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Transcriber's Note:

Every effort has been made to replicate this text as faithfully as possible. Some changes of spelling and punctuation have been made. They are listed at the end of the text.

THE AUGUSTAN REPRINT SOCIETY

ARBUTHNOTIANA:

The Story of the St. Alb-ns Ghost

(1712)

A Catalogue
of Dr. Arbuthnot's Library

(1779)

Introduction by
PATRICIA KÖSTER

PUBLICATION NUMBER 154

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

1972

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INTRODUCTION

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The two pieces here reproduced have long been unavailable; their connections with Arbuthnot are rather complex. *The Story of the St. Alb-ns Ghost* has been ambiguously associated with Arbuthnot since the year of its first publication, but it does not seem to have been reprinted in the nineteenth century when editors regularly included it among the minor works of Swift. Whoever wrote it, the *Story* is a lively and effective Tory squib, whose narrative vigor can carry even the twentieth-century reader over the occasional topical obscurities. *A Catalogue of the ... Library of ... Dr. Arbuthnot* has never been reprinted at all, and appears to be unknown by scholars who have thus far written about Arbuthnot.

The Story of the St. Alb-ns Ghost, the first piece included, has always been of doubtful authorship, and must for the present so continue. Two days after the *Story* first appeared, Swift tantalizingly wrote to Stella: "I went to Ld Mashams to night, & Lady Masham made me read to her a pretty 2 penny Pamphlet calld the St Albans Ghost. I thought I had writt it my self; so did they, but I did not" (22 February 1712). Whoever wrote it, the *Story* succeeded: it was pirated within a week, and had reached its third regular "edition" within three weeks of the first; it appeared in a fifth and apparently final edition on 19 July 1712.^[1] Now just during these same months Arbuthnot was producing his first political satires, five pamphlets later gathered under the title *History of John Bull*. He published the first of these 4 March 1712 and the last 31 July 1712.^[2] There are several thematic and methodological connections between *The Story of The St. Alb-ns Ghost* and the John Bull pamphlets: as Tory propaganda pieces, they attack leading Whigs and make the usual suggestions about irreligion, moral turpitude and misuse of public funds. Furthermore, they do so by means of vigorous if sometimes difficult reductive allegories which mock the victims by presenting them as farcical figures from low life. The connection as well as the difficulties must have appeared quite early, for some enterprising publisher (presumably Curll)^[3] soon brought out *A Complete Key to the Three Parts of Law is a Bottomless-Pit, and the Story of the St. Alban's Ghost*. Although the exact date of this is not known, it must lie between the *termini* 17 April and 9 May 1712, the dates of the third and fourth parts respectively of John Bull. Furthermore, a "Second Edition Corrected" of the Key appeared before the publication of pamphlet four. (The last pages of these two Keys, concerning the *Story of the St. Alb-ns Ghost*, are reproduced in the Appendix.) The Key ran through two further editions as *A Complete Key to the Four Parts of Law is a Bottomless-Pit, and the Story of the St. Alban's Ghost*, presumably before 31 July 1712, and came to a fifth (seemingly last) edition with a more general title referring to "all Parts" of John Bull, and still including the *Story*.

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While the Keys by association suggest Arbuthnot as author, the only other contemporary document attributes the *Story* to a different physician and wit: the so-called *Miscellaneous Works of Dr. William Wagstaffe* (London, 1726) reprint the fourth edition of the *Story*. Now the *Miscellaneous Works* were printed some five months after the death of Dr. Wagstaffe and more than three months after that of the supposed editor Dr. Levett;^[4] it is possible that the contents are in part erroneous. In any case, Arbuthnot, Wagstaffe and Swift remain the possible authors

with whom scholars must deal until some further evidence is forthcoming. Roscoe interprets Swift's ambiguous remarks in the *Journal to Stella* as an indirect acknowledgement, and Dilke goes one step further in assuming that the so-called *Miscellaneous Works of Dr. Wagstaffe* are a mystification, a means for Swift to pass off works which he did not wish to include in the *Miscellanies* with Pope. Sir Walter Scott thinks that the *Story* is probably a collaboration between Arbuthnot and Swift, "judging from the style"; Professor Herbert Davis dissociates Wagstaffe material generally from the writings of Swift, but does not specifically mention the *Story*; however, "Mr. Granger thought St. Alban's Ghost, attributed to Dr. Wagstaffe, was [Arbuthnot's]."^[5]

Although recent scholars seem to agree in selecting Wagstaffe as author of the *Story*, the evidence of the 1726 *Works* is implicitly contradicted by the Keys. I have made two separate attempts to solve the question of authorship, neither of which has been fully satisfactory. The first of these, a computerized test based on the methods of Professor Louis T. Milic for distinguishing works by Swift from works by other authors, has given inconclusive results. In this test the *Story* was the chief unknown, and was compared with samples of similar length from Swift, Arbuthnot, Wagstaffe and, as a control, Mrs. Manley, who wrote politically keyed narratives but has never been associated with the *Story*. The *Story* turned out to be fairly similar to all four authors in the number of different three-word patterns (D), and unlike all of them in number of Introductory Connectives (IC), where Wagstaffe stood the highest, and the *Story* by far the lowest. In the proportion of Verbals (VB) the *Story* and Wagstaffe were fairly close together and different from the other authors tested, who clustered near the Swift figures. Thus the test tends to exclude Swift, Arbuthnot and Mrs. Manley as possible authors, but does not encourage a full confidence in replacing them with Wagstaffe. (It also tends to show that some of the other pieces included in the so-called *Miscellaneous Works of Dr. Wagstaffe* differ considerably in the usages tested both from one another and from the patterns established by the signed works of Dr. Wagstaffe.)^[6]

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My second attempt was based on textual changes among editions of the *Story*. In the second edition there are three small changes from the first; the third and fourth editions seem to be line-for-line reprints of the second. (The "sham, Imperfect Sort" introduces a large number of variants, mainly errors.) In the fifth edition, however, somebody has altered the typography: many past forms of verbs are altered. Thus at the bottom of p. 3 *unbody'd* becomes *unbodied*, *carry'd* and *deliver'd* become *carried*, *delivered*. The task of editing is not complete; particularly near the end of the fifth edition many verbs still carry the apostrophe of the earlier editions. The date of the attempt suggests that Swift's *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (first published 17 May 1712, a week after the fourth edition of the *Story*) could have provided the motivation, and also that Swift himself could not have been the person who made the changes. A study of a few contemporaries shows that Swift himself tried to eliminate the apostrophes from the *Conduct of the Allies*, first published 27 November 1711, and from other works published after that date, but not from works published before that date. Oldisworth, apparently under the instructions of Swift, tried to do the same during the first few months of the *Examiner*, vol. 2 (beginning 6 December 1711), but by the time he reached volume 3, Oldisworth had apparently given up the struggle against unwilling printers. Arbuthnot, Roper and Manley are not very interested in the matter, and neither are other pamphleteers published by Morphew during the months immediately following Swift's *Proposal*. The items included in the so-called *Miscellaneous Works of Dr. Wagstaffe*, on the other hand, fall into three groups chronologically: those which precede Swift's *Proposal*, and include many apostrophied verb forms; those which immediately follow Swift's *Proposal*, and include abnormally few apostrophied verb forms; the two "late" pieces (1715, 1719), which are back to the proportion of apostrophied verbs to be found in the early items. If Pseudo-Wagstaffe was indeed a single writer, then he followed the same pattern as Oldisworth, but began later and continued longer to use verbs with an *-ed* ending. Since the genuine signed prose works of Dr. Wagstaffe come "late" (1717, 1721) and have a fairly large (i.e., normal) number of apostrophied verbs, there is no evidence here as to whether or not Pseudo-Wagstaffe is Wagstaffe; at least there is no contradiction. In the light of these facts, we can see that neither Swift nor Arbuthnot is a probable author of the *Story*; Swift would presumably have altered verb typography in the first and all editions, and Arbuthnot would not have altered it at all.^[7] In these two projects on authorship we find that authors other than Wagstaffe tend to be eliminated, but that Wagstaffe himself is not strongly confirmed. The authorship remains as problematic as before, and the *Story* may as well for this century continue with the Arbuthnotiana, as it did during the nineteenth with the Swiftiana.

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The device of using a ghost story as vehicle for political satire was by 1712 a well-established one. Elias F. Mengel Jr. refers to "the 'ghost' convention, so popular in the Restoration,"^[8] and an important poem of Queen Anne's reign shows some similarities with and perhaps provided a model for the *Story*. In *Moderation Display'd* (London, 1705) the recently deceased second Earl of Sunderland rises from Hell to confound his guilty Whig companions. Tonson (Bibliopolo) is the most terrified, and as in the *Story* Wharton (Clodio) is so wicked that he is not frightened at all. The *Story*, however, is both more subtle and more flexible than most other satiric "ghost" narratives. It compresses the actual apparition into the last quarter of the narrative, despite the perhaps deliberately misleading title. Nearly half of the *Story* deals with previous events; much of the rest is machinery, introduction of seemingly irrelevant details with a mischievous verisimilitude which actually advances the main satiric aims. The opening paragraph, for example, first denounces Roman Catholic superstition, a denunciation which almost every

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Englishman could join, and then turns the fire toward "Our Sectarists." The war on heterodoxy continues in the references to Dr. Garth, the Whig poet and physician noted for his scepticism in religion, to William Whiston who during the winter of 1711-1712 was transcribing documents and writing elaborate treatises to uphold his view that Christian churches and theologians had all been essentially heretical since the time of Athanasius, and to the Reverend and Honourable Lumley Lloyd, a low-church minister whose sermons attracted at least two Tory satires.^[9] None of these men belongs in the narrative, and only Garth was even remotely connected with the Marlboroughs, but all of them were Whigs, and in various ways serve to "demonstrate" that Whigs must be false brethren to the Church of England.

