thing about this circumstance."

The next account is that of Jung-Stilling, which he derived from a distinguished Swede. It was published by him in his "*Theorie der Geisterkunde,*" Nuremberg, 1808 (pp. 90 to 96).

## O.

*JUNG-STILLING'S*[245] *ACCOUNT.*

"The Queen of Sweden tested Swedenborg in this manner: she commissioned him to tell her what she had conversed about, on a certain memorable day, I believe, with the Prince of Prussia[246] in Charlottenburg. After some time Swedenborg applied for an audience, and told it to her. The Queen, as may easily be expected, was very much frightened at it.

"This occurrence has been questioned in the public papers, but a distinguished Swede, who was by no means an admirer of Swedenborg, has assured me that it is the pure truth, and cannot be called in question. He furnished me with some additional proofs, but which I hesitate to make known, because, as is usually the case with stories that deal with the realm of spirits, some are thereby compromised who ought to be spared.

"A distinguished theologian of Würtemberg wrote to the Queen, and asked her respecting this subject. In her reply she acknowledged it to be true."*

Count Höpken had been reading Robsahm's account of this affair in his Memoirs of Swedenborg (Document 5); and he caused to be appended there to the following account, which he received from the Queen herself in 1774.

* See Document 275, p. 649.

## P.

*COUNT HÖPKEN'S*[248] *STATEMENT.**

"*Truthful Account made by the late Queen Dowager*" *in Haga, in the year* 1744.

"Swedenborg was one day at a court reception. Her Majesty asked him about different things in the other life, and lastly whether he had seen, or had talked with her brother, the Prince Royal of Prussia.[246] He answered, No. Her Majesty then requested him to ask after him, and to give him her greeting, which Swedenborg promised to do. I doubt whether the Queen meant anything serious by it. At the next reception Swedenborg again appeared at court; and while the Queen was in the so-called white room, surrounded by her ladies of honour, he came boldly in, and approached Her Majesty, who no longer remembered the commission she had given him a week before. Swedenborg not only greeted her from her brother, but also gave her his apologies for not having answered her last letter; he also wished to do so now through Swedenborg; which he accordingly did. The Queen was greatly overcome, and said, 'No one, except God, knows this secret.'

"The reason why she never adverted to this before, was, that she did not wish any one in Sweden to believe that during a war with Prussia she had carried on a correspondence in the enemy's country. The same caution Her Majesty exercised during her last visit to Berlin. When she was asked about this transaction, which had been printed in a German paper, she did not answer. This circumstance was narrated in the French translation of 'Heaven and Hell' [see Document 275, K and L].

"The above was written with his own hand by His Excellency, Count Höpken, February 9, 1784, after he had read Robsahm's 'Life of Swedenborg' [Document 5], and he desired this to be appended to it."

Here a new face of the story is given from which it appears that the commission which the Queen gave to Swedenborg

* See Document 5, no. 53. The first English translation of this Document was published in the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790, p. 153.

had not reference to a circumstance dating seventeen years back; but one which concerned her intercourse with her brother during the last year of his life, in 1758; and, indeed, at a time when Sweden was at war with Prussia. The fact of her carrying on a correspondence in the enemy's country, which would have come to light had she divulged the character of the commission she had given to Swedenborg, the Queen sought to conceal by connecting it with a circumstance that occurred in 1744. The Queen, indeed, communicated the real fact of the case to Count Höpken in 1774, but he did not make it known until 1784, thus ten years after her death.

Swedenborg himself communicated the particulars of his commission to some of his friends in London, no doubt after he had given his account to Gen. Tuxen; and it is remarkable that in none of the accounts of this story which date from London, is it said that he had been commissioned by the Queen to report the substance of a conversation she had had with her brother; but they all agree that it concerned her correspondence with her brother in 1758.

We, accordingly, read in subdivision B, (p. 648,) that Springer asked Swedenborg "concerning *the letter* written by the Queen of Sweden to the late Margrave, her brother." The particulars of the account, however, Springer communicated to Henry Peckitt, Esq., in 1778; they are as follows:

## Q.

*MR. SPRINGER'S*[121] *ACCOUNT TO HENRY PECKITT.*[229]*

"Mr. Springer told me, that the Queen of Sweden had written letters to her brother, a Prince of Prussia;[246] and that having no answers, she doubted whether he had received them or not. The Baron [Swedenborg] at that time had converse with the Queen, and her brother died in Prussia. She was very desirous to know if he had received the letters. She consulted the Baron, who said he would inform her in a few days. He did so, and told her he had received them, and

* See Document 263, no. 13.

was going to answer them, and that in an escritoire of the Prince was a letter unfinished intended for her; but he was taken ill and died. She sent to the King of Prussia, and it was as the Baron had foretold—the King sent the unfinished letter." Another account of Peckitt's story will be found in Document 261, in a footnote on p. 531.

This version of the Queen's story accounts for the answer Swedenborg gave to Springer (see p. 648), that "perhaps the whole matter is better known in Berlin."

To Bergström[224] Swedenborg gave a similar account; yet as his story contains a manifest inaccuracy, which we print in italics, Springer's story as related by Peckitt must be regarded as more authentic.

## R.

*BERGSTRÖM'S[224] ACCOUNT TO PROVO.[223]**

"Swedenborg told me the story about the Queen of Sweden's brother.[246] She had secretly burnt a letter of his *sent her a short time before the battle in which he was killed,*† and she wanted to know some other particulars relative to the contents. Swedenborg, some days after her application to him, returned, and told her that her brother was offended that she had burnt his letter; and as this was known to none but herself, she nearly fainted at hearing it; and was always very courteous to him afterwards."

Augustus Nordensköld,[35] during a journey abroad in 1780, became acquainted with the version of the Queen's story which Swedenborg had given to Springer, and this he embodied in the account which he and his brother Charles Frederic[20] sent to Pernety towards the close of 1781 (see Volume I, p. 52), and which afterwards appeared in the preface to Pernety's French translation of "Heaven and Hell." This account is as follows:

* See Document 262, no. 4.

† The Prince of Prussia, August Wilhelm, did not die in battle, but at Charlottenburg. See Note 246.

S.

*ACCOUNT WHICH THE BROTHERS NORDENSKÖLD MADE TO PERNETY.***

"The Queen Dowager, widow of Adolphus Frederic, and sister of the King of Prussia,[11] having heard a report of the story of the 'lost receipt,' and of several others which were related of Swedenborg, said to Senator Count Höpken, that she would like to speak with Swedenborg. The Count, as bearer of the Queen's orders, met Swedenborg, who was going to the palace for the purpose of speaking with Her Majesty. After conversing for some time on various subjects, the Queen asked him whether he could ascertain the contents of a certain letter which she had written to her brother, the late Prince of Prussia,[246] and which she said no one in the world except her brother could know. Swedenborg replied that he would tell her in a few days. He kept his word: for having taken Her Majesty aside, he repeated to her word for word the contents of the letter. The Queen, who was not the least superstitious, and possessed great strength of mind, was filled with the greatest astonishment. She related the fact, which was much talked of in Stockholm and abroad, and which every one dressed up to suit himself."

This version of the Queen's story had perhaps the widest circulation, and it forms the basis of the attack upon Swedenborg, which is discussed in Document 276. There are some particulars contained in it, which are evidently erroneous; for although the brothers Nordensköld declare that their account was derived from Count Höpken and the wife of Swedenborg's gardener; still upon consulting other equally, and perhaps more, reliable information, it appears, that not Count Höpken, but Count Scheffer was the bearer of the Queen's orders to Swedenborg. Compare the minute account of the circumstances preliminary to his interview with the Queen which Swedenborg gave to Gen. Tuxen in Document 275, F. That Count Scheffer[136] was present at Swedenborg's interview with the Queen, was also confirmed by the latter gentleman to Senator Count Tessin;[39] as appears from what follows:

* See Document 6, no. 25.

## T.

*SWEDENBORG'S ACCOUNT TO COUNT TESSIN.*[99]*

"I asked Swedenborg myself about his conversation with the Queen, respecting her late brother, the Prince of Prussia,[246] and was told that Senator Scheffer[136] was present, and witnessed the Queen's fright."

Besides, Count Höpken in his own account of this affair (subdivision P), does not mention his having had any share in bringing about Swedenborg's interview with the Queen; and his account seems especially written for the purpose of rectifying that of the Brothers Nordensköld, which had been printed by Pernety; for he pointedly refers to that publication in his communication.

Moreover, the statement of the Nordenskölds, that the Queen had commissioned Swedenborg to report to her the contents of a letter she had written to her brother, would not seem to be an absolute test of Swedenborg's power of conversing with spirits; for the Queen could not know what had become of her letter after it had left her hands, and still less what had been its fate after the death of her brother.

C. F. Nordensköld himself seems to have recognized the weakness of the account which he and his brother Augustus had communicated to Pernety in 1781; wherefore in a later work, on which he was engaged at the time of his death, he cancelled that part of his story, and substituted for it the account which the Queen gave to the Academician Thiébault in 1772, as appears from what follows:

## U.

*C. F. NORDENSKÖLD'S*[20] *ACCOUNT.*†

"Queen Louisa Ulrica,[77] sister of Frederic II, King of Prussia, having heard much about Swedenborg, and his

* See Document 250, no. 13.

† The French original of this account is contained in the work entitled, "*Considérations Générales sur le Christianisme Actuel et la Lumière que M. E. Swedenborg répand sur les Religions,*" p. 181. For further particulars regarding this work, see Volume I, p. 621.

intercourse with spirits in the other world, said one day to Count Anders von Höpken, who was then a senator of the realm, that she would like to speak with this extraordinary man. This senator arranged that Swedenborg should have an audience. The Queen asked him a question, which her deceased brother was to answer. Swedenborg promised to consult the departed, but he asked the Queen to grant him a few days, which she did. When he returned to the castle Count Höpken was not there, but Count von Schwerin, whom the Queen left at the door, while she went with Swedenborg into an adjoining apartment. There the sage informed her of some things, which only she and the deceased prince could possibly know. The Queen was so amazed, that she almost fainted. Count von Schwerin entered brusquely, and addressed bitter reproaches to Swedenborg, in the hope of eliciting his secret from him; which however he carefully guarded . . . M. Dieudonné Thiébault, member of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, had an opportunity of hearing this anecdote confirmed by the Queen herself."

The Queen, in her account to the Academician Thiébault, does not mention this brusque entrance of Count von Schwerin (see subdivision K).

The only other account which we have of this story, is that of Captain Stålhammar,[248] which seems to have been derived from some person at Court, present during the occurrence. We extract it from a letter given in full in Document 276, p. 677.

## V.

*CAPTAIN STÅLHAMMAR'S[249] ACCOUNT.**

"In 1758 [1761], a short time after the death of the Prince of Prussia, Swedenborg came to court, *where he was in the*

* The French original of this account is contained in a work published in Stockholm and Strassbourg in 1788, entitled *Abrégé des Ouvrages d'Em. Swedenborg* (Preface, pp. LVIII to LXI); the first English Translation of this account appeared in an English version of the above work, entitled, "Beauties of Swedenborg." It was reprinted afterwards in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1813, p. 370.

*habit of attending regularly.** As soon as he was perceived by the Queen, she said to him, 'Well, Mr. Assessor, have you seen my brother?' Swedenborg answered, 'No;' whereupon she replied, 'If you should see him, remember me to him.' In saying this, she did but jest, and had no thought of asking him any information about her brother. Eight days afterwards Swedenborg came again to court, but so early that the Queen had not left her apartment called the white room, where she was conversing with her maids of honour and other ladies of the court. Swedenborg did not wait for the Queen's coming out, but entered directly into her apartment, and whispered in her ear. The Queen, struck with astonishment, was taken ill, and did not recover herself for some time. After she was come to herself, she said to those about her, '*There is only God and my brother who can know what he has just told me.*' She owned that he had spoken of her last correspondence with the prince, the subject of which was known to themselves alone."

If we pass now in review this long list of authorities, each of whom relates the story of Swedenborg and the Queen in his own way, we arrive at the conclusion that the real facts of this occurrence are furnished by the accounts of Gen. Tuxen (subdivision F), Mr. Springer (subdivision Q), and Count Höpken (subdivision P).

* Swedenborg did not attend regularly at court, as appears from his remark to Count Scheffer in subdivision F.

## *DOCUMENT* 276.

## EXPLANATION OF THE FOREGOING FACTS ATTEMPTED.

Miracles and occurrences which are due to spiritual causes are inconvenient to such as believe in nature only, and they hasten by fair and unfair means, to prove their natural origin. Such has been the fate of the miracles recorded in the Sacred Scripture, which the rationalistic school of theology has in vain sought to explain in a natural manner; and similar attempts have been made to prove the non-reality of those facts which are generally quoted as proofs of Swedenborg's intercourse with the spiritual world.

The unsatisfactory character of these explanations, it is true, has been exposed by competent authorities on the spot. But as only very recently they have been retailed afresh as genuine in a professed historical work, viz. Fryxell's[254] "Berättelser ur Svenska Historien" (Part XLIII, p. 164) it becomes our duty fully to examine them in our present work.

# A.

## THE "BERLINISCHE MONATSSCHRIFT" FOR 1783 ON SWEDENBORG.

### I.

*LETTER OF A DISTINGUISHED CHEVALIER TO THE EDITORS.*

..... "In the year 1771 a certain gentleman, a zealous defender of the opinions contained in the works of Swedenborg, lent me an epitome of his works in four volumes translated into German .... In the preface to this epitome of Swedenborg's voluminous works, I found among other things the relation of one of his miracles, which was as follows: The late Queen Louisa Ulrica commissioned Swedenborg once to ask her late brother, the Crown-Prince of Prussia, why he did not answer a certain letter of hers. After twenty-four hours Swedenborg is said to have told the Queen the answer of the Prince in such a manner that she, who was thoroughly convinced that no one except herself and her late brother knew the contents of that letter, was in great consternation, and acknowledged the supernatural power of that great man.

"Facts if they are based on the testimony of living witnesses, as in the present case, cannot be gainsaid without proofs to the contrary. I, therefore, read this miracle attributed to Swedenborg, kept silence, and a short time afterwards travelled to Stockholm.

"Here I heard very little about that great man. At least what I heard concerning him consisted mostly of short anecdotes and wonderful stories, which were quoted for sport, and

which shewed that by his crotchets he had not gained many adherents .....

"In the meantime I found an opportunity of speaking with the late Queen Dowager about Swedenborg, when she herself related to me the anecdote, mentioned above, respecting herself and her brother, with a conviction which appeared to me extraordinary. Every one who has been acquainted with this really enlightened sister of the great Frederic, will agree with me that she was the very reverse of fanatical, and that the whole tenor of her mind was free from all such weaknesses. Nevertheless she seemed so fully convinced of the supernatural and spiritual conferences of Swedenborg, that I scarcely dared to express any doubts or suspicion of secret intrigues; and a royal *'je ne suis pas facilement dupe'* (I am not easily duped), put an end to all refutations.

"I was therefore compelled to keep silence, and to wait for an opportunity. This occurred very soon, and indeed on the very next day when I was on a visit to the aged and venerable Chevalier Beylon,[251] now dead, who had been reader to the Queen Dowager, and in whose company I found one of the noblest, most enlightened, and most honest Swedes, Count F... The conversation turned on Swedenborg, and I related what the Queen had told me on the previous day. The old Chevalier looked at Count F...., and both smiled significantly, as if they were acquainted with the secret working of the circumstances. My attention was now excited, and as I was very anxious to know more about the matter, the Chevalier gave me the following explanation:

"The Queen had been looked upon as one of the chief causes of the revolution, which had been attempted in Sweden in 1756, and which resulted in the execution of Count Brahe,[137] and of Baron Horn,[138] the court-marshal; and the party of the 'hats,' which proved victorious, was nearly making her accountable for the blood which was shed. In this critical situation she wrote to her brother, the Crown-Prince of Prussia, for help and advice. The Queen received no answer; and as the Prince died soon afterwards, she was unable to find out why he did not answer her letter; wherefore she commissioned

Swedenborg to interrogate him on this subject. When she gave him this commission, the Senators Count T . . . . .[39] and Count H . . . . .[28] were present. As the latter gentleman, who had intercepted the letter, and Count T . . . . were well aware why the Queen had not received it, they resolved to make use of this strange circumstance, to give a piece of their mind to the Queen and in such a manner that it would make a strong impression upon her. They accordingly went to see the ghost-seer during the night, and instructed him what to say. Swedenborg, who had failed to receive supernatural information, was delighted to get their instructions, and on the following day he hastened to the Queen, and in the secret of her cabinet told her, that the ghost of the Prince had appeared to him, and commissioned him to tell her, that he had not answered her letter, because he was too much displeased with her conduct, since on account of her lack of political prudence and her ambition, she had been the cause of the shedding of blood, for which she would have to atone; that therefore he entreated her never more to meddle in affairs of state, nor to attempt to seize the reins of government, nor to cause any insurrection which sooner or later would result in her own destruction.

"The Queen was very much astonished at this explanation, and as she was firmly convinced that no one except her late brother could be acquainted with these private circumstances and her letters, which she had communicated only to him, she became from that very moment a believer in Swedenborg, and defended him most zealously, without, however, informing any one of the contents of his account. Besides, it can be easily imagined that the two gentlemen who had prescribed this politico-moral medicine for her, took very good care not to speak concerning it themselves; because, even after the successful revolution of 1772, they felt sure that everything would be lost by a discovery. Very few Swedes knew this anecdote during the life-time of the Queen. The old Chevalier Beylon,[251] who happened early in the morning at three o'clock to pass through the Södermalm, where Swedenborg lived, saw the two statesmen stealthily leave his house; and as he was likewise present when the Queen gave Swedenborg her commission, he

soon guessed the whole plan; but he did not divulge it, because he did not grudge the Queen this lesson.

"This is the key of the whole story . . . I vow for the truth of this account, which was afterwards confirmed to me by a distinguished personage, and which is not subject to the least doubt. Chevalier Beylon, who was very well acquainted with Swedenborg, told me several additional anecdotes concerning him, part of which I have forgotten, and part of which I consider either as too insignificant or as almost universally known.

"If you consider the anecdotes contained in my letter worth printing, you are at liberty to insert my letter in your excellent Journal, and if any one should contradict my statement, you may mention my name. Otherwise I prefer to remain unknown; for in the solitude in which I live, I should rather not break a lance with the future inhabitants of the New Jerusalem, &c.

"I remain

"Yours,

---

"February 9, 1788."

In a subsequent number of their journal the editors of the "Berlinische Monatsschrift" furnish another and entirely different explanation of the same occurrence. They say, "In order to be perfectly impartial we must mention that some time ago another likewise wholly reliable gentleman told us the same story, also from the mouth of the Queen; but his explanation differs from that which is given in the letter printed above; and, indeed, according to him *the whole story is untrue.* We, therefore consider it our duty, to communicate also this second account, as this excellent gentleman has been kind enough to write it down for this purpose."

## II.

### *ANOTHER EXPLANATION OF THE STORY OF THE QUEEN.*

"In Stockholm itself I found the following piece of news universally believed: It was said that Swedenborg had communicated to the Queen Dowager, Louisa Ulrica, special news

of her late brother, the august Crown-Prince of Prussia. This news, it was averred, concerned certain circumstances which were not known to any other human beings except the Queen and the Prince. Some persons even stated, that the Queen, who had asked Swedenborg to interrogate her brother's spirit in order to test his supernatural powers, manifested signs of great terror, when the prophet, who had been invited to the royal table for the purposes of conversation, communicated this news to her.

"As the Queen granted me free access to her person, I one day seized the opportunity of asking her concerning the truth of these reports. She answered smilingly, that she was fully acquainted with the story itself, as well as with the reasons of some persons, who endeavoured *against her own better conviction* to maintain the reality of this story. The real state of affairs was as follows:

"She then said that in a conversation with Swedenborg she had made all sorts of objections to the possibility of his visions, when he offered to prove their reality by facts. She then commissioned him to interrogate the spirit of her late brother concerning the meaning of some expressions he had used in a conversation with her, which had by chance been broken off, and which expressions had remained obscure to her. To facilitate the commission she mentioned to him some definite circumstances of this conversation, in respect to place and matter. Swedenborg, she said, left her with the assurance that sooner or later he would inform her of the success of his mission; but that *he had never done so.* She added that Swedenborg had visibly avoided all occasion for conversing with her, and twice, when he could not do so, he told her, that he was unable to get the gentleman, i. e. the spirit of her late brother, to talk with him. He also intimated, that it was not in his power at his own pleasure to converse with spirits, at given times and in a given manner. Years might elapse, before the gentleman might come and see him. He was at liberty to invite, but the selection of the guests did not depend upon himself. The spirits themselves had to decide whether they would come and see him, and whether any particular spirit would be willing to come, and at what place

[was left to the spirit]. He begged her therefore to have a little more patience. The Queen's patience, however, was not crowned with success. Swedenborg died without getting the gentleman to talk with him, and the Queen herself died without having faith, even as large as a mustard seed, in Swedenborg's visions.

"Whoever is but slightly acquainted with the qualities of this princess, as to her mind and heart, will believe all this without any further confirmation. She was too enlightened to believe anything in the realm of the supernatural on the mere assertion of a man, without its striking her own senses; and at the same time she was too little skilled in dissimulation to speak of an affair in the way she did, if she had been interiorly convinced of the contrary.

"I am obliged to add that the Queen expressed some esteem for Swedenborg's remaining qualities. She called him a fool and a visionary, it is true; but she added that up to the present time he had not failed in talents or in honesty; and that among other things he was honest enough to refuse to become a tool in the hands of some persons, who desired to make use of him and his visions at the time of party-strife.

"My conversation with the Queen took place in the year 1779."

After striving in vain to reconcile the conflicting nature of the above two accounts, the editors of the "Berlinische Monatsschrift" comment on the narrative of this affair, as given by Pernety in the preface to his French translation of Swedenborg's "Heaven and Hell," (see Document 6, nos. 25 and 26), and then pass to a discussion of the story of "the Lost Receipt," which they likewise, on the authority of "a distinguished and reliable gentleman," explain in a natural manner.

## III.

*THE STORY OF THE LOST RECEIPT AS EXPLAINED BY THE "BERLINISCHE MONATSSCHRIFT."*

"The widow of the Count *von Martefeld* [*sic!*] was called upon to pay a considerable sum which she well knew had been paid by her late husband; but she was unable to find the missing receipt. In her difficulty she applied to Swedenborg,

who informed her on the ensuing day that he had conversed with her deceased husband, who had mentioned to him the place where the receipt had been put. They examined the place, and it was found.

"[Such is the usual account of this affair], but again a distinguished and reliable gentleman, who had been in Stockholm in the employment of the government, stated a considerable time ago that this miracle had taken place in a thoroughly natural manner. It is not unusual in Sweden for persons to have a small private locker for books, which for various reasons they keep secret from the eyes of the public. One of these private books Swedenborg one day borrowed from the Count von M., and in it he discovered the receipt which afterwards was missed, and which probably had been put in as a book-mark. Instead of informing the widow from his recollection that the slip of paper would be found in such and such a locker, in a certain book, he, at least in his own narrative, first troubled a spirit to give him this news.

"This much is settled, that the widow found the receipt in accordance with Swedenborg's information."

The explanations of the "Berlinische Monatsschrift" were inserted in the "Allgemeiner Anzeiger der Deutschen" for the year 1809, and in the "Hesperus" for 1822; but before shewing how these attempts at explanation were exploded at the time of their first publication, we have to quote a Swedish source which lends credence to one of the explanations furnished by the "Berlinische Monatsschrift."

## B.

## C. G. NORDIN[252] ON SWEDENBORG.*

"I read in the 'Berlinische Monatsschrift' for April 1788, (see 'Hamburgische Unpartheyische Correspondent,' April 4, 1788,) a report about Queen Louisa Ulrica's letter to her brother, the contents of which Swedenborg is said to have revealed. The facts of the case are, that Höpken and Tessin kept back the Queen's letter, read it, informed Swedenborg about its contents, and he declared that he received this information from the spirit of Prince Ferdinand[!] Ferdinand died about that time.† Melcher Falkenberg, who was chamberlain and recording secretary (*Protokolls Sekreterare*) at that time,‡ was the one who delivered the letter into Höpken's hands. I was informed so by Baron Rosenhane Schering on May 5, 1788" (p. 7).

"I asked Rosenstein, the Councillor of Chancery, what Senator Fersen had answered him in the Academy on the 20th inst., on what was written in the German paper ('Hamburgische Unpartheyische Correspondent' for April 4, 1788, no. 55) about the information which Swedenborg gave to Queen Louisa Ulrica. Fersen said that he could not remember anything about it; that possibly it might have been his brother,

* "Dagboks anteckningar för åren 1786—1792" (Notes in my Diary for the years 1786—1792), by Carl Gustav Nordin, published in the "Historiska Handlingar" (Historical Transactions), Vol. VII, 1868.

† Prince Augustus Ferdinand, brother of Queen Louisa Ulrica, died in 1813.

‡ According to Anrep's "Ättar-taflor," Count Melcher Falkenberg at the end of 1761, the date of Swedenborg's experience with the Queen, was not chamberlain, nor "*protokolls sekreterare*," but "lagman" (supreme judge) of Westerbotten, which office he had filled since 1753. See also "Biografiskt Lexicon," Vol. IV, p. 305.

who at that time passed as Count F . . . Rosenstein afterwards asked the King[12] the same day whether he knew anything about the story, when he answered that Beylon[251] had told him the same thing, and that that gentleman was perfectly convinced that Senator Höpken had taken the Queen's letter to Prince Ferdinand [!], wherefore he could easily make a reply through Swedenborg concerning its contents, which Swedenborg afterwards declared that he had received from the spirit of the Prince" (pp. 9, 10).

Nordin's account with all its historical errors was adopted by the historian Fryxell,[254] in his biographical account of Swedenborg ("Berättelser," etc., Vol. XLIII, p. 184). He speaks there at p. 184, of a letter written by the Queen to her brother "Ferdinand," although at p. 183 he correctly calls him "August Wilhelm;" and again he declares that the Senators Höpken and Tessin induced Chamberlain Falkenberg to procure for them the Queen's letter to her brother, when yet Falkenberg had given up the office of chamberlain in 1753, and at the time when the Queen gave her commission to Swedenborg, was exercising his functions as "lagman" of Westerbotten.

As regards Senator Tessin he resigned all his official positions on October 1, 1761 (see "Biografiskt Lexicon," Vol. XVIII, p. 176), and Senator Höpken on November 12, 1761 (*Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 323). Both these gentlemen, therefore, were no longer connected with the government of Sweden, at the time when the Queen, towards the close of November, commissioned Swedenborg to consult the spirit of her departed brother; they were therefore at that time private gentlemen, and it mattered little to them what answer Swedenborg might bring to the Queen. Besides, Count Tessin, according to his own testimony (see Document 250, no. 13, p. 400), was unacquainted with the particulars of the Queen's story, and collected them from Swedenborg himself; while Count Höpken obtained "a truthful account" of the story from the Queen in 1774 (see Document 5, no. 53, p. 49).

After pointing out some of the anachronisms contained in the accounts of the Queen's experience with Swedenborg, as furnished by the "Berlinische Monatsschrift" and C. G. Nordin,

we shall reproduce some of the contemporary testimony by which the accounts of the "Monatsschrift" were exploded at the time when they were first published.

In the preface to a work entitled, *Abrégé des ouvrages d'Em. Swedenborg,* which was published in Stockholm in 1788, the following letter was printed:

## C.

## CAPTAIN C. L. STÅLHAMMAR AND THE "BERLINISCHE MONATSSCHRIFT."

"Stockholm, May 13, 1788.

"I have read, with astonishment, the letter giving an account of the conversation which the famous Swedenborg had with Queen Louisa Ulrica; the circumstances related in that letter are altogether false: and I hope the author will excuse me if, by a faithful account, which can be attested by many persons of distinction who were present and are still alive, I convince him how much he has been deceived.

"In 1758 [1761], a short time after the death of the Prince of Prussia, Swedenborg came to court, where he was in the habit of attending regularly. As soon as he was perceived by the Queen, she said to him, 'Well, Mr. Assessor, have you seen my brother?' Swedenborg answered, No; whereupon she replied, 'If you should see him, remember me to him.' In saying this, she did but jest, and had no thought of asking him any information about her brother. Eight days afterwards, and not four-and-twenty hours, nor yet at a particular audience, Swedenborg came again to court, but so early that the Queen had not yet left her apartment, called the white room, where she was conversing with her maids of honour and other ladies of the court. Swedenborg did not wait for the Queen's coming out, but entered directly into her apartment, and whispered in her ear. The Queen, struck with astonishment, was taken ill, and did not recover herself for some time. After she had

come to herself, she said to those about her, '*There is only God and my brother who can know what he has just told me.*' She owned that he had spoken of her last correspondence with the Prince, the subject of which was known to themselves alone.

"I cannot explain how Swedenborg came to the knowledge of this secret; but this I can assert upon my honour, that neither Count Höpken, as the author of the letter states, nor any other person had intercepted or read the Queen's letters; the senate then permitting her to write to her brother without the least difficulty, regarding her correspondence with him as a thing quite indifferent to the state.

"It is evident that the author of the above-mentioned letter is utterly ignorant of the character of Count Höpken. This respectable nobleman, who has rendered the most important services to his country, possesses greatness of mind and goodness of heart; and his advanced age has in no wise impaired these valuable endowments. During the whole of his administration, he united the most enlightened policy with the most scrupulous integrity, and was a declared enemy to secret intrigue and underhand devices, which he looked upon as means unworthy of accomplishing his purposes.

"The author is no better acquainted with Assessor Swedenborg. The only weakness of this truly honest man was his belief in ghost-seeing; but I knew him for many years, and I can confidently affirm, that he was as fully persuaded that he conversed with spirits, as I am that I am writing at this moment. As a citizen and as a friend, he was a man of the greatest integrity, abhorring imposture, and leading an exemplary life.

"The explanation, therefore, which Chevalier Beylon gives of this circumstance, is void of foundation; and the visit said to have been made in the night to Swedenborg, by Counts H—— and T——, is pure invention.

"As for the rest, the author of the letter may be assured that I am far from being a follower* of Swedenborg; the

* Although Captain Stålhammar declares here that "he is far from being a follower of Swedenborg," the Historian Fryxell nevertheless insists on styling him a "Swedenborgian" *(swedenborgare)*; see "Berättelser," etc., Vol. XLIII, p. 184.

love of truth alone has induced me to relate, faithfully, a fact, which has been so often stated with details entirely false; and I verify what I have just written with the signature of my name:

"CHARLES LEONARD STÅLHAMMAR,
"Captain, and Knight of the order of the Sword."

## D.

## L. L. VON BRENKENHOFF[253] AND THE "BERLINISCHE MONATSSCHRIFT."

In the year 1789 appeared at Potsdam a little work entitled "Paradoxa," Part II, of which the author says that it "treats not of military matters, but concerns the pseudo-enlighteners."

The whole of this little work is devoted to an exposure of the pseudo-explanations of the "Berlinische Monatsschrift" contained in Document 276, A. M. von Brenkenkoff says:

"In the April number of the "Berlinische Monatsschrift" for the year 1788, pp. 303 to 319, are contained several so-called explanations of the spiritual experiences of Swedenborg . . . . I am not one of his adherents, and have read only one of his writings, which, I acknowledge freely, I was unable to understand; still in order to expose the nakedness of the 'pseudo-enlighteners,' who press everything into their service, no matter how foolish and nonsensical it may be, I subjoin letters I, II, III, IV, and V, as well in the original French language, as in a German translation. The authors of these letters are still living, and those of nos. II, III, and V, sign their names. Nos. II and V are written by the Countess von Schwerin, *née* von Ammon, a sister of Madame von Mardefeldt [de Marteville], who lives at present in Berlin, and according to general testimony is a lady possessed of a vast extent of knowledge, is well versed in the sciences, and

combines therewith great mental acumen. The author of no. III is Mr. Letocard, ex-secretary of the Dutch Embassy in Sweden at the time of the decease of M. von Mardefeldt [de Marteville], and who still lives in an advanced old age in Pomerania, and has been an eye-witness of all these occurrences. I regret very much that special circumstances do not permit me to give the name of the distinguished writer of letters I and IV, but I may assure my readers that he is deserving of the greatest esteem, both on account of his rank, erudition, and intelligence, and also that his birth alone entitled him to interrogate at table the late Queen of Sweden, in respect to her experience with Swedenborg.

"Let any unbiassed man compare the following important documents with those which have been communicated in the above-mentioned 'Monatsschrift,' and he will probably agree with me that the first explainer is but a shallow anecdotist, who will scarcely dare to contradict the universally revered Princess Sophia of Sweden,[250] and the Baron Zoye von Manteuffel, who is doubtless better informed on this subject than himself.

"In respect to the second explainer, I may state that I have the honour of being acquainted with him, and that his words cannot be doubted in the least; it is therefore utterly incomprehensible to me, how the late Queen of Sweden could have related this occurrence in a manner entirely different; for that she has related this story to others in a contradictory fashion is known also to the same worthy gentleman" . . . .

## I.

*LETTER ADDRESSED TO L. L. VON BRENKENHOFF.*[251]

"Berlin, June 8, 1788.

"I enclose the letter which I promised to send to you. Make a proper use of it. It is interesting on account of the particulars it contains, which are much more truthful than those contained in the verbose account which the anonymous writer has inserted in the 'Monatsschrift,'

edited by Messrs. Gedicke and Biester. You are well aware that I am neither a visionary, nor subject to prejudices; but I love the truth too well to subscribe to the falsities of the so-called philosophers. We have a Supreme Being who is undefinable; how then can we feeble mortals dare to define the undefinable? Is that philosophy? No, it is silliness. All is possible to this Supreme Being; but His undefinable goodness also assures us that everything that happens is for our real good, even though we are not always able to divine it. On this goodness I rest; it impels us to love one other with brotherly affection. Judge, my dear Sir, how sweet this law is, when it is applied to yourself," &c., &c.

## II.

*LETTER BY THE COUNTESS VON SCHWERIN.*[249]

"You will pardon my not having been able to acquit myself at an earlier period of the commission with which you charged me in respect to the singular occurrence between my late sister and the famous Swedenborg. As my niece was absent from her home, she was delayed in sending her answer, which contains her recollections of that story. As she was, however, very young at that time, I would not trust her memory alone in order to furnish to you a truthful account.

"By dint of much inquiry I have at last unearthed the secretary of the embassy, who was then at the house of my late brother-in-law, and who was an eye-witness, since he continued to stay at my sister's house for some time, in order to take charge of the affairs of the United Provinces. Besides, this gentleman had been very intimate with Swedenborg. He sent me the following account which agrees completely with that communicated to me by my niece:

"M. de Matevell [Marteville], envoy extraordinary of the United Provinces at the Court of Sweden, died in Stockholm in the month of April, 1760. Some time afterwards his widow was called upon by a silversmith to pay for a silver service She was astonished at this demand, in view of her husband's

punctuality in the settlement of his accounts, but was unable to find the silversmith's receipt, notwithstanding all her searches. As she was very much importuned by that man she applied to Mr. Samuel [Emanuel] de Schwedenborg, who told her that he would see her again in a few days, and give her an answer. He kept his word, and said, 'Madame, I have asked the spirit of your late husband, and he has told me that this receipt is in the secret drawer of such and such a writing-desk; where it was really found.

"The same secretary of the embassy communicated to me the following particulars, which perhaps may amuse you for a few moments:

"The late Queen of Sweden desired to test Swedenborg's supernatural gift of conversing at his pleasure with the souls of the departed, and told Swedenborg to raise the spirit of her late brother, the Crown-Prince of Prussia, in order to ask him for a positive reply on the subject of a conversation which the Queen had *sub rosa* with him in the embrasure of a window in the palace of Charlottenburg, in the month of July, 1744. A short time afterwards Swedenborg brought an answer to the Queen with which she was perfectly satisfied. The Queen herself is said to have stated, that she was thoroughly convinced that no other living soul except her brother and herself knew anything about this matter.

"The late Mr. Swedenborg was the son of a bishop, and consequently a nobleman. According to the son's avowal, his father was already predisposed for heavenly revelations; the son, however, had from his earliest youth contracted the habit of frequently concentrating all his faculties, and of abstracting completely all earthly ideas, by, for this purpose, closing his eyes, and remaining sometimes for twenty-four hours in an arm-chair, without moving himself. He wrought more wonderful things of this kind, than he has received credit for. After his reputation had been thoroughly established, he was accosted one day by a young Swede, who, according to his own statement, felt himself called to become introduced into familiar intercourse with the spirits of the departed. Swedenborg advised him as a preliminary step to prepare himself by fasting and rigid abstinence, as well as by frequent and fervent

prayer. The young aspirant informed him after some time that he had scrupulously attended to everything, when the old gentleman addressed him thus: 'Very well, my son, let us see; sit down, close your eyes, and abstract everything that has any connection with this sublunary world; I shall do the same thing myself.' The would-be recipient was docile to the end; but nevertheless became impatient, when nothing appeared to him, from the corner of one of his eyes he took a peep at the inspired man; there he noticed that his chest was agitated, as if he had a difficulty in breathing. After the lapse of a full hour the old gentleman opened his eyes, and asked the young man what he had seen. Alas, nothing. What, did you not see this, and that? My dear friend, I knew it before, you are not fit to be admitted into familiar intercourse with the heavenly spirits.

"On the 19th of August, 1759, when Swedenborg returned from London, whither he went from time to time to print new books, he said, on landing at Gottenburg, that on this very day there was a great conflagration in Stockholm in the Södermalm, and that his house, which was situated there, would be preserved. A few days afterwards a confirmation of this statement was received in Gottenburg.

"So far extends the narrative of my correspondent. I shall be much gratified, if it amuse you for a little while. I beg you to allow me to add some reflections, which I sometimes make on this subject.

