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Osborne

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON

WAR,

UPON

CRUELTY in general,

AND

Religious CRUELTY in particular.

Also, An Attempt to prove that

Everlasting Punishments

Are inconsistent with the

DIVINE ATTRIBUTES.

IN

Several **LETTERS** and **ESSAYS.**

To which are added,

ESSAYS on divers other **SUBJECTS,**

AND

An **ORATION** in Praise of **DECEIT** and **LYING.**

LONDON,

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P R E F A C E.

ONE great service of reason and the most useful philosophy is, that they teach men, to regulate such of their passions as are serviceable when kept within due bounds, and to eradicate those which are in every degree prejudicial. Among the latter, Cruelty may justly be deemed the chief.

The principal design of some of the following Essays, is to set this vice, and unnecessary War, so nearly allied to it, in such a detestable light, as vices which are the great scandal of human nature and bane of human happiness deserve to be placed.

An attempt to discountenance evils by which both individuals and societies suffer so many miseries, it is hoped, will not be ill received: and perhaps the manner in which this hath been executed may have somewhat of novelty to recommend it.

Without doubt, cruelty is the source of a multitude of wicked actions, and war is one of the greatest calamities that can befall any nation.

But although unnecessary wars have been very freely censured by the Author of these Essays, yet nothing could be farther from his design than in any manner to discourage those which are

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defensive or otherwise necessary. Men are oftentimes excited to offensive wars by their evil lusts, or engage wantonly in them: but defensive wars are dictated by nature; and sound policy may, in some circumstances, render the other highly expedient. What people soever therefore argue or declare, as some do, against even defensive war, directly oppose one of the principal laws of nature, and consequently are either extremely pusillanimous, or infatuated by a most pernicious and destructive spirit of enthusiasm,—a spirit which, if it generally prevailed in any nation, must be the means of that nation becoming a prey to the first invader.

Still much more pernicious to these kingdoms, because a much greater number of people, and many of them in power, are possessed by it, is a spirit of opposition to a numerous, well-trained, and useful militia. Without this natural, most necessary, and only effectual defence and security, our nation will always be, as it is particularly at this time, in apparent danger from foreign enemies, and not near so safe in regard to enemies among ourselves as that would render us.

A standing army, sufficiently numerous to secure this country in case of an invasion, would not only be an intolerable burden and expence, but expose our liberties to the utmost danger. And for a nation which has the certain means
of

P R E F A C E.



of safety in its own power, to depend on the precarious assistance of foreigners for its defence, is directly contrary to all rules of good sense, and a strange solecism in politics.

There are people, whom experience of past and even recent dangers of the most interesting kind will not make wise unto their own preservation. We seem already to have forgot that we were but a few years since brought to the brink of destruction by five or six thousand ragamuffins, the very off-scowring of the whole island. There wanted indeed nothing but their being supported by a small number of foreign forces, which it is astonishing they were not, to have completed the conquest of this kingdom, consisting, as is commonly computed, of about eight millions of inhabitants. And 'tis easy to foresee, perhaps the evil day is at hand, that this country will, unless vigorous measures are immediately taken, be enslaved or destroyed for want of a safeguard in our power to provide and establish; and which if established, no enemy would dare to invade us. We should in that case, with the joint protection of our maritime force, a considerable part of which might then be employed to great advantage in the American and other seas, be in as perfect security as the nature of things will admit. So protected, "we might sit under our own vines and under our own fig-trees, and there would be none to make us afraid."

It is commonly said, that a superiority at sea will secure us. Nothing can be more evident than that this will not absolutely do it. But supposing it would,—are we certain of always maintaining this superiority? Nay, by what does it appear that we are now superior to the French at sea? Have they not, since the declaration of war, taken at least as many of our ships as we have taken of theirs? Have they not insulted us all round the island on our coasts, and made prize of many vessels within sight of our harbours? Have they not swept the coast of Guinea of all the ships they found there? Have they not safely transported great numbers of troops, and great quantities of ammunition, provisions, &c. to North America? which country, and consequently all our West-India islands, we are in danger of losing. Have they not taken from us the very valuable island of Minorca? In a word, have they not succeeded in every naval expedition they have undertaken against us since this war began? And have we succeeded in one we have undertaken against them? Are these proofs of our superiority at sea? But should it be admitted that a proper management of our marine force, in the conduct of which there have been most notorious and scandalous defects, would render us, at present, superior on that element to the French; yet a conquest which seems easy for them to make, or

Spain joining with France, would turn the balance even at sea entirely against us. If these events, or either of them, should happen, what must then, as we are now circumstanced, become of our religion, our laws, our liberties, and all that is dear to us? But were they to happen, yet all those inestimable benefits might be preserved by such a militia as we are capable of forming*.

To the want of this security at home, our late fatal and ignominious losses, both in the Mediterranean and in America, may with justice be principally imputed: for had not so great a part of our fleet been kept in our own ports or in these seas to prevent an invasion, which precaution a proper militia would have rendered unnecessary, those squadrons might not only have preserved our foreign dominions, but also greatly distressed our enemies.

This affair of a militia being a matter of the utmost importance to the safety of our country, it is hoped the reader, especially at so critical a juncture, will excuse the mentioning it here, tho' somewhat foreign to the subjects of the following Treatises, to which we shall now return.

The occasion of writing the two letters that precede these Essays, will appear by the letters themselves: but it may be necessary to give a reason why they are here inserted.

A 4

Nothing

* This was written before the late militia act passed; but that appearing so ineffectual, the author thinks he need not alter what he had wrote.

Nothing more was at first designed to be wrote by the author on Cruelty and War, than would have been comprised in two or three epistles, which were not intended for the public: but the worthy person to whom those above-mentioned were addressed, dying soon after they were written, the subjects of them made such an impression on the writer, and were thought of so much concernment to mankind in general, that he has added largely to his first design. These letters therefore having occasioned the following Dissertations, and being mostly on the same subjects, it was thought proper they should be published with them.

When War, and Cruelty in general, had been treated of, so large a branch of this latter as Religious Cruelty in particular, — a branch bringing forth such poisonous fruit, and upon which such numbers of unclean birds build their nests, could not well escape notice.

Among the various kinds of barbarity which the human species have exercised upon one another, certainly this is the most without excuse. Men are oftentimes urged by extreme poverty and want to commit private and common robberies, and murders that frequently accompany them: in case of duels or wars, provocations are generally alledged: but what provocation can any man or body of men pretend, or what excuse can they find for exercising the most horrible

terrible cruelties upon others, only because they worship the Divine Being according to the dictates of their consciences? that is, as they firmly believe, obey the will of their Creator. Surely we may justly say of every persecutor on account of religion, as Tully said of a pirate, that he is *hostis humani generis*, and undoubtedly he ought so to be treated. Indeed such a wretch is not only an enemy to mankind, but, by usurping a power over the consciences of men, he becomes a rebel to the Almighty, and may, in scripture language, be said to fight against God.

As no particular persons or societies of men are answerable to the Deity for the manner in which others worship him, (“for every one shall give account of himself,”) what pretence can any make for meddling in this matter, otherwise than by advice, instruction, persuasion, or the like? which are indeed the only justifiable means of establishing or propagating any religion; and true christianity absolutely disclaims all violent and cruel methods.

But although the first promulgation of the gospel was, “peace on earth, and good will towards men;” yet the original design of christianity hath been so perverted, that this religion has occasioned the greatest hatred, and the most bloody persecutions, wars, and massacres, that ever appeared in the world.

That all the several churches and sects of christians, when armed with sufficient power, have at times, and more or less, persecuted their brethren, is a melancholy truth; but none have done this so constantly and furiously, and with such a diabolical rage, as the church of Rome.

Who would think that so absurd and cruel a religion as the popish should gain ground in this country, where it is discouraged, and knowledge, learning, good sense, and humanity so much abound? Yet that it does is certainly true.

Protestants should be very careful not to receive, as part of their religious belief, any doctrine which contradicts reason, or is not agreeable thereto; for by so doing they would give great advantage to Papists, and furnish them with an argument not easily answered. If, say they, you believe this or the other doctrine or article, tho' contrary to reason, what just objection can you make against believing such and such doctrines or articles likewise?

Indeed, when men give way to enthusiasm, and their religious belief is no longer regulated or bounded by reason, they know not where they shall stop: they may become Prophets, Me——s, Mo——s, or fall into that sink, that common-sewer of nonsense, delusion, and imposture, the church of Rome.

Whatever therefore enthusiasts or fanatics may pretend, there is no other security against

error and deceit than keeping close to this rule. And 'tis plain that the departing from it has opened a door to all the nonsensical absurdities and wicked impostures which have been obtruded upon the world under the name of religion. But we need not wonder (as I think Mr. Hobbes has said) that men should be against reason, when reason is against them.

Les Juifs et les Payens, *says the learned and judicious Mons. Le Clerc*, ne pouvoient souffrir que l'on examinât à la rigueur leur pensées:

* * * * Ils croioient déjà voir leurs temples et leurs autels abandonnez. * * * * Ils cri-

oient les uns et les autres contre la raison, comme contre un guide infidele, qui ne pou-

voit que conduire dans de grands égarements, en matière de religion. Quelques rabbins,

(dit *Buxtorf*) qui ont suivi sans doute les sen-

timens de leurs peres, nous disent qu'en ma-

tière de théologie, celui qui suit sa raison et ses pensées, marche sans batons et sans soutien,

et qu'il est semblable à un homme qui marcheroit seul la nuit dans un desert, ou dans un lieu tenebreux; qu'il va à sa perte, et qu'il tombe dans des fosses et dans plusieurs dan-

gers: que dans le culte de Dieu, l'opinion, la raison, et la sagesse n'ont aucun lieu ^b. *i. e.*

*" Jews and Pagans cannot bear that their notions should be strictly examined. * * * * "*

" They

^b *Parrhasiana, &c. T. II. p. 33, 34.*

“ They would expect to see their temples and
 “ their altars forsaken. * * * * They exclaim.
 “ the one and the other against reason, as against
 “ an uncertain guide, which could only lead them
 “ into great mistakes on the subject of religion.
 “ Some rabbies, (says Buxtorf) who doubtless
 “ have followed the sentiments of their fathers,
 “ tell us, that in matters of theology, he who
 “ follows his reason and his own thoughts walks
 “ without a staff and without support, and that
 “ he is like a man who travels alone by night in
 “ a wilderness, or in a dark place; that he is
 “ at a loss, and falls into pits and into many
 “ perils: that in the worship of God, opinion,
 “ reason, and wisdom have no concern.”

That reason and wisdom have no concern in
 these and many other peoples worship is undoubt-
 edly true. Nevertheless we see, that when men
 lay aside the use of reason in religion, they act
 just as wisely as mariners would do to lay aside
 the use of their compass in a sea voyage: as the
 latter would make wild steerage, and could en-
 tertain no reasonable hopes of ever arriving at
 their desired port, but be tossed about by the
 winds and the waves; so would the former “ be
 “ tossed to and fro, and carried about with every
 “ wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and
 “ cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait
 “ to deceive.”

Many

Many of our English authors, divines especially, have written with great strength of argument against popery; but as numbers of people are not capable of going through a long chain of reasoning, which oftentimes rather confounds than instructs them, authentic accounts of religious cruelties taught and practised by Roman Catholics, seem perfectly well suited to affect all those who are not totally void of understanding and humanity.

'Tis therefore much to be wished that books of this kind, especially small ones, which may be bought at low prices, and consequently fall into many hands, were more common than they are: such manuals of Romish cruelty might be excellent preservatives against the contagion, or antidotes against the poison of popery.

If Limborch's *History of the Inquisition*, translated by Mr. Chandler, was judiciously abridged, and that worthy and learned gentleman's very valuable Introduction published with it, surely it could not fail of being greatly useful.

In order to raise an abhorrence of persecution in general, and of popish persecution in particular, and consequently of the popish religion, a few select instances of the most execrable cruelties; taken chiefly from that book, have been given in some of the following sheets.

For as the ancient Spartans exposed their slaves when drunk to the young people, that they

seeing

seeing the deformity of such an odious vice might avoid it ; so may we not hope, that placing examples of shocking barbarities in the reader's view will be a means of exciting a detestation against cruelty in general, and religious cruelty in particular ?

Archbishop Tillotson was of opinion, that *transubstantiation is like a mill-stone hung about the neck of popery, which will sink it at the last*." But is not persecution, so notoriously the principle and practice of this religion, like a still heavier mill-stone, which must inevitably produce that most desirable effect ? For tho' all men cannot see the absurdity of false doctrines, yet surely every man, especially every good-natured and humane man, must see that a religion which teaches and exercises cruelty, can be no other than a cruel and a wicked religion.

Should any ask, — why so much is said concerning persecution in a country where it is not at present in use, — the answer is, — in order that it never may come into use again ; and more especially to beget the utmost aversion to a religion which is an affront to the Deity, destructive of morality, a contradiction to common sense, and a scandal to human nature.

If in these Essays the reader should find some opinions treated with freedom, which he has been accustomed to regard with reverence, he is in-
treated

^d Sermon the 26th, vol. I of his works, fol. edition.

treated not to grow angry, nor pass too hasty a judgment: for passion often prevents us from forming a right judgment, and a hasty decision is seldom a just one.

As the doctrine of Everlasting Punishments is undoubtedly a species of religious cruelty, and appears to be as false and pernicious as stocking and dreadful, — as derogatory to the honour of God as destructive to the peace of mankind, an attempt is therefore made to set so detestable an opinion in a clear light, and answer the chief arguments commonly used to defend it. And surely this attempt is the more necessary, as a belief, that the Almighty would give existence to any creature so much as liable to be eternally miserable, might tend to raise doubts concerning his wisdom, his knowledge, and his goodness.

Faith and Divine Revelation having a near connection with several of the foregoing subjects, they are also treated of.

No attempts will be made in the following Essays to mislead or deceive by art or subtilty, nor to impose by authorities: the author is indeed of opinion, that authority serves many times to confirm and perpetuate falsehood, and that if men made less use of subtilty and more of common sense, and appealed seldomer to authority and more frequently to reason, they would be much less liable to error, and much more likely to discover truth.

Neither

Neither does he pretend to impose his sentiments magisterially on others: he is fully sensible, he hath no right so to do: as he expects and claims a liberty of judging for himself, he is sincerely desirous that every man should enjoy the same, and as sincerely wishes to receive information from any person who will give it with good temper and good manners: nay, he would most willingly profit by it tho' void of both.

Notwithstanding it is the indispensable duty of all men freely to examine, according to the best of their capacities, every article of religion which they are required to believe, yet those who do this themselves, and advise others to do the like, are very frequently, and oftentimes very falsely, represented as immoral in their lives and licentious in their principles. But were this the case,—might not such persons give good advice, and expose the absurdity of false doctrines? 'Tis indeed most earnestly to be wished, that all men lived soberly, righteously, and piously; and it more especially behoves those who take upon them to treat on points of religion or morality so to live. Besides, it is freely acknowledged, that bad men have rarely either the inclination or power to do much good. Nevertheless, if immoral persons tell us the truth, we ought to receive it for its own sake. Should we disbelieve the truth of religion, or be disgusted against it, because of the vicious lives of some who are the teachers of it,



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ter civilly, they have been reproached with affecting the fame of moderation, or the higher ambition of the good word of those whose opinions they opposed.

Doubtless, moderation is looked upon as a vice by some persons; their writings and behaviour evidently prove their aversion to it; and such are apt to despise the good word of those they pretend to reclaim from error: but others may think moderation a most amiable virtue, and that conciliating the good will of those they would convince of a mistake, is oftentimes very serviceable towards setting them right.

Men of extreme choleric or splenetic complexions frequently appear mighty zealous for what they call religion: but when we plainly see that as much zeal appears on other subjects, especially in defence of strange paradoxes, which some of these zealots are most immoderately and ridiculously fond of; and that they behave to all who presume to dissent from them, tho' perhaps only on some trivial points of literature, with excessive haughtiness, and are in the highest degree impatient of contradiction; can we suppose any other, unless some small allowance be made for hypocrisy on account of certain worldly emoluments, than that all this flaming zeal proceeds entirely from an over-heated and distempered brain, which produces pride, arrogance, and violence of temper?

Is it not therefore probable that a low diet, with bleeding, purging, or some other suitable evacuations, might be excellent remedies for this intemperate and preternatural heat? Undoubtedly many peccant humours, which break out in a kind of morbid zeal, might, as well as enthusiasm and fanaticism, be carried off by physical applications and a proper regimen.

About the middle of the last century, when the disease of enthusiasm was very epidemic, and the rage of zeal ran to distraction, a quaker went to Rome to convert the pope, and was admitted to audience: immediately after which the pope ordered his chief physician to take the utmost care of the poor man, and when cured that he should be sent to his own country, and no injury whatever offered to him. In this action the pope certainly shewed as much humanity as knowledge of human nature.

Happy would it have been, if all popes, and all others in authority, had behaved in the same mild and charitable manner, and that no violence or cruelties had ever been exercised upon innocent and well-meaning enthusiasts. But as to hot-headed zealots, who are naturally inclined to mischief, beside the salutary methods above-mentioned, it is absolutely necessary for the peace and safety of society, as well as for their own particular benefit, that they should be kept under proper restraint, and never be trusted with power; for power would

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greatly

greatly increase their most desperate symptoms, and in such hands be attended with extreme ill consequence to the public. If Becket and Laud, instead of being thus armed, had been put under a proper regimen, and sent to such a place as Bedlam, it might have been of singular service to themselves, and would have prevented infinite evils which this nation suffered by their mad and outrageous behaviour.

This preface being lengthened beyond what was at first intended, very little more will be added.

If the Author of these Essays, because he has called in question some opinions commonly received as orthodox, should be aspersed with being a profligate person, and writing with a view of encouraging licentiousness, he hopes his manner of life will disprove the former, and that what he now offers to the public will demonstrate the latter to be false.—He hath on this occasion examined his own heart with all possible strictness and impartiality, and is well assured that the principal, if not the only motive of what he has here written, is a sincere desire to dissuade men from the practice of cruelty of all kinds; to prevail with them to form rational, and, as much as in them lies, worthy opinions concerning the Deity and the methods of worshipping him; and consequently the writer's real intention is to promote humanity, virtue, piety, and true religion.

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A

L E T T E R

To Mr. *J. M.*

DEAR SIR,



I CANNOT, with satisfaction to myself, enjoy the noble present of books you have been so kind to send me, without acknowledging it in a manner somewhat more durable than by word of mouth. But as I know that repeated thanks would not be agreeable to your generous mind, I shall restrain my pen from doing justice to my heart, and rather tell you, what I am sure you will hear with pleasure, — That nothing could have been more agreeable

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agreeable and acceptable, and I really think more beneficial to me, than this mark of your affection.

As I have no extravagant inclinations to gratify, and live within my income, an addition of fortune, at my time of life especially; would have been no great benefit, nor have afforded me much pleasure, except that of bestowing, which is indeed a pleasure. I have food and raiment for the body, and am therewith content: but you have given me food for the mind, which, if my digestion and concoction were but good enough, would afford excellent nourishment.

MANY of the viands you have furnished my table with, are not only of the best kind, but so neatly dished up, as to please the eye, and excite the appetite, at the same time that they afford the most delicious repast. Do not you think that *Horace*, whose characteristic was elegance, would have been delighted with such an elegant transcript of his works, as *Pine* has given to the public, and you to me? I doubt not but it would have produced an ode in praise of the ingenious artist. And might not *Cæsar* himself, could he be sensible of it, receive pleasure in seeing such an accurate and beautiful edition of his Commentaries, as the late learned Dr. *Clarke* published and favoured the world with? Had
this

this magnificent performance appeared in *Cæsar's* time, he would certainly have made the editor a princely present; (for *Cæsar* was generous) and I think he would not have forgot honest *Jacob Tonson*, the printer, who has admirably well acquitted himself of his part. I assure you, if I had as rich a cabinet as *Alexander* the Great was possessed of, and which he thought could not be so well furnished as with *Homer's* works, I would place this book in it; yet not so much for its own sake, tho' very valuable, as for that of the donor.

BUT to be a little more particular respecting the benefit accruing to me by your kind gift.

HAVING been, as you know, for between thirty and forty years engaged in variety of affairs, which, by reason of my ill state of health for the last ten or twelve years, became very burdensome to me; but being in a good degree freed from the trouble of business and the misery of pain, I have for some time suspected, that I was not without danger of falling into too much indolence; perhaps of feeding the body, and starving the mind. But the mental entertainment you have so kindly provided for me, has given a new turn to my disposition, and I hope will be a means of putting the in-

4 *A. LETTER to Mr. J. M.*

telleetual faculties into a quicker motion. To gain this point, give me leave to tell you how I employ myself, or rather how you have employed me. I am at present principally engaged in reading history, and particularly renewing my acquaintance with *Cæsar* and *Livy*. Will you indulge me in communicating to you my thoughts on these authors? What is the chief, or indeed almost the only subject of their histories? Do but read the titles of *Cæsar's* particularly: *De bello Gallico*, *De bello Hispaniensi*, *De bello Africano*, &c. and what is worst of all, *De bello civili*. Methinks, such transactions, varied and extended to other nations, are a kind of epitome of the principal contents of most histories, sacred, as they are called, and prophane. And pray, what are all these recitals of wars? Are they in reality any other than so many accounts of horrid and barbarous murders, committed by men on their own species? And for what? This is a question that very few of the multitudes employed in this cruel butcherly work can answer. A king or an emperor, who it is very likely has much uncultivated ground in his dominions, and will certainly cause a great deal more to become so by the destruction of his people in war, wants a larger territory; and



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6 *A LETTER to Mr. J. M.*

— — — *tot bella per orbem :*

*Tam multæ scelerum facies : non ullus aratro
Dignus honos : squalent abductis arva colonis,
Et curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in enses.
Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum :
Vicina ruptis inter se legibus urbes
Arma ferunt : sævit toto Mars impius orbe.*

I SHALL only stop a moment to observe with what propriety *Virgil*, when he was writing on husbandry, complains of the plough not receiving due honour, the fields lying waste, their owners forced to bear arms, and the crooked scythes being forged into cruel swords. But surely, if the people have no real interest in the quarrels of their princes, as it is certain they very seldom have, it would be highly reasonable that the princes only should fight. Would it not have been infinitely more just, that *Alexander* and *Darius*, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and many more such destroying heroes who might be mentioned, should have decided their disputes by single combat, than that so many thousands should have been sacrificed to their ambition? It was certainly a noble action, and worthy of great commendation, in our king *Henry* the fifth, that soon after he arrived in *France* to assert and obtain his right to the crown of that kingdom, he

he sent a letter to the Dauphin, in which he challenged him to a single combat, “that so,” as he expressed it, “the lives of many men might be spared, and the quarrel between them two be honourably fought and decided by themselves.” An immense treasure, and the lives of perhaps a million of people, might have been saved, if *Lewis* the fourteenth of *France*, when he was young, and first began to disturb *Europe*, had been thus engaged to fight singly. Our *William* the third, if he had come a little sooner into the world, would not, I believe, have refused the combat: tho’ I could rather have wished, that circumstances had concurred to have matched *Lewis* with *Charles* the twelfth of *Sweden*, and have brought them together upon the stage. The subjects of such a pair of royal gladiators would certainly have had reason to wish they might both have fallen in the dispute. But the worst is, that tho’ these pernicious princes, or some of them, might have been by this means destroyed, yet bad kings are like the heads of the *Hydra*: if one is cut off, another immediately sprouts up.

I WAS about to have proceeded in my speculations, and have inquired what may be the reason, that although wars are many

B *A LETTER to Mr. J. M.*

times unjust, and always a terrible calamity, yet not only the bulk of mankind, but you, and I, and many more peaceable persons, are nevertheless delighted with the accounts and descriptions which history and poetry give of wars and battles; and to have made some further observations on war and cruelty; but for fear I should, by the length of this letter, rather tire than divert you, I shall only add, that

I am, &c.



A SECOND

A
S E C O N D
L E T T E R

To the Same.

DEAR SIR,

AS you desire that I would proceed in the inquiry and observations mentioned in my former letter, and tell me it would be a pleasure to you to see them, I comply with chearfulness: for I cannot gratify myself more highly than in giving pleasure to one I so much esteem.

THAT the greatest poets, who are certainly some of the most curious observers and best judges of human nature, and particularly the

the epic poets, have been sensible of the universal taste of mankind for descriptions of wars and battles, agreeably to what is mentioned in my last, is evident; for these are the principal subjects of the *Iliad* and *Æneid*: and, in *Paradise Lost*, the author has given us a battle of angels, which by great numbers of his readers, is not, I believe, the least admired part of that divine performance. Give me leave to mention a fourth poem of the same kind, which has done honour to this age and nation, and will, I doubt not, be applauded by future generations, even as long as the *English* language is understood, (which, perhaps, may be for ever:) great part of this poem is also on the same subjects, and the battles between *Leonidas* and the *Persians*, — some of the bravest and most glorious on the side of the former, because in defence of liberty and his country, that ever were fought, — have, I believe, been universally admired. Several of our best tragic poets have also not only described battles, but even introduced them on the stage. How preposterous soever this last-mentioned practice may be, (and preposterous indeed I think it,) nevertheless it serves to shew how pleasing these poets have thought such representations are to the people.

