SOME NEW SWEDENBORG DOCUMENTS.

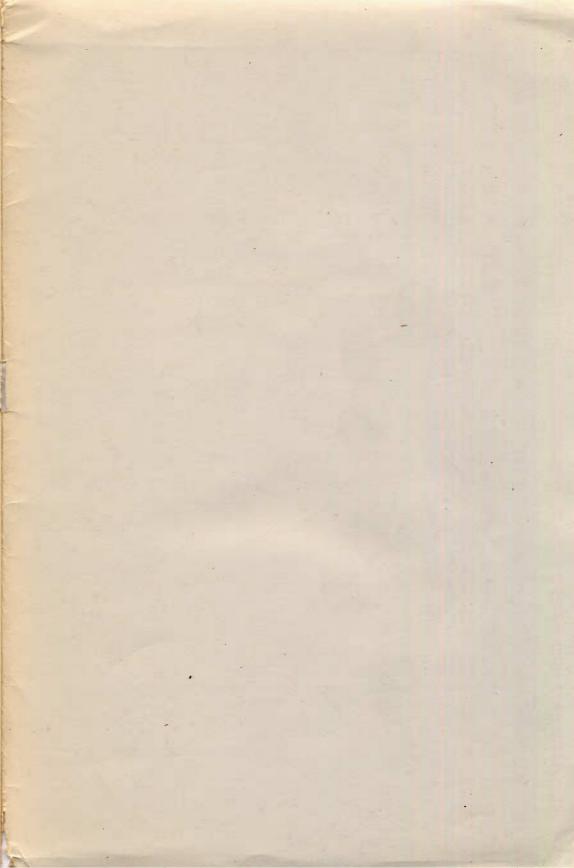
EDITED BY ALFRED ACTON.

Note: The documents that follow are all in German, except de Treuer's letters, which are in French, and the letters by Swedenborg which, with one exception, are in Latin. The German and French letters were translated by Mrs. Claire Berninger, and the Latin by the Editor.

In the January, 1947, issue of New Church Life, p. 43, mention was made of some new Swedenborg documents discovered in the Hessian Archives by Prof. Dr. Ernst Benz of Marburg, and which were to be incorporated in his book, Swedenborg in Deutschland. It was there stated that while Prof. Benz had made copies of these documents, the originals were destroyed by the Allied Air Force. Since then I received from Prof. Benz, some months ago, the pleasing news that the Curator of the Hessian Archives had written him that on examination it was found that the Swedenborg documents had not been destroyed after all. Dr. Benz had already sent me printed proof sheets of these documents, and, after hearing the good news above recited, he sent me photostats of the most important of them, and these are now in the possession of The Academy of the New Church.

Dr. Benz's book, Swedenborg in Deutschland, has now been printed, and lies before me at this moment. I here review, not the book, but only its appendix, which contains all the new Swedenborgian documents.

The first extant letter in the correspondence between Swedenborgand Oetinger is a letter from the former to the latter, dated September 23, 1766 (2 Doc. 248); but it is clear from this that previously Oetinger had written two letters to Swedenborg, one of which was dated October 13, 1765 (ibid.). These are now lost, but their contents can be gathered in part from Swedenborg's answer and from Oetinger's Selbstbiographie, pp. 96-97, where he says, referring to



the year 1765: "I had also written to Baron von Swedenborg at Stockholm, to the effect that one can readily see how that I have accepted from him nothing but what belongs to sacred philosophy, and how I detest his idea of interpretation." This letter was probably written after Oetinger had printed his German translation of the Memorabilia in the *Arcana Coelestia*, and, as it would seem, mentions Oetinger's reasons for translating only the Memorabilia.

Other letters passed between the two men in October, November and December, 1766, December, 1767, October and November, 1768 (*ibid.*, 252 seq., 1033, 268). Swedenborg's answer to Oetinger's letter of December 16, 1767 (2 Doc. 258) is lost, but its contents are in part indicated by Oetinger in a letter dated December 24, 1771, and addressed to his intimate friend and sympathizer, the Stuttgart Pastor, Carl Frederick Hartmann. There he writes: "I have curious news from Swedenborg. He has talked with Benzel ¹ and Fricker. Both are faring very well there. Fricker must have advanced objections against him. Swedenborg said that Fricker is continually with me and inserts himself into my ideas" (Ehmann, Oetinger, 770; 3 Doc. 1060).

On October 4, 1768, Swedenborg wrote to Oetinger that he had sent him three copies of the newly published work Conjugial Love (2 Doc. 268), with the request that he present one to any illustrious man whom he might know. Oetinger received the books in December, and, in acknowledging their receipt, he invited Swedenborg to visit him in Murrhard, Wurttemberg (3 Doc. 1057). This was a risky and courageous thing to do, for at that time Oetinger was being persecuted because of the publication of his book, Swedenborg and other Earthly and Heavenly Philosophy, and the Wurttemberg Consistory had ordered Oetinger not to receive Swedenborg in case he should come (Ehmann, Oetingers Leben u. Briefe, p. 302; 3 Doc. 1033).

Oetinger's book was published in 1765, and in 1766, owing to the action of a personal enemy of Oetinger (*ibid.*), it was condemned by

¹ The celebrated Biblical student, Joh. Albrecht Benzel, who died in 1751. Oetinger served as his secretary for many years.

² Joh. Ludwig Fricker, a Wurttemberg Pastor and philosophical writer who was a close friend of Oetinger.

^{2a} A town some thirty miles northeast of Stuttgart.

the Stuttgart Consistory, and all copies were confiscated (Ehmann, 681, 293).³ This was done without notifying Oetinger, and without denouncing any specific statement in his book. Oetinger claimed that, as a district prelate, he was not under the jurisdiction of the Stuttgart Consistory, but was privileged to appeal to the Duke himself and his privy council. This he did, but in vain. He could neither get a hearing nor receive permission to print his defence and hold a disputation over it.

As a result of the confiscation, wide attention was called to Swedenborg and his visions, and before 1771, when the ban against Oetinger's work was lifted, the work had been twice reprinted—presumably outside Wurttemberg (3 Doc. 1040).

Among others to whom news concerning Swedenborg and his visions thus became known was Ludwig IX, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt. Ludwig was ardently devoted to military matters. In his younger years he had served as an officer in the French army, and from 1743 to 1750 he fought in the Seven Years War as a Lt. General in the Prussian Army under Frederick the Great. He entered into his Landgravate in 1768, when he at once proceeded to the formation of a well drilled army patterned after that of Frederick the Great (Benz, 144 seq.).

But though an ardent militarist, Ludwig was also fanatically devoted to what is now called spiritism. Prof. Benz gives much testimony, drawn from the Hessian Archives, showing that, after leaving the German Army, Ludwig gathered about him soldiers, courtiers, and professors in his Giessen University, who eagerly sought communication with spirits (Benz, 47 seq.), and he himself frequently saw and heard spirits. He even had a certain formula of words for the summoning and dismissal of spirits (*ibid.*, 156). It is not surprising, therefore, that when he heard of Oetinger's book concerning Swedenborg, he wrote to its author for further information.