"The philosophers of our own century and some of the preceding centuries, reject everything which is beyond their comprehension, and which they cannot demonstrate; so that at last they arrive at a point when they regard as mere fables the holiest mysteries, the foundations of the Christian religion, which are all infinitely above the sphere of man. But is it reasonable to reject everything that we cannot demonstrate or comprehend? However enlightened our century may be by the discoveries which are daily made, by the progress in experimental physics, and especially in chemistry, to which may be added that new system of metaphysics, the reading of which has been made so very interesting by Voltaire, and which he himself has illustrated in an infinite number of ways;

however great, I say, the light which has thereby been shed over Europe, it has nevertheless also done much harm, especially to religion. I think that St. Paul had such enlighteners in view, when he said: 'Much learning doth make them mad.'* Why should they persist in denying outright the communication of spirits with men here below? Our so-called *esprits forts* maintain that all pretended apparitions are mere tricks to delude feeble and timid souls. I reply that the intercourse which Swedenborg had with the spirits of the departed, is nothing new, however incomprehensible it may be. The Old Testament furnishes us an instance of it, by the appearance of the spirit of the prophet Samuel, which was evoked by a woman of Endor. In the New Testament we read of the servant of an innkeeper, who was a source of profit to her master by her divination [see Acts xvi, 16]. Besides, the Apostle Paul, who declared that he himself was inspired by the Divine Spirit, says expressly that God distributes his gifts differently; to some He gives the gift of prophecy, to another that of communicating with spirits, to others the gift of speaking in divers tongues (1 Corinthians xii, 10).

"This seems to me to be a well authenticated and very respectable testimony; and I also (I can swear to this on my conscience) saw my mother-in-law, the late Countess of Schwerin, appear at the moment of her decease in my room, although I was at a distance of twenty-four leagues. I informed my husband of it, and soon after a messenger arrived, who told him, that his mother had in reality expired at the same moment that she appeared in my room.

"But I perceive that instead of making only a few remarks on a subject so very mysterious, I have allowed myself to be carried away into a digression, which, from its length, must certainly have tired you. I ask a thousand pardons, and have the honour of remaining, &c., &c.

"Just as I was closing my letter to you, I received another letter from my Secretary of the Embassy, containing the enclosed remarks on the article which Mr. Gedicke

* The Countess von Schwerin seems to have forgotten that this sentiment was applied to Paul himself by Festus; see Acts xxvi, 24.

inserted in his journal. I believe that you will not be displeased at being informed of the true state of the affairs.

"COUNTESS VON SCHWERIN,
"*née* VON AMMON."

## II.

*LETOCARD TO THE COUNTESS VON SCHWERIN.*

"I have just read an extract from an article inserted in the April number of the 'Berlinische Monatsschrift' of Messrs. Gedicke and Biester, which treats of the late Swedenborg. Without desiring to enter the lists against the anonymous author in respect to the details of the fact in question, I may be permitted in all simplicity to make the following remarks on the subject:

"The late Senator Count Tessin, whom the anonymous author reports to have been present when the late Queen Louisa Ulrica of Sweden commissioned Swedenborg to ask His Royal Highness, the late Crown-Prince of Prussia, and father of our gracious King, for the reason why he did not answer the letter which Her Majesty wrote to him in June 1756, the date of the unfortunate plot, which afterwards resulted in the decapitation of Count Brahe and the Baron Horn—had entirely withdrawn from the court as early as 1754; and since that time had lived on his estates in the country, visiting Stockholm only very rarely.

"Chevalier Beylon,[251] who, according to the anonymous author, revealed the underhand game of the affair in question, arrived in Stockholm in the year 1760. Now the date of the premature death of the late Crown-Prince of Prussia, as is well known, was June 12, 1758; and all these dates being very positive, is there any reason why the late Queen of Sweden should have waited two entire years and more, before she enquired the reason why her august brother had kept silence respecting the contents of a letter, which the circumstances of the times rendered so very important to Her Majesty?*

* Letocard seems to have taken it for granted that the affair of the Queen happened very soon after the decease of her brother in 1758; when yet it really happened towards the close of 1761, and thus a whole year after the Chevalier Beylon had arrived at the Swedish court.

"Again, is it at all probable that two gentlemen of the standing and character of Count Tessin and Count Höpken, should at night, and secretly, have gone to the visionary Swedenborg, in order to teach him his lesson?

"Chevalier Beylon also, who saw them leave his house clandestinely at three o'clock in the morning, was by no means given to promenading the streets of Stockholm at such an unusual and even somewhat suspicious hour; and, moreover, as he depended entirely upon Her Majesty, the Queen, for his position as reader, it seems scarcely credible (suppose the anecdote in question to be even literally true) that he should have liked to be a party to spreading a rumour respecting her, and indeed from so malignant a motive, as is attributed to him. All this did not at all fit into the character of this refined and subtle courtier, with whom I was very well acquainted, and who died in the year 1779, very much regretted by the whole court, having had the rare faculty of causing himself to be loved and esteemed by both the parties into which Sweden was then divided.*

"LETOCARD."

## IV.

*LETTER ADDRESSED TO L. L. VON BRENKENHOFF.*[253]

"I enclose you another letter on the subject of Swedenborg and the 'Monatsschrift,' published by Biester and Gedicke. Letocard's account agrees perfectly with what the Queen of Sweden related here at her own table concerning her experience with Swedenborg. The Princess of Sweden[250]

* According to Nordin (see Document 275, B) the Chevalier Beylon told his story not only to the gentleman who published the same in the "Berlinische Monatsschrift," but also to Gustavus III, the King of Sweden. It is difficult to say who was the originator of the story, whether the Chevalier Beylon, or the "distinguished chevalier" of the "Monatsschrift;" but as Gustavus III, according to Nordin, distinctly told Rosenstein, that Beylon had repeated to him the same story, there is a strong probability that Beylon was the inventor, notwithstanding the good character which Letocard gives to him.

and Baron Zoye von Manteuffel told the story in the same fashion during their stay here last winter. The Princess of Sweden added that she had been astonished at finding in some French journal, that a fact, the reality of which was acknowledged by so many persons who were still living and who were present [when it happened], had been called in question, &c., &c.

## V.

*LETTER BY THE COUNTESS VON SCHWERIN.*[249]

"Letocard is the name of the gentleman who for twenty years was secretary of the embassy of the United Provinces, under my late brother-in-law. This old gentleman has retired from his duties, and lives at present with his family in Pomerania. As he still keeps up an active correspondence with Sweden, I asked him to try to collect some additional genuine anecdotes about the late Swedenborg. If the testimony of a sister of the late Madame de Mardefeld can be of use in verifying what took place between Swedenborg and my sister, you are quite at liberty to make use of my name; since I am always ready to seize every opportunity of manifesting the perfect respect with which I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

"COUNTESS VON SCHWERIN,
"*née* VON AMMON.

"Berlin, June 9, 1788."

There is one fact which seems pretty well established by the present investigation, viz. that the Queen herself did not always relate her experience with Swedenborg in the same fashion; nay that she actually denied to one gentleman that Swedenborg brought her any message at all from her deceased brother. Her reasons for doing so are stated by Count Höpken thus: "She did not wish any one in Sweden to believe that during a war with Prussia she had carried on a correspondence in the enemy's country" (see Document 275, p. 660). "The same caution," Höpken continues, "Her Majesty exercised during her late visit to Berlin. When she

was asked about this transaction, which had been printed in a German paper, she did not answer. This circumstance was narrated in the French translation of 'Heaven and Hell.'"*

J. F. von Meyer,† in commenting on the explanations furnished by the "Berlinische Monatsschrift" which were reprinted in 1809 by the "Allgemeine Anzeiger der Deutschen," adverts in a short reply inserted in no. 60 of the "Anzeiger" to the caution exercised by the Queen in the communication of the details of this occurrence, and says, "Is it at all likely that the Queen under these circumstances would have opened her heart freely to the explainer, no. 2, to whom she refused to give a correct statement? That gentleman would no doubt answer, Yes; for a considerable amount of self-denial is required for any one to acknowledge that he has been the dupe of such a person. Every one flatters himself to be in her confidence. And she herself in order to defend herself against such inopportune questioners, at last declares that she knows nothing about it." This, says Mr. von Meyer, seems to have been her object in the account she gave to that gentleman; wherefore he declares further that "the key furnished by him amounts to no explanation at all in his own eyes."

In analyzing the account given by Chevalier Beylon, as reported by explainer, no. 1, Mr. von Meyer says, "According to that account Chevalier Beylon never maintained that he really *knew* the natural connection of this affair; that he had heard or learned it from the Senators T. and H., or from some other person; he simply *guessed* it, and the result of his guessing he was not willing to make public. Shakespeare says somewhere, 'I believe indeed that you will not betray what you do not know.' Granted that the old Chevalier Beylon had in reality taken a walk at three o'clock in the morning

* Cfr. Document 6, no. 26, Vol. I, p. 65.

† Johan Friedrich von Meyer, says Dr. Immanuel Tafel ("Sammlung von Urkunden, &c., Part I, p. 138) was syndic and burgomaster in Frankfort on the Maine, and by no means a follower of Swedenborg, but on the contrary one of his opponents. His review of the account furnished by the "Berlinische Monatsschrift," which appeared at first in the "Anzeiger," &c., was inserted by him afterwards in his work entitled "Hades," published the following year in Frankfort.

through the Södermalm where Swedenborg lived, and that he really saw the two statesmen make their way clandestinely from his house—still this admits of other equally just explanations. For instance, suppose they were impelled by a secret curiosity to learn the answer Swedenborg gave to the Queen, they having been present when she charged him with the commission. We are not acquainted with the private character of these gentlemen. Should they have been believers in the reality of Swedenborg's visions, they might perhaps have desired to interrogate him on their own account, but might have been unwilling to do so in public: if they did not believe in his visions, they may have wished to make use of him for some political intrigue, but *without meeting with any success:* for the Queen herself, according to explainer, no. 2, declared among other things that "Swedenborg was honest enough to refuse to become a tool in the hands of some persons, who desired to make use of him and his visions at the time of party-strife."

Such then is the value of Chevalier Beylon's testimony, when examined by the rules of evidence.

About the time the explanations of the "Berlinische Monatsschrift" were reprinted in the "Allgemeine Anzeiger," &c., the editors of the "Morgenblatt" printed, in no. 107 of their paper, issued in May, 1809, an article entitled "Contribution to the Theory of Pneumatology," written by the Rev. C. E. Gambs of Bremen, late chaplain to the Swedish Embassy in Paris. In that article the reverend gentleman reviewed Jung-Stilling's work on Pneumatology, and especially his account of the Queen's experience with Swedenborg.* The editors of the "Morgenblatt," in inserting Gambs' article, remarked that it corrected authentically several points in the explanations given by the "Berlinische Monatsschrift." Of this article we shall give our readers the leading facts.

* See Document 275, p. 659.

## E.

## THE REV. C. E. GAMBS ON SWEDENBORG.

After laying special emphasis on the fact that all Jung-Stilling's information was derived from an *anonymous* "distinguished Swedé," while he himself is able to name, as the sources of his account, M. Signeul, the former consul-general of Sweden in Paris, and Mr. Nils von Jacobsson, the bosom-friend of a son of the Count von Brahe, who is one of the chief actors in the following narrative, Mr. Gambs says:

"The Queen of Sweden, the wife of Adolphus Frederic, the mother of Gustavus III, and the sister of Frederic the Great, bore unwillingly the restraints which the Swedish Diet had imposed upon the regal power after the death of Charles XII. She sought to free herself from them, and corresponded with her brother on the means required to carry out her plan. In order to be independent of the Swedish postal service, which was entirely under the control of the Diet, the Queen dispatched all her letters by a man who, under the pretext of travelling on business, passed to and fro between Sweden and Prussia. The Queen, however, was not aware that the members of the Diet did not trust her, and that they, and especially Count Brahe, father of the present Count, who was president of the Diet, surrounded the Queen with spies, and soon ferreted out her private letter-carrier, on whom they prevailed, partly by threats and partly by bribes, to surrender to the marshal-in-chief, Count Brahe, every letter from the Queen, before taking it to Prussia, and every letter from her brother,before delivering it to the Queen.

"This gentleman learned very soon what had happened between the Queen and the familiar friend of the spirits, and also that he had promised within three days to bring a reply to the Queen. On the evening of the second day Count Brahe in disguise went to Swedenborg, and after he had made himself known to him, he addressed him thus: 'Dear Professor, it is no part of my office to investigate whether you are really able to communicate with heavenly spirits, or not. But I consider you to be a faithful Swede, who is interested in the welfare of his country, and the safety of his king. I therefore consider it my duty to inform you, that I am acquainted with the contents of the last letter which the Queen wrote to her brother. If now you are willing to do a great service to your country and to the Queen, tell her to-morrow, that the members of the Diet have read her entire correspondence with her brother, that they know all the steps she has taken in order to overthrow the constitution of the country, but that out of love for her husband they have hitherto been indulgent and merciful towards her; should she, however, take any other additional step, it will result in the death of her husband, and the dethronement of her son.

"This answer, which, it is true, the late Prince of Prussia could have communicated to the ghost-seer Swedenborg just as well as Count Brahe, Swedenborg delivered verbally to the Queen on the following day, and thereby proved his intercourse with the heavenly spirits.

"C. E. Gambs.

"Formerly chaplain of the Swedish legation in Paris, at present preacher in the Church of St. Ansgari in Bremen."

The fictitious character of this account is easily established: for at the time the Queen charged Swedenborg with a commission to her deceased brother, which was at the close of November, 1761, Count Brahe was not president of the Swedish Diet; in fact Count Eric Brahe,[137] who had been acting President of the Swedish Diet in 1752, was beheaded in 1756, by order of the Diet, for

having abetted Queen Louisa Ulrica in her attempts to subvert the constitution of Sweden (see Note 137); and his sons were too young in 1761 to take any part in the affairs of the country. Count Magnus Frederic Brahe, whose bosom-friend, according to Gambs, was Nils von Jacobsson, being at that time five years old, and his brother Pehr fifteen (see Anrep's "Ättar-taflor," Vol. I, pp. 290 and 291).

NOTES TO VOLUME II.PART I

NOTE 149.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF SWEDENBORG'S DIARY FOR 1743 AND 1744.

Since the publication of Swedenborg's Diary for l743 and 1744, from which Documents 207, 208, and 209, are taken, the admirers of Swedenborg have been divided as to its authenticity; and as its genuineness is still regarded by many as a debated question, it becomes necessary for us fully to state our reasons for believing in its authenticity.

The evidence on which we decide in favour of its genuineness is both external and internal.

The external evidence is furnished by an examination of the original order in which this Diary is written, and by a comparison of the handwriting contained therein with that of Swedenborg in his acknowledged writings. This was done by the editor of these documents during his stay in Stockholm in 1871, when he could discover no circumstance whatever connected with the book that indicated spuriousness; the binding, paper, and the whole style of the book being evidently of the period to which it ostensibly belongs, and the writing being like that of Swedenborg at that time.

The internal evidence of the genuineness of the document, which is of greater value, is furnished by the following points, which will be found discussed at full length in separate notes:

A. References to parts of this Diary in other writings of Swedenborg (Note 164, vii).

B. The historical character of the persons mentioned in this Diary verified (Note 160).

C. Collateral evidence respecting Swedenborg's whereabouts in 1743 and 1744 (Note 163).

D. Collateral evidence with respect to Swedenborg's studies in 1744, as indicated in the Diary (Note 164).

E. Collateral evidence with regard to the bodily and mental states experienced by Swedenborg in 1744, and described in this Diary (Note 162).

F. Swedenborg's philosophy of dreams, showing that the principles by which he explained his dreams in 1744, are identical with the system of correspondences propounded by him in his later theological writings (Note 161).

G. The philosophy of this Diary identical with that taught in Swedenborg's philosophical and theological writings (Note 166).

H. An examination of the theology of this Diary (Note 165).

NOTE 150.

THE COUNTESS DE LA GARDIE.

Concerning the De la Gardie family, see Note 141, Vol. I. The Countess De la Gardie, whose meeting with Swedenborg at Ystad is recorded in Document 207, was no doubt the widow of Count Magnus Julius De la Gardie, who died in 1741. His widow, Countess Hedwig Catharina, after her husband's death removed to Paris, where she became a catholic, and died in 1745. She had four sons, two of whom, it seems, accompanied their mother and two sisters to Paris. One of them Brita Sophia, likewise became a catholic, and the other Hedwig Catharina, in 1752 was married to Count Frederic Axel von Fersen,151 who had accompanied them to Paris in 1743.

NOTE 151.

COUNT FERSEN.

Count Frederic Axel von Fersen, son-in-law of Countess De la Gardie,150 was born in 1719. In 1743 he entered the French army, and became colonel of a regiment raised by himself. After his return to Sweden in 1750 he took a leading part in politics, and was chosen three times in succession presiding officer of Swedish Diet. In 1770 he became field-marshal, and died in 1794.

NOTE 152.

MAJOR LANTINGSHAUSEN.

Major Jacob Albrecht von Lantingshausen was Count Fersen's151 brother-in-law. He entered the French army in 1723, and in 1743, when he was met by Swedenborg at Ystad, was major of the regiment called Alsace; in 1744 he became major-general, and in the following year left the French service, and returned to Sweden. In 1760 he was created a baron, and after having filled several important offices died in 1769.

NOTE 153.

COLONEL SCHWERIN.

The Colonel Schwerin, on whom Swedenborg called at Stralsund in 1743 (see Document 207), was Claus Philip von Schwerin, who was born in 1689. In 1737 he became colonel of the regiment by which Stralsund was garrisoned; and in 1743 commandant of the fortress. He died in 1748 (see Anrep, Vol. Iii, p. 690).

NOTE 154.

DR. CARL JESPER BENZELIUS.

Concerning Dr. Carl Jesper Benzelius, see Document 9, p. 89, Vol. I, and also Note 99. To the particulars which are there recorded concerning him, we add here that in 1742 he received the appointment of ordinary court chaplain, and in 1743 and 1744 he undertook his second journey abroad (see "Biografiskt Lexicon") Vol. II, p. 105), which accounts for Swedenborg's meeting him at Stralsund in 1743.

NOTE 155.

BARON HAMILTON.

The Baron Hamilton whom Swedenborg met at Hamburg in 1743 was no doubt Baron Charles Frederic Hamilton, who was court-marshal (Hofmarskalk) at the time, a capacity in which he attended upon Adolphus Frederic,159 Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, after he had been elected Crown-prince of Sweden. Baron Hamilton died suddenly in 1753.

NOTE 156.

BARON REUTERHOLM.

The Baron of that name, whom Swedenborg met in 1743 at the court of Adolphus Frederic159 (see Document 207), was Baron Esbjorn Christian Reuterholm, who was born in 1716, and who was royal chamberlain at the time Swedenborg met him. In 1765 he became senator, and died in 1773.

NOTE 157.

TRIEVALD.

Among those whom Swedenborg states he met at Hamburg in 1743 (see Document 207), was one of the name of Trievald. Samuel Trievald, a well-known Swedish scholar, had entered the service of Holstein in 1728. He became governor of Prince Augustus,158 and died in January, 1743. The Trievald whom Swedenborg met, was either a son of this Samuel Trievald, or else his brother Morten, a well known civil engineer in the Swedish service.

NOTE 158.

PRINCE AUGUSTUS.

Prince Frederic Augustus, to whom Swedenborg was presented in Hamburg in 1743 (see Document 207), was a younger brother of Adolphus Frederic.159 He was born in 1711, and succeeded his brother as Prince-Bishop of Lubeck in 1751; in 1773, he succeeded to the earldom or county of Oldenburg, which in 1774 was raised to the rank of duchy. He died in 1785.

NOTE 159.

ADOLPHUS FREDERIC.

Adolphus Frederic, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, was elected Crown-Prince of Sweden on July 3, 1743; thus about six weeks before Swedenborg was presented to him (see Document 207). He was at that time administrator of the duchy of Holstein-Gottorp and Prince-Bishop of Lubeck; in 1750, he abdicated these claims in favor of his brother Frederic August,158, and in 1751 ascended the Swedish throne. For further particulars respecting him, see Note 11, Vol. I.

NOTE 160.

HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE DIARY OF 1743 AND 1744.

We propose to give here a complete list of all the persons whose names are mentioned in the Diary of 1743 and 1744. Those names which we were able to identify are printed in italics; and references are made to those parts of the "Documents" where their historical character is established.

The Diary of 1743 and 1744 supplies the text of four documents, viz., 134, 207, 208, and 209. Names of persons occur in three of these documents, viz. 134, 207, and 209.

I. In Document 134 are mentioned the names of the following mercantile firms:

Peter Hultman, see Note 111.

Messrs. Anthon and Johan Grill, see Note 112.

Johan Spicker, London, see Note 117.

Balair, The Hague.

Messrs. Muillman and Sons, [Amsterdam?]

Franz Jennings, see Note 114.

Mr. Mackei, London.

By a reference to Note 111 it will be seen that Peter Hultman was Swedenborg's banker in Stockholm from 1737 to 1764. Concerning Messrs. Anthon and Johan Grill we learn from Document 135, B., that Swedenborg's letters were to be addressed to their care in 1748, and from Note 112 that Swedenborg sometimes dined at their house in Amsterdam. Of Johan Spieker we read is the "Anteckningar rorande Svenska Kyrkan i London," that he was born in Finland in 1685, and that he arrived in London in 1712, where he established a banking business, and died in 1775. Franz Jennings was born in 1692, and amassed a large fortune as merchant and banker in Stockholm; from Document 137 we learn that Swedenborg in 1759 invested a sum of 10,000 dalers in the firm of Jennings and Finlay. From all of this, however, it appears that four out of the seven mercantile firms mentioned in Document 134, not only had a real existence in 1743, but also that Swedenborg was in the habit of transacting his business through these firms.

Besides these mercantile firms there is also mentioned in Document 134 the estate of the late Celsing (Celsingens Sterbhus); this refers to the estate of Gustavus Celsing, Chancellor of the Court (Hofkanslr), who died in 1743.

All this, however, is quite sufficient to establish the authenticity of the Diary for 1743 and 1744, so far as Document 134 is concerned.

II. In Document 207 occur the names of the following persons:

Countess De la Gardie, Note 150.

Count Fersen, Note 151.

Major Lantingshausen, Note 152.

Magister Klingenberg.

General Stenflycht, see footnote on p. 92, Vol. II.

Captain Schiechta.*

* This is no doubt the "Kapten Schiechta" mentioned by Linnus in his "Anteckningar fver Nemesis Divina" (p. 10), published by Prof. Fries, Upsal, 1848.

Colonel Schwerin, Note 153.

Superintendent Luper.

Postmaster Crivits.

Carl Jesper Benzelius, Note 154.

Baron Hamilton, Note 155.

Reuterholm, Note 156.

Trievald, Note 157.

Assessor Awermann.

Adolphus Frederic, Note 159.

Prince Augustus, Note 158.

Knig, see footnote on p. 82, Vol. II.

Lesch, the Marshal-in-Chief.

Out of eighteen persons whose names occur in Swedenborg's private Diary for 1743, we are thus able historically to identify thirteen. Of the Countess de la Gardie and Count Fersen we know besides that in 1743 they travelled from Sweden to Paris; and of Major Lantingshausen that in 1743 he was major of the French regiment Alsace, and thus was stationed abroad. With General Stenflycht Swedenborg became acquainted in Paris in 1736, and concerning Claus Philip von Schwerin we learn in Note 153 that he was commandant of Stralsund in 1743, when he was visited by Swedenborg. C. J. Benzelius started on his second journey abroad in 1743, as is shown in Note 154, so that it seems quite probable that he should have met his uncle Swedenborg in Stralsund in 1743. Again all that is recorded about the Crown-Prince Adolphus Frederic and Prince Augustus and their attendants, Barons Hamilton and Reuterholm, Trievald and Knig, agrees with history, and it is not at all unlikely that Swedenborg should have met them all in Hamburg in 1743.

III. Most of the persons whose names Swedenborg mentions in Document 209, he saw in his dreams. The few persons whom he met in reality, are the following:

Ambassador Preis (no. 85), Note 171.

Pastor Pombo (nos. 85, 86).

H. Hinr. Posch or Pasch (no. 117).

Prof. lreich (nos. 140, 208), Note 109.

Preis, as we see from Note 171, was the Swedish ambassador at the Hague from 1725, and died there in 1759, so that Swedenborg must have met him at the Hague in 1743. Of Prof. lreich we read in the ABiografiskt Lexicon," Vol. X, p. 202 that he was abroad from 1739 to 1744, so that it is not at all unlikely that he met Swedenborg in London in 1744.

IV. The following persons Swedenborg mentions in his dreams:

Our Successor, i. e. Adolphus Frederic (no. 4), Note 159.

Carl Broman (no. 4), Note 113.

Erland Broman (nos. 4, 19), Note 167.

Dr. Hesselius (no. 6), Note '76.

King Charles [XII] (nos. 13, 102, 105, 116, 122), Note 3.

Bishop Swedberg (nos. 29, 74, 145, 151, 160), Document 10.

Swab (no. 48), Note 66, A.

Sister Caisa [i. e. Catharina] (no. 63), Note 5.

Sister Hedwig (nos. 71, 191), Note 5.

Doctor Morus (nos. 76, 77), Note 66, C.

Henning Gyllenborg (no. 81), Note 170.

Kning (no. 97), see footnote on p. 82, Vol. D.

Prof. Winbom (no. 97), Note 172.

King Frederic (no. 127), Note 4.

Brother Eliezer (no. 129), see Document 9, p. 84, no. 6.

Brother Jesper (no. 132), Note 52.

Bergenstjerna (no. 136), Note 126.

Ericus Benzelius (no. 146), Note 6.

Brita Behm (no. 152), Note 50.

Schwede (no. 152), Note 50.

The two Rosenadlers (no. 152), Note 51, and footnote on p. 200, Vol. II.

Count Horn (no. 152), Note 104.

Assessor B[enzelstjerna] (no. 164), Note 8.

D. H. (no. 164).

Didron (no. 169), see footnote on p. 205, Vol. II.

Secretary Bierchenius (no. 189), Note 129.

Lagerberg (no. 190), Note s6.

Ehrenpreus (no. 190), Note 173.

Ulrica Adlersten (no. 191), see Document 9, p. 85, no. 3.

[Albrecht] Schnsrm (no. 191), see Document 9, p. 85, no. 3.

NOTE 161.

SWEDENBORG'S PHILOSOPHY OF DREAMS.

The general theory of dreams is stated by Swedenborg in the Adversaria, Vol. II, nos. 182 to 184, in these words: "With respect to dreams in particular I desire simply to state here that they are induced on man by spirits. Those dreams by which the future is revealed, and also truths, are caused by the spirits of God-Messiah [i. e. by angels], but other dreams by spirits that are not of God-Messiah; those dreams, however, by which men are deceived are induced by evil spirits, and thus by the devil's crew. They express themselves either by the living voice, or, most frequently by representations, of which there are innumerable kinds; and unless a person know these kinds, it is impossible for him to know the signification of representative dreams. For they are representations of things from heaven by means of such things chiefly as are seen upon earth, and thus by the things of nature; and sometimes these representations are so intricate, that their meaning can be unravelled only when the various modes of representation are known. That such is the case appears most clearly from the dreams of Joseph and also of Pharaoh, and likewise from the prophets, where various things concerning dreams are recorded. I need not mention here visions which are altogether similar to dreams; nor representations which are like them, and which sometimes appear as in clear daylight to the life in a state of wakefulness, before and after sleep; nor, finally, real representations when objects appear present in a similar manner, as when one man is present before another man--this last kind of representation, however, took place with me, when I was in a different state."

After thus speaking of dreams, visions, and representations in a general way, Swedenborg adds: "That these things are so, I can attest. and their being so ought the less to be doubted because, by the Divine mercy of God-Messiah, they have happened so frequently, that they have become quite familiar to me. I learned them partly by dreams which I had at first during a number of years, when I learned something of their real signification, and partly by the other revelations [i. e. by visions and representations]; and also by additional revelations, as, for instance, when the very letters appeared written before my eyes, and were read to me &c. &c. But I am not yet permitted to say more concerning them." This he wrote in 1746.

After this personal statement he continues: "The dreams produced by spirits with some are mere illusions, and contain hardly anything except mere diversions originating in the things suggested by the blood and past thoughts. In respect to the dreams themselves, they are, as already remarked, excited by spirits; and this has been made so manifest to me, that I know it to be most certain; since I have conversed frequently with the very spirits by whom these things are caused, and hence have been most fully instructed that they flow in from no other source."

Again we read in the Arcana Coelestia, "There are three kinds of dreams. The first comes from the Lord mediately by heaven; of this kind were the prophetical dreams, concerning which we may read in the Word. The second kind comes by means of angelic spirits ... whence the men of the Most Ancient Church had their dreams, which were instructive. The third kind comes from the spirits who are near man when he sleeps; this kind of dreams is also significative. Fantastical dreams, however, have a different origin" (no. 196).

Concerning the dreams which flow in from the Lord through heaves, we read: "Those dreams which flow in from the Lord through heaven, never appear otherwise than according to representatives. If any one, therefore, knows not what the various objects in nature represent; and especially if he has no knowledge at all that anything represents, he cannot but believe that dreams are mere comparisons, like those which every one uses in common discourse. They are indeed comparisons, but such as correspond, and are presented in reality in the world of spirits, when the angels who are in the interior heaven converse respecting the spiritual and celestial things of the Lord's kingdom" (Arcana Coelestia, no. 5115).

Of the manner in which the ideas of angels are turned into corresponding images in the world of spirits, and are represented by dreams in the minds of men, we read in the "Spiritual Diary," no. 4033, as follows: "The ideas of the speech of the angels were so represented, that their conversation in general and in particular, was represented to me in a dream. They were told, and they perceived also, that the very same conversations might have descended into, and might have been presented by, an indefinite number of other representations, according to the spirits around me, end thus according to my state; so that an infinite number of other dreams may result from the same speech, or from the same ideas of speech; for the memories of men are recipient vessels, which receive ideas according to the variations of their forms, and according to their states." Compare also Arcana Coelestia, no. 1980.

From these passages may be deduced the following principles:

First. Dreams are either significative or fantastical.

Secondly. Significative dreams come either from the Lord through heaven, and are prophetic; or they come from angelic spirits, and are instructive; or, finally, they come from the spirits who are near man when he sleeps, and are simply significative.

Thirdly. Significative dreams are representations of the ideas of God, of angels, and of spirits by means of correspondences.

Fourthly. The correspondences by which the ideas of God, of angels, and of spirits are represented in dreams, are according to the state of the spirits who are with man when he sleeps, and according to the state of man's own memory.

Let us now make an application of this general theory of dreams to those dreams of Swedenborg which are recorded in Document 209.

First. Those dreams must either be significative or fantastical. According to Swedenborg's own testimony in 1748, those dreams were significative; for he says in the "Spiritual Diary," no. 2951,

"Before my mind was opened so that I could converse with spirits, [and consequently, before 1745, see Note 162,] I had dreams during several years, by which I was informed of the things concerning which I was writing," and in the Adversaria, Vol. II, no. 183, which he wrote in 1746, he says: "At first I had dreams during a number of years, when I learned something of their real signification."

Secondly. Those significative dreams came to him either from the Lord through heaven, and were prophetic, or they came from angelic spirits, and were instructive, or they came from the

spirits by whom he was surrounded, and were simply significative. According to his own testimony those dreams came from the Lord either as direct messages, or as permissions; for he says in the "Spiritual Diary," no. 3177, "From my past life I was able to see that every thing therein [and hence also his significative dreams] was governed by the Lord by means of those things that had been produced or done by me;" and again he says in the "Spiritual Diary," no. 1647, "What I have learned from representations and visions is from the Lord alone." This also is plainly stated in no. 116 of the Diary of 1744, where we read, "This signifies that God speaks with me, and that I comprehend only the smallest portion of it because it is in representations, of which I understand as yet but very little."

Thirdly. As all significative dreams, which come from the Lord through heaven, consist of correspondences, so also did the significative dreams of Swedenborg.

Fourthly. As the correspondences in significative dreams are according to the states of the spirits that surround man when he sleeps, and also according to the state of his own memory, so also the significative dreams of Swedenborg were according to the states of the spirits by whom he was surrounded, and also according to his own memory; for the spirits that are with man put on all the states of his memory (cfr. Arcana Coelestia no. 5853).

How the state of his own memory influenced the nature of his dreams Swedenborg explains in the "Spiritual Diary," no. 4404, where he says: "I dreamt again a dream, but a common one like those of others; I dreamt that a certain man had been speaking with me. After I awoke I related the whole of my dream from beginning to end. The angels said that this agreed entirely with the things on which they had been conversing; not indeed that these things were identical with those that appeared in the dream, for they were altogether different; but the thoughts of their conversation were turned into these things in such a manner that they became representatives and correspondences, and indeed every least thing, to such a degree, that there was nothing that did not coincide. I conversed with them on influx, and how their thoughts were turned into entirely different things, from which it could not possibly be known that they had such an origin; and, indeed, because the influx took place into ideas which were acquired from different sources. For each thing with them excited something consonant with such an idea; this idea in the case of my dream consisted of a person, from the acts of whose life and from conversations with whom I had formed this idea, that he was in natural truth. The angels had been conversing on natural truth, wherefore this person was represented, and what he spoke and acted followed in order in a like manner. Hence may in some measure appear what the nature of influx is; and that that which occurs first is retained for a subject, and that the rest follows from this subject in order; so that there results thence a sort of historical representation."

I. From this passage results the following first principle, according to which Swedenborg interpreted his significntive dreams in 1744, viz., Some of the persons he saw in these dreams represent those qualities and states which he had discovered in them, or which were prominent in his mind when he was thinking of them.

Dr. Hesselius76 (no. 6) = medicine.

Erland Broman167 (no. 19) = luxury, riches, pride.

Anders Swab66A (no. 48) = pride, arrogance.

Sister Caisa, i. e. Catharines (no. 63) = appearance of purity, with impurity.

Dr. Morus66C (nos. 76, 77) = anatomy.

Knig, p. 82, Vol. II (no. 97) = infidelity.

Prof. Winboll72 (no. 97) = Divine worship.

Bergenstjerna125 (no. 136) = a commission to which Swedenborg would be appointed.

Secretary Bierchenius139 (no. 189) = the College of Mines.

Lagerberg86 and Ehrenpreus173 (no. 190) = worldly-mindedness.

II. Again we read in the "Spiritual Diary," no. 4179: "During the whole night several of my acquaintances were around met and I was asleep; I was with them and among them in my sleep under the guise of other persons."

From this it follows that in his significative dreams Swedenborg appeared to himself under the guise of other persons. He thus appeared to himself in his dreams of 1744 under the guise of Henning Gyllenborgl70 in no. 81; of his brother Eliezer in no. 129; of his brother Jesper in no. 132; of Brita Behm50 in no. 152; and of Didron in no. 169.

III. In the "Spiritual Diary," no. 4191, we read as follows:

"Again some were conversing within the sphere of the angelic spirits, while I was asleep, and I dreamt that my father [as he was] during life fell into the water, so that he became immersed in it; I rescued him from it and carried him. After I awoke they said they had conversed on what I had written from the Word. The Word had been previously represented with me by my father [as he had been] during life, and thus their conversation descended into such a representative."

This statement of Swedenborg we find borne out by no. 160 of the Diary of 1744, where we read as follows: "I saw my father in a beautiful surplice before a congregation. This meant, that I was then beginning to read the Bible in the evening.

IV. A. Swedenborg states in no. 149, Document 209, "All objects of the sciences are represented to me under the form of women." This agrees with the principle of correspondence laid down in his theological writings, according to which virgins signify the affection of truth (T. C. R. 205, A. E. 863, C. L. 293), and also the sciences (A. C. 7729). The following are illustrations of this principle, in the Diary of 1744:

In no. 9 "A number of women," and in no. 10 "A handsome woman at a window" represented what he was writing.

In no. 80 we read of "two women, one younger and the other older, whose hands he kissed, not knowing which of the two he His spiritual studies are represented by the one, and his philosophical studies by the other, and he is undecided as to which of the two he should prefer.

Again, by "A woman who owned a large estate," in no. 120, is represented piety and wisdom; and by the queen in no. 201, wisdom.

In no. 5 the Queen represented his Regnum Animale, and his "Sister Hedwig" in no. 71, his onomia Regni Animalis.

In no. 148 Swedenborg says that "with overflowing tenderness he, as it were, took leave of a female friend, kissing her, when another appeared at some distance from her. By this is signified that he had finished Part III of the Regnum Animale, treating of the senses and of the operation of the interior faculties, and that he is approaching Part IV. which treats of the brain.

B. An intense interest and delight in spiritual and philosophical thing; in significative dreams is represented by love and affection for, and marriage to, the women by whom these things are represented. Instances of this kind occur in nos. 80, 114, 120, 148, 205, 209. A profanation of spiritual things, i. e. of good and truth, on the other hand, is represented by adultery and whoredom, as may be seen from no. 183.

C. A distaste for particular studies, or their discontinuance, again, is represented by a separation from, or an aversion to, the women by whom these things are represented. Such instances occur in nos. 71 and 148. In no. 126 worldly things are represented by "A fat, red woman," with whom Swedenborg would have nothing to do.

D. A woman "being with child," in no. 171, signifies that Swedenborg "is now engaged in writing and bringing forth what he has undertaken;" while by the two grandsons of Brita Behm, "the two Rosenadlers," in no. 152, are represented two works Swedenborg has produced, viz. the work on the internal senses, and that on the brain; Brita Behm according to Principle II representing Swedenborg himself.

E. In no. 192 the Moravian church is represented by a woman, in accordance with the principle of correspondence, by which the church is represented by the bride and the wife, and the Lord by the bridegroom and the husband (see A. R. 797 and 881). And by Swedenborg's not approaching the woman in no. 192, is meant that he is not accepted in that church.

F. In the "Spiritual Diary," no. 4146, we read as follows: "Sometimes it was shown to me in sleep that spiritual angels conversed with one another about my writings, saying they were not true, or about similar things, when it appeared to me in sleep as if I committed whoredom or even adultery. In this manner was represented in my dreams what they conversed about."