My

My inquiry then is, what may be the reason that tho' wars are for the most part unjust, and always a terrible calamity, yet not only the bulk of mankind, but you, and I, and many more who condemn and abhor all wars not absolutely necessary, are nevertheless delighted with the accounts and descriptions which history and poetry give of wars and battles?

RESPECTING the bulk of mankind, I fear their savage tempers have the greatest share in this pleasure: but as to the delight that humane and peaceable persons take in such accounts and descriptions, I think it may partly proceed from their observing the foresight, contrivances, and stratagems of the generals and commanders of armies, which are made use of to defeat their enemies; that change of scenes, and variety of action, which so frequently occur in war; and, above all, that intrepidity, that courage, which enables men to look steadily at death without shrinking: these are incidents that both please and astonish.

PERHAPS there are few sights in the world which would afford more pleasure, even to a humane compassionate man, (supposing him to be a mere spectator,) than two great armies drawn up in order of battle, and ready to engage. This pleasure, to such a person, cannot

cannot proceed from the idea of the slaughter of his fellow-creatures soon to ensue, which on the contrary must strike him with horror; but probably he separates these ideas in his mind, from those objects which are present to his sight; such as the multitude of men and horses, the like of which is never to be seen on any other occasion but that of war; their orderly and exact arrangement, the gaudy trappings of the horses, the splendor of the habits of the men, and the shining brightness of their armour and weapons: these, I say, if viewed and considered abstractedly from what is to follow, must give great pleasure; but I confess that which is to follow, will be very apt to obtrude upon the mind, and will then cast a horrible gloom over all these glaring objects.

It is also certain, that not only two armies thus drawn up in order of battle, and ready to engage, will give pleasure to such a mere spectator as I have described, but the very battle itself may be viewed with a sort of pleasing horror. Here, beside the ancient and common observation, that seeing others in danger while we ourselves are in safety, affords a kind of delight, we must likewise allow, that as the mind is apt to rest principally on those objects, which



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just, and masterly a manner, as to bring the subjects of these descriptions, as it were, before our view: thus *Cæsar*, *Polybius*; *Livy*, *Quintus Curtius*, and other historians; as well as the above-mentioned poets and others, have done. Indeed, just, lively, and natural descriptions and representations, whether by the pen or the pencil, tho' the subjects of them may be horrible, do yet afford a sort of pleasure to the reader or spectator. How many pictures of martyrdoms, and other subjects in themselves shocking, have you and I seen, particularly in Roman Catholic countries, which notwithstanding they have made us shudder, yet the exquisite skill they have been performed with, has greatly engaged our attention, and even extorted our applause?

PERHAPS also the reading romances in our youth, which are all made up of love and fighting, may contribute to the pleasure we receive in our mature age, by historical and poetical accounts and descriptions of wars and battles. May not the delight we took in reading the *Seven Champions of Christendom* in our infancy, give us the greater gusto for *Quintus Curtius* and *Homer* in our more advanced years? *Don Quixote*, as described by *Cervantes*, that just and fine copier of human nature, was, you know, supposed

supposed to be so affected by reading romances in his youth, as afterwards to ramble about the world, and act the very parts of his admired heroes. And tho' we are far from being *Don Quixotes*, yet that which might be thought to influence him in so great a degree, may influence us in a less.

IN reading historical accounts of the wars of different nations, tho' they may have happened many hundred years since, we are apt to take party, interest ourselves in the dispute, and wish success to one side. I remember, in a late conversation with you on this subject, I observed, that respecting those wars which the *Romans* were concerned in, I was generally on their side: you smiled, and acknowledged that you were so too. (Our similar manner of thinking, on more material points, has often given me pleasure, and caused me to entertain a better opinion of my own judgment than I should otherwise have done.) May not this proceed partly from the many instances of virtue, both public and private, that are frequently met with in the histories of that brave people, and the very contrary so notorious in many of their enemies?

THE *Romans*, I mean the ancient *Romans*, as a people, except in the triumphs
of

of their generals, which, however useful as a political institution, I always thought very barbarous, appear to have been, for the most part, humane and just, if we may properly call any nation humane and just, who make war for conquest; and many particular persons among them were some of the most illustrious examples of private virtue that we meet with in history: whereas the *Carthaginians*, the most formidable enemies they ever had, unless we except the *Gauls*, were perfidious to a proverb, and very cruel. The savage, the diabolical cruelty they exercised upon *Regulus*, whose virtues they ought to have adored, has made me their irreconcilable enemy: and consequently the long series of their success against the *Romans* under *Hannibal*, who was himself very cruel, if we may believe the *Roman* historians, always gives me pain in the reading: and when a check was given to those successes, first by *Fabius Maximus*, and then by *Marcellus*, I rejoice with the *Romans*. But the decisive victory obtained over *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*, in *Africa*, by the *Romans* under the conduct of *Scipio*, (who was so much the better man) completes my satisfaction, I had almost said, my triumph.

I HAVE

I HAVE now, Sir, in part complied with your request; and if my sentiments on this subject should prove agreeable to yours, and this letter serve to amuse you, it will be no small satisfaction to

Yours, &c.

P. S. You will observe, Sir, that I have, in the preceding part of this letter, made a query, Whether any people, who engage in war merely for the sake of conquest, may properly be styled humane and just? Certainly, no nation, which wages war for that purpose, can deserve those epithets. It may indeed be pleaded in behalf of the *Romans*, that when they subdued barbarous nations, they civilized and polished them: but as this was not the motive of their wars; pride and ambition being the apparent incentives, this plea will not excuse them. Besides, they made war upon the *Greeks*, who were much more polished than the *Romans* themselves, and this purely to bring those people under their dominion.

I do not recollect, that any of the *Roman* historians or poets blame their countrymen for making war merely for the sake of conquest: on the contrary, they extol and celebrate them for it. Even *Virgil*, who appears by his writings to have been a person

of great humanity, and, as we have already seen, deploras, in some cases, the miseries of war, yet seems to exult in this practice of the *Roman* people. He introduces *Anchises* acknowledging that other nations may succeed better in statuary, oratory, or astronomy, than the *Romans*; but, says he,

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjēctis, et debellare superbos* ^c.

Thus Englished by *Dryden*:

But, Rome, 'tis thine alone, with awful sway, }
To rule mankind, and make the world obey; }
Disposing peace, and war, thy own majestic way. }
✓ To tame the proud, the fetter'd slave to free: —
These are imperial arts, and worthy thee.

And who are these proud people that were to be tamed, or, as the word *debellare* more properly signifies, subdued by war? Why, those who would not meanly part with their laws and liberties, and submit to the *Roman* yoke.

At my leisure I may very probably give you some farther thoughts on the subjects of Cruelty and War.

Essay

ESSAY I.

OF

CRUELTY,

AND OF

WAR.

INTRODUCTION.

THE numberless acts of cruelty that now are, and always have been, so frequent in the world, as they are a disgrace to human nature, and of the most pernicious and fatal consequence to mankind, cannot fail of giving great concern to the humane and compassionate.

It is natural for all men, when they are in pain, distress, or affliction, to desire and

expect assistance from their fellow-creatures : that which all men desire and expect for themselves from others, every man should, according to his ability, readily afford to others.

IF this rule, which is so just, equal, and beneficial, was universally observed, how greatly would it tend to alleviate the miseries of mankind, and promote their happiness?

BUT this is so far from being the practice of men in general, or the rule of their conduct, that great part of them are principally employed in bringing misery, calamities, and destruction on their own species.

WHEN we denominate pity and compassion humanity, because, as we say, they are qualities belonging or essential to man, do we not rather compliment our species, or at least the bulk of them, with what they ought to be, than truly describe what they really are?

WHOEVER takes an impartial view of the behaviour and actions of the greater part of mankind, must allow, that tenderness and compassion are much less their true characteristics, than hard-heartedness and cruelty. But our being obliged to acknowledge this truth ought not to render those vices less odious to us, or slacken our endeavours to eradicate or suppress them.



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the most horrid and detestable; so horrid and detestable, that human nature cannot be more disfigured or debased, than by the practice of it: it is indeed the utmost extent of wickedness, and frequently transforms men into devils.

THIS malignant and destructive evil proceeds in different persons from different causes or motives. In some it takes its rise from their natural tempers; others learn it by bad examples, are taught it by wicked precepts, or excited to it by divers other vices; particularly, covetousness, anger, revenge, pride, and ambition; which, when they proceed to the greatest excess, commonly end in cruelty.

THAT there is a natural propensity to cruelty in great numbers of our species, is evident. What is more common, than to see people take pleasure in beholding not only mere animals, but human creatures also, in pain and misery; in inflicting these evils on them, and destroying their lives; and all this, oftentimes, without any other incitement than the gratification of a cruel temper?

IF, indeed, a humane compassionate man, who pities every object of misery within his notice, was to look no farther than into his own breast, he could not conceive that there

were.

were such diabolical wretches as these among mankind: but his own observation and experience, as well as the reports of others, will furnish him with but too many proofs how numerous they are; and history will inform him to what a degree all ages and nations have abounded with them.

WHAT, but this native cruelty, a love of it for its own sake, formed a *Nero*, a *Caligula*, a *Domitian*, or a *Muley Ismael*, and a multitude of such monsters? One of *Domitian's* principal pleasures and diversions was to stand by and behold those, he had condemned to die, put to death by the most exquisite tortures. *Muley* frequently took delight in being himself the bloody executioner, not only of malefactors and common people, but even of his wives and concubines who had lain in his bosom.

It is highly probable, that if observations had been made on these and such-like miscreants in their infancies, and transmitted to us, we should have discovered the seeds of that cruelty, then sown in them by nature, which afterwards grew up to such an enormous height. Father *Busnot* has given us an instance of this kind in his history of the reign of the above-mentioned *Muley Ismael*°. “His son and presumptive heir, named

“ named *Muley Zidan*, who, when he ar-
 “ rived at the age of a man, was such ano-
 “ ther monster of cruelty as his father, be-
 “ ing, when about five or six years old,
 “ carried in the arms of a black called *Me-*
 “ *lec*, and meeting a peasant, the boy asked
 “ *Melec* for his cymeter to kill the man.
 “ The black told him, that would be an
 “ action unworthy of a Sherif;” (that is, a
 “ descendant of *Mabomet*) “ but still he per-
 “ sisted, crying, and threatening to com-
 “ plain to his mother the Sultaneſs, ’till
 “ *Melec* was forced to give him the cymeter;
 “ at the ſame time whispering to the pea-
 “ ſant, that as ſoon as he received the firſt
 “ ſtroke, he ſhould fall down flat on the
 “ ground, and lie ſtill, without ſtirring hand
 “ or foot. The little barbarous urchin,
 “ ſeeing the blood run, and the man on the
 “ ground, thinking he had been dead,
 “ went away highly delighted.”

FROM what, but a cruel temper, can it
 principally proceed, that ſo great a part of
 our diverſions are no better than ſo many
 acts of barbarity? Men, not contented with
 ✓ hunting the wild inhabitants of the foreſts,
 woods, and fields, almoſt all of whom in our
 country are very harmleſs, and frequently
 putting them for many hours in the utmoſt
 terror, and cauſing them to ſtrain every nerve

to escape the savage fury of their pursuers, who at last kill them if they can: men, not contented to act thus by the wild creatures of the forest, &c. are no less cruel to their tame, domestic, and most useful animals, who may truly be said to “do good” to those who despitefully use them:” these, many of them remarkable for their watchfulness, faithfulness, and affection to their masters, are, nevertheless, oftentimes set to fight, for the pleasure that their owners or others take in seeing them worry, tear, and destroy one another; or are otherwise tormented merely for sport.

BUT men of this savage temper, not satisfied with these cruelties exercised on the brute creation, take great pleasure in seeing their own species wounded, mangled, and murdered too, for their diversion. Were there not, 'till lately suppressed by a very necessary and wholesome law, places set apart on purpose for such cruel spectacles, which were frequented by the great vulgar as well as the small? and where not only mere animals were made to fight with one another, but men hired to do the same; and where the spectators usually expressed great dissatisfaction, when but little blood was shed. No doubt but it was a mortification to them, that they might not frequently see men
murdered

murdered as well as beasts; and it has sometimes happened, that at these diverting entertainments, equally humane and laudable, they have enjoyed this gratification.

THE extreme fondness of the ancient *Romans* for the barbarous spectacles of beasts fighting with beasts, men with beasts, and with one another, and at a time too when they were esteemed the politest nation in the world, is really astonishing. *Asia* and *Africa* were frequently ransacked for the fiercest creatures, as lions, tigers, elephants, &c. to fight before the people.

T. LIVIUS says, that *Nasica* and *Lenxulus*, when they were *Ædiles*, made a show of sixty-three panthers, and forty bears and elephants, for this purpose^c: and *Pliny* gives account, that *Scæurus*, in his *ædileship*, did the like with one hundred and fifty leopards; and *Domitius Abenobarbus* with an hundred bears of *Numidia*; and *Pompey* with five hundred and twenty leopards^d. *Plutarch*, in the life of this latter, tells us, that upon the dedication of his theatre he entertained the people, among other spectacles, with the baiting of wild beasts, and men combating with them, particularly lions and elephants, and that five hundred of the former were slain.

PETRONIUS,

^c *lib. xlii. c. 18.*

^d *Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 17 & 36.*

PETRONIUS, in the following lines, elegantly describes what pains the *Romans* took to catch and bring so many wild beasts to *Rome* :

*Quæritur in sylvis Maurifera, et ultimus Ammon
Afrorum excutitur, ne desit bellua dente
Ad mortes pretiosa fames, premit advena classes
Tigris, et aurata gradiens vectatur in aula,
Ut bibat humanum, populo spectante, cruorem¹.*

BUT it appears that the fighting of gladiators was preferred by the people to these and all other shows.

THE account given by *Titus Livius* of the beginning of this barbarous practice, and his censure of it, though he lived at a time when it was greatly in fashion, are in the following words: *Idem annus (U. C. 488) rei sane crudeli, sed mox intemperantissime usurpatæ, initium attulit, ut sanguis humanus, in gratiam levissimi cujusque spectatoris affatim fusus, voluptas publica fieret. Barbari moris auctores M. et D. Junii Bruti, nescio quâ pietate defuncti patris cineres honoraturi, gladiatorium munus ediderunt, magno favore civitatis. Sed hanc humanitatis injuriam ultra pestilentia est, quæ per istum et sequentem annum atrocissime sæviit².* . That is, This same year

¹ Cap. 119.

² Hist. lib. xvi. sect. XLII.

year (the building of *Rome* 488) the barbarous custom, afterwards excessively practised, of shedding human blood, to gratify every trifling fellow of a spectator, became a public diversion. The authors of this inhuman cruelty were *Marcus* and *Decimus Junius Brutus*, who, from I know not what pious desire to do honour to their father's ashes, exhibited this combat of gladiators, which extremely pleased the people. But this injury done to humanity was revenged by a pestilence, which raged violently during this and the following year.

THIS cruel entertainment continued for a considerable time to be practised only at the funerals of some eminent personages, and then but few combatants appeared; but in after-times, as is above mentioned, it became a common diversion. *Julius Cæsar*, during his ædileship, produced three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators. *Trajan* entertained the people with these and the like kind of spectacles for one hundred and twenty-three days successively, in which time there appeared one thousand¹ pair of gladiators in the amphitheatre.

¹ *M. Rollin*, from whom this account is principally taken, in his *Histoire Romaine*, T. iv. p. 231, says, *dix mille gladiateurs*, ten thousand gladiators: but as I do not find that number mentioned by any other author, this may probably be a mistake.



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“ our fore-fathers erected, above a thousand
 “ years ago, to compassion, mercy, and
 “ humanity!”

Mr. Rollin, who appears to have been a person of great humanity, takes notice, with what horror *Seneca* has, in few words, expressed himself on these cruel diversions of the *Romans*. *Homo, says Seneca, sacra res homo, jam per lusum et jocum occiditur.* Which Mr. Rollin has rendered, *L'homme, l'homme cette créature sacrée, on le compte pour si peu, qu'on se fait un jeu et un plaisir de l'égorgé, et de répandre son sang: i. e.*
 Man, that sacred creature man, is so little esteemed, that it is matter of diversion and pleasure to spill his blood and murder him.

To such a degree of madness was this people transported by these barbarous shows, that the women did not only become joyful spectators of them, but even combatants also, as *Juvenal* very humourously informs us:

*Quale decus rerum, si conjugis auctio fiat,
 Balteus, et manicae, et crista, crurisque sinistri
 Dimidium tegmen? vel si diversa movebit
 Prælia, tu felix, ocreas vendente puella.
 Hæ sunt quæ tenui sudant in cyclade; quarum
 Delicias et panniculus bombycinus urit.
 Adspice quo fremitu monstratos perferat ictus,*

Et

*Et quanto galeæ curvetur pondere; quanta
Poplitibus sedeat, quam denso fascia libro!*

Which lines Mr. *Dryden* has thus translated :

*Oh! what a decent sight 'tis to behold
All thy wife's magazine by auction sold!
The belt, the crested plume, the sev'ral suits
Of armour, and the Spanish leather boots!
Yet these are they, that cannot bear the beat
Of figur'd silks, and under sarsenet sweat.
Behold the strutting Amazonian whore,
She stands in guard, with her right foot before;
Her coats tuck'd up, and all her motions just,
She stamps, and then cries, hab! at every thrust.*

AND so excessively fond were the people in general of these detestable spectacles, it was with the utmost difficulty, that even the power of their emperors, when they became christian, could put an end to them. Happy had it been for the christian world, if, when the emperors had suppressed these gladiators, they had never suffered a set of a different kind of cut-throats, I mean church-gladiators, to mount the stage; who murdered one another with much more rancour, malice, and cruelty, as well as in infinitely greater numbers, than their heathen kindred and predecessors had ever done. But of this, perhaps, more hereafter.

SECTION II.

Of Cruelty proceeding from covetousness or rapaciousness.

WHEN men are so negligent or slothful that they will not take the necessary care or pains to maintain themselves or their families, or so extravagant that they dissipate their own substance, they are then very apt to covet the properties of others, and grow rapacious, desperate, and cruel.

Do we not daily see wicked wretches, who, merely to get the money that passengers or travellers have about them, which is frequently but a trifle, scruple not at all to maim, wound, or even kill them? others, who, when their fellow-creatures are endeavouring to save their lives and effects from shipwreck, instead of aiding, assisting, and comforting such in their distress, not only rob them by violence of their goods, but most barbarously murder those whom the raging tempest had spared? And so far hath this vice divested some persons of all humanity and the strictest ties of nature, that they have, as we have seen by several late examples, deliberately contrived, and barbarously perpetrated, the murder of their

benefactors,

benefactors, their near relations, and even their own parents,

THESE are some of the effects of personal or private covetousness or rapaciousness, by which men are thus excited to cruelty: but when this vice becomes general and national, what terrible havock and destruction of mankind does it make! Kingdoms then ruin and destroy one another for the sake of gaining wealth. Countries producing uncommon quantities of gold and silver have no sooner been discovered, but the innocent and unhappy inhabitants have been first most cruelly tortured to force them to produce their riches, and then almost whole nations, consisting of many millions, massacred, that these robbers and murderers by royal commission might increase their pillage, and enjoy it in the greater security. A few examples of this kind, among a multitude which might be produced, shall here be given.

BARTH. DE LAS CASAS, a Spaniard, and bishop of *Cheapa*, in *Mexico*, in his relation of the voyages and cruelties of the *Spaniards* in the *West Indies*, tells us, that the first conquest these people made in *America*, was the island of *Hispaniola*, in which they found above three millions of inhabitants, who were of very good understandings,

standings, and some of the best-natured, inoffensive and innocent people in the world; that in about forty years the *Spaniards* had made such destruction amongst them, that there were not three hundred of the natives left. In the neighbouring islands of *Cuba*, *St. John's*, *Jamaica*, &c. there were more than five hundred thousand souls, of whom not one remained alive. Upon the continent, above twelve millions, men, women and children, had in forty years been put to death. The whole number thus massacred the bishop computed at upwards of fifteen millions: and all this carnage, says he, was occasioned by avarice to heap up gold.

IN a letter to the emperor *Charles* the Vth, this bishop gives the following account of the cruelty of the *Spaniards* to the inhabitants in one particular country. “ Their
 “ kings and princes,” says he, “ they ei-
 “ ther scorched to death, or tore in pieces
 “ with dogs. The poor people they burnt
 “ in their houses, and dashed out the brains
 “ of their children; and those that were
 “ spared, they forced to carry greater bur-
 “ dens than they were able to bear, by
 “ which thousands of them were destroyed;
 “ others, who escaped, died of famine in
 “ the woods, after they had killed their
 “ wives and children, and eat them for
 “ hunger.

“ hunger. In this one province they mur-
 “ dered above two millions of men. They
 “ tortured the natives with the most hellish
 “ inventions, to make them discover their
 “ gold. *Diego de Valasco*, in particular,
 “ murdered ten thousand in a month’s time.
 “ * * * * * Some they starved to death,
 “ thrusting their heads betwixt pieces of
 “ cloven timber. Others they buried alive,
 “ leaving their heads above ground, at
 “ which they bowled with iron bullets :
 “ they likewise forced them to eat one ano-
 “ ther, and committed many other diabo-
 “ lical cruelties, too dreadful to be related.”

AFTER this narration of the *Spaniards*
 barbarity to the *Indians*, we cannot much
 wonder at the choice made by a poor *Indian*
 prince, who, as the same bishop informs
 us, having been by the *Spaniards* fastened
 to a stake to be burnt alive ; and being told
 by a Franciscan friar, that if he would em-
 brace their religion, he should go to heaven ;
 but if not, he must burn for ever in hell ;
 asked, if there were any *Spaniards* in heaven ?
 and the friar answering, yes ; “ Then,”
 replied the *Indian*, “ I had rather go to the
 “ devils in hell, than with the *Spaniards*
 “ to heaven.”

SECTION III.

Of Cruelty proceeding from excessive anger or revenge.

EXCESSIVE anger and revenge are also very productive of cruelty. Some men make use of secret means privately to destroy those who have offended them: others take the more open and fashionable method of duelling, which, tho' not so infamous as the former, cannot be justly reckoned much less cruel, especially as it is often occasioned by mere trifles, or very slight provocations; and many times happens between the most intimate friends, who tho' too thoughtless of the turpitude and cruelty of the action, before it is committed, yet when one falls, the survivor frequently sees it in its true and most horrible form, and would then give, as the usual expression is, the whole world, if in his power, that he had not committed so shocking and detestable a crime!—A crime without remedy, and for which no adequate recompence can possibly be made.

THIS abominable custom of fighting duels seems, in some measure, owing to that *Gotbic* fashion of mens wearing swords when they
are



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a manner in his belt, as prevented him from drawing his sword. The enemy presently surrounded him, thus incumbered and unable to defend himself: at this instant *Varenus* comes up to his assistance, kills one, and drives the rest before him; but pursuing them too eagerly, stept into a hole and fell down. *Pulvio*, who had now disincumbered himself from the dart, and drawn his sword, came very seasonably to the rescue of *Varenus*, with whom, after having killed many of the *Gauls*, he returned with safety and glory to the camp. The *Romans*, we see, did not in their private quarrels sheath their swords in one another's breasts: contests for valour, among them, were properly and nobly turned against the enemies of their country. Happy would it be, if in this we imitated them!

IT is reported of the famous viscount *de Turenne*, that when he was a young officer, and at the siege of a fortified town, he had no less than twelve challenges sent him, all of which he pocketed. But being soon after commanded upon a desperate attack of some part of the fortifications, he sent a billet to each of the challengers, acquainting them, that he had received their favours, which he deferred answering till a proper occasion offered, both for them, and himself, to exert *their courage* for the king's service; that be-
ing

ing ordered to assault the enemies works the next day, he desired their company, when they would have an opportunity of shewing their own bravery, and being witnesses of his. Certainly this was acting like a man of sense, of temper, and of true courage.

ANOTHER kind of cruelty also oftentimes arises from these passions of anger and revenge, which, tho' commonly practised with pleasure instead of remorse, is little less barbarous than the former: I mean destroying mens characters, which many esteem equally with their lives: and, indeed, of what value is life without a good character? Men, of more wit than humanity, are very apt, in the wantonness of their hearts, to be guilty of this cruel injury: but that it is done with wit, is so far from being a good excuse, that it is an aggravation of the crime; for, like a stab given by a sharp-pointed weapon, it pierces the deeper.

ALTHOUGH the *Indians* in North *America* have hardly any wealth or property to occasion covetousness, nor notions of grandeur to excite ambition; yet, when first discovered by the *Europeans*, they were, and still are, continually at war with, and exercising the most horrid cruelties upon one another: father *Hennepin*, who resided many years among them, informs us of the principal

cause.

cause. “The savages of *America*,” says he,
 “have almost all of them a strong propen-
 sion to war, because they are very revenge-
 ful: when once they have taken a disgust
 to any, who are not of their own nation,
 they must be revenged sooner or later,
 tho’ they wait an opportunity to the third
 or fourth generation. They are restless
 day and night, ’till they have taken satis-
 faction for an affront, by destroying, if
 they can, most of that nation they are en-
 raged at.”