This charge, although a cliché of Tory satires, is here made indirect and witty, as are the staple charges against the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. Whereas, however, the wickedness of nonconformity had been attacked for decades, the Duke of Marlborough had been associated with the Whigs for a relatively short time. As late as 1706 Wagstaffe could generously declare that "*Woodstock's* too little" a reward (*Ramelies, a Poem*), but since Swift's "Bill of British Ingratitude" in the *Examiner* (17 November 1710) the Tory press had begun to say that the rewards were too many and too great. The *Story* repeats the charge that Avaro and Haggite "grew Richer than their Mistress" (p. 11), together with the ridiculous insinuations of cowardice and incompetence found constantly reiterated in the second volume of *Examiners*. The Duchess of Marlborough attracted massive satire earlier than her husband, in such books as *The Secret History of Queen Zarah* (London, 1705),^[10] and her habit of saying "Lawrd" with an affected drawl is mentioned in *The Secret History of Arlus and Odolphus* (n.p., 1710), pp. 21, 22, 23.

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Although not so frequent as attacks on the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, attacks on Mrs. Jennings the mother of the Duchess had already been made, and indeed the *Story* relies for part of its effect on the fact that Mrs. Jennings is already associated with witchcraft. In *Memoirs of Europe* (London, 1710)^[10] for example, she inherits a familiar spirit from Sir Kenelm Digby, there reported the real father of the Duchess (II, 44-46). In *Oliver's Pocket Looking-Glass* (n.p., 1711) Mrs. Jennings appears as "the famous Mother Shipton, who by the Power and Influence of her Magick Art, had plac'd a Daughter in the same Station at Court [i.e., Maid of Honour] with *Meretricia* [Arabella Churchill] ..." (p. 21). Because the author of the *Story* assumes that previous Tory allegations are well-known, he is free to perform elegant variations or to allude indirectly. Assuming the fact of witchcraft allows him to heap up an ambiguous burlesque of popular superstition which is in part entertainment and in part rebuttal of recent Whig sneers at Tory credulity during the Jane Wenham witch trial.^[11] Here as throughout the pamphlet, the author demonstrates the virtuosity which even Swift commends. Since Swift praises few pamphlets except those written by himself and Arbuthnot (or occasionally Mrs. Manley), the *Story* enters a fairly select company. It is the only Pseudo-Wagstaffe piece mentioned by name in the *Journal to Stella*, the only one found worthy to stand beside the productions of Swift and Arbuthnot.^[12]

The second document reproduced claims to be *A Catalogue of the Capital and Well-Known Library of Books, of the Late Celebrated Dr. Arbuthnot*. To the extent that the claim is true, the *Catalogue* will be important for studies of the Scriblerian Club generally, since Arbuthnot is the member with the greatest reputation for learning. Although the contents of a man's library do not correspond exactly with the contents of his mind, scholars can discover a good deal about the intellectual methods of Dr. Arbuthnot by examining the books which he owned. Until now this has not been possible; the *Catalogue* is a recent acquisition of the British Museum, not so much as mentioned in books thus far published about Arbuthnot. For several reasons, however, the document must be used with caution. First of all, the compilers list a total of 2525 volumes, but they itemize only 1639,^[13] and even then often give inadequate information. Furthermore, a xerox copy of the Sale Book records of the auction, very kindly sent to me by the present Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, shows that almost a quarter of the lots (items 53-65, 243-245, 276-372, 426), or 999 volumes, belonged not to the Arbuthnot estate but to other owners. Finally, Dr. Arbuthnot died in 1735, whereas the auction was not held until December 1779, about three and a half months after the death of his bachelor son George. Of the books belonging to the Arbuthnot estate, almost 20% were printed after 1735, and belonged not to the father but to the son, or perhaps in some cases to the daughter Anne, who lived with her brother.^[14] The legal books are likely all to have been George Arbuthnot's, and presumably some of the other books printed before 1735 also. Despite these obscurities, the *Catalogue* throws a good deal of new light upon the most learned Scriblerian—and upon his family.

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Dr. Arbuthnot seems to have bought relatively few antiquarian books; about 20% of the itemized volumes belonging to his estate come before 1691, the year when he first went to London. In selecting these older works Arbuthnot has shown a catholic taste and linguistic ability: he bought grammars and dictionaries, besides works on medicine and science, literature, history and religion, written in English, French, Italian, Latin and Greek, plus a solitary Hebrew Bible (item 234); his copy of Udall's *Key to the Holy Tongue* is dated 1693 (item 183). Less than a quarter of these earlier books are in English. The sole "cradle" date of the catalogue, 1495 for *Rosa Anglica* (item 417), may be a misprint: editions of 1492 and 1595, among others, have been previously recorded, but none for 1495.^[15]

When compared with the antiquarian books, the list of titles from the Arbuthnot estate either dated or first published after the death of Dr. Arbuthnot reveals a number of differences. English is the predominant language of the late group, with French a poor second. There is another

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Hebrew Bible (253), a Spanish Cervantes (25), an Italian Machiavelli (96), but no Greek book at all, and astonishingly only two Latin: a dictionary (89) and a Horace (147); Cicero appears in a French translation (26). In part, of course, the shift in languages accompanies the general decline of humanistic learning in the eighteenth century, but it also strengthens our knowledge of Dr. Arbuthnot's erudition. Although apparently not interested in science, George Arbuthnot read widely, however, in other areas (see for example 10, 15, 49, 158, 160, 168, 170, 254, 271). Similarly, the books from outside the Arbuthnot estate are less learned than those of Arbuthnot. They do include two Greek testaments (290, 310) and some recent scientific works (e.g. 314, *349), but lack the great Greek writers whom Arbuthnot collected, such as Plato (125), Aristotle (126), Herodotus (385) or Aristophanes (387). Whereas Arbuthnot read Newton's treatises (81, 85, 197, 217), one of the other owners read Algarotti's simplification (*312).

The subjects of the books in the Arbuthnot estate can be variously divided. By sheer number of titles, literature is the most important subject, closely followed by science (including medicine as the biggest sub-group), and then by history. In number of volumes, however, the historical section is considerably larger than the literary, and science comes third. Books on geography and travel, philosophical treatises, grammars and dictionaries, even a work on astrology (109), attest to the breadth of Arbuthnot's interests. A few works in the fine arts are listed, somewhat surprisingly only two of them on music (32, 373). The military item (391) may come from the Doctor's brother George, who was in the army, or it may represent another aspect of the general interest in all human affairs. There is a fairly large number of religious works, including books by Eusebius and Sozomen (127), Spotswood (380), Huet (383), Charles Leslie (251), Leibniz (141), Tillotson (395) and Jeremy Taylor (3,394). The elaborately bound Greek Septuagint (272) and Greek New Testament (273) must be the ones which Arbuthnot specified in his will (the only books there mentioned), calling them "the Gift of my late Royal Mistress Queen Anne."^[16] As the *Catalogue* does not describe any other fine bindings, the other books seem to have been bought for use rather than for show. [Pg ix]

A study of the duplications among the books in the Arbuthnot estate reinforces the opinion that the books were bought for use. The only items appearing three times are the works of Pope (76, 180) and Pope's *Iliad* (11, 77, 242). Since two of the former were published after the death of Arbuthnot, and must have belonged to the Arbuthnot children, perhaps the extra *Iliads* were equally the property of Arbuthnot's heirs. The duplicates of Molière (21, 135), Prideaux (50, 379), and Veneroni (90, *229) could also have belonged to the children. However, the bulk of the duplications seem to involve obtaining a later edition or a necessary text, and thus to have a scholarly rationale. For example, the two editions of Eustachius are dated 1714, 1728 (115, 259), those of Livy are dated 1578, 1708 (7, 386), while both sets of Sennertus seem to be broken (406, 407).

Not surprisingly, Arbuthnot owned a number of satirical works. In addition to Pope and Molière, already mentioned, he owned Petronius (9), Juvenal and Persius (230), Terence (231), Plautus (232), Boileau (98), Gay (79) and Swift's *Tale of a Tub* (178). He presumably bought or was given other works by Swift, but no others are itemized; perhaps some were in the "Large parcel of pamphlets" (1). George Arbuthnot added a copy of *The Four Last Years of Queen Anne* (173), not published until 1758.

Although literature bulks large among Arbuthnot's books, English poetry is not very conspicuous. According to some of the dates, Arbuthnot may have developed his interest in English poetry rather late in life. Although he owned a 1611 Spenser (423), he did not buy the listed Chaucer (110) until 1721. Pope may have inspired the urge to acquire Milton (80, 185), but there seems to be no literary reason for wanting a Milton in French (184). Some other member of the family was, however, sufficiently interested in Milton to buy Newton's edition in 1749 (78). The minor poets listed are also late in date (72, 187). The only Dryden is the translation of Virgil (16), which could represent an interest in classical just as much as in English poetry. There are, however, two copies of Prior's *Poems* in the large paper edition (106, 252). As the compilers of the *Catalogue* have left many volumes unspecified, there must have been other poetic works, but the listed sample is rather small. [Pg xi]

Characteristically uninterested in his personal fame, Arbuthnot kept no copies of his own writings except the reissued *Tables of Ancient Coins* (84, 193), associated with a favorite son. The reader revealed by this library is the same Arbuthnot whom his contemporaries admired: witty, yet thoughtful and religious; deeply learned, yet modest. His children, although less learned than the father, continued to buy books on current topics, particularly literature, history and travel. Aged over seventy, George Arbuthnot was still ingesting such materials as Laughton's *History of Ancient Egypt* (168) and Raynal's comprehensive history of colonialism (10). Despite the obscurity of the word "more" under which the compilers listed half of the total volumes, even the sample of the library is a welcome addition to our knowledge about Dr. Arbuthnot.

