

Il tema

TOLAND'S SYMBOLIC VISIBILITY IN DUBLIN

KENNETH CRAVEN
(New York)

The day after I gave a paper on John Toland and Jonathan Swift in Marsh's Library, Dublin 1986, a Dublin newspaper pronounced that Toland was not Irish. Now we come upon a 1997 edition of his *Christianity not Mysterious* only to learn in the critical essays appended to this new edition that he is a seminal Irish philosopher with an unimpeachable Celtic background and pivotally involved in Irish politics and more Irish than Swift¹.

Similarly when we come to the final decades of the seventeenth-century, we have further controversy in the same decades of the twentieth as to whether Dublin then was a major intellectual center. Andrew Carpenter wonders out loud, on the basis of my 1992 book², "whether, under the influence of an informal but highly effective collusion between English Whig historians and the (mostly English-based) publishers of books on Irish history, we have been seriously underestimating Dublin and the importance of its intellectual life during the period when Swift was at Trinity"³.

Finally, Toland has left us with another conundrum: whether the native returning, turned around and precipitously fled this disputed cosmopolis either crest-fallen or heroically self-satisfied on 7 August 1697? Had his *Christianity* and "his grubbing around [Dublin] for preferment in 1697 ... acutely perturbed the edifice of Ascendancy Ireland" which then sent him packing in the nick of time before his certain incarceration and possible martyrdom?⁴ Does Toland's bravado after the event, that his perturbation had made his chief Dublin Answerer, Peter Browne, a bishop cover up for failure or signalled success there? In either case and long, long

afterwards, Toland continued to emphasize the symbolic negative and positive visibility he had achieved in raising a violent hornet's nest of controversy everywhere in Dublin during that Spring and Summer. Certainly, Swift, his chief competitor from the 1690s for propaganda assignments and Irish posts with the Whig Lord Somers and later with Harley-Oxford, himself teetering on the borderline with that Ascendary, had reason to be chagrined with the dual successful outcomes of the Browne and Toland controversy. But we must distinguish when examining the ambitions of all three between their obsessive devotion to necessary career searches or even more obsessive dedication to their fundamental causes. Toland made certain that his own controversial ripple effect then and now advanced all agendas.

What we see in both centuries are twin tendencies to hate-underestimate-excoriate or admire-overestimate-romanticize Toland and, similarly, we are at loggerheads, then and now, as where to place Dublin then on the world stage of intellectual history and intellectual life: cosmopolis and/or colonial outpost. Toland aggressively challenges his observers to adopt positions, to take sides.

Meanwhile complexities compounded surround the man, the age and his staging areas. The exo-esoteric, Janus Toland lived in a maddingly inconclusive, end-of-century time, hopping about for relatively short sojourns at pivotal intellectual places and embracing equally-controversial patrons. Further, the unresolved broad-brush religious-political issues generating war and genocide or peace and stability that consumed his age consume us now. Both periods have seen explosions of propagandistic information and a boon print economy. Viewed on a millennia European scale as he wished, Toland emerges, particularly in continental studies, as a major prime mover communicating the past to promote catalytic change for good or ill depending on one's point of view. That panoramic perspective extends into global millennial futures.

In contrast, Philip McGuinness alludes to the paradoxical Toland as currently languishing in obscurity⁵. Yet, ironically, the brilliant critical essays affixed by the editors to the 1997 edition of *Christianity* not only create a state-of-the-art on Tolandian research,

TOLAND'S SYMBOLIC VISIBILITY IN DUBLIN

but open up heretofore unexplored avenues and issues on Toland, Europe and Ireland that lend historical dimension and illumination on a millennial basis to parochial, state, regional and global conditions under which our present age itself languishes *in extremis* now.