³ It may be noted that the persecution of Oetinger was the first persecution to be instituted on account of Swedenborg's Writings. The persecution of Beyer and Rosen was the second. But there is a great difference between the two cases. Beyer and Rosen were persecuted because of their belief in the Doctrines. Oetinger believed only in the genuineness of Swedenborg's visions, but utterly rejected his Doctrines, and he was persecuted ostensibly for spreading a knowledge of Swedenborg, but actually owing to the enmity of certain persons.

Naturally Oetinger was delighted at hearing from so exalted a personage, and saw a possibility of being defended by the Landgrave and the Giessen University. Knowing the Landgrave's devotion to spiritism, he at once recalled Swedenborg's request that he send a copy of *Conjugial Love* to some illustrious person. The book, which, in December, 1768, he had described to his friend Hartmann as "consisting of mere dreams" (3 *Doc.* 1057), would certainly be attractive to a spiritist.

On January 15, 1771, Oetinger answered the Landgrave as follows (Benz,* 289):

Most Serene Landgrave, Most gracious Duke and Sir,

The illustrious Assessor of Mines, von Schwedenborg, has corresponded with me now for some time, and has sent me several copies of his book, De Amore Conjugiali, as a gift, with the request that I bring it to the attention of any illustrious duke I might know. Now, as your Serene Highness has such unusual interest in things after death, and as I believe God has caused Schwedenborg to appear at this particular time, I take the liberty of placing this book at the feet of your Serene Highness. I have been chosen by God to translate Schwedenborg's first book into German; 4 the work is no doubt known to your Serene Highness. I have, however, had to suffer its confiscation, though, as a provincial prelate, I do not come under the Consistory; and now, owing to forcible removal of the books, it has made me indebted to my publisher. I gladly suffer anything in order that God himself may justify the cause.

Since the professors and the university intend to be so neutral concerning this, I most humbly ask your Serene Highness to request the Giessen University to air this important matter. Then I also will add my deduction which, for a long time, I have already intended doing. Will your Serene Highness be pleased to

^{*} An asterisk signifies that the cited document is new.

⁴ Namely, Swedenborgs und anderer irrdische und Himmlische Philosophie (Frankfurt & Leipzig, 1765). The work consists of a German translation of the Memorabilia in the first volume of the Arcana. See New Philosophy, 1945, p. 241 seq.

give the painter Eger, who is acquainted with me, a gracious oral answer to this. For ever remaining, in deepest respect,

Your Princely Most Serene Highness'
Most humble Servant

F. C. Oetinger

Provincial Prelate and Abbot at Murrhard

Given at Murrhard, Jan. 15, 1771.

In his answer of February 2, the Landgrave appears to have asked Oetinger for further particulars concerning Swedenborg, and in writing these, Oetinger took the occasion to ask permission to have his defence printed in Hesse Darmstadt, or at least examined by the Theological Faculty of the University of Giessen. For this purpose he sent this defence, consisting of thirteen questions and answers, to his friend Eger for transmission to the Landgrave. His answer to the latter is dated March 24 (Benz,* 289):

Most Serene Landgrave, Most Gracious Duke and Sir,

Though I had not supposed that your Princely Most Serene Highness would so graciously condescend to my humbleness, yet, since I have found certain signs of grace and sympathy in your Highness's answer, I am bold enough to try again and venture a reply.

Swedenborg is the greatest phenomenon in the ecclesiastical sky. His errors in the explanation of Revelation do not at all frighten me; rather do I see therefrom how that, through God's special permission, he interprets some things falsely, in order that one might not make too much of him and yet might take to heart that for which he was sent.

Your Highness will see the words at the end of the book De Amore Conj.: "Intra biennium videbitis Doctrinam Novae Ecclesiae a Domino Praedictae in Apocalypse c. XXI, XXII in plenitudine." ⁶ And he has had this printed in the same words in

⁵ The artist, Eger, who is unknown to fame, was also an alchemist (Benz, 159). He appears to have resided in Pirmasens, the residence of the Landgrave—a town some fifteen miles southeast of Zweibrucken.

⁶ "Within two years you will see the doctrine of the New Church predicted by the Lord in the Apocalypse, chapters XXI, XXII, in its fullness."

Theosophica lucubratio de influxu.⁷ The two years have passed, but it has not appeared.⁸ I can excuse these and similar errors on the basis of the Scripture. The same happened to Paul.^{8a}

Your Princely Most Serene Highness will graciously pardon me if I confess that, besides your Serene Highness, there is no Prince whose heart has been so inclined by God that he can see with his own eyes. I praise God for it on my knees. It is as rare a thing as with Swedenborg himself. Therefore, on my knees, I request—provided your Highness cannot mix with the Academic scientists (since they are men, taught mostly, not by God but by routine)—that, from his answers, you would further examine Swedenborg, asking him, for instance: 1. Concerning the battle of the Russians, on August 1st, about which he has predicted. 2. Concerning the "bienno" which has gone by without effect.

I do not presume to give any advice to your Princely Most Serene Highness, yet I do wish your Highness would graciously permit or command that I might be allowed to print my further Apology, and, in fact, at your Princely Most Serene Highness'

7 "A Theosophical Lucubration concerning Influx." This is the Latin translation of the title given by Hartley to his English version of the work. Swedenborg's title was De Commercio Animae et Corporis.

⁸ Conjugial Love was published in Sept., 1768, and the T.C.R. in June, 1771, thus over two years later. Oetinger interpreted Swedenborg's words to mean that in two years the holy City, the New Jerusalem, would descend from heaven as prophesied in the Apocalypse; and in May or June, 1771, in a letter to Dr. Beyer, he advances, as an objection to Swedenborg, the fact that the New Jerusalem has not so descended (3 Doc. 1044). On June 15, Dr. Beyer writes him the true meaning of Swedenborg's words, but he does not appear to have been convinced (Benz, 203).

^{8a} The reference is to Paul's expectation of the Second Coming in his own time (1 Thess. 4: 16, 17).

⁹ That is, that he had open intercourse with spirits. Oetinger himself was no spiritist, though he lent a ready ear to all who claimed to have intercourse with spirits. He rejected Swedenborg's doctrines, but regarded his visions as Divinely given in an unbelieving age, to confirm the reality of the life after death. The Landgrave was interested merely in the development of actual communication with spirits.