Dreams of this very character are contained in Swedenborg's Private Diary for 1744; but as no one has yet maintained that that Diary was written by him for publication, we are more than justified, we are bound, by respect for the judgment and feelings of the author and the reader, to omit such passages from his dreams. Those we have omitted are six in number, viz. those in nos. 72, 112, 125, 164, 191, and 208. Of another which Swedenborg says "is pure in itself, but for the merely worldly understanding impure," we give a general outline, but omit the particulars.

This, and perhaps some other passages of Swedenborg's Private Diary for 1743 and 1744, which we have not omitted, have been used by Swedenborg's detractors, both in his own country and abroad, as a means of raising a charge of immorality against him--as if a man could be made responsible for his dreams.

It may however be urged that impure dreams are the offspring of an impure mind. This is by no means a necessary conclusion. Dreams faithfully enough represent our natural inclinations, but they are no certain indication of our moral character. Inclinations are inherited, character is acquired. However strong our inclinations may be, we are not accountable for possessing them, but only for using them. The difference between a moral and an immoral man consists in this: one controls his inclinations and appetites, the other indulges them. Yet, however perfectly the inclinations and appetites may be controlled, they are not destroyed. Hence in dreams, when sleep has suspended volition and even deadened the moral sense, the natural inclinations and appetites may act without control and without compunction. And when in these states the inclination and appetites are active, they have a natural tendency to come into act. Experience as well as Scripture teaches us that a hungry man dreams of eating, and a thirsty man of drinking (Is. xxix, 8), and with the other inclinations and appetites it is the same.

Besides being produced by the spontaneous activity of the inclinations, common dreams, as Swedenborg says "result either from the blood or past thoughts" (Adversaria, II, 184). They are thus in a great measure the products of impressions made upon the senses or left upon the brain, and are shaped by the imagination from materials supplied by the memory, which seem then to be the only active powers of the mind. When Dr. Gregory with a vessel of hot water at his feet, dreamt he was walking on mount Etna, and Dr. Reed with a blister on his head dreamt he was scalped by Indians, theirs were but instances of a common experience, that, in dreams, the action of the mind is often both caused and shaped by the condition of the senses. Impressions left upon the brain are still more fruitful sources of dreams.

We have the testimony of the wise king that "A dream cometh through the multitude of business" (Eccl. v. 3). The impressions which great and continued mental exertion leaves upon the brain, give rise to dreams that may or may not have relation to the matter of our waking thoughts.

Now the author has acknowledged that an inclination for women had been his chief passion; and, at the time these dreams occurred, he was deeply engaged in physiological investigations: so that the natural inclination and the "multitude of business" may have been, combined, the exciting causes of these particular dreams. Nor is it inconsistent with the nature of dreams to suppose that the subject of his profound study--the bodily structure both of man and woman--may have had some influence in giving direction and shape to these nocturnal fancies. Yet it is deserving of remark that, while he acknowledges the strength of the sexual inclination, there is no evidence to show that he ever indulged it. Only in his dreams do we hear of him giving way to this natural impulse. These dreams therefore prove that the sexual passion was strong within him, but they prove nothing more. So far as we know they were exceptional experiences. They belong to one particular period of his life, and that one of but brief duration. There is no record, by him who recorded everything, of any such experience at any other time. The very fact of his recording them, and never afterwards destroying them, is in itself a convincing proof of unsuspecting innocence. And when, in addition to these facts, we take into account the whole of his previous and subsequent rife, in which no blemish on this score can be discovered, there is no other legitimate conclusion than that these particular dreams indicate no more than the involuntary and therefore sinless activity of a natural inclination-sinless, except so far as they evince the corruption of our common nature.

So much may he concluded from these dreams as explicable on merely natural principles. Bat there are other considerations to be taken into account in his case. If we admit, or even

assume, in accordance with his own statement, not only that these were to him exceptional experiences, but that they were the experiences of an exceptional subject, we may find reason and a use in them that gave them another and higher character. In the transition state in which he now was, he had to pass through the furnace of spiritual affliction, where his Saviour was to sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, to purge away his dress, and refine him as silver is refined, and try him as gold is tried, to make him fit for the sacred office to which he was being called.

It was necessary for him to be purified, even as to inclination, from all existing stains of the world and the flesh, that he might be able to stand in the presence of God, and have fellowship with angels, and receive in his understanding the genuine truths and the internal sense of the Holy Word, and thus be the instrument by whom the Lord was to effect His Second Advent. Now according to his own express and oft repeated teaching, there is no purification without temptation, and there can be no temptation without the agency of evil spirits, who excite into activity, and if possible into act, the evils of our nature. For temptation does not, according to him, consist in outward allurements, but in inward incitements to sin, and to sin against God, and in opposition to our religious principles and convictions. Temptation is therefore a conflict between the good and the evil within us. And as angels call forth and support us through our spiritual principles, and evil spirits excite and assail us through our natural inclinations, temptation is a conflict between angels and demons, whose we shall be. By means of temptation evil is seen and felt as a root of bitterness, poisoning all the streams of life, and tainting even our best acts both of mind and body with its deadly quality. It is remarkable, and singularly in harmony with this doctrine of temptation, that Swedenborg at a subsequent period ascribes these very dreams to the agency of evil spirits. In the "Spiritual Diary" (no. 3680) he says, "This night while I was asleep, some who were above the head attacked me and sought to inflict a mortal injury upon me. This they did after, as they thought, something had been discovered which they believed I had committed is actual life. As soon as this had been discovered, they rushed upon me; for they are of opinion that when they discover anything evil in man, licence is given them to destroy him. This, however, was something which, as I believe, had happened several years ago in my dreams; and I am not sure whether a spirit had not then appropriated me as his own. These spirits were afterwards severely punished." There can be no doubt of these being the very dreams of which we are now speaking, there cord of portions of which we have left untranslated. Some of them appear indeed to be something more than temptations, to be rather of the nature of demoniacal possessions. For although the author has declared that there are no external demoniacal possessions at this day, yet similar states of the church may give rise to somewhat similar conditions of spiritual intercourse, and it may have been necessary that he, who was to describe these states, should know something of them by experience. Their effect was entirely that which, according to his own teaching, temptation is the means of producing in those who overcome. About the same time, therefore, that Swedenborg had such dreams, he also records "my inclination for women, which had been my chief passion, suddenly ceased" (see Document 208, p. 148).

In another entry he says, "I wondered at myself that I was no longer inclined to the sex, as I had been all my life long" (Ibid.).

Should there still be different opinions respecting the state of the man at the time those dreams occurred, if these statements are as true as the confessions are candid, there can be but one opinion as to his state when they had passed away. With his other experiences they disclosed to him the deep corruption of his nature. "I saw all my impurity, and recognised that

I was unclean from head to foot" (no. 50). Abhorring himself in dust and ashes, and renouncing all self-righteousness, he threw himself at the feet of his Saviour, craving only His forgiving mercy and saving grace. With such contrition and self-renunciation, it is not surprising he was able to say, "All seemed in a wonderful transcendent manner to approach and conspire to rise up as it were and nestle in infinitude, as a centre where Love itself was" (no. 52).

V. God is represented in the significative dreams of Document 209 under the form of a king, according to this principle of correspondence: "All kings, whoever they are, and of what quality, represent the Lord by the regal office itself which is with them" (A. C. 3670). The Lord is presented first under the form of Charles XII in nos. 13, 102, 116; then under the form of two kings in no. 170; and, finally, in no. 201, under that of the King of France, who as Swedenborg says, represented Christ.

The soul, which is the Lord's inmost dwelling-place in man (see "Intercourse between Soul and Body," no. 8), is represented in no. 152 by the Prime-Minister, Count Horn.104

The angels, or "God's children," in no. 161, are represented by princes.

The Lord's gracious protection is represented in no. 16 by two troops of soldiers marching past Swedenborg's window.

VI. "Man" (vir), according to the Arcana Coelestia, no. 9007 and other places, "corresponds to the intellectual faculty, and thus to truth, and to what pertains to truth; for truth belongs to man's intellectual faculty." Swedenborg in accordance with this principle declares in no. 11, that "A magnificent procession of men" represented experience or experimental truth. "Roving Poles and hussars," in no. 33, he defines as unruly thoughts; and "A yellow man striking a woman," in no. 9, as "our philosophy" i. e. modern philosophy, "striking at what he was writing".

A mixed multitude of men and women, according to no. 55, signifies both "thoughts and affections of the will."

By infants in the language of correspondence is signified innocence (see Arcana Coelestia, no. 5608); this signification of little children occurs in no. 155, and, especially, in no. 190, of Document 209.

VII. Water, in the language of correspondences, signifies truths (A. R. 50), and a river, the understanding of truth and intelligence (A. E. 518); and as the understanding of truth comes to man by the presence of the Holy Spirit, so, in no. 52 of the Diary of 1744, it is declared that the Holy Spirit is represented by water (aqua), and also by a wave (unda). In no. 55 we read that by "A heavy stream of water is signified the power of the Holy Spirit;" and in no. 186, by "muddy water, a turbid understanding."

Fire corresponds to love (H. H. 118), and accordingly we read in no. 191, "a fire of coal burning briskly, signifies the fire of love."

Light corresponds to the truth of faith, and hence to truth in the understanding or in thought (H. H. 118); hence "A reddish light," in no. 68, is defined as "the presence of God's grace in thought."

VIII. The things of intelligence are represented by groves and meadows (A. C. 3220); wherefore we read in no. 144, that by "A noble grove are represented the spiritual things with which man ought to be engaged on Sundays."

By a palace is signified the truth of doctrine (A. C. 4926) or truth rationally understood; in no. 144 there is represented thereby "the plan of Swedenborg's work which points to the 'grove,' and thus to things spiritual."

IX. Precious stones or jewels represent truths in ultimates (S. S. 44), wherefore in no. 5 Swedenborg declares that "jewels have reference to truths."

In A. C. 113 we read that "the good of wisdom or of love is signified or represented by good," and that "nothing is more common in the Word;" and in the Diary of 1744, in no. 67, that "Gold means that which is good and well-pleasing to God," and in no. 68 that by "making gold is meant really to do what is good and to execute it with God's grace, and in the faith granted by God."

X. By bread in the language of correspondence is meant spiritual bread or good (A. C. 680), and likewise by manna, (A. C. 8464); hence in no. 12 of Document 209 the author declares that "two leaves of bread which he received signify the Holy Supper;" and, in no. 139, that "the same is signified by manna." As all illustration in truth is received from the Lord by means of good which is represented by bread (see A. C. 3094), therefore we read in no. 195 that by "the breed presented to Swedenborg on a plate is signified that the Lord will instruct him."

XI. By birds are represented "the things of the understanding, and also thoughts, and consequently those things which are thence, thus in a genuine sense truths of every kind, and in an opposite sense falsities" (A. C. 5149), and in no. 132 of Swedenborg's Private Diary we read that by "birds which came flying towards him, and which he struck with a knife, so that they died, are signified wild thoughts which he killed with the help of the Spirit."

By dragons are signified reasonings from the lusts of evil (A. C. 7293), and in the Private Diary no. 199 we read that they signify "spurious loves, but which do not appear as dragons, until their wings are discovered," i. e. until the falsities which these spurious loves hatch are seen.

XII. "In the Word the life of love, or what is the same the will, is called the heart" (A. C. 9050), and in no. 189 of the Diary for 1744 we read, "I saw also in a vision a heart filled with blood, by which is meant love."

The feet signify what is natural (A. C. 2162), wherefore some one "not being able to get along with the foot," is explained in no. 8 thus, that "natural reason cannot agree with spiritual reason."

By the sole of the foot is represented the ultimate of the natural, or the sensual mind (A. C. 7729), where man's evils mainly reside; by "the soles of the feet being white" is, therefore, represented in no. 166, Document 209, that "the sins are forgiven."

In A. C. 5323 we read, "The bending of the knees is a representative sign of adoration; for if adoration flows from genuine humility, then there is a failing of spirits, and hence a giving

way of the joints where the spiritual is conjoined with the natural, and thus where the knees are; for what is below the knees corresponds to what is natural, and what is above to what is spiritual." This serves as an explanation of no. 63 (5) where we read, "Afterwards my knees moved involuntarily, which perhaps signifies that I have become somewhat humble."

XIII. In A. C. 3164, we read that "vessels of silver signify matters of knowledge or scientifics, for these are the recipients of truth;" and in no. 31 of the Private Diary, that "by Swedenborg's taking two vases of silver with him, is meant that he has acquired much knowledge in spiritual things."

The "wind in wings" in a genuine sense means "thinking from spiritual truths," in an opposite sense "reasoning from fallacies" (A. E. 283); in no. 66 Swedenborg states that the "sails of a wind-mill" represent his thoughts.

In A. C. 5023 we read, "A house in the internal sense is the man himself or his mind;"

such also is the interpretation given by Swedenborg of a house in no. 15 of his Private Diary, where we read, "Two persons entered into a house which although built was not yet furnished; they went round, but were not favourably disposed. This signified that I had invited the Highest to me, into an unprepared and untidy hut, which was found to be unbecoming.

From all this it appears that Swedenborg's interpretation of his dreams in 1744 is based on the principle of correspondence; although his knowledge of correspondences in 1744 was by no means as accurate as it became after he was fully introduced as to his spirit into the spiritual world in 1745. Hence it appears that on the score of the interpretation given by him to these dreams there is no rational ground why we should doubt their authenticity.

NOTE 162.

SWEDENBORG'S SPIRITUAL STATE IN 1743 AND 1744.

I. A summary view of his spiritual state during the years that immediately preceded the full opening of his spiritual sight in 1745, was given by Swedenborg in the "Spiritual Diary" no. 2951, which is quoted verbatim in the Introduction to Document 208, pp. 146 and 146, and the contents of which we reproduce here in a tabular form with letters for convenient reference:

A. Before his mind was opened, so that he could converse with spirits, he had dreams during several years, by which he was informed concerning the things on which he was writing.

B. He experienced changes of state while writing, and there was a certain extraordinary light in the things written.

C. Afterwards he had visions with closed eyes, and light was given him in a miraculous manner.

D. Spirits [entered by influx] in a sensible manner, indeed the sensation was as manifest as if it had been received by the bodily senses.

E. Often he was infested in various ways by evil spirits, when he was in temptations.

F. When writing anything that the spirits did not like, he was almost possessed by them, so as to feel as it sere a tremor or shiver.

G. Fiery lights were seen by him.

Let us now see how his account in the "Spiritual Diary" compares with his spiritual experience as recorded in his Private Diary for the years 1743 and 1744. We will take up these points seriatim.

A. Swedenborg had dreams, during several years, by which he was informed concerning the things on which he was writing. A parallel statement to this Swedenborg made in 1746 in his Adversaria, Vol. II, no. 183, (see Introduction to Document 208, p. 146) where he says, "At first I had dreams during a number of years, when I learned something of their real signification."

By these words he confirms in a general way the fact of his having had significative dreams during the years 1743 and 1744, and he thus testifies in a general way as to the correctness of his Private Diary for 1743 and 1744, which consists in a great measure of such significative dreams.

"By these dreams," he says further, "I was informed concerning the things on which I was writing." On examining the contents of his Private Diary for 1744 we find no less than twelve dreams and visions, by which Swedenborg was informed "concerning the things on which he was writing;" compare Document 209, nos. 1, 5, 6, 63, 77, 91, 147, 148, 162, 165, 150, 175, 182, the contents of which will be found more fully discussed in Note 164.

Again, that he learned the signification of these dreams only "in part," he declares repeatedly; as, for instance, in no. 116, where he says, "This signifies that God speaks with me and that I comprehend only the least portion of it; because it is in representations, of which I understand as yet very little."

B. Swedenborg experienced changes of state while writing, and there was an extraordinary light in the things written.

In Document 209, no. 171 we read, "This means probably that there I am engaged now in writing and in bringing forth what I have undertaken; for during the whole day I found myself in a full state of illustration in the matters which I have in hand."

Again, "This signifies that my head is being cleared, and that it is really being cleansed of all that would obstruct these thoughts, as was also the case the last time; for it gave me penetration, especially whilst writing. This was also represented to me now, in that I appeared to write a fine hand (no. 207).

To this may be added an experience recorded by Swedenborg in the Adversaria, Vol. II, no. 183, where he says: "I had revelations, when the very letters appeared written before my eyes, and were read to me." Such an instance is recorded in no. 65 of his Private Diary for l744, where we read, "I perceived that this is so, as had also been represented to me by some sort of luminous spiritual writing."

C. Afterwards Swedenborg had visions with closed eyes.

In no. 102 we read, "Afterwards I was in a vision, which is neither a state of sleep, nor of wakefulness, nor of ecstasy;" and in no 147, "This took place in a vision, when I was neither awake [in the usual manner], nor asleep; but I had all my thoughts collected. The internal man separated from the external felt all this."

D. Spirits entered by influx in a sensible manner, indeed the sensation was as manifest as if it had been received by the bodily senses.

In no. 179 we read, "I have noticed several times that there are various kinds of spirits. The one Spirit, which is that of Christ, is the only one that has all blessedness with it; by the other spirits man is enticed a thousand ways to follow them; but woe to those who do so. Another time Korah and Dathan occurred to me who brought strange fire to the altar, and could not offer it; such is the case when a different fire is introduced than that which comes from Christ. I saw also something like a fire coming to me. It is necessary therefore that a distinction should be made between spirits; which, however, cannot be done except through Christ Himself and His Spirit."

The mode in which Swedenborg noticed the approach of spirits in 1744, is described by him in the "Spiritual Diary," no. 192, thus: "For nearly three years [he writes on this August 31, 1747], I was allowed to perceive and notice the operation of spirits not by a sort of internal sight, but by a sensation which is associated with a sort of obscure sight, whereby I noticed their presence which was various, their approach and departure, besides many other things."

E. Often Swedenborg was infested in various ways by evil spirits, when he was in temptations.

Almost the whole of the Diary of 1744 is a continuous record of temptations; of these we shall single out some of the most prominent instances:

"Easter was on the 5th of April, when I went to the Lord's table. Temptation still continued, mostly in the afternoon till six o'clock; but it assumed no definite form. It was an anxiety felt at being condemned and in hell; but in this feeling the hope given by the Holy Spirit, according to Paul's epistle to the Romans v, 5 remained strong. The Evil One had power given him to disturb my inmost mind by various thoughts *** The temptation came on in the afternoon, in an entirely different manner, but strongly; for I was assured that my sins were forgiven, and still I could not govern my fugitive thoughts, so as to restrain some expressions against my better understanding;

I was, by permission, under the influence of the Evil One. The temptation was assuaged by prayer and God's Word; faith was there in its entirety, but confidence and love seemed to be gone" (no. 19).

"I was in a temptation, where thoughts invaded me which I could not control; nay, they poured in so powerfully, that all my other thoughts were kept under, and full liberty was given them to resist the power of the Spirit, which leads in a different direction; the infestation was, indeed, so strong that unless God's grace had been stronger, I must either have succumbed, or become mad.

During that time I could not direct my thoughts to the contemplation of Christ" (no. 34).

"This last temptation went to the innermost, and to resist it I received a stronger evidence of the Spirit; for at times I broke out into a perspiration" (no. 39).

"Whilst I was in the first struggle, I called on Jesus for help, and it ceased. I also folded my hands under my head, and then it did not come a second time. I was, nevertheless, in a tremor when I awoke, and heard now and then a dull sound; but I do not know whence" (no. 57).

"During the whole day I was in conflicting thought, which tried to destroy that which was of the Spirit by abusive language. I found therefore that the temptation was very strong. By the grace of the Spirit I was led to fix my thoughts on a piece of wood or a tree, and then on the cross of Christ, and on the crucified Christ; whenever I did so the other thoughts fell down flat, as of their own accord. I bore down this thought so strongly upon the other, that it seemed to me I might crush the tempter with the cross, and drive him away; when I was relieved for a time" (no. 73).

"Afterwards I dreamt how the Evil One led me into various deep places, and bound me. I cannot remember it all. Being thus tied, I was cast into hell" (no. 88).

"I was this day at intervals in a state of interior anxiety, and at times in a state of, despair; still I was assured of the forgiveness of sins. In consequence of this a cold sweat sometimes broke out upon me until 10 o'clock, when with God's help I fell asleep" (no. 91).

"This day I was in severest temptation, so that whenever I thought of Jesus Christ immediately ungodly thoughts pressed in, which I could not control as I wished. I beat myself. Yet I can affirm, that I never was of better courage than to-day, and that I was not in the least faint-hearted and pained as on previous days, although the temptation was most severe," &c. (no. 104).

F. When writing anything that the spirits did not like, Swedenborg was almost possessed by them, so as to feel as it were a tremor or shiver.

In the Diary of 1744 two kinds of tremors or shivers are described by Swedenborg. One kind came over him when he was in a state of temptation, and under the influence of evil spirits; and the other kind when the Holy Spirit or the Lord Jesus Christ was present with him.

(a) Concerning the former kind of tremors we read: "I went to bed at nine o'clock; but the temptation, accompanied by trembling, continued until half-past ten" (no. 19). Again, "I came into a state of doubt whether I should not direct my journey homewards; a crowd of involved reasons [then] came, and my body was seized with a tremor, (no. 110). Further, "Before I fell asleep to-day, I was deeply engaged in my thoughts about the things on which I am writing. 'Hold your tongue,' I was told, 'or I shall slay you;' and I saw some one sitting on a piece of ice. I was frightened. I then restrained my thoughts, and one of the usual tremors came over me" (no. 174).

The mode in which such tremors were caused by evil spirits Swedenborg describes in the "Spiritual Diary," no. 1934, in the following manner: "During some night this month evil spirits tried to terrify me from malice, while I was in bed; they occupied the joints of the whole body with a tremor, so that the whole body trembled. This I had also experienced

before, viz., that the evil spirits invaded all joints and fibres, and inflicted thus a sensible tremor *** Sometimes I experienced this to such a degree that if any other had experienced it, he would have thought that he was possessed by demons. From A. C. 3219, we learn that such tremors sometimes came over him when spirits who were not bad suddenly entered into him; he says there, "Lo! some spirits fell into me with such vehemence, that they causes a tremor in my nerves and bones, so that I thought that, as formerly sometimes, some evil spirits had invaded me with a desire of destroying me; but it was not so.

(b) Instances of a holy tremor or thrill are described by Swedenborg in nos. 27, 147, and 162 of Document 209.

G. Fiery lights were seen by Swedenborg.

The only instance of this kind mentioned in the Diary of 1744 is contained in no. 65, and was quoted under the head of B. Other instances of this phenomenon, as recorded by him, will be found in the footnote on p. 145.

II. In the "Spiritual Diary, no. 219, Swedenborg makes the following statement, under date of October 24, 1747:

"For several years already it was granted me to feel heavenly delights manifestly in various ways; and they are so many and of such various kinds, that they cannot be described at all. Had I tried to describe them, they could not have been believed and understood at all by men."

In his Private Diary for 1744 he makes many descriptions of such states of heavenly delight; of these we select the following:

"Both in my mind and body I had a sensation of an indescribable delight, that, had it been more intense, the body would have been, as it were, dissolved in pure bliss" (no. 25).

"This night .... a feeling of supreme bliss was shed over my whole body, and indeed for a long time...immediately before I fell asleep, and after I awoke for a half, nay, for a whole hour ... I saw and perceived that the Supreme Love was the source of that inmost and real feeling of gladness; and that in proportion as I could be in that Love, I was in a state of bliss; but as soon as I came into another love, which did not centre in that Supreme Love, I was no longer in that state of gladness" (no. 52).

"The Spirit came with its heavenly and almost ecstatic life in so high a degree, and permitted me, as it were, to rise higher and higher in it, that if I had ascended still higher, I should have been dissolved in this real life of joy" (no. 78).

"I was interiorly tranquil and peaceful, being contented with the Lord's dispensation; the whole time also I felt the strong influence of the Holy Spirit, and the whole body was filled with a delight in the heavenly kingdom upon earth" (no. 139).

"The internal state of delight continued so strong in the mornings, evenings, and during the day, especially when I was by myself alone, without company, that it may be compared to heavenly joy on earth. In this state I hope to continue, so long as by our Lord's grace alone I

walk in pure paths and have right intentions; for as soon as I turn aside, and try to find my joy in worldly things, this state of delight ceases" (no. 141).

III. In the "Spiritual Diary," no. 3904, we read 89 follows: "Some one who during his life had been known to me among those of his time, and who more than others knew what faith and the knowledges of faith were, came to me and said, that he now knew nothing, but that he was in such an obscure state that he scarcely knew what truth was. I knew that he had been among those who had not only known above others the knowledges of faith, but also had defended them with zeal; and, nevertheless, he now said that he was in such an obscure state, that he knew nothing.

To him it was granted me to say, that he was reduced to this state of obscurity or ignorance, not because he did not know what truth is, for that he knew above others, but because in the other life knowledges are confirmed, so that they become the truths of faith; and when the life of him who has these knowledges is repugnant to them, it follows that he knows nothing, and is in obscurity. For if any one is in the light of knowledges, and if his life is repugnant to them, then he does not love the things confirming the knowledges of faith against his life, but he rather loves the things confirming his life against the knowledges; and when there is such an antagonism, it follows that he is in obscurity, and in ignorance. Into such a state I also was reduced, before it was granted to me to speak with spirits. I was allowed to comfort him by this consideration, that into this state those are first reduced who are in the knowledges of the truth of faith, and whose life does not agree therewith, which is a species of vastation; and that then the Lord first inseminates truths, and the light of truth begins gradually to shine forth from this obscure or dark state."

From this passage we learn that "before it was granted Swedenborg to speak with spirits, he was reduced into a state of ignorance." This is corroborated by the following passages from the Diary of 1744.

In no. 192 Swedenborg says, "I have no knowledge about religion, but have lost all." And again in no. 194, "I discovered that I am in such a state that I know nothing on this subject [i. e. religion]."

In no. 195 he says: "This is a prediction that the Lord Himself will instruct me, as soon as I have arrived in that state in which I shall know nothing, and in which all my preconceived notions will be removed from me; which is the first state of learning: or in other words, that I must first become a child, and that then I shall be able to be nurtured up in knowledge, as is the case with me now.

IV. In a letter addressed to Dr. Beyer,25 dated Feb., 1767 (Document 234, p. 260), Swedenborg says as follows, "You desire to know my opinion respecting the writings of Bhme and L[aw] (see p. 498): I have never read them, and I was forbidden to read authors on dogmatic and systematic theology, before heaven was opened to me; because unfounded opinions and fictions might have easily insinuated themselves thereby, which afterwards could only have been removed with difficulty."

The same statement Swedenborg makes in the Diary of 1744, where he says in no. 121: "It was represented to me in a certain manner that I was not to pollute myself by reading other books treating on theology and similar subjects; because all this I have from the Word of God and the Holy Spirit."

And again he says in no. 203: "By this is signified that I must not take of articles manufactured by others, but must use my own."

NOTE 163.

CALENDAR OF SWEDENBORG'S WHEREABOUTS IN 1743 AND 1744.

The following dates are extracted from his Diary for 1743 and 1744:

1743.

July 21. He left Stockholm (Document 207).

August 12. He arrived in Hamburg (do.)

August 20. He left Bremen (do.)

September 2 old style, 13 new style. He drew 500 florins from

Messrs. Muillman and Sons [in Amsterdam]* (Document 134).

* As Swedenborg's banker at the Hague was Balair (see Document 184), it seems most probable that Messrs. Muillman and Co. mentioned in Document 134 were his bankers at Amsterdam; and from the fact that in drawing money from that firm on November 12 Swedenborg used the term "finally" (omsider), it would seem as if this was the last sum of money which he drew in Amsterdam, before leaving for the Hague. From this again it would follow that the date 11 in Document 208, where Swedenborg speaks of his "Arriving at the Hague," means A[December] 11," because this necessarily must have been subsequently to November 12, when be drew the "last" sum of money from Messrs. Muillman & Sons.

November 12. He drew "finally" (omsider) 500 florins from Messrs. Muillman and Sons (Document 134).

[December] 11. He speaks of having arrived at the Hague (Document 208).

1744.

January 20. Received 500 florins by draft on Balair at the Hague (Document 134).

April 16. He was with Ambassador Preis at the Hague (Document 209, no. 85).

April 23. He was at Leyden on a short trip to Amsterdam (do., no. 113).

April 24. At Amsterdam (do., no. 116).

April 25. He returned to the Hague (do., no. 118).

May 13 new style. He left the Hague on his journey to England (do., no. 132).

May 4 old style [16, new style]. He arrived at Harwich in England (do., no. 133).

May 5 old style [17, new style]. He arrived in London (do., no. 137).

May 19. In London (Document 209, no. 139).

May 30. He took out in London L15 15 (Document 134).

July 23. Received from John Spieker ,60 (do.)

October 11. Received ,5 5 (do.)

December 21. Received from Mr. Mackei in London ,60 (do.)

If now we look for a confirmation of these dates, outside of the Private Diary for 1743 and 1744, we find from Document 164, D, that Swedenborg's leave of absence was granted on June 30, 1743, and that he continued to attend the meetings of the College of Mines until July 20; so that it is quite possible he left Stockholm on July 21, as is reported in Document 207, even though the Secretary of the College of Mines does not seem to have been aware of his having left town until July 25.

From Stockholm he went to the Hague, for there in 1744 were published Vols. I and II of his Regnum Animale.

The next date is furnished by the Royal Librarian Gjorwell, who in his "Conversation with Swedenborg" (Document 251, p. 404) reports that Swedenborg said to him, the "Lord revealed Himself to me in May, 1744, while I was in London." According to the Private Diary, no. 137, Swedenborg arrived in London from the Hague on May 5, old style, 1744; so that there is no discrepancy between the two dates. He certainly does not record in his Private Diary the Lord's appearance to him in London during the month of May; but as he made only one entry in his Diary during the month of May, after his arrival in London, namely, May 20, it is quite possible that what he related to Gjorwell may have happened on one of the other days in that month.

The next date me find is in the Adversaria, I, no. 1003, where we read: "From the middle of April, 1745, I was at the same time in heaven and with my friends on earth, with the exception of one month, which fell out while I was engaged in my journey to Sweden, where I arrived August 19, old style."

That in the middle of April, 1745, Swedenborg was in London, appears from Note 21, where it is shown that a circumstance accompanying the full opening of his spiritual sight in London, as described in Document 5, no. 15, took place in the middle of April, 1745. "From that day, says Swedenborg in the same place, "I gave up the study of all worldly science, and laboured in spiritual things, as the Lord commanded me to write."

Between May, 1744, and April, 1745, were printed Vol. III of the Regnum Animale, and Parts I and II of "The Worship and Love of God;" both of which publications are incomplete, and on their title-pages bear the imprint, London, 1745.

From all this, therefore, it follows clearly that the chronological dates given in the "Private Diary of 1743 and 1744 A agree fully with the collateral dates that exist of Swedenborg's life at that time.

NOTE 164.

SWEDENBORG'S STUDIES IN 1743 AND 1744.

In order to bring this subject clearly before our readers we propose to subjoin here a short resume of what has been proved in respect to Swedenborg's studies in 1743 and 1744, in Document 313.

I. In no 71, p. 937, we learn that when Swedenborg left Sweden in 1743 the MS. of the Regnum Animale "was so far completed, that after collecting some necessary information in the libraries abroad, he would be able to publish it at once." From Note 163 it appears that after arriving in Holland towards the close of August, 1743, he spent the months of September, October, and November in Amsterdam, and perhaps also in the neighbouring university of Leyden, in order "to collect in the libraries there some necessary information;" and in December he arrived at the Hague to superintend the printing of that work. The original plan of this work according to which it would fill four stout volumes of 500 sheets is contained in no. 56, A, p. 921.

II. After arriving in Holland Swedenborg enlarged the plan of the Regnum Animale by embodying with it the substance of his onomia, etc., and he broke up the original four volumes into seventeen parts. A list of these seventeen parts is given in no. 71, p. 937.

III. The first two parts, viz., those treating of the viscera of the abdomen and of the thorax, were published in agreement with the original programme at the Hague; yet in comparing the contents of the published parts with those given in the prospectus on p. 349 of Vol. VI of the Photo-lithographed MS. of Swedenborg, two entirely new chapters "on the glands in general," and "on the diaphragm," are found to have been added, together with the epilogues at the end of the first and of the second parts; the arrangement also of some of the chapters is found changed; so that it becomes very evident that Swedenborg on arriving in Holland submitted to a most careful revision those parts of the Regnum Animale which were published

IV. If now we turn to the Diary for 1744 (Document 209, no. 1) we find that on March 25 Swedenborg, in his revision of the MS. of Part I, had arrived at no. 272, Chapter XIII, where among other things he treats of the state of the lungs in the embryo in the uterus On the same day, we further read (no. 5), "he was instructed to write and commence the epilogue of the second [first?] volume." This epilogue closes Vol. I (p. 424 of Latin Edition, and p. 510 of English Edition). In his revision of Part I he therefore skipped over chapters XIV, XV, and XVI, and undertook at once the preparation of the epilogue with which Part I closes. That these chapters were not revised by him, and that he had them printed from the original MS, which he had brought from Sweden, appears from the fact that in chapter XIV the irregularity in the numbering of the paragraphs begins, to which we have called attention in Document 313, no. 71, p. 937.

On the following day, March 26 (no. 6), we already find him looking forward to the preparation for the press of Part II which treats of the lungs, and the organs leading thereto

and connected therewith; for he was then thinking of "the pulmonary artery, as being the key to the lungs and consequently to the motion of the whole body."

On April 12 (Document 209, no. 63), in the revision of Part II, he had arrived at Chapter VI, where (p. 225 of the Latin Edition, and p. 290 of the English Edition) the function of the thymus gland and of the succenturiate kidneys is discussed, and where (no. III) almost the identical words are used which occur in the Diary for 1744 (no. 63).

On April 15 (Document 209, no. 77) Swedenborg was engaged in preparing for the press the new chapter on the diaphragm where (pp. 238 to 250 of Latin Edition, and pp. 310 to 323 in the English edition) the muscles in general are treated of; for on that day, as appears from the Diary for 1744 (no. 77), he "was to inform himself about the muscles and explore them."

On April 16 (Document 209, nos. 80 and 81) we find him already engaged on the epilogue to Part II, where (pp. 269 to 285 of the Latin Edition, and pp. 346 to 366 of the English Edition) he "returns to the things of the memory and imagination, and to the upper and lower faculties," i. e. where he leaves the things of the body and approaches again those of the mind and of the soul.

V. After finishing Part II, according to the programme laid down in the beginning of Part I, he ought to have taken up Part III which was to treat of "the heart, the arteries, the veins, and the blood;" or as this subject had been fully discussed by him in Part I of the onomia Regni Animalis, published in 1740, he ought to have passed to Parts IV and V, which were to treat of "the genital organs of males and females, and the formation of the embryo in the uterus," but instead of doing so he skipped over Parts III, IV, and V, and took up at once Part VI of his programme, which was to treat of "the organs of the external senses." His reasons for doing so he states in full in the prologue to no. 73, p. 941, to which we refer the reader.

VI. From the beginning of May to the beginning of July, 1744, we accordingly find Swedenborg busily engaged on what promises to be Part III of the "New Series" of the Regnum Animale (see Document 313, no. 77, p. 944). During the whole of this time he made only a few entries in his "Private Diary for 1744;" but, on the other hand, we find a considerable number of allusions to dreams, visions, and supernatural admonitions in the text of Codex 58, (see Document 310, p. 859), which describes the contents of no. 73, p. 941, and of so. 76, p. 943, in Document 313, to which we refer the reader for further particulars.

A. On p. 14 of Codex 58 we read in reference to the chapter on "Sense in General," as follows, "This matter to p. 19 ought not to come first, but the parts investigated by the analytic method; this and several other things belong to the Epilogue at the end; I have been thus informed in a dream" (Detta mne til 19, kommer ingalunda frut, ty delar emot viam analyticam, utan detta med mehra til Epilogo eller eftert; jag var so twarnad i drm." Compare the "Critical Notes" of Dr. Im. Tafel in the Appendix, p. 236 of his edition of the Regnum Animale, Vol. IV (no. 73 of Document 313). The following four pages are also marked thus: "Afterwards in the Epilogue" (eftert i Epilogo).

13. On p. 84 (Dr. Im. Tafel's edition, p. 82) we find, "It is to be observed that in agreement with a nocturnal admonition (secundum admonitionem noct.) I must refer to my philosophical Principia, and consider the light, heavy, and active properties which are there described in sundry places; I was told that thus it would be granted to me to fly wherever I please."

C. On p. 144 (Dr. Im. Tafel's edition, p. 164) we read, "But these things are too deep, and have to be explained by a number of other things, wherefore a mere outline of them is given here. These things, however, are still obscure, and perhaps not true. I saw a fly. It went away, and I retraced my steps. The subject of truths, in accordance with admonitions, was taken up again. The fly, as I believe, went away against my wish, and I could scarcely bear it."

D. On p. 167 (Dr. Im. Tafel's edition, p. 194) we find written, "This was represented to me by gold which I was carrying; and which, perhaps not very easily, opened the door within which a large quantity of gold was lying on a table; this, namely [the gold], would open for me the approach to spiritual things."

VII. On pp. 174, 175 and 187 of Codex 58 we find a direct reference to one of the dreams recorded in the Diary for 1744. On p. 174 (Dr. Im. Tafel's edition, p. 202) Swedenborg says, "For this reason those wonderful things happened to me in the sight between the first and second of July" (Propter hc accidebant mihi mirabilia ista nocte inter 1 et 2 Juli). On p. l75, in a passage printed by Dr. Im. Tafel in his preface to Part VI, Section 2, (no. 69, Part II, of Document 313) Swedenborg says, "The things which I wrote here were foretold to me in a wonderful manner; see the dream, July 1 X 2. I wrote this on July 2 A (Hc quae scripsi praenuntiata mihi sunt mirabiliter, vide somn. Jul 1 X 2; scripsi Juli 2). The reader will notice that Swedenborg uses here the identical mark, viz. X, to indicate the night between two days which is also used in the Diary for 1744. A third allusion to this dream is made on p. 187 (Dr. Im. Tafel's edition, p. 215), ASee the dream between July 1 and 2" (Vide somnium 1-2 Juli). The dream in question is contained in Document 209, no. 147.