An operational flame thrower. Regardless of whether you subscribe to his esoteric point of view, Toland raises all the major human issues in his own time and place within this time warp. Priestcraft among the Druids vs. the purity of the eighth to twelfth century Culdee Movement become metaphors and inspiration for his own incendiary symbolic visibility in "to-the-death" Catholic-Protestant-deistic-subsect clashes in the seventeenth century. In his torrent of publications, he blends Irish and European antiquity with the two hundred modern years that preceded him. With modern main shapes arising in the seventeenth century, Toland swears by James Harrington's tripart model of rule by the one, the few or the many. He addresses intrinsic/extrinsic church/state conflicts adapting Harrington to his own precise divisions of threatened egoistic monarchies, feuding feudal oligarchies and manipulated and by-passed popular cultures.

Toland applies learning in intellectual history to religion and governance and comes up with his own further reformation of the future: unified Protestantism without mystery and a Commonwealth within the Harringtonian balance. His method, even as he denies it, is *Scribere est agere* (To write is to incite to action)⁶. He incites violent action and reaction, creatively sparking arson from threatened establishments applied against his incendiary causes and incendiary self. He fuels their fire by challenging their fundamental *raison d'être*, by appealing to the learned authority of cool reason, and by awakening basic interests within the popular culture. Toland wanted to be known for an ancient Irish heroism for millennial causes against mighty forces; he was much too busy to suffer martyrdom.

He leaves posterity with two literally crowning achievements: restoration of the Protestant monarchical succession in northern Europe and throwing Christianity into a theosophical frenzy throughout the British Isles and Europe. Symbolic fulfillment of

both centennial challenges to established authority occurred in his 1701 visit to Hanover and his 1697 visit to Dublin, respectively. Both must be addressed from the standpoint of Toland's own historical canvas which sees millennial process and closure in northern Europe and northern Ireland, respectively.

Where then is his contemporary support system? At least, Swift had a surrogate father to play off of in Sir William Temple. As a loner, Toland attached himself to Locke as the best he could come up with. More important to Toland than capitalizing on Locke's philosophy and their strained association, he models on Locke's focus, agendas and executive powers. Both see themselves as prime movers in the second half of the seventeenth century: Locke, the architect and implementer of Britain's American Colonial policy – utopian oligarchy with religious toleration – in association with the First Earl of Shaftesbury; Toland, the architect and implementer of the union of northern European Protestantism – in association with the Third Earl of Shaftesbury⁷. They came along with perfect centennial timing for dealing with flux in university, church and state. Both focused on reformation closure, permanent change and new directions.

Toland, like John Locke singlehandedly, along with the freemasons and the Bolsheviks, believed that intellectual movements and intellectuals needed to interpenetrate boldly the precincts of power in order to initiate change. Locke played the insider in all senses who used historical contexts and philosophical precedents including classical and biblical sources to justify his conflicting property and human rights philosophies. Toland acted the outsider in all senses who also used historical contexts and philosophic polemic inextricably tied to highly symbolic and visible anachronistic heroism. Both forged job-specific alliances with reigning authorities in learning, religion and governance and had no trouble in all environments with either about facing or outfacing revolving-door leaderships in the manner of the chameleon-like First Earl. Enablers in an European environment where beleaguered establishments became inhibited by adversary watching and shoring up, these activists recognized and closely monitored and cloned on the

other. Viewing and stalling on the draft of Toland's *Christianity* enabled Locke's preemptive strike of *The Reasonableness of Christianity* and critical use of his executive power to delay the lapsing of the Licensing Act until 1695. Locke also knew that once he opened that propaganda door, Toland would be waiting at the portal to ressurect mid-century Commonwealth causes of Milton, Ludlow, and the Calves-Head Club.

But the Tolandian bridge from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century goes back much earlier to the Rosicrucian Enlightenment and extends much later to its revival during the *Sturm und Drang* period to Kant, Feuerbach and Schelling, thereby creating eighteenth and nineteenth century revolutionary ferment in Germany and Russia. Like Laurence Sterne, Toland's continental speculative masonic connections are important since their documentation and brotherhoods grew out of the melding of Scottish operative masonry and the Rosicrucians.

The attempt to consolidate Protestantism intellectually and politically in northern Europe began with the marriage of Princess Elizabeth Stuart to Frederick V, Elector Palatine on St. Valentine's Day, 1613, and ended with the mission of Toland to Princess Sophia, their youngest daughter, to secure the Hanoverian succession in 1701. Toland enters this picture in June 1701 with extended prior esoteric knowledge of Bruno and the Rosicrucians as it pertained directly to the 1613 marriage that gave him undisputed ascendancy over contemporaries then and critics now.