¹ From 1767-1774 the Russians were at war with Turkey. The prediction referred to was one of many rumors as to Swedenborg's sayings and doings, for the latter was not given to predictions.

gracious request; or, that your Highness would have it printed without censorship at Darmstadt.^{2a} I have sent it to the painter Eger, since it finds no lovers at Darmstadt. If, however, your Princely Most Serene Highness should find it more advisable that I have it printed, with appendix, at Heilbronz, and at the gracious request and command of your Highness, then I will do so quickly; but if this should fail, I will send it to the Giessen University, which, from the thirteen questions and answers, as well as from the teachings of Swedenborg, would then have enough material to form a judgment.

Remain tranquil, I now leave everything to the all-governing hand of God, and refrain from all interference. I have been taught by God from my youth, and up to my present seventy years I have studied all the sciences in relation to God. I do not bother myself with routine, but struggle in my soul in obedience to Truth. Your Princely Most Serene Highness will have heard how I and Chancellor Reuss 3—who yet, unlike myself, thinks also academically in regard to the Swedenborg matterhave told the inner committee of the state the truth; and, for the sake of the truth, I will endure everything, even from my Consistory, under which I do not stand. I forgive them; they know not what they do; they judge one-sidedly, not ex integra causa. My wish, therefore, is that God and Jesus the Lord will further open your Serene Highness's eyes to find out what is best. I have written a book against D. Semler who has declared the Revelation of John to be fanatical.4 It is being printed. I herewith deprecate humbly, but with unchanged devotion, my liberty, and expire,

Your Princely Most Serene Highness's Most humble Servant, Counsellor in Theol. Oetinger

^{2a} This appears to be a slip for Giessen or Pirmasens.

³ Jeremias Friederich Reuss (1700-1771), the Chancellor of Tübingen University. It was indirectly through Reuss that Oetinger first learned of Swedenborg's Arcana Coelestia, though Reuss himself was without any interest whatever in Swedenborg's theological works; see 3 Doc. 1030, 1034, 1057.

⁴ Translated, the title of the book referred to is: "A Letter to the Theologians, that no worldly philosophy should be used in the interpretation of Holy Writ, and that Semler's destruction of the Apocalypse should be denied." It was published in 1772.

Given at Murrhard, built by Ludov. Pio,⁵ whose tombstone is here. March 24, 1771.

The thirteen questions and answers (Benz,*.291-308) sent to the Landgrave constitute Oetinger's defence of his Swedenborg and other Earthly and Heavenly Philosophy. Here Oetinger contends vigorously for the genuineness of Swedenborg's visions, while wholly denying the truth of his exegesis according to the doctrine of Correspondences. The defence is a long document, and need not be quoted here. Note may be made, however, of some interesting remarks which it includes concerning what is commonly called the Queen's Secret.

"It is a remarkable thing (he writes) that while the King of Prussia [Frederick the Great] has caused so much skepticism as to the immortality of the soul, her Majesty, his own sister [Queen Louisa Ulrica of Sweden], through Swedenborg's testimony, must protest against this at his own court, and show the contrary" (Benz, 300).

In answering the question whether Swedenborg was a seer like those of old, Oetinger says: "For this skeptical age, the news about the Queen's Secret in Sweden is important. It would serve for greater enlightenment, were I fortunate enough to obtain from his Serene Highness, the Marquis of Anspach, the letter and certificate which the Duchess of Brunswick [a sister of Queen Louisa Ulrica] wrote you. This would clearly show that Swedenborg is a seer" (ibid., 304).

Further on he says: "It is known that the reality of Swedenborg's revelations is legitimately proved by the story of Prince William of Prussia [a younger brother of Louisa Ulrica] to the Queen of Sweden; ⁷ he has also predicted the victory of the Russians over the Turks" (ibid., 305).8

- ⁵ Louis the Pious, or Le Debonnair, the son of Charlemagne.
- ⁶ Ludwig's interest in spiritism would naturally welcome such a letter.
- ⁷ That is, the message for the Queen which the deceased Prince William gave to Swedenborg in the spiritual world.
- ⁸ It is said, on the authority of Jung Stilling, that Oetinger wrote to the Queen of Sweden (then the Queen Dowager) and received word from her, affirming that Swedenborg had truly spoken with her brother in the spiritual world (2 Doc. 659), but the story lacks all foundation in fact; for Oetinger placed so much stress on the Queen's secret as a plain proof of the reality of

The Landgrave's answer (now lost) to Oetinger's last letter seems to have evidenced such interest in Swedenborg that, in a letter dated Murrhard, June 6, 1771 (Benz,* 308), Oetinger writes:

Most Serene Highness,

Gracious Prince and Sir,

In your last most gracious letter to me, your high Princely Serene Highness so far condescended that I am emboldened to venture to present a most humble petition, with respect to putting into print my essay on Swedenborg. But I surmise that with my all too bold proposal I have been overbold toward your high Princely Serene Highness.

As I have now received news from Sweden [probably from Dr. Beyer or Dr. Rosen, with whom he was in communication (Ehmann, 763; 3 Doc. 1041)] concerning the charge of the Bishops against Swedenborg's controversial doctrine, together with the King's answer and a counter defence by Swedenborg, and this is now being printed; ⁹ and since it might be well that the MS. sent to your Serene Highness, of which I made no copy, and which was intended for Giessen, be printed with the rest; therefore I pray most humbly and earnestly that your Serene Highness would be so gracious as to order that this essay of about 3 sheets be returned as soon as possible, that it may not be excluded from the printed work.¹

Your high Princely Serene Highness's Most humble and obedient Prelate
J. C. Oetinger

Given at Murrhard June 6, 1771

Swedenborg's visions, that had he received a letter from the Queen Dowager, he would most certainly have published it or referred to it in one or other of his numerous writings, and surely would have mentioned it in one of his numerous letters to his intimate friend Hartman, published by Ehmann.

⁹ The reference is to Oetinger's Beurtheilungen (Judgments concerning the weighty doctrine concerning the state after death and the teaching of the renowned Emanuel Swedenborg in connection therewith), the first part of which was entitled Swedish Documents concerning Assessor Swedenborg. It was published in an edition of 260 copies at the end of 1771 (3 Doc. 1060-61).

¹ The MS., being Oetinger's Defence, was not returned since it is still in the Hessian Archives. The rest of the letter concerns some chemical secret en-

The Landgrave answered this letter on July 1, but his letter is now lost. Meanwhile, however, he had learned from the newspapers that Swedenborg was in Holland (3 Doc. 1058). He therefore wrote to de Treuer, his Resident Minister at The Hague, instructing him to get in touch with him.

De Treuer answered the Landgrave in a letter (Benz,* 309) dated June 7:

Monsigneur,

During my last stay in Amsterdam, I had the pleasure of meeting Monsieur de Swedenborg. This incomparable man is now at work upon a book, of which I enclose the title which he wrote with his own hand.

Nothing, Monsigneur, can equal in my opinion the sentiments of respect for your Highness with which he is filled. He was in heartfelt joy when I told him that your Highness made much of his works. He promised me an exact list of them.

