

GOMETIUS PEREIRA

b 1500

Antoniana margarita, opus nempe physicis, medicis, ac theologis non minus utile, quam necessarium, per Gometium Pereiram, medicum Methinae Duelli, quae Hispanorum lingua Medina de el Campo appellatur, nunc primum in lucem aeditum. [Medina del Campo] 1554. F°.

Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: Crewe Bequest

The marginalia in this volume, reported as a Lost Book, were published in *CM* (*CC*) from the MS TRANSCRIPT made by SC (at VCL), which proves to have been faithful to the original in most substantive ways but to contain some errors and many variations in accidentals such as spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. This entry is intended to replace the initial *CC* publication; therefore the editorial apparatus is reproduced without revision apart from textual matters.

RS's copy, lacking the title-page; included in *Southey SC*. The book is numbered by columns, not pages. There are a few pencil-marks in cols 7-9, unrelated to C's notes. This volume played a role in the collaboration of RS and C in the 1812 *Omniana*: see esp 5 n 1.

DATE. Feb 1812 (2).

[1 p-2, referring to 2](#)

The first Half of the following Note is an answer to the timorous Bold-Thinkers, the weakly & nervous Forts-Esprits, who dare not affirm animals insentient, & yet abjure Instinct—raising Brutes to Men for the humane purpose of degrading Men to Brutes. To D^r Darwin let it be addressed;¹ but to ~~Signor~~ Señor Anthony Purl the latter half is, I conceit, a sufficient tho' general Reply.²—I hope to shake a Fist with

¹ C addresses Erasmus Darwin chiefly as the author of *Zoonomia; or, The Laws of Organic Life* (2 vols 1794-6), to which C alludes in *BL* ch 10 (*CC*) 1 171. Of his own meeting with Darwin in 1796, C had written enthusiastically but with characteristic reservations on religious grounds:

“Derby is full of curiosities, the cotton, the silk mills, Wright, the painter, and Dr. Darwin, the everything, except the Christian!” (*CL* 1 177).

² “Señor Anthony Purl” (sic) stands for the book itself, the title of which, *Anthony's Pearl*, C playfully takes as a personal name.

him at Heaven's Gate. What! tho he be in the wrong? 'Tis in the right way, & I love him the better therefore.³

2 p-2, referring to col 12 | "Improbatur opinio aliquorum, qui negant affirmare bruta, & sentire ea testantur"

Quod si praedictis convictus, confitearis bruta noscere inimicorum & amicorum existentiam, & negaveris eadem in suis mentibus habere aliquas propositiones attestantes inimicos & amicos esse, qui sunt, dicam, te in re nobiscum convenire, verum quod tu nesciens confiteris eadem, quae ego sciens assevero. Quid enim est dicere, agnus cognoscit lupum existentem, quam agnum in mente propria habere hanc, Hic qui adest, lupus est? Nos enim conscii sumus cum sensibus cognoscimus amicos, qui adsunt, mentibus formare propositiones, quae testantur, amici sunt, qui adsunt. Quin aliud in nobis non esse sensibus cognoscere amicos praesentes, quam mente formare relatas propositiones.

[But if, convinced by the arguments I have given, you were to admit that animals recognise the existence of enemies and friends, and were to deny that they have in their minds some sort of propositions which attest that they are enemies and friends who are such, then I should say that you agreed with me in substance, in that you unconsciously admit what I knowingly assert. For what other meaning has the statement that the lamb recognises the existence of the wolf than that the lamb has this statement in its own mind, "This which is here is a wolf"? We are consciously aware that when we with our senses recognise friends who are present we form propositions in our minds which attest that they are friends who are present. In fact, that in us the recognition through our senses of the presence of friends is nothing other than the formation in our minds of connected propositions.]

P. 12. Surely, that yet unexplained Mode of causation (which, as acting on the Memory, Imagination, and the instruments of motion both external & internal as well as on the Sensations we all know as a fact: & which later Psychologists have called the Law of Association) is abundantly sufficient, even without Instinct, to explain a Lamb's flight from a Wolf, without supposing the mental discourse, the est Lupus—or more accurately in English—This is a Wolf—ergo! Now this is to all intents and purposes an a brace of enthymemes, true Syllogisms in the understanding. 1. All Wolves are Lamb-eaters—but this is a Wolf—Ergo, this wolf is a Lamb-eater. 2. All Lambs meeting a Wolf must run off in order not to be eaten—But I am a Lamb—ergo, I must run off. Besides, the argument would prove too much—for it would evince, that only impressions are accompanied with correspondent self-conscious