In June 1701, an Act was passed *for the further Limitation of the Crown*, but settling it after the decease of King WILLIAM and the Princess ANNE of Denmark, and for default of their Issue, upon the Princess SOPHIA, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the Heir of her body being Protestant⁸.

Immediately Toland seconds this decision with *Anglia libera* (1701) alluding in his subtitle that this succession is "*grounded on ... the Safety of our [Protestant] Religion ... [and] the balance of [power in] Europe*". As Stephen Daniel notes, this tract

became his ticket to the circles of international diplomacy. In July 1701, at Harley's request, Toland was selected as a secretary to the embassy to Hanover under Lord Macclesfield and had the honour to present the Act of Settlement and a copy of his book to the Electress Sophia⁹.

Frances Yates in *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1978) finally gives us the back end of this centennial sequence which represented the cornerstone of his 1701 agenda and his alone among his contemporaries. In 1698, Toland had read some of Giordano Bruno's dialogues which he later sent to Leibniz who would have none of it¹⁰. While Toland mistakenly saw Harley as a Country Whig hiding in Tory clothing, Harley's current agendas and career ups and downs precluded Toland at that moment sending his bread and butter patron exegeses on his intended heroic and historic closure.

As Yates tells it, the marriage of James I's daughter to the Elector Palatine turned from glorious expectations in 1613 to "ignominious failure" as The Winter King and Queen of Bohemia. The relation of this marriage to Bruno, John Dee and the *Rosicrucian Manifestos* (1614, 1615) has "slipped out of history":

Disowned by James I, the movement foundered, but its reconstruction is a most necessary preliminary for the tracing of "Rosicrucian" survival in the later seventeenth century¹¹.

Even as Toland is temporarily decrying his "juvenile" *Christianity* in 1701, his sense of personally consummating the North European Protestant consolidation after a centennial delay may have seemed to him simply a halfway house in his long-term development toward a universal religion of deism and ultimately pantheism. The speculative freemasons who come out of the Rosicrucian movement saw no less. But in Toland's case, his vision is not only forward but back to the pure Christianity of the eighth to twelfth centuries of his Gaelic North.

Harrington's Rule of one, like the mills of the gods, moved with millennial speed, but, inexorably, from feudal states to monarchies

to colonial hegemonies. The longstanding Catholic-aligned Hapsburg Empire belonging in this latter day category had anticipated this move by the German states to link the new Great Britain with their Protestant Union through the daughter of James I. They had earlier exploited the religious split among the Tudors and saw in the transplanted Stuart king, a vacillating son of Mary, Queen of Scots, with a willingness to entertain continental suitors of either persuasion for his daughter Elizabeth while negotiating a strategically balancing Catholic choice for his remaining son Charles I. The Calvinist Frederick as President of the Union of German Protestant Princes followed up the Defenestration of Prague and popular Protestant uprising by assuming the kingship of Bohemia. He was counting on far more than lip service and received far less from his father-in-law and his fellow princes. The failed consolidation led to the brutal Thirty Years War, Bertold Brecht's metaphor for perfected modern genocide in *Mother Courage*. The ill-fated Rosicrucian couple ended as the Winter King and Queen of Bohemia, thus nullifying the metaphysical John Donne's metaphor on their wedding day as "by this act of these two phoenixes Nature again restored is ... More truth, more courage in these two do shine"¹². But not in Toland's scenario.

Margaret Jacob's credible analysis of Toland's extended European masonic connections and influence after 1701 registers the importance of the Rosicrucian origins to eighteenth-century freemasonry and utilizes Yates's twentieth-century fleshing out of this inextricable connection. But she was in no way obligated in her eighteenth-century emphasis to tie these connections of Toland to the early seventeenth-century intellectual and political beginnings of the Rosicrucian movement or to the unfinished saga of the *Protestant* Stuart succession.