VIII. In a part of Codex 58, not published by Dr. Im. Tafel, (no. 76 of Document 313), we find the following allusions to spiritual experiences:

A. On p. 202 (Swedenborg MSS., Vol. VI, p. 62) we read: "There is to be premised the experimental knowledge contained in Chapter VII, p. LXXIII of the first cast (projectione) of the work [no. 56, A, of Document 313, photo-lithographed edition, p. 134 to p. 1401, also perhaps what has been said concerning the motion of the brain in Chapter I [no. 56, A, Document 313, photo-lithographed edition, pp. 6 to 17]; likewise what has been said concerning the cortical and medullary substances generally in other places, both in the things written and published. It is to be observed that I have been [thus] commanded" (Obs: jussus sum).

B. On p. 223 (Vol. III, photo-lithographed edition, p. 53) we find, "It is to be observed that these things are not to be inserted in the chapter or thesis; for this would be premature; but they are to be kept in reserve; thus it seems to me I have been commanded" (ita videor jussus). See also footnote on p. 145.

IX. If now we turn to the Diary of 1744 (Document 209), we find there the following references to the contents of Codex 58 (nos. 73 and 76 of Document 313).

A. In no. 147 the following explanation of the memorable dream of July 1 X 2 is given: "From what follows and from other indications I perceived that this dream signified this: that I shall discover the truths about internal sensations, but on the back, and obscurely as to their front." The subject discussed in Codex 58, in all those places where reference is made to this dream, is "internal sensation."

B. On July 4 (no. 148) we read in the Diary for 1744, "This signifies that I have now finished writing on the senses in general and the operation of the interior faculties; which subject in the form in which I have sketched it cannot be comprehended; and that now I approach the following part which treats on the brain." From this it seems that on July 4 Swedenborg finished his rough draught of Part III of the Regnum Animale, which treats of the senses in general and the operation of the intellect. In the form in which he then wrote it, but "in which it cannot be comprehended," it fills pages 1 to 197 of Codex 58. See Document 313, no. 73, and also Document 310, Codex 58.

C. On August 1 (no. 162) Swedenborg began writing out Part III of the "New Series" of the Regnum Animale for the press (see Document 313, no. 77, p. 944), as appears from the following explanation: "This signifies that I was led to my work about the senses, which I began writing [i. e. preparing for the press] to-day; and that I did not wish to be drawn away thereby from that which is more important." And in no. 163, on the same day, we read: "This signifies the work upon which I have now entered; the last was upon the Brain. I find by this that; I shall have God's assistance in it; for I believe that He will aid me in it."

D. On August 9 he had advanced as far as p. 26 of the printed Latin Edition (no. 77); for in no. 165 he says, "This means that I had not properly arranged and carried out the subject of the corpus reticulare Malpighii;" this subject is treated by him on pp. 21 to 26 of Part III (nos. 495 to 499, English edition).

E. On September 16 Swedenborg had come as far as p. 144 of the printed Latin edition (no. 77); for in no. 170 he says under the above date, "This signifies that what I had written was well-pleasing; it was the last of the first chapter on the sense of touch." The last portion of this chapter which treats of the "Use of Touch," extends from p. 130 to p. 144 of the Latin edition, and from p. 531 to p. 547 of the English Edition.

F. In no. 175, Swedenborg alludes to his dissertation on "Organic Forms generally," which is contained in the first chapter on the sense of touch; he says "It occurred to me in my thoughts whether it was not most important to be with God and to live so, that He would look upon what I had finished writing about Organic Forms generally, and especially the conclusion."

In the conclusion of this dissertation Swedenborg shows how good and truth are appropriated by man, and evil and falsity rejected.

X. On October 9 (no. 191), while Swedenborg, it seems, was still engaged in preparing Part III of the Regnum Animale for the press, he felt very strongly inclined to abandon the whole of that work; yet he was induced to go on with the printing of it.

On October 27 he finally gave up his work on the Regnum Animale, and never resumed it. Under that date he writes in no. 202, "It was foretold to me that the twenty-seventh of October would come again, when I undertook the "Worship and Love of God."

The printed copies both of Part III of the "Regnum Animale," and of the "Worship and Love of God," bear the imprint of 1745; yet from the above minute account of the composition of Part III, it is evident that the whole of it, as far as it is printed, was prepared by the Author in the latter part of 1744.

NOTE 165.

SWEDENBORG'S THEOLOGY IN 1743 AND 1744.

Swedenborg's theological ideas in the beginning were derived from the church in which he was born and educated; and even after these ideas had undergone a considerable change, he still adhered to the doctrinal phraseology which was current at his time. As late as 1745 and 1746 we thus find in his work known as the Adversaria the very same phrases which occur in almost all theological treatises of his own day, and in many of those of the present time. The same we shall find to be the case in the Diary for 1744

I. The Divine Trinity. We read in the Adversaria, Vol. I, p. 6,. "Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness.--From the use of the expression 'let us make' in the plural number, it appears that all the persons of the Divinity, which were three, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, concurred in the work of creation." Again we read in the same Volume, no. 613, p. 413, "When the Only begotten Son of God had before His eyes the destruction of the whole human race, and saw most clearly in His own light that this destruction was imminent, out of pure love, and out of pure mercy and grace He offered Himself to Jehovah the Father, as a sacrifice for the universal human race;

and in order to deliver man from eternal damnation and to vindicate (vindicaret) him again for heaven, he asked for permission to receive in Himself all their guilt and all their transgressions. His very love towards the human race, which, on account of its being Divine, was an infinite, pure love, impelled the Messiah to do so. If He had resisted that love, He would have revisited Himself; for He is Love Itself, from which, as from a fountain, all love, the source of all concord, unanimity, conjunction, felicity, and rest, flows and is derived. From pure love flows pure mercy, for this is inherent in the love for those who are miserable. He therefore received permission from Jehovah the Father, by His prayers, that He in the place of the human race should suffer the punishments of justice, [decreed by] the Father."

We see from these two passages that Swedenborg as late as 1745 spoke of the "three persons of the Divinity," and that he regarded the "Son" as in a certain sense distinct from the "Father." That he had then a similar idea in respect to the "Holy Spirit," appears from the "Spiritual Diary," no. 2938, where he says: "As long as I was in such a persuasion that the Holy Spirit is the third person, and that there were holy spirits [i. e. angels] from eternity, when I then said the least word against certain spirits, they were incensed to such a degree and infused such a fear into me that I scarcely dared to think about the Holy Spirit; for there were then many who believed themselves to be the Holy Spirit.:

As Swedenborg used such language in respect to the Divine Trinity in 1745, it is not surprising that we should meet in the Diary for 1744 with the following expressions:

"This is my consolation, which may God for the sake of Jesus Christ strengthen" (no. 90).

"Our Lord has given me this strong faith and confidence that He helps me for the sake of Jesus Christ and according to His own promise" (no. 104).

"God alone through Christ has helped me in this danger" (no. 180).

"The only love is to God and Jesus Christ" (no. 183).

"When man puts his trust entirely in God and Christ, and not in himself" (no. 187).

"The Holy Spirit desired to lead me to Jesus, and present me to Him, as a work that had been prepared by Him" (no. 29).

Although Swedenborg in the above passages speaks of three Divine persons, and regarded them to a certain extent as distinct from one another, he, nevertheless, did not entertain concerning them the idea of three Gods; but he looked upon them as manifestations of the one and only God.

This appears manifestly from the following statements taken from the Adversaria: "That the Creator of all or the Father, His Only-begotten or the Son, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from both are one, and all taken together are God, appears most clearly from Genesis i, 26, where these words occur. 'And God said, Let us make man in our own image,' &c., and where the words 'let us make' are spoken by one" (Vol. I, no. 26, p. 41). And again, in no. 80, he says, "God Himself declares by mouth and by writing in Genesis iii, 22, where He speaks of Himself as One, and at the same time as several, that Jehovah God is one is Essence, but threefold in respect to persons, viz., that there is the Father of all of whom is predicated creation, His Only-begotten or the Son, from whom is salvation, and the Holy Spirit, from whom is sanctification." The function of each of the three he defines in no. 4, p. 27, thus: "Creation itself which is the foresight and providence of all things is the Divine Mind, and thus the representation, to all eternity, of the ends of the universe with the means, is attributed to God the Father; the Word, however, by which creation is made or effected, is ascribed to the second person of the Divinity or to His Only-begotten Son; and to the Holy Spirit the efficient cause, and hence those decrees which after being spoken [by the Word] Were also executed." And in no. 17, p. 37, he states, that "the universe with its hosts was created by God the Father, but effected and produced by His Son or the Word, and the Holy Spirit."

II. Jesus Christ, the Son of God. The doctrine concerning the Son of God, as entertained by Swedenborg in 1744, before his fall illustration, is stated in his "Worship and Love of God" (written in the latter part of 1744) is these words: "In order that our Supreme [Ruler] from His most holy sanctuary and inmost heaven, and consequently from His throne, might govern the universe, at His beckoning and good pleasure, as in the first, so also in the last things of nature, and that He might thus organize the kingdom of heaven, He begat from eternity or before the creation of the world the Firstborn of all the living, His Only Love, by whom spiritual and corporeal, celestial and natural, that is living and inanimate objects, might be united and conjoined with Himself. For nothing conspires harmoniously in one, nor lives and is acted upon continually by one spirit, nor does it struggle on towards one end, without lore, but it is discordant and falls to pieces. He, [the Only begotten,] therefore, was born for the sake of a union and mediation between the higher and lower things, or immediately between the Highest, His Father, and heaven itself, i. e. the inhabitants of heaven; wherefore by Him alone all order is instituted and finished, and through Him the way is continued from the Highest to the ultimates of nature, and backwards, and thus both upwards and downwards"(no. 91).

And again we read, "The glory of the life of the Highest, which continued flowing forth from one end of the universe to the other, i. e. through ages of ages, from eternity to eternity, could not be communicated to our minds, and still less to the lower powers of our life, without causing there instantaneous death. For what communion can there be of the Infinite with finite things? or of Him who is Most Holy and Most Just with ourselves, who are from dust, and

live in dust? Such a communion could not take place without our being constantly charged by His Sanctity with impurity, and without being condemned by His Justice, and assigned to death. Therefore He begat His Image, or His Son from eternity, by whom or by whose life He might mediately flow into the faculties of the life of our bodies; and because He is born for the sake of mediation, and as the Only Love of the Highest, therefore He is His Life... This is the life which is properly called celestial, and which affects the understanding and will of our minds (Part III, no. 121, photo-lithographic edition). This same doctrine is taught in the Adversaria in these words: "Messiah, the Only begotten Son of God, is at the same time God and Man, and from Him comes all the Divine which is ill man" (Vol. I, no. 523, p. 359). It is also contained in the following definition of the Son of God: "The Son, the Only begotten of God, is His Only Love, our Messiah, who is the King and Emperor of the kingdom of God in heaven and on earth, and the soul of that community which is also called the City and the Holy Jerusalem." This doctrine was also stated by Swedenborg in the last part of the "Old Series" of the Regnum Animale (Document 313, no. 617), which was published by Dr. Im. Tafel under the title, De Anima, in these words: "The head or chief of heaven is He, the Purest, who was without sin, i. e. our Saviour and Preserver, Jesus Christ, in whom by faith and love we can alone approach the Divine Throne" (p. 246).

This very doctrine that the Son of God is the only Mediator between the Father and men, and also that He is the Only Love of the Father we find repeatedly stated in the Diary for 1744, as appears from the following passages:

"Christ in whom dwells the fulness of the Godhead, must alone be addressed in prayer... He is omnipotent and the only Mediator" (no. 40).

"The love of Christ constitutes the centre, and must be the ultimate end" (no. 52).

"God's grace and mercy which is in Christ overlooks man's damnable nature" (no. 64).

"Good can come from no other source, except from the Lord [Jesus]" (no. 138).

"Without Christ no one can come to God" (no. 180).

"In Christ is not the least pride; He makes Himself equal with others, although He is the greatest King" (no. 201).

III. In the Diary for 1744 the Son of God is almost constantly called Christ. And here it must be observed that before October, 1744, when Swedenborg began writing his work on the "Worship and Love of God," he always spoke of the Lord as "Christ." In that work, and also in the Adversaria up to Genesis, chapter iv, he called Him the "Only begotten of the Highest," or "Of God;" from chapter iv (Vol. I, no. 94) to chapter xxxiv (Vol. II, no. 1546, p. 776) "Messiah;" and through the rest of the Adversaria "God-Messiah." This appellation he continued to use in the "Spiritual Diary," until January 11, 1748 (no. 460). From that date until January 21 (no. 467) he speaks of "Jesus Christ," and "our Saviour" in connection with "God-Messiah." From January 22 (no. 489) to February 5 (no. 641) he uses the terms "Jesus Christ," "Saviour of the world," and the "Only Lord" (Dominus Unicus); he also speaks of "our Lord" (no. 568), of the "Lord God" (no. 612), and of the "Lord Jesus" (no. 617), alternating these terms with "the Lord" from January 26 (no. 564). From February 5 (no. 641) he uses the term "Lord" exclusively; although on February 9 (no. 689) the expression the "Word of God-Messiah" occurs once more.

Let us endeavour to show now that, up to the latter part of 1744, when Swedenborg closed his Diary for 1744, in speaking of the Son of God he generally used the term "Christ."

"I a dissertation on "faith and good works," written about 1736, Swedenborg says, "Faith properly consists in this, that man believes in the Almighty God, in Christ, the Saviour of the world, and in all that the revealed Word dictates in the Sacred Scripture" (Posthumous Tracts, p. 11).

In Swedenborg's Common Place Book from 1733 to 1740 (Photo-lithographic MSS., Vol. III, p. 140), we read as follows: "Concerning Faith in Christ. 1. It is clear that no one can be saved except by faith in God; 2. that no one can be saved except by Christ. 3. It is asked whether we are saved only by faith in Christ. 4. It is answered that a distinction must be made between those know Christ, Bad who are Christians, cannot separate Christ from God or the Father; hence they can be saved only by faith in Christ, who know Christ, and those who do not know Him. Those who because this faith is identical with the faith in the Infinite; so that they who have no faith in Christ, or what is the same thing, who deny Christ, cannot be saved; for faith cannot be separated, and cannot be in God and not at the same time in Christ.

But those who do not know that Christ came into the world, can, nevertheless, believe in God or in the Infinite, and not at the same time deny Christ; wherefore they can also be saved; for they believe in both, because they do not deny; and they do not deny, because they do not know. But their salvation can be only by Christ, who suffered for the whole world; for those who do not know Him, as well as for those who do know him, so that the only salvation is by Christ."

In Part III of the "New Series" of the Regnum Animale (see Document 313, no. 73), which Swedenborg wrote in the months of May and June, 1744 (see Note 164, VI), and hence simultaneously with the Diary for 1744, he says (p. 225), "Spiritual life consists in the love of the supreme good or of God Himself, and of His love, which is Christ Jesus," and again, "Without regeneration by the Divine Spirit or the Spirit of Christ, we call by no means enter the Kingdom of God."

IV. The Holy Spirit. Concerning the Holy Spirit we read in the Adversaria, as follows: "Life itself proceeds from Jehovah the Father, who is Truth and Goodness, by His Only begotten Son who is love itself, and thus by the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from Jehovah the Father by the Son" (Vol. I, no. 663, 431). Again it is written in the: conomia Regni Animalis, "As the sun of the world flows in by mediating auras, so the Sun of life and of wisdom flows in by the mediation of His Spirit" (Vol. II, no. 260). Again we read in the Adversaria, "When Messiah is spoken of alone, then also the Holy Spirit is understood which proceeds from Jehovah the Father by the Son, i. e. from the Son Himself, the Only begotten of God" (Vol. I, no. 510, p. 352). And in the Regnum Animale, New Series, Part III (see Document 313, no. 73), published by Dr. Tafel as Regnum Animale, Part IV, we read, "Without regeneration by the Divine Spirit or the Spirit of Christ, we can by no means enter the kingdom of God" (p. 225).

In the Diary for 1744 the nature of the Holy Spirit is described thus: "All seemed in a wonderful, transcendent manner to approach and conspire together; to rise up as it were and nestle itself in infinitude as a centre, where Love itself was; thence it seemed to extend itself, around and thus down again. In this manner it moved by an incomprehensible circle from the centre which was Love, around and thus hither again ..... Afterwards I perceived in the spirit that what proceeds from the centre which is Love, is the Holy Spirit" (no. 52).

"Man's thoughts contain within themselves no other end, and no other reason, than what comes either from the Spirit of God, or from the body" (no. 178).

"There are various kinds of spirits. The one Spirit which is that of Christ, is the only one that has all blessedness with it; by other spirits man is enticed in a thousand ways to follow with them; but woe to those who do so .....It is necessary, therefore, that a distinction should be made among spirits; which, however, cannot he done except through Christ Himself and His Spirit" (no. 179).

"Our whole will into which we are born, and which is ruled by the body and introduces thought, is opposed to the Spirit, which conveys to us God's grace and mercy; wherefore there is a continual strife, and we can by no manner of means unite ourselves with the Spirit which by grace is with us; and hence it is that we are deed for everything which is good, but for everything evil we are inclined from ourselves" (no. 64).

"If we have God's Spirit and life, then we have a daily victory but if we have it not, it is a daily defeat. We fall from one defeat into another" (no. 188).

"When any one receives chastisement from the Lord, he is gifted afterwards with a greater zeal, and more spirit, in going on with that to which he is led by the Spirit; so that chastisement and punishment augment the same" (no. 193).

V. The Atonement. The doctrine of the atonement, as believed by Swedenborg up to 1745, is thus stated by him in the Adversaria: "Lest the whole human race should perish, and that some seed might be vindicated for heaven, the Only Begotten of God, who on account of being the Word, is also the Creator of the human race, out of pure love, because from Himself, and thus out of pure grace, resolved Alone to fulfil the Divine Justice, or to become Justice or Righteousness; wherefore He offered Himself as a sacrifice, first in [the person of] Abel, sad afterwards in accordance with prophecy in his own body; and hence, Justice being fulfilled, and Jehovah, the Father, having been appeased, a new stock was raised up for Adam, or a new seed for the woman, from which sprang the Messiah, the Saviour of the world" (Vol. I, no. 98, p. 76). Again we read, "By the intended sacrifice of Isaac was prefigured that the Messiah, the Only begotten Son of God, the Only Love of His Father Jehovah, would be a sacrifice for the whole world, so that all might be justified through faith in Him" (Vol. I, no. 266, p. 201).

Further, "No one Cain satisfy Divine Justice except He who is God; nor could God suffer, unless He became a man, and thus in the body resisted temptations and suffered the punishments themselves which are spiritual, and more refined than any one of the human race could perceive in his mind. These punishments also the Only begotten Son of God had to sustain, until Jehovah, His Father, took pity on Him, and, out of pure mercy for His Only Love, snatched Him from the very damnation to which He had exposed Himself for the sake of the human race; and by this means the Justice of his Father Jehovah was satisfied, and the human race restored to grace; yet only by the Son, and on account of Him, who had become Justice, so that whoever believed in Him, should have it imputed to him as righteousness; thug by faith in the Messiah, as we read concerning Abraham, and by no means by the works of the law" (Vol. I, no. 614, p. 413). And "In order that heaven and the world might be conjoined, or the human race be Vindicated (vindicaretur) for heaven, all power in heaven and on earth was given to the Messiah who had become Justice or Righteousness; for without such power those things which had become disjoined, could never be reunited" (Ibid., no. 616, p. 414). And,

finally, "Since Messiah sits at the right hand of His: Father Jehovah, i. e. since all power was given Him in the heavens and on the earths, He began a new creation; or, He undertook to create man anew, to plant a new paradise in a new Eden, and thus to establish a new kingdom of God; and hence to establish anew what would otherwise have gone to ruin, which is equivalent to creating a new heaven and a new earth" (Ibid., no. 616, p. 414). The same thing Swedenborg expressed in another passage: "The Ancient Paradise was planted and created by Jehovah God, i. e. by all the three persons of the Divinity, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; when therefore that garden was totally cut down, Messiah, the Only begotten Son of God, became the new Creator, who planted the new paradise again; but only from new men, i. e. from those who will be regenerated by the Holy Spirit" (Ibid., n. 499, p. 343).

These very same views on the atonement we find expressed in the Diary for 1744, in the passages quoted below in nos. vi to viii, as well as in the following words:

"The Son of God is love, and for the purpose of doing good to mankind, He took upon Himself their sins, even to their heaviest punishment; for if there is justice, mercy must exist by love" (no. 150).

"Christ is omnipotent and the Only Mediator" (no. 40).

VI. The blood and merit of Christ. We read in the Adversaria (Vol. I, no. 425, p. 292), "The life and soul of the blood of Messiah which appeased the Father, could not have been the blood itself, but the merit of that blood, which consisted in obedience to His Father, and in love towards the whole human race by which He was induced to undergo death, even the death on the cross, so that He might bear in Himself the sins both of the Jews and Gentiles, and thus remove them. Hence He became Righteousness itself, and indeed He alone;

and hence also the rest in the Christian Church and also among the Gentiles were justified."

In agreement with this doctrine concerning the blood and merit of Christ, we read in the Diary for 1744, as follows:

"From this may be seen the greatness of God's grace by the merit of Christ and the operation of the Holy Ghost" (no. 19).

"God grants His grace and mercy to all poor sinners who are willing to be converted, and who with an unshaken faith take refuge in His inconceivable mercy and the merit of the Saviour Jesus Christ" (no. 90).

"With God's grace I conquered in the strife, and the blood and merit of Jesus helped me" (no. 102).

VII. Imputation of the Justice of Christ. On this point we read in the Adversaria (Vol. I, no. 618, p. 415), "From his inmost root man teems as it were with guilt and putrid sores, for he is so infested with the poison of the serpent that there is nothing whole in him. This he derived hereditarily not only from his first parents, who, on account of forsaking the kingdom of God for the kingdom of the devil, were condemned to eternal death with the whole human race, their posterity; but, besides, from his own parents by a long succession, who heaped up vices on vices, whence they became so infected, that whatever comes from them, the least as well as the greatest, is putrid and impure. As such is the case, and Jehovah God, nevertheless, must

be worshipped in holiness; from what other source then can the worship of Him, which must be holy in every respect, proceed, unless from God Himself who alone is holy? For it can never proceed from man, except by the imputation of the sanctity and justice which are in Messiah Himself the Only begotten Son of God; and, indeed, m such a manner that man who is impure, in the eyes of Jehovah God appears pure and whole by the sole intuition of Messiah who has become Justice or Righteousness, and thus solely by the imputation of His righteousness, and by no means by the imputation of the righteousness which comes from man by the works of the law."

That man from himself and from birth is utterly impure, and appears pure and whole solely by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, is a sentiment which runs throughout the whole of the Diary for 1744, as may appear from the following extracts:

"In every particular thought, and even in that which we consider pure, an infinite quantity of sin and impurity is contained, and likewise in every desire which enters from the body into the thoughts... Although, therefore, a thought may appear pure, it, nevertheless, is a fact that a person may think in a certain way from timidity, hypocrisy, and many other causes, which also may be traced out by an examination of the thoughts; so that on this account man is the more unable to free himself from sin, and there is not a single thought which is not very much alloyed with uncleanness and impurity. It is therefore best that man should every hour and every moment acknowledge that he is deserving of the punishment of hell, but that God's grace and mercy which is in Jesus Christ overlooks this." Again we read, "Our whole will into which we are born, and which is ruled by the body, and introduces thought that is opposed to the Spirit.... Hence it is that we are dead to everything which is good, but to everything evil we are inclined from ourselves" (no. 64).

"In order to receive good we must climb up to God; and this does not lie in our own power, even' though we suppose that we are able to do so from our own strength" (no. 67).

"Everything that comes from ourselves is dead, and is nothing but sin, and worthy of eternal damnation; for good can come from no other source except from the Lord" (no. 138).

"Christ, or God through Christ, must be all in all, so that we of ourselves cannot contribute the least towards it, and still less strive for it: wherefore it is best to surrender at discretion, and were it possible to be altogether passive in this matter, it would be a state of perfection" (no. 194).

"They who will strive to help themselves into the kingdom of heaven by their own effort, or to rise on high by themselves, labour in vain and are exposed to constant danger; which labour becomes light, when they address themselves to God, who is man's help in such a case" (no. 197).

VIII. The Efficacy of Grace. On the subject of grace we read in the Adversaria, as follows, "After the human race had been condemned to eternal death, i. e. to eternal torments and eternal punishments, there was nothing whatever left by which they could be raised and snatched from hell itself, except that Jehovah, the Father, should behold them in His Son; there was nothing left, therefore, but pure grace through Him who received the damnation of all in Himself, and by this means merited for the human race that grace from Jehovah, the Father. Whence it is that there is nothing in man which in any, not even in the least respect,

can be called merit, thus nothing that can merit grace; but that same merit belongs to the Messiah Alone, by whom and from whom is all this grace ....

As the human race therefore could be admitted into the sight of God, and thus be restored to heaven, only by pure grace, and as the Messiah suffered death for the universal human race, it follows that all in the whole world are called to His kingdom, which is called the kingdom of grace [see Diary of 1744, n. 171; but only those are admitted into this kingdom who become righteous by faith in the Messiah, and thus by the Messiah Himself; and yet their justification is only the imputation of the righteousness of Messiah Himself, and thus the application of His righteousness by faith" (Vol. I, nos. 619, 621, p. 416).

The efficacy of grace, and the necessity of man's relying on the grace of God for his salvation is inculcated almost on every page of the Diary for 1744. We read there:

"This much have I learned in spiritual things, that there is nothing for it but to humble oneself, and with all humility desire nothing else but the grace of Christ.... When any one has God's grace, he leaves himself to Christ's pleasure, and acts according to His pleasure; a person is happiest when he is in God's grace" (no. 30).

"The only thing is--and I do not know any other--that man must in all humility thank God for His grace, and pray for it, and recognise his own unworthiness, and God's infinite grace" (no. 36).

"The sum of all I found to be this, that the one thing needful is to east oneself in all humility on our Lord's grace, to recognise one's own unworthiness, to thank God in humility for His grace: for if there is a feeling of glorification contained in it, the tendency of which is towards our own honour, whether it be a glorification of God's grace or of anything else, such a feeling is impure (no. 39).

"This is the sum of all: 1. That there is nothing but grace, by which we can be saved. 2. Grace is in Jesus Christ who is the seat of grace (the mercy seat). 3. Love to God in Christ promotes salvation. 4. Man then allows himself to be led by the Spirit of Jesus. 5. Everything that comes from ourselves is dead, and is nothing but sin, and worthy of eternal damnation. 6. For good can come from no other source except from the Lord" (no. 138).--

From the passages extracted thus far from the various works which Swedenborg wrote between 1736 and 1747, it is easy to see that the doctrine of three Divine persons, and the doctrines of the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, and of justification by faith alone, which were professed throughout the whole of Christendom at his time, had still a considerable hold upon him.

Yet if we examine the state of his mind, as revealed in his writings at those times, more deeply, it soon becomes evident that Swedenborg was not rationally convinced of these doctrines; nay, that the framework, upon which these doctrines commonly rest in the minds of those who are intelligent in matters of the church, was completely wanting in his case, and that its place was supplied by principles of a different order altogether, which in time would give birth to an entirely new system of theology. The outlines of this new system of theology can be easily discovered in Swedenborg's writings at this time, wrapped up in the dogmas of the existing church like a vigorous infant in its swaddling clothes, which will soon grow up and become developed into a well-grown youth.

From all of this it appears that Swedenborg's theology in 1743 and 1744, and even still later to the beginning of 1747, was not entirely free from the charge of containing contradictory elements: the new theology which was being developed in him being contradictory to the dogmas he inherited from the church in which he was brought up.

We have seen in no. I of this Note, how he strove to reconcile the doctrine of three Divine Persons with the unity of God; we shall endeavour to show now, how far the doctrines of the New Jerusalem on the subject of Faith and Life, which are entirely opposed to the doctrines of the vicarious atonement and of justification by faith alone, were developed in him in 1743 and 1744.

IX. Faith and Life. In the "True Christian Religion," which was published in 1771, we read concerning faith as follows: "With regard to the formation of faith, this is effected by man's approaching the Lord, learning truths from the Word, and living in conformity to them. First, Faith is formed by man's approaching the Lord; because faith, properly so called, i. e. faith profitable to salvation, is derived from the Lord, and directed to Him. That it is derived from the Lord, is evident from His words to his disciples, 'Abide in me, and I in you; for without me ye can do nothing' (John xv. 4, 5); and that it must be directed to the Lord, is evident from the many passages of the Word where it is taught that it is requisite to believe in the Son. Now, since faith is derived from the Lord, and is to be directed to Him, it may be said that the Lord is faith itself; for its life and essence are in the Lord, and consequently from Him. Secondly, Faith is formed by man's learning truths from the Word; because faith in its essence is truth; for all things that enter into the composition of faith are truths: faith therefore is nothing but a complex of truths shining in the human mind; for truths teach not only that it is requisite to believe, but also in whom we are to believe, and what we are to believe.

The reason why truths must be taken from the Word, is, because all truths conducive to salvation are contained therein, and are efficacious because they are given by the Lord, and thence inscribed on the whole angelic heaven; so that when man learns truths from the Word, he enters into communion with angels, notwithstanding his ignorance of such a connection.... Thirdly, Faith is formed by man's living in conformity to truths; because spiritual life is a life agreeable to truths, and truths do not begin really to live till they are in actions. Truths abstracted from acts abide only in the thought; and if they do not also abide in the will, they are not within the man, but stand without at the threshold; for the will is the real man; and thought is so much and in such a manner the man, in proportion to the quantity and quality of the will joined to it" (no. 347).

Such is the doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning faith, as taught in the works which Swedenborg, as the servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, wrote after 1747; but this doctrine had been believed and professed by him long before that time, as will appear from what follows:

A. Nature of Faith. About 1736 he wrote, "Faith is properly this, that man believes in the Almighty God, in Christ the Saviour of the world, and in all that which the revealed Word dictates in the Sacred Scripture" (Posthumous Tracts, p. 11).

That faith comes from the Lord, and is truth seen from the Lord, nod not from man's own reason, appears from the following passage written on the cover of Codex 36 between 1736 and 1740 (see Vol. III, of Photo-lithographed MSS., p. 181): "Observation made during writing: The more the world is perfected in the sciences and in learning, the more is it estranged from God, who demands an ignorance of things, full of faith and of His praise; so

that our sole knowledge ought to consist in praising God, and in attributing everything to Him, and that we ought not to inquire into the arcana of His nature, in order thereby to acquire an intellectual faith. As the world, however, has not yet reached such a, point, and regards this as absurd, therefore I am compelled to speak so as to convince them intellectually of every thing; although for myself I do not desire anything else than bare faith, and to celebrate only His glory as David did, and the rest in the New Testament. Wherefore also the Lord addressed Himself to fishermen and shepherds; because the rest could not understand anything of this kind."

Similar views to these Swedenborg expresses in the Diary for 1744; so he says in no. 26: "The external senses are more fallacious than what God says, which is the Truth itself; wherefore I ought rather to believe that than myself."

"Thoughts in matters of faith, about Christ, His merit, and the like, even though they be entirely favourable and confirmatory, still cause a certain disquietude, and give rise to opposing thoughts which cannot be resisted, whenever man tries to believe from his own understanding, and not from the Lord's grace" (no. 98).

"I am uncertain whether it is the highest [state], when man by grace no longer mixes up his understanding with matters of faith; although it appears as if the Lord with certain persons permits that the understanding should precede such states of assurance in respect to things which concern the understanding. 'Blessed are they who believe, and do not see'" (Ibid.)

"It is more difficult for the learned, than for the unlearned to arrive at such a faith....for man's understanding must first of all be abolished and overthrown; and this is God's work and not man's. It is also God's work for man to continue in that state. Faith is in this wise separated from our understanding, and resides above it. This is pure faith; the other as long as it is mixed up with our own understanding is impure. Man's understanding must be put in bonds and under the government of faith" (Ibid.)

"The ground of faith must be this, that He has spoken it who is God over all, and Truth itself. In this sense must be understood that we must become like little children" (Ibid.)

"That confirmations also obscure faith, may be seen from this consideration, that the understanding never goes beyond mere probabilities, and thus is constantly engaged, as it were, in trying major and minor terms. On this account the confirmations of our own understanding are always subject to doubt, by which the light of faith is darkened" (no. 99).

B. Faith and Charity. That faith and charity must be conjoined, and that faith without works is dead, Swedenborg believed from his earliest childhood. So he says in a letter written to Dr. Beyer, November 14, 1769 (Document 243, p. 279). "From my sixth to my twelfth year, it was my greatest delight to converse with the clergy concerning Faith, to whom I often observed that charity or love was the life of faith, and that this vivifying charity or love was no other than the love of one's neighbour. That God vouch-safes this Faith to every one; but that it is adopted by those only who practise that charity . . . . I knew nothing at that time of this systematic or dogmatic kind of faith, that God the Father imputes the righteousness or merit of His Son to whomsoever, and at such times, as he wills, even to the impenitent. And had I heard of such a kind of faith, it would have been then, as now, perfectly unintelligible to me. "The same sentiments Swedenborg expressed between 1736 and 1740 in his first

theological essay on Faith and Good Works, which is printed in his "Posthumous Tracts" (pp. 10 to 15).

He works separate from faith; but, where there is a possibility of doing good works, the question is whether faith will save without them, according to the dogma of the Lutherans. We reply that the affirmative seems compatible neither with the Divine Word of revelation, nor with human reason; both of which lead rather to the conclusion, that faith without works is a nullity, and were it anything, would condemn, not save" (p. 9). After entering into all the scriptural and rational arguments bearing on the subject, he says on page 12, "Love exactly keeps pace with faith, for whoever has faith amounting to confidence in God, has also the accompaniment of love as inseparable from faith; for the grace of God is universal, in that when He gives faith he also gives love, and the love increases in the same degree as the faith; and when the faith is conjoined with love, it then for the first time constitutes saving or true faith." His next argument is that love implies action or that "love to God involves love to the neighbour;" whence he establishes the following position, that "Saving faith, which cannot be separated from love to God, necessarily involves good actions, or the actual exercise of love to the members of the society in which we live" (p. 14.) In the Adversaria we read, "The love itself which must be in faith and obedience is the Messiah Himself, the God who is all in everything; and without Him faith and obedience are dead; wherefore faith itself in the Messiah, and faith in net or obedience is the only faith which vivifies, and which produces those things which by agreement and union are something" (Vol. II, no. 707, p. 456).

This doctrine is expressed in the Diary for 1744, thus: "Faith is, indeed, a sure confidence which is received from God; but it, nevertheless, consists is every man acting according to his pound. in his doing to his neighbour that which is good, and continually more and more. A man must do so from faith, because God has so ordered it, sad must not reason ally more about it, but do the work of love out of obedience to faith; even though this be opposed to the lusts of the body and its persuasions. Wherefore faith without works is not the right kind of faith" (no. 111).

"Faith is purely God's gift, and is received by man when he lives according to the commandments of God, and when he continually prays to God for it" (no. 99).

X. Free-will. The doctrine of the vicarious atonement of Christ, and of justification by faith alone, is based on this doctrine respecting Free Will, "That man since the fall is entirely incapable of beginning, thinking, understanding, believing, willing, operating or co-operating anything from his own power in matters of a spiritual and Divine nature;

or of applying and accommodating himself to grace; but that his natural will is only for those things which are contrary to God, and displease him; therefore, that man in spiritual things is like a stock, but that still he has a capacity, not active but passive, whereby he can be turned to good by the grace of God." With this doctrine Swedenborg had never any sympathy, not even in 1743 and 1744, although he then spoke much of the necessity of "having grace," and of "taking refuge in the merit of the Saviour Jesus Christ," and continually says that "there is nothing sound and whole in man."

That, on the contrary, he was then fully convinced of man's freedom of will, and that he believed in the necessity of man's operating with the Lord in the work of reformation and regeneration, is clearly taught by him in the last volume of the Old Series of the Regnum Animale, written in 1743 (Document 313, no. 67), and published by Dr. Im. Tafel as Part VII

of that work, under the title De Anima. We read there, "Every one acknowledges that our mind has the power of choosing or of thinking freely, and unless prevented by impossibilities also of willing and acting freely. Without the freedom of thought, and of action in conformity with thought, there would be no understanding and no will, and the very term 'will' should be expunged from our vocabularies, because we no longer know what is meant by it. Without the freedom of choice man could neither affirm nor deny; nor would there be any virtue nor any vice, nor consequently any morality. There would be no religion and no Divine worship; for these demand a mind endowed with freedom. Besides, there would be no granting of prayers and no imputation, because nothing could be regarded as our own; for who holds responsible a mere machine, or a person who acts under compulsion and not from himself? And if we, as men, regard actions from the will alone, which must not be in a state of compulsion, how much more will this be the case with Divine justice! In short without the gift of freedom we should not be men, but mere animals; for the human principle and our individuality consist in the power of thinking, willing, and acting in a state of freedom; and he who has the power of thinking in a state of freedom, has also the power of acting in such a state, because will or determination and action follow thought. Wherefore the truly human principle consists not only in being, but also in the power [of willing and doing] from ourselves" (p. 167). On p. 190 Swedenborg says, "The freedom of the mind consists entirely in this, that it may obey, or that it may not obey the findings of its understanding."