FROM the same author I shall give a slight sketch of the shocking cruelties these people are prompted to commit by these passions of anger and revenge.

“THERE are,” says this missionary, “no
 savages in all the Northern *America*, but
 what are very cruel to their enemies. * * *
 When they take a slave,” (he means a
 prisoner) “they tie him, and make him run
 after them; if he is unable to follow them,
 they strike their hatchet into his head, and
 there leave him, after they have torn off
 skin and hair together. They do not spare
 sucking infants. * * * At their return from
 war, when they come near their villages,
 they are met by the men and women, who
 make a lane for the slaves to pass through
 them. But ’tis a lamentable reception for
 these

“ these poor people: the rabble fall upon them
“ like dogs or wolves upon their prey, and
“ begin to torment them. * * * Some kick
“ the slaves, some cudgel them, some cut
“ them with knives, some tear off their ears,
“ cut off their noses or lips, infomuch that
“ most of them die in this pompous entry.
“ * * * When they burn their prisoners, this
“ is the manner: they bind them to posts
“ by the hands and feet, then they heat
“ musket-barrels, hatchets, and other iron
“ instruments red-hot, and thus apply them
“ to all parts of their bodies; they tear off
“ their nails, and pluck out their teeth; they
“ cut collops of flesh out of their backs, and
“ often flay their skin off from their skulls:
“ after all this they throw hot ashes upon
“ their wounds. But what almost exceeds
“ belief,—in the midst of these torments the
“ slaves frequently sing, which exceedingly
“ frets their executioners.”

“ AN *Iroquois*,” adds my author, “ told us
“ that a slave, whom they had tormented
“ cruelly, said to them, You have no inge-
“ nuity, you don’t know how to torment
“ your prisoners, you are mere blockheads;
“ if I had you in my circumstances, I would
“ use you after another manner: but whilst
“ he prated so boldly, a savage woman got
“ a little iron spit heated red-hot, and run it
“ into

“ into——: this made him roar ; but he told
 “ the woman, she was cunning: you, said
 “ he, understand something, this is the
 “ course you should take with us °.” It
 appears she knew, as Dr. *Garth* says,

*That the same nerves are fashion'd to sustain
 The greatest pleasure and the greatest pain.*

“ WHEN the slave,” continues my au-
 thor, “ which they burn, is dead, they eat
 “ him; but before his death they make their
 “ children drink some of his blood, to ren-
 “ der them cruel and inhuman.”

WHAT a mortifying consideration it is,
 that we are of the same species with, and so
 nearly related to these men, or rather these
 devils incarnate ! But what is still much more
 mortifying,—many *Europeans*, who pretend
 to be the most zealous christians, are altoge-
 ther as diabolically cruel as these heathens :
 this hath partly appeared in the last section,
 and will probably appear more fully in the
 progress of these Essays.

° A Voyage into *North America*, p. 92, et seq.

SECTION IV.

Cruelty proceeding from ambition comes next under consideration.

MANY are the instances of ambition having expunged pity, compassion, and humanity from the heart of man, and in the room of these benign virtues substituting cruelty, and divers other destructive vices^p. What havock has cruelty made, when excited and stimulated by ambition! It has in all ages and nations been the principal motive of offensive war, that bane of human happiness, and destroyer of the human species. This passion armed *Cæsar* against his country, and him and *Alexander*, and many such tyrants, not against their countries only, but against mankind. When a plague carries off an hundred thousand persons, it is thought to do great execution; but what is that

^p *Alexander* the great was a flagrant instance of this effect of ambition, and other inordinate passions. Several of his actions, in the early part of his life, evidently shew that he was endowed by nature with many excellent virtues, particularly compassion and humanity; but ambition, pride, excessive anger, and immoderate drinking, to which perhaps may be added a habit of shedding human blood in war, obliterated these virtues, and caused him frequently to be guilty of cruelty, and many other detestable vices.

that to the numbers destroyed by these greater plagues, commonly called heroes.⁹ Of *Cæsar* it is recorded, that he slew in battle one million, one hundred and ninety-two thousand men, besides those slaughtered in the civil wars—Of *Alexander*, who it is probable did not murder fewer of his fellow-creatures, that he wept, after he had, as he vainly and foolishly imagined, conquered the world, because there were no more worlds for him to conquer; that was, to enslave or destroy.

BUT we have a modern instance of a late *French* monarch, who, tho' he did not extend his conquests so far as *Alexander* or *Cæsar*, yet it is probable was not less ambitious; and perhaps did as much mischief, and caused as great desolation, as either of them.

FOR

⁹ Let us hear how a sensible *Frenchman* (the abbot *de Villiers*) in his ode upon war describes a true hero:

*Loin d'aimer la guerre, il l'abhorre ;
En triomphant même il deplore
Les desastres, qu'elle produit ;
Et couronné par la victoire,
Il gemit de sa propre gloire,
Si la paix n'en est pas le fruit."*

The sense of which in *English*, is, that—"Far from
" being fond of war, he abhors it. Even in triumphing
" he deplores the evils it occasions; and crowned with
" victory, he laments his own glory, if peace is not the
" fruit it produces."



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had undoubtedly effected it, if at one critical time his officers had not failed in point of diligence, and at another the ice been dissolved by a sudden thaw. And if he had succeeded in this ambitious and cruel project, what had been the consequence?—

The pillage, depopulation, and utter destruction of this country, so remarkable for liberty and industry, and the richest in the world for its extent: the very land itself, as *Voltaire* observes, when quitted by its inhabitants, would soon have been overwhelmed by the sea, and nothing left to *Lewis* the XIVth, but the deplorable glory of having destroyed the most singular and finest monument of human industry. However, before his armies left this country, they committed such terrible outrages and cruelties, as are still remembered there with horror, and it may be hoped will never be forgotten.

IT was not only in *Holland*, where at that time this prince scattered desolation and destruction: *Alsace*, *Lorraine*, and the *Palatinat*, fine countries, abounding with rich cities and towns and pleasant villages, were likewise destroyed, by his armies, with fire and sword. The elector *Palatine*, particularly,

• The richest families, and the warmest for liberty, prepared themselves to leave their country, and settle in the *East Indies*.

• *Gloire deplorable*, as *Voltaire* expresses it.

larly, from the summit of his palace beheld two of his towns and twenty-five villages in flames †.

BUT this was not, by far, the worst: some years after, as *Voltaire* says, *Lewis*, from his palace of *Versailles*, where he was enjoying himself in the midst of his pleasures, sent an order to his generals to make a desert of this fine country, the *Palatinat*. Accordingly in the depth of winter the inhabitants of all the cities, towns, and villages, and the owners of more than fifty noblemens and gentlemens seats, were driven out of their habitations, which the soldiers had orders to set on fire. Men, women, old people, and children, fled in a hurry. Some wandered about the fields in the utmost distress; others took refuge in the neighbouring countries, whilst the soldiers sacked and burned all the country. They began with *Manheim*, the residence of the electors: their palaces were destroyed, as well as the houses of the citizens; their tombs were broken open by the rapacious soldiers, who hoped to find treasures in them, and their ashes were scattered about. This, adds *Voltaire*, was the second time that this fine country was destroyed by *Lewis XIV*; but the flames, with which *Turenne* had burned two cities and five and
twenty

† *Le Siecle de Louis XIV.* T. I. p. 205.

twenty villages of the *Palatinat*, were but sparks in comparison to this conflagration: And what still aggravated these cruelties was, that the elector *Palatine*, whose country *Lewis* commanded to be in such a barbarous manner destroyed, had committed no crime, but having done his duty in uniting with the rest of *Germany* against *France* ^u.

HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY, not contented so inhumanly to spoil and ravage his neighbours territories, and deprive them of their dominions, prevailed upon the *Turks* to enter *Christendom* with an army of two hundred thousand men, and to become his co-adjutors in rapine, slaughter, and destruction.

As this prince's hand was thus against all his neighbours, he at length united many of them against himself: and as by that means his pride was at last much humbled, so his power might have been in such a manner reduced, had not some unhappy incidents intervened, as would for one century, at least, have delivered *Europe* from the insults of *France*: those unhappy incidents, which prevented so desirable and salutary an effect, we are now feeling the ill consequences of, and perhaps shall have reason for ever to deplore.

ALTHOUGH the reign of *Lewis XIV* was a continued scene of tyranny, oppression, and

^u *Le Siecle de Louis XIV*, T. I. p. 277, 278.

and cruelty, respecting not only his neighbours, but his own subjects also, many of whom he dragoned, imprisoned, banished, sent to the gallies, and put to death for their religion; yet such was the glare of some of his actions, particularly his victories, that the people were so blinded and infatuated, as to bestow on him the highest encomiums, and most fulsome panegyrics", which, if he had been a man of thorough good sense, he would have nauseated: but to speak the truth, it may be justly said, That he was a conqueror without personal courage; a patron of arts, without taste; of sciences, without literature; a religionist, without piety; and a most christian king without, humanity.

E

THIS

* To give one instance of these, out of a multitude which might be given: *M. Daucourt*, in a speech he made at his admittance into the *French academy*, on the 19th of *November 1683*, makes this compliment to the king, on the surrender of the city of *Strasbourg*: "Louis a dit, que Strasbourg se soumette; & Strasbourg s'est soumis. Puissance plus qu' humaine, & qui ne peut être comparée qu' à celle qui, en creant le monde, a dit, Que la lumiere soit faite, & la lumiere fut faite." i. e. "Lewis said, Let *Strasbourg* submit, and *Strasbourg* submitted. A power more than human, and to be compared to that alone, which at the creation of the world said, Let there be light, and there was light." *Keyser's Travels*, vol. I. p. 128. from *Recueil des harang prononcées par MM. de l'acad. Françoisise dans leurs receptions*, p. 388, edit. de Paris, 1698, 4to.

THIS prince's want of personal courage was evident: for, notwithstanding he frequently appeared, with great pomp, at the head of his armies, and was present at several sieges, where he might be in little or no danger, yet he never was in one battle, and carefully avoided being in an engagement: for whenever there was a likelihood of the army he commanded coming to a general action, he either took measures to prevent it, or, tho' in the midst of a campaign, galloped away to his ladies at *Versailles*. Bishop *Burnet*, in the history of his own times^x, gives a remarkable instance, which he had from marshal *Schomberg*, relating to *Lewis's* fear of being in a battle; and that account is in a great measure verified by the marquis *de la Farre*, in his memoirs of this king's reign^y.

HIS laying out immense sums upon the palace at *Versailles*, which is in a bad situation and country; his making gardens of vast extent, where there wanted soil; and a profusion of fountains, where there was no water to supply them; sufficiently demonstrate his want of taste^z.

As

^x Vol. I. p. 404, 405.

^y *English* translation,

p. 160, 161.

^z As a person's taste in more considerable matters may, in some degree, appear by the choice of his dress; the reader will, perhaps, excuse the author's mentioning, that he saw *Lewis XIV*, when full seventy years of age, with red-heeled shoes, scarlet stockings with gold clocks, and a white feather in his hat.

As to his learning,—he was so illiterate, that it has been affirmed he spoke his own language incorrectly, and wrote it much worse. *Voltaire*, who is far from exaggerating this prince's faults or defects, regrets his want of literature, and acknowledges that his preceptor, tho' an able and amiable person, could hardly get him to learn any thing. "It was," adds that author, "much to be wished, that he could have been instructed in history, and above all in modern history; but useless romances, as they described gallantry and heroism, and secretly flattered his character, pleased him most." His knowledge of the scriptures seems not to have exceeded his acquaintance with history: for *Lewis* using some endeavours to persuade the marquis *du Quesne*, a firm protestant, to change his religion in his old age, he frankly answered, *Sire, j'ai rendu assez long temps à Cesar ce qui est dû à Cesar; il est temps, que je rende aussi à Dieu ce qui lui est dû: i. e.* "I have long enough been rendering to *Cæsar* the things which are *Cæsar's*; it is now time for me to render also to God what is due to him." So little did the king understand this, that turning to the bystanders, he said, *Est ce que la tête tourne à cet homme? veut il servir l'empereur?*

i. e. “ Is the man out of his mind? would he serve the emperor?”

ONE cannot, without a mixture of indignation, contempt, and pity, observe, that such ambitious, cruel wretches, such madmen as we have been speaking of, should be able to trail at their heels vast numbers of men^a, through so many hardships, and sometimes remote parts of the world, only to gratify their own ambition; and that for this purpose, those

^a *Bajazet's* army, when he marched against *Tamerlane*, consisted of five hundred thousand men; *Tamerlane's* of one million. *Knolles's* History of the *Turks*, p. 215 and 216.

Ninus led an army into *Bactria* of one million nine hundred and ten thousand soldiers, and within a few of ten thousand six hundred chariots. *Semiramis* was followed into *India* by an army of three millions five hundred thousand men, and one hundred thousand chariots.

✓ A Dissertation on the numbers of mankind in ancient and modern times, &c. from *Diodorus Siculus's* second book.

The army and navy, with which *Xerxes* attacked *Greece*, consisted of two millions six hundred forty-one thousand six hundred and ten fighting men; the servants, those on board the store-ships, tenders, &c. were thought to be, at least, as many more: so that the whole number was computed at five millions two hundred eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty persons, not reckoning women, eunuchs, &c. His navy consisted of one thousand three hundred and twenty-seven ships of war, carrying each two hundred and thirty men, and three thousand store-ships and smaller vessels, carrying each eighty men. *Herodotus*, translated by *Littlebury*, vol. II. book 7, p. 252.



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vulsed, and in the pangs of death, with pale, distorted, agonizing countenances, still expressive of terror, rage, fury, and all the most violent passions. The flight of the conquered, and the pursuit of the conquerors, may be traced by an extension of this horrid scene; and the neighbouring towns, villages, and heretofore peaceful cottages of the peasants, with the whole face of the adjacent country, are marked out by fire and slaughter.—But it is not on the land only, that ambition, exciting to cruel war, causes this destruction of the human species. Men, both in single ships,

Knolles, in his history of the *Turks*, says, the *Turks* themselves reported, that they lost in that battle two hundred thousand men, and *Tamerlane* near as many, p. 220. This prince, tho' celebrated by certain authors for his humanity, when he took the city of *Sebastia*, according to some accounts, caused a great number of deep pits to be digged, and ordered all the inhabitants, consisting of twelve thousand, without respect of age, sex, or condition, to be thrown into them, and buried alive: but according to most of the *Latin* historians, he put all the men to the sword, and driving the women and children into the fields, commanded his horsemen to trample them to death under their horses feet. *Ibid.* p. 216.

Upon a remonstrance of some of *Tamerlane's* generals to him, after he had passed the river *Indus*, that they had then in the camp above one hundred thousand prisoners, he passed an order that they should all be put to death, which was accordingly done, says my author, in less than an hour. *History of Timer Bec (or Tamerlane)* vol. II. p. 53, 54. Such is the destruction of the human species, and such are the horrid cruelties attending war!

ships, small squadrons, and huge fleets, attack one another on the boisterous seas, where, tho' in peace, they are in almost continual danger of their lives from the winds and the waves; yet instigated by this passion, they become more merciless than winds or waves, and use their utmost skill and efforts to sink, drown, burn, and destroy. When two of these navies meet, with this murderous purpose, what a terrible spectacle do they exhibit! How soon is the goodly sight of so many gallant ships, finely adorned, changed into one of the most horrid scenes that the world can afford! The noise of the drum, and the clangor of the trumpet, are soon silenced by the roar of the cannon, which seems as if it would rend the very elements asunder. Here the tall mast is shot away, and with all its tackle and rigging falls into the sea, and carries with it numbers of wretches placed thereon for the destruction of others. There many lofty ships, with thousands of souls on board, their planks bored, and their sides driven in by iron thunder-bolts, are seen sinking in the ocean; and others, being disabled, are set on fire by the enemy, and only the dreadful alternative left to the miserable creatures on board, to drown or to burn.

BUT even these are not the most dismal calamities occasioned by ambition and war:

they are still exceeded by the sieges and sacking of great, wealthy, and populous cities. Beside the houses and most sumptuous buildings frequently set on fire, and the numbers of people killed by the various instruments and devices of slaughter made use of for that purpose; if the siege continues 'till the provisions are all consumed, what multitudes often perish by the more lingering and painful deaths of famine and pestilence? When the wretched, starving inhabitants, many of whom have probably lived long at their ease, and in the delightful enjoyment of whatever riches, plenty, and safety could afford, have eaten their rats, mice, cats, dogs, horses, &c. they are sometimes forced to feed on the flesh of meagre and distempered human carcases: nay, mothers have been put to the terrible necessity of feeding upon their own children. And when the enraged and merciless enemy has entered a city by storm, the remainder of the miserable inhabitants are not only butchered in the streets, and other public places, but sought for in their most secret recesses; there the husband is torn from the arms of the wife, and children from the close embraces of their mothers, and all involved in the same cruel carnage.

SUCH of my readers as are well acquainted with accounts of sieges, I believe, will not think

think that in this description any thing has been exaggerated: but if some, not so conversant in these relations, should be of a different opinion, I shall transcribe a matter of fact, and a recent one too, from an author who was perfectly well informed of what he relates, which will effectually convince them, that it is hardly possible, on this subject, for any description to exceed the truth.

ABOUT the end of *March*, in the year 1722, the city of *Ispahan*, capital of *Persia*, was besieged by *Myrr-Magbmud*: in *July* and *August* the citizens were reduced to eat camels, mules, horses, and asses, and there was no other meat. An horse's carcase, at the end of *August*, was worth a thousand crowns. In *September* and *October*, they eat cats and dogs, of which so many were devoured, that one would have thought the species had been destroyed. In *September* a pound of bread was sold for thirty shillings, and in *October* for above fifty. *Ispahan* being very full of trees, some of them were felled, and the leaves and bark sold by the pound for food. Shoe-leather boiled was for a while the common victuals. At last they came to eat the flesh of the dead carcases that lay in the streets. Tho' those, who were caught doing so, were bastinadoed for it; yet necessity, which has no law, made the evil increase:
inasmuch

Insomuch that several children were stolen and eaten, worn as they were to skeletons by famine; and even some mothers killed and fed upon their own children. The people of quality suffered no less than the vulgar, as we may judge from the conduct of a *Persian* nobleman, who, finding there was no more food to be had, poisoned himself and his whole family. It is said that no less than a million and forty thousand *Persians* died in *Ispahan* during the siege^c.

W O U L D a reasonable and compassionate man suppose, that at the sight of these horrid scenes any of his fellow-creatures should find not only matter of pleasure and satisfaction, but of the highest exultation and triumph? That conquerors do, is nevertheless a sad truth! But how much this redounds to the honour of human nature, let mankind reflect.

S U R E L Y this havock and destruction of our species by war, instead of being an honour to us, and affording matter of pride and glory,

^c The history of the revolution of *Persia*, taken from the memoirs of father *Krusinski*, who lived twenty years in that country.

I cannot forbear to observe, that these miseries, and the terrible calamities which the whole kingdom of *Persia* was afterwards, and remains to this day afflicted with, were entirely owing to the extreme weakness of the king, the ill conduct of his ministers, and particularly the dissensions that reigned among them.

glory, is one of the greatest disgraces of human nature, and ought much rather to occasion shame and mortification.

LORD Brooke says,

— — — *From the devil's image we receive
This spirit, which stirres mankind with man to warre,
Which devils doe not; wherein worse we are^d.*

AND our celebrated poet Milton, to the same purpose :

*O shame to men! devil with devil damn'd
Firm concord holds, men only disagree
Of creatures rational. — —*

— — — *and God proclaiming peace,
Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife
Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,
Wasting the earth, each other to destroy^e.*

AND again, when the angel Michael had, as it were, set before our first parent's eyes his posterity murdering one another in war, he breaks out,

— — — — — *O what are these?
Death's ministers, not men! who thus deal death
Inhumanly to men; and multiply
Ten thousand fold the sin of him who slew
His brother: for of whom such massacre
Make they, but of their brethren; men of men^f?*

IT

^d His works, p. 75.

^e Paradise Lost, book II.

^f *Ibid.* book XI.

IT is indeed difficult to determine, whether unnecessary wars are more wicked and barbarous, or preposterous and absurd. That they are not seen in this light, by *Europeans* especially [§], among whom knowledge, learning, and politeness are so generally diffused, is greatly to be wondered at as well as lamented. However, that wars of late times, and in these politer parts of the world, have been carried on with fewer circumstances of cruelty than formerly, and in countries less polished, is certain; which may afford some glimmering of hope, that in time, if we do not relapse into barbarity, they may also at least become less common.

How happy would it be for mankind, were wars entirely to cease, and that men would beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; and instead of learning the art of war, that is, becoming so ingenious in rendering their own species miserable, or destroying them, that they

[§] Whatever the *French*, who are very apt to fancy themselves the most knowing and polite people of *Europe*, may vainly imagine, it is far from being an honour to them, that they are so insatiably fond of war. And their conduct in *North America*, where they frequently excite and hire the savages, even in time of peace, to murder and scalp the harmless *English* planters, and their wives and children, in the out-lying settlements, is a *flagrant proof of the most barbarous and inhuman cruelty*.



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instance: their extended and enormous conquests were a principal cause of the destruction of their empire.

BUT there is still another consideration which ought, more than all others, to deter christians, in particular, from waging any unnecessary wars; and that is, not only the destruction of mens bodies, but the precipitating their souls, by sudden death, with all their sins on their heads, into everlasting perdition. Christians are taught, and pretend to believe, the soul to be of such value, that the gain of the whole world is not to be set in competition with it^d; yet scruple not to be the means, so far as they know, nay as they have the greatest reason, on their own principles, to believe, of hurrying millions into eternal misery, to gratify the ambition of one man, or for the sake of a trifling dispute or quarrel.

^d *For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Matthew xvi. 26.*

ESSAY II.

SOME

PRESERVATIVES.

AGAINST

CRUELTY,

And the DETESTABLE PRACTICE of

Making War Unnecessarily,

PROPOSED.

SECTION I.

IT is certain, as hath been already mentioned, that to some persons cruelty is natural; a disposition to it is brought into the world with them: others learn it by bad examples, are taught it by wicked precepts, or excited to it by divers other vices: it is also much strengthened by habit.

I

MANY

MANY children are no sooner capable of mischief, but we see them delighted with acts of barbarity, which they first exercise on insects, or such little animals they can master; and as they are too frequently encouraged in this abominable practice, instead of being re-proved or chastised for it, no wonder, as they grow up to maturity of age, they grow up also to maturity of wickedness.

WHEN a natural propensity to this vice is observed in children, great and early care should be taken to prevent its growth, and, if possible, to eradicate it.

THE first means made use of to reform rational creatures should always be to reason with them. If in this case that method does not prove effectual, punishments must then be made use of, but on no account such as may harden the offender, or tend to make him desperate; for those are much more likely to confirm and increase, than diminish or cure the evil. Perhaps, when a child is wantonly or wickedly hurting a harmless animal, and reproof hath been tried without effect, he should be used somewhat after the same manner himself, and made to feel, in a proper degree, the like kind of pain he inflicts: this, accompanied with suitable admonitions, might be of service to deter him from repeating the like. And if such a method, with

with still greater severity, was practised upon adults, who for sport, or in mere cruelty, torment the dumb creation, I see not what reason they would have to complain of injustice. Indeed dumb animals are frequently used, as if men thought them as void of feeling as they are of speech; whereas it is very probable, the feeling of some of them may be more acute than that of the human species. It is apparent, that smelling, which is a sort of feeling, is in dogs and some other animals so much quicker than in mankind, that it is quite astonishing. Since there is such an amazing sensibility of this kind in these creatures, is it not probable there may be a like sensibility of pain? And if so, what extreme misery are they often put to for the gratification of a preposterous pleasure, and a barbarous and inhuman temper?

THERE can be no doubt but all sportive spectacles of cruelty are of a very evil tendency, and ought to be entirely abolished. Some persons may think that such fights are a means of forming men to bravery, and probably this was one reason why they were so much encouraged among the *Romans*; but this proceeded from a mistake: for it is false policy to endeavour to make men brave by inuring them to blood and cruelty: this may render them bold and wicked assassins,

but not courageous soldiers : true courage is not to be acquired by seeing others behave desperately in a bad cause, or for no cause at all, but by men from their own reflections, or the examples of others, learning to contemn sufferings, and even death itself, in a good cause.

CERTAINLY it is a great scandal to any civilized people, and still a much greater reproach to a christian nation, to suffer such abominable entertainments. An *Englishman* cannot, without regret, take notice, that foreigners have frequently remarked the barbarity of many of our public diversions, and from thence concluded that we are a cruel people. Respecting the lower, or rather the lowest sort, it is to be feared the charge is too just ; but as to persons of condition and education, I hope it may be truly said, there are none in any country that exceed many of them in humanity.

As example hath great influence over the minds, manners, and conduct of children and other young people especially, too much care cannot be taken by parents and others, to whom the education of such is intrusted, that neither they themselves commit acts of cruelty, nor, as much as in them lies to prevent it, suffer others so to do in the presence
of

of youth¹: and if at any time they should be witnesses of such, or read of, or hear them related, their minds should be impressed with horror and detestation of such unnatural and brutish crimes. If those who have power and ability to prevent bad actions being committed, and do not exert themselves to so good a purpose, are in one sense guilty of them; how much more guilty are they, who by their example encourage and promote them?