I am, with the deepest respect, Your most Serene Highness's very humble and obedient Servant de Treuer

The Hague, June 7, 1771.

[Enclosure in Swedenborg's handwriting]

Vera Christiana Religio
continens Unv. Theol.
Novae Ecclesiae
Domini apud Danielem
Cap. VII, 13, 14 et in Apocalypsi
Cap. XXI, 1, 2, praedicta
ab
Emanuele Swedenborg

Domini Jesu Christi

servo

Amstel, 1771

trusted to the painter Eger, who was then in Murrhard on a visit, which Oetinger proposes should be made at Pirmasens to the Landgrave's great advantage.

Soon after de Treuer's visit, Swedenborg received a letter from the Landgrave, probably forwarded to him from The Hague. The letter was probably written in German, and by one of Ludwig's secretaries, though it was signed by the Landgrave himself. It is now lost, but its contents are indicated in a note containing questions to be asked of Swedenborg (Benz,* 315), as follows:

"How did he come to this association with spirits?

"How does he communicate with them?

"Can any man attain to this?

"1. How is it that a man has spirits?

"2. Is it possible that they are wished upon us by others?

"3. How many spirits does a man have with him?

"4. What spirits are they? and

"5. How can he be freed from them?" 2

The Landgrave also asked for information concerning the state of a particular person, apparently known to him, who was infested by spirits. He also inquired as to the possibility of procuring a copy of the *Arcana Coelestia*.

Because of the over-flattering nature of this letter, Swedenborg was in some doubt as to its authenticity, and therefore he decided not to answer it. But when the Landgrave had found that Swedenborg was in Amsterdam, he was not content merely with writing a letter to him; he sent one of his Counsellors, Pastor Venator, to interview him in person, and to ask him concerning the truth of the stories he had heard concerning him.

Venator met Swedenborg toward the middle of June, and at once resolved his doubts as to the genuineness of the Landgrave's signature. He also told him the story of the Lost Receipt as he had heard it, namely, that it concerned a lady in Leipzig who had lost a receipt, the secret hiding place of which Swedenborg learned from her deceased husband—a story (and perhaps also others) which Swedenborg duly corrected.

² The first three of these questions are unnumbered, and seem to be the only ones asked by the Landgrave in his first letter, nos. 1-5 being reserved for a future letter.

As soon as he was assured of the genuineness of the Landgrave's letter, Swedenborg wrote him as follows (Benz,* 310): 3

Most Serene Duke, Landgrave,

When I received your most gracious letter, I was somewhat hesitant, being in doubt as to whether it was signed by you. I disclosed the cause of this doubt to the clergyman, the Rev. Venator, when he was with me. But when I heard from him that such was not the case,⁴ and all doubt was removed, I was somewhat troubled; yet I delayed my answer until I had received from the printer the lately printed theological work called Vera Christiana Religio, containing the complete theology of the New Church predicted by the Lord in Daniel, chapter VII, 13, 14, and in the Apocalypse, chapter XXI, 1, 2 seq. Of this work, Most Serene Duke, I have today sent you two copies by the coach which leaves this city for Germany twice a week. I pray that you favor the work, for in it are pure truths disclosed from heaven.

As to the book called Arcana Coelestia, which was published in London, it is no longer to be found; for all the copies, both those is England and those in Holland, have been sold. I know that some persons in Sweden have it. I will write to two of them, and ask whether they are willing to sell it for a price. If I may, I will communicate their answers as soon as they arrive.

In your gracious letter I am asked how I came to have communication with angels and spirits, and whether this can be transferred from one person to another. On this matter, deign graciously to receive the following as my answer:

The Lord our Savior predicted, both in the Gospels and in the Apocalypse, that He would come again into the world and establish a New Church; and since He cannot ⁵ come into the world in Person, it was necessary that He do this by means of a man who

³ An English translation of this letter was published in 2 *Doc.* 386. Being made from an undated copy of the original, it contains some inaccuracies and a wrong conjectural date.

⁴ That is, that the signature was not forged.

⁵ The autograph reads quia non potest in Persona adhuc in mundum venire (because He cannot as yet come, etc.), but the adhuc is surely a slip of some sort; see T.C.R. 779. Perhaps Swedenborg meant to write ad hoc (for this purpose).

not only could perceive the doctrinals of this Church in his understanding, but would be able to publish them by the press. And because the Lord has prepared me for this from childhood, therefore He manifested Himself in Person before me His servant, and sent me to this office. This was done in the year 1743; and after this He opened for me the sight of my spirit, and so introduced me into the spiritual world, and granted me to see the heavens and the marvels there, and also the hells; and likewise to speak with angels and spirits, and this continuously now for twenty-seven years. That such is the case, to this I testify in truth. The fact that this happened with me is solely for the sake of the New Church here spoken of.

The gift of speaking with angels as I speak with them cannot be transferred from one person to another. It has sometimes happened that a spirit enters in and utters some word to a man, yet it is not given him to speak with the man mouth to mouth; this, moreover, is extremely dangerous, for the spirit enters into the affection of the man's own love, and this is not concordant with the affection of heavenly love.

As to the man who was troubled by spirits, I have heard from heaven that this arose from the meditation in which he indulged, and that, despite this, no danger is to be feared therefrom because the Lord guards him. The sole means of healing is that he be converted and pray to the Lord the Savior Jesus Christ for help.

I remain with the
deepest respect,
Most Serene Duke Landgrave
Your most humble servant
Eman. Swedenborg

Amsterdam June 18, 1771.

This letter was written in Latin, but with it is preserved a German translation (Benz,* 313) which is signed "Emanuel Swedenborg" but not by Swedenborg. The translation was evidently made for the benefit of the Landgrave, who seems to have been ignorant of Latin. In it, the words from "The Lord our Savior" to "opened the sight of my spirit" are underscored and marked—evidently by the Landgrave himself—"N B" in two places in the margin.

On June 23, Swedenborg wrote to Pastor Venator. As now preserved, this letter is in German, and written in some other hand than Swedenborg's, but it is undoubtedly signed by the latter. Swedenborg of course knew that Venator, being a clergyman, was familiar with Latin, and it is likely that he wrote him in Latin and added a German translation for the benefit of the Landgrave, who certainly read it. If such is the case, the Latin copy is now lost. The letter reads (Benz,* 313):

Reverend Sir,

On the 18th of June I sent two copies of the latest work published by me to the Herr Landgrave's princely Serenity, and at the same time one to you, Reverend Pastor, and I hope that the mail coach with these books will arrive within a few days. On the same day, I humbly answered the Landgrave's Serenity, but I am afraid I have earned his just displeasure by the long delay; therefore I ask you to excuse me before him for the reasons disclosed to you.

With regard to the Arcana Coelestia, I have written two gentlemen in Stockholm that they might send it to me for a price. The one letter I wrote to the Bishop of Gothenburg,⁷ and the other to Dr. Celsius.⁸ As soon as these gentlemen answer me, I shall make it known.