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NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

[1] See advertisements in the *Evening Post*, 19, 21, 26 February, 13 March 1712; and in the

The research necessary for the present publication was supported by a grant from the University of Victoria and by a Leave Fellowship from the Canada Council.

- [2] The dates given by Professor H. Teerink in *The History of John Bull for the first time faithfully re-issued from the original pamphlets* (Amsterdam, 1925), pp. 6-7, are drawn from dates in the *Examiner*, a weekly newspaper. Three of these dates are correct, and the other two are close, but can be corrected by consulting papers published more often. The first pamphlet seems to have appeared on 4 March 1712 (see *Post-Boy* of that date), and the third may have appeared on 16 April 1712 (see the *Daily Courant* of 16 and 17 April; the *Post-Boy*, however, agrees with the *Examiner* on the date 17 April).
- [3] Although no publisher is named on the title page of the Keys, the fifth edition is advertised among "New Pamphlets Printed for E. Curll" on the back of the half-title page to *The Tunbridge-Miscellany: Consisting of Poems, &c. Written at Tunbridge-Wells this Summer. By Several Hands* (London, 1712).
- [4] Wagstaffe died 5 May 1726, Levett 2 July 1726; the *Miscellaneous Works* were published on about 18 October 1726. Dr. Norman Moore in his account of Wagstaffe has shown that the "life" in the *Miscellaneous Works* is substantially correct, and has suggested that Dr. Levett wrote it; see Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (London, 1918), II, 523-529.
- [5] Thomas Roscoe, ed., *The Works of Jonathan Swift* (London, 1850), I, 529; [C.W. Dilke], "Dean Swift and the Scriblerians v. Dr. Wagstaffe," *Notes and Queries*, 3d ser., I, 381-384; Sir Walter Scott, ed., *The Works of Swift*, 2d ed. (London, 1883), V, 414; Herbert Davis, "Introduction," *Prose Works of Swift*, VIII, xiv-xv; Mark Noble, *A Biographical History of England, From the Revolution to the end of George I's Reign* (London, 1806), III, 367-368. Vinton A. Dearing in his "Jonathan Swift or William Wagstaffe?" *HLB*, VII (1953), 121-130, makes a survey of previous discussions, and concludes that Wagstaffe wrote all the pieces in the *Miscellaneous Works*. See also the article cited in footnote 6.
- [6] "Words and Numbers: A Quantitative Approach to Swift and some Understrappers," *Computers and the Humanities*, IV (1970), 289-304. This article has been reprinted with minor revisions in Roy Wisbey, ed., *The Computer in Literary and Linguistic Research* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 129-147. [Pg xii]
- [7] The question of verb typography will be further studied in a future article.
- [8] *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse*, II (New Haven, 1965), 217.
- [9] *Tint for Taunt. The Manager Managed: or the Exemplary MODERATION and MODESTY, of a Whig Low-Church-Precacher discovered, from his own Mouth* (London, 1710); and *Punch turn'd Critick, in a Letter to the Honourable and (some time ago) Worshipful Rector of Covent-Garden. With some Wooden Remarks on his Sermon* (n.p., 1712). Neither squib is of much literary value, but the second acquires some interest by being associated with the *Story of the St. Alb-ns Ghost* and a third edition of *A Learned Comment on Tom Thumb* (an earlier Pseudo-Wagstaffe piece) in the advertising column of *Examiner*, vol. II, no. 13 (28 February 1712).
- [10] Reproduced in *The Novels of Mary Delariviere Manley*, intro. by P. Köster (Gainesville, Fla., 1971), 2 vols.
- [11] Jane Wenham was sentenced 4 March 1712. White Kennet lists a number of pamphlets on both sides in *The Wisdom of Looking Backwards* (London, 1715), pp. 203-205, but does not mention the *Story*. The *Protestant Post-Boy* has a series of articles, stemming from the trial, on the improbability of witchcraft (3, 5, 8, 12 April 1712), but predictably ignores the *Story*.
- [12] Dr. Moore, however, seems to include the *Story* in his condemnation of all the Pseudo-Wagstaffe pieces except the *Comment upon ... Tom Thumb* (now reproduced in Augustan Reprint no. 63) as "abusive, coarse, or dull" (*History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, II, 526).
- [13] Mr. Allan Trumpour wrote a sorting program which provided the statistics here and below; Mr. James Carley and Mrs. Edna Cox both gave considerable help in preparing the contents of the *Catalogue* for computer sorting.
- [14] For biographical information see G.A. Aitken, *The Life and Works of John Arbuthnot* (Oxford, 1892), pp. 159-161.
- [15] See W. Wulff, "Introduction," *Rosa Anglica seu Rosa Medicinae*, Irish Texts Society, XXV (London, 1929), p. xix.
- [16] Aitken, p. 159.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The texts of these facsimiles of *The Story of the St. Alb-ns Ghost* (T.1860 Tract 8) and *A Catalogue of the Capital and Well-Known Library of Books, of the Late Celebrated Dr. Arbuthnot* (C.131.dd.9) are reproduced from copies in the British Museum. The two Keys to *The Story of the St. Alb-ns Ghost* are reproduced from the first and second editions of *A Complete Key to the Three Parts of Law is a Bottomless-Pit and the Story of the St. Alban's Ghost* (both editions 1712; E.1984 Tracts 6 and 7; both versos), also in the British Museum. All items are reproduced with

THE
STORY
OF THE
St. Alb-ns
GHOST,
OR THE
APPARITION
OF
Mother HAGGY.

[Pg 1]

Collected from the best Manuscripts.

*Sola, Novum, Dictuq, Nefas, Harpyia Celano
Prodigium canit, & tristes denuntiat Iras. Virg.*

LONDON:
Printed in the Year 1712.

THE STORY OF THE ST. ALB-NS GHOST.

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[Pg 3]

I can scarcely say whether we ought to attribute the Multitude of Ghosts and Apparitions, which were so common in the Days of our Forefathers, to the Ignorance of the People, or the Impositions of the Priest. The Romish Clergy found it undoubtedly for their Interest to deceive them, and the Superstition of the People laid themselves open to receive whatsoever They thought proper to inculcate. Hence it is, that their Traditions are little else, than the Miracles and Atchievements of unbody'd Heroes, a Sort of spiritual Romance, so artfully carry'd on, and delivered in so probable a Manner, as may easily pass for Truth on those of an uncultivated Capacity, or a credulous Disposition. Our Sectarists indeed still retain the Credulity, as well as some of the Tenets of that Church; and Apparitions, and such like, are still the Bug-bears made use of by some of the most Celebrated of their Holders-forth to terrify the old Women of their Congregation, (who are their surest Customers) and enlarge their Quarterly Subscriptions. I know one of these Ambidexters, who never fails of Ten or Twenty Pounds more than Ordinary, by nicking *something Wonderful* in due Time; he often cloaths his whole Family *by the Apparition of a Person lately executed at Tyburn*; or, *a Whale seen at Greenwich, or thereabouts*; and I am credibly inform'd, that his Wife has made a Visit with a Brand new Sable Tippet on, since the Death of the *Tower Lions*.

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But as these Things will pass upon none but the Ignorant or Superstitious, so there are others that will believe nothing of this Nature, even upon the clearest Evidence. There are, it must be own'd, but very few of these Accounts to be depended on; some however are so palpable, and testify'd by so good Authority, by those of such undoubted Credit, and so discerning a Curiosity, that there is no Room to doubt of their Veracity, and which none but a Sceptic can disbelieve. Such is the following Story of Mother *Haggy* of St. *Alb—ns*, in the Reign of King *James* the First, the mighty Pranks she plaid in her Life-time, and her Apparition afterwards, made such a Noise, both at Home and Abroad, and were so terrible to the Neighbourhood, that the Country People, to this Day, cannot hear the Mention of her Name, without the most dismal Apprehensions. The Injuries they receiv'd from the Sorceries and Incantations of the Mother, and the Injustice and Oppression of the Son and Daughter, have made so deep an Impression upon their Minds, and begot such an Hereditary Aversion to their Memory, that they never speak of them, without the bitterest Curses and Imprecations.

[Pg 5]

I have made it my Business, being at St. *Alb—ns* lately, to enquire more particularly into this Matter, and the Helps I have receiv'd from the *most noted Men of Erudition in this City, have been Considerable*, and to whom I make my publick Acknowledgment. The Charges I have been at in *getting Manuscripts*, and Labour in *collating them*, the Reconciling the Disputes about the most *material Circumstances*, and adjusting the *various Readings*, as they have took me up a considerable Time, so I hope they may be done to the Satisfaction of my Reader. I wish I could have had Time to have distinguish'd by an Asterism the Circumstances deliver'd by Tradition only, from those of the Manuscripts, which I was advis'd to do by my worthy Friend the Reverend

Mr. *Wh—n*, who, had he not been *Employ'd otherways*, might have been a very proper Person to have undertaken such a Performance.