SECTION II.

THE many cruelties that have been of late committed among us by thieves, robbers, and other vile wretches, and in such numbers as were unknown to former times, call aloud for redress.

F 2

IF

*Abstineas igitur damnandis; hujus enim vel
Una potens ratio est, ne crimina nostra sequantur
Ex nobis geniti: quoniam dociles imitandis
Turpibus & pravis omnes sumus. — —*

* * * * *

*Nil dicta fœdum, visuque hæc limina tangat,
Intra quæ puer est. — —*

Again,

Maxima debetur puero reverentia. — —

Juv. Sat. 14.

This satire is recommended as a most excellent lesson to parents and others who have the care of youth.

IF all those who rob by stealth only, were put to hard labour for a time, and kept under a very strict discipline, and the most incorrigible confined to some laborious employments for their lives, and so placed as to be made spectacles to others, this might be attended with good consequences. And as to those who rob by violence, if no better method can be found out, they must of necessity be hanged: but murder being, as has been before observed, a crime for which no compensation can possibly be made to the sufferer, and is by this and other aggravating circumstances distinguished from all other crimes, so undoubtedly a distinguishing punishment should be inflicted on murderers; they should be put to death in some manner that might more affect and terrify both criminals and spectators than the present: and these executions, and indeed all others, should constantly be attended with great solemnity.

ON this occasion it is not easy to pass over the notice of a different kind of criminals, who have likewise of late most scandalously abounded among us; these are false swearers. Would it not be equitable, and a very likely method to lessen the number of these dangerous miscreants, if, when they are convicted of wilful and designed perjury in criminal cases, they were made to suffer the same punishment,



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ties were carefully cultivated, especially in the minds of children and young people in general, before their hearts became hardened with habitual cruelty, it might be a means, among many other good effects, of preventing numbers of vile actions from being committed. The presenting objects of misery to the view of children, exciting their compassion towards such, and making them frequently the dispensers of small charities, would undoubtedly help to produce these useful and amiable dispositions. Were the hearts of youth thus early warmed and mollified by sentiments of benevolence and charity, there would be little danger, when they grow up to riper years, that they should distress any of their fellow-creatures, either by fraud, oppression, violence, or any other act of cruelty. Fraud indeed may oftentimes, with the strictest propriety, be esteemed cruelty: for we frequently see men guilty of it, when they know that the inevitable consequence of their knavery will be the distress and utter ruin of not only single persons, but many times large families also. Surely those who act in this manner must be as destitute of pity and compassion, as of justice and equity!

WE have already seen how naturally, and many times almost unavoidably, vices produce
duce

duce one another¹. Few persons, if any, begin with the most atrocious^m: but by indulging in the smaller they are often led to the greatest, even to cruelty and murder. This furnishes a most useful instruction: To shun every appearance of evil. Were many told, when they indulge some inordinate appetite, to what monstrous crimes this would lead them, might they not probably say, as *Hazael* did to *Elisha* the prophet, when informed by him what horrid cruelties he should be guilty of, *Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?* or, as it is in the margin of some bibles, *That I should be without all humanity and pity*ⁿ? If, when a late parricide first entered into a criminal amour, she had been assured it would end in her murdering her father, it is very likely she would have shuddered at the thought, and not believed it possible.

¹ — — — — — *nam quis*

Peccandi finem posuit sibi? — —

*Quisnam hominum est, quem tu contentum videris uno
Flagitio?* — — — —

JUVEN. Sat. 13.

^m *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.* — — Idem.

ⁿ 2 Kings viii.

SECTION IV.

IF the suppressing private injuries, robberies, violences, and cruelties, be so desirable an event, as certainly it is, how much more ardently is it to be wished, that public enormities of the same kind, I mean wars, were likewise put an end to! By the first, but a few, comparatively, suffer; by the latter, nations are greatly distressed, and sometimes entirely destroyed.

THAT these calamities are principally owing to the boundless pride and ambition of princes, is certainly true. And that princes are so apt to involve their own and other countries in cruel and destructive wars to gratify those passions, is one among many unanswerable reasons, why they should never be trusted with absolute power. Governing bodies of men are not, generally speaking, so susceptible of those vices as single persons, and are for the most part much more regardful of public utility. For this reason, if there were fewer arbitrary princes in the world, we might have reason to hope there would be fewer cruelties of many kinds committed, and particularly not so many unjust wars undertaken.



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les, combien elle fait périr d'hommes, combien elle ravage & dépeuple de pais, &c. Then he adds, *Tout homme sensé, et qui agiroit sans passion; entreprendroit-il le procès le mieux fondé selon les loix, s'il étoit assuré que ce procès (même en le gagnant) feroit plus de mal que de bien à la nombreuse famille dont il est chargé ?* *i.e.* Have you well examined, if the war you are about to undertake be necessary for the real benefit of your people? Perhaps it relates only to some personal pretension of your own. — But even supposing this war does especially regard the state, you are then to consider if it is more profitable or hurtful. — All things being exactly weighed, there is hardly any war, even tho' happily ended, which does not produce much more prejudice than benefit to a state. It need only be considered how many families are ruined, how many men perish, what ravage and depopulation of countries is occasioned by it. — Would any sensible man, who acts without passion, undertake a law-suit, the best founded according to law, if he was assured that this process, even tho' he should gain it, would occasion more injury than benefit to a numerous family, with the care of which he was intrusted? By these and many more cogent arguments, did this good and worthy man endeavour to persuade his pupil, not to engage
in

in any wars that he could with honour and safety avoid. Well would it be, if all princes and states were prevailed upon to take such wholesome advice.

D I F F E R E N T countries, in different parts of the world, being continually in want of each others productions and manufactures, by an exchange of these, trade is, in times of peace, carried on to mutual convenience and benefit; the revenues of princes are hereby augmented, and the estates of private men increased. Persons of condition then also frequently travel for curiosity or improvement into each others countries; by which means languages are learned, a free intercourse maintained, and men cease to be strangers and barbarians to one another; arts, sciences, and politeness are acquired and diffused; and many kind and good offices pass between persons of different nations, who live together like brethren, as they all in reality are.

How common is it, when people of neighbouring countries have lived for years in this friendly manner, that upon some senseless quarrel between their princes, these kind and hospitable intercourses immediately break off, and are changed into all manner of violences and injuries; into oppression, imprisonments, rapine, devastation, and slaughter? Surely,
when

when these two conditions are compared, none but madmen would chuse the latter.

THAT it is the real interest of princes to preserve their dominions in peace, cannot be doubted: and it is, if rightly considered, not less their true glory.

CAN a prince obtain more substantial glory than by preserving, as much as in him lies, the lives of his people, and rendering them as easy and happy as possible? Or can he more justly merit the greatest reproach and infamy, (I had like to have said punishment also) than for destroying or making miserable multitudes of those who are put under his care and protection?

A CERTAIN truth it is, tho' a melancholy one, that few princes have attained, or indeed at all sought after, this real glory of being the preservers of their people; but that great numbers of them have richly deserved the reproach and infamy of being their destroyers. Among the very few who have so well deserved of their subjects, and indeed it may be said of mankind in general, two instances shall be here given, one ancient and the other modern:

THE ancient example is that of *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*, who, tho' not a great king, respecting his conquests, or the extent of his dominions, which was only about half the
island



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fest proofs before he ascended the throne. If he had engaged in these foolish and ambitious projects, and succeeded, as, many circumstances being much in his favour, he very probably might, then in the opinion of most men he had passed for a hero. But with what heavy taxes must he have loaded his people? How many husbandmen must he have forced from their lands? How much blood would have been spilled to obtain these victories? And what advantage would they have been to the state? *Hiero*, who knew in what solid glory consisted, placed his in wisely governing the people under his charge, and making them happy. Instead of seeking by force of arms to conquer new countries, he endeavoured to increase the number of his subjects by peace and plenty, which he secured them the possession of.

WHEN *Syracuse*, through the wise conduct of *Hiero*, was seen to enjoy this happy tranquillity, whilst *Africa*, *Italy*, and even a part of *Sicily* itself, and all the countries around his dominions, were distressed by a violent and cruel war, who could withhold from saying with admiration, Happy the people thus conducted by a wise king! and more happy still the king, who seeks the welfare of his people, and places his felicity in doing his duty! Suppose, on the contrary,

this

this same *Hiero*, after several campaigns, entering victorious into his capital, amidst the acclamations of the public; but finding at his return the people unhappy, exhausted by taxes, reduced to extreme poverty; the lands for the most part uncultivated, and some even deserted: if he had any remains of humanity, could he take the least satisfaction in a glory that had cost his people so dear, and not detest laurels stained by the tears and the blood of his subjects? Such is, in part, the character given of *Hiero* by M. *Rollin*, and such are his observations upon it.

THE worthy author seems to have been so delighted with the character of this prince, which is indeed most amiable, that he has drawn it at full length: the above is but a short extract. The reader cannot fail of being much pleased, if he peruses the whole in the original, where it takes up, including Mr. *Rollin's* judicious observations, about ten pages. In the mean time it may be proper to add, that *Hiero* lived to upwards of ninety years of age, and reigned fifty-four years; and that towards the latter part of his life he designed to have restored the *Syracusians* to their liberty, that their ruin, which he foresaw they were in danger of from the government of a young king, might be prevented: but failing in this excellent intention, what

he apprehended came to pass ; for the ill conduct of his successor occasioned the destruction of this kingdom.

THE modern instance of a prince, who merited true and solid glory for preserving peace in his dominions, and doing all the good he possibly could to his subjects, shall be taken from *Voltaire's Siecle de Louis XIV^e*, and, as it is not long, in his own words, but somewhat abridged : *Il est à souhaiter, que la dernière posterité apprenne, qu'un de plus petits souverains de l'Europe (says this author, speaking of Leopold duke of Lorraine) a été celui qui a fait le plus de bien à son peuple. Il trouva la Lorraine désolée & déserte : il la repeupla, il l'enrichit. Il la conserva toujours en paix, pendant que le reste de l'Europe a été ravagé par la guerre. Il a eû la prudence d'être toujours bien avec la France, & d'être aimé dans l'empire. * * * Il a procuré à ses peuples l'abondance, qu'ils ne connoissaient plus. Sa noblesse, réduite à la dernière misère, a été mise dans l'opulence par ses seuls bienfaits. Voiait-il la maison d'un gentil-homme en ruine, il la faisait rebâter à ses depens : il payoit leur dettes ; il mariait leurs filles ; il prodiguait de présents, avec cet art de donner, qui est encor au-dessus des bienfaits ; il mettait dans ses dons la magnificence d'un prince & la politesse d'un ami.*



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misery, he placed in opulence by his own bounty. If he saw a gentleman's house in ruins, he caused it to be rebuilt at his own expence: he paid their debts; he gave their daughters in marriage; he generously bestowed presents with that art of giving which greatly enhances the value of the favour: in his gifts there appeared the magnificence of a prince, joined to the politeness of a friend. Arts being much honoured in this small country, caused a new circulation, which produces the riches of states. He established in *Luneville* a kind of university without pedantry, to which the young nobility of *Germany* came to accomplish themselves. They were taught solid learning in schools where natural philosophy was demonstrated to the sight by admirable machines. He sought for men of ability even in shops and forests, to bring to light and encourage them. In a word, during his whole reign, he employed himself only to procure peace, riches, knowledge, and pleasure to his people. I would quit my sovereignty to-morrow, said he, if I could do no good. Thus did he taste the happiness of being beloved; and I saw, long after his death, his subjects shed tears in mentioning his name. So far *Monf. Voltaire*.

LET

If these two characters of *Hiero* and *Leopold*, by *Rollin* and *Voltaire*, were put into frames and hung up in the
the

LET the conduct of these two princes, who thus sought peace and pursued it, be compared with the bloody exploits of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, who delighted in war, and were undoubtedly the greatest conquerors that history gives us any account of; or with the actions of *Lewis XIV* above-mentioned, who was immortalized and almost deified by his subjects, tho' he brought desolation and ruin both on them and his neighbours. Which of these have deserved best of their countries, and of mankind in general? And, consequently, which have obtained the truest glory? Do not the former appear like guardian angels, and the latter like destroying dæmons?

the palaces of all the princes in Europe, might they not be both useful and ornamental pieces of furniture? How many of these princes would find their own likenesses in them; is not very easy to say.

ESSAY III.

OF

RELIGIOUS CRUELTY.

INTRODUCTION.

WHATEVER opinions in religion proceed from cruelty, or are productive of it; or whatever acts of barbarity are performed as religious duties, or for the pretended service, or under the sanction of religion, may, it is presumed, by implication at least, come under the denomination of religious cruelties, and will therefore be considered as such in the following Essay.

As the belief of a Deity is the foundation of religion, so, conformable to the sentiments men entertain of the object of their worship, will their religion generally be. If men suppose God to be tyrannical, capricious, or malevolent,



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questions, if maturely considered and honestly answered, will shew many mens belief concerning the Deity, and their religion, in a light very different from that in which they before appeared.

Tho' most men acknowledge that no opinions are of near so much consequence as those relating to God and religion, yet there are none they more commonly take upon trust: abundance of people learn creeds and catechisms by rote, as they do ballads, and reason as little upon the former as the latter.

MANY articles of religious belief are warmly embraced, and strenuously defended, not because they are reasonable, but because they were early imbibed and received with reverence, or because they suit mens tempers or interests. We are very apt to imagine, that opinions inculcated in our youth, which have as it were grown up with us, and we have long entertained, are the result of our own reasoning, tho' we never reasoned about them. Such of these as are apparently agreeable to truth, it matters not much whether they were discovered by ourselves, or learned from others: but those which appear doubtful, and consequently require examination, ought not to be admitted by us 'till we have examined them, and thoroughly too: for by this means, and this only, if we then find
 them

them true, or at least probable, they become properly our own sentiments.

HAVING premised these few general observations, we shall consider our subject under the three following heads, *viz.*

FIRST, The opinions which commonly have been, or now are entertained, by the greatest part of mankind, concerning the cruelty of the Deity or Deities worshipped by them.

SECONDLY, The barbarous methods of devotion frequently practised.

THIRDLY, Men's inhuman treatment of one another, on account of their different sentiments in religion, and different forms of worship.

S E C T I O N I.

AS we have no clear or satisfactory account of the creation of man, we do not know his original opinion concerning his Creator, nor what was the first object of his worship.

G 4 worship.

* The relations of all heathen authors concerning the origin of man are undoubtedly fabulous inventions; and the account of it in the book of *Genesis*, said to be written by *Moses*, has been by many learned men esteemed an allegory, and certainly hath much more the appearance of that than a history: however, it is at best very short, dark, and unsatisfactory.

worship. If the existence of ONE, eternal, invisible, almighty being, of infinite goodness, creator of the universe, was known to our general parent^{*}, it is highly probable that almost his whole posterity soon lost, in a great degree at least, this knowledge, and indeed all rational sentiments of the Deity: for, according to the most ancient accounts we have in history, men began in the very early ages of the world to worship a multitude of strange gods indeed: and surely nothing could be more unreasonable and ridiculous than their conceptions relating to them; so unreasonable and ridiculous, that had we not undoubted proofs of it, we should hardly believe that the reason and understanding of man, if at first in any degree of perfection, could ever become so depraved, or sink so low. And as mens notions on this subject were thus absurd, they were likewise in many respects very various: and this is not to be wondered at; for tho' truth is al-

ways

^{*} Agreeably to what we are taught, and to the opinion commonly received, all the generations of men are here supposed to have originally proceeded from one man and woman: but this, nevertheless, seems in the highest degree improbable for many reasons, and particularly because white men and black could not proceed from the same parents. However, whether one pair or more were at first created, makes little or no difference in the case here stated.



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and writing against it: but he artfully mollified their fury by saying to them, “When I see you, I think I behold the face of God.” Both *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius*, those grand champions against heresies, and who lived in the early days of christianity, have been charged with this gross error. And indeed, what is more common at this day among many of those called christians, than to see the almighty, allwise, incomprehensible, invisible Creator of the universe, represented under the form of a weak foolish man²?

It is evident, that when most men form ideas of their gods, and of the One God also, they take themselves for the originals; they draw their own features enlarged and heightened: in their conceptions gods are but gigantic or colossean men, and men are diminutive or pigmy gods. And perhaps, if other animals and reptiles, and even insects, were capable of forming ideas of gods, they would also imagine they were like themselves; they would

¹ *Sozomen*, translated into *French* by *M. Cousin*, ch. xi. p. 472.

² Pictures of God the Father in the likeness of an old man, are very common, especially in *Roman Catholic* countries: the author of these *Essays* has seen, at *Lyons* in *France*, such a picture, with a hat cocked up, according to the present fashion, on three sides, probably to represent the *Trinity*.

would form the images of elephantine and pismire-like, sheepish and lion-like gods.

THIS almost general propensity in men, of attributing to their deities the same tempers, dispositions, and passions they experience in themselves, accounts clearly for the common opinion they have entertained of the cruelty of their gods; and this opinion, so received, is also a strong and evident proof of the cruelty of mens hearts.

MEN experiencing, by and among themselves, how closely power is generally connected with tyranny and cruelty, (instances of which continually occur from the behaviour of the master to his servants ^v, the pedagogue to

^v In former times when, and in heathen countries where, servants for the most part were slaves, they have been generally treated with extreme barbarity. The reverend Dr. Fortin, in his excellent *Discourses concerning the Christian Religion*, says, that christianity hath in no small measure removed many enormities practised by pagans, and among others this vile treatment of servants. It would have been very happy, and redounded greatly to the honour of christianity, if this religion had still more effectually cured all the evils he mentions, and this evil particularly. In *European* countries, where servants are not slaves, but can quit their services in a manner when they please, and are under the protection of the laws, it is not in the power of masters to use them with so much cruelty as it may be justly feared many would otherwise do: but in the *American* plantations too many of our fellow-christians, I speak it with great concern,

to his pupils, and the absolute monarch to his slaves) and having ascribed to their gods unlimited power, they have attributed to them also boundless tyranny and cruelty.

THAT far the greater part of mankind, of all ages, nations, and religions, have formed these opinions of the cruelty of the deities or deity they worshipped, is evident from numberless instances.

PAGANS have generally supposed that their gods frequently punished them with the most grievous calamities, as famine, pestilence, &c. and this many times only for omitting some insignificant, ridiculous ceremony in their worship, or not giving credit to some improbable idle tale told them by their soothsayers or priests, or on such-like frivolous accounts: and as they imagined that their

use their slaves with such horrid barbarity, as could not be exceeded by any heathens. The worthy and learned author above-mentioned has, in a note, given us an instance how *Seneca* (a heathen) hath pleaded the cause of servants: this plea is so just, so reasonable and humane, that I cannot but transcribe it: *Servi sunt? imo homines. Servi sunt? imo contubernales. Servi sunt? imo humiles amici. Servi sunt? imo conservi, si cogitaveris tantundem in utrosque licere fortunæ, &c. p. 148. ex epist. Sen. 47.*

We must nevertheless acknowledge, that too few servants are so faithful, diligent, and affectionate, as to be justly esteemed humble friends: however, it is certain their superiors ought always to consider them as of the same species with themselves, and behave to them with humanity.



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and *Mohammedans*, who all pretend at least to believe in this One God, do represent him still more cruel than the heathens did their gods.

THE *Jews* were taught to believe, and many christians are wise enough to entertain and propagate the same opinion; that *the Lord God, merciful and gracious; long-suffering; and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, — will by no means clear the guilty, but visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the childrens children, unto the third and to the fourth generation*^a.

THERE are also many other instances in the Old Testament of the *Jews* believing that God punished the innocent for the crimes of the guilty: one more example of this kind, and a flagrant one it is, may suffice.

In the book of *Chronicles*, chapter the xxist; it is written, that king *David* ordered *Israel* to be numbered. This was probably from a motive of pride: however, it does not seem to be a sin of the deepest dye, nor to be compared, for the heinousness of it, with many other crimes committed by *this man after*
God's

^a *Exodus xxxiv. 6 & 7.* The generality of christians have indeed carried this opinion much farther than to the third and fourth generation: they have extended it from the first man to the last; for all *Adam's* posterity are, it seems, to be punished for his sin.

God's own heart: nevertheless God, we are told, "was so displeas'd with this thing, that he therefore smote *Israel* with a pestilence, and destroyed seventy thousand men." Now it is certain, if this numbering the *Israelites* was a crime, *David* was guilty of it, and not the people. *David* himself was so sensible of this, that he thus expostulated with God: *Is it not I that commanded the people to be numbered? even I, it is that have sinned, &c. but as for these sheep, what have they done?* It is indeed evident that the people could no more prevent their being numbered than a flock of sheep could; nor were guilty of a greater sin in being so. However, after God had on this account destroyed a multitude of them, even seventy thousand men, as we have just seen, *he repented him of the evil, and said to the angel that destroyed, It is enough, stay now thine hand.*

SUCH were the opinions which pagans and *Jews* entertained concerning the cruelty of the deities or deity they worshipp'd, in thus inflicting temporal punishments on them in this world: but the greatest of temporal punishments are only light afflictions, if compar'd with everlasting torments, which the generality of men, who believe a future state, say,

say, God hath in the other world appointed for sinners.

ETERNAL MISERY is, in particular, by far the greater part of christians believed to be not only the portion of such who are guilty of wilful and capital crimes, but of those whose faults or frailties are, all circumstances considered, morally impossible to be avoided by them. And thus also, according to opinions commonly received, are persons to be punished for the omission of certain ceremonies, which cannot purify the heart or conscience; even tho' the omission happened in no degree by their own fault, but merely from that of others: this is supposed to be the case of children who die unbaptized, and persons to whom the priest shall refuse or neglect to administer the sacrament^d.

DAMNATION is likewise said to be allotted to all who do not believe and worship, or have not believed and worshipped aright. Thus as it appears that the belief and worship of One God was for many ages almost totally confined to an obscure, vile, wicked people, as their own historians and prophets describe them, inhabiting a small country, and having

very

^d As *Romish* priests have very industriously propagated this notion, what barbarous wretches are they to refuse the sacrament, on frivolous pretences, to the poor people, who are taught, and do really believe, that their salvation depends upon receiving it!



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“ that they may taste the sharper torment ;
 “ for God is mighty and wise ‘.’” Again,

“ **T**HEY who believe not, shall have gar-
 “ ments of fire fitted unto them : boiling
 “ water shall be poured on their heads ; their
 “ bowels shall be dissolved thereby, and also
 “ their skins ; and they shall be beaten with
 “ maces of iron. So often as they shall en-
 “ deavour to get out of hell, because of the
 “ anguish of their torments, they shall be
 “ dragged back into the same, and their tor-
 “ mentors shall say unto them, Taste ye the
 “ pain of burning ‘.’”

IN a word, many christians, particularly,
 have believed and taught, that God hath
 doomed much the greater part of mankind,
 even millions of millions of his own crea-
 tures, “ to a place where every part and fa-
 “ culty, both of body and soul, shall be con-
 “ tinually and alike tormented, without in-
 “ termision or dismissal of pain, or ease
 “ from it. There thou (the sinner) shalt
 “ lye in a perpetual prison of utter darkness,
 “ where shall be no order but horror ; no
 “ voice but howling and blaspheming ; no
 “ noise but screeching and gnashing of teeth ;
 “ no society but the devil and his angels ;
 “ who, being tormented themselves, shall
 “ have

• The Koran translated by Mr. Sale, p. 68. † *Ibid.*
 p. 275.

“ have no other ease but to wreak their fury
 “ in tormenting thee, *Matt.* xiii. 42. and xxv.
 “ 36, &c. Where shall be punishment with-
 “ out any pity, misery without any mercy,
 “ sorrow without succour, crying without
 “ comfort, malice without measure, torment
 “ without ease, *Rev.* xiv. 10, 11. Where
 “ the wrath of God shall seize upon thy soul
 “ and body, as the flame of fire does on the
 “ lump of pitch or brimstone, *Dan.* vii. 10.
 “ In which flame thou shalt ever be burn-
 “ ing, and never consumed; ever dying, and
 “ never dead; ever roaring in the pangs of
 “ death, and never rid of those pangs, nor
 “ expecting ends of thy pains. So that, af-
 “ ter thou hast endured them so many thou-
 “ sand years as there are blades of grass on
 “ the earth, or sands in the sea, hairs on the
 “ heads of all the sons of *Adam*, from the
 “ first to the last born, as there have been
 “ creatures in heaven or earth, thou shalt be
 “ no nearer an end of thy torments, than
 “ thou wast the very first day that thou wast
 “ cast into them; yea, so far are they from
 “ ending, that they are ever beginning: for
 “ if, after so many thousand times so many
 “ thousand years, thy damned soul could but
 “ conceive some hope, that these torments
 “ should have an end; this would be some
 “ comfort, to think that at length an end

“ will come: but as often as thy mind shall
 “ think on this word *never*, (and thou shalt
 “ ever be thinking of it) it will rend thy
 “ heart in pieces with rage and hideous la-
 “ mentation; as giving still new life to thy
 “ unsufferable sorrows, which exceed all ex-
 “ pression or imagination. It will be an-
 “ other hell in the midst of hell.”

WHAT an astonishing, what a shocking, terrible, and diabolical account is here given of our Creator’s dealings with his creatures!