You may perhaps greatly wonder why I did not know from heaven that the letter was signed by his Serene Highness's, the

⁶ Swedenborg also sent a copy of this work to Oetinger, who was not at all pleased with it, being especially displeased with the statement that the Second Coming is made through a man. This he understood as meaning that Swedenborg was himself the Second Coming. Therefore, as he wrote to Hartman on August 17, he wrote Swedenborg (probably when acknowledging receipt of the work) "that, according to Jesus' words, Another will come in His name, him ye will receive; likewise John V [:46], Jesus did not wish to be recognized without Moses; but he [Swedenborg] merely on his own credit" Ehmann, 766, see also 765; 3 Doc. 1059).

⁷ Bishop Lamberg, who was then attending the Diet in Stockholm. In August 1766, Swedenborg, then in London, had sent Bishop Lamberg as a present a complete set of the *Arcana Coelestia* (unbound) as well as some odd volumes to complete the set which he already had (2 *Doc.* 244). Thus the Bishop had two complete sets, and in view of his utter repudiation of Swedenborgianism, Swedenborg was well aware that he had no use for them.

8 The Pastor of the Cathedral Church in Stockholm.

Landgrave's own hand. The reason is because the angels do not know such things, and the Lord our Savior leaves things which concern temporal (worldly) matters to my intelligence and judgment, and reveals to me only such things as treat of heaven and eternal life; and, moreover, I have not ventured to ask the Lord Himself about these earthly matters.

I remain, Reverend Priest,
Respectfully
Your most obedient Servant
Amsterdam, June 22, 1771 Eman. Swedenborg

It may here be noted in passing that on June 28th, Oetinger printed in his Beurtheilungen, pp. 124–37, a long "letter to Herr Swedenborg concerning the apparition of spirits." It does not appear that the letter was actually sent to Swedenborg, for it ends with the words: "I do not know where you are, but I am and remain with true and pure love," etc. In this letter, Oetinger acknowledges Swedenborg as "a wonder of the world," "a tool of God" for the revelation of the reality of the spiritual world; but that there his mission ends. He is wrong about the last judgment, for the last day is yet to come; wrong in denying that angels were created angels. Especially is he wrong in asserting that there are inhabitants on other earths than ours. All that he says about other earths has been told him by lying spirits used by the Devil. If other earths had inhabitants, the Word, which Swedenborg himself acknowledges as the only source of truth, would have told us.

On June 22, the Landgrave wrote Swedenborg a second letter ⁹ (now lost) enclosed in a despatch to his Minister at The Hague, with instructions to deliver it personally to Swedenborg in Amsterdam. The delivery was made in the beginning of July, and, on the second of that month, de Treuer wrote to the Landgrave as follows (Benz,* 315):

Monsigneur,

Conformably with your Most Serene Highness's orders, I came here and delivered to Mons. de Swedenborg the letter which came with your Highness's gracious letter of June 22.

⁹ The dates show that this could not have been an answer to Swedenborg's letter of June 18th.

He confessed, Monsigneur, that at first he had doubted the authenticity of your first letter because of the over-flattering terms and expressions with which it was filled, but that now he is entirely convinced. He added that about two weeks ago he had written to your Highness and had sent you two copies of his new work, and a third copy for Mons. Venator. I asked him, Monsigneur, for an answer to your last letter. He said he could not do this save when inspired by the Lord, and that he counted on doing so by the post on Friday [July 5]. He asked me to send your Highness the enclosed notice against Ernesti. I talked with him about two hours, his bookseller Sepp 1 being present during our conversation.

It seems to me, Monsigneur, that he honors me with some confidence, for he promised to come and see me at The Hague. He intends to go to England, and from there, next year, he will go to Germany,² and it will then be possible for him to pay his respects to your Highness. To see him, Monsigneur, one would think that he is at his last resources; but this is not so. He had his last work printed at his own expense, amounting to more than 1,000 Dutch Florins.³ I must not forget to inform your Highness that the work which he proposes to publish during the course of next year will have as its title, taken from Matthew, chapter 24, verse 15, De Abominatione Desolationis. He has again promised me an exact list of his works, many of which are unobtainable, such, for example, as the work De Corde.⁴

I am, with the most profound respect, Monsigneur,
Your most Serene Highness's
very humble and obedient Servant,
Amsterdam, July 2, 1771 de Treuer

¹ The conversation probably took place in Sepp's bookshop, where Swedenborg seems to have been accustomed to receive his letters. It was Sepp who despatched the copies of *V.C.R.* to the Landgrave and Venator.

² This doubtless is the basis of Oetinger's frequently expressed expectation that Swedenborg would visit him (3 Doc. 1060-61).

3 Confer Cuno's Memoirs, pp. 9, 10.

4 That is, Economy of the Animal Kingdom, vol. 1.

(To be Concluded.)

SOME NEW SWEDENBORG DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY ALFRED ACTON.

Continued from August Issue.

Enclosed in de Treuer's letter is the printed slip against Ernesti ⁵ (Benz, 317).

On the same day, de Treuer wrote a second letter to the Landgrave (Benz,* 316):

Monsigneur,

At the moment when the post was on the point of leaving, Monsieur de Swedenborg came to me and gave me the enclosed letter and list, and I take advantage of the moment that remains to send them to your Highness, having the honor to be, with the most profound respect,

Monsigneur, Your most Serene Highness's

very humble and obedient Servant,

Amsterdam, July 2, 1771

de Treuer

The enclosures in the above letter were the following (Benz,* 316-17):

Most Serene Duke, Landgrave,

Yesterday, by the hand of your Minister of Legation, Counsellor Treuer, I received, most Serene Duke, the letter which you graciously wrote me. I rejoice in your favor. To satisfy the request of the aforesaid Minister, I have given him a list of the books written by me, and also a slip of paper, just printed, against Doctor Ernesti, both of which I hope will be forwarded. Moreover, being utterly watchful in all things which you have at heart, I remain, with deeply respectful mind,

. Most Serene Duke, Landgrave, Your most humble Servant

Amsterdam, July 3, 1771

Eman. Swedenborg 6

[Enclosure:]

⁵ See Cuno's Memoirs, p. 175.

⁶ According to de Treuer's letter, this letter was sent off on July 2.

Books published by me:

The Mineral Kingdom, 3 vols. fol. Leipzig & Dresden, 1734
The Animal Kingdom, specifically De Corde, Amster. & The
Hague, 1740 and 1742.

Theological Writings:

After my sight into the spiritual world was opened.

Arcana Coelestia, containing an explanation of Genesis and Exodus, 8 vols., London 1747–1758 [should be 1749–58].

De Coelo et Inferno. De Novo Hierosolyma et ejus Doctrina Coelesti. De Ultimo Judicio. De Equo Albo. De Telluribus in Universo, London, 1758.