The best Manuscripts are now in the Hands of the Ingenious Dr. *G—th*, where they are left for the Curious to peruse, and where any *Clergyman* may be welcome; for however he may have been abus'd by those who deny him to be the Author of the *D—y*, and tax'd by others with Principles and Practices unbecoming a Man of his Sense and Probity, yet I will be bold to say in his Defence, that I believe he is as good a Christian, as he is a Poet, and if he publishes any Thing on the late *D—d M—y*, I don't question but it will be interspers'd with as many Precepts of Reveal'd Religion, as the Subject is capable of bearing: And it is very probable, those *Refin'd Pieces* that the Doctor has been pleas'd to own, since the Writing of the *D—y*, have been look'd upon, by the lewd debauch'd Criticks of the Town, to be dull and insipid, for no other Reason, but because they are grave and sober; but this I leave for others to determine, and can say for his Sincerity, that I am assur'd he believes the following Relation as much as any of us all.

[Pg 6]

Mother *Haggy* was marry'd to a plain home-spun Yeoman of St. *Alb—ns*, and liv'd in good Repute for some Years: The Place of her Birth is disputed by some of the most celebrated Moderns, tho' they have a Tradition in the Country, that she was never Born at all, and which is most probable. At the Birth of her Daughter *Haggite*, something happen'd very remarkable, and which gave Occasion to the Neighbourhood to mistrust she had a Correspondence with *Old Nick*, as was confirm'd afterwards, beyond the Possibility of Disproof. The Neighbours were got together a Merry-making, as they term it, in the Country, when the old Woman's High-crown'd Hat, that had been thrown upon the Bed's Tester during the Heat of the Engagement, leap'd with a wonderful Agility into the Cradle, and being catch'd at by the Nurse, was metamorphos'd into a Coronet, which according to her Description, was not much unlike that of a *German Prince*; but it soon broke into a thousand Pieces. *Such*, cries old Mother *Haggy*, *will be the Fortune of my Daughter, and such her Fall*. The Company took but little Notice what she said, being surpris'd at the Circumstance of the Hat. *But this is Fact*, says the Reverend and Honourable *L—y L—d, and my Grandmother, who was a Person of Condition, told me*, says He, *she knew the Man, who knew the Woman, who was*, said she, *in the Room at that Instant*. The very same Night, I saw a Comet, neither have I any Occasion to tell a Lye as to this Particular, *says my Author*, brandishing its Tail in a very surprising Manner in the Air, but upon the Breaking of a Cloud, I could discern, *continues he*, a Clergyman at the Head of a Body of his own Cloth, and follow'd by an innumerable Train of Laity, who coming towards the Comet, it disappear'd.

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This was the first Time Mother *Haggy* became suspected, and it was the Opinion of the Wisest of the Parish, that they should Petition the King to send her to be try'd for a Witch by the *Presbytery of Scotland*. How this past off I cannot tell, but certain it is, that some of the Great Ones of the Town were in with her, and 'tis said she was Serviceable to them in their Amours: She had a Wash that would make the Skin of a Blackamore as white as Alabaster, and another, that would restore the Loss of a Maidenhead, *without any Hindrance of Business, or the Knowledge of any one about them*. She try'd this Experiment so often upon her Daughter *Haggite*, that more than Twenty were satisfy'd they had her Virginity before Marriage.

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She soon got such a Reputation all about the Country, that there was not a Cow, a Smock, or a silver Spoon lost, but they came to her to enquire after it; All the young People flock'd to have their Fortunes told, which, they say she never miss'd. She told *Haggite's* Husband, he should grow Rich, and be a Great Man, but by his Covetousness and Griping of the Poor, should come to an ill End. All which happen'd so exactly, *That there are several old Folks in our Town, who can remember it, as if it was but Yesterday*.

She has been often seen to ride full gallop upon a Broom-Stick at Noon-Day, and swim over a River in a Kettle-Drum. Sometimes she wou'd appear in the Shape of a Lioness, and at other times of a Hen, or a Cat; but I have heard, could not turn herself into a Male Creature, or walk over two Straws across. There were never known so many great Winds as about that Time, or so much Mischief done by them: The Pigs gruntled, and the Screech-Owls hooted oftner than usual; a Horse was found dead one Morning with Hay in his Mouth; and a large overgrown Jack was caught in a Fish-Pond thereabouts with a silver Tobacco-Box in his Belly; several Women were brought to Bed of two Children, Some miscarry'd, and old Folks died very frequently.

These Things could not chuse but breed a great Combustion in the Town, as they call it, and every Body certainly had rejoyc'd at her Death, had she not been succeeded by a Son and Daughter, who, tho' they were no Conjurers, were altogether as terrible to the Neighbourhood. She had two Daughters, one of which was marry'd to a Man who went beyond Sea; the other, her Daughter *Haggite*, to *Avaro*, whom we shall have Occasion to mention in the Sequel of this Story.

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There liv'd at that Time in the Neighbourhood two Brothers, of a great Family, Persons of a vast Estate and Character, and extreemly kind to their Servants and Dependants. *Haggite* by her Mother's Interest, was got into this Family, and *Avaro*, who was afterwards her Husband, was the Huntsman's Boy. He was a Lad of a fine Complexion, good Features, and agreeable to the fair Sex, but wanted the Capacity of some of his fellow Servants: Tho' he got a Reputation afterwards for a Man of Courage, but upon no other Grounds, than by setting the Country Fellows to Cudgelling or Boxing, and being a Spectator of a broken Head and a bloody Nose.

There are several authentic Accounts of the Behaviour of these Two, in their respective Stations, and by what Means they made an Advancement of their Fortunes. There are several Relations, I say, now extant, that tell us, how one of these great Brothers took *Avaro's* Sister for his Mistress, which was the Foundation of his Preferment, and how *Haggite*, by granting her Favours to any

one who would go to the Expence of them, became extremely Wealthy, and how Both had gain'd the Art of getting Money out of every Body they had to do with, and by the most dishonourable Methods. Never perhaps, was any Couple so match'd in every Thing as these, or so fit for one another: A Couple so link'd by the Bonds of Iniquity, as well as Marriage, that it is impossible to tell which had the greatest Crimes to answer for.

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It will be needless to relate the Fortune of the Brothers, who were their Successive Masters, and the Favours they bestow'd on them. It is sufficient that the Estate came at last to a Daughter of the younger Brother, a Lady, who was the Admiration of the Age she liv'd in, and the Darling of the whole Country, and who had been attended from her Infancy by *Haggite*.

Then it was *Avaro* began his Tyranny; he was entrusted with all the Affairs of Consequence, and there was nothing done without his Knowledge. He marry'd his Daughters to some of the most considerable Estates in the Neighbourhood, and was related by Marriage to one *Baconface*, a sort of Bailiff to his Lady. He, and *Baconface* and *Haggite* got into Possession, as it were, of their Lady's Estate, and carry'd it with so high a Hand, were so haughty to the Rich, and oppressive to the Poor, that they quickly began to make themselves odious; but for their better Security, they form'd a sort of Confederacy with one *Dammyblood*, *Clumzy* their Son-in-Law, *Splitcause* an Attorney, and *Mouse* a noted Ballad-Maker, and some others. As soon as they had done this, they began so to domineer, that there was no Living for those who would not compliment, or comply with them in their Villany. *Haggite* cry'd, *Lord, Madam*, to her Mistress, *It must be so; Avaro* swore, *By G—d*, and *Baconface* shook his Head, and look'd dismally. They made every Tenant pay a Tax, and every Servant considerably out of his Wages toward the Mounding their Lady's Estate, as they pretended, but most part of it went into their own Pockets. Once upon a Time, the Tenants grumbling at their Proceedings, *Clumzy*, the Son-in-Law, brought in a Parcel of Beggars to settle upon the Estate. Thus they liv'd for some Years, till they grew Richer than their Mistress, and were, perhaps, the Richest Servants in the World: Nay, what is the most Remarkable, and will scarcely find Belief in future Ages, they began at last to deny her Title to the Estate, and affirm, she held it only by their Permission and Connivance.

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Things were come to this pass, when one of the Tenants Sons from *Oxf—rd* preach'd up Obedience to their Lady, and the Necessity of their Downfall, who oppos'd it. This open'd the Eyes of all the honest Tenants, but enrag'd *Avaro* and his Party, to that Degree, that they had hir'd a Pack of Manag'd Bull-Dogs, with a Design to bait him, and had done it infallibly, had not the Gentry interpos'd, and the Country People run into his Assistance. These, with much ado, muzzled the Dogs, and petition'd their Lady to discard the Mismanagers, who consented to it.

Great were the Endeavours, and great the Struggles of the Faction, for so they were call'd, to keep themselves in Power, as the Histories of those Times mention. They stirr'd up all their Ladies Acquaintance to speak to her in their behalf, wrote Letters to and fro, swore and curs'd, laugh'd and cry'd, told the most abominable and inconsistent Lyes, but all to no Purpose: They spent their Money, lavish'd away their Beef, Pudding, and *October*, most unmercifully, and made several *Jointed-Babies* to shew for Sights, and please the Tenants Sons about *Christmas*.

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Old *Drybones* was then the Parson of the Parish, a Man of the most notorious Character, who would change his Principles at any Time to serve a Turn, preach or pray *Extempore*, talk Nonsense, or any Thing else, for the Advancement of *Avaro* and his Faction. He was look'd upon to be the greatest Artist in *Legerdemain* in that Country; and had a Way of shewing the Pope and little Master in a Box, but the Figures were so very small, it was impossible for any Body but himself to discern them. He was hir'd, as is suppos'd, to tax the New Servants with Popery, together with their Mistress, which he preach'd in several Churches thereabouts; but his Character was too well known to make any Thing credited that came from him.