But several facts stare out at us. The Rosicrucian movement which begins with John Dee and Giordano Bruno was not crack-brained – like some latter day adherents – but an articulated, intellectual and political movement – a secret international Protestant counterpoise to both established church-state powers and traditions and to the far-flung Jesuits. The metaphysicals supported it.

Andreae, Comenius, and Hartlib, exiles to Britain in the wake of the Thirty Years War, ironically achieved pan-European Protestant goals that had eluded the failed Stuart-Calvinist marriage alliance. The exchange of Protestant intellectuals between Britain and the German states in the Rosicrucian cause before and during that bloody war did as much to change the learned, political and religious landscape in seventeenth-century Britain as did the return of the Marian Exiles under Elizabeth I. For Toland, the mid-century regicide and Interregnum were mere *intermediate* steps to the Protestant closure he was born to make. In 1687 in Glasgow, he was known as an incendiary Rosicrucian. There even during James II short reign, he also praises the Protestant cause. Who knew more of the Tudor-Stuart origins and their North Briton Catholic connections; the Calvinist dissenters in the North; Bruno and the Rosicrucians; consequent mid-century environments in his Britons – North, East and West, and more intimately the contemporary infighting in church and state among Anglicans, dissenters and Jacobites? He constantly affirms the Protestant accession of William and obsessively damns popery in his tracts. A half-century before Bonnie Prince Charlie, he sees Jacobite intrigue in Swift and Oxford.

Donne's prophetic poem on the Rosicrucian wedding of Elizabeth Stuart and the magical Frederick, Elector Palatine, calls for their rising as one phoenix with infinite truth and courage to again "restore Nature". In the light of their failure to forge North European Protestant unity, stage one, and a cosmic religion of Nature, the ultimate goal, two seventeenth-century vacuums continued to exist with historical antecedents which galvanized and propelled Toland to assume his heroic mantle. In 1700, already flushed with the notoriety-fame of his 1696 *Christianity* and resulting 1697 Dublin controversy and reception of his pieces on the blocked reforms of his mid-century heroes Milton, Denzil, Ludlow and Harrington, Toland publishes a self-giveaway, *Clito: A Poem on the Force of Eloquence*. While happily acknowledging poetry as "not his Business", he instead lets us in on "how far the Force of Eloquence could go" (p. 5). "With large impetuous Floods of Elo-

TOLAND'S SYMBOLIC VISIBILITY IN DUBLIN

quence ... he best protects [the justest Cause] who's ablest to offend" (p. 7). After disclosing his knack for inflammatory rhetoric, Toland bares the Herculean immensity of his godlike, heroic tasks, his incredible preparation, and his endless expectations of redeeming the world.

Two quotes from Barry Raftery's 1994 *Pagan Celtic Ireland* relate Toland's 1700 *Clito* directly to the third century B.C. Gauls and the seventeenth century Rosicrucians. Raftery quotes Cato the Elder (234-149 B.C.) as epitomizing Gaul with "only two main passions: 'war and loquacity'"¹³. On the basis of his archaeological evidence, Raftery concludes that "the nature-based character of [pagan] Celtic religion is at all times evident"¹⁴. I list with page numbers from *Clito* some of Toland's ancient Herculean tasks – hardly understated, but hardly ironic either – his inner motivations, and sure expectations:

- (p. 8) Bless the World with everlasting Light.
A noble Fury does possess my Soul.
The fate of Beings ... shall be what pleases my creating Pen.
Who formed the Universe ... [and the] Laws of Nature.
- (p. 9) The source of Life, of Soul or Mind.
- (p. 10) Nor can one Atom [of Nature] escape my prying Eyes.
Ambitious Tyrants, proud and useless Drones, I'll first expose,
then tumble from their Thrones.
- (p. 11) Restore the Nation to its perfect Health ... and form a Commonwealth.
A matchless Hero.
- (p. 13) O potent *Britain!* ...
Their products East and West shall send to thee. [Locke's colonial policy]
- (p. 14) Where's the Hercules to redeem the Age?
- (p. 15) All Holy Cheats of all Religions shall partake my Threats.
- (p. 16) Religion's safe, with PRIESTCRAFT is the War.
There's but one, true, all-perfect DEITY.
- (p. 20) So shall my Words like Thunderbolts be hurled,
And will confound or mend the erring World.