On p. 218 he speaks of the power which man has of changing his disposition (animus), where he says, "Changing the disposition is changing the very nature. It is easy to change good into evil; but much more difficult to change evil into good. This can never be done, except through the medium of the rational mind and its understanding, whether this understanding be man's own, or whether he be persuaded by faith or the authority [of others]. Our nature, too, is never changed, unless we conceive an aversion and a horror against evils, never allowing the mind to fall into such a state; or, when it does fall into it, snatching it out of that state by virtue of the freedom granted to it, and putting on another state according with a more perfect state. And even then our native disposition (animus) is not changed, unless we continue long in this new state, and constantly apply force and violence to the former state, and unless by a very frequent exercise and practice of the various virtues we put on an opposite state, and continue in it until it become a second nature to us, by which the former nature is expelled, each return of the former nature being a notification to us of the necessity of resistance. By this and no other mode call we put off our evil nature, and put on one which is good; and this is a most difficult thing to do in this life without grace and Divine help; but we succeed in it, when we go to work ourselves, and any imperfection which we may discover is removed by prayers addressed to God who is the source of good (ter optimus)." Thus far Swedenborg speaks of the power which every man has of changing and reforming his outward nature. But concerning the inner change of the soul, whence man's motives flow, he says on p. 220, "Here man's understanding is powerless except so far as it is instructed by revealed truth, the only power being faith which originates in God. When, therefore, the Divine Being is addressed in prayer, His spirit flows into man's soul and changes or perfects its state; when the soul is wicked, a long continued labour is necessary to make it good... And this labour consists in self-compulsion, in most ardent prayer, and in a constant endeavour to progress in that which is truly spiritual and Divine. These," he says finally, "seem to be the true principles, by which we may be spiritually perfected." But these principles, as every one will see, are thoroughly opposed to the doctrine of the vicarious atonement and of justification by faith alone, as understood in the Christian Church in Swedenborg's own days, and also in modern times; and it proves conclusively that while in 1743 and 1744 Swedenborg still held on to the doctrinal

phraseology current at his time, he, nevertheless, associated therewith ideas which no longer belonged to the old, but to the new theology, which he taught after 1747.

The doctrine that man enjoys free will, not only in natural but also in spiritual things, and that in order to receive salvation from the Lord, he must co-operate with Him, is enunciated in several places of the Diary for 1744. We read there:

"Man must strive after salvation with fear and trembling" (no. 69).

"We must really do what is good, and execute it with God's grace and in the faith granted by God; for in this case we receive from our Lord every thing that we need and that is useful to us" (no. 68).

"We must labour in order to gain heaven" (no. 9).

"Faith is received by man when he lives according to the commandments of God, and when he continually prays to God for it" (no. 99).

"Man must do the work of love out of obedience to faith, even though it be opposed to the lusts of the body and its persuasions" (no. 111).

In respect to man's freedom of choice, which is continually preserved in him by the Lord, we read: "I call compare the action of the Spirit [by which the freedom of man's will is preserved] to a pair of scales; on one side of winch is our own will and our sinful nature, and, on the other, God's power. These our Lord so disposes in temptation, that they are in a state of equilibrium: as soon then as it is borne down on this side, he helps it up again. Such have I found, speaking in a natural manner, to be the case; and from this it follows that this is far from being our own power; this draws the scale down, and is rather opposed to, than co-operating with, the Spirit's power; and, consequently, it is entirely our Lord's work which is thus disposed by Him" (no. 34).

Such then are the principal features of Swedenborg's theology in 1743 and 1744, and by the complete concordance therewith of the theology set forth in the Diary for 1744, an additional proof is furnished of its authenticity.

NOTE 166.

SWEDENBORG'S PHILOSOPHY IN 1743 AND 1744.

It is not our purpose in this Note to give a full exposition of the philosophy taught by Swedenborg in 1743 and 1744, but we intend to show that the philosophical principles stated in the Diary for 1744 are identical with those inculcated by Swedenborg in other works written by him about that time.

I. Philosophy and Revelation. On the cover of Codex 36 written by the author between 1736 and 1740 (see Vol. III of Photo-lithographed MSS., p. 151), we read as follows: "The more the world is perfected in the sciences and in learning, the more is it estranged from God... We ought not to inquire into the arcana of His nature in order thereby to acquire an intellectual faith.... The Lord demands an ignorance of things, full of faith and of His praise.... wherefore

also He addressed Himself to fishermen and shepherds; because the rest could not understand anything of the kind." Again we read in the same place, "That philosophy and its departments, and the physical sciences seduce us is clear, because they can extend only to visible and intellectual things, and cannot penetrate to higher things, which they regard as paradoxical; and hence philosophy believes nothing, because it holds that these things ought to be expressed by what it considers as something."

In the Diary for 11744 we read in agreement therewith: "Natural reason cannot agree with spiritual reason" (no. 8). "While reading God's miracles wrought through Moses, it seemed as if something of my own understanding was mixed up with it, so that I was not able to have so strong a faith as I ought. I believed, and yet did not believe. I was thinking that for this reason angels and God appeared to shepherds, and not to a philosopher, who allowed his understanding to come into play, which at all times would lead him to ask, Why God brought the wind when He called the grasshoppers together [Exodus x, 13]; why He hardened Pharaoh's heart, and did not work directly, with other similar things, which I considered; and the effect of which was such, that my faith was not firm. I looked upon the fire and said to myself, in this case I neither ought to believe that the fire is, since the external senses are more fallacious than what God says, which is the Truth itself; I ought rather to believe that than myself" (no. 26).

"Man [of himself] can know only so much as enters into his thoughts, and only when it enters also into the actions does he become convinced of it" (no. 64).

Other passages explaining the relation of the human understanding to faith, may be found in Note 165, ix, A.

Swedenborg, however, does not maintain that philosophy per se is opposed to faith and revealed truth, but only philosophy when it has become natural, and thus perverted. This appears clearly from what he says in the Adversaria (Vol. II, no. 914, p. 574): "Philosophy, such as it is at present in human minds, destroys all faith, but philosophy in itself, which is true philosophy, agrees with the things in the Divine Word;

just as external things agree with internal things, or nature with heaven, for nature is so constituted that there is a complete concordance or harmony. The philosophy of the human mind ought to be of such a nature that spiritual and heavenly things may be seen from it; and such a philosophy is possible, because such is the nature of philosophy in itself. When there is such a philosophy, then there is acquired by means of it an intellectual faith, to which the human mind may have recourse when there arise doubts about the things to be believed. But if the mind has recourse to it at the present time, faith is at once destroyed, for the philosophy of the present day is of such a nature that it expels faith, and thus extinguishes the light bf truth and induces darkness; the result of which is, that the mind can no longer be illustrated except by a miracle, viz. when a different state is induced upon the mind, which can only be brought about by misfortunes, sickness, and thus by anxieties, and finally by what are called pangs of conscience; consequently, by an indefinite variety of modes adapted to the state of each one's mind. It is evident, however, that this is much more difficult with such as are imbued with the philosophy of the present day then with the more simple ones."

The reason why the philosophy of the present day is of such a negative and destructive quality, is stated by Swedenborg thus: "Philosophy or human erudition judges and concludes spiritual from natural things; and as the natural man, since the fall, is of such a. nature as to be

entirely opposed to the spiritual man and to fight continually against it, therefore the philosophy which is drawn from the rational mind of such a man is of such a nature, as to destroy the things derived from the Divine Word. Wherefore it is not so much philosophy itself, regarded in itself, which is at fault, as the human mind which has become such since the fall, and from which mind philosophy is drawn" (Ibid., no. 911, p. 571).

II. Influence of the will on the Understanding. Swedenborg says, in the onomia Regni Animalis, "I know not what darkness overspreads the rational faculties when the mind begins to swell with pride, or when our intuition of objects calls up in the objects themselves the image and glory of our own self. It is like pouring into some exquisite wine a liquid which raises it into a froth, sullies its purity and clouds its translucence. It is as if the animal spirits were lashed into waves, and a tempest raised the grosser blood into insurgent motion, by which the organs of internal sensation or perception becoming swollen, the powers of thought are dulled, and the whole scene of action in their theatre changed.

In those who experience these disorderly states, the rational faculty is crippled and brought to a standstill, or rather its movements become retrograde instead of progressive. A limit is put to its operations, which its possessor imagines to be the limit of all human capacity, because he himself is unable to overstep it. He sees little or nothing in the most studied researches of others, but every thing--oh! how vain-glorious--in his own; nor can he return to correct conceptions until his elated thoughts have subsided to their proper level. 'There are many,' says Seneca, 'who might have attained to wisdom, had they not fancied they had attained it already.' The Muses love a tranquil mind, and there is nothing but humility, a contempt of self, and a simple love of truth, that can prevent or remedy the evils we have described?' (Vol. I, no. 22, pp. 11 and 12, English Edition). Again we read in the Regnum Animale, "While the will is directed to the false, it is constantly detained in those things that confirm it, or are conformable to it" (Part I, no. 9, p. 5, English Edition).

This doctrine, viz. the great influence which is exerted upon the understanding by the will, is confirmed in the Diary for 1744 in these words:
"The will has most to say in the understanding" (no. 65).

III. Thought and Respiration. In the onomia Regni Animalis, we read, "As often as the brain is intent and thinking deeply, or is occupied with anxious cares, the lungs draw their breath tacitly and slowly, and the breast either rises to a fixed level, and fears by any deep breath to disturb the quiet of the brain, or else compresses itself, and admits only a small amount of air. When the brain is exhilarated and joyous, the lungs expand and unfold. When the brain collapses with fear, the lungs do the same. When the brain is disturbed by anger, the lungs are the same" (Vol. II, p. 67, English Edition). And again on p. 90 (no. 42), "Whenever the human brain is pondering reasons, and directing the rational mind to them, it desires to be calm, and to draw breath quietly, as is usual with intense thinkers." In the "Divine Love and Wisdom" we read, "Every one may perceive in himself that the understanding corresponds to the lungs.....because no one can think unless his breathing conspires and accords; wherefore when he thinks tacitly, he breathes tacitly, if he thinks deeply, he breathes deeply; he keeps back and relaxes, compresses and expands the lungs according to the thought, thus according to the influx of the affection from love, either slowly, hastily, eagerly, gently, or attentively; yea, if he hold his breath altogether, he cannot think except in his spirit by his respiration, which is not manifestly perceived" (no. 382).

This mutual relation between thought and respiration, to which no one, as far as we are aware, has called attention, except Swedenborg, is most distinctly referred to in the Diary for 1744. We read there, "On inhaling the 'breath the thoughts press in from the body, on exhaling it they are as it were driven out or rectified; so that the very thoughts have their alternate play like the respiration of the lungs. For the inhalation of the breath belongs to the will, and its exhalation to nature (see also Regnum Animale, Part II, p. 148, English Edition), and at each respiration the thoughts also undergo their changes, so that when wicked thoughts entered the mind, I had only to hold the breath, when they ceased. From this may be seen the reason why in deep thought the lungs are kept in a state of equilibrium and at rest, and breathe more naturally, and why the breath is then inhaled more rapidly than it is exhaled, just the reverse of what is usually the case; likewise, why when a person is in a state of ecstasy and the breath is retained, the thoughts are as it were absent; which is also the case in sleep, when both the inhalation and exhalation belong to nature, and when that is represented which flows in from above. The same may also be deduced from the brain, where all the inmost organs together with the brain are in a state of expansion during inhalation, and where the thoughts originate and have their course" (no. 65).

IV. End, Cause, and Effect. In the "Divine Love and Wisdom" we read: "There are three things which follow in order; these are called end, cause, and effect. These three must needs be in everything in order that it may be anything; for an end without a cause and an effect cannot exist; nor a cause, without the end from which it proceeds and the effect in which it is manifested; nor, finally, can an effect exist alone, without a cause and an end.... Moreover, it is to be observed that the end is the all in the cause, and the all in the effect; whence it is that end, cause, and effect are called the first end, the middle end, and the ultimate end" (nos. 167, 165). Again, "As regards love and wisdom, love is the end, wisdom the instrumental cause, and use the complex, continent, and basis of wisdom and love... Affection, thought, and action, are in a series of similar degrees, because all affection refers to love, thought to wisdom, and action to use" (Ibid., nos. 213, 214).

In agreement with this doctrine, we road in the Diary for 1744, "The inmost of individualities (unitates) consists entirely of the end, which is the reason of the cause; so that if our thoughts are also considered as individualities, they contain within themselves no other end slid no other reason than what comes either from the Spirit of God or from the body.

When it comes from the body, all from the inmost is sin; for all that we propose to ourselves is opposed to that which is spiritual. What it is by which we are governed, we can easily find out, if we reflect on our loves which accompany (thought)" (no. 178).

NOTE 167.

ERLAND BROMAN.

Erland Broman was a younger brother of Carl Broman, mentioned in Note 113. He was born in 1704, became chamberlain in 1731, assessor in the College of Commerce in 1734, councillor of commerce in 1739, court-marshal in 1741, and president of the College of Commerce in 1747. He was created a baron in the same year, and died in 1757. He is said to have enjoyed the favour of King Frederic, and to have had great influence in the affairs of the diet. Of him and Archbishop Troilus Dr. Kahl tells the interesting story contained in Document 290, no. 6. Concerning him we read in the "Spiritual Diary" as follows: "During his life in the world Er[land] Br[oman] was of such a genius that he only cared for worldly

things. When he was dying, he prepared himself for the change with greater devotion than others, so that the clergyman and all thought he would go to heave on account of his repentance. With him I conversed on the third day after his death, and as soon as he met with some acquaintances from the world, and saw such tings as had delighted him in the world, he at once returned into his former life, so that his death-bed repentance become of no account (no. 5492-5495). In the same passage Swedenborg shows the reasons why Erland Broman was identified in his mind with "luxury, riches, pride" (see Document 209, no. 19). That such was the quality of Erland Broman is also distinctly stated in the Svenkt Biografiskt Handlexicon.

NOTE 168.

THE DATE OF THE OPENING OF SWEDENBORG'S SPIRITUAL SIGHT.

The opening of Swedenborg's spiritual sight was a very gradual process, as we have shown in the Introduction to Document 208 (pp. 144 to 147), and as he himself has declared in the following passage from "Heaven and Hell," "I was elevated into the light of heaven interiorly by degrees, and in proportion as I was elevated, my understanding was elevated, so that I was at length enabled to perceive things which at first I did not perceive, and, finally, such things as it had been impossible for me to comprehend" (no. 130).

In our Introduction to Document 208 we endeavoured to establish from Swedenborg's own statements the development which took place in his spiritual sight before 1745; by carefully studying which process it is very evident that' there were marked degrees in its progress: so that the date of the opening of his spiritual sight would be different, according as the first or the more advanced stages of this development are taken into consideration. Hence also he himself, according as he took a more or less advanced stage of the opening of his spiritual sight into consideration, assigned various years to this event, at one time declaring in favour of 1743, at another of 1744, and at still another of 1745.

Our object in this note will be to make an exhaustive analysis of all the passages where Swedenborg expresses himself on this subject; and to ascertain, if possible, the principle by which he was guided, in declaring at one time in favour of this and at another in favour of that period.

1. "During the space of almost eight months my mind, by the Divine grace of Messiah, has been governed by the spirits of His heaven; with whom I have conversed during that time almost continually in the day-time" (Adversaria, I, no. 943).

By referring to passage 2, which was written January 29, 1746, nine months and a half after he was fully admitted into the spiritual world, it appears that the above passage was written about December 10, 1745, and it thus fixes the date of the opening of his spiritual sight to take been ... 1745

2. "I have been in heaven, and at the same time with my friends on earth, from the middle of April, 1745, to January 29 (old style), or February 9 (new style); except during one month, which was while I was travelling to Sweden, where I arrived August 9 (old style)" (Ibid., no. 1003)... 1745.

The duration of the time from his admission into the spiritual world is here nine months and a half.

3. "No evil has as yet been injected by evil spirits which God-Messiah has not converted into good. This has been proved by the experience of many months, of nine" (Ibid. II, no. 88).

Swedenborg has here evidently deducted the month during which his spiritual experience had ceased (see passage 2), so that passage no. 3 seems to have been written about the middle of February, 1746, thus making actually ten months since his spiritual sight had been opened.

This passage also fixes the date of the opening as .... 1745.

4. "This experience has now continued for nine or ten months" (Ibid. II, no. 135).

In reality this experience had continued for ten or eleven months (see no. 3), dating from.... 1745.

5. "By the Divine mercy of God-Messiah heaven has been open to me now for almost a whole year, so that I could converse with the inhabitants of heaven, and gather thence experience in spiritual things" (Ibid. II, no. 1285).

This was written about the end of March, 1746, thus fixing the year when heaven was opened to him as ..... 1745.

6. "By daily experience which has now lasted about a year, I could not help learning and acknowledging, that I cannot utter a single word but what is permitted by God-Messiah" (Ibid. II, no. 1684).

This was written about the middle of April, 1746, as is proved by no. 2; dating his spiritual experience from..... 1745.

7. In no. 1957 (Adversaria, II) we read, "Once there appeared to me frogs of various sizes; and, indeed, so manifestly, that I could see them creeping before my eyes. Soon, however, they were collected into one body, when they became like fire, and burst with a noise, which reached my eels with a crackling sound, when the place was purified. This happened in London in the month of April, 1745. Something like smoke issued from my pores, but on the floor there was an appearance of a large number of worms creeping about." By reading this passage in connection with no. 2, and with no. 15 of Document 5 (Vol. I), the date of Swedenborg's manifest admission into the spiritual world is not only fixed in the middle of April, 1745, but the reader is also made acquainted with all the concomitant circumstances of this event. The testimony of this passage also goes for ..... 1745.

8. "Great care must be taken not to entertain in thought profane and cursed things; for these then infest the thought of the mind... I can solemnly attest that such has been my experience during the space of a year" (Adversaria, III, no. 1129, p. 173). This passage likewise yields the date of.... 1745.

9. "For fifteen months I have been in continual conversation [with spirits] speaking with them as a man with a man" (Adversaria, III, no. 3102).

In no. 4418 we read, "This was demonstrated to me very clearly in a dream in the nights from July 26 to 28, 1746;" from which it would seem that no. 9 was written about the beginning of July, 1746; which again gives the date..... 1745.

10. "This, by the Divine mercy of God-Messiah, it has been granted to me to learn, now for sixteen months" (Adversaria, III, no. 4682, p. 33).

As no. 4785, on p. 43 bears the date of August 3, 1746, it follows, that no. 4682, was written about the same time; which again fixes the date of Swedenborg's admission into the spiritual world as .... 1745.

11. "The conversation [with spirits] has now lasted for about a year and a half" (Adversaria, III, no. 7572).

Eighteen months from the middle of April fixes the date of this passage in the middle of October, 1746, and settles the date of Swedenborg's admission into the spiritual world as..... 1745.

Thus far our information is drawn from the Adversaria, the dates that follow are derived from the "Spiritual Diary."

12. "That spirits are instructed by the Lord by means of man, and thus receive knowledges, is a thing known to me by the almost continuous experience of two years and three quarters." February 18, 1748 (S. D. 821).

Two years and three quarters from February 18, 1748, lead back to the spring of.....1745.

13. "For nearly three years or thirty-three months I have been in such a state, that my mind has been removed from bodily things, and I could be in the society of spiritual and celestial beings." March 4, 1748 (S. D. 1166).

Thirty-three months from March 4, 1748, carries us back to the beginning of.....1745.

14. "By the long experience of three years it has been made known to me that the fantasies and lusts by which evil spirits excite men, are by various ways changed into good. May 16, 1748 (S. D. 1974). This passage again yields... 1745.

15. "By the most manifold, daily experience of three years, it has been made known to me, that men and spirits are compelled to think and speak as the Lord either permits or grants." May 27, 1748 (S. D. 2099) .....1745.

16. "For three years I have sensibly perceived that I am kept in the sphere of faith." August 5, 1738 (S. D. 2739).... 1745.

17. "For three years and a half ... I have been speaking with spirits." September 5, 1748 (S. D. 3058)..... 1745.

18. "I have been so now for four years, that I neither think nor speak anything from myself." April 21, 1749 (S. D. 4228).

From April 1749 to April 1745 is exactly four years

II. Thus far Swedenborg declared uniformly in favour of 1745, as the year when he was admitted into the spiritual world; henceforth, until 1766, we shall find him just as constantly deciding in favour of 1744.

19. "From eight to nine years I was in constant consort with spirits and angels" (S. D. 4618).

No. 4573 was written on August 6, 1752, so that no. 4618 must have been written very soon after, either in 1752 or 1753. Eight or nine years from 1752 or 1753 yields ..... 1744.

All the passages to which we have thus far referred, have been quoted from the author's posthumous MSS., most of those that follow are cited from the works as published by himself.

The question now arises whether the dates contained in his printed works refer to the year of their publication, or to the time when they mere written. The answer which Swedenborg himself gives to this question is, that the time of writing and not of publication must be taken; for both his works on "Heaven and Hell," and on the "Earths in the Universe," bear the imprint of 1758, and in the former he declares that for "thirteen," and in the latter that for "twelve" years he had been in consort with spirits. And, again, in no. 157 of the "True Christian Religion," he speaks of "twenty-six," and in no. 851 of "twenty-seven" years during which he enjoyed that remarkable spiritual intercourse. From the fact, therefore, that Swedenborg furnishes different dates in the works on "Heaven and Hell" and the "Earths in the Universe," which were published in the same year, it follows that these works were written at different periods, and that the dates of the opening of his spiritual sight must be computed from the time when these works were written, and not when they were published. And, on the other hand, from the fact that the author mentions two different dates in the beginning and end of the "True Christian Religion," it follows that the first portion of that work was written a whole year before its last portion; and, again, it confirms the idea that in computing the dates of the opening of his spiritual sight, we must not take into consideration the time of publication, but the time when they were written.

29. "Continuously for nine years I was in the consort of spirits and angels" (A. C. 6200).

This passage is contained in the Arcana Coelestia, Vol. V, published in 1753, and the question now arises, when was it written? As the MS. of that work was sent to London by instalments from Sweden (see Document 258, p. 497), and as no. 6200 is contained in the latter part of the volume, we consider ourselves quite authorized to conclude that it was written in the same gear in which it was printed, viz. 1753, which furnishes as the date of the opening of Swedenborg's spiritual sight..... 1744.

21. "It was granted me for twelve years to converse daily with spirits" (E. U. 1).

This work is in a great measure a reprint of the memorable relations published in the Arcana Coelestia from 1753 to 1756, from which work it was no doubt compiled by the author in 1756, although it was not published by him until 1758; which again yields the date..... 1744.

22. "For thirteen years it was granted me to speak with angels" (H. H. 1).

This work was most undoubtedly written in 1757 (as the last volume of the Arcana had been finished in 1756), although it was not published until 1758; which gives the date of

23. In the "Divine Wisdom" appended to the "Apocalypse Explained" (VII, 2) is contained the following corroborative passage, "I had daily intercourse with angels and departed men from the year 1744."..... 1744.

There can be no doubt whatever about the genuineness of this number; as this may be verified by a reference to the photo-lithographic copy of this work contained in Vol. III of the Swedenborg MSS., p. 42, line 5 from the bottom of the page.

24. "I have felt the influx from the spiritual world perceptibly and sensibly for nineteen years continuously" (D. L. W. 355).

This passage is contained in the latter part of that work, and therefore may be supposed to have been written in the same year when published, viz. 1763; which yields the date.... 1774.

25. "The Lord has been pleased to open the eyes of my spirit, and to keep them open for nineteen years"(C.L. J. 35).

It can be fairly assumed that this little work was written in the same year when published, viz. 1763; which gives the year..... 1744.

26. In 1764 Swedenborg declared to the Royal Librarian Gjorwell in Stockholm, that "God Himself had revealed Himself before him in May, 1744, while he was in London, and that since that time for twenty years he had been prepared for the reception of the new revelation" (See Document 251).... 1744.

27. "The Lord Himself has opened the interiors of my mind, which are those of my spirit, so that I may see those things which are in the spiritual world, and hear those who are there, as I have indeed now done for twenty-two years (See Swedenborg's first letter to Prelate tinger, written September 23, 1766, Document 229, p. 249) ..... 1744.

28. "I have been speaking with the angels for twenty-two years....Heaven was opened to me in 1744" (See Swedenborg's second letter to Prelate tinger, written November 11, 1766, Document 232, p. 257)..... 1744.

III. After 1766 to the end of his natural life Swedenborg uniformly declared 1743 to be the date when the Lord opened the interiors of his mind:

29. "The Lord has opened the interiors of my mind now for twenty-five" (C. L. 1).

This work, as published in 1768, is the epitome of a larger work written by the author on the same subject (see Document 313, p. 1003); and we must assume that the shorter treatise was prepared from the larger in the same year in which it was printed; otherwise we do not obtain 1743, but 1742 ..... 1743.

30. "I observed the influx from the spiritual world in a perceptible and sensible manner continuously for twenty-five years" (C. L. 419)..... 1743.

31. "The Lord Himself most mercifully appeared before me, His servant, in the year 1743; when He opened my sight into the spiritual world, and enabled me to converse with spirits and angels" (Swedenborg's letter to Dr. Hartley, written in 1769, Document 2)..... 1743.

32. "I have been in the spirit and at the same time in the body for twenty-six years" (T. C. R. 157).

See below, no. 33..... 1743.

33. "The interiors of my mind have been opened now for twenty-seven years" (T. C. R. 851).

As Swedenborg states in no. 791, that he finished this work on June 19, 1770, it follows that the first part of it was written in 1769, and the rest is 1770; which in both cases yields..... 1743.

34. "The Lord manifested Himself in person before me, His servant, and sent me to fill the office of receiving in the understanding, and of publishing by printing, the doctrine of the New Church" (Letter to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, Amsterdam, 1771; Document 246)..... 1743.

As early as 1776 some of the believers in the doctrines of the New Church doubted whether 1743 was properly the year when Swedenborg's spiritual sight was opened, and C. F. Nordenskold20 wrote to Dr. Beyer22 to ask him whether that number [in Swedenborg's letter to Mr. Hartley, no. 30] was not written by a slip of the pen. Dr. Beyer answered, "There is no slip of the pen in the year 1743, but it agrees with all the dates given in the books." (See his letter dated March 23, 1776, Document 254, p. 426). We see therefore that even Dr. Beyer, gave his weighty authority in favour of 1743, as the year when the interiors of Swedenborg's mind were opened; and the question now arises, how ought we, who have access not only to the printed works of Swedenborg like Dr. Beyer, but also to all his manuscript works, to explain the remarkable discrepancy between the dates assigned by Swedenborg himself to the opening of his spiritual sight, and which of these three years ought we to adopt as commemorative of the most important event in Swedenborg's life?

Our answer to this question is as follows: As Swedenborg in proportion to his increase in spiritual light antedated uniformly and consistently the opening of his spiritual sight, it seems but fit and proper that we should accept his final judgment in this matter, and declare likewise in favour of the year 1743; with the understanding, however, that the opening of his spiritual sight was progressive; that there was a distinct step made by him in 1743, another in 1744, a third in 1749, and still another in 1747, from which period he dates the publication of his theological writings in the only list of these writings which he printed with his name, viz. at the end of the work on "Conjugial Love," Latin edition, p. 328 (Document 254, p. 707).

One of the great uses of Swedenborg's Private Diary for 1743 and 1744 (Documents 208 and 209), is this, that it enables us not only to have some conception of his mental states during those years, but also to specify the precise time in each of these years when a new development took place in his interiors.

In no. 91 of that Diary (Document 209) Swedenborg says, "With God's grace I had a preternatural sleep, and this has been the case now for an entire half year." As this entry in the Diary is dated April 18, it follows that in the middle bf October, 1743, Swedenborg was

brought into such a state as to his soul and body as he describes by "a preternatural sleep;" and during this preternatural sleep we must infer that that "opening of his interiors" took place to which he refers in no. 33 of the present Note.

As it is mentioned, further, in nos. 31 and 34 that "the Lord manifested Himself in person before him in 1743," it must be inferred that this took place during the "preternatural sleep" which he had ever since the middle of October; 1743; and that the Lord's appearance to him then must have been similar to that which took place in the night between April 6 and 7, 1744, and which is described in no. 27 of Document 209. As Swedenborg advanced towards the highest state of illustration which he enjoyed in this world, he perceived that the dreams which he had during his "preternatural sleep" in 1743 and 1744 were already glimpses into the spiritual world, wherefore he declares in no. 31 of the present Note, not only that "the Lord Himself most mercifully appeared before him, His servant in 1743," but also that "he opened his sight into the spiritual world," and thereby enabled him in time "to converse with spirits and angels."

In no. 84 of the private Diary (Document 209) Swedenborg says, "The most singular thing is, that now I represent the inner man, and as it were another than myself; that I visit my own thoughts, frighten them, i. e. the things of my memory; that I accuse another. This is evidently the development of a new state, and "this," he further says," has now lasted for twenty-one days;" and as this statement was penned by Swedenborg on April 16, it would seem as if this new development began on March 24, the date when he began his Diary for 1744 (Document 209). No statement of any kind is made in the passages belonging to Section II of the present Note that the Lord manifested Himself anew to him in March, 1744, although, as mentioned above, in no. 27 of the Diary (Document 209), written on April 7, he describes an appearance of the Lord before him, while he was at the Hague; and, besides, Gjorwell declares in no. 26 that "the Lord appeared before Swedenborg in May, 1744, while he was in London." This is quite possible, although it is not mentioned in the Diary for 1744; for during the whole of that month, while Swedenborg was engaged in the preparation of Part III, New Series of the Regnum Animale (see Note 164, vi), he made only two entries in his private Diary, from which it appears, however, that during that month he was in London. The dreams and visions which are recorded throughout the whole of that Diary, Swedenborg regarded in an advanced state of his illustration, from 1752 to 1766, as an actual glimpse into the spiritual world; and the Persons he then describes as having seen in his dreams, in a subsequent higher state of illustration he found to have been either the spirits themselves, or to have been represented by spirits.

In most of the passages of Section II where he speaks of his mental state in 1744, as for instance in no. 23, he says that "he had daily intercourse with angels and departed men;" yet his real state then is perhaps best expressed in no. 24, where we read that he then "perceived the influx from the spiritual world in a perceptible and sensible manner;" and the precise mode in which he then "perceived the influx from the spiritual world," is described clearly in the "Spiritual Diary," no. 192, where we read under the date of August 31, 1747, "For nearly three years [from about the middle of 1744] I have been allowed to perceive and notice the operation of spirits, not by a sort of internal sight, but by a sensation which is associated with a sort of obscure sight, whereby I noticed their presence, which was various, their approach and departure, besides many other things."

The third decided step in the opening of Swedenborg's spiritual sight took place in the middle of April, 1745 (see no. 2 of the present number), when the Lord again appeared to him, and

indeed in the form which Swedenborg described to Messrs. Robsahm and Beyer (see Document 5, no. 15, and Document B, no. 32), and when the Lord introduced him into the spiritual world in such a manner that, as we read in no. 3 of the present Note, he was able to speak with spirits "As a man with a man."

A fourth and final change in the opening of his interiors took place on August 7, old style, 1747; under which date he states, that "there was a change of state in him into the celestial kingdom, in an image" (mutatio status in me, in cleste regnum, in imagine," see Document 313, Codex 6, no. 3). In this state Swedenborg wrote those of his theological works which he published as the servant of the Lord Jesus Christ."

NOTE 169.

TRANSLATION OF A SWEDISH HYMN.

In nos. 18, 28, and 31 of Document 209 Swedenborg mentions a Swedish hymn: Jesus r min wn then beste, which we communicate here in English translation published by Mr. Richard M'Cully in his "Swedenborg Studies," p. 37:

Jesus is my best of friends,

None like Him 'mongst mortals born;

And shall I, whom He defends,

Join the world-His goodness scorn?

Nought shall raise a parting line

To hold me from His tenderest love;

One shall be His will and mine--

Lifelong here, for aye above.

Once He suffered death for me;

In that death I rise o'er sin.

Him atoning still I see;

Wondrous strength from Him I win.

Who, cold, sullen, sit complaining,

Knowing Christ has sealed his bliss?

Who, the ransom-gift disdaining,

E'er could fly such love as His?

In that well-proved love I bide;

Nought this heart from Him shall sever.

Angel-glory, mortal pride,

Wealth or want shall part us never.

Depth below nor height above

E'er shall hold my soul enticed,

Luring from a Father's love

Mine henceforth in Jesus Christ.

NOTE 170.

COUNT HENNING GYLLENBORG.

Count Henning Gyllenborg was the nephew of the two Gyllenborgs mentioned in Notes 87 and 115. He was born in 1715 and died in 1775. As a young man he distinguished himself greatly in the universities of Upsal and Lund. Afterwards he became a royal chamberlain, and in that capacity entered the diplomatic service of his country. In 1756 he was chosen senator of councillor-of-state (Riks-Rd), but retired in 1761. In Document 138 he is mentioned as one of the securities for his uncle Frederic Gyllenborg, who had borrowed 30,000 dalers in copper from Swedenborg. The first wife of Henning Gyllenborg, Maria Sophia Stjerncrona, was a sister of the Countess Gyllenborg, mentioned in Note 115.

NOTE 171.

AMBASSADOR PREIS.

Joachim Frederic Preis, the son of Prof. Preis of the university of Dorpat, was born in 1667. He became connected with the Swedish embassy at the Hague as early as 1695, and in 1713 was secretary of Ambassador Palmqvist, Swedenborg's early patron (see note 61), at whose house he no doubt made the acquaintance of the young Swedenborg. In 1725, Preis became ambassador Extraordinary at the Hague, a post which he filled for a great number of years. In 1756 he was created a baron, and he died in 1759 in his ninety-second year at the Hague.

NOTE 172.

PROFESSOR WINBOM.

Anders Winbom was professor of theology at Upsal, where he was a great favorite with the students. Gezelius' "Biografiskt Lexicon" for 1788 says concerning him: "it was an especial delight for him to toil and labour for others. He displayed an uncommon zeal and interest in instructing the youth of his country; wherefore he was universally respected and loved. His

former pupils, who are occupying now [1788] places of honour, still speak of him with enthusiasm, as of a Swedish Gellert. He had the gift of making his subject interesting; he lectured with zeal, had fluency of speech, was ready with illustrations, and convinced his hearers. The result was that his lecture-room was always crowded, and that the number of his hearers was so great that they had to struggle for places. Winbom was born in 1687; he passed through the gymnasium at Skara, while it was under the superintendence of Bishop Swedberg. He had to struggle much with disease in his youth. In 1731 he was appointed professor at Upsal, and died in 1745.

NOTE 173.

COUNT CARL EHRENPREUS.

Concerning Count Carl Diedric Ehrenpreus Dr. Kahl217 says in his Narratiuncul, "He was a count, a senator, a knight, chancellor of the university at Upsal, and was born in 1692. Under the orders of Charles XII he was sent to Bender in the capacity of royal Secretary.

He was present at the famous and perilous battle which ensued there, and was made prisoner. But the King seeing and admiring his fortitude, redeemed him from servitude. He is described as a man of remarkable prudence, constancy, justice, probity, and fidelity." Concerning his state in the spiritual world, where it appeared that he did not respect the sixth commandment, see the "Spiritual Diary," no. 5996.

NOTE 174.

JOACHIM WRETMAN

Concerning him Cuno says (Document 256, no. 4), "Among the Swedish merchants of Amsterdam there was one, Mr. Joachim Wretman, whom I could trust as imbued with Christianity, and a man of intelligence." And again (Ibid. Nos. 10 and 11), "With Mr. Wretman he (Swedenborg) dined almost every Sunday; he also was his most intimate companion. When I first invited Swedenborg to my house, I extended the invitation also to Mr. Wretman." Seven of his letters to Swedenborg, mostly on business, have been preserved viz., Documents 210-214, 219, and 235. He was Swedenborg's purveyor of seeds and plants from Amsterdam; see Documents 213, 219, and 235.

NOTE 175.

COUNT GUSTAVUS VON BONDE.

Gustaf von Bonde was Swedenborg's superior at the college of Mines from 1721 to 1727. He was born in Stockholm in 1682, studied at Tbingen between 1701 and 1704, where he published a disputation which treated on algebra and physics. After his return home in 1705, he became chamberlain to the Queen Dowager; in 1711 he entered the College of Commerce; in 1718 he became governor of stergothland, and in 1721 was made President of the College of Mines. In 1727 he was promoted to the Senate, and in 1737 became chancellor of the University of Upsal. In 1739 he retired from public life, and devoted himself to the administration of his estates. In 1760 he was re-called to the senate, and removed to Stockholm, where he renewed his friendship with Swedenborg, and exacted a promise from

him that he would visit him on his estate at Hesselby; see Document 216. After a severe illness he died in 1764.

To Count Bonde, as President of the College of Mines, Swedenborg dedicated in 1722 Parts I-III of the Miscellanea Observata; to him also is addressed a letter Swedenborg wrote on August 18, 1724; see Document 155, C.

Count Bonde, according to the "Biografiskt Lexicon," is reputed to have been "an enlightened and honest Senator, and a great scholar." At one time he is said to have taken an interest in astrology; but very soon he crossed out his mystical calculations, writing underneath these words: "Astra regunt orbem, dirigit astra Deus" (The stars rule the world, but God rules the stars).

NOTE 176.

JOHN CHRISTIAN EDELMANN.

The writings of this author were mentioned by Baron von Hatzel in the letter which he addressed to Swedenborg (Document 215), where he says, "Have you ever read Edelmann's writings? What do you think of them?" Cuno also speaks of him in these words (Document 256, p. 461), "If ever I made the acquaintance of an ignorant, but so much the more impudent man, it was the notorious John Chr. Edelmann, who has now been dead for many years. This man, who was in comparison with the deeply learned and pious Swedenborg, a beastly blasphemer of the Word of God and of the church, raised against himself whole armies of scholars by whom he was refuted. A silly fellow, like him, was not worthy of such treatment; for he made a name for himself simply by impudence and foolish arrogance. And what was the result of all this? He was infuriated more and more so as to expectorate more poison and gall, and to utter incendiary language?"

Edelmann was born at Weissenfels in 1698. He studied theology at Jena, where he inclined towards pietism. Failing to obtain an appointment in the church, he opposed the strict Luteranism which had sway at his time, and finally directed his arrows against the church in general and its prevailing creeds. At one time he tried to make common cause with the Moravians, but he could not agree with them. Soon after he joined a sect in Berleburg, who called themselves the "inspired." After being compelled to flee from that town, he found a refuge in Nassau with Count Hachenburg. Meanwhile he became more and more notorious by his polemical writings against the creeds and practices of the Christian church. Being persecuted everywhere he lived afterwards at Neuwied, Brunswick, Hamburg, Glckstadt, and finally in Berlin, where he died in 1767.