There are several Particulars related, both by Tradition and the Manuscripts, concerning the turning out of these Servants, which would require greater Volumes than I design. It is enough, that notwithstanding their Endeavours, they were Discarded, and the Lady chose her new Servants out of the most honest and substantial of her Tenants, of undoubted Abilities, who were tied to her by Inclination as well as Duty. These began a Reformation of all the Abuses committed by *Avaro* and *Baconface*, which discover'd such a Scene of Roguery to the World, that one would hardly think the most mercenary Favourites could be guilty of.

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Avaro now began to be very uneasie, and to be affrighted at his own Conscience; he found nothing would pacifie the enrag'd Tenants, and that his Life wou'd be but a sufficient Recompence for his Crimes. His Money which he rely'd on, and which he lavish'd away to Bribe off his Destruction, had not Force enough to Protect him: He could not, as it is reported, Sit still in one Place for two Minutes, never Slept at all, Eat little or nothing, Talk'd very rambling and inconsistent, of *Merit*, *Hardships*, *Accounts*, *Perquisites*, *Commissioners*, *Bread* and *Bread-Waggons*, but was never heard to mention any *Cheese*.

He came and made a Confession in his own House to some People he never saw before in his Life, and which shews no little Disorder in his Brain; *That, whatever they might think of him, he was as Dutiful a Servant as any his Mistress had. Haggite* rav'd almost as bad as he, and had got *St. Anthony's Fire* in her Face; but it is a question, says *Dr. G—th*, whether there was any Thing Ominous in that, since it is probable, the Distemper only chang'd it's Situation.

Mean while, it was agreed by *Baconface* and others, that a Consultation should be call'd at *Avaro's* House, something Decisive resolv'd on, in order to prevent their Ruin; and accordingly *Jacobo* the Messenger was sent to inform the Cabal of it.

Dismal and horrid was the Night of that infernal Consultation, nothing heard but the melancholly Murmuring of Winds, and the Croaking of Toads and Ravens; Every thing seem'd Wild and Desert, and double Darkness overspread the Hemisphere: Thunder and Lightning, Storms and Tempest, and Earthquakes, seem'd to Presage something more than Ordinary, and added to the Confusion of that Memorable Night. Nature sicken'd, and groan'd, as it were, under the Tortures of universal Ruine. Not a Servant in the House but had Dreamt the strangest Dreams, and *Haggite* her self had seen a Stranger in the Candle. The Fire languish'd and burnt Blue, and the Crickets sung continually about the Oven: How far the Story is true concerning the Warming-Pan and Dishes, I cannot say, but certain it is, a Noise was heard like that of rolling Pease from the top of the House to the bottom; and the Windows creak'd, and the Doors rattled in a manner not a little terrible. Several of their Servants made Affidavit, That *Haggite* lost a red Petticoat, a Ruff, and a Pair of Green-Stockings, that were her Mother's, but the Night before, and a Diamond-Cross once gave her by a *Great Man*.

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'Twas about Midnight before this Black Society got together, and no sooner were they seated, when *Avaro* open'd to them in this manner. We have try'd, *says he*, my Friends, all the Artifices we cou'd invent or execute, but all in vain. Our Mistress has discover'd plainly our Intentions, and the Tenants will be neither flatter'd, nor frighted, nor brib'd into our Interest. It remains therefore, and what tho' we Perish in the Attempt, we must Perish otherwise, that once for all we make a Push at the very Life of—When, Lo! *says the Manuscript*, An unusual Noise interrupted his Discourse, and *Jacobo* cry'd out, *The Devil, the Devil at the Door*. Scarce had he Time to speak, or they to listen, when the Apparition of Mother *Haggy* entred; But, Who can describe the Astonishment they were then in? *Haggite* sounded away in the Elbow-Chair as she sat, and *Avaro*, notwithstanding his boasted Courage, slunk under the Table in an Instant: *Baconface* screw'd himself into a thousand Postures; and *Clumzy* trembled till his very Water trickled from him. *Splitcause* tumbled over a Joint-Stool, and *Mouse* the Ballad-Maker broke a Brandy-Bottle that had been *Haggite's* Companion for some Years: But *Dammyblood*, *Dammyblood* only was the Man that had the Courage to cry out G-d D-m your Bl—d, What occasion for all this Bustle? Is it not the Devil, and is he not our old Acquaintance? This reviv'd them in some Measure; but the Ghastlyness of the Spectacle made still some Impression on them. There was an unaccountable Irregularity in her Dress, a Wanness in her Complexion, and a Disproportion in her Features. Flames of Fire issued from her Nostrils, and a sulphurous Smoak from her Mouth, which together with the Condition some of the Company were in, made a very noisome and offensive Smell; and *I have been told*, *says a very Grave Alderman of St. Albans*, *Some of them saw her Cloven Foot*.

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I Come, *says she*, at length, (in an hollow Voice, more terrible than the celebrated Stentor, or the brawny *Caledonian*) I Come, O ye Accomplices in Iniquity, to tell you of your Crimes, to bid you desist from these Cabals, for they are Fruitless, and prepare for Punishment that is Certain. I have, as long as I could, assisted you in your Glorious Execrable Attempts, but Time is now no more; the Time is coming when you must be deliver'd up to Justice. As to you, O Son and Daughter, *said she*, turning to them, 'tis but a few revolving Moons, e'er you must both fall a Sacrifice to your Avarice and Ambition, as I have told you heretofore, but your Mistress will be too Merciful, and tho' your ready Money must be refunded, your Estate in Land will Descend onto your Heirs. But you, O *Baconface*, you have Merited nothing to save either your Life or your Estate, be contented therefore with the Loss of both: And *Clumzy*, *says she*, you must have the same Fate, your Insolence to your Lady, and the Beggars you brought in upon the Tenants will require it. *Dammyblood*, *continues she*, turning towards him, you must expect a considerable Fine; but *Splitcause* and *Mouse* may come off more easily. She said, gave a Shriek; and disappear'd; and the Cabal dispers'd with the utmost Consternation.

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FINIS.

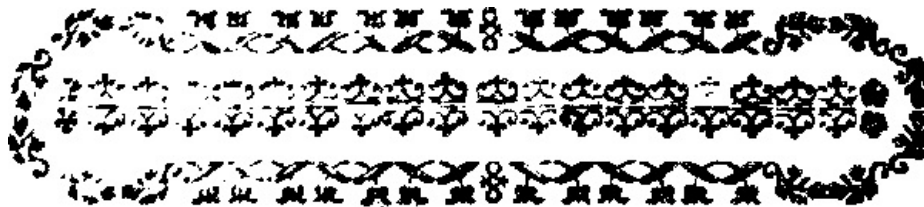
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[Pg 2]

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QUARTO.

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100 Histoire Romaine, par Catrou and Rouille, avec fig. 20 t.	Paris 1725

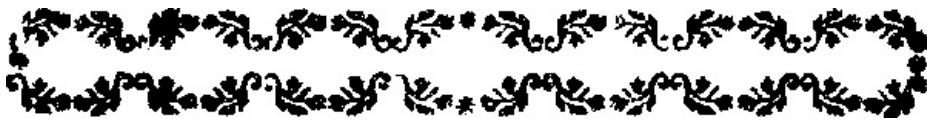
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105 Domat's civil law, 2 v.	1722
106 Prior's poems, l. p.	1718
107 Machiavel's works, 1675, Sydney on government,	1704
108 Selden's titles of honor	1672
109 Gadbury's doctrine of nativities, with his portrait,	1658
110 Chaucer's works, by Urry	1721
111 Blome's cosmography damag'd, and 5 more	
112 Mariana's general history of Spain, by Stevens	1699
113 Malpighii opera omnia, figuris elegantissimis	1686
114 Willughbeii ornithologiæ, descriptiones iconibus elegantissimis, per Ray.	1706
115 Eustachii tabulæ anatomicæ	Romæ 1714
116 Mayernii opera medica, 1700, and 5 more	
117 Etmulleri opera omnia, 2 v.	1659
118 Medicæ artis principes, post Hippocratem & Galenum, 3 v. maculat. apud Hen. Stephanus	1567
119 Suidæ lexicon, Gr. & Lat. opera & studio Porti, 2 v. Genevæ, 1619, and 1 more	

120 Dictionaire universel de commerce, par Savary, 2 t.	1723
121 Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens, par Dumont, 6 t.	Amst. 1726
122 Le grand dictionaire historique, par Morery, 2 t.	1702
123 Bayle's historical and critical dictionary, 4 v.	1710
124 Dionysii Halicarnas. Gr. & Lat. Sylburgii, Franc.	1586
125 Platonis opera omnia, Gr. & Lat. Ficino, Franc.	1602
126 Aristotelis opera omnia, per Du Val, 2 v. Gr. & Lat. maculat. Lutet.	Par. 1629
127 Eusebii, Sozomeni, &c. historiæ ecclesiasticæ, Gr. & Lat. per Reading, 3 v. Cantab.	1710
128 Mattaire corpus poetarum Latinorum, 2 v.	1713
129 Poetæ Græci veteres carminis heroici qui extant omnes Gr. & Lat. 2 v. Aur. Allob.	1606
130 Parker de antiquitate Britannicæ, ecclesiasticæ, per Drake	Lond. 1729
131 L'antiquite explique, et representee en figures, par Montfaucon, 10 t. boards and uncut, Paris	1719

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End of the First Day's Sale.