Doctrina Novae Hierosolymae. De Domino. De Scriptura Sacra, etc., Amstel. 1763.

Sapientia Angelica De Divina Providentia [1764] et

De Divino Sapientia, Amstel. 1763. Apocalypsis Revelata, Amstel. 1765 [should be 1766].

Summaria Expositio Doctrinae Novae Ecclesiae, Amstel. 1769.

De Commercio Animae et Corporis, London, 1779 [1769].

These two have been translated into English.8

They are to be found in London, at Mister Lewis in Pater-noster Row near Cheapside.

De Treuer's letter and enclosures crossed a letter, dated July 1, which the Landgrave sent to his Minister for transmission to Swedenborg. De Treuer acknowledged its receipt on July 12 (Benz,* 318) as follows:

Monsigneur,

I hope that your most Serene Highness has received my [two] letters of the 2d, and with the last, that of Mons: de Swedenborg and the other notes. Yesterday's mail brought me simultaneously your Highness's two gracious letters of the 1st and 2d, and from the enclosed letter of the bookseller Sepp, whom Mons: de Swe-

⁷ De Corde is treated of in vol. 1 of the *E.A.K.*, published in Amsterdam in 1740. Vol. II was published in 1741, and a second edition of both volumes appeared in 1742. Swedenborg considered this work as part of his *Animal Kingdom* series. The *Animal Kingdom* proper was published in 1744 and 1745.

⁸ The first was translated by Marchant, presumably at Swedenborg's order, and the second by Mr. Hartley. The list omits Conjugial Love, 1768.

denborg employs for his works, your Highness will see that I have not lost a moment in remitting to him your Highness's letter, and I shall be no less active in obtaining the answer.

de Treuer

The Hague, July 12, 1771

[Enclosure:]

Highly honored Well-born Sir,

The letter from your High Princely Serene Highness to Herr von Swedenborg I myself at once delivered to him this morning, with the request that he would answer the letter as soon as possible. This he also has promised to do this week. Meanwhile, I have the honor to remain, with the highest esteem at all times, In great haste,

Your high Nobility's

willing Servant
J. C. Sepp

Address: Swedenborg, ten Huise van Mejuffrouw de Weduwe Tieleman van Leuwen, in de Warmoes Straat tegen over de Vis Steeg te Amsterdam.⁹

The Landgrave's letter thus delivered to Swedenborg reads (Benz,* 313):

Well-born, Highly learned,

Especially honored Herr. Assessor!

From the letter which the Herr Assessor sent him on the 22nd of last month, my Consistorial Counsellor, Pastor Venator, has the early news, according to which I am to receive by the next mail coach, two copies of the Herr Assessor's recently published work. From the Herr Assessor's letter, I have also discerned that he could not have learned from heaven or from the angels whether I had signed with my own hand the first letter I sent him, because the angels do not know this, but have knowledge and cognizance only of things which concern eternal life. He has therefore pleased me all the more that he has so long delayed with his answer, in order that it might not arrive at the wrong place.

⁹ Swedenborg, at the home of the widow, Mrs. Tieleman van Leuwen, in Warmoes Street, opposite Vis Row in Amsterdam.

¹ The Landgrave's letters are printed from copies preserved in the Hessian Archives.

It has equally pleased me to learn from my Consistorial Counsellor that the Herr Assessor has taken the trouble to procure the work "De Arcanis Coelestibus" from some good friends in Stockholm, and I certainly hope to find in this book things which are in harmony with the marvelous stories that have been brought to me from time to time concerning the Herr Assessor's visions and prophecies. Up to the present, I find the following, among other stories, to be the most remarkable: That on a certain occasion, when at the home of Princess Ferdinand, daughter of the Margrave of Schwed, the Herr Assessor expressed himself to a young lady who sat at the table, as follows: The young lady is sad, but she has indeed reason to be, for she will soon die, but yet will first be married. This prophecy was confirmed by its early fulfillment.

Attentive as I have already been to stories of this kind, I would be yet more attentive to stories involving that the Herr Assessor has the gift of being able to give news concerning the state of deceased persons. But I must frankly confess that I all but conjecture that these stories might be as unfounded as that which was told concerning a lady in Leipzig for whom the Herr Assessor, after previous discourse with her deceased husband, recovered the receipt for a considerable sum of money which was claimed from her a second time, and pointed out the place in a cupboard where it was to be found-which story, the Herr Assessor himself told my Consistorial Counsellor Venator in a different way. That I may have some assurance in this matter, and may convince myself to my own satisfaction, I ask the Herr Assessor to send me some news concerning the state in that life of the deceased persons listed on the enclosed sheet, and, when sending me the answer to this, kindly to add an explanation of the following:

What actually are the so-called presentiments, and in what do they consist?

Also, what are the sicknesses of spirits, and how do they communicate them among themselves?

In expectation, I am, with special consideration, the Herr Assessor's

Affectionate friend and servant, Ludwig Landgrave of Hesse

Pirmassens, July 1, 1771

The list enclosed in the above letter is not preserved, but from Swedenborg's answer, and from a later letter by the Landgrave, it can be seen that it contained the following names:

Marshal Belisles
Mons. de Bombelles
Frau von Kamke
H. von Bock
A Hessian Nobleman,

and perhaps also:

Stanislaus, King of Poland, and the last Pope [Clement XIII]

Swedenborg's answer is dated July 11 (Benz,* 318): 2

Most Serene Duke Landgrave,

I received and read with delight your letter, most Serene Duke, written to me on the first day of July. I hope that after that day the last printed work, called Vera Christiana Religio, has come into your hands. If it be pleasing to you, you may perhaps order that some learned men among the clergy in your Duchy present and lay open their judgments concerning it; but I pray that such learned men among your clergy be chosen as love truths and take delight in them because they are truths. If others are chosen, they will not see in this work a single grain of truth, but everything therein will be in shade.

As to what is told concerning the daughter of the Prince Margrave in Swett, that I predicted her death, this is a fiction invented by some chattering news maker. I have not been there, nor have I written anything concerning her. As to what is told concerning the brother of the Queen of Sweden, however, that is true; yet this must not be deemed as a miracle, but only as something memorable, similar to the memorabilia recounted concerning Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin and others which are written in the work; for such memorabilia are not miracles, but are merely testimonies that, as to my spirit, I have been introduced by the Lord into the [spiritual] world, and so, that I speak with angels and spirits.

² This letter is translated in the *Documents* (1, 388) from a copy found in Sweden. It is printed here for somewhat the same reason as was given above.