His principal writings are AA forced declaration of faith, which, however, is not forced upon others" (Abgenthigtes, jedoch Andern nicht wieder aufgenthigtes Glaubensbekenntniss), Neuwied, 1746; Leipzig, 1848; "Innocent Truths" (Unschuldige Wahrheiten), 15 nos. Bckeburg 1735-45; "Christ and Belial" (1741); "the Divinity of (Die Begierde nach der vernnftigen lautern Milch der Wahrheit), 1744. Selections from his writings have recently been issued in Berne (1847) and Berlin (1849).

NOTE 177.

PROFESSOR SAMUEL ALF.

As appears from Document 220, Professor Alf was married to Anna Dorothea Filenia, granddaughter of Bishop Ericus Benzelius, and Swedenborg's eldest sister, Anna (see Document 9, Vol. I., p. 89). Professor Alf, who was one of the greatest Latin scholars of Sweden of his time, was born in 1727. After finishing his studies at the University of Upsal, he was appointed professor of eloquence and poetry in the gymnasium at Linkping in 1759; and in 1773 he became professor of theology. In 1781 he was created dean of Linkping, and died there in 1796. Professor Alf seems to have been somewhat interested in Swedenborg's writings; for Count Hopken wrote to Secretary Wargentin of the Academy of Sciences in 1772, "After the coronation there ought to be a hundred opportunities to send it (Swedenborg's 'True Christian Religion,') to Linkping to Professor Alf." Alf's stepbrother was Professor J. H. Lidn, who is mentioned in Document 282, p. 701, and in Note 258.

NOTE 178.

BISHOP ERIK LAMBERG.

This "violent anti-Swedenborgian," as he was called by the Rev. Arvid Ferelius (Document 267, p. 516), was born in Gottenburg in 1719. According to Dr. Kahl217 in his "Nya Kyrkan," &c. (Part III, p. 12), Erik Lamberg entered the gymnasium at Gottenburg in 1734, at the same time with Dr. Beyer, against whom he evinced such an unfriendly disposition, when the latter became interested in the writings of Swedenborg. Both left the gymnasium at the same time, namely, in the autumn of 1739, Lamberg going to Upsal, and Beyer to Lund.

Among twenty members of the gymnasium who went to the universities, Montin, the dean of the gymnasium for the time being and the professor of theology, pointed out these two as classical scholars, who were already able to compose short dissertations in the learned languages." This reputation Lamberg sustained when he travelled abroad in 1753, after having received the appointment of royal chaplain; for from the university of Leyden he received a gold medal for a Latin oration which he delivered there on the occasion of the birth of a Swedish princess. Soon after his return home in 1757 he was nominated Bishop of Gottenburg, and entered upon his office in 1762. He was presented by Swedenborg in 1766 with a copy of the Apocalypsis Revelata, (see Document 223); and a few months later with the Arcana Coelestia, which Swedenborg sent to Dr. Beyer instructing him to deliver it to the Bishop with his best respects (see Document 227). Again in 1768 Swedenborg sent his best respects to the Bishop through Dr. Beyer (see Document 237). In the same year in the month of October the subject of Swedenborg's writings was brought before the Consistory of Gottenburg; yet Bishop Lamberg was unwilling then and there to treat this question in an inquisitorial fashion, and was inclined to let the whole matter drop (see Document 245, p. 285). But meanwhile Dr. Ekebom, Dean of Gottenburg, maintained the opposition, and finally enlisted Bishop Lamberg on his side. Henceforth, both in Stockholm in the House of the clergy and in Gottenburg in the Consistory, Bishop Lamberg remained a zealous opponent of Swedenborg and of Drs. Beyer and Rosen (see his letter to the Consistory, Document 244, p. 310). He died in 1780.

NOTE 179

DEAN OLOF A. EKEBOM.

In Bexell's History of the Diocese of Gottenburg, 1835 (Gtheborg's Stifts Historia och Herdaminne), we find the following account of this theologian, who organized the first persecution on record against Swedenborg and his followers in Sweden (see Document 245). Doctor Olof A. Ekebom was born in Uddewalla in 1716. In 1730 he entered the gymnasium at Gottenburg. In 1736 he passed to the university of Upsal, in 1741 to that of Lund. In 1744 he travelled with a recommendation of Archbishop Jacob Benzelius.7 In 1745 he obtained his degree of Master of Arts. In 1746 he visited the university at Rostock, and on his return home was ordained into the ministry.

In 1749 he was appointed pastor of Ljungby, and in 1761 Dean of Gottenburg. In 1762 he was created Doctor of Divinity by the university of Greifswalde. He died in 1784." Little else is known of him personally except his opposition to Rosen and Beyer in the Consistory of Gottenburg. The Dean's seconder in the organization of this persecution was an assessor called Aurell (see Note 191), who assisted him with his knowledge of Swedish law, and acted as informer and accuser of Drs. Beyer and Rosen, before the ecclesiastical and civil courts of Gottenburg, and the House of the clergy in Stockholm. The spirit by which Dr. Ekebom was animated against Swedenborg, and especially against Dr. Beyer, can be best seen in subdivisions B and P of Document 245, which contain the charges which he brought against them before the Consistory of Gottenburg and the King of Sweden.

NOTE 180.

ARCHBISHOP MENANDER.

Bishops Menander and Serenius, to whom Swedenborg presented in 1766 his Apocalypsis Revealata (see Document 226), and in 1771 his Vera Christiana Religio (see Document 245, p. 384), seem to have been Swedenborg's steadfast supporters during his troubles with the Consistory of Gottenburg and the House of the Clergy from 1768-1771. To Archbishop Menander also, who was at the time Bishop of Abo, he addressed Document 228, where he arraigned in forcible language the falsities of the faith of the present time. Charles Frederic Menander was born in Stockholm in 1712; in 1728 he entered the university of Abo, and in 1731 that of Upsal, where he formed a close friendship with the student Linnus, the great Swedish botanist, which ceased only at his death. To Menander Linnus usually confided all his writings before making them public; which speaks well for the Bishop's scientific attainments. Swedenborg also seems to have conversed with Menander on scientific subjects, for in the letter which he addressed to him in 1766, he not only discoursed with him on theology and the Apocalypsis Revelata, but also submitted to him his "Method of finding the Longitude," which he had republished in Amsterdam in 1766. After first serving in various capacities at the University of Upsal, he was ordained into the ministry in 1746.

From 1752 to 1757 he filled the fourth and third professorships of theology in the university of Abo; and in 1757 was appointed bishop in the same place. He was a constant attendant at the Swedish Diet from 1756 to 1771, and especially at the memorable Diet of 1760, where he no doubt made the personal acquaintance of Swedenborg. In 1775 he was chosen archbishop, and vice-chancellor of the University of Upsal.

NOTE 181.

BISHOP JACOB SERENIUS.

Serenius was a zealous bishop and politician. He was born in 1700, and after passing through the university at Upsal, was selected by Bishop Swedberg for the Swedish pastorate in London. He continued in London as pastor of the Swedish church from 1723 to 1734; and mainly through his instrumentality the Swedish church in that place was build. In 1734 he saw through the press in Hamburg his Anglo-Swedish Dictionary. After his return to Sweden he was appointed rector in Nykping, and in 1736 was made dean. In 1752 he was created a doctor of theology, and in 1763 became Bishop of Strengns.

He seems to have been favourably inclined towards Swedenborg; as the latter presented to him the "Apocalypse Revealed" in 1766 (see Document 226), and his "True Christian Religion" in 1771 (see Document 245, p. 384).

NOTE 182.

PRELATE TINGER.

"tinger," says the Intellectual Repository for January, 1830 (pp. 1 et seq.), "was a man of distinguished learning and piety, and highly respected by his country-men. He the author of many works, and attained the highest dignity in the church; he was appointed by his Serene Highness the Duke of Wrtemberg to the prelacy of Murrhard. He was one of the first in Germany who became acquainted with the writings of Swedenborg. He translated many things from the Arcana Coelestia, and published the first German translation of the Earths in the Universe. He also published an analysis of Swedenborg's Natural Philosophy, and compared with his Heavenly Philosophy."

Further particulars respecting his life its follows: He was born May 6, 1702, in Gppingen, in the present kingdom of Wrtemberg.

He was a boy of great promise, was educated in the schools of Blaubeuren and Bebenhausen, and in 1722 entered the university of Tbingen. There he became acquainted with J. Bhme's (Behmen's)40 writings, which exercised a lasting influence on his character. In 1729 after finishing his studies in Tbingen he travelled to Frankfort, Jena, and the university of Halle; thence he visited Count Zinzendorf in Hernhut. While there he received a notice to return home. He soon published his first work in which he advised the public generally to read Boehme's writings; and at the same time lectured in the university of Tbingen. In 1733 he travelled a second time to Zinzendorf in Hernhut; yet he could not make common cause with him, and left the community in the following year. Is Leipzig he published another work on the "Descent of Bed" (Die Herunterlassung Gottes). He thence journeyed to Berlin, and then again to Halle, where he lectured on the Sacred Scripture; afterwards he undertook a long journey to Holland; and then studied medicine for nearly a year with Dr. Kmpf in Homburg. In 1737 he finally returned home, where he became pastor of Hirsau near Calw. There he continued until 1743, publishing some new works, and among them one on the "restoration of all things," where he acknowledged the eternity of hell, but not of eternal punishment. This doctrine had, and still has, many adherents among the pietists of the kingdom of Wrtemberg. After leaving Hirsau he became pastor in Schnaitheim, and afterwards in Waldorf, near Ulm. In the last place he investigated alchemy and published a work entitled, Inquisitio in sensum communem. (An Investigation into the nature of common sense). In 1752 he was appointed dean and ecclesiastical superintendent of Weinsberg, where he continued until 1759, and

where he and his family suffered severely from calumny and defamation. From 1759 to 1765 he was dean at Herrenberg. Here he wrote a work entitled the "Philosophy of the Ancients." After passing through a severe illness in 1762, during which he wrote the second part of his work on AEarthly and Heavenly Philosophy," which treats of the philosophy of Malebranchee, Newton, Wolf, &c., he met with Swedenborg's Arcana Coelestia; the memorable relations contained in the first volume of which he translated and embodied in Part 1 of the above work." The events of tinger's life after he became acquainted with the writings of Swedenborg are minutely related in Document 314. In the latter part of his life he was busy with a Biblical and Emblematical Dictionary, which has maintained its popularity up to the present day. He died at Murrhard on February 10, 1782.

NOTE 183.

PRELATE BENGEL.

John Albrecht Bengel was one of the most celebrated theologians of his times and highly respected by tinger, who addressed many letters to him, and asked for his advice on many subjects. Especially did tinger think highly of Bengel's literal explanation of the Book of Revelation, which he placed above the spiritual explanation of Swedenborg; he insisted that Swedenborg should interrogate the Apostle John in the other life, in order to learn from him whether Swedenborg's explanation of the Revelation "agreed more with the words of the text, than that of Prelate Bengel" (see document 233, p. 258). In a later letter (Document 314, B), he begged him to converse with Bengel's spirit in the other life, to which request Swedenborg, it seems, acceded, and brought him a satisfactory account of his state (see Document 314, F, p. 1057). Bengel was born in 1687, and after graduating in the University of Tbingen, and undertaking a long scientific journey, was appointed minister, and professor in the school of Denkendorf. There he continued until 1741, when he was appointed dean at Herbrechtingen; in 1747 he became a councillor in the consistory and prelate of Alpirbach. He died in 1752. He is reputed as the first German theologian who made a really critical examination of the texts of the New Testament; his edition of the New Testament being published in Tbingen in 1734; although he became more generally known by his explanation of the Book of Revelation (Erklrte Offenbarung St. Johannis) which was published in 1740, and has often since been reprinted. One of the results which he computed from that book was, that the world would last exactly 7777-7/9 years, and that the release of Satan and his being cast out would take place in the summer of 1836. Still there is no doubt that otherwise he was a most learned and pious man, and deserved the respect which was accorded to him by his contemporaries.

NOTE 184.

IMMANUEL KANT.

The name of the Philosopher Kant is of interest to the biographer of Swedenborg on account of his minute investigation into the "Extraordinary facts proving Swedenborg's intercourse with the spiritual world," which are discussed in Division E of Section X of the present volume (pp. 613-666).

His first knowledge of these facts he obtained in 1762, as is proved by his statement to Madame von Knobloch (p. 626), which is analyzed on p. 622. In 1766 he wrote his work entitled, "Dreams of a spirit-seer" (Trume eines Geisterschers), of which an account is given on p. 620, and in which he satirizes Swedenborg, and makes sport of his seership. After the appearance of this book, in order to oblige his friend, Madame von Knobloch, he had these facts investigated on the spot in Sweden, and the result of this investigate he communicated to Madame von Knobloch in a letter dated August 10, 1768, which appeared first in print in Borowksy's Life of Kant, published in 1804. In this letter, as there published, all the dates have been falsified; the letter itself, instead of 1768, is dated 1758, and all the other dates are altered to suit the circumstances. The object of this falsification was to produce the impression that the letter had been written before, instead of having been written after, the publication of the Trume, &c.; and that this work, and not Kant's letter to Madame von Knobloch, contained his final judgment in respect to Swedenborg. This falsification of dates was first exposed by Dr. Im. Tafel, and is abundantly proved in Documents 271 and 272.

NOTE 185.

J. C. DIPPEL.

In Document 233 tinger wrote to Swedenborg, "The theologians in the universities condemn you on account of your errors in respect to the Trinity, Justification, and Redemption, which you explain according to Dippel's method. John Conrad Dippel was born in 1673, and studied at first theology, but afterwards medicine and jurisprudence, because he could not bear the fetters of orthodoxy. Afterwards he wandered about in Germany and Holland, and lectured at the University of Strasburg, and finally went to Denmark.

There he vented his hatred against the clergy in such a manner that he was imprisoned on the island of Bornholm. After his release he went to Sweden, where he became renowned as a physician, and was even summoned to Stockholm by the King in that capacity. On account of representations made by the clergy he was compelled to leave Sweden, when he went to Berleburg, in Germany, where he died suddenly in 1734. Dippel, under the name of Christianus Democritus, published numerous writings in which he inveighed against the clergy and their doctrinal opinions. His own belief was that religion consists only in love and in self-sacrifice, wherefore he regarded almost all statements of doctrine as superfluous. Swedenborg mentions Dippel repeatedly in his "Spiritual Diary" (nos. 3485-3487, 5962 and 5995). He says there, "It was thought that Dippel possessed the ability of seeing things accurately, because he wrote against many persons, and in his writings appeared to excel others in understanding matters and things. Upon being examined, however, it was found that he was unable to see any truth, nay, the reality of anything, and that he was only skilled in defaming others. What resulted from himself was ridiculous and nonsensical, as for instance where he maintained that fire was spirit, &c." (No. 5962). "I was told that his style when he criticized others was such that it appeared full of science and intelligence; but that when he communicated his own ideas on systems, religion, and other things, he talked sheer nonsense" (no. 5995).

NOTE 186.

J. C. LAVATER

Among Swedenborg's correspondents was John Casper Lavater, celebrated as a theologian, and also as the author of an extensive treatise on Physiognomy, which appeared in several editions and was translated into English and French. He was born in 1741, and was thus twenty-seven years old when he wrote his first letter to Swedenborg in 1768 (Document 236). He intended early in life to become a minister of the gospel. In 1763 he visited the celebrated Dean Spalding in Pomerania, and after his return home in 1764, appeared in public in 1767 with his excellent "Swiss songs" (Schweizerlieder). This publication was succeeded by a more extensive poetical work, entitled "Prospects into Eternity" (Aussichten in die Ewigkeit), on which he desired to have Swedenborg's opinion, and of which he wrote him he "would willingly send him a copy, or, if he pleased, translate the principal parts into Latin" (see Document 236).

This work was published in Zurich from 1768 to 1773, in three volumes. In 1769 he was appointed minister at the orphan asylum at Zurich, in which capacity he addressed a second letter to Swedenborg (Document 242). In 1778 he was chosen assistant minister of the church of St. Peter at the same place, and in 1786 pastor in chief. His "Physiognomical Fragments" appeared from 1775 to 1778. His pastoral activity was extensive, and reached beyond Switzerland into Germany, where he corresponded with many pious families, and was consulted in matters of conscience. He displayed much interest in the public affairs of his country, and preached frankly and openly against all abuses; his zeal caused him to be imprisoned in May, 1799. He was liberated after a few months, and returned to his pastoral duties in Zurich, where in September of the same year he was shot by a French soldier, and after a lingering illness died in 1801. Dr. Im. Tafel says in his edition of the "Documents" (p. 417), "Whether Swedenborg replied to Lavater's letters is not known. But that Lavater was an apt student of his writings is proved by his dissertations on the Lord and the doctrine of the Atonement in his posthumous writings, which are composed altogether in Swedenborg's spirit." That Swedenborg corresponded with Lavater is, however, rendered evident by tinger's letters to Hartmann (Document 314, F); for on September 9, 1771, tinger wrote that "Swedenborg intended to visit Lavater," and under the date of September 19 he said that "on his way to Switzerland Swedenborg would pass through Stuttgart and Tbingen."

In his work entitled "Materials for the History of the New Church" (Zur Geschichte der Neuen Kirche) Dr. Im. Tafel refers to the following anecdote in the "New Jerusalem Journal" for 1799 (p. 268): "I must still tell you one anecdote of my late travels concerning Emanuel Swedenborg, which is this: The famous physiognomist and divine J. C. Lavater having formerly by letter expressed to me a desire to get some picture of Swedenborg, I took with me to Zurich a copy of the doctrine of the New Jerusalem, where you know a head of Swedenborg's is prefixed; and visiting Lavater, I talked to him of it, and the night before my departure sent him the book. We travelled at that time in company with a Countess Dames, a lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen of France, who wanted to stay one day longer at Zurich, was to rejoin us at Zug, and proposed to see Lavater the next day after our departure. This occasioned him to return me the book by the Countess. I had not thought fit, as I was not alone with him, to ask him any questions about Swedenborg.

But the Countess told me afterwards, that on his entrusting her with the book, she had naked him what his opinion was of Swedenborg: and to my great surprise, said she, he answered me,

he did not think Mr. Swedenborg's experiences at all impossible. I have been exceedingly sorry since that I did not lead him into any conversation about this myself."

Dr. Im. Tafel adds to the above (p. 105): "Any one who has read Lavater's life by Gessner will see, that towards the close of his life his views approached the doctrines of Swedenborg, This is proved also by his 'Fifteen letters on the Scriptural doctrine of our reconciliation with God through Christ" is Volume II of his posthumous writings published in Zurich, 1081, pp, 1108; likewise by the dissertations, 'Jesus Christ ever the same, not limited by time and space,' &c., pp. 109-920. The above letters are dated from the year 1793, and in them Lavater examines all the Scriptural passages, which have a bearing on the questions, and shows that if these passages are regarded in the propel light, none of them contains the meaning which has been attributed to them, and which men became gradually accustomed to see in them."

See also Note 308, on Semler.

NOTE 187.

DOCTOR MAGNUS ROEMPKE.

This gentleman, who generally supported Doctors Beyer and Rosen in the Consistory of Gottenburg, was born in 1717 at Gottenburg, where his father was navy surgeon. He entered the university of Lund in 1734. In 1746 he went abroad, and in 1747 obtained his degree of Master of Arts in the University of Rostock, where he lectured in the philosophical department. In 1748 he was appointed teacher in the Gymnasium at Gottenburg; and in 1750 received the appointment of Alector" or professor of logic and natural philosophy. In 1752 he was ordained into the ministry; in 1768 was appointed second professor theology in the same institution, and in 1774 first professor. In 1779 he was created a dean. He died in 1784. By supporting Drs. Beyer and Rosen when he considered them to be right, Roempke incurred the displeasure of Ekebom and Aurell; wherefore they sought to raise the charge of heterodoxy also against him. This charge Aurell sought to fasten upon him by translating into Swedish a dissertation on Reprobation, which Roempke delivered in the synod of the ministers of the Diocese of Gottenburg, wherein he thought he discovered traces of a Swedenborgian influence. Their machinations, however, in this respect, completely failed.

NOTE 188.

M. G. WALLENSTRALE.

Martin George Wallenstrale was likewise one of those members of the Gottenburg Consistory who were opposed to the inquisitorial manner in which Dr. Ekebom persecuted Dr. Beyer. He was the son of Bishop Wallin, and was born in 1733. He remained connected with the Gottenburg gymnasium until 1777; was chosen Bishop of Calmar in 1789, and died in 1807.

NOTE 189.

PROFESSOR L. J. KULLIN.

Lawrence Julius Kullin, Dean Ekebom's right-hand man in the persecution of Drs. Rosen and Beyer, was born in 1714. In 1737 he entered the University of Upsal; in 1743 he obtained his degree of master of arts, and lectured at the University. In 1751 he was appointed assistant professor mathematics in the gymnasium at Gottenburg, and in 1759 ordinary professor. In 1762 he received holy orders, and in 1763 was created a dean. In 1774 he was appointed second professor of theology. He died in 1795. Dr. Beyer spoke of him and Dr. Ekebom as his "open enemies" (see "Handlingar," &c., p. 115).

NOTE 190.

PASTOR HEMPE.

Little is known respecting pastor Hempe, except that he was one of Dean Ekebom's followers in his persecution of Drs. Beyer and Rosen. He was ordained in 1755, and was minister of the German Church in Gottenburg. He died in 1771. In the translations of the Gottenburg Consistory not many speeches of his are recorded; but he always voted with Dr. Ekebom and Dean Kullin.

NOTE 191.

A. J. AURELL.

Andrew John Aurell, an assessor in Gottenburg, made himself notorious as the volunteer prosecuting attorney of Drs. Beyer and Rosen. According tot he laws of Sweden he, a complete outsider, could demand for publication, at his own expense, the acts of the Consistory of Gottenburg.

In this course he was, no doubt, abetted by Dr. Ekebom. Hence the publication entitled, Handlingar, rorande Swedenborgianismen och de so kallade Prediko-Frsken (Minutes respecting Swedenborgianism and the so-called Sermon-Essays). Whenever the Consistory met, he or his brother was present and claimed the proceedings of the previous meeting for publication. When the Consistory were too slow or cautious in their deliberations, he goaded them on and stimulated them to action. And after they had settled one point, he was always ready with one or two other points by which he sought to incriminate Dr. Beyer anew. At one time when the Consistory refused to entertain one of his points, he brought it before the civil tribunal of Gottenburg, and sought to involve Dr. Beyer in a civil suit. And again, when he found that, with Dr. Ekebom, Dean Kullin, and Pastor Hempe, he could not always command a majority in the Consistory, as in the case of Dr. Beyer's Dictata, he carried the case to Stockholm, by writing letters to Bishop Filenius,9 and forwarding to him the inculpating documents. A specimen of the spirit by which Aurell was influenced, may be seen in

Document 245, J, p. 312, and also in the reply which Bishop Filenius addressed to him (same Document, p. 313). Aurell's was a vindictive, cruel, inexorable nature, void of mercy, and bent only on destruction.

NOTE 192.

BISHOP LUTKERMAN.

Bishop Gabriel Timotheus Lutkeman, who is mentioned by Swedenborg in Document 245, p. 306, was born in Stockholm in 1723. He was appointed royal chaplain in 1744, and always stood high in royal favour. In 1756 he was appointed the religious instructor of Prince Frederic Adolphus. In 1758 he was appointed Bishop of Gothland, in which capacity Swedenborg made his acquaintance in the Swedish Diet. He died in 1795.

NOTE 193.

COUNT CREUTZ

Count Gustavus Philip Creutz, Swedish Ambassador to the Court of France, to whose care Swedenborg desired to have his letters addressed (see Document 245, p. 297), was born in 1731 and died 1785. He was greatly beloved and respected at home and abroad. He was a poet, a philosopher, and an eminent statesman.

NOTE 194.

PETER HAMMARBERG.

Peter Hammarberg, merchant and banker of Gottenburg, and member of the town-council, was the brother-in-law of Dr. Beyer and an intimate friend of Dr. Rosen, and also of Swedenborg. By him Swedenborg was first made acquainted with Dr. Ekebom's attack upon himself and Dr. Beyer (Document 245, p. 296). In writing to Beyer Swedenborg sometimes mentioned Messrs. Hammarberg and Wenngren in Gottenburg, and desired to be kindly remembered to them (Document 245, p. 309). On p. 384 we read that Mr. Hammarberg gave orders to a sea captain to purchase a few sets of Swedenborg's works, from which it appears that he was interested in the spread of the doctrines in Sweden. In 1787 he became a member of the Exegetic-Philanthropic Society.

NOTE 195.

COUNCILLOR WENNGREN.

Councillor Wenngren was another of Swedenborg's friends in Gottenburg. To him Swedenborg addressed a letter dated Jan. 8, 1770 (Document 245, p. 321), and to him also he sent his respects in a letter addressed to Dr. Beyer (Document 245, p. 309). Wenngren seems

to have been present when Swedenborg first made the acquaintance of Drs. Beyer and Rosen; for from him emanates Document 299, where this meeting is described. He also became a member of the Exegitic-Philanthropic Society in 1787.

NOTE 196.

BARON ROSIR.

Baron John Rosir, Chancellor of Justice, to whom the case of Drs. Beyer and Rosen and of the Consistory of Gottenburg was committed by the King (see Document 245, p. 315), was born in 1709 of poor parents. After finishing his studies in the University of Upsal, he was attached to the Court of Appeals in Stockholm (Seva Hofrtt). He afterwards gradually rose to the post of secretary of revision (revisions-sekreterare) in 1750, and in 1769 was appointed chancellor of justice, of which office, however, he was deprived again by the Swedish Diet in 1772, when he resumed his former post as secretary of revision.

In the same year, however, he was appointed president of the Court of Appeals in Stockholm, which office he filled until his death in 1789.

NOTE 197.

MAGISTER GOTHENIUS.

Johan Gothenius, a colleague of Drs. Beyer and Rosen, was born in 1721 in Gottenburg, where his father was then a curate. He visited the Universities of Lund, Upsal, and Gottingen from 1739 to 1756; in 1757 he received his degree of master of arts at Lund. In 1760 he was appointed lector at the Gymnasium of Gottenburg. In 1762 he was ordained into the ministry; and in 1768 was appointed lector of logic and metaphysics. In 1772 he was made doctor of theology; in 1780 he was appointed dean; and he died in 1809. Gothenius was fellow-editor with Dr. Beyer of his Prediko-forsok(Sermon-Essays), which created so much discussion (see Document 245, p. 320). Bexell says, in his History of the Diocese of Gottenburg, AGothenius was a man of rare scholarship, based on a most thorough and profound study of the older classical literature, are enriched by a most extensive knowledge of the literature of his own times. There is scarcely any among the many periodicals that were published during his time in Gottenburg, which he did not enrich with contributions from his pen. He was a liberal theologian, and did not join Dr. Ekebom in his narrow opposition to Drs. Beyera and Rosen."

NOTE 198.

SENATOR STOCKENSTROM.

Count Eric Stockenstrom, to whom Swedenborg directed Dr. Beyer to send a copy of his letter dated April 12, 1770 (Document 245, p. 355), was born in 1703. After finishing his studies at the University of Upsal, he entered the College of Mines in 1725 where he no doubt became acquainted with Swedenborg. In 1747, when Swedenborg left the College, he was its secretary. Soon after he was transferred to the College of Chancery, where in 1749 he became a secretary of revision, and in 1758 Chancellor of Justice. In 1769 he was appointed senator,

and at the same time was created a baron and a count. He finally became president of the College of Mines, and died in 1790.

NOTE 199.

COUNT HERMANSON.

Count Mathias von Hermanson (not R. Hermanson, as Swedenborg styles him in Document 245, p. 355) was the son of a celebrated professor at Upsal, the successor to Prof. Rosenadler.51 He was born in 1716, and after passing with distinction through the University of Upsal, entered the College of Chancery. In politics he was on the same side as Count Hopken and Swedenborg. In 1756 he edited the first Gazette published in Sweden, which was devoted to the business of the Diet, and opposed to the party at the Count. In 1759 he became one of the secretaries of state. In 1765, when the party of the "caps" was victorious, he was removed to the exchequer department; but in 1769 when a reaction took place, he was appointed senator; and in that capacity enjoyed the confidence of the Crown-Prince Gustavus III, and was continued in office even after the revolution of 1772. He died in 1789.

NOTE 200.

COUNT CLAES EKEBLAD.

This nobleman's name is mentioned several times in the preceding documents. In Document 245, p. 356, Swedenborg directed Dr. Beyer to forward a copy of his letter to Count Ekeblad; from which it appears that he expected the Count to advocate his cause and that of Drs. Beyer and Rosen before the Privy Council. That letter was written in April, 1770, and in the beginning of October in the following year the Count died. In Document 262 we read on the testimony of Dr. Spence221 that "Mr. Springer told him that Count Ekeblad had provoked him to draw his sword against him, differing about politics, but that they had made it up, and promised not to mention it to ally while they lived; that afterwards the Count had attempted to bribe him with 10,000 rix-dalers, which sum and circumstances Mr. Swedenborg particularly mentioned to him as having from conversing with the Count then just deceased... He also said, Swedenborg had told him that their once adversary in politics was not so bad a man as they had thought him, for he was then preparing for heaven."

From Note 121 (Vol. I, p. 706) it appears that Springer took an active share in Swedish politics from 1741 to 1748, when he made himself obnoxious to the government, by whom he was finally cast into prison, on the plea of "having used reprehensible language respecting the King of Sweden."

This seems to have been the time to which the first part of his story in respect to Count Ekeblad refers. For, as appears from Anrep, Count Ekeblad returned from his mission as ambassador to France in 1744; and after his return to Sweden both he and Springer took an active share in politics, especially during the Diet of 1746.

The latter part of the story, namely, that Count Ekeblad sought to bribe him with 10,000 rix-dalers, probably belongs to a later period; for as appears from Note 121 (Vol. I, p. 707) Springer was employed by the English government in 1762 to obtain peace between Sweden and Frederic the Great. And the means the English government thought fit to employ consisted in conveying the sum of L100,000 into the hands of the King of Sweden, in order that by the employment of this sum he might obtain a majority in the Swedish Diet. At that time Count Ekeblad, after the retirement of Count Hopken, held the premiership of Sweden, and it is quite possible that he had a suspicion of England's policy in respect to Sweden, and that he intended to apply the sum of 10,000 rix-dalers to induce Springer to act in the interest of the ruling party in Sweden, who were opposed to the conclusion of peace Dr. Spence relates, that "Mr. Springer each time, for he told it more than once, threw down his handkerchief on the floor while relating that part by my fireside, to shew with what abhorrence he refused the purse." Count Ekeblad must have made use of a third party in offering the money to Springer; as the Count was at that time in Sweden and Springer was in London, and it is not recorded that either left his place of residence at that time.

As Swedenborg, in conversing about Count Ekeblad, called him "their once adversary in politics," it seems that he did not fully endorse, after 1761, the policy of the party of the "hats," to which Count Ekeblad belonged, and that together with Springer he himself, was in favour of a speedy conclusion of peace with Frederic II.

As Count Ekeblad was born in 1708 he was nearly sixty-three years of age when he died.

NOTE 201.

GENERAL CHRISTIAN TUXEN.

General Tuxen, the personal friend of Swedenborg, who wrote the valuable account of his acquaintance with him contained in Document 255, was born on February 15, 1713. To his testimony concerning Swedenborg he appended the following account of himself, which is printed in the Appendix to the "New Jerusalem Magazine" for 1790 (pp. 264 and 265):

"I may further add what I believe I have told you concerning myself, viz., that in my childhood and youth I was religiously brought up by my parents, who never set me any evil example. My tutor having compelled me to learn by heart and without judgment the whole of the orthodox system of divinity, I was at that time more afraid of God than of the Devil, and when I went to the University I abhorred going to church, and hated even the very name of it. In my youth I was of a lively and gay disposition: the first time I read in the Bible the history of the patriarchs, I could not help thinking Jacob was a kind of impostor, and Esau a good man; and I could never approve of the general explanation of the articles of faith, which afterwards nearly reduced me to a state of unbelief, especially on reading Voltaire's epistle to Urania, which (with the exception of two unnecessary lines) I considered as a masterpiece. But God shewed me His mercy, for as I was once walking in the street, the idea started into my mind, When I die, I shall be annihilated! This thought did so much to terrify me that I got the better of my infidelity, and in my riper years, reading on a time some things in Voltaire's 'Dictionnaire Philosophique,' I put it by, and never afterwards looked into it, on account of his seductive and specious criticisms; all parts of which we find resolved and refuted by the explanation of the internal sense of the Word, in the writings of our late great friend. These confirmed me in my own ideas respecting the Last Judgment, which agreed with what he teaches on that subject. I confess, when I first began to read his works, and just cast my eye

on the following passage, that a horse signifies the understanding of the Word, that I found myself, as it were, repelled, and not very well pleased: but afterwards when I read his works in series from the beginning, and with attention, though I found many things which surpassed my understanding and knowledge, yet happily I recollected at the same time the answer of Socrates to the other Athenian philosophers, who asked his opinion on the writings of Heraclitus, viz. 'That he did not understand them everywhere, but what he did understand was so excellent and good, that he did not doubt but the rest which he understood not, was equally so.' This encouraged me to read more and more, and what I understood I found for my own advantage; and it appears to me that no system of divinity is more worthy of the dignity of God, or more consolatory to man; and by the Divine help I will always retain this thought in my mind, until I can be convinced that any part thereof is either contrary to the Word and Scriptures of God, or to sound reason."

General Tuxen, it seems, made Swedenborg's personal acquaintance in the spring of 1768. It is true he states in Document 255 (p. 432) that he saw Swedenborg "a few years" after what he describes in no. 3 (p. 431), where he says that Swedenborg was asked whether he had seen King Frederic V, who had died the preceding year on January 14, 1766; so that according to this statement Tuxen must have met Swedenborg for the first time "a few years after 1767." That he saw him in the spring of the very next year, 1768, is proved by the following considerations: In no. 8 (p. 434) Tuxen states further that "some time afterwards" he was informed that Swedenborg had returned to Stockholm, and that the Consistory of Gottenburg had instituted an inquiry into the conduct of Dr. Beyer, which induced him to procure a copy of the printed Minutes. As these printed Minutes begin with March 22, 1769, and end in February, 1770, he must have become acquainted with their existence some time in the latter part of 1569, or about the time Swedenborg returned to Stockholm, that is in October, 1769. In Document 272 (pp. 623 and 624), however, it is proved that Swedenborg in the spring of 1768 had entered upon the journey from which he returned to Stockholm in October, 1769, so that Tuxen must have made his acquaintance in the spring of 1768. From this it follows also that when General Tuxen wrote his account of Swedenborg, which was in 1790 when he was seventy-seven years old, his memory not only of dates, but also of names, had already become uncertain, as is further proved by a footnote on p. 431.

In no. 8 (p. 434) General Tuxen further states that he wrote to Swedenborg on the subject of the Gottenburg transactions, and received a letter from him in reply. In his letter to the King dated

May 10, 1770 (Document 245, X, p. 375), Swedenborg declares that he obtained his first knowledge of the printed minutes of the Gottenburg controversy from "a general commissary of war at Elsinore," by whom he no doubt meant General Tuxen. The letter which Swedenborg wrote in reply to Tuxen and which is dated May 1, 1770, constitutes Document 245, X (p. 371).

From Document 252 (p. 405) it appears that General Tuxen corresponded also with Count Hopken respecting Swedenborg. The letters that Hopken addressed to Tuxen constitute Document 252, A-E. From one of these letters (p. 410), it appears that Tuxen is the author of the epitaph on Swedenborg given in Note 210.

In the list of members of the Exegetic-Philanthropic Society, published by Dr. Im. Tafel in his Magazin fr die Neu Kirche (Vol. I, no. 2, p. 70), General Tuxen appears with the following

title: Mr. de Tuxen, Géneral-Lieutenant et Grand-Inspecteur de la Douane Elsineur (General Lieutenant and Inspector general of the customs at Elsinore).

The editor of these Documents was fortunate enough to obtain the letters which General Tuxen wrote between 1782 and 1791 to C. F. Nordenskold,20 the founder of the Exegetic-Philanthropic Society of Stockholm.

On the first letter, which is dated March 24, 1782, C. F. Nordenskold gives the following short account of Tuxen: "General Tuxen is more than sixty years old; he is an able and amiable man; but he suffers much, 1. From a wife, who is hysterical, 2. From limited means, and 3. From the world, who ridicule him for having adopted the religion of the New Church."

In these letters, which are ten in number, General Tuxen displays both ability and amiability. They abound with praise and good will for the two brothers Nordenskold; and evince that he had fully entered into the spirit and life of the New Jerusalem. We select only such extracts as have a direct bearing on the subject of these Documents:

(1). "The beautiful engraving of our departed friend (Swedenborg) Senator Count Hopken was kind enough to send to me by post, as soon as it appeared, accompanied by an obliging letter.

Its likeness is remarkable, and it does great honour to Mr. Martin, the engraver. I remember here what I read about forty years ago under a gold bust of Socrates, which was exposed for sale at an artist's, where the following words were written: 'Vous voyez de Socrate la véritable image, admirez ses vertus plutot que cet ouvrage' (You see here the veritable image of Socrates, admire his virtues rather than this bust). I wondered, however, why his coat-of-arms and his titles were not placed under it; although I agree that his name done is the greatest anonlment of the picture. For to Swedenborg apply a potiori the following words which M. de la Dixmerie said in his eulogy in respect to Voltaire: "Il recoit [recevait] du Ciel la lumière, et le monde la reoit de lui" (He received the light from heaven, and the world receives it from him).-March 24, 1782.

(2). Tuxen's account of Bernstorff will be found in Note 202.

(3). "I shall send your brother by the first opportunity, according to his desire, a short account of my acquaintance and of my conversations with the late Swedenborg; also a copy of the only letter that I ever received from him; likewise copies of his: letter to the King, as well as of other documents that I received from Swedenborg himself; and, finally, accurate copies of the four or five remark able letters which Count Hopken wrote to me.