[Pg 9]

**Second Day's Sale,
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1779.**

OCTAVO & DUODECIMO.

132 Histoire comique de Francion, and 28 more	
133 Voyage de Cyrus, par Ramsay, 2 t, and 19 more	
134 Les vies des hommes illustres de Plutarque, par Dacier, 10 t.	Amst. 1735
135 Œuvres de Moliere, t. 4th. and 12 more	
136 Les poesies D'Anacreon et de Sapho, par Dacier, and 6 more	
137 Entretiens de Ciceron, 3 t. and 6 more	
138 La vie de L'Admiral de Ruyter, and 11 more	
139 Histoire de l'academie royale des sciences, 17 t. avec fig.	Amst. 1708
140 Lettres galantes, par Fontenelle, and 19 more	
141 Essais de Theodocice, sur la bonte de Dieu, and 6 more	
142 De la vie de Richelieu & Mazarine, and 14 more	
143 Ciceronis opera, notis Lambini, 8 v. and 7 more	
144 Sallustius notis var. et Thysii, 1699, and 3 more	
145 Taciti opera, not. var. & Gronovii, bound in 5 v.	Amst. 1685
146 Quintiliani institutiones & declamationes, 2 v. notis var. Gronovii, &c. &c. Lug. Bat.	1665
147 Horatii opera, 2 v. cum fig. Ch. Max. apud Sandby,	1749Pg 10]
148 Euripidis tragoediæ Canteri, Gr. and 5 more	
149 Clavis homerica, per Patrick, 1727, and 8 more	
150 Phædri fabulæ, cum notis Laurentii, fig. nitid.	Amst. 1667
151 Natalis comitis mythologiæ, Gr. & Lat. and 5 more	
152 Raii synopsis methodica avium & piscium, cum fig. 1713, and 5 more	
153 Cheselden's anatomy, cuts, 1726, Boerhaave's chemistry	1732
154 Clifton's state of physic, and 3 more	
155 Sauvry's treatise of medicines, and 5 more	
156 Quincy's dispensatory, 1722, and 5 more	

157	Cheyne's philosophical principles of religion, and 5 more	
158	Stanhope's Thomas a Kempis, cuts, 1759, Peters on the book of Job	1757
159	Bp. Sherlock's discourses on prophecy, and 7 more	
160	Beattie's essay on truth, Warburton's Julian	
161	Spinckes's sick man visited, and 5 more	
162	Rapin's critical works. 2 v. and 7 more	
163	Cunn's euclid, and 2 more	
164	Davenant on the public revenues, and 6 more	
165	Gurdon's history of the Court of parliament, 2 v. Torbuck's debates in parliament, 8 odd v.	
166	History of Marshal Turenne, 2 v. and 2 more	
167	Hennepin's discovery of America, cuts, 1698, Martin's descript. of the Western Islands of Scotland,	1703
168	Ball's antiquities of Constantinople, cuts, 1729, Laughton's history of ancient Egypt	
169	Independent whig, and 3 more	
170	Bolingbroke's letter to Windham, and 1 more	
171	Bp. Berkeley's minute philosopher, 2 v. 1732, Lee's plays, 2 v. 1713, and 1 more	
172	Chamberlayne's state of Great Britain, and 20 more	
173	Swift's four last years of Queen Anne, and 2 more	
174	Rooke's Arrian's history of Alexander's expedition, 2 v.	1729
175	Cooke's essay on the animal œconomy, 2 v. 1730, and 12 more	
176	Bp. Hurd's introduction to the study of the prophecies, 2 v.	1773
177	Hooper's state of the ancient measures, the Attic' Roman and Jewish, 1721, Pancirollus's\$Pg 11] memorable things, and 12 more	
178	Swift's tale of a tub, Hobbes's Homer, and 13 more	
179	Dr. Everard's discovery of the wonderful vertues of tobacco, with his portrait, 1659, and 11 more	
180	Pope's works, 9 v. 8vo.	1751
181	Lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion in England and Ireland, with the appendix and heads, 9 v.	1720
182	Parliamentary history of England, 24 v. neat	1762
183	Udal's key to the holy tongue, 1693, and 9 more sewed	
184	La Paradis perdu de Milton, 3 t. sewed, and 20 more	

QUARTO.

185	Milton's Paradise regained	1720
186	Haym tesoro Britannico, v. 2d, and 4 more	
187	Barber's poems	1734
188	Ramsay's travels of Cyrus	1730
189	Chubb's collection of tracts, 1730, Baxter on the soul	
190	Cumberland's laws of nature, by Maxwell	
191	Lord Littleton's history of the life and reign of Henry the 2d, 3 v. boards	1767
192	Fitzherbert's natura brevium	1730
193	Dr. Arbuthnot's tables of ancient coins, weights and measures, boards	1727
194	Blackstone's charter and charter of the forest, sewed,	1769
195	Tyson's anatomy of a pigmie, cuts, 1699, Blair's anatomy of the elephant, cuts	1723
196	Boerhaave's chemistry by Shaw, 1727, and 2 more	
197	Lamy's introduction to the scriptures, by Bundy, cuts, 1723, Newton on the prophecies of Daniel, boards,	1733

198 Holy Bible, and 2 more	
199 Glas's history of the Canary Islands, boards, 1764, Dobbs's account of the countries near Hudson's Bay, boards	1744
200 Cook's voyage to the South Pole, and round the world, 2 v. with maps, charts, &c. boards	1768
201 La Henriade de Voltaire, avec fig.	1772
202 Œuvres de Mr. Turreil, 2 t.	Paris 1729
203 Histoire de la reformation, par Courayer, 3 t.	1767Pg 12]
204 Nov. ephemerides motuum cœlestium, e Cassinianis, tabulis, a Manfredio, 2 v. 1725, and 2 more	
205 Mœurs des sauvages Ameriquains, par Lasitau, 2 t. enrichi de figures en taille, double	Paris 1724
206 Traite des maladies des femmes grosses, par Mauririceau, 2 t. Sydenham opera medica, and 1 more	
207 Morgagni adversaria anatomica omnia, 2 v.	1719
208 Histoire de la guerre Chypre, par Peletier, 1685, and 3 more	
209 Baglivi opera omnia, 1704, and 6 more	
210 Ap. cœlii de opsoniis & condimentis, sive arte coquinaria, notis Lister	1705
211 Scriptores rei nummariae veteris, Rechlenbergi, 2 v.	1692
212 Gronovii de pecunia vetere, Gr. & Lat. Lugd Bat. 1691, Spanhemii de usu numismatum antiq. Amst.	1671
213 Regionum Indicarum per Hispanos, figuris Eneis ad vivum fabrefactis, per Calas	1664
214 Speculum Orientalis & Occidentalis que Indiae navigationum, a Spilbergen et le Maire, figuris ac imaginibus illustrata	1619
215 Burnet archeologiæ philosophiæ, and 5 more	
216 Blasii anat. animalium, and 5 more	
217 Newton philosop. naturalis, 1713, and 1 more	
218 De Moivre miscellanea analytica, 1730, and 9 more	
219 Le droit de la nature et des gens, par Pusendorf, and 1 more	
220 Elemens des mathematiques par Prestet, and 5 more	
221 Il pastor fido di Guarini, Parigi 1656, Aminta del Tasso, filli di Sciro	
222 Kircheri lingua Ægyptiaca, Romæ, 1644, Butler's English grammar and history of bees	1634
223 Historia insectorum, a Raio	Lond. 1710
224 Osservazioni della pontificia, da Bolseno, and 5 more	
225 Alpini de medicina methodica, Lug. Bat. 1719, Le Clerc histoire de la medicine, 1702, and 1 more	
226 Guillimanni de rebus Helvetiorum, and 4 more	
227 Traite du commerce par Ricard, Amst. 1721, and 3 more	
228 Tournefort institutiones rei herbariæ, 3 v. tabulis Eneis adornata	Paris 1700
229 Lucretius de rerum natura, ap. Benenatum Lutet. 1570, and 2 more	
*229 Dictionaire Italien et Francois, par Veneroni, 1710, and 2 more	[Pg 13]
230 Juvenalis & Persii satyræ, notis Pratei, Delp. Paris,	1684
231 Terentius notis Cami	ib. 1675
232 Plautus, 2 v. notis operarii	ib. 1679
233 Miscellanea curiosa sive ephemeridum medico-physicarum Germanicarum academiæ, 11 v. fig.	1686
234 Biblia Hebraica, 5 v. Paris ap Car. Steph.	1556
235 Tijou's book of drawings for iron gates, &c.	1693
236 Macqueen's essay on honour, Morocco	1711
237 A treatise of specters or straunge sights, visions and apparitions appearing sensibly unto men	1605

- 238 A volume of plays and 3 more
- 239 Fleury's ecclesiastical history, 5 v. 1727
- 240 Motte's abridgment of the philosophical transactions, 2 v. 1721, Lowthorp's abridgment of ditto, 3 v. bound in Morocco 1705
- 241 Philosophical transactions, v. 27th, Morocco, ditto v. 25 and 28, and some loose numbers
- 242 Pope's Homer's Iliad and odyssey, 11 v. uniformly bound 1715
- 243 Les principes de la philosophie de Descartes, sisteme de la religion protestante, par Pigorier
- 244 Histoire de l'eglise et de l'ectpire par le Sueur, 8 t.
- 245 Images des grand hommes de l'antiquite gravees, par Picart

FOLIO.