It would be hard to find a discrepancy between Toland's above agenda in *Clito* (1700) and that of the *Rosicrucian Manifestos* (1614, 1615). Associated with the Rosicrucian tasks of the Empress Sophia's parents, Yates quotes from the English translation of a satire at that time linking the ill-fated couple with the Rosicrucian movement.

They [the royal pair] expected to teach the world
And to reform all schools, churches, and law courts,
And to bring everything to the state
In which Adam found it,
And even to my state, Saturns,
And this was called the golden time.

Yates gives a clear analysis:

Here is the general reformation of the world announced in the Rosicrucian manifestos described as a world reformation which the Bohemians expected to achieve through the Elector Palatine. Whilst involving definite reforms in education, church, and law, this general reformation has millenarian overtones; it will bring the world back to the state in which Adam found it, which was also Saturn's golden age¹⁵.

It is not difficult to associate the esoteric Toland with this early millennial movement which moves away from the apocalyptic millenarian flood linked with the Christian mysteries which inundated dissenting Christianity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Rosicrucian movement toward a new universal religion and state occupies a utopian-secular-scientific-occult-reasoning base. As Katherine R. Firth correctly points out using Yates and others, the Rosicrucian movement eclipsed the earlier millenarian thrusts of the John's Bale, Foxe, Knox and Napier and modified the millennial positions of Joseph Mede and Milton¹⁶.

Similarly, it is hardly difficult to link the esoteric Toland as a carrier and disseminator of this Rosicrucian tradition safely throughout both the eighteenth century and Europe with its succeeding

TOLAND'S SYMBOLIC VISIBILITY IN DUBLIN

masonic generations. Margaret Jacob has updated her 1981 *Radical Enlightenment* findings on Toland and continental freemasonry with her 1988 "Freemasonry and the Utopian Impulse"¹⁷.

Toland eschewed the mystical, the mysterious, the hermetic, the alchemical, and the healing in the Rosicrucian movement, but not its science of Nature, its rejection of Cartesian causality, its hopes of a universal reformation in learning, religion and governance and its concept of an international secretly communicating network undermining moribund church-state establishments. But Toland had a unique string to his ancient bow that determined what he accepted or rejected in the Rosicrucian-freemasonic movement. His impressionable youth on the Inishowen Peninsula above Derry by its very remoteness from the acculturation by waves of Viking and Norman invasions had been one of those anachronic pockets steeped in and preserving a much earlier Gaelic religious tradition. It is within the contexts of these ancient origins that we may view Toland's esoteric intent and exoteric visibility in the return of the native to 1697 Dublin.

Why did he come and what did he expect? On his exoteric visibility and vulnerability in Dublin, two chapters of my 1992 book have examined his 1696 *Christianity* (Toland: "Mysterious Reason", pp. 17-38) and its and Toland's combined violent receptions in Dublin the following year (Marsh and Browne: "Ass and Rider", pp. 39-55). In the Appendix to Alan D. Francis's biography of Chancellor John Methuen, we have the heretofore missing contemporary evidence that Toland came to Dublin with the knowledge that his position and credibility with the new Chancellor would be secure both before and after his symbolic performance to rouse further controversy over *Christianity* while simultaneously building his heroic self-image. Francis quotes from "Explanation attached to Ballad" composed at that time and found in S. P. 32/11, fos. 76-77¹⁸.

Toland is the person who has lately set up a new sect of religion beyond the Socinians and was a great favourite of the Chancellor and was carried with him into Ireland to be His Lordship's Secretary but then by

KENNETH CRAVEN

order of the House of Commons was committed and had his books burned by the Hangman and is now in great disgrace but still in favour with his Lordship¹⁹.