I CANNOT dismiss this subject of God’s thus condemning men to EVERLASTING TORMENTS, without expostulating with those who may be so unhappy as to believe, and with such who, tho’ they do not believe, are nevertheless so weak or so wicked as to teach and propagate this blasphemous doctrine, this DOCTRINE OF DEVILS indeed.

PRAY, what are the salutary and justifiable ends of all punishments? Are they not, first, to reclaim offenders, which is certainly the most desirable end; secondly, to deter men from committing the like crimes they see

ε A serious and pathetic description of heaven and hell, according to the pencil of the Holy Ghost, and the best expositors, &c. taken out of a book intitled *The whole duty of a christian*. London, printed at the charge of *Christ’s Hospital*, 1723, p. 12, 13. — N. B. All the references to Scripture are my author’s, who is therefore answerable for their being to his purpose.



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perhaps always, for events not depending on themselves.

Is there a man, even a vile man, so more than brutally cruel, who, if it were in his power, would on any account coolly and deliberately doom his own children, or any one of his fellow-creatures, even his worst enemy, to ETERNAL TORMENTS? Nay, is there a man so void of compassion, who, if able, would not prevent any being from suffering such boundless, inconceivable misery? And as to a good man, he would be so far from acting by any creatures in this manner, that he would confer and diffuse happiness to the utmost of his ability, and wish he were able to make the whole creation happy.

THO' these absurd and unworthy notions of the Deity are originally derived in many persons from the implacable dispositions they find in themselves, as before mentioned, yet others receive them by different means; they are taught these opinions; and if their own tempers are cruel, they the more readily imbibe them.

BUT men should consider, that by teaching this doctrine of everlasting punishments, they are so far from serving the cause of religion, that they take the most likely method, on one hand, to occasion and establish atheism, and thereby destroy all religion; and on the

the other, to drive many innocent, honest, poor creatures into despair, and the most deplorable kind of distraction; and that this hath been often the case, there are too many melancholy proofs.

SECTION II.

AS it is reasonable to think, and I suppose will be readily granted, that men generally form their religion, and believe they ought to form their conduct, agreeably to the ideas they conceive of God, it is highly necessary for them, on that and many other accounts, to be exceedingly careful what opinions they entertain or teach concerning the Deity. The pious author of the *Whole duty of man* has wrote a chapter “on the mischiefs arising from mistakes concerning God.” Great mischiefs indeed arise from them.

IF men believe God to be partial, unjust, wrathful, revengeful, tyrannical, and cruel; then to be god-like, which they are frequently advised and urged to aspire to, they must also be partial, unjust, wrathful, revengeful, tyrannical, and cruel. It is certainly true, that men stand in no need of this imaginary example or incentive to be wicked:

but surely, if such opinions concerning the Deity prevail, they must greatly tend to increase vice and wickedness in the world.

To pretend that any particular persons, or the people of any one nation, are, or ever were chosen by God as his peculiar favourites, in the capricious manner that men too commonly chuse their favourites, is to ascribe folly and partiality to the Deity. If these supposed favourites should be some of the worst and vilest of mankind, and it should nevertheless be asserted, that God for their sakes plagued and destroyed other nations, this would not only be to ascribe folly and partiality to him, but injustice and cruelty also.

WHAT ideas does it raise of the Deity, to denominate a king who was unjust, ungrateful, an adulterer, cruel, a tyrant and a murderer ^h, a man after God's own heart? If indeed

^h By the accounts given of *David* in the Scriptures, there are ample proofs that all here said of him is true. As to his cruelty in particular, beside the complicated crimes of adultery and murder in the case of *Uriah* and his wife, the barbarity of which is so beautifully and emphatically represented by *Nathan* in the parable of the ewe-lamb: beside these and many other vile actions,—when he had taken the city of *Rabbah*, “ he brought forth the
 “ people that were therein, and put them under saws,
 “ and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron,
 “ and made them pass through the brick-kiln: and thus
 “ did he unto all the cities of the children of *Ammon*.”
2 Samuel xii. 31.



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For a king or any other man, however wicked or profligate, may, by being a great favourer of priests, and a strict and zealous observer of the rites and ceremonies of their religion, be justly called a man after the priest's own heart, and be by him, in a too common acceptation of the word, styled very religious. But surely to denominate such an one a man after God's own heart, or a religious man, in a proper sense of that expression, tends to convey very disadvantageous sentiments both of God and of religion.

NOTHING can be more contrary to truth, derogatory to the honour of the Deity, or prejudicial they had set upon a new cart, the oxen that drew it happening to stumble, the ark shook, and *Uzzah* put forth his hand and took hold of it, no doubt to prevent damage. Now, for ought that appears to us, this seems to have been an action perfectly innocent, if not of some small merit also: however, we are told in the second of *Samuel*, chapter the vith, "the anger of the Lord was kindled against *Uzzah*, and God smote him there for his error, and there he died by the ark." Critics and commentators will do well to consider, if this passage should not be thus read: The anger of the PRIESTS was kindled against *Uzzah*, and they smote him, &c. Indeed if we consider what follows, this reading will still appear more necessary; for the next words are, — "And *David* was displeased, because the Lord had made a breach upon *Uzzah*," that is, had slain him. Now surely *David* would not have been so impious to be displeased with any thing the Lord had done; but he might well be displeased with this action, if done by priests.

prejudicial to true religion and virtue, and consequently to the peace, good order, and happiness of the world, than to believe and teach, that God commands men to act contrary to those natural, fundamental, and unerring rules of reason and morality, which are established in every man's breast, and all men acknowledge, tho' too few practise. A useful and most excellent compendium of these rules, which every one should keep continually in his view, and resolve constantly to square all his actions by, is, "To do unto others, as he would that they should do unto him."

IF men can cheat themselves and others into a belief, that God sometimes dispenses with these rules, and commands what is contrary to them, this will certainly be an inlet to the most flagrant and wicked crimes.

HAVE not multitudes pretended, and undoubtedly many really believed, that God hath commanded them to wage the most unjust and cruel wars; to torment and murder their own species, sometimes even their own children, and to destroy nations? And have not these and all manner of barbarities been frequently committed under this pretended sanction, and IN THE NAME OF THE LORD?

BUT undoubtedly no book or man, no nor an angel from heaven, teaching that God

is cruel, or commands men to be so, ought to obtain the least degree of credit.

WHILST men believe that all acts of injustice, violence, and barbarity, are contrary to the laws of God and offensive to him, this belief may be a means to deter them from committing such actions: but if men once entertain an opinion, that God not only countenances, but commands these actions, what injustice, violence, and inhumanity may not then be expected from them! and more especially from princes and nations, who are, or think they are, above the reach of human laws and punishments.

IT is a very weak and false plea to alledge, as is frequently done in support of this opinion, that we do not know what good ends God may have to bring about in commanding actions, which, if not ordered by him, would indeed be immoral and wicked: and it is as false to aver there can be any proof sufficient to demonstrate that such actions are commanded by God, or to warrant the performance of them.

As to the argument, We do not know, that can prove nothing, and may be equally applied to almost any thing: but this belief or pretence of God's commanding immoral and wicked actions is contrary to all rational sentiments concerning the Deity, and there-
fore



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fact, or are desirous to persuade others so to do, they then pretend a divine impulse or command for their warrant; thus to rapaciousness and cruelty adding impiety and blasphemy.

IF the natural and rational rules and boundaries of truth, good sense, and morality, which are the laws of God, not written on tables of stone, but deeply impressed on the fleshly tables of mens hearts, are once set aside or broke through, then will error, enthusiasm, and fanaticism like a torrent bear down truth, and carry away and destroy every thing that is sacred, and most valuable to mankind. What opinions, however erroneous, extravagant, or monstrous, may not then be received by or imposed upon men as divine dictates! Or what actions, how wicked or atrocious soever, may not be sanctified by the name of religious duties, and warranted under the belief or pretence of being commanded by God!

SURELY, as it was the highest pitch of deceit and impudence in some men to pretend that God commanded them to break the sacred laws of nature and society, and to act the most cruel and inhuman barbarities; so nothing but the highest folly, infatuation, and enthusiastic madness, could induce others to believe so gross and vile an imposition.

And to pretend that God has wrought miracles to confirm such commands,—commands to break his own inviolable and eternal laws, is only adding the vilest fraud and imposture to prove and support the most notorious falsehood.

SECTION III.

FROM this short view of the opinions so commonly entertained amongst the greatest part of mankind, concerning the deities or Deity-worshipped by them, we shall proceed to the second head proposed to be treated on, *viz.* The barbarous methods of worship so frequently practised.

AGREEABLE to the opinions men entertain of their pretended deities, or the Deity, such, as hath been already observed, it is reasonable to suppose will be their methods of worship; and thus we find it in fact: for mankind having too generally believed their gods, or the One God, to be cruel, divers parts of their devotion have been suited to this belief.

THESSE devotional cruelties have been exercised by men upon themselves, upon mere animals, or upon those of their own species.

THESSE terrible and astonishing barbarities of this kind, committed by many pagans, both

both ancient and modern, upon themselves, are well known, and some of them will undoubtedly on this occasion occur to the reader: but having on another subject¹ given divers instances of these, I shall here only just mention a few, and proceed to take notice of some of the same nature in use among christians.

THOSE practised by them do not indeed appear at first sight so horrid and shocking as several in use among the heathens; as the plunging themselves alive into gulphs; generals devoting themselves to certain destruction, by rushing into the army of the enemy; men casting themselves from high places on sharp hooks; throwing themselves under the chariot-wheels of their gods to be crushed to death, and the like: yet, if considered attentively, they will be found in several respects to be more pernicious than the others, and to proceed from the same sentiments concerning the cruelty of the Deity they worship: for did they not think God cruel, they could not suppose he would approve, much less command, or be pleased with, their inflicting cruelties upon themselves.

BESIDE the extreme severities exercised by many particular persons among christians, such as living alone on desolate rocks and
mountains,

¹ *Of false Religion*, in a former volume.



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vow never to answer one great and principal end of their creation.

A MONASTIC life, and celibacy by constraint, are certainly very prejudicial to great numbers of people, by bringing upon them grievous distempers and afflictions both of body and mind; and extremely injurious to all countries where they are suffered, by rendering many thousands of both sexes entirely useless, and in so great a degree preventing the increase of the people; nay, they are an injury to the whole world, in lessening the number of the human species°. And what is still perhaps worst of all, they undoubtedly occasion the frequent murder of infants by their unnatural and unhappy mothers, and the committing other crimes of a most detestable kind.

WE will finish this subject with a few instances of cruelties exercised by some christians upon themselves, to please a God of infinite goodness.

CRESSY, in his Church History, tells us, that *St. Egwin* girded himself with iron chains,

° The number of priests, clergy, and monastics of both sexes in *France* is commonly computed at five hundred thousand, and the number of people in the whole at twenty millions; of which if we suppose six millions to be adults, then one twelfth part of these are obliged to celibacy. And in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, it is probable, that the number of those to whom marriage is forbidden may be still proportionally greater than in *France*.

chains, and went in that manner on a pilgrimage to *Rome* ^{p.}

ACEPSEMAS, whom no person could be tired of praising, saith *Theodoret*, passed sixty years in a cell without speaking to or seeing any person ^{9.}

THEODORET also relates, that *Barwadatus*, a monk, contrived a sort of cage for his habitation, coarsely formed of lattice-work, so wide and open as to expose him to all the inclemencies of the weather, and so low that it could not admit the full height of his body, but obliged him to stand always in the posture of stooping. Another monk called *Ibalaleus*, of a very bulky size, suspended himself in the air in a cage of a different kind, made so low, and so strait also, that it left him no more room than to sit with his head perpetually bent down between his knees; in which posture he had spent ten years when *Theodoret* first saw him ^{1.}

We are told by the same author, that *Simon Stylites*, a very holy man, who wrought innumerable miracles; giving health to the sick, children to the barren; and who converted many thousands of pagans to the christian religion, had accustomed himself, after the example of *Moses* and *Elias*, to keep a

¹ L. 21. c. 5. ⁹ History of the Church, L. 4. c. 28.
¹ Dr. Middleton's works, vol. I. p. 141.

fast and total abstinence from food for forty entire days: and in this practice he had, when *Theodoret* wrote, persevered twenty-eight years, fasting forty days together in each year. During the first part of which days he used constantly to stand; and when, through want of nourishment, he grew too weak to endure that posture, he then began to sit; but at the last was forced to lie down half dead and almost spent. He fixed his perpetual station on the top of a pillar, whose circumference was hardly of two cubits, (three feet); and after he had spent many years in that position, like a statue upon its pedestal, on several different pillars, he mounted one at last thirty-six cubits (fifty-four feet) high, and lived thirty years upon it*.

ADD to these instances of particular persons, what *Theodoret*† relates of the hermits and monks of *Egypt* and other neighbouring countries. Some of them fed upon stinking and loathsome meat, that they might receive no pleasure in eating. Others accustomed themselves to stand on their feet all night at prayer; to walk bare-foot upon briars and thorns, in remembrance of the pain that *Christ* suffered by the nails that pierced his hands and feet; and also to stand whole nights

* *Ibid.* p. 131. † *In Marciani vita de Sabina, sub fine*: from a treatise concerning policy and religion, P. 578.



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tious, and priests always ready to take every advantage of the vices, the weaknesſes, and the paſſions of mankind, and turn them to the emolument of the ſacerdotal order; theſe, and ſuperſtition being very apt to appear in the ſame ſhape in different ages and nations, are the real cauſes why ſacrifices have ſo generally prevailed. Men being themſelves too commonly vindictive, revengeful, and blood-thirſty, imagined their gods to be ſo likewiſe. But ſurely it is difficult to ſay, whether the folly or cruelty of inſtituting ſuch abſurd and barbarous practices was greater. Could there well be a greater folly, than to believe, that cutting the throat of an innocent lamb ſhould atone for the crimes of wicked men? And is it not great cruelty thus needleſſly to ſhed blood?

SOME perſons may perhaps aſk, what harm or cruelty there was in killing beaſts for ſacrifice, any more than for food, which is the general and daily practice throughout the world? To which may be answered: If the fleſh of animals is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſubſiſtance of man, that may be a reaſon why he ſhould kill ſuch as he cannot do without; but this will not excuſe his ſlaughtering them for ſuperſtitious uſes, which is not only unneceſſary, but for a very bad purpoſe alſo. And that the ſlaughtering of animals,

imals, as an atonement for sin, was a superstitious custom, evidently appears both from scripture and reason: for whatever is performed as a religious duty, which cannot possibly answer the end of its performance, must be superstitious: but, “IT IS NOT POSSIBLE,” saith the apostle *Paul**, and so saith common sense and reason, “that the blood of bulls and of goats” (that is, the slaughtering of any animals) “should take away sins.”;

IT is very remarkable, that although the religion of the *Jews* consisted so much in bloody sacrifices, yet several of their prophets, as well as the apostle *Paul* above quoted, declared against this cruel and preposterous method of worship, and acknowledged that God had not commanded it. The Psalmist thus appeals to God:—“Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire: * * * * * burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required.” *Jeremiah*, personating God, tells the *Jews*,—“I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of *Egypt*, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices.” *Isaiab* declares, that God delights not in the blood of bul-

I 4

“locks,

* Heb. x. 4.

† Psalm xl. 6.

* Jeremiah vii. 22.

“locks, or of lambs, or of goats’.” This prophet very candidly informs the people what worship was most acceptable to God: —“Cease to do evil,” says he, “learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, and plead for the widow.” Good sense has taught the same to heathens. The best and most pure worship of the gods, says *Cicero*, is to serve them with an upright, chaste, and uncorrupt mind and heart. The passage, at length, is as follows: *Cultus autem Deorum est optimus, idemque castissimus, atque sanctissimus, plenissimusque pietatis, ut eos semper pura, integra, incorrupta et mente et voce veneremur*^a. And agreeable to this are those fine lines of *Perfius*:

*Compositum jus, fasque animi, sanctosque recessus
Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto;
Hæc cedo, ut admoveam templis, et farre litabo*^b,

Thus *Englished* by Mr. *Dryden*:

*A soul, where laws, both human and divine,
In practice more than speculation shine:
A genuine virtue, of a vig'rous kind,
Pure in the last recesses of the mind:
When with such off'rings to the gods I come,
A cake thus giv'n is worth a hecatomb.*

But

^y *Isaiah* i. 11. ^z *Ibid.* 16, 17. ^a *De natura Deorum*, lib. II. ^b *Sat.* 11.



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so sensible of this, that such are by law exempted from being of juries in cases of blood. And so shocking would this employment doubtless be to many, that if they could come at flesh-meat by no other means than killing creatures for their food with their own hands, they would sooner become *Pythagoreans* than obtain it on such disagreeable terms. I appeal to the compassionate reader, whether, when he has chanced to see the pretty innocent lamb lick the hand which at that instant plunged the murderous knife in its throat, or the huge ox fall beneath the repeated sounding blows of the iron sledge, groaning, struggling, and convulsed in the pangs of death, he has not almost wished to live without animal food. Now, if the sight of one or two animals slaughtered in this manner, and for a necessary purpose, has so much influence on a compassionate mind, how must such an one be affected by a carnage like that above-mentioned, and for a superstitious end only?

BUT shocking as this practice of sacrificing beasts evidently appears to be, it is not, by much, deterred to do it, because the *Utopians* think that pity and compassion, which are among the best of our natural affections, are much impaired by the butchering of animals. And, tho' these *Utopians* were but an imaginary people, yet this serves to shew our judicious author's opinion concerning the influence that a familiarity with blood has upon men.

much, the most cruel method men have used in the worship of their gods. We find it was a very ancient custom among many nations, particularly the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gauls*, *Scythians*, and the polite *Greeks* and *Romans* also, to sacrifice their own species, and some of them even their own children.

BOCHART and some others affirm, that the *Canaanites* learned this custom by imitation of *Abraham*; but bishop *Cumberland* is of opinion it was previous to the flood, and practised by the *Canaanites* long before, as well as at the time when *Abraham* resided among them*. Supposing this to be true, as the bishop seems to make it very probable, why might not *Abraham*, instead of being tempted by God to offer his son, that is, if we judge merely by the common rules of humanity, to commit one of the most unnatural, wicked crimes that man could perpetrate, be induced to this action by the custom of the people with whom he dwelled? And if this was truly the case, then the angel that was said to have prevented the fact, might in reality have been only a larger share of understanding and humanity in *Abraham*, than the stupid and cruel *Canaanites* his neighbours.

* *Sanboniatho's Phœnician history*, translated from *Eusebius* by bishop *Cumberland*, p. 147 & 171.

neighbours were possessed of; and which, upon recollection, shewed him that it was impossible God should command so barbarous a crime as the murder of his child^f. I shall not insist on this interpretation of a passage which has puzzled so many learned divines to explain, and reconcile with all rational opinions entertained of God and his commands; but proceed to observe, that the *Egyptians* were so tenacious of this horrid practice of human sacrifices, that when the *Phœnicians*, who first taught it them, were expelled *Egypt* by *Tethmosis*, or *Amosis*, a *Thebaic* king, and this custom was forbidden by him, he thought proper so far to comply with it, as to substitute men of wax instead of real men.

CÆSAR

^f According to the account we have in the book of *Genesis*, *Abraham* was upon the very point of slaying his son. The reader may not dislike to compare the behaviour of a pagan king, in a circumstance somewhat of the same nature, with the conduct of *Abraham*. “The tutelary god of *Thebes* appearing to *Sabbaco*, one of the pastoral kings of *Egypt*, and ordering him to put to death all the priests of *Egypt*, he judged that the gods were displeased at his being on the throne, since they ordered him to commit an action contrary to their ordinary pleasure; and therefore he retired into *Ethiopia*.” *De l'Esprit des Loix*, tome II. l. 24. ch. 4. from *Diod. Sic.* l. 2. But undoubtedly this prince would still have acted much more sensibly, if he had regarded the imaginary appearance of his god as an idle dream or mere delusion, which it most certainly was, and then he needed not to have quitted his throne and his country.



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that they might not lose the benefit of so meritorious an action.

ONE common method of performing these sacrifices was this. A huge image of the god *Saturn*, which was the same with *Moloch* in the scriptures, was made of copper or brass, hollow within. The children destined for offerings to this pretended deity were inclosed within his statue, which was heated red-hot: it need not be added, that the poor innocents were consumed in the midst of the most terrible torments. To drown the shrieks of these miserable victims, it was usual to make a great noise by beating of drums and sounding of trumpets. The mothers of these unhappy children esteemed it a point of honour, and a religious duty, to assist at those cruel spectacles without lamenting or weeping; and if a tear or a sigh escaped them, they apprehended that the sacrifice would be less acceptable to the divinity, and the good fruits of it lost to themselves.

THE *Carthaginians*, who learned this barbarous custom from the *Tyrians* their ancestors, when a plague happened among them, used to sacrifice great numbers of children, without pity, says *Justin*^a, for those whose tender age excites compassion in the most cruel enemies; seeking a remedy for their misfortunes

^a *L. 18. c. 6. Cum peste laborarent, &c.*

misfortunes in their crimes, and themselves using barbarity to excite compassion in the gods.

DIODORUS SICULUS, as I find him quoted by Mr. *Rollin*, says, that at the time when *Agathocles* was about to lay siege to *Carthage*, the inhabitants of that city, seeing themselves reduced to the last extremity, imputed their calamities to the just anger of *Saturn* against them; because instead of the children of the principal nobility, whom they had been accustomed to sacrifice to him, they had fraudulently substituted the children of strangers and slaves. To make amends for this fault, they offered to *Saturn* two hundred children of the best families in *Carthage*. Beside these, more than three hundred citizens, who had been guilty of this imaginary crime, became also a voluntary oblation.

BUT the *Mexicans* seem to have outdone all other nations in this diabolical practice of human sacrifices. The author of *the civil and moral history of the Spanish West Indies*, says, that as these people never sacrificed any but those they took in war, the province of *Tlascala* was left unconquered by *Montezuma*, to afford a constant supply of captives for sacrifice.

ⁱ *Histoire Ancienne*, T. I. p. 197, from *Diod. Sic.* l. 8. p. 756.

sacrifice. Those who assisted in killing the victims were called ministers of holy things: their office was of high esteem, and passed by inheritance. The chief of them was a bishop or pope, and gave the fatal stroke.

IN one particular sacrifice they treated the slave that was to die in the most honourable manner for a whole year. They not only clad him in the robes and ornaments, but gave him the name of their idol, and allowed him the noblest apartment in the temple. He was served with the richest food by all the chief ministers, and had none but great persons about him, who kept a strict guard that he might not escape. When he passed through the streets, he was followed by a train of nobles, all the people came out of their houses to see him, and the women in particular presented their children for his blessing. After all these honours, or rather this cruel mockery, when the time of the festival came, they ripped up the poor wretch's breast, pulled out his heart, which they offered to the Sun, and then eat up his body.

ACOSTA tells us, that the *Mexicans* sacrificed every year to two idols two thousand five hundred men, fatted in pens; and that, when they were minded to do signal honour to their gods, they sent out armies to bring in prisoners for a sacrifice, whose flesh they afterwards



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daughter *Iphigenia*; by which the horrid ceremony is painted in strong and lively colours :

*Un prêtre environné d'une foule cruelle,
Portera sur ma fille un main criminelle,
Déchirera son sein, et d'un oeil curieux
Dans son cœur palpitant consultera les dieux^m.*

S E C T I O N V.

THE third and last head under which we proposed to consider religious cruelty, is, Mens inhuman treatment of one another on account of their different sentiments in religion, and different forms of worship.

ALL religions which did not proceed entirely from superstition, or were not contrived merely as engines of state, or to deceive the many for the sake of a few, must have been designed for the good and benefit of mankind; particularly, to teach them to mortify some passions, regulate others, and render men peaceable, gentle, mild, compassionate, and beneficent: and the better and more perfect any religion is, the more productive of these excellent fruits one would reasonably expect it should be: more especially, a religion which we are assured is instituted by

God,

^m *Oeuvres de Racine, tom. II. Iphigenie, tragédie.*

God, must in an eminent degree be designed for these good purposes. Nevertheless, so it has happened, that all religions have been attended with contrary consequences, as strife; envy; malice; wars; persecutions; murders; and massacres; and the best of all religions hath produced the most of these. It seems indeed, by its effects, as if religion; the christian religion especially, came not to bring peace into the world, but a sword.

“IT is really as amazing, as it is melancholy,” says a reverend divine; “to look back and to reflect upon the very little good christianity hath done, compared with what it might have done, since its establishment in the world.” Again,—“From * * * abuses and perversions it has happened that the gospel hath been so far from producing the good which might have been expected from it, that it has frequently produced a world of mischief. * * * Instead of promoting good sense, good will, and peace among men, it has served to beget error and opinion; to produce malevolence and hatreds, which for rancor and inveteracy were never known before; and to excite tumults and confusions; which no civil authority could restrain or moderate.”

THE principal causes of these evils may probably appear in the sequel. From the murder of righteous *Abel* to this time, we see, as far as history can inform us, with what cruelty men have behaved towards one another on account of their different sentiments in religion, and different modes of worship, and how generally and frequently persecution hath been practised among them.