As concerns the persons mentioned in the attached sheet, I have not spoken with four of them, namely, Bellisle, de Dombelles, Kameke, Bock, but six months ago I did speak with Stanislaus, King of Poland,³ and this in a company where he was, and in which no one knew that it was he; for it was the delight of his life that he wished to be in companies incognito, and so to talk with spirits and angels as one of them, and thus familiarly. Afterwards I saw him transferred to the northern quarter, and I heard that he was there promoted to the administration of a society of Roman Catholics over which he is set as Prince Moderator.

I have spoken at times with the Roman Pontiff who last died.⁴ After his death he stayed with me for three days, and when he left, he descended to companies which consist of Jesuits, and presided over them for a month. I also saw him ascending therefrom, and then also it was given me to speak with him.^{4a} But it is not allowed me to publish more concerning the course of his life and concerning his state. Of him who filled the Pontifical office thirty or forty years ago,⁵ see in the work, n. 820.

Ever most solicitous and obedient in all that concerns your honor and command,

I remain,

Most Serene Duke and Landgrave, Your most humble Servant

Amsterdam, July 13, 1771 Eman. Swedenborg

³ Swedenborg first met Stanislaus in the spiritual world on Sunday, Nov. 16, 1768. He had seen him before, but without knowing who he was, "although all the spirits had been eager to know this." Therefore Swedenborg had asked him his name, and "since, in the spiritual world, no one can hold back the truth, the King not only told him his name, but forthwith became so confidential with him that he at once led him to his daughter, the late Queen of France" (Cuno's Memoirs, p. 12).

⁴ According to Swedenborg's next letter, this was Benedict XIV (died May 3, 1758). He was succeeded by Clement XIII, who died Feb. 2, 1759, and, in 1771, was actually the Pope "who last died." Benedict XIV might seem to be indicated from *Memorabilia* 5843, where it is said that, three weeks after his death, Swedenborg was with him for four days; yet what is there said of him is inconsistent with what is said here, but what is said here is consistent with what is said in *Mem.* 5272 and *J. post.* 102 of the blind pope, Clement XII.

4a See Mem. 6092.

⁵ Clement XII. Pope 1730-1740, died Feb. 6, 1740.

There are two copies of this letter, one filling two pages written in the small handwriting characteristic of Swedenborg at this period, and the other filling four pages, written in a bold clerkly style. Close examination of the latter shows that it was made by some German scribe—perhaps by the Landgrave's order, that it might be communicated to one of the learned clergy.

On the same day, Swedenborg wrote somewhat to the same effect to Venator; see 1 *Documents* 390, where the letter is translated from a copy found in Sweden. The original has not been found.

Both letters were sent to de Treuer at The Hague for transmission, and by him were despatched on July 19, enclosed in a letter to the Landgrave, which reads (Benz,* 319):

Monsigneur,

In conformity with my last very respectful letter of the 9th instant, I have the honor to present to you, Most Serene Highness, Mons: de Swedenborg's reply, enclosing with it another for Mons. Venator. Not having discontinued my search and labor to procure the Arcana Coelestia for your Highness, I had the pleasure of finding a copy in 8 volumes quarto,⁶ and this I have sent by the post direct to Pirmasens, subject to your Highness's final approval. The Hague, July 19, 1771 de Treuer

The Landgrave wrote again to Swedenborg on July 11. The letter is now lost, but it was probably an acknowledgment of the receipt of the two copies of *Vera Christiana Religio*. The letter was enclosed in a letter of July 12 to de Treuer. In one or both of these letters, the Landgrave seems to have spoken about the propriety of his paying Swedenborg for the books.

De Treuer acknowledged receipt of this letter on July 26th, as follows (Benz,* 320):

Monsigneur,

I at once sent to Mons: de Schwedenborg the letter which accompanied your Serene Highness's letter of the 12th instant. Your Highness will deign to see from the enclosed letter by Bookseller Sepp that he does not want anything for the two copies of

⁶ It was from Sepp in Amsterdam that de Treuer heard about the *Arcana*, and it was probably Sepp who despatched the volumes to the Landgrave.

De Vera Christiana Religione, but he does wish me to pay the above mentioned Bookseller for the Arcana Coelestia, which costs 130 Dutch Florins, and I shall do so, Monsigneur, as soon as I receive orders.

The Hague, July 26, 1771

de Treuer

[Enclosure:]

Amsterdam July 25, 1771

High-born

Especially highly honored Herr Resident,

Enclosed I have the honor to send two bills which doubtless are drawn up to your satisfaction. From the enclosed slip which I had previously written, and which this morning I let Herr Swedenborg read, and he then signed it with his own name, it is clear that he has given me authorization that your Nobleness make payment for the work to me.

The last letter from your High Princely Serenity to Herr v. Swedenborg is dated the 11th inst., and Herr v. Swedenborg's answer to your High Princely Serenity's first letter is dated the 13th inst.; therefore Herr v. Swedenborg judges that it is not necessary to answer the last letter.

The two bound copies of the Vera Christiana Religio which, on Herr v. Swedenborg's account, I sent direct to your High Princely Serenity, these Herr v. Swedenborg makes a present of to your High Princely Serenity; but if your High Princely Serenity still wishes to pay for them, the price for each is 6.5 florins a copy plus portage via Arnhem, 1.10 florin. But, as said above, Herr v. Swedenborg desires no payment whatever for them.8

⁷ It would seem from this, together with the note signed by Swedenborg (see the end of the next letter), that Swedenborg had succeeded in obtaining a copy of the Arcana Coelestia from Sweden, and that he deposited it in Sepp's bookshop, whereupon Sepp notified de Treuer that he had a copy for sale.

⁸ Cuno writes of Swedenborg in 1770, that his writings "are printed on large and expensive paper, and yet he gives them all away. The booksellers to whom he gives them for sale do indeed take as much for them as they can get. They let themselves be paid high enough. I myself am warrant for this, for I had to

I have the honor to remain, at all times, with the highest esteem,
In haste,
Your high Nobility's
most obedient Servant

J. C. Sepp

[Enclosure: A note in German, signed by Swedenborg and gummed to a page of the above letter.]

I am wholly content that your High Nobility pay to Herr Sepp the cost of my Arcana Coelestia which he sent to your High Nobility.

Em. Swedenborg

At the end of July, Swedenborg sent one of his works to de Treuer for transmission to the Landgrave, and on July 30 the Resident writes to the Landgrave (Benz,* 321):

Monsigneur,

Monsieur de Swedenborg has just sent me a little work printed in London and entitled A Theosophic Lucubration on the Nature of Influx.⁹ The celebrated Mons. Hartley is its author, and not only does he approve of Mons. de Swedenborg's assertions, but he confirms them and speaks of them with the greatest praise. I have sent it to Pirmasens by mail coach.