This “Explanation” to the satiric ballad is not correct on one point. Toland preceded his Lordship by several months and, therefore, remained uninhibited by career assignments during those months which enabled him to carry out his own business unencumbered. The satiric *Ballad against Methuen to the tune of “Lillibullero”*, a tune sung earlier by Protestants at the battle of the Boyne (1690), links Toland with Methuen, Molesworth and Moyle. Its last verse:

To secure the church to be of his side,
He has made Toland his spiritual guide,
So in England as Ireland there are Parties three,
The spiritual, temporal, Toland and he,
Spiritual Methuen, Molesworth and Moyle,
Methwin, Methwin, Chancellor Methwin,
Shadow and substance, Molesworth and Moyle²⁰.

With this safety net, giving offense in England, upping the ante with himself displayed in Ireland, and then again to the English Lower House of Convocation was all his joy. Toland taunted his victims into extreme emotional positions of public rage that always promoted his lasting image. On the other side of this “offend and self-puffery” equation, his swiftly published followups, *Apology* (1697), *Defence* (1697), and *Vindicius liberius* (1702), endlessly stretched out his heroic self-imaging. In the *Apology*, for example, he anticipates the 1700 *Clito* by association with historic religious heroes who gave offense to villainy and, inevitably, suffered ignominy for their heroism and the justice of their cause.

What a pile on of suffering religious heroes! Did not Paul suffer calumny too. Heathen priests [mis]representing primitive Christianity “cruelly persecuted innocent persons ... with Infamy, Confiscation, and Death... The Waldenses, Wicclifists, Hussites, and the first Reformers were treated after the same manner by the

TOLAND'S SYMBOLIC VISIBILITY IN DUBLIN

Church of Rome". He rounds off his common heroic identity under stress with Luther and Calvin, Protestants that monks painted "worse than Devils"²¹. The last quote echoes Peter Browne's reference to Toland with the cloven hoof.

So much for Toland's unceasing offending busyness and unending exoteric benefits from his 1697 Dublin foray. Now within the context of this research and the interrelated critical essays affixed to the 1997 *Christianity* edition, I am equally impressed with the esoteric importance of Toland's Celtic background that accompanied him to Dublin. These new critical essays coordinate with equally new archaeological light on pagan Celtic Ireland and distinct work on Gaelic linguistics. Richard Kearney's "John Toland: An Irish Philosopher" in particular has hit upon the esoteric material that belonged to his Gaelic soul and Inishowen childhood and youth:

Toland spent much of his life seeking to restore, or reinvent, a noble genealogy for himself, going so far as to suggest that he was the descendant of old Gaelic aristocracy (the Uf Thuathalláin) and persuading Irish Franciscans in Prague to certify his story²².

His Celtic validation in Prague also speaks to Celtic prehistoric roots and population movement in the central European Iron Age about the middle of the fifth century B.C. as well as the Defenestration of Prague victimizing Catholic priests in the early seventeenth century. He brought all this ancestral baggage to Dublin with him in 1697. But Kearney has also come up with all the law and the prophets – far more than Locke – that produced Christianity and his later pantheism:

Toland never abandoned his Irish roots and returned again and again to the claim that the ancient Irish Church of the Culdees was the most genuine form of Christianity²³.

Finally, from that same antiquity, Kearney has come upon Toland's Gaelic hero:

Toland identifies his own persecution with that of his compatriot and predecessor Johannes Scottus Eriugena”²⁴.

His years are c. 810-c. 877. Even an initial perusal of Eriugena's *De divisione naturae* suggests a natural theology of all things emanating from God that Toland would have as dearly embraced as the man.

Toland and Swift, both 1670 offspring, pounced on specific esoteric guideposts from antiquity that determined their own standards in religion, governance and learning. Their literary products enhanced by their calculated mythopeic images continue to provide an essential Irish dimension and perspective to twenty-first century intellectual screens – the last three centuries having been relative spiritual, governmental and humanistic vacuums in the West. Both were exiled from Ireland: Swift in his first two vital psychologically formative years to Cumbria and in early manhood to Moor Park and Temple's library; Toland, a youthful self-exile solidifying his theological roots from one Gaelic world to another made his progressive university hopping habitual South after East in order to connect bridges between intellectual and religious reformation. In all their career meanderings and universal goal presentations, Toland had to bear the stigmas of illegitimate and Janus markings of the outsider, while Swift who enjoyed more legitimate cloakings in Ireland and England, nevertheless, cultivated an image unattractive to all contemporary Establishments. Consequently, while both lived by their wits, Toland until the end had to constantly seek and exhaust patrons without a tenured perch while Swift maintained expectations of a lucrative perch or venue. In the end, while both achieved a measure of well-being, they lived mainly to translate their universal goals into contemporaneously-marketable products propelled by the thrust of longterm, symbolic visibility.