¹³ "I love him the better therefore" appears as an allusion in *CL* IV 68 (var) and in *LUTHER Colloquia* 7—but the source remains untraced. C

uses it again at the beginning of **6** below.

propositions in all living Beings, but that these propositions must have pre-existed, and that if a tame & if a wild Ducks Egg, both hatched under a farm-yard Hen, the first was born with this “sermoni mentali”¹: “—I am a ~~wild~~ tame Duck, ergo, I must take content myself with this Puddle—& the other, I am a wild Duck—ergo, I must fly off. To retort that in man all conscious perceptions involve universal propositions, what is <it> but to affirm what no one denies—that the rational, the understanding, and the sensitive powers are not three separate ~~or separable~~ Hypostases, but three inseparable undivided tho’ distinct faculties of the same person? But tho’ unseparated in the personality of Man, must they therefore be ~~undivided~~separable? Because a Watch & a Leaf are both organized, must the Watch therefore grow? Because a Pea-blossom and a Butterfly are both living things, must they needs be both loco-motive & sentient? Even so, I cannot see, why a Dog & a Man may not both in different degrees, possess Organization, Life, Sensation, Instinct, & even a categorical understanding, i.e. innate <or immanent> Forms, under some one or all of which all Impressions mould themselves, & are co-adunated [into]^a a true and distinct Perception, and yet the Man alone be gifted with proper Self-consciousness and consequently Reason—i.e. the Power of Ideas [and of]^b universal necessary Truths.—I have explained my sentiments more at large in two Notes in the FRIEND,² and I am convinced, whatever this *Oyster, to whom his namesake S^t Anthony, probably cast one [of] his Pearls, may have thought that Des Cartes’ assertion did not extend beyond my own. See his letter to D^r Henry More on this subject, annexed to a minor Edition of his More’s Enchiridion.⁴

S. T. Coleridge.

* Let not this idle Joke mislead to a supposition, that I think meanly of [this]^c Writer. On the contrary, his acuteness as a Logician, his Originality & “holy I[n]surrection”^d of a gallant Intellect³ against mere Authority, as a Man, & as a man of [genius]^e, and his graceful Perspicuity as a Writer, have even my admiration & when I consider the Age & the Nation in which he wrote, that admiration is blended with wonder.

S. T. Coleridge—Feb. 1812. Keswick

^{2^a} Original page worn; word or words in square brackets supplied from SC transcript

^{2^b} Original page worn; word or words in square brackets supplied from SC transcript

^{2^c} Original page worn; word or words in square brackets supplied from SC transcript

^{2^d} Original page worn; word or words in square brackets supplied from SC transcript

^{2^e} Original page worn; word or words in square brackets supplied from SC transcript

^{2^f} Original page worn; word or words in square brackets supplied from SC transcript

^{2¹} “Mental discourse”.

^{2²} C refers to two long notes on reason in the original 1809-10 *Friend: Friend* (CC) II 104*, 294-7.

^{2³} Not traced.

^{2⁴} Presenting a passage from Pereira’s work in *Omniana* §234 (5 n 1 below), RS mentions the theory that Pereira had been the source of

3 col 15 | “Textus Aristot. explicatur”

Qui enim solvunt hanc rationem, dicendo, quod bruta quodam naturali instinctu prosequuntur matres, odióque agnus hoc instinctu fugit à lupo nunquam ante viso, & non à cane sat simili, amátque matrè & non aliam ovem, verbis tantùm satisfecisse existimo, re ipsa nequaquam. Nam aut hunc naturalem instinctum appellant facultatem aliquam, ac proprietatem, quae agno & matri insita est, ut ferro & magneti trahenti idem, & ferro & altero magneti abigenti, aut quid aliud.

[For those who solve this problem by saying that it is by some natural instinct that animals follow their mothers and hate their natural enemies and, thus, that it is by this instinct that the lamb flees the wolf it has never before seen, and not the dog which looks like a wolf, and loves its mother and not some other sheep—these men I consider have given a solution in words only, in fact not at all. For either they call this natural instinct a faculty and property which is in the lamb and its mother such as is in iron and the magnet which attracts it, and in iron and another magnet which repels it, or they call it something else.]