These Documents, your brother said, he would translate into English, and have them printed in some weekly paper treating on matters connected with Swedenborgianism, which is about to be started in London. He thinks that in this manner they would be more widely spread, and more generally read."

The last letter of General Tuxen is dated March 26, 1792. How long afterwards he lived in this world is not known; but he probably soon after departed into the other life, as his letters are full of the descriptions of the ailments under which he was then suffering.

NOTE 202.

COUNT BERNSTORFF.

Count Andrew Peter von Bemstorff was born in 1735, in Brunswick-Luneburg. After finishing his studies in the Universities of Leipzig and Gottingen, and making a long journey through England, France, Switzerland, and Italy, he entered the service of Denmark, where his cousin Count J. Hartwig E. von Bernstorff was a senator and Councillor of State. In 1767 he, together with his cousin whom Frederic the Great called the "oracle of Denmark," were created Danish counts. In 1769 he was appointed privy councillor, but was removed from office when Struensee was appointed minister in chief. After Struensee's downfall he was re-appointed to his former office, and soon became a minister of state. He was instrumental in effecting several important treaties for Denmark; and was a constant protector of civil liberty and the freedom of the press. Under his administration Denmark became the asylum of free thought for Germany. By all possible means he stimulated the productive powers of Denmark; and under his fostering care commerce, manufactures, navigation, and agriculture flourished everywhere. In 1780 he found that he could not work together with Guldberg, the prime-minister, and retired from office; but he was recalled in 1784. He died in 1797, universally regretted.

In his letter to Gen. Tuxen (Document 245, p. 272) Swedenborg writes, "I send you the enclosed copy [his letter to the King, Document 245, X], which I have also presented to the Privy Council, that it may be communicated to Count Bernstorff and Count Thott, so that they may see what the state of the case really is." It is possible that by Count Bernstorff Swedenborg does not mean here Count Andrew Peter, but his cousin Count John Hartwig Ernst, who was then likewise Councillor of State in Copenhagen.

But as Count Andrew Peter Bernstorff in a conversation with General Tuxen actually declared himself as favourably inclined to the writings of Swedenborg, it seems more probable that he, and not his cousin, was meant here by Swedenborg.

General Tuxen wrote on this subject to C. F. Nordenskold, on August 25, 1787, as follows: "Three days ago I was in Copenhagen nod spoke with his Excellency Count Bernstorff, who unexpectedly asked me, 'Whether it was true that I was a receiver of Swedenborg's doctrine, and that I possessed and had read his writings?' Whereupon I answered, 'Yes, and I thank God for them.' 'I have them also,' he continued, 'and I have read much in them which is excellent, but when he relates to ns so many wonderful and singular things, I do not know what to say.' He maintained that His Majesty, the King of Sweden [Gustavus III], was much attached to Swedenborg's doctrine; upon which I observed that I was not certain of this, although I knew him to he a prudent and tolerant ruler, and that possibly it might be so. This gave occasion to a little discussion, when I asked him whether he was informed about the new society [the Exegetic-Philanthropic Society] which had been formed in Stockholm? To which he replied, Yes. I gave him a good deal of information, and mentioned to him the names of those of its members whom I thought suitable; among others I mentioned the name of Schinmeyer in Lubeck. 'I know him,' he said, 'he dined with me yesterday; he has a daughter married in town. Immediately after dinner I went for the worthy superintendent, and talked with him for over half an hour in the window, while there was a large company in the room.' The Count expressed himself very much delighted at making my acquaintance; although I could not do much in making the conversation really delightful to him; in fact it was easy for him to see that my desire to do what is right, exceeds the range of my knowledge and information. I told

him that if God granted me life and means I intended to translate into Danish the small tracts and papers, which would be read before the Exegetic Society, sad print them at my own expense; as the smallest use I could do, as long as I lived; and that perhaps some one who would read them in the right spirit or from mere curiosity, might be enlightened by the truths set forth in them."

NOTE 203.

COUNT THOTT.

Count Otto Thott, to whom Swedenborg asked General Tuxen to forward a copy of Iris letter addressed to the King of Sweden (see Document 245, W, p. 372), was born in 1703. In 1736 he was called to the College of Commerce and the Rank of Denmark; and he was successively president of the College of Chancery, and head of the treasury department. Through Iris instrumentality the island of Aroe was added to Denmark. Yet it was not in the character of public administrator that Count Thott distinguished himself most. He was besides a most learned man, and thoroughly versed in ancient and modern literature so that his eulogist, Jacob Laden, observed that "he became an oracle for the learned at home and abroad; and hardly any one ever applied to him, without receiving the desired information." He had a most penetrating mind, and a most remarkable memory, which he retained to the end of his life. In his youth he was acquainted with, and enjoyed the teaching of the best Danish teachers such as Grammius, Magnus, and Rostgard. He studied in the Universities of Halle and Jena; and at that time already began collecting books for a library. His first library was destroyed in the conflagration of 1738. He formed anew library afterwards, his pecuniary means having meanwhile been enlarged by marriage. He purchased the library of the Earl of Oxford, and several other libraries, and at his death left a collection of books scarcely ever equalled by any private library. It consisted of over 100,000 volumes, 3000 MSS., and 300 MSS. written on parchment. Of early printed works he owned upwards of 2000 volumes. These and his MSS. he presented to the Royal Library. He instituted also a cabinet of coins and early gems, and treasured up ancient armour. He was so well versed in Latin, that when he wanted to compose anything in his own language, he first wrote it out in Latin. He was a great patron of the university; he was instrumental in the appointment of a professor of natural history, and he interested himself in the Astronomical Observatory, and also in the botanical garden. Count Thott died in September, 1785.

NOTE 204.

ASSESSOR QUECKFELT.

Assessor Samuel Gustavus Queckfelt of the Court of Appeals at Jonkoping, it seems, wrote to Swedenborg in 1771, that if he would present himself in person before the Privy Council, a turn in the affair of Drs. Beyer and Rosen might be brought about. Among the members of the Exegetic-Philanthropic Society there was a lieutenant by the name of Queckfelt, who was probably a relation of the assessor. The assessor was born in 1720, he was removed from office in 1775, on account of some alleged irregular practices, and died in 1786.

NOTE 205.

THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE-DARMSTADT.

Ludwig IX, Swedenborg's correspondent (Documents 246 and 247), was born in 1719. History reports but little respecting him. His country was deeply in debt when he ascended the throne in 1768, wherefore he summoned Baron von Moser in order that he might improve the condition of the country. His reforms operated very beneficially, but he was opposed in many quarters, and was at last brought by his enemies before the courts of the land. Landgrave Ludwig, as to his own person, was frugal, and retrenched the expenses of his court, which he removed from Darmstadt to Pirmasens. He was fond, however, of military affairs, and proud of his regiment of grenadiers, which was trained according to the Prussian system. The castle in which he resided in Pirmasens was destroyed during the wars which followed the French revolution. He died in 1790. A beautiful Monument to his memory was erected in the evangelical church at Primasens. His minister Venator, to whom Swedenborg likewise addressed a letter, is not know to history.

NOTE 206.

BARON TILAS.

Baron Daniel Tilas was in a certain sense Swedenborg's successor in the College of Mines, as his salary as assessor was the half which Swedenborg gave up after 1736. He was a learned but eccentric man.

After finishing his studies in Upsal, he entered the service of a miner in the capacity of a common labourer, in order to acquire a practical knowledge of the art of smelting. In 1732, when he was twenty years of age, he was inscribed in the College of Mines as an auscultant. He undertook many scientific journeys on foot through Sweden, Norway, and Finland, in order to enrich his own scientific acquirements, and to be of use to science and to his country. He was a large contributor to the Transactions of the Academy of Sciences; yet many of his discoveries and scientific discussions are also contained in the letters which he exchanged with the celebrated mineralogist Axel Cronstedt (Note 107). These letters are preserved in the Bergius Collection of letters in the Academy of Sciences; and among these the editor of these Documents discovered the two letters contained in Document 249, in which he discusses his acquaintance with Swedenborg. Baron Tilas became councillor of mines in 1755, and obtained the appointment of governor (landshfding) in 1755. His valuable collections of mineralogical specimens and other curiosities were all destroyed in the conflagration of 1751. In 1766 he was made a baron, and he died in 1772, a few months after Swedenborg. His first wife, whom he mentions in Document 249, died in her twenty-second year; his second wife, whom he married in 1743, died two weeks before him in 1772.

NOTE 207.

THE PRINCE OF PRUSSIA.

See Note 246. PART II

NOTE 208.

LIBRARIAN GJORWELL.

Carl Cristopherson Gjorwell was born in 1731. He occupies a most important place in Swedish literary history. After having passed through the Universities of Abo

and Lund, and having made a lengthy journey through Europe, he returned to Sweden in 1751, when for a few years he was private tutor in a family with a view of preparing himself for the post of a missionary among the heathen. This idea he gave up in 1755 when he entered the Royal Library in Stockholm as an assistant librarian. At the same time he started the Svenska Mercurius (The Swedish Mercury), the first critical journal of Sweden, which in a short time made his name universally known through Sweden. This journal he published until 1765, when it was succeeded by the Svenska Magazinet (The Swedish Magazine), of which he published two volumes.

This was succeeded by the Tidningar om Larda Saker (Literary Notices) from 1767 to 1769. From 1770 to 1772 he published the Allmanna Tidningar (General News). In most of these journals occur stray notices and items of news about Swedenborg and his writings, which are collected in Documents 282 and 283. The most important testimony, however which Gjorwell bore concerning Swedenborg is contained in Document 251, which contains the report of a conversation which he had with Swedenborg in 1764; this he published in one of his periodicals entitled Anmarkningar i Svenska Historien (Contributions to Swedish History). It is impossible for us to give here a complete list of all Gjorwell's periodical publications, which fill several hundred volumes, and which are a monument of industry, learning, and general information, such as few men have been instrumental in setting before the public. Yet strange to say, while he was constantly anxious to serve the public to the best of his ability, his country did not acknowledge his services; for whenever there was a preferment to be made at the Royal Library Gjorwell was passed over, and while he held the title of Royal Librarian and did the work of the Librarian, others took the pay; so that he was finally compelled in 1795 to give up his place, because he could no longer afford to serve the country for nothing, or for a merely nominal salary. Gjorwell died in 1811, in his eightieth year.

NOTE 209

PROFESSOR NILS WALLERIUS.

When Gjorwell asked Swedenborg (Document 251, no. 8) what Professor D. Nils Wallerius busied himself with in the other world, he said, He still goes about and holds disputations." Nils Wallerius was born in 1706. When he entered the University of Upsal in 1725, Wolf's

philosophy had just been received there. The young student at once devoted himself to this branch of study, and in 1729 took his degree as master in philosophy; in 1735 he became lecturer in philosophy, and in 1737 professor extraordinary in that department. He possessed the ability to a very high degree of presenting clearly and concisely the principles of philosophy, and in a short time he gathered around him a large number of pupils, so that he was often compelled to commerce his lectures at two o'clock in the morning, and continue through the day to deliver from eight to ten lectures. In 1748 he was promoted to the professorship of logic and metaphysics in Upsal University.

In 1751, however, he was ordained, and in the following year was made a doctor of divinity. In 1756 he was appointed professor of theology, and in this new capacity acquired as much honour as in the former. In 1764 he was suddenly attacked by a severe fever, and departed this life two weeks before Gjorwell asked Swedenborg about his condition in the other world. He published a number of philosophical and theological writings.

NOTE 210.

EPITAPH ON SWEDENBORG.

A copy of the following epitaph, which was printed in Stockholm after Swedenborg's death, was kindly presented to the editor of these Documents by Prof. Nils Adolk Erik Nordenskold, of the Academy of Science sin Stockholm, the celebrated North Pole explorer; as appears from Document 252, A (p. 410), it was composed by General Tuxen210.

TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE EMANUEL SWEDENBORG, THE WELL-BORN ASSESSOR, WHO DIED IN LONDON, ON MARCH 29, 1772.

Swedenborg ferme et tranquille, lui-même rendu,
Alla chercher au Ciel le prix de la vertu.
(Firm and tranquil, self-composed, Swedenborg went to seek in heaven the prize of virtue).
De Wittre Man, Du starcka Anda
Af Alder och af Ara matt,
Du lefde stilla, Arbart, Rott,
Och Dig i jordiskt gral ej blanda.
Du, som de Lordas undran wckt!
Och fven dumhets hopen retat,
Du, som i syner sanning letat
Och flgd det ljus Dig Himlen rackt.
Din Hga lifstid, myckna moda,
Du til wr saknad slutat har.
En Man s djupsint och s Rar,
Som lefvande har talt med dda;
Hans Minne npplig glmskan bryr,
Dess Namn med Tidens wingar fljer,
Wr SWEDENBORG ej Ryktet dljer,
Det ej fr Afvunds tadel skyr.
(Thou man of wisdom, mighty spirit!
In age advanced, in honours rich.
Thy life was quiet, modest, right,
In earthly broils thou didst not meddle,
The wonder of the learned didst excite,

The ignorant and silly didst provoke.
Thou hast in visions truth revealed,
The light displayed which heaven benign has showed thee.
Thy life of many years and many cares
Has closed: to our sorrow, our grief.
A man so wonderful, so rare,
Who, yet alive, spake with the dead.
His memory shall continue ever,
The wings of time his name shall bear;
Our Swedenborg, in glory bright,
The shades of envy cannot reach.

NOTE 211.

BISHOP DR. CELSIUS.

This Bishop, at whose house young Collin, who gave his testimony concerning Swedenborg, was private tutor (Document 253, p. 421), was one of the Swedish historians. He was born in 1716; and soon after passing through his academical studies, was appointed lecturer on the history of literature, and also librarian at Upsal. In 1747 he was chosen professor of history, but in 1751 left his professorship, and entered into the service of the church. From 1753 to 1777 he was pastor in various churches in Stockholm and at last in the "Stor-kyrkan" or cathedral. In 1777 he was elected bishop of Scania, and pro-chancellor of the University of Lund. Celsius is best known by his History of Gustavus I, which appeared in 1746 and 1753, his history of King Erik XIV, which was published in 1774; and his church History of Sweden, of which, however, only one volume appeared in 1767.

Besides this he wrote an epic poem entitled: Gustavus Wasa, in seven cantos, which was printed in 1744.

In a letter dated Wilikala, May 13, 1793, the editor of these Documents found the following statement: "a certain Magister Lindegren from Upsal, who is private tutor to the sons of Baron Wrede, said that his father, who was Dean (Prost) in Lindesberg, and had previously been long pastor in Linden, had several letters from Assessor Swedenborg, but among them scarcely more than one of importance; this treats of justification by faith alone. But to another clergyman, of the name of Capke, Swedenborg wrote many letters of importance; these are now said to be owned by Bishop Celsius in Lund, who reads them often, but is very cautious about them, and preserves them carefully.

NOTE 212.

JOHN CHRISTIAN CUNO.

J. C. Cuno, known also in New Church literature as David Paulus ab Indagine, the name under which he addressed a letter to Swedenborg (Document 256, C), was a merchant and banker in Amsterdam. In 1769 he made the acquaintance of Swedenborg there, and has preserved to us one of the most interesting accounts of him which we have; it constitutes Document 256, pp. 441 to 485. This account is contained in Cuno's autobiography, of which all that concerns Swedenborg was published in 1858 by Dr. Aug. Scheler under the title, "Jottings of an Amsterdam citizen upon Swedenborg" (Aufzeichnungen eines Amsterdamer Burgers uber Swedenborg). For further particulars, see the Introduction to Document 256, p. 441. In these "Jottings" Dr. Scheler communicates also the leading events of Cuno's life, as he collected them from his autobiography. We quote the following particulars:

Cuno was born in 1708 in Berlin, where his father had a lucrative business, which enabled him to give his son an excellent education. From 1715 to 1722 he was in the Gymnseium Azum grauen Kloster." After finishing his course, he was appointed private tutor in the house of his former professor, J. L. Frisch. At that time the recruiting officers were constantly about, and in order to protect himself from them, he had his lodgings for two years inside the walls of the gymnasium. In 1724, however, when he was scarcely sixteen years of age, he was pressed into the army in spite of all the protests of the authorities of the gymnasium.

After three weeks he was advanced to the post of sergeant in the regiment, which was commanded by General von Forcade. After a severe illness he obtained permission through the General to finish his studies at the University of Halle. This permission, however, he forfeited in 1728, when on account of a slight technical offence during a review in Potsdam, he received a severe personal reprimand from the King of Prussia, and was degraded to the post of a private musketeer. For three years he was in this subordinate position; but meanwhile the regiment in which he was placed came under the command of the Crown-Prince of Prussia, who very soon felt drawn towards the young student, and advanced him again to the post of sergeant. In 1733 he was detached from the regiment, and seat out with a lieutenant of a long recruiting expedition, during which he visited Vienna, and went even as far as Agram in Croatia. During this trip he was treated in a most friendly manner by the Jesuits. Immediately after his return to his regiment in 1734, he was sent out on a second recruiting expedition to Austria and Hungary. The favour shown to him by the Crown-Prince had excited the envy of many of his comrades, so that these expeditions were highly welcome to him; he therefore gladly embraced the opportunity in 1735 of entering on a third similar expedition, which took him to Munich, There he acted also in the capacity of a secret military agent, in order to find out the actual military strength of the Elector of Bavaria. In May, 1736, he returned to his regiment, when he was sent by the Crown-Prince on a fourth recruiting expedition to Italy, which gave him an opportunity of seeing Rome and Venice. In May, l738, he returned again to his regiment, which was stationed at Buppin, where he remained during a whole year, when he was sent out on a fifth expedition, in company with a, secret enemy, by whom he was calumniated at home. The result of this calumniation was that he received a note from the Crown-Prince, in which he expressed his displeasure, and threatened him with additional marks of his dissatisfaction. Cuno felt unable to put up any longer with such treatment, wherefore he resolved to desert from the Prussian army. On his return to Germany he tried in vain to find a position in the Universities of Tbingen and Marburg, either in a literary or artistic capacity,--for he was a poet, as well as an artist; until at last, on the advice

of Professor Christian von Wolf, the famous philosopher, who was at that time professor at Marburg, he resolved to try his fortune in Holland. After an eventful journey from Marburg to Amsterdam, he managed within a year to marry the rich widow of a merchant, through whom he came into the possession of the extensive business of her late husband. The name of the widow was Elsje Warsing, and she died in 1761.

Both while a soldier and a merchant Cuno was a, prolific writer, in prose as well as in poetry. The first work of consequence which he had printed was "Moral Letters" (Moralische Briefe), twenty-four in number, which he addressed to his adopted son, John van der Laagry these letters, which were written in poetry, were printed in 1747; a second edition appeared in Hamburg in 1752; they were translated also into Dutch and Latin. In 1749 his "Ode to his Garden" (Cuno's Ode an seinen Garten) appeared. This Ode pleased several renowned botanists, and they induced the author to publish a second enlarged edition with engravings. In 1765 he published the first volume of a collection of hymns, which was followed in 1759, 1762, and 1764 by three additional volumes. His most extensive poetical work was a "Messiad" in twelve cantos, which appeared in Amsterdam in 1762.

The date of Cuno's death is uncertain; the Biographie Universelle reports him to have died in 1780, Meusel maintains that he still lived in 1796, while Guden states that he died in 1783.

NOTE 213.

BARON DE BRETEUIL.

Baron de Breteuil was the ambassador of France to the Hague in 1769, and had previously been ambassador to the Swedish court. Cuno reports respecting him, on the authority of another person (Document 256, p. 451), that "he tells everywhere such great things about Swedenborg, because he is simple enough to believe them himself" Cuno from his own experience says on p. 452, that "he had seen letters at Swedenborg's house from the French ambassador inviting him to the Hague."

Louis Auguste le Tonnelier, Baron de Breteuil, was born in 1733. He first entered the military service of France, where he distinguished himself by decision, penetration, and indefatigable activity, so that the attention of Louis XV was directed to him, who sent him in 1758 as minister to the court of the Elector of Cologne. In 1760 he was initiated into the secrets of the policy of the French Court and sent as ambassador to Russia. Thence he was sent to the Court, of Sweden, where Ire strengthened the hands of the French party. In 1769 he went to Holland, afterwards to Naples, and in 1775 to Vienna.

After his return to France he was made Minister of the Royal House in 1783, in which capacity he made himself popular at first by ordering the release of several prisoners of state, and by introducing sundry improvements in Paris. Very soon, however, he developed into one of the most zealous defenders of absolute power, so that he created many enemies, and in 1787 was compelled to retire from office. After the downfall of Necker he became minister again for a short time. But when Louis XVI rejected his advice to retire with the troops to Compiegne, he left France and settled in Soleure in Switzerland where he received from the King plenary power to labour among the courts of the north of Europe for the re-establishment of the royal power in France. For this he was indicted by the Convention.

Forgotten of all parties, Breteuil retired to Hamburg, where he lived from 1792, until he received permission in 1802 to return to France, where he died in 1807.

NOTE 214.

PARACELSUS.

In his letter to Swedenborg (Document 256, p. 473) Cuno referred to Paracelsus in these words: "This great investigator of nature, and finally of the mysteries of religion, was a real ornament of his age and a paragon of learning. His contemporaries admired in him the great physician and chemist; and posterity with still admire these qualities in him. Yet the church and Christendom abhor him as a mystic, and as a man who would judge of Divine things from natural things." And again on p. 478 he says, "In the whole history of the world I have found no other scholar with whom I could compare him [Swedenborg] but the great physician and chemist Theophrastus Paracelsus."

Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus, was born in 1493 in Maria-Einsiedeln in Switzerland, where his father was physician and chemist. Through him he obtained instruction in these departments, and afterwards was sent to Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, and to Sigismund Fugger, by whom he was initiated into alchemy. Dissatisfied with alchemy he left his teachers, and travelled through a great part of Europe in quest of knowledge, curing diseases. In 1526 he received a call to the chair of medicine at Basel, where he remained for two years. While there he burned in public the works of Galen and Avicenna, whom he declared to be perverters of science. In 1528 the magistrates of Basel decided against him in a certain case, when he suddenly left his professorship and Basel.

He then continued his journeys through Alsace and Germany performing great cures, and at the same time proclaiming against superstition in science and religion; and making important discoveries in chemistry and medicine. By his relentless exposition of abuses, wherever he came into contact with them, he made many enemies, who avenged themselves by denouncing him as a quack and as the anti-christ; and as a glutton and wine-bibber. He died at last in Salzburg in 1541, where he was probably murdered. Paracelsus was a most prolific writer; he is said to have written as many as 364 works; of these, however, only a few were printed. The completest edition of his works was printed in ten volumes at Basel, in 1589; yet a number of the works therein included were not written by him.

NOTE 215.

JUNG-STILLING.

John Henry Jung, called Stilling, was born in 1740. At first he intended to become a charcoal-burner, but he served afterwards his apprenticeship to a tailor. Meanwhile he did not neglect his education, so that in course of time he aspired to become a schoolmaster. As he did not succeed in this, he returned to his trade, but having a disposition which inspired confidence and affection, he soon left it again, and became private tutor. After saving up some money, he studied medicine in Strasburg, where he associated with Goethe. After finishing his studies he settled down in Elberfeld as a physician, and became celebrated as an oculist. In 1778 he received a call to a professional school at Lautern, where candidates were prepared for the

civil service; and after this institution was merged in the University of Heidelberg he removed to that town as a professor of agriculture; in 1787 he accepted a call to the University of Marburg as professor of political economy, but in 1804 returned to Heidelberg as ordinary professor in the same department. Towards the latter part of his life he retired to Carlsruhe with the position of privy councillor, and died there in 1817.

The fame of Jung-Stilling is mostly due to his writings. In 1777 and 1778 he published an account of his own life under the title: "Henry Stilling's youth, his early manhood, and his wanderings," which was succeeded in 1757 by "Henry Stilling's domestic life." A second edition of these works was published in Berlin, in 1806, under the title, "Henry Stilling, a true story," in five volumes.

He acquired greater celebrity, however, by his other somewhat mystical writings, which bear the following titles: "Theobald, or the fanatics," of which three editions were published; "Nostalgia" (Heimweh); and especially his "Theory of Pneumatology" (Theorie der Geisterkunde), which was translated into English; and his "Scenes from the spiritual world" (Scene aus dem Geisterreiche), published in 1803.

In his "Pneumatology" he relates in respect to Swedenborg the "three extraordinary facts," which are discussed in Section X, Subdivision E (pp. 613 to 666). Stilling's account of the "Conflagration in Stockholm" is contained in Document 273, B, p. 630; his account of the "Lost Receipt," is identical with that of Dr. Clemm, on p. 637, but a second account derived from the Russian Ambassador Ostermann is given in Vol. XIII of his "Collected Writings" (Smmtliche Schriften); see Document 274, p. 645. Stilling's account of the "Queen's Story," is given in Document 275, O, p. 659. In addition to these he furnishes a fourth proof of Swedenborg's communication with spirits in his APneumatology" (see Document 257, 8, p. 486), and a fifth in his "Memorandum-book" (Taschenbuch) for 1809 (Document 257, B, p. 489).

In his "Memorandum Book" for 1809 Jung-Stilling defines Swedenborg's state as one of somnambulism; he denies therefore that his spiritual sight was opened, and maintains that he was in a state of ecstasy, and that he received all his communications from spirits who spoke through him. He describes Swedenborg's state as a sort of nervous disease, and thinks that he ought to have resisted his communications with the other world. Stilling, therefore, classes Swedenborg among the soothsayers, and declares that his communications with the other world were illicit, and in violation of God's Word.

The allegation that he was in a state of somnambulism, and possessed by spirits, Swedenborg himself denies most strenuously; as for instance in his conversation with Gjorwell (Document 251, no. 7), where he says: All his I see and know without becoming the subject of any visions, and without being a fanatic; but when I am alone, my soul is as it were out of the body, and in the other world; in all respects I am in a visible manner there, as I am here."

The charge of somnambulism and mediumship which Jung-Stilling brings here against Swedenborg is most minutely investigated and refuted by Dr. Im. Tafel in his "Documents respecting Swedenborg, German edition Vol. IV, pp. 95-118.

NOTE 216.

PETER III.

Peter III, Feodorowich, Emperor of Russia, whose death, according to Jung-Stilling (Document 257, B, p. 490), Swedenborg announced in Amsterdam at the very hour when it took place in Russia, was a grandson of Peter the Great, and was born in Kiel on February 21, 1728. His mother was Anna Petrovna, daughter of Peter the Great, and his father Duke Charles Frederic of Rolstein. His name by baptism was Charles Peter Ulrich, which name he bore as Duke of Rolstein-Gottorp. On November 26, 1742, the Empress Elisabeth appointed him, in agreement with her father's wishes, grand duke and czarewich, i. e. successor to the throne of Russia. In 1745 he married Princess Sophia Augusta of Anhalt Zerbst, who on joining the Greek church assumed the name of Catharine Alexievna; and on the death of the Empress Elizabeth, on January 5, 1762, he ascended the Russian throne under the name of Peter III. He was a great admirer of Frederic the Great, and soon after his accession to the throne concluded peace with him. While he was collecting an army, wherewith to assert against Denmark his claims to the duchy of Schleswig, and when he was just about assuming the supreme command, he received the news of a conspiracy which had broken out in St. Petersburg, at the head of which was the Empress Catharine herself, who had succeeded in obtaining the support of the Russian nobles who were dissatisfied with the innovations of the emperor. Mnnich, whom the Emperor had summoned from Siberia, in vain counselled him to return to St. Petersburg at the head of his troops, who were then with him at Oranienbaum, in order to crush the insurrection. The Emperor was irresolute and wavering, and missed the opportune moment. The insurrection grew hourly; in the night of the 8th of July, 1762, Catharine was proclaimed Empress, and Peter III declared to be dethroned. Nothing else remained to him but to submit to the force of circumstances; though he was no longer able thereby to save his own life. His death seemed necessary to Catharine for her own protection; it ensued therefore on July 17 (July 6, old style), 1763, in Ropscha, where Orlov, one of the conspirators, is said to have strangled the Emperor with his own hands.

NOTE 217.

STEPHEN PENNY.

Stephen Penny of Dartmouth was one of the first receivers of the doctrines taught by Swedenborg, as appears from a letter which he addressed in 1749 to John Lewis, the publisher of the Arcana Coelestia, on the appearance of the first volume of that important work (Document 258, B). From the "Memoir of Wm. Cookworthy," referred to in Note 219, it appears that Stephen Penny was a friend of Mr. Cookworthy, and that "he was, not improbably, the means of brining the Arcana under Mr. Cookworthy's notice." In 1769 Mr. Stephen Penny, who then styled himself an "accomptant," published in Bristol a little work bearing the following title: "Letters on the Fall and Restoration of Mankind, addressed to all the serious part of every denomination." This little book may be looked upon as the first work explanatory of the doctrines of the New Church. In 1769 it was followed by a poem, entitled: "an Incentive to the Love of God, from a view of his goodness in the creation and redemption of man;" to this the author also added an essay "On the Happiness of Love."

NOTE 218.

REV. JOHN CLOWES.

The Rev. John Clowes, Rector of St. John's, Manchester, was an indirect contributor to the "Documents concerning Swedenborg" from having induced the Rev. T. Hartley,1 who was personally acquainted with Swedenborg, to enrich Mr. Clowes's translation of the "True Christian Religion" with a beautiful tribute to the life and character of Swedenborg, a great part of which we have introduced into Document 259 (pp. 511-521). He has also been instrumental in preserving an important expression respecting Swedenborg from the lips of John Wesley,238 which is recorded in Document 268 (pp. 568 and 569). But, besides, he ranks in the first place as a translator of almost all the works of Swedenborg into English, and thus occupies a most prominent place in the bibliography of Swedenborg's writings, for which reason his name is of frequent occurrence towards the close of Document 313, Section XII. The following account of his life and character is gathered from an address by the Rev. Samuel Noble at meeting of the three societies of the New Church in London, to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of Clowes, and also from a sermon which he preached in memory of him at the New Jerusalem Church in Cross Street, Hatton Garden, on June 19, 1831

Mr. Clowes was a native of Manchester, where he was born in the year 1743, being a son of Joseph Clowes, Esq., who for many years practised as a barrister in that town and neighbourhood. He had an excellent education, and went at an early age to the university of Cambridge; where, while yet very young, he highly distinguished himself in his academic pursuits, took the degree of M. A., and was elected Fellow of Trinity College. When he was twenty-six years of age, in 1769, the rectorship of St. John's in Manchester was offered to him, and as he had just passed through a severe and protracted illness, which brought him to what he considered a happy state of humiliation, to use his own words, "he accepted this office with cheerfulness, as a, boon of Providence, intended for the improvement and security of his eternal good;" and he continued the contented incumbent of this small living for the very unusual period of sixty-two years, refusing more than one subsequent offer of high preferment in the church.

Four years after his acceptance of the rectorship the writings of Swedenborg fell into his hands under the following interesting circumstances: He formerly had an intimate friend, the late Richard Houghton, Esq., of Liverpool (see pp. 568 and 569), who was also the intimate friend of the celebrated John Wesley. Mr. Clowes being on a visit to this gentleman was asked by him whether he had seen Swedenborg's Latin work then recently published, entitled Vera Christiana Religio (The True Christian Religion); and on Mr. Clowes replying in the negative, he exacted a promise from him that he would procure it. On returning home, Mr. Clowes did procure it accordingly: but when he had got it, being much engaged, he felt no desire to peruse it; and it lay many months upon the table in his library without his looking into it. When he was one day about to set out to spend some time at the house of a friend who lived at some distance in the country, in passing oat of his study to mount his horse, he threw open the book which had so long lain untouched upon the table; when his eye caught the words Divinum Humanum (Divine Humanity). He merely thought it an odd sort of phrase--read no further,--closed the book,--and rode off to his friend's. He awoke next morning with a most brilliant appearance before his eyes, surpaseing the light of the sun: and in the midst of the glory were the words Divinum Humanum. He did not then recollect having ever seen those

words before: he thought the whole an illusion,--rubbed his eyes, got up, and made every effort to get rid of it; but in vain.

Wherever he went, or whatever he did, all day, the glorious appearance was still before him; though he spoke of it to no one. He retired to rest at night, and fell asleep. When he awoke the morning following the words, Divinum Humanum, encircled by a blaze of light still more glorious than before, immediately flashed upon his sight. He then recollected that those were the words which he had seen in the book on his table at home. He got up, made an apology to his friend, and took an abrupt leave: and, in his own words, no lover ever galloped off to see his mistress with half the eagerness that he galloped home to read about Divinum Humanum. He speedily perused the whole book; but his feelings and convictions on reading it are best described in his own words.

In a paper left behind him he says, "The delight produced in my mind by the first perusal of the work entitled the Vera Christiana Religio, no language could fully express. In proceeding from the chapter [with which the work begins] on the Creator and on Creation, to the succeeding chapters on the Redeemer and on Redemption, on the Divine Trinity, on the Sacred Scriptures or Word of God, on the Decalogue, on Faith, on Charity, on Free-will, on Repentance, on Reformation and Regeneration, on Imputation, on Baptism, on the Holy Supper, on the Consummation of the Age and the Advent of the Lord, it seemed as if a continual blaze of new and re-creating light had been poured forth on my delighted understanding, opening it to the contemplation of the sublimest mysteries of wisdom, in a manner and degree, and with a force of satisfactory evidence, which I had never known before."

At the time when the writings of Swedenborg were thus received by Mr. Clowes there probably were not half a dozen persons in all England to whom they were known. He soon therefore began to consider that the treasure thus confided to his care was not given to be locked up in his private coffers. He determined accordingly not to disobey the Divine command by putting his light under a bushel: he soon set it on a candlestick, to give light to all around. Swedenborg himself had then just left the world; and one or two of his works had recently been translated and published by the Rev. Mr. Hartley. Mr. Clowes soon began to labour most diligently in the same way; and by degrees completed the translation into English of most of the numerous theological writings of the same honourable writer. To secure their publication, he speedily organized a society for this object among his friends at Manchester. He also, from his first reception of the truths he had thus attained, framed his discourses from the pulpit in agreement with them. He talked of them freely among his friends and acquaintance.

He held regular meetings at his house for inquiry, conversation, and reading on the same subjects; and he had communication with numerous inquirers was awakened by the rumours which were speedily spread abroad. As translations of the works of Swedenborg became accessible, societies of readers of them were formed in numerous places: and Mr. Clowes did the work of an apostle and missionary, by visiting the towns and villages round the district of Manchester, for the purpose of exhorting, instructing, and encouraging these little flocks. Very many excellent original publications also proceeded from his indefatigable pen. When, as frequently happened, the principles he had espoused were attacked, they commonly found in Mr. Clowes a most able vindicator, and one whose refutations were always as mild and winning in expression as they mere powerful in argument. He printed several volumes of most impressive sermons, in which he interprets important parts of Scripture according to the ideas

resulting from the opening of their spiritual sense, yet familiarly adapted to the apprehension of the simplest minds; and most of them are introduced by ample and most valuable prefaces, explaining the principles of the interpretation, and vindicating the source from which it is derived. He was the author, likewise, of numerous other works, besides his controversial ones, all devoted to the elucidation and recommendation of the same discoveries of Divine Truth and Goodness. St one time he occupied himself in composing beautiful little tracts for children. At another he prepared new translations of the four Gospels, with elucidations of all the passages which are anywhere explained in the writings of Swedenborg, and enriched with observations of his own. His labours were finally broken off when he had nearly completed a work of the same kind on the book of Psalms.

It is not to be supposed that he could pursue this open, fearless, and undeviating course in the promotion of what he was convinced was the genuine cause of truth and goodness, without meeting with enemies, and encountering much both of public and of individual opposition. His church was always well attended, chiefly by the superior classes of the inhabitants of Manchester: but, while the whole congregation was edified and delighted by the pure and sublime representations of the Christian life which he continually set before them, a great portion never entered into, or regarded, the peculiar views of doctrine with which they were connected; and by some these, and he himself as their propounder, were, during the earlier part of his ministry, vehemently opposed. Efforts were more than once made, though in vain, to procure his suspension or removal by the bishop of the diocese. In Mr. Clowe's work entitled, Pure Evangelical Religion Restored, in the seventh chapter, is an account of his interview with the bishop of his diocese, Dr. Porteus, on occasion of a complaint respecting the doctrines he constantly taught; and nothing can be more open and manly than the statement which Mr. Clowes made to the bishop on that occasion. And the bishop dismissed him without even the smallest censure.

By degrees all opposition gave way before the most convincing of demonstrations,--that of his pure, affectionate, and truly Christian life. The fruits of his doctrines, as evinced in his own person, mere undeniably most excellent. Thus, when he had attained the fiftieth year of his ministry, an elegant piece of sculpture, the work of the great master, Flaxman, himself a New Churchman, was erected by subscription in his Church, the most active promoter of which was a gentleman who had formerly carried a complaint of his doctrine to the bishop, but who, though he never was a convert to his sentiments, became so impressed with the excellences of his character as to be most desirous thus to perpetuate the record of them as an example to posterity

Mr. Clowes died on June 4, 1831, in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

A Memoir, written by himself, and enriched by a number of his letters, appeared in London in two editions; the second edition was published in 1849. A more comprehensive life, the work of Theodore Compton, Esq., based chiefly on materials collected by the late George Harrison, appeared in 1874. To these two works we refer the reader for lists of Mr. Clowes's writings.

NOTE 219.

WILLIAM COOKWORTHY.

Mr. W. Cookworthy, was one of the earliest receivers of the New Church doctrines, and was personally acquainted with Swedenborg. Mr. Provo, in Document 263, p. 539, gives some account of Cookworthy's interview with Swedenborg; further particulars respecting this interview are contained in Document 315. Mr. Hartley, besides, relates that the translation of "Heaven and Hell," which he saw through the press, was begun and carried on to a considerable extent by Mr. Cookworthy, but was afterwards revised by himself. He states also that Mr. Cookworthy was at the whole expense of the publication. He is also mentioned as the translator of the first quarto edition of the "Doctrine of Life," which was published at Plymouth in 1763.