THERE is, as Mr. *Chandler* has observed in his excellent introduction to his translation of *Limborch's history of the inquisition* °, good reason to believe, by a passage in the book of *Judith* †, that the ancestors of the *Jews* were persecuted upon account of their religion. “ This people (says *Acbior* to *Holofernes*) are
 “ descended of the *Chaldeans*, and they so-
 “ journed heretofore in *Mesopotamia*, because
 “ they would not follow the gods of their
 “ fathers, which were in the land of *Chaldea*;
 “ for they left the way of their ancestors, and
 “ worshipped the God of heaven, the God
 “ whom they knew. So they cast them out
 “ from the face of their gods, and they fled
 “ into *Mesopotamia*, and sojourned there
 “ many days.” †

THESE people, the *Jews*, were also most terribly persecuted by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who, tho' a very wicked prince, was, as Mr. *Chandler*

° P. 4 & 5.

† C. v. 6, &c.



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the face of the earth: the *Jews*, tho' certainly not wanting in will, being under the dominion of another nation, had little power to act; but the *Romans* carried on a persecution against christians for about three hundred years, at times, to such a degree, with such infernal rage, fury, and variety of cruelties, as were never known before, and could only be exceeded by those which christians have since exercised against one another.

IN the very earliest times of christianity, as *Mr. Chandler* has taken notice in his above-cited introduction, we find there were contentions and quarrels among christians, even between the most eminent apostles themselves. "There are contentions among you". "Every one of you saith, I am of *Paul*, I of *Apollos*, and I of *Cephas*, and I of *Christ*".— "When *Peter* was come to *Antioch*, I (*Paul*) withstood him to the face". From these small bickerings many christians very soon proceeded to defame, revile, and injure one another as far as they durst: and as soon as they obtained power, by having an emperor of their religion, and had fat livings and rich bishopricks,

1 I Cor. i. 11, 12. It is evident that *Paul*, *Apollos*, and *Cephas*, were by these *Corinthian* christians looked upon as heads of sects; but what is much more strange, it seems as if they regarded *Christ* as the head of a sect likewise. • Gal. ii. 11.

bishopricks, food for their avarice and ambition, bestowed upon them to contend for, what imprisonments, banishments, murders, wars, and massacres, did they not persecute one another with? They then manifested, in large and indelible characters, what sort of men they were, and what manner of spirit they were of.

S E C T I O N VI.

BUT before we enter farther into a particular discussion of the manner in which too many christians have treated one another on account of their religious differences, it may be proper to take a short view, what some of those differences consisted in, and how well the subjects of them were understood by the disputants, or others who imagined that they were interested in them: for such as were not essential points, of the utmost consequence, could not deserve to be very warmly contested; and those which were not understood, it would be ridiculous and to no purpose to dispute about them at all.

K 4

ONE

‘ If men disputed upon no subjects but those they understand, what a narrow compass would all disputes, especially on religion, be reduced to? And if all books on

ONE of the first subjects of religious contention among christians, that we have any account of, was, whether circumcision, and some other *Jewish* rites, should be practised in, or incorporated with, the christian religion. This seems to have given occasion to the difference between the apostles *Peter* and *Paul* above-mentioned, and continued to be matter of dispute in the church for a long time.

IN the very early days of christianity, during the lives of several of the apostles, there were also strong disputes concerning the person of *Christ*. “Some denied his
 “divinity, believing him the son of *Joseph*
 “and *Mary*, but acknowledged him an ex-
 “cellent person. Others taught, that as *Je-*
 “*sus* was but a mere man, *Christ* descended
 “upon him in the likeness of a dove, and
 “that then *Jesus Christ* revealed the Father,
 “who was before unknown; and that at last
 “*Christ*, who was incapable of suffering, for-
 “sook *Jesus*, and left him to suffer death:
 “and, lastly, that his kingdom hereafter
 “would

such subjects, and containing such controversies, as the writers themselves had no clear ideas of, were destroyed, (as some will think it great pity but they should be) this would occasion a far greater destruction of books than the fire at *Alexandria*, by which five hundred thousand volumes were consumed.



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ments) with several other opinions as absurd, were held and asserted by *Irenæus*, who “lived,” says Mr. *Dodwell*, “so near to the times of the apostles, as to be able to transmit their doctrines to posterity with certainty;” and not by *Irenæus* only, but by the earliest fathers, and delivered to us on the authority of the apostles by some of their immediate successors. *Irenæus* also asserted, “that the sacred scriptures were utterly destroyed in the *Babylonish* captivity, but restored again, after seventy years, by *Esdras*, inspired by God for that purpose.” And in this opinion or assertion he was followed by all the principal fathers of the succeeding centuries, says Dr. *Middleton*’.

BUT to return to a recital of a few, among the multitude of those opinions, which have occasioned such grievous quarrels and cruel persecutions among christians. A dispute in the church so early as in the time of St. *Poly-carp*, the disciple of St. *John* the apostle, several times revived, and that for many years engaged the whole christian world, was, whether the time of observing *Easter* should be according to the *Jewish* passover, keeping to one particular full moon, or according to the resurrection, keeping to one particular Sunday.

* See Dr. *Middleton*’s *Free Inquiry*, &c. P. 36. † *Ibid*, p. 40.

day. Now it unluckily happens, that in the New Testament there is no command for christians to keep *Easter* at all: notwithstanding which, this contention was carried on among them with great animosity and fury, and caused much blood to be shed. Another very extraordinary and important dispute, which occasioned many disorders and murders, and the calling the third general council, was, whether the virgin *Mary* ought to be called the mother of God². *Nestorius*, bishop of *Constantinople*, excepted against it, arguing that “*Mary* was a woman, and that therefore God could not be born of her:” for said he, “I cannot call him God, who once was not above two or three months old.” To which *Nestorius* might well have added, — It is impossible that the

SUPREME

² In the time of pope *Clement XI*, the title of grandmother of God began to be commonly given to *St. Anna*, the mother of the virgin *Mary*. And about the year 400, a most edifying dispute arose in the church, whether the virgin *Mary*, tho’ she preserved her virginity in conceiving *Christ*, without the co-operation or intercourse of man, yet did not lose it in bringing him forth. *Bower’s History of the Popes*, Vol. I. p. 402 & 254 & 256.

In a church at *Naples* there is this inscription to the virgin *Mary*:

Nata, soror, conjux, eadem genitrixque tonantis.

i. e. Daughter, sister, spouse, and mother of the thunderer.

Keyser’s Travels, Vol. II. p. 410.

² *Chandler’s Introduction*, p. 45.

SUPREME GOD, the CREATOR of all things, who must be SELF-EXISTENT, could have either father or mother. And he did add, “ that it was a kind of blasphemy to say, that God was born of a woman, that God had suffered, that God had died ^b.”

THERE arose during the reign of the emperor *Heraclius*, and his grandson *Constans*, many violent contests, whether there were two wills in *Christ*, the divine and human, or but one single will ^c: at the instance of *Paul*

^b *Bower's History of the Popes, Vol. I. p. 386.*

^c The reader who has not met with what is underwritten, may perhaps not be displeased to see here an instance, as Mr. *Bower* very properly calls it, of metaphysical jargon relating to this subject. If, said the orthodox, two wills argue two persons, one will only must of course argue one person only; but in the Trinity there is but one will, the Father not having a different will from that of the Son, nor the Son from that of the Holy Ghost; *ergo*, in the holy Trinity there is but one person: than which nothing can be more absurd, heretical, and blasphemous. They, the orthodox party, added, that in the Trinity the Father willed as God, *voluit quatenus Deus*, and not as the Father; else, as he is a distinct person from the person of the Son, his will would be likewise a distinct will from the will of the son: and thence they concluded, that to will belonged to the nature, and not to the personality; and consequently, where the nature was one, there could be but one will, let the persons be ever so many; and on the contrary, where the natures were more than one, the wills too must be necessarily more than one, let the persons be ever so few. *Bower's History of the Popes, Vol. III. p. 109,*



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WELL would it have been, if only ecclesiastics had concerned themselves in these non-sensical disputes; but unhappily for Christendom, the emperors engaged deeply in them. “The emperors,” says Mr. *Bower* in his *History of the Popes* ^d, “from the beginning took part in the dispute;” (that concerning the two wills and two operations in *Christ*) “and it must raise the indignation of every reader, who peruses the records of those times, to find the *Saracens* and other barbarians breaking on all sides into the empire, seizing province after province, and laying them all waste in their turns; and the emperors in the mean time, instead of assembling armies to oppose them, only intent on assembling bishops, and issuing, as directed by them, edicts, decrees, rescripts, &c. concerning a metaphysical speculation, that had no kind of connection with the christian faith or religion.”

ANOTHER branch of this notable dispute was, whether men were to believe *Christ* to be IN two natures, and OF two natures, or only OF two natures, but not IN two natures. Upon this momentous question, in the year 504, the whole city of *Antioch* was divided into two opposite factions. The populace on either side were wrought up, by their

leaders,

^d *Vol. III. p. 177, 178.*

leaders, to the highest pitch of madness and fury against each other, not sparing either friends or relations, whom they only suspected to differ in opinion from themselves: but the orthodox, that is, the sticklers for the OF and the IN, prevailed in the end; and how cruelly they used their victory, the *Orontes* bears witness, says the historian, the river *Orontes* quite choaked up with the bodies of the *Eutychians*, whom they slew without distinction or mercy*.

UPON an addition being made to the *Trisagion*, a hymn so called, there was in the same year a terrible insurrection and rebellion at *Constantinople*. The original words were, Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal, have mercy upon us; which hymn was used in the church to declare her belief in the Trinity: upon adding these words,—Who was crucified for us, those confusions arose. After many battles between the contending parties, fought not only in the streets and the squares, but in the very churches, the orthodox mob, by the assistance of an army of monks, gained the victory over the *Eutychians* who had the soldiery and courtiers on their side. Orders were then given by the orthodox to murder, without distinction of rank or sex, all who had joined the emperor

* *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 273.

peror in MAKING WAR ON THE TRINITY; and to pillage, and pull down, or burn their houses. Accordingly, in the space of three days, ten thousand *Eutyrians* were inhumanly murdered, their houses plundered and burnt, and with them the greatest part of the city ^f.

DISPUTES concerning image-worship, that is, whether christians should or should not be idolaters, were maintained on the affirmative side, as a bad cause commonly is, with the utmost passion, rage, and fury: these disputes ended in the establishment of idolatry, which remains to this day in the church of *Rome*, one of the greatest scandals to the christian religion.

IT would be endless to give an account of the contests about good works, justification, grace, the nature and divers kinds of it; whether the sacrament ought to be received standing, kneeling, or in what other posture; if the sacramental bread should be leavened or unleavened, and the wine with or without water; whether baptism should be administered to infants or only to adults ^g; if sprinkling

^f *Ibid.* p. 270, 271.

^g Father *Aquillera*, a Jesuit, in his book intitled *Lazarus*, printed at *Rome* in 1728, maintains the validity of baptism conferred upon a child in its mother's womb. And the Jesuits tell us, that *Aloysius Genzaga*, one of their



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been also entertained concerning the means by which the posterity of *Adam* and *Eve* are affected by original sin: if by imputation only, or by a sort of infection, corruption, or contamination, &c.

ENDLESS have been the disputes, and endless I suppose they will be, about election and reprobation. Numbers of texts have been produced both for and against them, which the controvertists are very positive make it exceedingly clear on the opposite sides of the question. But as my present design is not to enter into disputes, I shall proceed no farther on this subject than briefly to state the case of reprobation.

GOD, who knows and foreknows all things, hath, merely by an act of his will, created all men; has, if I may be allowed the expression, necessitated their existence, altho' (according to the opinion of those who hold the doctrine of reprobation) he knew, nay ordained, that multitudes of them, even far the greater part of mankind, should be **ETERNALLY MISERABLE**. This, as these people say, is the decree of an infinitely just, good, gracious, and merciful God. Surely, if men would bring this opinion to the test of their own reason, it would no longer be a subject of dispute, but of abhorrence only.

THE intelligent reader will probably carry this consideration much farther: he cannot carry it too far, if he is led only by truth.

DISPUTES concerning the nature of the eucharist have been principally, whether the bread and wine administered are, to such as right worthily and with faith receive the same, only a partaking of the body and blood of *Christ*; or if the elements are consubstantiated with that body and blood; or lastly, (which is the doctrine of the *Roman Catholics*, who are much more numerous than any other church of christians) if the bread and wine are not transubstantiated into the very body, flesh, and blood of *Christ*, that is, as they say, into the body, flesh, and blood of God, the almighty Creator of the universe ^b.

THE Trinity being one of the most abstruse doctrines of christianity, and the least understood, it has given occasion (as subjects very little or not at all understood have usually done) to the greatest degree of positive-

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ness,

^b Great contests have arisen in the church of *Rome*, whether the sacramental bread and wine were so far digested, as that some part of them, like other food, was turned into excrements: those who held the affirmative, went by the name of *Stercorarians* or *Stercoranistæ*, from the *Latin* word *Stercus*, dung. Cardinal *Humbert*, in his answer to *Nicetas Pectoratus*, treats him as a *Stercoranist*, merely for holding that the eucharist breaks the fast; which opinion he imagined led directly into *Stercoranism*.

ness, and the most violent contention. Two as eminent champions in this cause as most among the ancients, were *Alexander* bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Arius* his presbyter. *Alexander*, speaking of the Trinity, affirmed, “that the Son was co-eternal and consubstantial, and of the same dignity with the Father.” *Arius* opposed him, arguing in this manner: “If the Father begot the Son, he who was begotten must have a beginning of his existence; and from thence,” says he, “it is manifest, that there was a time when he was not; the necessary consequence of which,” he affirmed, “was this, that he had his subsistence out of things not existing¹.” *Arius* on the other hand asserted, as *Alexander* his bishop tells us, “that there was a time when there was no Son of God, and that he who before was not, afterwards existed, being made, just as any man whatsoever, and that therefore he was of a mutable nature, and equally receptive of vice and virtue.” *Arius* in his turn says, *Alexander*’s doctrine was, “that God is always, and the Son always. The same time the Father, the

“same

¹ In the year 361 a creed was drawn up at *Antioch*, wherein it was expressly said, that the Son was in every thing unlike to the Father, and that he was made out of nothing. *Bower’s History of the Popes*, vol. I. p. 167.



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subjects of many of these contests were not as well understood by the meanest and most illiterate vulgar, as by the most reverend and learned doctors and divines:

AFTER some of the fathers had piously damned *Dioscorus*, bishop of *Alexandria*; they proceeded to settle the faith according to the *Nicene* creed, the opinions of the fathers, and the doctrine of *Athanasius*, *Cyril*, *Basil*, *Gregory*, *Leo*, &c. and decreed that

“ *Christ* was truly God and truly man, con-
 “ substantial with the Father as to his Deity;
 “ and consubstantial with us as to his hu-
 “ manity; and that he was to be confessed as
 “ consisting of two natures without mixture,
 “ conversion of one into another; and with-
 “ out division or separation; and that it
 “ should not be lawful for any persons to
 “ utter, or write, or compose, or THINK, or
 “ teach, any other faith whatsoever, &c.
 “ This produced a loud acclamation among
 “ the people; God bless the emperor, God
 “ bless the empress. We believe as pope
 “ *Leo* doth. Damn the dividers and the
 “ confounders. We believe as *Cyril* did;
 “ immortal be the name of *Cyril*. Thus
 “ the orthodox believe, and cursed be every
 “ one that doth not believe so too¹.”

ONE

ONE instance on this head, which happened in the beginning of the present century, may suffice. Some of the clergy belonging to certain *Swiss* cantons having drawn up a creed, which they called in *French*, *Formulaire du Consensus*, or in *Latin*, *Formula Consensus*, there arose great contentions and disturbances about it, as there generally have about the establishment of all creeds. “*Il est constant, &c.*” “It is certain,” says my author, “that the greatest part of the enemies, and even the friends of this Formulaire had never seen or read it; and if they had read it, they could not have understood it. Nevertheless they were alarmed to such a degree through all the country of *Vaud*, that they could not have been more so, if an enemy had been on their frontiers. The people supposed that this *Consensus* was a man belonging to a part of *Germanic Switzerland*, who came to depose the ministers of the country of *Vaud*, and to introduce a new doctrine. During this uproar, some deputies of *Bern* being sent to *Lausanne* to re-establish peace, and having taken with them a secretary extremely tall and thin; this man was, through all the country, taken for the *Consensus*, and was several times in danger of being knocked on the

“ head by the people in the villages, who
 “ continually hooted after him, See there goes
 “ the *Consensus*; that tall fellow is the *Con-*
 “ *sensus*. The women wept in the middle
 “ of the streets, as if they had been going to
 “ lose their goods and their liberty. In the
 “ city of *Lausanne* the consternation was as
 “ great as if all the inhabitants had been con-
 “ demned to death ”.”

BUT how trifling soever many of the subjects of these disputes may appear to the sensible reader, or how obscure and little understood others of them may be; yet those, and some of a like importance and clearness, have been the causes of the many cruelties which christians have exercised upon one another from the early times of christianity to this day. And it is well known to all, who are acquainted with ecclesiastical history, that the chief disputants in such of these senseless and violent controversies, and the principal actors in the bloody tragedies which happened among the primitive christians, on account of their different sentiments in religion, and different forms of worship, have generally been such as were dignified by the titles of faints or fathers. Indeed, if we freely and without partiality examine the behaviour and actions of many of these, and divers others

^m *L'Etat et les Delices de la Suisse*, T. IV. p. 355, et seq.



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crimes; and be highly rewarded hereafter : their warm tempers might also have no small share in this matter. Many bad men, and in bad causes too, have become martyrs, and some persons even for mere trifles. Men have suffered martyrdom for atheism: and it is recorded of *Philoxenes*, that no threatenings of the most severe punishments could prevail upon him to commend the poetry of a tyrant against his judgment. We are likewise informed by *M. de la Loubire*, that when the *Tartarian* prince, who in the year 1687, reigned in *China*, would have forced the *Chinese* to shave their heads after the *Tartarian* fashion, several of them chose rather to suffer death than comply with this order. The *Bonzes* of this country shut themselves up in sedans stuck full of nails with the points turned inwards, and endure many other severe penances, to excite the admiration and charity of the people. *Indian* philosophers burn themselves to death for the sake of fame; and *Indian* women go with the greatest alacrity to be burned alive with the bodies of their deceased husbands, because it is the fashion.

BESIDES, we are not to suppose that all the faints who were put to death by the *Roman* emperors were, properly speaking, martyrs to christianity: it is well known that

some

some of them suffered for practices against the government, and others because they excited the christians to pull down the heathen temples, and to commit other disorders.

S E C T I O N VII.

HAVING thus mentioned a few of the many points about which christians have disputed so vehemently, and shewed how well they were understood by the disputants and others who imagined that they were interested in them, and also just hinted what manner of men the principal zealots in these quarrels were, we shall proceed in giving some instances of the outrageous treatment and shocking cruelties, which too many of those called christians have been guilty of towards one another, on account of their religious differences.

To give a full relation of these, it would be necessary to transcribe, not only vast volumes of martyrology, but a great part also of our ecclesiastical histories, and lives of saints and fathers, which latter, as well as the former, are amply stored with details of religious cruelties; such cruelties as will melt the reader's heart, if he has not a heart of stone.

BUT

BUT here only a very brief narration of a few of these cruelties will be attempted. Indeed, if the hyperbole, that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written on any subject, except that mentioned by St. *John*, were allowable, it would be on the barbarities exercised by those who falsely and impiously style themselves followers of *Christ*.

IT has been already observed, that disputes and quarrels among christians began in the very earliest times of christianity, and that there were considerable differences even between some of the most eminent apostles themselves; and that, from these small bickerings, too many christians, as they advanced in power, advanced in covetousness, ambition, and cruelty, and proceeded to more violent contentions and greater injuries.

'TILL the time of *Constantine*, who was the first christian emperor, christians being under the government of pagans, were obliged to content themselves with reviling, cursing, and speaking all manner of evil (it is to be feared, not always falsely) of one another: but no sooner had they obtained the liberty of persecuting in a more substantial manner, (a fatal liberty indeed!) than they proceeded to deprivations, excommunications, imprisonments,



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of religious quarrels^o, and the most considerable persons of each side were generally the greatest persecutors.

ST. *Athanasius* was not more eminent for his exalted station in the church, and his great zeal for the orthodox religion, than for his outrageous, persecuting, cruel actions. This turbulent bishop was several times deposed for his seditious practices and enormous crimes; and his restoration was generally attended by tumults and murders, excited and occasioned by him and his adherents.

MANY bishops and clergymen, who declared themselves orthodox, accused this saint to the emperor, of being the author of all the disturbances in the church by his violent behaviour; particularly punishing some with whippings, putting several in chains, and murdering others. This holy man was also guilty of false accusations, and suborning of witnesses to destroy his adversaries, particularly *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, by spiriting up a woman to charge him with getting her with child, the falsehood of which was detected at the council of *Tyre*^p. This saint was also banished for selling the corn which the emperor *Constantine* had given for the support of the poor of *Alexandria*, of which he

^o *Chandler's* Introduction, p. 30.

^p *Ibid.* p. 32.

he himself was bishop, and putting the money in his own pocket. We may see by this man's conduct, that it is very possible for a person to appear extremely zealous even for the orthodox religion, be able to dispute with great subtilty on the most abstruse points of divinity, become a famous creed-maker, and obtain the title of saint, and yet be a very great —.

— If *David*, because he had shed blood, was forbidden by God to build a *Jewish* temple, how unfit was such a bloody persecutor as this to edify the christian church!

BUT this saint, tho' one of the most eminent in the cruel practice of persecution, was far from being alone in it. *St. Chrysoptom*, so called for his extraordinary eloquence, *St. Cyril*, *Dioscorus*, and many others who might be mentioned, were his zealous fellow-labourers in carrying on this diabolical work, and guilty of other enormous crimes.

THE first (*St. Chrysoptom*) treated his brethren the bishops with great violence; deposed them in an arbitrary manner; substituted others in their room, contrary to the desires and prayers of the people; insulted the empress *Eudoxia*; caused an insurrection of the *Goths* in the city of *Constantinople*, which had like to have ended in the burn-

§ *Ibid.* p. 35.

1 Chron. xxviii. 3.

ing the imperial palace, and the murder of the emperor; and did actually end in the cutting off all the *Gothic* soldiers, and the burning their church, with great numbers of persons in it, who fled thither for safety, and were locked in to prevent their escape.

THE second (St. *Cyril*, bishop of *Alexandria*) was no less tyrannical and cruel than the former, using his utmost power for the oppression of those he called heretics, assuming an illegal authority, and insulting the governor of the city; himself acting, and encouraging others to act, most abominable violences and cruelties. Particularly his friends and clergy murdered a beautiful, virtuous, and learned woman, named *Hypatia*: they meeting this lady as she was returning from a visit, seized on her, dragged her out of her chariot, carried her to one of the churches, stripped her naked, scraped her to death with shells, then tore her in pieces, and burnt her body to ashes.

DIOSCORUS, the successor of *Cyril*, seized a very large sum of money bequeathed by a lady of great distinction to the hospitals, and the poor of *Egypt*, and caused the corn which was given yearly by the emperor for the support of the poor christians in *Lybia*, where no corn grew, to be conveyed into his own

* *Chandler's Introduction*, p. 41, 42. † *Ibid.* 43, 44.



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“ he was judged worthy by the *Arian* cabals
 “ of occupying the second see of the church.
 “ He had neither the episcopal virtues, nor
 “ any other degree of merit: but he was bold,
 “ enterprising, without shame and without
 “ compassion, and the *Arians* sought more
 “ for a persecutor than a bishop. When he
 “ was in place, his pomp, his cruelty, and
 “ his rapaciousness would have made him
 “ thought to be a pagan, if he had not pil-
 “ laged the temples: for all his christianity
 “ consisted in this lucrative devotion. The
 “ catholics detested him as a blood-thirsty
 “ enemy, and the whole world as a tax-
 “ gatherer, an oppressor, and a robber. *Egypt*
 “ trembled before him. : Those in employ-
 “ ment were obliged to submit to be mini-
 “ sters of his tyranny, lest they should be the
 “ victims of it.” And this character of him
 is partly confirmed by *Amianus Marcellinus*^x, and the church-historians, *Sozomen*^y,
Socrates^z, and *Theodoret*^a; the last of whom
 says of George, “ that he was a wolf indeed,
 “ and destroyed his sheep with more horri-
 “ ble cruelty, than a wolf, or a bear; or a
 “ leopard could have done.”

Much like the conduct of this prelate
 was that of many other *Arians*. When the
 orthodox

^x L. xxii. C. xi. p. 251. ^y L. iv. C. x. ^z L. xi.
 C. xxviii. ^a L. ii. C. xiv. The three last translated
 into French by M. Cousin.

orthodox bishops were deposed, and the *Arians* substituted in their room, these changes were accompanied with the murder of thousands. Had not the emperor *Julian* reason to say? *Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi feroces plerique christianorum, expertus.*^b "He found by experience, that savage beasts are less furious against mankind, than the generality of christians against one another." And the emperor *Jovian* seemed to be well acquainted with the principal object of the devotion of too many of them, when he said, "that they worshipped not God, but the purple." *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a pagan historian above-mentioned, giving an account of the bloody contest at *Rome* for the bishopric of that city, appeared also to see clearly what these mens chief aim was, when he declared, "It was no wonder that those, who were ambitious of human grandeur, contended with so much heat and animosity for that dignity; because, when they had obtained it, they were sure to be enriched by the offerings of the matrons, of appearing abroad in great splendor, of being admired for their costly coaches, sumptuous feasts, and for outdoing sovereign princes in the expences of their tables." Might not

^b *Ammianus Marcellinus*, L. xxii. c. v.