But Instinct, tho’ the term convey no positive, yet may and does give a negative or limitative knowlege even as Gravitation when opposed to Spontaneous Motion? On similar argument, as these against Instinct, we might ground Atheism, for it would follow that the word “Spirit” was no word (λογος)¹ but merely articulated Air or figured Ink.—

4 col 16

Si quid aliud, cum instinctum naturalem dicunt, intelligunt, id explicent: nam medium nullum inter proprietatem, qua trahitur, aut fugatur quid piam, & vim sentiendi & extimandi, qua prosequitur utile, & fugatur inutile, percipi potest.

[If they understand something else by natural instinct let them explain it; for we can see no mean between a property, by which a thing is attracted or repelled, and a power of feeling or thinking, by

Descartes’ view “that animals are non-sentient”. More’s *Enchiridion ethicum* contains a letter about Descartes; his *Enchiridion metaphysicum* discusses Descartes but contains no letters; no edition of either work has been traced that includes a letter to More from Descartes. C may have had in mind a letter from Descartes that summarises his arguments in favour of the view that animals are without reason, published among the letters in Henry More’s *Collection of Several Philosophical Writings* (1662) pt 4 70. The letter

is dated 9 Feb 1649 in this edition, but 5 Feb 1649 in modern editions, e.g. Descartes *Oeuvres* ed Charles Adam and Paul Tannery (2nd ed 11 vols Paris 1964-74) v 267-79. There is a later reference to this letter in SCHELLING *Einleitung* 22. C’s annotations in four other works by More appear in *CM (CC)* III, and a version of this statement about the letter was published in the 1809 *Friend (CC)* II 76 (and n 3).

³1 Greek *logos*—word, also "Word".

which the profitable is pursued and the unprofitable avoided.]

What? no medium tertium¹ between the flowing of a River, and a Man's swimming across it? Does not the Blood circulate, & the Vessels absorb & secrete by a Law diverse from either? The Author has duped himself by the word medium, which is a term of comprehension & Science, whereas the question here, is of Facts not whether we can conceive a medium, but whether we do not know a *tertium vel quartum*.²

5 p-2, referring to col 22 | "Bruta si sentirent universa naturae benignitas aboleretur"

Ac ultra hanc immanitatem, quae tantò atrocior, quantò frequentior habetur; crudelitatis apicem obtineret taurorum agitatorum tormentum, sudibus, ensibus, lapidibusque caesis ipsis: nec in alium humanum usum, quam ut iis flagitiis humanus visus delectetur, quibus bestia vindictam mugitu supplex poscere videtur. Atque non tantum hominis pravus affectus culpandus offertur, dum haec ita percipi à tauris, ut nutus eorum indicant, creduntur, sed omnis benignitas naturae aboletur & culpatur, quae genuerit viventia illa, ac quam plurima alia, ut vitam adeò aerumnis & miseriis plenam agant.

[But worse than this inhumanity, as atrocious as it is common, the prize for cruelty would be won by the baiting of bulls with stakes, swords and even with hewn stones, and this too for no other human profit but to delight men's eyes by these sufferings, for which the poor beast seems to implore vengeance with its bellowing. And not only is man's evil disposition to be blamed, if these sufferings are believed to be felt by the bulls in the way that their movement suggests, but all the goodness of nature is annulled and arraigned since it created those living beings and so many more to live lives so full of pain and wretchedness.]

Page. 22.—Notice this, dearest Southey!¹ as a curious specimen of the *Argumentum ad hominem*² from a Spanish Metaphysician to his Spanish Readers! If you do not admit the cogency of these & the following arguments, it is impossible for you without the most flagrant, as well as demonstrable, Inhumanity, or rather Anti-Christian Atrocity to continue to enjoy your Bull-Fights!—O nobly-meaning Pearl of all the Antonios from the Hero of St. Athanasius's blessed Biography, to the Hero of Sinner Godwin's damned Tragedy!³ and did it never occur to thee, that thou wert too honest,

⁴ "Third thing".

⁴ "Third or fourth thing".

⁵ RS followed C's suggestion and quoted this passage in *Omniana* § 234, "The Souls of Brutes", pub 1812.

⁵ "Argument against the man": the fallacy produced by addressing personal failings of the opponent rather than the weaknesses of his

reasoning.