- 246 Howell's Italian, English, French and Spanish dictionary, 1660, Newman's concordance 1698
- 247 Guicciardin's history of the wars of Italy, and 6 more
- 248 Gianone's history of Naples, 2 v. neat 1729
- 249 Harris's collection of voyages and travels, 2 v. cuts, 1744
- 250 Howell's history of the world, 4 v. 1680
- 251 Leslie's theological works, 2 v. l. p. 1721
- 252 Prior's poems, l. p. 1718
- 253 Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum, variis lectionibus edidit Kennicott, v. 1st, sewed 1776
- 254 Spence's polymetis, first impressions, half bound and uncut 1747
- 255 Histoire de France par Daniel, 3 t. 1713
- 256 Friend opera omnia medica 1733
- 257 Cowper's treatise on the muscles, fine plates, Lond. 1724Pg 14]
- 258 Cowper's anatomy, much damaged Oxford 1698
- 259 Eustachii tabulæ anatominae Romæ 1728
- 260 Mathiolus comment. in Dioscoridem, cum iconibus, Venet. 1565
- 261 Hippocratis opera omnia Gr. & Lat. Foesio 1624
- 262 Gregorii astronomiæ, physicæ & geometricæ elementa 1708
- 263 Hevelii machinæ cœlestis 1673
- 264 Apollonii Pergæi conicorum 1710
- 265 Euclidis elementa, Gr. & Lat. Gregorii 1703
- 266 Flamsted historiæ cœlestis 1712
- 267 Guillim's heraldry 1679
- 268 Gordon's itinerarium septentrionale, cuts 1727
- 269 Locke's works, 3 V. 1727
- 270 Barrow's works, 2 v. 1716
- 271 Histoire du concile de Trente, par Courayer, 2 t. 1736
- 272 Grabe septuaginta interpretam, 2 v. corio Morocco fol. deaurat. Oxonii 1707
- 273 Novum Testamentum, Gr. Millii charta max. corio Morocco, lin. rub. fol. deaurat. Oxonii 1707
- 274 Dugdale's monasticon Anglicanum, by Stevens, 2 v. cuts, boards and uncut 1722 and 1723
- 275 L'antiquite explique et representee en figures et le supplement par Montfaucon. 15Paris 1722

End of the Second Day's Sale.



Third Day's Sale,

OCTAVO & DUODECIMO.

- 276 Smollet's Don Quixote, 4 v. history of Lady Frances S—, 2 v.
- 277 Francis's Horace, 4 v. Sowel's Ovid, 2 v. Trapp's Virgil, 3 v. Prior's poems
- 278 Harvey's meditations, 2 v. beauties of history, 2 v. Plato's works, 2 v. Telemachus, 2 v. pillars of Priestcraft, 2 v.
- 279 New duty of man, Fenelon on the existence of God, Balsac's letters, Quarle's emblems, Greenwood's essay, Cotton's visions, Fenny on the globes, letter writer, Rowe's exercises, Webster's arithmetic, Hudson's guide, Coke on Littleton, and 9 others
- 280 Chinese spy, 6 v. vicar of Wakefield, 2 v.
- 281 Woodbury, 2 v. Mariamne, 2 v. cuckoldom triumphant, 2 v. portrait of life, 2 v. unhappy wife, 2 v. placid man, 2 v.
- 282 Les oraisons de Ciceron, par Villifore, 7 t. entretiens de Ciceron, 2 t. Tusculanes de Ciceron, 2 t.
- 283 Count de Vaux, 4 v. history of Fanny Seymour, Cupid and Hymen, Nicol's poems, epistles to the ladies, 2 v. fault was all his own, 2 v. small friendship, 2 v.
- 284 World, 4 v. Persian letters, Temple's miscellanies, and 6 others [Pg 16]
- 285 Telemachus, 2 v. Beaumont and Fletcher's select plays, 2 v. dialogues de Platon, 2 t. Voltair's works, 2 v. Hull's letters, 2 v. Quevedo's visions, family instructor
- 286 Rowe's letters, 2 v. Lyttleton's dialogues of the dead, 2 v. Marmontel's moral tales, 3 v. Churchill's poems, 3 v. Byron's voyage, Scougal's life of God, Steel's Christian hero, Watts's poems, Nettleton on virtue, Charles XII. Guthrie's trial
- 287 Addison's evidence, Sherlock on death, religious courtship, rule of life, Doddridge's rise and progress, Gordon's young man's companion, Hammouth's works, 4 v. Sherlock's discourses, Sherlock on a future state
- 288 Addison's works, 4 v. Suckling's works, Mills's agriculture, school of arts, 2 v. play for its interest, Rousseau's remarks, world to come, two rules for bad horsemen, and 4 others
- 289 Echard's gazetteer, adventures of Pomponius, English connoisseur, 2 v. Gent's history of York, 2 v. Coventry's history, travels into France and Italy, and five others
- 290 Prælectiones poeticæ, 2 t. Luciani dialogus, Erasmus Catullus, Horatius Flaccus, Leusden Græcum Testamentum, Ethices compendium, Berkenhout's pharmacopeia, and nine others
- 291 Sophoclis tragœdiæ, 2 t. conciones et orationes, Ovidii, Hieronymus, Sallust, Phædrus, Euclidis, Bos ellipsis, Horatius, artis logicæ, and 7 others
- 292 Rule of life, economy of human life, Doddridge's rise and progress, Hudibras, gentle shepherd, a testament, principles of the French grammar, Wood's farrier, military dictionary, Greek grammar, Young's centaur not fabulous, heaven opened, and 6 others
- 293 Ray's wisdom of God, religious courtship, life of Owen Tideric, Watts's hymns, Cicero—Italian, Plinius conciones et orationes, English rudiments, petticoat pensioners, Ranger's progress, Christian manuel, night thoughts, Horatius, and 10 others
- 294 Last day, a poem, devil on two sticks, introduction to grammar, Thomas's palladium, complete grazier, Æsop's fables, Algorotti's letters, Cyrus's travels and eight others [Pg 17]
- 295 Monro's anatomy, Ewing's synopsis, Gerrard on taste, characteristics of Great Britain, Derham's astro theology, Dilworth's catechism explained, Buck's companion, Henry's discourses, Sophocles, Ward's grammar, Bunyan's holy war, observations on London, Hawking's abridgement of Coke, and 7 others
- 296 Tacitus, 2 t. Italian, Vertot's revolutions of Portugal, Vertot's revolutions of Sweden, Nelson's devotions, history of masonry, principles of the Christian religion, reflection upon marriage
- 297 Peyton's French grammar, Porney sur l'education, recueil des oraisons, principles of the French grammar, Æsopi fabulæ, Chambaud's themes, Chambaud's exercises, Bell's Latin grammar, logic by question, Freeman's farrier, and 4 others
- 298 New version, Cooper's sermons, Birche's inquiry, Bishop on the creed, Puffendorf's duty of man, duty of a mother, Templer on the worship of God
- 299 Lally on the Christian religion, 3 v. Ibbetson's discourses, lay baptism invalid, second part of lay baptism invalid, inquiry into the church of England, Brown on understanding, Ambrose's looking unto Jesus
- 300 Burnet on religion, 4 v. Coneybeare's defence of the Christian religion, Mayhew's sermons, Hale's golden remains, Hughes's remarks, new duty of man, Hoadly on submission

- 301 Young on corruption in religion, 2 v. cure of deism, 2 v. a common prayer, Howard's festivals
- 302 Guyse's paraphrase, 6 v. Abernethy's sermons, v. 2, unity of God, Fleming's discourses, Hammond's catechism, defence of diocesan episcopacy, Lipsiensi's remarks
- 303 Life of Cellini, 2 v. Chandler's life of David, 2 v. Turnbull on universal law, 2 v.
- 304 Ben Johnson's plays, v. 4 and 6, Shakespear's works, v. 1, Meilan's works, Balthasar courtier, loves of Othniel and Acsah, 2 v. Medley
- 305 Treasury, 2 v. universal catalogue, 1775, monthly review, v. 23, 36, grand magazine
- 306 Shakespear's poems, Rapin of gardens, Rogers's poems, free thoughts on seduction, KingPg 18] Lear, female favourites, Callipædia, Payne on repentance
- 307 Young's six months tour, 4 v. Whiston's theory, Whichcote's aphorisms, Voltaire on the English nation, Sharp's pieces, 3 v.
- 308 Dufresnoy's chronological tables, 2 v. Mair's book-keeping, female favorites, state of the British empire, history of the pyrites, Tull's husbandry, Hill's Theophrastus, Blundeville's exercises
- 309 Les saisons, a poem
- 310 Greek Testament, Urie, succession of colonels, exercise of foot, a pocket dictionary
- 311 Whichcote's aphorisms, 2 v. history of Gustavus, history of the Indian nations, Overley's gauger's instructor, Martyn catalogus, Roofe's book-keeping, fencing familiarized, Hill on fruit trees, parliamentary register 1778, Portal's midwifery, Gent's history of the cathedral of York
- 312 Observations on Asia, Africa and America, 2 v. city remembrancer, 2 v. Hill's Theophrastus, Guthrie's Cicero's morals, Fitzosborne's letters, Hawksby's experiments, Falk on mercury
- *312 Langveti epistolæ, Newtonianissimo onaro dialoghi, Ovidii epistolarum, Virgil, Florus, historiarum fabellum, Chrysostomi de sacerdotio, Dionysii geographia
- 313 Washington's abridgement, trials per Pais, Græcæ grammaticæ, and 13 others
- 314 Dictionaire universel de Bomare, 9 t.
- 315 Brydon's tour, 2 v. Smollett's travels, 2 v.
- 316 Newton's Milton's Paradise lost and regain'd, 4 v. Cotton's works, pious poems
- 317 American pocket atlas, American tracts, American charters, Justice and Reason, remembrancer, 4 v.
- 318 Royal magazine, 6 v. universal magazine, 4 v.
- 319 Barclay's apology, works of Thomas Chalkley, quaker's testimonies, life of John Fothergill, life of Thomas Ellwood, works of Samuel Bownas
- 320 Lucas on happiness, 2 v. Burlamaque on law, 2 v. female spectator, 4 v.
- 321 Hill's arithmetic, Prideaux's life of Mahomet, Miller's gardeners calendar, report of silver coins, American negociator, Smith's history of New York, Law's collection of lettersPg 19] Ellwood's Davidis, Senex's survey of the roads
- 322 Eduard's eccl. hist. 2 v. Martin's philosophical grammar microscope made easy 1 v. Boccace's Decameron, Cook's voyage, Coate's heraldry
- 323 Prideaux's commentaries of the Old and New Testament, 4 v. Edward Davidis, Anguis flagellatus, duty of an apprentice
- 324 Macpherson's Fingal, 2 v. Hoole's Tasso, 2 v. Chaucer's tales by Ogle, 3 v.
- 325 Seneca's morals, quaker's testimonies, Ferguson on civil society, West on the resurrection Sherlock on a future state, Clarke on the attributes, Sherlock on judgment, Sherlock on death, Hale's contemplations
- 326 Salmon's grammar, Bailey's dictionary, Gordon's geog. grammar, Dyche's dictionary, Clarke's introduction, Egede's description of Greenland
- 327 Shakespear's works, 6 v.
- 328 Dryden's Plutarch, 6 v. Norden's travels
- 329 Guthrie's Cicero's letters, 2 v. Cicero's offices, Melmoth's Pliny, 2 v. Locke on understanding, 2 v.
- 330 Nature display'd, 4 v. preceptor, 2 v.
- 331 History of the world, 3, 4, 5, Lyttleton's Henry 2d, v. 5, 6, Shakespeare, vol. 2, 3, 4, 5, Cowley's works, v. 2, 3, Burgh's dignity of human nature, v. 1, history of New England, v. 2.