The Hague, July 30, 1771 de Treuer

On August 4, the Landgrave again wrote to Swedenborg. The letter is now lost, but from Swedenborg's answer, and from the Landgrave's next letter, it appears that the latter was not satisfied with what Swedenborg had written on July 13, and again asked for information concerning the deceased persons he had listed in his letter of July 11, and whose names he again listed.

pay the bookseller Schroeder in this city $4\frac{1}{2}$ gulden [= $13\frac{1}{2}$ florins] for his Apocalypsis Revelata. But the Bookseller himself told me therewith that the Author never calls for an account, either from him or from any other" (Memoirs, p. 9). This suggests an explanation of Sepp's somewhat ungracious suggestion that the Landgrave pay for the books presented him by Swedenborg. Evidently Sepp had heard of the Landgrave's suggestion that he pay for the books, and thought he might as well receive payment from a rich potentate.

9 Translated by Mr. Hartley, and published in the early summer of 1769.

Swedenborg answered him on August 24 (Benz,* 321):

Most Serene Duke Landgrave,

I have received your gracious letter written at Pirmassens, August 6. I note that you are still awaiting an answer concerning the state of the men whose names you previously gave on a sheet enclosed in your letter, being Marshal Belisle, de Bombelles, de Kameke, and Madame de Bock. What it has been granted me to know concerning King Stanislaus and concerning Pope Benedict,1 I have previously told, but as concerns the four others, it has not yet chanced me to meet them; for they are far distant from me, and perhaps in societies from which they cannot be fetched. The main reason I did not meet them is that I have no idea of their character, and all who come into the spiritual world do not keep their own and their baptismal name which they had borne in the world, but are given another name which involves the character of their mind. If, therefore, I should call any one merely by his name, he would not recognize that name, this having been given to oblivion. As to all those with whom I have spoken in the spiritual world, I had from knowledge [of them] some idea of their character, speaking with relations and friends, from my familiarity and association with them; with the learned, from their writings; with kings and princes, from their deeds and their fame. Therefore, when I desire to speak with any one, I must know and put forth an idea of his character, and then, if he is not altogether too distant from me, he either becomes present or I speak with him from far off, but never by the mention of the person. Pardon me, therefore, most Serene Duke, that I am unable to satisfy you in your commands and desires respecting these four men, as I would gladly do if it were possible.

Moreover, I speak with a great many every day, even with those stationed in great dignity, without knowing who they were and what their character in the world. Perhaps some one of the four men mentioned by you was among them, but I could not know this, because, as stated, they do not remember their natural name,

¹ See note above, where reason is given to suppose that this is a slip for Clement.

and I did not know them from their spiritual name, which involves the character of their life.

I am on the point of departing for England, where, the Lord favoring, I intend to give to the light, that is, to publish, four small works, namely:

- I. Concerning the Consummation of the Age, and the Abomination of Desolation predicted by the Lord in Daniel and Matthew.
- II. An Invitation to the New Church, addressed to the whole Christian world; and therein much concerning the Lord's Advent, and an Exhortation that they receive Him worthily.
- III. On the Human Mind.
- IV. Egyptian Hieroglyphics laid bare by correspondences.2

When these works are printed, I will forward copies to Legation Counsellor de Treuer, that by him they may come into your hands, and also into the hands of Counsellor of the Consistory Mons. Venator. Furthermore, I commend to your favor the faithful services of Counsellor of the Legation de Treuer. For you I wish happiness from the Lord our Savior and Redeemer, and with all respect, I remain,

Most Serene Duke Landgrave, Your most humble Servant

Amsterdam, Aug. 24, 1771 Eman. Swedenborg

The Landgrave's answer to this letter is dated September 3, 1771 (Benz,* 322):

From the Herr Assessor's letter of the 24th of last month, which reached me today, I have seen with pleasure that he still takes the trouble to satisfy the inquisitive desire to learn, which I originally manifested, and which I manifest now, and to give me news con-

² In a letter to Doctors Hartley and Messiter, dated August, 1769, and entitled *Appendix to the Treatise on the White Horse*, Swedenborg writes: "If it be desired, I am willing to unfold the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, which are nothing but correspondences, and to give them to the public, which can be done by no other person." See N. C. Life, 1939, p. 396, where this matter is discussed in detail.

cerning the state in the other world of the persons named in both my previous letters to him. But since the Assessor has also given me to understand that, without some idea concerning the characteristics which these persons had in this world, they could not be found and recognized, nor spoken to in the other world, I have imparted to him on the enclosed sheet as much as is known to me concerning them, with the request that he now inquire about the matter; and, in regard to the fifth person, who died only recently, kindly also to give me news as soon as he has met him. Since the nationality of each person is now made known, I assume that now the Herr Assessor can perhaps himself obtain this information, or, if this should not be possible, can obtain it through another spirit. For the rest, I wish him a happy journey to England. Awaiting the publication of his four new works, as well as a kind and early answer, and with the greatest esteem,

the Herr Assessor's, etc.

[Enclosure:] A Short Description of the Character of some Deceased Persons:

- 1. Was an honest Frenchman, a fine and experienced general and royal minister of state, who, by his war service and also by his ministry, has served me and made himself known to the world (Marshal Belisles).
- 2. Was likewise a Frenchman, formerly the tutor of a French prince of royal blood, a fine soldier, an honorable man, and my good friend (Mons. de Bombelles).
- 3. Was born an Alsatian, a good, honest woman, who has shown me and my brothers much friendship, though for the rest no one came into closer acquaintance with her. She came of a distinguished, noble family, in the Province of Alsace, and died in the year 1750 (Frau von Kampke ³).
- 4. Was a Brandenburg nobleman of good family; served as officer in the royal Prussian Army; as captain of the Grenadiers in my regiment; did his duty and, in the last war, was killed in the battle near Prague (H. v. Bock).

³ Frau v. Kampke was the wife of one of Ludwig's privy counsellors. After her death, her spirit appeared to the Landgrave and talked with him (Benz, 152).

5. A nobleman of the old Hessian family von Schwalbach. Was my subject vassal and military servant. An honorable man, much attached to me, who, during his life, often himself saw spirits. He died only very recently.

To conclude the series of the Oetinger letters, it may be noted that, in a letter to Hartman, dated April 22, 1771, Oetinger says: "I received a letter from Herr Swedenborg from Gothenburg. Whether Swedenborg is in Holland, I know not" (3 Doc. 1058). The date of the letter in question must have been July, 1770, for in that month Swedenborg left Stockholm for Amsterdam to publish the True Christian Religion, and never again returned to Sweden. But on this, his last journey from Stockholm, Swedenborg went by ship direct to Amsterdam. If, therefore, Swedenborg wrote to Oetinger from Gothenburg, the ship must have stopped at Gothenburg and the letter been posted there. The question then naturally arises, Did Swedenborg have a second meeting with Beyer, namely, in 1770? In none of Beyer's letters is there any suggestion that he met Swedenborg at any time save in 1765. Possibly in July, 1770, being the holidays, Bever was not in Gothenburg; or it may be that the stay in Gothenburg was too short to permit of a meeting.

THE END.