⁵ Pereira is a "Pearl" from his own title (as in 1 n 2). The other Anthonys are St Antony of Egypt (c 251-356), whose biography, the *Vita Antonii*, is attributed to St Athanasius (c 296-373); and Antonio, the hero of Godwin's tragedy *Antonio, or the Soldier's Return*, which failed (was "damned") at its one performance in Dec 1800.

a too plain-hearted man of Genius, to be, or ever to become, a Pope?—therefore not infallible? But and if deceived in this Point, O how wilt thou stand the prosecution of Bull versus <thy> Bull in the Court of Conscience?⁴ Then too, when all the sucking Pigs, whipt to death, shall squeak anew against thee, and the crimped Cods answer thy Sermon, O Anthony!⁵ and the Lobsters, that had died thro' every line of every degree from 40 of Fahrenheit to 212, shall claw thee? When all the Vivae Sectiones⁶ of all the Hospitals & Medical Universities of Christendom shall arm themselves with their Tormentors' Weapons Lancets & Bellowses to cut thee up, & blow thee up?—Whither wilt thou flee?—See yonder is a Horse! And the rider will take thee up behind him!—Alas! Alas! the Horse was bought at Smithfield for Dogsmeat, having been lamed, excoriated & wind-broken in dragging chaise after chaise of [· · ·] Voters to a contested York Election, to give their Votes to Mr Wilberforce:^{7*} and the Man had been a Negro [· · ·], proved by Lord Kaim,⁹ & <by> his Overseer, & by his

* [And]^a half devoured by his companions in the house-less, straw-less Repository at [Hammersmith,]^b before they were bought up by the King's Huntsman!—(This is a fact)⁸

5^a Original page worn; word or words in square brackets supplied from SC transcript

5^b Original page worn; word or words in square brackets supplied from SC transcript

5⁴ C perpetrates a favourite pun (the same as in RHENFERD 5), implying that if so honest a person as Pereira were (improbably) to become Pope and were to promulgate a Bull declaring (as he does throughout this work) that animals have no feelings, then the persecuted bull of the textus would have a solid case against Pereira's Bull, which is also an Irish Bull based on false reasoning (cf 6 below at n 5).

5⁵ Another Anthony, St Antony of Padua (1195-1231), a preacher of such legendary fascination that fish were said to have leapt out of the water to hear him. The pig is associated with St Anthony of Egypt (cf n 2, and *OED* "tantony").

5⁶ The animals used for vivisection.

5⁷ In spite of the high reputation he enjoyed after the passing of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade in Britain early in 1807, William Wilberforce almost lost his Yorkshire seat in the

general election of that year: in the end, he won by 11,806 votes to his rivals' 11,177 and 10989; and his expenses amounted to £28,600, but theirs to £200,000 (DNB).

5⁸ C is perhaps alluding to an incident made famous by Lord Erskine in a speech in which he introduced to the House of Lords his Bill (which failed) for Preventing Cruelty to Animals. He told of old horses kept starving till the right moment on the market, so that they were driven to eat one another's manes: House of Lords *Parliamentary Debates* 15 May 1809 (cols 553-71).

5⁹ Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), pub *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774), in which he argued that the different races reveal different levels of development, whites showing more progress than other races.

color, to be only “a †Live Neger”, of course a [?Black] Sub-human, who had been burnt alive for having killed the Overseer who had kicked his pregnant Wife in the Belly, because she had fainted in the gang, and it was “all damned Laziness, & Sham Abraham!”¹¹—Nay, noble Heart, thou hast yet a Shield! Were man as alive to the exclusive Grandeur of his Nature, as thou wert sincerely, tho’ strangely laboring to make him, he would shudder for his own sake at representing such horrors to himself even on idols of Wood or mock-animals of Straw!

†[From]^e the Charles Town Advertiser, since the pretended ~~Whole~~ total Abolition [of the]^d Slave Trade by the American Congress,—”Just arrived & to be sold at public Vendue a Cargo of Live Negroes &c.”¹⁰

6 col 27 | “Rationes speculativae, quibus probatur bruta non sentire”

[Pereira argues that animals do not have feelings:] Quod in idem rediret ceu affirmare, bruta, & homines, eiusdem esse speciei. Quod non tantum manifestè absurdum, verum et impium est, ergo antecedens ex quo sequitur.

[This would amount to the same thing as saying that animals and men are of the same kind; which is not only manifestly absurd but also truly impious and so therefore is the antecedent reasoning from which it is concluded.]