- 332 Addison's works, 2, 3, 4, Humphry Clinker, v. 2, Joseph Andrews, v. 2. Bracken's farrier, v. 2, Barrow's voyages, v. 2, 3, reflexions on ridicule, v. 1, tour thro' Great Britain, v. 1, 2, 4, Tom Jones, 1, 2, 3, Plutarch's lives, 4 to 9, and 2 others
- 333 Dodsley's poems, 6 v. Young's works, 4 v.
- 334 World, 4 v. spectator, 8 v. guardian, 2 v. play-house dictionary, 2 v.
- 335 Pope's Homer's Iliad, 6 v. — works, v. 2 to 10, Bysshe's art of poetry, 2 v.
- 336 Mariana historia de Espana, 16 t.
- 337 Castalio biblia sacra, 4 t. de literis inventis, Socraticas Gr. historiarum delectus, Ovidii metam.
- 338 L'esprit de loix, 3 t. memoires de Bonneval, 2 tom. Ovidius, 3 v. Horatius, and 3 more
- 339 Plutarch's lives, 9 v. sm. edition 1749
- 340 Whiston's works of Josephus, 6 v. 1777
- 341 Rider's history of England, 50 v. cuts, &c. [Pg 20]
- 342 Baddam's memoirs of the Royal society, 10 v. cuts 1745
- 343 Rapin's history of England, by Tindal, 28 v. with maps, &c. 1726
- 344 London magazine, 44 v. 1732, &c.

QUARTO.

- 345 Bible, Oxford, 1713, Wright's travels, 2 v. 1720
- 346 Anderson's history of Mary Queen of Scots, 4 v. 1727
- 347 Collection of acts relating to the quakers, Pennington's works, 2 v.
- 348 Oldenburg's tables of exchange, 1735, Glover's Leonidas, 1737, paraphrase of the notes to St. Paul, 1733
- 349 Hill's vegetable system, 7 v. Horti Malibarici, distiller of London
- *349 Priestley's history and state of electricity, boards 1775

FOLIO.

- 350 Heylyn's cosmography, 1682, a concordance, Usher's body of divinity
- 351 Stanley's history of philosophy, 1687, Prideaux's connection of the old and new Testament, 2 v. 1718, Fox's journal, 3d edit. 1765
- 352 Cave's history of the apostles, 1677, Penn's works, v. 1, Cotton's concordance 1631
- 353 Fox's book of martyrs, 1732, — journal, 1694, Elwood's sacred history, 1705, Ripa's iconologia, 1709
- 354 Bible, bl. let. 1572, Sewel's history of the quakers, 1725, epistles from the yearly meeting of the quakers 1759
- 355 Le Brun's voyage to the Levant, Snelling's view of the gold coin, 1763, Cowley's works 1678
- 356 Postlethwayte's dictionary, 2 v. 3d edit. 1766
- 357 Chambers's dictionary, 7th edit. 2 v. 1751
- 358 Rapin's history of England, 4 v. 3d edit.
- 359 Embassys to the Emperor of Japan, 1672, Acherley's Britannic constitution
- 360 Cradock's harmony of the four evangelists, Limbrochii historia inquisitiones, Turtellian*[Pg 21]* opera 1580
- 361 Inventory of the South Sea directors estates, 2 v. Leybourne's mathematics
- 362 Burton's history of Yorkshire, Dryden's plays, 2 v.
- 363 Churchill's collection of voyages, v. 2 to 6, Baker's chronicle, 9th edit. 1696
- 364 Prideaux's connection of the old and new Testament, 2 v. 1724
- 365 Religious ceremonies, large paper, 6 v. 1733
- 366 Entick's naval history, cuts 1757
- 367 Metalick's history of King William, Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and George I.
- 368 Le nouveau theatre du monde, 2 t. 1661

369 Histoire du Concile de Trente, par Courayer, 2 t.	1736
370 Dictionnaire historique & critique, par Bayle, 4 t.	Rott. 1697
371 Le grand dictionnaire historique, par Moreri, 8 t.	Amst. 1740
372 Echard's history of England, v. 1st. Sammes's Bittannia	
373 Purcel's Orpheus Britannicus 1698, and 6 more	
374 Ld. Clarendon's tracts	1727
375 Scott's history of Scotland	1728
376 Garth's Ovid's metamorphoses, cuts	1717
377 Makenzie's lives and characters of the writers of the Scots Nation, 2 v.	1711
378 Newman's concordance to the Bible, 1643, and 1 more	
379 Prideaux's connection of the old and new Testament, 2 v.	1728
380 Keith's history of the church and state of Scotland, 1734, Spotswood's history of the church of Scotland (with his portrait, by Hollar)	1668
381 Dugdale's view of the troubles in England, and 5 more	
382 Buchanani opera omnia, 2 v.	1715
383 Huetii demonstratio evangelica, 1669, and 3 more	
384 Dion Cassius, Gr. & Lat. Xylandri, ap. H. Step.	1591
385 Herodotus Gr. et Lat. Sylburgii & Jungermanni Franc.	1608
386 Livii. Hist. Rom. cum figs. Franc.	1578
387 Thucydidis Gr. ap H. Step. Franc. 1594, Aristophanes Gr. & Lat. Biseti.	1607Pg 22]
388 Janssonii novus atlas terrarum, t. 4th	1659
389 Architectura di Scamozzi	Venet. 1615
390 D'architecture de Vitruve, en Maroquin,	Par. 1684
391 Koeheorn's method of fortification, by Savary, 1705, and 5 more	
392 Browne's academy of drawing, painting, &c. with 30 copper plates	1669
393 Palladio's architecture, by Leoni	1721
394 Bp. Smalridge's sermons, 1724, — Taylor's course of sermons	1678
395 Cudworth's intellectual system of the universe, 1678, Tillotson's works, v. 1st.	1707
396 Hammond on the new Testament, and 2 more	
397 Laud's life and trial, 2 v. 1695, book of Homilies, and 1 more	
398 Ross's Silius Italicus	1661
399 Scarburgh's elements of Euclid	1705
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F I N I S .

APPENDIX

KEY to the Story of the Saint *Alban's*-Ghost.

[Pg 8]

Mother Haggy, Mother *Jen—gs*.
Haggite, *D—s of M—*
Avaro, *Duke of M—*
Baconface, *Earl of G—*.
Dammy-blood, *Lord W—*.
Clumzy, *Earl of S—*.
Splitcause, *Lord C—*.
Mouse, *Lord H—*.
Jointed-babies, *the Figures intended for the Procession on Queen Elizabeth's Birth-Day*.
Dry-bones, *B— of S—*
Jacobo, Jacob Ton—n, Senior, *Door-holder to the Kit-Cat-Club*.

FINIS.

KEY to the Story of the Saint *Alban's*-Ghost.

[Pg 8]

Mother Haggy, Mother *Jen—gs*.
Haggite, *D—s of M—h*.
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Dry-bones, *B—p of S—y*.
Jacobo, Jacob Ton—n Senior, *Door-holder to the Kit-Cat-Club*.

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collaboration between Aubuthnot and Swift, "judging from the
collaboration between Arbuthnot and Swift, "judging from the

works of Dr. Walstaffe.)[6]

works of Dr. Wagstaffe.)[6]

216 Blasiji anat. animalium, and 5 more

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