Grotius justly say, *Qui ecclesiasticam historiam legit, quid legit, nisi episcoporum vitia* ^c? And as ecclesiastical history abounds to such a degree in accounts of nonsensical, unintelligible, and ridiculous disputes between the heads of the church, and the outrageous quarrels, and violent, bloody persecutions they carried on against each other; may it not likewise be truly said, that the severest satire ever written against the church is the history of the church?

S E C T I O N VIII.

UN**TIL** the *Roman* empire, which included a great part of the civilized world, was wholly, or principally at least, converted to christianity, the church, which had been long militant, did not come fully to her triumphant state; neither did the clergy, particularly the bishops of *Rome*, arrive at that plenitude of power they afterwards enjoyed.

FOR some time after the establishment of christianity in the empire, tho' many of the emperors indulged the clergy in an exorbitant degree of power, yet the latter were frequently

^c Epist. xxii.



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THIS unlimited power, thus unjustly and wickedly usurped by the pope^s, was made use of to spread terrors, calamities, and religious cruelties, first through all Christendom, and afterwards to the remotest parts of the earth; for multitudes of poor *Indians* have also been made to drink large draughts of the bitter cup of christian, or rather anti-christian persecution.

WHEN part of the subjects of any christian prince refused their assent to the absurd, unchristian doctrines, or to practise the ridiculous, ungodly forms of worship, which this despotic pontiff or his haughty coadjutors would impose upon them, the prince was commanded to force them to a compliance; and if the people remained obstinate, that is, if they were determined to persevere in believing and acting as their consciences directed, then these princes were obliged, on pain of being excommunicated and deprived of their dominions, to become such mean and despicable tools of the church, as to perform the vile and wicked drudgery of persecuting their own subjects, by banishments, murders, &c. Princes were thus brought to
the

^s In struggling for this power, and in other quarrels, there were no less than seventy-eight battles fought between the popes and their rightful sovereigns the emperors. *Preface to Mr. Bower's History of the Popes, p. 7.*

the dilemma, either of weakening their dominions, by driving away or destroying many of, perhaps, the best and most useful of their subjects, and frequently acting against their own consciences also, or running the risque of being themselves severely, and in an infamous manner, even corporally punished by order of the pope, murdered by some of their own bigotted subjects^a, or dethroned by foreign powers instigated against them for their destruction.

But if whole nations, or at least the majority and governing part of them, were so tenacious of their natural and legal rights and privileges, as not to allow the supremacy or dominion of this *servus servorum Dei*, that is, being papally interpreted, this king of kings and lord of lords; and so irreligious, as not to receive the foolish and ridiculous inventions of men, as the dictates and oracles of God; then such were declared heretics, consigned to the devil, and, as in the former case, the government bestowed upon some popish prince who could gain it by his sword.

Thus did pope *Sixtus Quintus* act by our queen *Elizabeth* and this nation, declaring her and her people heretics, cursing them to

ME 4 . . . the

^a That most excellent prince, *Henry IV. of France*, was in this manner murdered, and so likewise have other kings been.

the pit of hell, instigating and assisting *Philip* king of *Spain* to make a conquest of this kingdom, which, if the pope's power had been equal to his will, *Philip* had enjoyed the dominion of for his pains.

AMONG the numerous instances which might be given of the former case, that is, the tyrannical and cruel behaviour of the popes to sovereign princes who refused to obey their orders, in tormenting, banishing, or murdering their subjects, we shall mention only those of *Raymond* earl of *Tbolouse*, and his son.

THIS first-named prince having been much pressed by pope *Innocent* III to expel the *Albigenses* from the country of *Tbolouse*, in which great numbers of them resided; but *Raymond* not consenting either to drive out and lose so large a number of his people, or otherwise to persecute them, the pope ordered him to be excommunicated, and all his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance; and power was given to any catholic, not only to act against his person, but to seize and detain his country. To cause these orders and this power to operate more effectually, a great army of cross-bearers, a sort of church-janifaries, to whom *St. Dominic*, with the title of prelate of the war, joined himself, was raised and sent against the earl; who



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sword, and the city destroyed by fire. When this place was taken, the cross-bearers knowing there were several catholics mixed with the heretics, were in doubt how to act, lest the catholics should be slain, or the heretics feign themselves catholics. But *Arnold*, the pious abbot of *Cisteaux*, soon resolved this doubt: "Slay them all," said he, "for the Lord knows who are his:" whereupon the soldiers slew them all without exception.

MANY other places in this country were destroyed, and great numbers of persons put to death, by hanging, burning, or burying alive. At *Pulchra Vallis*, a large city near *Tbolouse*, fifty were hanged and four hundred burnt. *Gerarda*, a lady of a very noble family, and sister to the governor of *la Vaur*, they threw into a pit, and covered her with stones. At *Castres de Termis* they cast *Raymond de Termis* into prison, where he died; and burnt in one large fire his wife, sister, and virgin daughter, with some other noble ladies whom they could not persuade to embrace the *Roman* faith.

AFTER the death of the earl of *Tbolouse*, his son made a noble stand against the power of the pope, regained his father's dominions, and defended them with great courage. But the pope having in a manner compelled the king of *France* to march with a large army
3
against

against the young earl, and the fine cities of *Tholouse* and *Avignon*, and others, being, after a gallant defence, taken from him, and almost destroyed, he was obliged at last to submit, and underwent, like his father, a most ignominious corporal punishment: upon which *Bernard* exultingly said, “How holy a fight
 “ it was to see so great a man, who for a
 “ long while could resist so many and great
 “ nations, led naked in his shirt and trouses,
 “ and with naked feet, to the altar !”

BUT tho’ these princes were so bold and courageous as to resist the will, and disobey the orders of the pretended vicegerent of God, yet almost all other *Roman Catholic* sovereigns have with alacrity, and even greediness, put his pious commands of persecuting their subjects in execution.

AMONG these the kings of *France* and *Spain*, and one of our own queens, the two first like true sons, and the last like a true daughter of the church, have eminently distinguished themselves.

OUR queen *Mary*, totally void of tenderness and compassion, qualities which are so natural to her sex, and so greatly adorn it, caused multitudes of her subjects to be butchered in the most barbarous and inhuman manner.

¹ *Candler’s* Translation of *Limborch’s* History of the Inquisition, p. 62, & seq.

manner. For a particular account of the religious cruelties practised in her reign, the putting such numbers of harmless, innocent, religious, and many of them learned and excellent persons to the most tormenting death, that of burning, I refer to *Fox* and other writers, whose accounts cannot be read without the utmost horror. By this princess's actions may be seen what poisonous fruits are brought forth, when bigotry is grafted on a cruel temper of mind.

THE kings of *France* have been so dutiful to their holy father, and so active in religious cruelty, that in order to exterminate the protestants from that country, it appears by history, that to the time of *Henry IV*, there were four pitched battles fought, three hundred smaller engagements, several hundred places besieged and defended; in all which it is computed near a million of men were destroyed. And in the single reign of his MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY *Lewis XIV*, besides the vast numbers that were sent to the gallies, that perished by famine or in noisome dungeons, were murdered by the sword or the executioner, it is reckoned that eight hundred thousand persons were driven out of the kingdom ^k,

BUT

^k *History of Lewis XIV. Vol. II. p. 200 & 228.*



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and to other ecclesiastical establishments received in *Spain*, he sent orders for those purposes to his governors: but some of these either seeing the ill policy of persecution, or not being cruel enough to proceed so far in it as was required of them, or both, they were displaced, and the duke of *Alva* sent in their stead.

PHILIP could not possibly have found a fitter instrument of his cruelty than this man. *Alva* was so far from entertaining the least degree of compassion for his fellow-creatures, or feeling any compunction for inflicting the most extreme miseries upon them, that he was delighted with their sufferings, and gloried in his barbarities. The temper of this tyrant was so well known, that when he was first appointed governor of the *Netherlands*, in a few days above an hundred thousand persons left the country, and withdrew their effects; as the duchess of *Parma*, his predecessor, acquainted the king of *Spain* by letter. And during his administration above one hundred thousand families quitted that territory¹.

BEFORE the arrival of *Alva* in his government, there had, upon extreme provocations; been some excesses committed in several

¹ A b of *Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low-Countries*, p. 120.

ral places by those of the reformed religion. To punish the accused, it was thought necessary to observe a form of justice, tho' the substance was entirely neglected: for this purpose a court of judicature was erected, which the governor called, *le conseil des troubles*, but the people, much more properly, *le conseil sanguinaire*. Jean Vargas, a Spanish civilian, who perfectly well represented his constituent *Alva*, being appointed president of this court, and desirous, as is evident, to extend his cruelty as far as possible, declared his opinion in this bad Latin: *Heretici fraxerunt templa, boni nihil fecerunt contra, debent omnes patibulari.* That is, "The heretics have demolished the churches, the good people did nothing to prevent it, therefore they ought all to be hanged".

UPON another occasion, an accused person, who had neither been heard, or condemned by the judges, was nevertheless executed; among many others, as if he had been convicted. Some time after, when this poor man was ordered to be brought to his trial, it was then found not only that he had been put to death, but that he was innocent of what he was accused of. As the other judges

^m *Hist. des Provinces unies, par M. Le Cierc. T. I. p. 14.*

^a In the year 1562 John Terende, a protestant advocate, was beheaded at Tholouse in France, by virtue of a sentence

judges expressed a sorrow for this unhappy accident, *Vargas* said to them, *Qu'il n'en devoient pas être fâchez, parce que l'innocence de cet homme seroit avantageuse à son ame.* That is, "They needed not to be sorry, because the innocence of that man would be profitable to his soul."

ANOTHER member of this council; *James Hessels*, was generally asleep during the tryal of the accused heretics, and when he was awaked to give his vote on a subject of no less concern than a man's life, he used to rub his eyes, and cry out, *ad patibulum, ad patibulum*: that is, "To the gallows, to the gallows."

SUCH were the judiciary proceedings of some of *Alva's* substitutes: as to himself, he generally proceeded against heretics, and all who
sentence of the parliament, tho' he was not found guilty. Here follows the sentence pronounced against him: "Mr. *Teronde*, the COURT DOES NOT FIND YOU GUILTY IN THE LEAST: however, being very well informed of your inward thoughts, (*de l'interieur de vostre conscience*) and that you would have been very well pleased if those of your wretched and reprobate religion had obtained the victory, (and indeed you have always favoured them) they have condemned you to be beheaded, and have confiscated your estate without any exception." *Histoire ecclesiastique des Eglises reformées au Royaume de France, &c.* Tom. III. l. 10. p. 33, 34.

° *Histoire, ut supra, par M. Le Clerc, Tom. I. hb. 2. p. 21.*



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— *Though the christians gossell with them be
Esteem'd the joyful embassie of peace;
Yet be that dotb pretend supremacy
Upon their church, lets not contention cease;
But with opinions stirres up kings to warre,
And names them martyrs, that bis furies are.*

BUT neither the making of sanguinary laws to punish men for their religious opinions, nor persecuting numbers by those laws even to death, nor the slaughter made of still greater numbers by outrageous and bloody wars, could satiate the cruelty of some religious miscreants. — They must proceed to massacres, and sacrifice at once many hecatombs of their fellow-creatures and fellow-christians to their religious fury.

AMONG others, the massacres of *Ireland* and *France* will remain lasting monuments of religious rage and cruelty. In that of *Ireland* there were, according to a computation made by the priests themselves, who were present at, and principal actors in that dreadful tragedy, one hundred and fifty-four thousand protestants, men, women, and children, murdered; and many of them with the most shocking circumstances of inhuman barbarity^u.

^u Lord Brooke's works, p. 73. ^u Rushworth's Collections, Vol. V. p. 355.

IF the massacre in *France*, commonly called of *Paris*, because it began there, fell somewhat short of that in *Ireland* respecting numbers; it seems in several respects to have gone beyond that and most others. This did not take its rise from a sudden tumultuous insurrection of the mob, as such violent outrages have often done, but was deliberately concerted long before it was executed; and the principal contrivers were no less persons than the king of *France*, *Charles IX*, the queen mother, *Catharine of Medicis*, the duke of *Anjou*, (afterwards *Henry III*) the cardinal of *Lorraine*, the duke of *Guise*, and the count of *Retz*. King *Charles* at the time of this massacre was but 22 years of age, and the duke of *Anjou* his younger brother: may it not be justly said, that they were mature in religious cruelty in their tender years? The utmost artifice, and the deepest dissimulation, were put in practice to draw the queen * and prince of *Navarre*, (afterwards *Henry IV*) the prince of *Condé*, the admiral *Coligny*, and all the other principal protestants in *France* to *Paris*. For this purpose, a match between the prince of *Navarre* and the king's sister was proposed by the king, and an expedition against the *Spanish Netherlands* pretended,

* The queen of *Navarre* soon after her arrival at *Paris* was poisoned.

in which the admiral was to command in chief, and all the protestant officers were to be employed under him. The expedition was a mere pretence, and never took effect; but the match did. And the sixth day after the marriage, being *St. Bartholomew's day*, in the midst of the nuptial festivity and rejoicings, this most horrid massacre began. There were, says *D'Avila**, killed in the city (of *Paris*) that day and the next above ten thousand persons, whereof more than five hundred were barons, knights, and gentlemen, who had held the chief employments in the war, and were now purposely met together from all parts to honour the king of *Navarre's* marriage. *Perefixe*, archbishop of *Paris*, says in his history of *Henry the great*, that throughout all the towns of the kingdom, after the example of *Paris*, near one hundred thousand were murdered: and tho' a *Roman Catholic* bishop, he thus expresses himself on the subject: *Action execrable! qui n'avoit jamais eu, & qui n'aura, s'il plait a Dieu, jamais de pareille. i. e.* "Execrable action! which never was, and we may hope in God, never will be equalled." But though one *Roman Catholic* thus condemns and laments this horrid action, and no doubt but

some

* History of the civil wars of France, p. 184.

† Page 30.



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poor slaughtered protestants, and in the midst of this horrible carnage, carried their abominable curiosity so far, that decency forbids me to relate it. The queen herself encouraged the assassins, and made sport at the dying groans of the murdered. *Brantome* nevertheless speaks greatly in praise of this queen's religion: "She was," says he, "a good christian, very devout, went often to confession, and never missed divine service, morning or evening." This is indeed no uncommon character; for there are many instances to be met with, of persons being very punctual in their devotions, and extremely zealous for what is commonly called religion, and yet at the same time most enormously wicked, and particularly most cruel persecutors. Should this protestant country of ours ever fall again under the dominion of popish fiery zealots, what a scene of slavery, desolation, slaughter, and destruction, would it become!

BUT to proceed with our narrative. The king, in his letter to the pope on occasion of this massacre, exultingly writes, that more heretics had been destroyed in that one day, than in all the twelve years of the war*. In *France* there were medals struck, with devices and mottos, to celebrate the action, and perpetuate

* *Histoire de France, an. 1581.*

perpetuate the remembrance of it. At *Rome*, no sooner was the acceptable news of this diabolical exploit arrived, than a procession was immediately ordered to offer up solemn thanks to God for so great a blessing to the see of *Rome* and the catholic church. A few days after another procession was made by the pope and cardinals, and then the pope granted a jubilee to all Christendom; one of the reasons assigned for which was, that they should thank God for the slaughter of the enemies of the church, lately executed in *France*. A third procession was procured by the cardinal of *Lorraine*, (one of the first contrivers of this inhuman fact) in which assisted all the clergy, the ambassadors, cardinals, and the pope himself: the cardinal celebrated mass, and, in the king of *France's* name, thanked the pope and cardinals for their good counsels, the help they had given him, and the assistance he received from their prayers, of which he found most wonderful effects. After this the pope sent his legate, cardinal *Ursin*, in all haste to *France*, to thank the king for so great a service done to the church, and to desire him to go on, and extirpate heresy root and branch, that it might never grow again. How mad were these people with religious rage and cruelty! and how did they thirst after protestant blood!

By the pope returning thanks to the king of *France* for this most barbarous and cruel slaughter of his christian subjects, and exhorting him to go on and extirpate heresy root and branch, that it might never grow again, it is evident that the total destruction of heretics, as well as heresy, was intended by his holiness: but whether he designed that this pious work should be completed by another massacre of those heretics who had escaped the former; or by re-establishing the inquisition in *France*, or by both, is not equally clear. Most probably by both: for as nothing could so speedily and effectually root out heresy at that time as another massacre, so no means were equally proper to prevent its being replanted as the inquisition.

OF all the methods of persecution and religious cruelty already mentioned in this Essay, or indeed among all the means ever invented or practised by those called christians, to deter men, as much as possible, from thinking, believing, professing, and acting in religious matters according to their consciences, this of the inquisition has, ever since its first institution, been deservedly esteemed the most effectual.

PERSECUTION by halves, in which compassion or lenity have any share, instead of rooting up a religion, generally causes it to



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the best and most useful of their subjects; civil magistrates were not always willing to exert their power to the damage or destruction of their neighbours and fellow-christians: even some of the bishops scrupled to go such lengths in punishing heretics, and to make such slaughter of their flocks, as were thought necessary for the entire suppression of heresy. In short, the pope finding that the work of the Lord, as he impiously styled persecution, was by these persons carried on lukewarmly, he consulted with the abbot of *Cisteaux*, and *Dominic* a *Spanish* monk, (afterwards *St. Dominic*) what measures were most proper to put an effectual stop to so growing an evil.

By this triumvirate (the pope and his two counsellors) it was resolved, that the business of persecution should be taken out of the hands of laymen, and all those who had behaved so coolly in it; and for the future be managed only by such ecclesiastics, as would act with the most fervent zeal in so pious an employment.

FOR this purpose inquisitors were appointed, of whom *Dominic*, one of the most violent and bloody wretches, even among those called saints; ever known, was the first and the chief: and the order of *Dominican* friars, instituted by him, have ever since been his worthy successors.

SOON after the appointment of these inquisitors, the tribunal of the inquisition was set up and established. By this means persecution was formed into a much more regular system than heretofore. In a little time large edifices, solely for the use of the holy office, called also holy houses, were erected, in which stately apartments for the most reverend the lords inquisitors, and frightful dungeons and other places of torment for the poor miserable prisoners, were prepared. The whole college of cardinals are inquisitors general; under whom are delegates appointed, who constantly reside in the houses: to these are added all necessary officers, among whom we may be sure that goalers, tormentors, and executioners are not forgotten. There are also familiars appointed, who are authorized to bear arms, whenever necessary, in defence of the inquisitors and all employed by them, and take an oath so to do, at the hazard of their lives.

BUT this is not their only business: they are also both bailiffs and informers to the holy tribunal; and as mean as the one office, and as infamous as the other is generally esteemed in other cases, yet in the service of the inquisition these are reckoned so honourable, that the grandees and most considerable people,

people; nay even princes, are covetous and proud of the employments.

- **T**HOSE catholics in general, where the inquisition is received, are strictly commanded to inform that court of all such crimes there cognisable as come to their knowledge, more especially heresies; yet the familiars are more particularly engaged to make it their business: Thus is this inquisitorial monster furnished with more eyes than *Argus*, to keep a strict and constant watch over the doctrines of the church, which are the true sources of its treasures; and with more hands than *Briareus* to defend them.

BEYOND all this apparatus of things and persons necessary for carrying on the infamous and bloody work of persecution, to secure the church against heresy and heretics, the holy tribunal is invested with a power so unlimited, that wherever it is established, all mankind, not excepting princes, kings, and emperors, are subjected to its jurisdiction: By it many of these have been made to tremble, several have been most severely and ignominiously punished, and some dethroned and driven out of their dominions, as hath been already mentioned.

- **E**QUAL to the power of this court are its rapaciousness, injustice, and cruelty:



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by the court, if they themselves know the cause of their imprisonment: if they do not; as is oftentimes the case, and declare they cannot tell, they are admonished to recollect what offences, cognisable by the holy office; they have committed; and are conjured by the bowels of the mercy of the Lord *Jesus Christ* (this is the usual expression) to confess them readily and fully, as the only means to save their lives and gain their liberties. If by these methods no confession or self-accusation can be obtained, then threatnings and tortures, as in the former case, are applied to extort them. When these are tried without effect, as is sometimes the case, then perhaps the prisoner is informed of some part of what he has been charged with, in hopes of making a further discovery; but cannot come to the knowledge who his accusers are, neither are they ever confronted with him. By this means it hath frequently happened, as it needs must, that many persons entirely innocent of what has been alledged against them, have been most unjustly and cruelly punished, and oftentimes even with death.

A FURTHER instance of the injustice of this tribunal is, that the most infamous persons are admitted by it as witnesses; even those who have been convicted of perjury before this court itself are not refused. Nay; such

such is the injustice as well as cruelty of the inquisition, that husbands are not only admitted, but commanded by it, in case of heresy, to inform and bear witness against their wives; wives against their husbands; parents against children; and children against parents: and to induce the former so to do, the forfeited estates and effects of their parents, or a part of them, are many times promised to the children on the parents conviction. Thus is parricide encouraged, and children even bribed to be the means of their parents being many times put to an extreme cruel death. By this it is plain, that the most atrocious and unnatural crimes, if committed for the service of the church, lose their nature, are immediately sanctified, and become necessary duties and meritorious actions.

THE cruelties of this holy tribunal, as it is impudently and impiously called, are indeed terrible and astonishing: many of them have undoubtedly been concealed from the knowledge of the public; but it would require volumes to give an ample relation of such as are come to light: volumes have indeed been written on the subject; some by the sufferers themselves, who were so happy as to obtain their deliverance. In this short Essay nothing more will be attempted, than to give some idea of so complete a master's

piece of religious villainy and cruelty, and that chiefly for the sake of those of my readers who may not have met with other accounts; particularly *Limborch's History of the Inquisition*, or *Mr. Chandler's* translation of it; from whence what has been already mentioned, as well as what follows on this subject, respecting facts, is principally taken, tho' some original histories have also been consulted and made use of.

WHEN an accused person is arrested by order of the inquisition, he is put into a small dark dungeon, and there confined, sometimes for many years, and, generally speaking, alone: no companion, not so much as a book, even a religious one, or indeed any thing else, is allowed to alleviate his affliction, which on the contrary is studiously aggravated by every imaginable circumstance. A most profound silence is strictly commanded throughout this region of misery. If a prisoner says his prayers in a loud voice, or bemoans himself so as to be heard, nay if he makes any noise, tho' involuntary, the jaylor admonishes him to forbear; if he repeats it, he is beat without mercy. A prisoner being troubled with a cough, was ordered by one of the keepers to refrain coughing: the poor man replied, it was impossible: upon which he was so beat that he died under the blows.



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the devil had carnal knowledge of their bodies : this they again denied when led to execution, as well they might, the facts being absolutely impossible, alledging that the confession had been extorted from them by the torture : they were nevertheless burned to death.

IN the inquisition no means are omitted to terrify the poor unhappy pretended criminals, and aggravate their misery. The place of torture is generally an under-ground and very dark room, hung with black, and enlightened with candles. The executioner, dressed in black, and looking like a very devil, makes his appearance to the prisoner, and shews him the instruments of torture. The sufferers, whether men or women, without any regard to decency, humanity, or honour, even the most virtuous and chaste matrons and virgins, are stripped stark naked ; after which a thin linen garment, drawn very close to their bodies, is put on them, or sometimes only a pair of linen drawers.

THE methods of torture are various, numerous, and truly diabolical : a few of them only shall be here mentioned. One is thus performed : The prisoner hath his hands bound behind his back, and weights tied to his feet, and is then drawn up on high by a pully, 'till his head touches it : in this manner he is kept

kept

kept suspended for some time, that by the weights hanging at his feet, all his joints and limbs may be stretched; when on a sudden, by slackening the rope, he is let down with a jerk, but not quite to the ground, by which terrible shock his arms and legs are all dis-jointed: this, not unusually, is twice or thrice repeated; and sometimes (as *Piazza*, who was himself one of the judges of the inquisition, informs us) the poor creatures, while thus suspended and stretched, are severely whipped.

ANOTHER method of torture is this: a large iron chafing-dish, full of burning charcoal, is ordered to be brought in, and held close to the soles of the tortured person's feet, which are greased with lard, that the heat of the fire may more sharply pierce them. But not to dwell too long upon such a shocking subject, only one other manner of torturing shall here be described.