“I like it the better therefore”¹ says the Darwinian to himself. “& here I stop.”—Aye! at the Result—but the grounds & deductions, if admitted, would raise the Brutes so very high, that Man himself would suffer no debasement if he were arranged as the monarch species of the Genus. Now this would not answer the purposes of the modern Gallo-gallinacean² Psilosophists.³ Raise brutes a little, pull down Man altogether, as far at least as he is man per differentiam,⁴ & to the very point beyond which (not

^{5e} Original page worn; word or words in square brackets supplied from SC transcript

^{5d} Original page worn; word or words in square brackets supplied from SC transcript

^{5¹⁰} An act against the importation of slaves into the United States was passed in 1807, but as C says, it did not effectively put an end to the trade. The periodical cited has not been traced; C quotes extensively the advertisements for runaway slaves from a similarly ephemeral work, “the Kingston Mercantile Advertiser”, in *Omniana* § 160, “Hint for a new species of History”.

^{5¹¹} Proverbial, originally nautical slang for feigning illness: *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* ed F. P. Wilson (3rd ed rev Oxford

1970).

^{6¹} See 1 n 3 above. The Darwinian following is an Erasmus Darwinian, as in 1 n 1.

^{6²} “French-cocky”—C punning on the connection between “Gallic” and *gallina*, “a hen”: cf a similar piece of word-play, *Cristogalli*, in LUTHER *Colloquia* 59, which C translates as “French Christians, or Coxcombs”.

^{6³} “Shallow thinkers”: C’s coinage, as in JUNG 8.

^{6⁴} “Distinctively”.

common sense merely, but) all human Language would whistle a *Lillibulero Lie in your face for a contradiction in terms—but still remember The Fifth of November. Never be forgot our grand End & Plot¹⁰—that both the one & the other, the Brutes & the Man, are to be made Beasts.

* id est: Lie, Lie, a Bull, & a Blunder:⁵—ero a corruption of error—or rather a true genesis, an etymon or De fonte psychologico⁶—a wilful blunder, an error of my whole Being, the being a wretch, quia ero, because I will be—it is a true heresy κεατος ψυχικου απρεσις, the choice of the fleshly heart.⁷ Forbid it, Justice! Let Love & Goodness forbid, that the Author of this Volume should be otherwise placed contiguous to such Ouran-Outangs, than as the Law of “Extremes meet” enforces⁸—otherwise than as East & West on a Globe.—Antonio⁹ erred only from a too ardent Zeal to preserve unneighbourd the dignities of Man.

S. T. C.

7 col 40, pencil | “Colores qualitatem occultam habere probatur”

Coloribus consimilis occulta proprietas à natura collata est. Album enim, ac eximie lucidum, vivendi facultatem disgregat, ac raram efficit, ceu nigrum congregat, adeò immodicè, ut nonnunquam dolorem inducat.* Qui motus partium organi, quo cernimus, tanta admiratione digni sunt, prout illi, qui relati fuère, ferri, ac festucae. Qui colorum effectus in calorem & frigus reduci non poterunt, nive eximiè frig[i]da disgregante, & pipere calido negredine congregante.

[Colours have been given a similar occult property by nature. For a white and excessively bright object dissipates and rarefies the faculty of sight, just as a black object concentrates it, so violently as sometimes actually to cause pain.* These movements of the parts of the organ of vision are as worthy of remark as those which I adduced earlier, of iron and straw. It will not be possible to attribute these effects of colours to heat and cold, since very cold snow causes diffusion and hot pepper by its blackness causes contraction.]

⁶ The refrain that gives its title to the anti-Irish song *Lillibullero*, popular from about 1688 and given increased currency by Sterne in *Tristram Shandy* (where it is Uncle Toby's habit, when perplexed, to whistle it). The word is generally thought to be meaningless, but C jokingly etymologizes it.

⁶ "From a psychological source".

⁶ C's Greek *keatos* seems to be a slip for *kreatos*, "of meat", "meaty"—"fleshly" in his own translation, which draws on the double meaning

of the Greek *hairesis*, "heresy" and "choice".

⁶ A favourite paradox: cf BLANCO WHITE *Practical Evidence* 9 n 2.

⁶ I.e. Antonio Pereira.

⁶ C's language echoes the jingle still recited by children in commemoration of Guy Fawkes' unsuccessful plot to blow up the Houses of Parliament on 5 Nov 1605: "Remember, remember, the Fifth of November,/ The gunpowder treason and plot".

* I see no occult property here—the White, as = all the rays, tends to contract the pupil, if it be excess of Light—the black for the opposite cause to contract^a it. That the Eye should have this power of adapting itself to circumstances, that indeed is so far an occult quality, as it depends on Life.

7^a Possibly written in error for "dilate"