Mr. Harrison, the translator of some of Swedenborg's works into English, communicated to the Rev. John Clowes in 1825 a Memoir of Mr. Wm. Cookworthy,* from which Document 315 is derived. An extract from this "Memoir" was published in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1825, pp. 439-447. From this we gather the following particulars respecting Mr. Cookworthy's life and character:

* This biographical notice was published in 1964 under the following title: "Memoir of Wm. Cookworthy, formerly of Plymouth, Devonshire. By his Grandson."

Mr. Wm. Cookworthy was born a member of the religions Society of Friends, at Kingsbridgre, in Devonshire, in the year 1704. At the age of fourteen he lost his father, who was engaged in the weaving business, and who, though an industrious man, left his family with but slender provision for their maintenance. On his death young William was bound an apprentice to a chemist and druggist in London, and at the close of his apprenticeship he set up business for himself at Plymouth. From the time of his apprenticeship to the time of entering on the duties of married life in his thirtieth year little is related. It is, however, known that he enriched his mind from the stores of science and polite literature, for both of which his relish was keen and his capacity good. Thus qualified, his company was eagerly sought in the most accomplished society; besides, he was well acquainted with, and was himself one of, the literati, who at that time flourished at Plymouth.

In his forty-first or forty-second year he lost his wife; and he felt her loss so keenly, that he withdrew from Plymouth, and lived in seclusion at Lowe for twelve months. From this retirement he returned changed in appearance and manner to that of a plain Quaker. Still he met his old acquaintances as usual, and again resorted to the meeting of that little knot of literary friends, with whom he had before associated. Indeed, so far were his new habits from secluding him from the rest of the world, that he cultivated an intimate acquaintance with some of the first gentlemen and the most scientific men of the day. Smeaton, the engineer, was a regular inmate of his house, while engaged in the erection of the Eddistone Light-house. Captain Cook, Dr. Solander, and Sir Joseph Banks were his guests, before they sailed from Plymouth on the Captain's first voyage to the South Sea. And to Thomas Pitt, afterwards the first Lord Camelford, and to the it was observed, that whoever was in Mr. Cookworthy's company, never came out of it without being the better or the wiser for having been in it.

Such were the charms of his conversation, when his mouth was open all were listeners; and though his fondness for chemical subjects would lead him occasionally into details,

interesting only to persons skilled like himself, yet even then his object was to improve others, or promote science, and not to display his own superiority.

In course of time he became a minister of the Gospel in the religious society of which he was a member. But though his sermons were always affectionate and full of encouragement to the humble and broken-hearted, his efforts in this office by no means corresponded with the inexhaustible powers displayed by him as a teacher in private conversation.

On his first opening one of Swedenborg's works the book was soon thrown down in a fit of disgust. From some cause or other, not remembered, he was induced to make another trial; and from that time forward he became gradually more and more convinced of the soundness of the views which Swedenborg had taken of scriptural truths. So convinced, indeed, did he become of the truth and utility of his works, that, as already observed, he, in part, translated from the original Latin the treatise on "Heaven and Hell," and, under the revision of the Rev. T. Hartley,1 had it printed in 1778, in a quarto volume, by the Friends' bookseller, James Phillips, of George Yard, Lombard Street, London, at his own expense.

In the "Memoir" referred to above we read further, "He translated, for publication, a smaller Treatise, styled, The Doctrine of Life. His Latin copies of both these Treatises bear marks of the translator's toil, in scattered ink-spots."

Hartley was a man of the same affectionate disposition, and the same enlarged views of religion; yet from a nervousness of constitution, more inclined to shrink from society and discussion. They corresponded some time before they were personally acquainted, until the repeated interchange of sentiment had produced such a union of soul, that when they met for the first time, they flew into each other's arms, as if they had been old acquaintances.

Shortly before Swedenborg's death, they both visited him at his lodgings in Clerkenwell. Particulars of this interview are described in Documents 263 and 315.

As he was approaching the time of his removal into the other world, Dr. Gasking called on him one day, as a professional man, as well as a friend, and asked him how he was. He replied, "I'll tell thee how I am, Gasking,--no doubts-no fears--but a fall and certain assurance that I am going where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest." On Dr. Gasking's return to the parlour, the usual enquiry took place, "How do you find my father?" "Find him," said the doctor, "so as I would give all I am worth in the world to change places with him."

Near his close, he said, that "death was like putting off an old coat to put on a new one;" and after noticing that he was sinking comfortably, he died quietly in his own house on October 17, 1780.

Mr. Cookworthy was the discoverer in England of the ingredients of porcelain, and the founder of the British Porcelain Manufacture, as is proved in the following publication: "Relics of William Cookworthy, discoverer of the Cornish China-clay and stone, about 1755; founder of the British porcelain manufacture, about 1760; and an eminent minister of the Society of Friends," collected by John Prideaux, London, 1853.

NOTE 220.

PROFESSORS ALEXANDER GERARD, ROBERT HAMILTON, AND ROBERT TRAILL

Of the three Scotch professors, who were recipients of the letters from Dr. Messiter contained in Document 260, only the first, viz. Prof. Alexander Gerard, seems to have been known to fame. The two other professors belonged to well-known and highly honoured Scotch families, which have produced several philosophers, men of science, and theologians; yet concerning the particular Prof. Robert Hamilton, who filled the chair of divinity in the University of Edinburgh in 1769, we could find no information in Scotch bio-graphical collections. The only thing which we came across was a sermon of a certain Robert Hamilton, D. D., preached at the interment of J. Boydell, London. Equally unfortunate were we our researches respecting Prof. Robert Traill, who filled the chair of divinity in Glasgow University in 1769. He is probably the author of the following sermon which we have likewise come across, viz. "The Qualifications and Decorum of a teacher of Christianity considered, a sermon preached before the Synod of Aberdeen in 1755 by the Rev. Robert Traill, minister of the Church of Scotland."

Alexander Gerard, an eminent divine of the Church of Scotland, was born on February 25, 1728. In 1750 he became assistant professor of philosophy in Marischal College at Aberdeen, and in 1752 ordinary professor. He was member of a literary society at Aberdeen, consisting of Drs. Blackwell, Gregory, Reid, Campbell, Beattie, and others, which met regularly every fortnight during the winter, when the members communicated their sentiments with the utmost freedom, and received mutual improvement from their literary discussions, and hence originated those well known works:

Reid's "Inquiry into the Human Mind," Gregory's "Compartive view," &c., Gerard's "Essay on Genius," Beattie's "Essay on Truth," and Campbell's "Philosophy of Rhetoric." In 1759 Gerard was ordained a minister of the Church of Scotland, and in the following year was appointed professor of divinity in Marischal College, and about the same time took the degree of D. D. He continued to perform the several duties attached to his offices till 1771, when he resigned the professorship, together with the church living, and was preferred to the theological chair at King's College, a situation which he held till his death on February 22, 1795. His biographer states, that "Dr. Gerard's attainments were solid rather than brilliant, the effect of close and almost incessant study, and a fine judgment." He was the author of an "Essay On Taste," 1759, enlarged in 1780; "Dissertations on the Genius and Evidences of Christianity," 1766, "Essay on Genius," "Sermons," two vols., and of a posthumous work entitled "The Pastoral Care."

NOTE 221.

DR. WILLIAM SPENCE.

W. Spence, M. D., published in 1792 a book entitled "Essays in Divinity and Physic," etc., which on pp. 38 and 39 contains the information concerning Swedenborg which he collected from Mr. Christopher Springer121 one of his patients, and Dr. Messiter2 (Document 262).

According to Mr. R. Hindmarsh he attended the first public meeting of friends of the New Church, which was held on December 5, 1783; afterwards, in 1785, he was one of the four gentlemen who undertook the publication of the Apocalypsis Explicata (Document 309, p. 806), and on p. XXII of the above-mentioned work, he is spoken of its editor. He was a friend of C. F. Nordenskold, and the latter in his Considrations Génerales, &c. p. 304, left the following record of their friendship: "One day, having perceived the unsuitableness of my present lodgings, and being myself most anxious to leave them, he called upon me, and said, 'I have a proposition to make to you. I do not wish you to stay any longer here, and I offer you in my house my table and a sleeping room, and for the reception of our visitors we shall use the same drawing-room. As to my terms, they are as follows,' &c. I thanked him for his obliging offer, to which I had nothing to object, but I told him that I could not leave my host without paying him twenty guineas which I owed him for my lodgings. 'Nothing else?' he said, 'I shall pay them.' He did so, and in this manner I became an inmate of his house.

His society was the more agreeable to me, as we professed the same religion. Nevertheless, it was not as a pure act of charity that he asked me to live with him; but he had also a personal interest in it, and the tranquility of his house depended on this arrangement. This change of lodgings was of the greatest benefit to me, and afterwards also I was the recipient of the most disinterested services on his part, which were the beautiful fruits of his benevolent character. When I left his house, I left London. He is dead, and I expect to find him where I shall be able to tell him that to the last breath of my life in this world, my heart has been imbued with gratitude towards him. May he be blessed among the blessed." The letter which C. F. Nordenskold received from his friend Wadstrom in 1785, and to which reference is made on p. 807, was directed to him "Care of Dr. Wm. Spence." In his care also C. F. Nordenskold left the MS. Of the Apocalypsis Explicata, and the copy of those MSS. which he had brought to England (see Document 309, p. 807).

In a letter dated May 2, 1822, which C. F. Nordenskold addressed to Dr. Im. Tafel, he says of Dr. Spence that "he was a physician and apothecary, an extremely honest and benevolent gentleman, although his means were limited."

Dr. Spence belonged to that party of the New Church friends in England, who are designated non-separatists, to which also the Rev. John Clowes and others belonged. On this account he was sharply criticized by those who were of a different opinion from himself, as appears from the following extract of a letter addressed by Henry Servant227 to Mr. James Glen of Demarara, South America, dated London, June 1, 1806, and which was published in the "Monthly Observer" for 1857 (p. 419), "Mr. Spence is a native of Scotland, and I believe still living, he is also by profession a surgeon, but I never considered him a true recipient. He has constantly opposed an external separation from the Old Church, and strenuously maintained the high-flown doctrine of Episcopacy, and that no other than such as were regularly ordained by a bishop were orderly qualified or authorized to preach the doctrines of the New Church. You will perhaps be able to trace some outlines of the eccentricity of his character in his 'Essays.'"

The preface to these "Esssys" contains Dr. Spence's arguments on the relation between the Old and the New Churches; in which he uses very strong language in respect to his "spiritual brethren the 'separatists.'"

It is not known when Dr. Spence departed this life; according to Mr. Servant he was still living in 1806.

NOTE 222.

BENEDICT CHASTANIER.

"Mr. Chastanier," says Henry Servant in a letter addressed to Mr. James Glen, dated June 1, 1806,* "is a native of France, and studied surgery and pharmacy in the Hotel Dieu at Paris, where he resided many years; after which he came to England, and used to visit the society of readers in the Temple. He has been a zealous recipient, and instrumental in publishing many of the works in French and English; he has been thrice married, but through indiscretion has experienced many unpleasant vicissitudes in the natural world, and is at this time in every languishing state."

* See "Monthly Observer" for 1857, p. 419.

Whether Chastanier became acquainted with the doctrines of the New Church in England or France is not known with certainty. According to C. Lenning in his Encyclopdie der Freimaurerei (Encyclopdia, of Freemasonry), and R. C. Acerrellos in his work entitled Die Freimaurerei (Freemasonry), Benedict Chastanier and other friends of the New Church in France formed even during Swedenborg's lifetime a society of Theosophic Illuminati (Illumins theosophes), with seven degrees. This society was organized into a kind of Masonic lodge in the spirit of the New Jerusalem. Dr. A. Kahlin his work entitled Nya Kyrkan, &c. (Part IV, p. 83), whence we derive this information, adds, "Chastanier, who imported this new order into England, thereupon issued a call to the free-masons in which he invites them as friends of truth and humanity to make common cause with the receivers of the doctrines of the New Jerusalem, and to work with them for the attainment of a common goal. In his 'Plan for a New Jerusalemite Journal' (Plan d'un Journal Novi-Jrusalmite) in pointing to the Exegetic Philianthropic Society of Stockholm, he says among other things, 'Would that for the good of mankind the whole earth were covered by societies of the same nature; then we should soon see the golden age return among men, of which we announce now the dawn. You Masons, who are free and open-hearted, and whom I have the honour to call my brethren, your respectable society is made for the very purpose of emulating them! More than ever you search now after the truth; witness the circulars which the Great Orient (Grand Orient) of Paris sends out in every direction. Truth presents itself to you. The works of Swedenborg develop it for you in all those emblems, symbols, and figures, of which the exterior only is known to you.

Will you do nothing in order to know also their interior? It is in your interest therefore to contribute to the success of my plan.'"

C. F. Nordenskold wrote to Dr. Im. Tafel on May 2, 1822, among other things, "When I undertook in 1783 a journey to London at my own expense, the society for the spread of the new light was then very small, and consisted only of ten or twelve persons. Mr. Chastanier, a physician and apothecary, and a Frenchman by birth, inserted an announcement in one of the papers to this effect, 'All those who read the theological writings of Swedenborg and know their value, will please to assemble in No. [62] of [Tottenham-Court Road].' In this immense town there were only three or four persons who reported themselves; whether there were only so few, or whether only these had read the advertisement, is not known. I arrived a few weeks after this announcement and found there eight persons. Among these was Mr. Peckitt,229

about sixty-three years old, who had been a physician and apothecary, a man without children [see Note 229], and rich enough to live on the interest of his money; Wm. Spence, physician and apothecary, an extremely honest and benevolent gentleman, although his means mere limited."*

* Dr. Im. Tafel's German "Documents concerning Swedenborg," Vol. IV, p. 195.

Among the French works published under the editorship of Chastanier, are the following: (1) "The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine," London, 1752; it contains a dedication to the King of France, and an address to the Clergy of France. (2) A French translation of the treatise on the "Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," London, 1782; it contains an address by the translator to the universities of his native country, and a translation of Mr. Hartley's preface to his English translation of the same work: at the close of the work he appended French translations of several of Swedenborg's letters, and a summary of the little treatise on "The White Horse;" the volume closes with a prospectus for printing the MSS. works of Swedenborg. In 1756 he published a work entitled: (3) Tableau analytique et raisonné de la Doctrine Céleste de l'Eglise de la Nouvelle Jérusalem (An analytical and rational summary of the Heavenly Doctrine of the New Jerusalem Church). This work is dedicated to the Archbishop of Paris. In the preface he communicates the results of his investigation into the charge of insanity raised against Swedenborg by Mathesius and J. Wesley; these results are contained in Document 270, p. 609. The work closes with a French translation of Shearsmith's affidavit before the Lord Mayor of London respecting Swedenborg's death, accompanied by Mr. R. Hindmarsh's remarks on the same subject.

In 1787, finally, Chastanier published (4) his Journal Novi-Jerusalmite, the first number of which contains a French translation of the "Doctrine of Life;" the second number that of the "Doctrine of the Lord;" the third that of the "Last Judgment;" and the fourth that of the "Continuation concerning the Last Judgment" In the fourth number Chastanier promises to publish in monthly numbers the treatise on "Conjugial Love," and the "True Christian Religion;" but these monthly numbers do not seem to have appeared. Chastanier also, as appears from Document 309 (p. 808), was appointed an associate-editor of the Apocalypsis Explicata.

In 1790 Chastanier made a public avowal of his belief in the Doctrines of the New Church, in the columns of the "New Jerusalem Magazine" (p. 112), where he says among other things, "Having by the greatly signalized blessings of the God of all mercies; towards a poor undeserving mortal, been one of the first here in London, who fully accepted the message of Emanuel Swedenborg, I make no sort of scruple or the least hesitation to authorise you, in full length to publish my name, as one of the greatest admirers of all and every particular doctrine therein contained, and would to God I could in all justice acid also--one of the strictest followers of these doctrines of immortal truth. But short as ever I may come in this respect, the God who inspired him with all these heavenly doctrines, even the blessed Jehovah Jesus, the only God of all things, knoweth however, that it has ever been, since the happy moment in which these writings fell into my hands, the very wish of my innermost soul, to frame the rest of my life upon the truly beautiful pattern of the true Christian." In the same letter Chastanier also stated that for twenty-six years he had been an inhabitant of Great Britain, showing that he emigrated to England in 1774.

In the same magazine (p. 226) Chastanier furnishes some additional testimony respecting the last moments of Swedenborg, which is contained in Document 269, pp. 578 et seq.

About this time Chastanier made an exhaustive study of that portion of the "Spiritual Diary" which Wadstrom brought to England in 1788. He translated portions of it from the Latin, and took a faithful copy of the Latin original, which was of great assistance to Dr. Im. Tafel, when he began the publication of the original text also, in 1843. The fate of the MS. of the "Spiritual Diary," which Wadstrom left in his hands, is related in Document 309, pp. 811-813.

About this time the French revolution broke out, and after the political atmosphere had become cleared, Chastanier resolved to return to his native country, and to work there for the spread of the New Church.

Accordingly we find him in 1801 in Paris, whence, on November 11, he addressed the following letter to a friend of the New Church in Sweden: "Having been obliged for a long time--during the prevalence of the great revolution which has shaken the whole of Europe--to suspend my periodical publication of the theological writings of Emanuel Swedenborg in the French language, and as I do not know whether there are still any of the members of the Exegetic Society, which existed while I published in London my Journal Novi-Jrusalmite--I write to you for information on this subject, as I require it for carrying out my proposed plan, which induced me in the month of May of the present year to return to my native country....

"I desire to inform you that under the Divine Providence I have resolved to resume my periodical publications, and to begin with the inestimable Apocalypsis Revelata, to which I shall prefix a translation of the excellent preface by our respected friend John Clowes, and at the close I propose to append the letter which the same Mr. Clowes addressed to Mr. Smith, the member of Parliament--in order to refute thereby the abuse which the ex-Jesuit Abb Barruel in his frivolous book on 'Jacobinism,' which was printed four or five years ago in London at the expense of the English nobility, poured forth with a genuine Roman Catholic priestly acerbity against your countryman Emanuel Swedenborg, and his enlightened writings. I have already received much encouragement in my native country for the publication of such and similar works, and I hope that Sweden, our author's native country, will not be the last to interest itself in breaking asunder the emptiness of the shades of night, and in spreading truth and light... I have great pleasure in informing you that here in town I am associated with a number of scholars and literati, some of whom may be justly regarded as writers of the first rank, both in respect to their scholarship and their purity of language."

The whole of this project seems, however, to have miscarried, for as we have already seen, Mr. Henry Servant wrote in 1806, that Chastanier "through indiscretion had experienced many unpleasant vicissitudes in the natural world, and was at that time in very languishing state." The difficulties under which Chastanier then laboured, and which induced him to part with the MSS. of Swedenborg which were in his hands, are described in Document 309, p. 812; where reference also is made to his melancholy end. On this subject Mr. R. Hindmarsh in the "Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church" (p. 30) gives us the following additional information:

"Mr. Chastanier, it appears, met with his death some years afterwards in the following unfortunate manner. Having gone to Scotland on some particular business, he designed to have returned to London by the Packet, and went on board with that intention. But the wind at that time being unfavourable, the Captain delayed sailing till a change should take place. On this Mr. Chastanier told the Captain, that he would in the meantime visit a friend at a little distance, and return to the vessel the next day. He accordingly quitted the Packet, leaving his bundle behind him, but never returned. It was cold, snowy weather; and it is supposed he

either lost his way, or was overtaken with drowsiness, and sat down on the road-side to rest himself, where he was found the next day frozen to death. The Captain sailed when the wind was fair, and brought his bundle to London, which was afterwards delivered into the hands of Mr. Sibly,267 of Goswell Street." From the "New Church Quarterly," Vol. I (p. 67 et seq.), it appears that "the Old man was then nearly eighty years old."

NOTE 223.

PETER PROVO.

In publishing for the first time in full the "Testimony collected by Peter Provo," which constitutes Document 263, the Rev. S. Noble says in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1836, "Mr. Peter Provo was a respectable gentleman of the medical profession, which published the work called 'Wisdom's Dictates.'"

Mr. Hindmarsh in his "Rise and Progress" (p. 14) alludes to his intercourse with Mr. Provo in the following manner: "In one whole year after my reception of the Writings, I found only three or four individuals in London, with whom I could maintain a friendly intercourse on the subjects contained in them. In 1783 invited these few to hold regular meetings for reading and conversation in my house in Clerkenwell Close, not far from the spot where Swedenborg died. These meetings were continued every Sunday morning, till it was thought expedient to endeavour to make them more public. I was possessed of all the writings in Latin, and these were constantly on the table before us, while we read in them illustrations of the Holy Word, and those extraordinary relations in reference to the state of things in another life, which so peculiarly distinguish our Author's theological works from those of every other man.

In this manner we went on for a time, our first meeting consisting of only three persons, viz. Mr. Peter Provo, of the Minories, repothecary; Mr. William Bonington, of Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, clockcasemaker; and myself of Clerkenwell Close, printer."

The Rev. Edward Madeley in a footnote to the above gives the following few additional particulars respecting Mr. Provo: "Mr. Provo afterwards resided at Pentonville. He is mentioned by Mr. Noble in his Appeal, (second edition, p. 207,) as having supplied him with an original anecdote respecting Swedenborg therein printed. Other anecdotes collected by him were printed in the 'Intellectual Repository' for January, 1836, p. 27, Mr. Provo published a work, called 'Wisdom's Dictates,' printed in the year 1789, and advertised to be sold at Mr. Chalklen's, 49, Gracechurch Street. Swedenborg also, at one time, lived in the Minories, prior to residing in Clerkenwell."

The full title of Provo's book is as follows: "Wisdom's Dictates: or a collection of maxims and observations concerning Divine and spiritual truths; and that process of regeneration, or renewal of life, from the Lord, which only is truly saving. Extracted from the works of various spiritual writers, and particularly from those of Emanuel Swedenborg," London, printed for the author, 1789. In the Introduction the author states that "the collection itself is a summary of a twelve years' enquiry and research after Divine knowledge, in the acquirement of which the writer spared neither costs nor pains." The book consists of 911 most pregnant maxims

and observations; and in the appendix follows a list of Swedenborg's works, with a succinct and clear statement of the contents of each. The book was published anonymously.

That Mr. Provo was a precise and accurate scholar is proved by the fact that the London Printing Society instructed him to translate for their use from the Latin the "Doctrine concerning the Lord," and also that concerning the "Sacred Scripture;" of which the former was published in 1786. Mr. Provo, also, with the assistance of Mr. R. Hindmarsh, translated the "New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine," which was published in 1784 at the joint expense of the London and Manchester Printing Societies (see Hindmarsh's "Rise and Progress," Appendix, p. I).

NOTE 224.

E. BERGSTROM.

Eric Bergstrom, who kept the King's Arms Tavern, in Well-close-square, London, was personally acquainted with Swedenborg, and he furnished Mr. Provo223 with the anecdotes and information contained in Document 263, nos. 1-11.

In 1779 he was chosen one of the trustees of the Swedish Church in London in company with Messrs. Charles and Andrew Lindegren,117 and Counsul Claes Grill;112 and from the Anteckningar rorande Svenska Kyrkan i London (Records of the Swedish Church in London), which were published by Mr. G. W. Carlson in 1852, it appears that he obtained more votes than Mr. Andrew Lindegren and Consul Claes Grill (see p. 86), thus showing in what estimation he was held by his Swedish countrymen in London. He was a member of the church-council (kyrkordet) as early as 1769, when his name appears affixed to a memorial in which the Swedish congregation explain the working of the old constitution under which they were organized (p. 230). In 1771 his name appears subscribed to a document in which the Swedish congregation of London requests the Bishop of Skara to nominate to the King Mr. A. Mathesius as their pastor (p. 247); thus showing that Mr. Bergstrom was disposed in a very friendly manner towards the Rev. A. Mathesius,118 concerning whom the afterwards testified to Mr. Provo that he became insane while in the pulpit (Document 263, no. 9, p. 538). His name appears signed to an additional document (p. 249), in which the Swedish congregation petition the King in favour of the Rev. A. Ferelius,119 requesting him to appoint him to a vacant pastorate in West Gothland.

NOTE 225.

ROBERT HINDMARSH.

Mr. Hindmarsh's name will for ever remain united to that of the Church of the New Jerusalem, and also to the writings of the New Church; for he was the foremost man in the organization of the separate New Church, and his name as publisher and printer, and partly also as author is borne by most of the New Church writings which were printed in the last

century. He ranks also as one of the most illustrious ministers of the New Church, and as one of its principal champions and defenders in Great Britain; while from his work entitled the "Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church," he must be regarded as its first systematic historian.

As Mr. Hindmarsh's name is so intimately connected with the printing of Swedenborg's writings, both in the original Latin and in English translations, his name is of frequent occurrence in Document 313, which contains a chronological account of these writings. But he appears also as a collector of important testimony in respect to the life and character of Emanuel Swedenborg, (1) by interrogating at various times Shearsmith and his wife, at whose house Swedenborg resided during his last stay in London (see Document 266);

(2) by refuting the slander that Swedenborg in his last moments retracted his writings (see Document 269, pp. 572-579); and (3) by interrogating, in company with Mr. Beatson, Brockmer, the Moravian, on whose story J. Wesley based his charge of insanity against Swedenborg (see Document 270, pp. 601-607).

The following biographical sketch we base chiefly on the sermons preached to the memory of Mr. Hindmarsh by the Rev. S. Noble, and the Rev. M. Sibly (see "Intellectual Repository" for 1835, pp. 397-417); and on the autobiographical notices respecting himself, which occur in the "Rise and Progress," and also in a MS. account of the "Early history of the New Church" which he furnished in 1796 to the Society Pro Fide et Charitate in Sweden, With which the Editor of these Documents became acquainted during his stay in Sweden in 1869.

Mr. Hindmarsh was born November 8th, 1759, at Alnwick in Northumberland. His father, Mr. James Hindmarsh, either was then, or soon afterwards became, one of the travelling preachers in the connection of the celebrated Mr. Wesley.238 At an early age young Hindmarsh was sent to the School founded by Mr. Wesley, for the education of the children of his preachers, at Kingswood, near Bristol. Of this establishment his father, who was a man of literary attainments, was the master for several years. The remarkable "clear-headedness," as Mr. Noble says, the ardent love of knowledge, and the extraordinary facility of acquiring it, by which he was ever distinguished, there soon became conspicuous, and he was regarded by the masters as a principal ornament of the establishment. Though he left the school soon after he had attained the age of fourteen years, he had acquired great proficiency in both the Latin and the Greek languages, and in some branches of science,--the Latin in particular, he could not only read, but also write with facility. To this he afterwards added a considerable acquaintance with the Hebrew. When he was removed from school he was placed with a printer in London, which business he afterwards carried on for many years on his own account.

"In the beginning of the year 1782 (being then about twenty-two years of age)," Mr. Hindmarsh writes to the Society in Sweden, I first had the happiness to see the works of Emanuel Swedenborg, which I instantly perceived to be of heavenly origin, and therefore as naturally embraced and delighted in them, as the eye embraces and delights in objects that reflect the golden rays of the sun. From that time I began to search out other readers of the same writings in London, in order to form a society; but in one year I only found three or four besides myself.

In 1783 I invited those few to hold meetings in my house in Clerkenwell, which were continued every Sunday [see Note 223] till it was thought expedient to endeavour to make our

meetings more public [see Note 228]. We then took apartments in the Temple (one of our Inns of Court), and by advertisements informed the public, that a society was formed for the purpose of promoting the Heavenly Doctrines of the New Jerusalem, as laid down in the theological writings of Emanuel Swedenborg and at the same time invited any other persons who were friendly to the same truths to join us. This had its effect, end in a short time our Society which was called the Theosophical Society increased in numbers.

"Some of us were now desirous of having public worship; but the major part of the Society could not be prevailed on to give their consent to such a measure, thinking the proper time not yet come. A few of us, however, thought otherwise, and were disposed to avail ourselves of that liberty of conscience, which as Englishmen we had a right to exercise. Accordingly a place of worship was hired in Great East Cheap, and on Sunday, January 27, 1758, Divine service was performed therein, and a sermon preached to a very crowded audience, in defence and recommendation of the new doctrines by my father James Hindmarsh, who had been convinced of their truth about two years before that time. Notwithstanding all the opposition, which was made to the church there established, it became instrumental in making the New Jerusalem doctrines more public in England, and in producing many societies in different parts of the country."

Meanwhile, however, Mr. Hindmarsh performed some good work for the Church by the publication of the following works of Swedenborg, partly at his own expense: (1) Clavis Hieroglyphica, 1784; (2) Expositio Summaria Sensus Interni librorum Propheticorum et Psalmorum: these two works were printed at his own expense; (3) Apocalypsis Explicata, 4 Vols. 4to., 1785-1790; concerning the publication of this work, see Document 309, pp. 808 et seq.; (4) Qustioines Novem de Trinitate, &c. 1786. The following works were both translated and published by him in the English language: (5) Nine Queries respecting the Trinity, 1786; (6) The Last Judgment, 1788; (7) The White Horse, 1788; (8) Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church, 2nd edition, 1789; (9) Continuation concerning the Last Judgment, 1791; (10) A Hieroglyphic Key, 1792; (11) A general Explication of the Decalogue, from the Apocalypse Explained, 1794. In 1785 he published (12) The Treatise on Influx, third edition.

The following works he translated, but did not publish: (13) The Summary Exposition of the Internal sense of the Prophets, 1800; (14) The Coronis, 1511. Most of these works it will be seen mere published between 1784 and 1790, while Mr. Hindmarsh was himself full engaged in the printing business. In 1757 he was appointed Printer Extraordinary to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. In 1790 he appeared in the new character of an author. We now quote from Mr. Noble:

"Mr. Hindmarsh having seen the accomplishment of a darling wish of his heart,--the commencement, in a. distinct and visible form, and with every prospect of perpetuity, of the Lord's New Church in Great Britain--next turned his attention to the diffusion of the heavenly doctrines, and the building up of the Church thus commenced, by other means and began to appear, for this purpose, in the character of an author. In the year 1790, he commenced a monthly periodical, bearing the title of the New Magazine of Knowledge concerning Heaven and Hell; which title he altered, after some time, to that of the New Jerusalem Journal. This work contains many excellent and satisfactory elucidations of the doctrines of the New Church, chiefly from his own pen, and must, no doubt, have been a great help to many at that time. The receivers of the heavenly doctrines were, however, as yet too few to support a periodical work; and so after having subsisted under both titles for three years, he was obliged to relinquish it.

"But now an occasion arose which called forth his latent powers in their full extent, and exhibited him as one of the most powerful polemic writers, in any cause, which the world had ever seen. That this is not too high an encomium, I apprehend that every person, whether friend or foe, will admit, who has ever read his Letters to Dr. Priestley in Defence of the New Church. On occasion of the opening of a place of Worship for the New Church in Birmingham, where Dr. Priestley then resided, in the year 1791, that celebrated philosopher and sectarian thought proper to publish a work which he entitled Letters to the Members of the New Jerusalem Church; with the view, of course, of convincing them that their doctrines were erroneous, and to induce them to relinquish their pure faith for Unitarianism. The success of Dr. Priestley's numerous other writings in advancing Unitarianism, had caused him to be esteemed as a giant in controversy; yet this mighty giant appeared no more than a puny dwarf in the hands of Mr. Hindmarsh. Such, certainly, must be the judgment of every one who has compared the two works. Never was there witnessed, in any discussion whatever, complete demolition of every one of an adversary's arguments, than was effected by Mr. Hindmarsh for those of Dr. Priestley.

Well might the discomfited champion of Unitarianism in all other instances so impatient of rebuff, retire, as he did, as silently as possible, from a field in which he had reaped nothing but disgrace. He had entered the field with sufficient flourish, and had avowed his determination to return again to the charge, with seeming eagerness for the as being in preparation: but when he had once seen it, he took care never to rouse such an antagonist again."

After the beginning of the present century Mr. Hindmarsh, according to Mr. Sibly, relinquished the printing business, and for some time, engaged in business as a stock-broker; but being inexperienced in the artifices practised by those who are usually engaged in the line he was then pursuing, he found himself, after a time, to be a loser; but although the losses were not legally binding on him, yet he paid the whole. He thus came out from among them with clean hands and a pure heart; although the sacrifice he made left him a poor man in comparison with what his circumstances in life and been before. Mr. Noble continues:

"During the antecedent part of his life he had occasionally filled the pulpit; but he always expressed a disinclination to undertake the regular teaching of the truths of the New Church in this manner. However, having seen it advisable to withdraw altogether from secular business, he retired in 1810, to Manchester; where some liberal admirers of his talents warmly soliciting him to engage regularly in the ministerial office, he saw it his duty to comply. A large and neat chapel was built for him in Salford, where the copious variety of brilliant truths which ever flowed with ready elocution from his tongue, speedily attracted many admirers, and drew together a considerable congregation. In this way he laboured for about fifteen years, ever active in the duties of his office, and rendering valuable services to the now rising New Church, both as a most effective missionary and a stationary preacher. He also was eminently qualified for usefulness as a teacher, by his talent for conversation and oral discussion, in which few men were his equals. At length about 1826 he finally withdrew into retirement. His leisure he employed in important literary labours.

"His other published works have been rather numerous. The most admired of them, after his Letters to Priestley, is his Vindication of the New Church, in answer to a far more slanderous assailant, Mr. Pike, a Baptist minister, of Derby. Here again we behold him riding on the white horse, the invincible bow of pure doctrine in his hand, and going forth conquering and to conquer.

All his other works partake of the same character; which is equivalent to saying that they all possess great merit."

The last work on which he was engaged before his death, is his "Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church in England, America, and other parts," which was published in London in 1861. A full list of his works is contained in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1835, pp. 420 and 421.

Mr. Hindmarsh died on March 2, 1835, in the seventh-sixth year of his age.

NOTE 226.

RICHARD SHEARSMITH.

Richard Shearsmith, of Coldbath Fields, London, was a peruke-maker, and at his house Swedenborg lodged from July or August, 1771, until his death, on March 29, 1772 (Document 269, p. 577). Mr. Hindmarsh,225 who, during his residence at 32 Clerkenwell Close, from 1783 to 1793 employed Shearsmith in the way of his profession, and consequently had a good opportunity of knowing him, says respecting his character in the "Rise and Progress" (p. 21): "Mr. Shearsmith was not attached to any religious sect of professing Christians; but appeared to be a plain, simple, and upright man, assenting to the religion of his country as he found it established, yet acknowledging and respecting the good among other denominations, without mixing with any of them. A character of this description was perhaps the most suitable that Swedenborg could have selected for a landlord; and having no prejudices for or against any particular Society, or any particular tenets of a Society, he was always ready candidly and honestly to speak the truth, whenever called upon to answer questions relative to his venerable and illustrious lodger."

Mr. Noble says of Mr. Shearsmith (Document 270, p. 599), that "he conversed with him in 1812," and that "he died a few years afterwards, at about the age of eighty-four."

NOTE 227.

HENRY SERVANT.

Mr. Noble, in recording the departure of Henry Servant into the spiritual world, says in the "Intellectual Repository" for 1816 and 1817, p. 515, that "he was one of the last remaining individuals who remembered the person of Swedenborg."

He furnishes the following additional particulars respecting him: "Mr. Servant was descended from a respectable family in the south of France, a branch of which fled to England, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, to preserve the freedom of their religious sentiments. He had himself been from his youth a sincere seeker after religious truth, and had undergone severe anxieties in consequence of not being able to obtain the satisfaction which he wanted

but at length meeting by apparent accident with one of those parts of the second volume of the Arcana, which were published in English at the same time as the Latin original, his former doubts were instantly removed, and the light of truth shone at once into his mind, bringing with it a clearness of conviction which was never afterwards obscured, but was more and more illustrated to the day of his decease." Mr. Noble then describes more his meeting with Swedenborg as contained in Document 265, p. 552, and says in addition, "Mr. Servant, as a member of the New Church, was, in London, one of the earliest promoters of its doctrines having been, many years since, engaged in the publication of the 'New Jerusalem Magazine,' a work which contains much interesting and useful information."

Respecting his share in conducting that Journal, Mr. Servant wrote, on February 16, 1804, in a letter to Mr. James Glen of Demerara, South America (see "Monthly Observer" for 1857, p. 213), "As a recipient of the inestimable Writings of the Lord's faithful scribe and messenger, Emanuel Swedenborg; and impressed with a due sense of their vast importance, I have endeavoured according to the best of my ability to make known the glad tidings of the Lord's Second Coming; for which purpose, about the year 1790, I was appointed by Mr. Tulk,228 Mr. Wadstrom,36 and other co-recipients, to act as managing Editor of a periodical work, entitled, 'The New Jerusalem Magazine.'" On August 15, 1805 (p. 313), he continues: "In the publication of this work I was much opposed by several both clergy and laity; but I was determined to persevere as long as I was able, and I deem it as one of the most satisfactory events of my life that I was enabled through the Divine Help in consociation with a few others, to become a humble instrument in disseminating the truths of the New Dispensation in various parts of Europe, America, Sierra Leone in Africa, and I believe in Bengal, in the East Indies."

Mr. Servant was closely befriended by Mr. C. B. Wadstrom,36 of whom in another letter dated London, June 1, 1806 (p. 418), he gives the following sketch: "His person was above the common stature, his manners and address amiable and engaging; he wrote and conversed in several languages, understood music, and in drawing and mechanical arts few excelled him.

To this I must add, that he was a true philanthropist, had travelled much both in Europe and Africa, and, in consequence of his engaging address and manners, his company was courted by the higher ranks of society. I knew him well, as he lodged at my house twelve months, and favoured me with much of his company and friendship, and it was by his means that I obtained those valuable letters which passed between Swedenborg and Dr. Beyer, and also those from General Tuxen, and other MSS. inserted in the 'New Jerusalem Magazine,' and which are not to be met with in any other publication."

In conclusion we quote the following words of Mr. Noble: "Mr. Servant, as a true Christian, endured with patient and pious resignation his share of those trials and sufferings, which are so highly conducive to regenerate life. He was beloved and respected by his relatives and friends, to whom his exemplary mildness and humility had endeared him. He died on August 23, 1817, in his seventy-sixth year.