The late seventeenth-century Toland harks back to the English revolutionary incendiaries of the mid-century, to the north European Rosicrucian movement that propelled them, to Bruno, Dee and the Marian Exiles of the sixteenth century, to his native Culdee

TOLAND'S SYMBOLIC VISIBILITY IN DUBLIN

Movement of the eighth to twelfth centuries, to Eriugena, and to the Kelt/Gaul background in central Europe from the Iron Age to the Halstatt and La Tène archaeological residue in far Northern Ireland. These latter associations supply his Gaelic revolutionary goals and heroic validation.

Consequently, for Toland, his bravura performance in Dublin in the Spring and Summer of 1697 represented the triumphant return of the native with studied heroic credentials and Gaelic authenticity for threatening the Church establishment in his homeland. Toland incensed the Irish authorities beyond his hopes to escalating repressive actions limited only by his timely flight. For the exclusive attention dedicated to him and his burned book by the power elite, Toland could draw out its heroic implications by protracted memorializing and self-justifying in a series of published tracts over the next five years. Calculating his historic impact on Europe and now Ireland has kept us busy even at this late date.

NOTES

- 1 JOHN TOLAND, *Christianity not Mysterious*, text, associated works and critical essays, ed. by PHILIP MCGUINNESS, ALAN HARRISON, RICHARD KEARNEY, Dublin, The Lilliput Press, 1997.
- 2 *Jonathan Swift and the Millennium of Madness: The Information Age in Swift's A Tale of a Tub*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1992.
- 3 "Eighteenth-Century Ireland", IX, 1995, p. 139.
- 4 PHILIP MCGUINNESS, *John Toland and Irish Politics*, in *Christianity not Mysterious* 1997, p. 279.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 285.
- 6 *An Apology for Mr. Toland*, in *Christianity*, pp. 109-135.
- 7 F. H. HEINEMANN, *John Toland the Age of Reason*, "Archiv für Philosophie", IV, 1950, pp. 35-66.
- 8 JOHN TOLAND, *The Miscellaneous Works*, ed. by PIERRE DESMAIZEAUX, 2 vols, London, 1747, vol. 1, pp. L-LI.
- 9 STEPHEN H. DANIEL, *John Toland: His Methods, Manners, and Mind*, Kingston, Ontario, McGill-Queens University Press, 1984, pp. 9-10.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 FRANCES A. YATES, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972, p. XIII.

KENNETH CRAVEN

- 12 *An Epithalamion, or Marriage Song on the Lady Elizabeth and Count Palatine Being Married on St. Valentine's Day*, 1613, lines 99-100.
- 13 BARRY RAFTERY, *Pagan Celtic Ireland: The Enigma of the Irish Iron Age*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1994, p. 10.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 179.
- 15 YATES, p. 57.
- 16 KATHARINE R. FIRTH, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1979, pp. 204-241.
- 17 MARGARET C. JACOB, *Freemasonry and the Utopian Impulse*, in *Millenarianism and Messianism in English Literature and Thought, 1650-1800. Clark Library Lectures 1981-1982*, ed. by RICHARD H. POPKIN, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1988, pp. 143-144.
- 18 ALAN D. FRANCIS, *The Methuens and Portugal 1691-1708*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1966, pp. 356-358.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 358.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 356-357.
- 21 *An Apology for Mr. Toland*, in *Christianity*, 1997, pp. 129-130.
- 22 RICHARD KEARNEY, *John Toland: An Irish Philosopher?*, in *Christianity*, 1997, p. 208.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 209.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 210.