A HOLLOW trough, called the wooden horse, big enough to contain a man lying on his back at full length, is prepared, about the middle of which there is a bar fixed a-cross: upon this the prisoner is laid with his feet much higher than his head. As he is in this posture, his arms, thighs, and shins are tied round with small cords, which being strained with screws, cut to the very bones, so that

the cords disappear : but this is only the beginning and least part of the miserable creature's torment. The torturer then throws over his mouth and nostrils a thin cloth, so that he is scarce able to breathe : in the meanwhile a small continued stream of water like a thread falls from on high upon the mouth of the person lying in this miserable condition, and sinks the cloth to the bottom of his throat, so that there is no possibility of breathing. By this means the poor wretch appears as in the agonies of death. . When this cloth is drawn out of his throat, as it often is, that he may answer to the questions asked of him, it is all wet with blood, and is, as the sufferers say, like pulling their bowels through their mouths. The frequent repetition of these agonies is, almost literally, dying many deaths ; or, as *Shakespear* expresses it on another occasion, " dying many times before their death." — We talk of hell and devils. — Can any hell, except in duration, be a place of worse torments than an holy inquisition ? And can any devils, without exception, be more wicked and cruel than these religious inquisitors ?

AMONG the many instances which might be given of the sufferings of particular persons in the inquisition, I shall mention but a very few.

WILLIAM



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pectation, and by a very singular accident, he was delivered out of gaol, escaped death, and returned to *England*.

A CERTAIN pious matron, with her two daughters who were virgins, and her niece who was married, were put into the inquisition at *Seville* for heresy. Various kinds of tortures were made use of to constrain these women to betray those of their own religion; and especially to accuse one another; but in vain. The inquisitor, observing this, commanded one of the daughters to be brought to him, and discoursed with her alone, pretending to be much grieved at her afflictions, and endeavouring to comfort her. After he had by these means, and mourning over her, induced the poor girl to believe, that he was really and with a fatherly affection concerned for her and her family's calamity, and would sincerely endeavour for their liberty; he then began to persuade her to confess what related to herself, and discover all she knew concerning her mother, sisters, aunt, and some others who were not yet apprehended; promising upon oath, that if she would faithfully make this confession and discovery to him, he would find out a method to relieve her from her misfortunes, and to send them all back to their houses. This wheedling effected what torturing could not: the young woman was
by

by these promises, and repeated oaths to perform them, allured to give some account to the inquisitor of what he wanted to know. When the perfidious, perjured villain had so far obtained his point, he put the poor girl to the most extreme tortures, even those of the rack and the wooden horse above-mentioned, in order to extort what she might have omitted in her former confession: she then accused her mother and sisters, and several others also, who were upon this taken up and tortured likewise; after which they were all burned alive in the same fire with the girl.

HORRID as this instance of complicated wickedness is, the following will not fall short of it, and in some circumstances may perhaps be thought rather more cruel.

A NOBLE lady, named *Boborquia*, Wife of the lord of *Higuera* in *Spain*, tho' about six months gone with child, was taken up by the inquisition, only because a young lady, her sister, who was also imprisoned as a heretic and afterwards burnt, had in her torture declared, that she had conversed with her sister on her own doctrine. Lady *Boborquia* was delivered of her child in prison; fifteen days after which she was close shut up, and underwent the fate of other prisoners. In so dreadful a calamity she had only one com-

fort, that a certain pious young woman, who was afterwards burnt for her religion by the inquisitors, was allowed her for a companion. But this comfort was soon changed into a grievous affliction : for this poor creature was in a little time taken out of prison to be tortured, and when brought back, with all her limbs disjointed, afforded a most dismal spectacle to this young lady of what she herself was likely to suffer. And accordingly, when the girl had but just began to recover, *Boborquia* was carried out to endure the same misery, and was tortured with such diabolical cruelty upon the rack, that the rope cut to the very bones of her arms, thighs, and legs, the blood running copiously out of her mouth : they had, says my author, undoubtedly burst her bowels. In this manner she was brought back to prison, as if just ready to expire ; and in fact did die the eighth day following. And to fill up the full measure of inquisitorial wickedness, it afterwards appeared, that this lady was intirely innocent of what she had been accused, and was so pronounced to be by the inquisitors themselves, after they had thus barbarously murdered her by torture.

IT has already been observed, that without distinction of age, quality, or sex, all persons, before they are tortured, even the most virtuous matrons, or chaste and modest vir-

gins,



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SECTION X.

TO finish this account of the inquisition, (that hell upon earth) it will be necessary to give a short description of the manner of executing the pretended criminals who are condemned to die^d.

WHEN an *Auto de Fe*, or act of faith, that is, in plain *English*, a day of execution, is appointed by the inquisition, it is in *Spain* and *Portugal* a day of the utmost exultation and triumph to the church and the mob. The lords inquisitors appear in the most insolent and triumphant pomp, with (says my author) almost divine majesty, and the mob rejoice in the most outrageous manner. The king and queen, and principal grandees, with the whole court, usually assist at this shocking sight, and are spectators of the cavalcade, and the tormenting death the poor creatures are put to: all which is, by a famous *Spanish* inquisitor himself, justly called, *horrendum ac tremendum*

^d For a very full and circumstantial account of these executions, the reader may be pleased to consult the often-mentioned Mr. *Chandler's* translation of *Limborck's History of the Inquisition*.

tremendum spectaculum. The judges, many of the nobility, gentry, military officers, friars, and other ecclesiastics, march in the procession with the devoted victims of religious cruelty. The manner of their execution is almost too horrible to be related, and yet, which shews the prodigious force of bigotry and enthusiasm, is viewed even by the ladies, who on occasion of all other executions shew as much compassion as any of their sex, with apparent signs of satisfaction and pleasure. Two eminent protestant and *English* divines, who were present at these affecting spectacles, have given relations of them, from which the following account is extracted.

THE poor sufferers, who are to be burned alive, are seated on a bench about twelve feet high, and chained to a stake to which the bench is fastened. Two Jesuits then go up a ladder, and exhort the heretics to be reconciled to the church of *Rome*: if after the second exhortation they refuse so to do, the Jesuits then tell them, that the devil is at their elbow to receive their souls, and will, as soon as out of their bodies, carry them with him into hell-fire. Immediately after this charitable and comfortable denunciation, a great shout is raised by the people, and the cry is, *Let the dogs beards be trimmed, as it is merrily*

merrily termed. This is done by thrusting flaming furzes, fastened to a long pole, against their faces, which is commonly continued till they are burnt to a coal, and is accompanied with such loud acclamations of joy, as are not to be heard on any other occasion; a bull-feast or a farce being dull entertainments to this. The furze or faggots are then set on fire; but the flame seldom reaching higher than the poor miserable creatures knees, they are rather roasted than burned to death, being sometimes an hour and a half or two hours thus tormented before they are dead.

My author informs us, that the late king of *Portugal* and his brothers were seated in a window, so near the place where one of these executions was performed, as to be addressed a considerable time in very moving terms by a man as he was burning: but tho' the favour he begged was only a few more faggots, to put an end to his misery, yet he could not obtain it. This poor wretch's hinder parts, says the spectator, were perfectly wasted, and as he turned himself, his ribs opened, before he left speaking.

At one of these acts of faith in *Spain*, the queen, who was a daughter of the *French* king, being present, when a most beautiful young *Jewish* girl, scarce entered into her seventeenth year, was going to be burned for
her



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absurd doctrines, calculated on purpose to obtain for a few men an ascendant over all the rest of mankind: by means of these they cheat the people out of their money, gain to themselves riches, extravagant honours, and unlimited power. To obtain and secure the possession of these it is, that all the most sacred ties of humanity are thus broken, and such horrid cruelties practised.

S E C T I O N X I.

THE examples hitherto given, in this Essay, of persecution, or religious cruelties exercised by christians, since the pope and his clergy obtained such exorbitant power in Christendom, have been collected only from the practice of *Roman* Catholics. Who indeed would suppose, were there not so many proofs of it, that those who had declared so loudly and justly against persecution on account of religion when they themselves were the sufferers, had then proved to a demonstration, that it was unjust, barbarous, and antichristian, should after all become violent persecutors of others? Yet this has frequently been the case. Notorious it is, that the most eminent of the first reformers, when they

obtained

obtained power, generally became persecutors both in principle and practice: they have by their writings taught, in direct opposition to what they had before proved the contrary of, that persecution was a necessary and laudable duty: and to do them justice, they have, in this respect, faithfully and zealously practised what they taught.

LUTHER, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Bucer, Beza, Ferrel, and above all *Calvin*, have sufficiently proved themselves outrageous persecutors*. This last in particular has rendered his name infamous by a treatise he wrote in defence of persecution, and more still by the persecutions he raised and carried on against several worthy men. *Castellio*, or *Castatio*, a person of distinguished learning and piety, he most grossly abused and persecuted, only because

* See *Chandler's* Introduction. p. 61, 62, 68, 71, 75, &c. *Beza*, as well as *Calvin*, wrote a treatise to prove the lawfulness of punishing heretics: and *Peter du Moulin*, who, though not one of the first reformers, was an eminent protestant divine, and pastor of the reformed church at *Paris*, published, in 1618, a book, intitled *The Anatomy of Arminianism*; wherein he calls the Remonstrants; heretics, sectaries, innovators, monsters, bold, blasphemous, insolent rogues, &c. and says, he who does not believe in *Jesus Christ*, is not a child of God, and consequently has no right to the possession of temporal goods, tho' he be ever so eminent for social virtues. Abrid. of *Brandt's* History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 607, 608.

because he differed from him in opinion concerning predestination, election; free-will, faith, *Solomon's Song*, and *Christ's* descent into hell. *Servetus* also he procured to be imprisoned and put to death for heresy at *Geneva*; in which protestant city poor *Servetus* was treated with as much cruelty, as if he had been in a *Roman Catholic* inquisition: they took from him all his money, a considerable sum, and what he had besides of value; put him into a deep dungeon, where he was almost eaten up with vermin; and finally, burnt him to death.

To shew what spirit *Calvin* was of, I shall give the reader an abstract of the complaint made by *Castalio* in his own words, concerning the treatment this latter met with from the former. He says to *Calvin*, *Vocas me subinde in Gallico libello blasphemum calumniatorem, malignum, canem latrantem, plenum ignorantiae et bestialitatis, plenum impudentiae, impostorem, sacrarum literarum impurum corruptorem, Dei prorsus derisorem, omnis religionis contemptorem, impudentem, impurum canem, impium, obscænum, torti perversique ingenii, vagum, balatronem, &c. i. e.* “ In a
 “ *French* treatise you load me with the op-
 “ probrious names of blasphemous calumni-
 “ ator, malignant, barking dog, full of igno-
 “ rance and bestiality, full of impudence, an
 “ impostor,



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CALVIN was undoubtedly a person of great parts and learning, and very zealous and useful in bringing about the reformation; but he scrupled not to accuse his brethren falsely, to prevaricate, act hypocritically, and invent and tell lyes, nay, to go so far as to call God to witness to known falsehoods^s, and to persecute even to death. The reader shall be left to bestow upon this eminent reformer the epithet he may think such a behaviour and such actions deserve. But surely this man, and those above-mentioned, evidently shew, what has been before observed respecting many of the ancient saints and fathers,—That men may have a great deal of religion in their heads, and little or none in their hearts.

THIS evil spirit of persecution, with which these eminent reformers were possessed, has generally prevailed also among the reformed churches. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to name one church or sect amongst protestants, that, having power, did not persecute their brethren. *Switzerland, Holland,* and our own country also will afford but too many instances of PROTESTANT PERSECUTION.

THE churches of *Basil, Bern, Zurich,* and *Scaffhausen*, in the several letters written by

^s *Ibid.* p. 63.

by their pastors to the magistrates of Geneva, intirely approved the cruel usage of Servetus; and indeed were deeply concerned in the like practices themselves ^h.

VALENTINUS GENTILIS, a native of *Consentia* in Italy, had, says my author ⁱ; the misfortune to fall into some heterodox opinions concerning the Trinity; and held, that the Father alone was God of himself, unbegotten, *essentiator*, the giver of essence to all other beings; but that the Son was *essentiatus*, of a derived essence from the Father, and therefore not God of himself, though at the same time he allowed him to be truly God. He held much the same as to the Holy Ghost, making them three eternal spirits, distinguished by a gradual and due subordination, reserving the monarchy to the Father, whom he styled the one only God. Being forced to fly his native country on account of his religion, he came to Geneva as to a city of refuge, but was greatly disappointed: for there he was obliged to abjure his opinions, and condemned to a severe penance; being led through all the streets of Geneva, stripped to his shirt, bare-footed and bare-headed, with a lighted torch in his hand, and strictly commanded not to depart

P 2

the

^h *Chandler's* Introduction, p. 69.

ⁱ *Ibid.* p. 70.

the city without permission^k: however, he made his escape, and sought for safety in the canton of *Bern*, where he was still worse disappointed; for there he was seized, imprisoned, and beheaded. How was this poor heretic hunted like a partridge upon the mountains!

INSTANCES might be given of persecution being likewise practised by all the above-named protestant churches; but one at *Zurich* shall only be mentioned. A severe edict was there published against the anabaptists, or all who should suffer themselves to be re-baptised: several of these were put to death; among the rest, one, in a ludicrous punning manner, was sentenced to be drowned, by *Zuinglius*, in these four words, *Qui iterum mergit, mergatur*: that is, “He that re-dips, let him be drowned.”

IN *Holland* this persecuting spirit raged for a long time among the reformed with great fury. At first it appeared between the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, who, as Mr. *Chandler* says,

^k There is now, respecting persecution, so great an alteration for the better in *Geneva*, that Mr. *Keyster* tells us, “The christian behaviour and peaceable temper of the clergy there may serve for a pattern to many of their brethren. * * * * Both clergy and laity are averse to any discourse on the procedures against *Servetus*, and wish the whole matter was buried in oblivion.” *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 173.



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did to *Baal's* priests: and when the time drew near for the election of new magistrates, they prayed to God for such men as would be zealous even to blood: In short, the magistrates complying with this violent wicked temper of their pastors, the poor remonstrants were cruelly persecuted; many of their ministers being driven out of their country so suddenly, that no time was allowed them, tho' earnestly requested, to settle their affairs, or provide a little money for the support of themselves and families in their banishment. Many others were also banished, the learned *Grotius* condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the old advocate *Bannevilt*, who had been a friend to the remonstrants and their principles, was beheaded.

It is well known that this wicked and abominable practice of persecution prevailed much in *England* immediately after the reformation, and hath been several times since revived.

In the reign of *Henry VIII*, persecution was, by that king, furnished with a two-edged sword, which alike devoured both protestants and papists. *Edward VI*, being but a youth, was very much under the direction of his council, and particularly of *Cranmer*, who prevailed upon this prince to suffer several to be put to death for their re-

religious opinions; but it was with so much reluctance, that being in a manner constrained by the archbishop to sign a warrant for *Joan Bocher* to be burnt alive for some enthusiastical opinions about *Christ*; he did it with tears in his eyes, declaring, that if he acted wrong, as it was in submission to the archbishop's authority, he should answer for it to God. As *Cranmer* himself in the next reign became a martyr, this shews, that probably divers of those who have suffered martyrdom, wanted not the will, but the power only, to have made others martyrs.

QUEEN Elizabeth, tho' in many respects an excellent princess, had much of her father's haughtiness and severity of temper: and notwithstanding she saw, and in part felt the dreadful effects of persecution during her sister's reign, insomuch that she narrowly escaped with her own life; yet she practised the same herself, not only towards her subjects, but foreigners also who came to take refuge in her dominions, from the cruelties exercised upon them in their own countries: but they were greatly disappointed, meeting here with the same kind of treatment; some being whipped, imprisoned, or banished, and others put to death; particularly two, one of whom had a wife and nine children: this poor man begged that he might

have leave to depart the kingdom with his wife and children ; but to no purpose : he and the other, both anabaptists, were burnt alive in *Smithfield* ; and my author adds, suffered death with great terror and deep groans ¹.

THO' king *James I* was educated a presbyterian, and when in *Scotland*, “ blessed “ God for honouring him to be king over “ such a kirk, the sincerest kirk in the “ world ;” yet upon his accession to the throne of *England* he persecuted those of that very kirk, and indeed all who dissented from the episcopal church. Some of his bishops flattered his vanity most egregiously ; and in return he let them loose on the people, many of whom, and several of them excellent persons, were used with great cruelty.

HIS son and successor, *Charles I*, followed the example of his father. *Laud*, who was a most haughty, turbulent, and merciless prelate ; would suffer no opposition to the superstitious and popish rites and ceremonies which he was so fond of ; and used many worthy and learned protestant gentlemen and divines with the utmost indignity and barbarity for not complying with his will and

¹ Abrid. of *Brandt's* History of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 168.



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tained the government, there persecuted, even to death, the poor quakers, who are certainly one of the most innocent, harmless, and primitive-like sects among christians.

KING James II, in the beginning of his reign, by continuing persecution, followed the footsteps of his brother, and acted agreeably to his own inclination and the precepts of his religion. However, not long after his accession to the throne, he published a declaration for a general liberty of conscience. This was artfully done, merely to introduce the open and undisturbed profession of popery, which he was determined, at all adventures, to establish in these kingdoms: and if he had succeeded, what must have been expected from a prince naturally cruel, and a bigotted, popish, fiery zealot? This fine country would soon have become a nest of unclean birds, a prey to priests, and a field of blood: but the happy revolution averted these impending mischiefs, and saved the nation from utter destruction.

DURING the reign of king *William III*, who was no bigot, but as has been said of his ancestor *William I*, prince of *Orange*^m, “approved all virtuous men, whatever religion they were of,” and who was placed on

^m Abrid. of *Brandt's History of the Reformation*, Vol. I, p. 169.

on the *British* throne by the consent and assistance of all denominations of protestants amongst us ; during his government persecution lay dormant : but in the latter part of the following reign, a church firebrand having set the nation in a flame, protestant persecution began to growl, and shew her horrid fangs and claws ; but the death of that princess put an end to the designs of the then governing party, and buried those wicked projects and persecution in the same grave, from whence may they never rise again to plague and torment this happy country.

RELIGIOUS cruelties have not, we see, been confined to those of the *Roman Catholic* persuasion ; but tho' Persecution, that infernal goddess, has sojourned with, been entertained, and more or less obeyed and worshipped by all the different churches or sects of christians who have had it in their power to execute her will and commands, yet it must be acknowledged, that in the church of *Rome* she has taken up her constant abode, erected and established her merciless throne, wielded her iron sceptre, brandished with the greatest execution her slaughtering sword, and been cloathed with all her terrors.

ESSAY IV.

AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE

CAUSES

WHY

ROMISH ECCLESIASTICS

are more cruel, and have been guilty of more horrid barbarities, than other persons of a civilized and learned education.

IF we take a view of the enormous cruelties exercised by these churchmen without the least provocation, and many times upon some of the most innocent, virtuous, and pious of mankind, and for no reason but because they worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, it will evidently appear, that no other persons of a civilized
and



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and read the romantic lives and lying legends of their saints. The first of these, (logic) tho' no doubt but it has its use, yet as it is too often applied, instead of enabling men to discover and defend truth, only learns them to darken and confound it, and render error and falsehood specious: in a word, it teaches them a trick of throwing dust into other people's eyes, which often flies back into their own and blinds them. The second (metaphysics) serves for little else than to fill their heads with airy, empty, and, for the most part, false notions and opinions, and to talk, write, and dispute without ideas. The third (school divinity) doth not only abound with vain and unprofitable, but ridiculous and indecent questions. The fourth, (the works of the fathers) to which they are taught to pay the utmost veneration, inculcate many erroneous doctrines, and superstitious ceremonies, and a belief of false miracles; and also strongly recommend, by precepts exactly conformable to the examples of divers of these holy men themselves, hatred and persecution of those they style heretics. The last (the lives and legends of their saints) confirm them in all the worst things they learned from the works of the fathers, and beget in them a belief of the most improbable romances, and most notorious lyes
and

and falsehoods, and causes them to mistake the rankest enthusiasm for the purest and most acceptable religion, and the highest flights of madness for the truest devotion". Add to this, that the tutors of youth set apart for the service of the church, being generally churchmen, spare no pains to impress on the minds of their pupils, first, an opinion that they are greatly superior to laymen, from whom the most profound reverence is due to ecclesiastics; and secondly, that what they call heresy, and those they call heretics, are by all possible means to be extirpated; and for this purpose every method, even the most compulsive, sanguinary, and cruel, is not only necessary and allowable, but highly acceptable and meritorious with God; and that
they,

• " Divers instances having been mentioned, in the last Essay, of the haughty, turbulent, and persecuting spirit that so evidently appeared in several of the most eminent fathers of the church; in order to render the sketch already drawn of their characters more complete, a few specimens, in a Supplement to this Essay, will be given, first, of the erroneous doctrines, superstitious ceremonies, and belief of false miracles, inculcated by these holy men; secondly, of their whimsical opinions, and absurd interpretations of scripture. To which will be added a short account of ridiculous and indecent questions which are common in school divinity; and of certain high flights of distraction, which have been esteemed by *Roman Catholics*, and by some others also, as the most sublime devotion.

they, the clergy, are the principal instruments he makes use of to accomplish this glorious work.

THUS loaded with learned lumber, zealous for false doctrines and useless ceremonies, puffed up with pride^o, and poisoned with the most pernicious principles, these men leave the seminaries of their education; and if they enter into any of the orders of monks or friars, as multitudes of them do, they then become recluse, and very often melancholy and sour, and, as a natural consequence, cruel. What better indeed can be expected from persons sequestered from the world, destitute of proper employment, and deprived of almost all the pleasures and diversions, even the most innocent, that others enjoy? But whether they betake themselves to a monastic life, or fix among the secular clergy, all *Romish* ecclesiastics are obliged to make a vow of celibacy and continency. What physical effect the strict observance of this may

^o Beside this vice of pride being inculcated by the tutors of youth designed for the church, many persons brought up to literature are, of themselves, extremely apt to despise the unlearned part of mankind; and when the little learning in the world was almost intirely monopolized by priests, this rendered them excessively proud, and gave great opportunities to the *Romish* clergy, which it is well known they did not neglect, of grossly imposing upon, and exercising a tyrannical power over the laity.



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heads with trifles, or worse than trifles, they were early taught what might be really useful, they would not then be so continually in pursuit of silly, ridiculous, expensive, and many times criminal amusements; neither would their conversation be so insipid and impertinent, as it too often is. On the contrary, were their minds properly improved with knowledge, which it is certain they are exceedingly capable of, how much more agreeable would they be to themselves, and how much more improving and delightful to us? How truly charming does beauty appear, when adorned by good nature, good sense, and knowledge? And when beauty fades, as soon it must, there will then be those qualities and accomplishments remaining, which cannot fail to command great regard, esteem, and affection.

BUT to return to my subject. It has been taken notice of in the beginning of these Essays, that several passions incident to human nature, when they proceed to the greatest excess, frequently end in cruelty. There are none, of which this is more remarkably true; than pride and ambition; and there are no men in the world more generally, or to a greater degree infected with these vices, than the popish clergy. To which may be added, that as we see the barbarity of a large gang

of banditti is usually more enormous than that of a few rogues, so the cruelty of Romish priests is greatly increased by their being so numerous. And let us also add, that many of these have been taken from the very dregs of the people.—Even one of the popes had been a beggar-boy about the streets of *Malta* ^P.

TRUE it is, that although pride and ambition do often excite men to cruelty, yet without power they cannot practise it to near the extent of their wishes, or seldom to any considerable degree. Unhappily for Christendom, as we have elsewhere observed, power has been bestowed upon these men; and this hath enabled them to fill the world with their abominations and their cruelties.

How much soever some persons may be inclined to cruelty, yet a fear of suffering in their reputations, of offending the laws of God and man, and incurring present or future punishment, do undoubtedly restrain many from committing acts of barbarity. But when men are so far from being under these restraints, that they are abetted and encouraged by a numerous fraternity, and by human laws, to exercise the greatest cruelties; and also take it in their heads to fancy, or pretend,—most impiously pretend, that they

they are commanded by God to plague and torment their fellow-creatures, what inhuman monsters are such likely to become! and what diabolical acts of cruelty may not be expected from them!

Do not these several circumstances, when duly considered, in some measure account for *Romish* ecclesiastics being more cruel, and exercising more horrid barbarities, than other persons of a civilized and learned education?



SUPPLEMENT.



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OF the erroneous doctrines, superstitious ceremonies, and belief of false miracles, inculcated by divers of the primitive fathers. To which will be added, the recital of three or four miracles from some of the most ancient church-historians, and a few extracts from the lives of saints.

SECTION I.

M. BARBEYRAC, in his *Traité de la morale de peres de l'Eglise*⁹, plainly shews, that several of these fathers, by declaiming against marriage, and bestowing such extravagant encomiums upon celibacy, laid the foundation of the monastic life, and gave occasion for those unnatural vows, by which such multitudes of men and women oblige themselves to disobey that great command of God,—Increase and multiply. This author occasionally observes, that the nuns are, by some of the fathers, frequently called the spouses of *Christ*; and that St. *Jerom* gives *Eustochium*, a nun, the title of my lady, as being *Christ's* spouse, and to her mother that of God's mother-in-law¹. Mr. *Barbeyrac* further takes notice, that St. *Cyri*'s

unintelligible

⁹ Particularly in Ch. ii. §. 7. C. iii. §. 8. C. iv. §. 31. C. xiii. §. 2.

¹ Ch. iv. §. 36.

unintelligible jargon, by which he endeavours to extol the sacrament of the supper, by degrees produced the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation'. And that St. *Austin's* abominable maxim, OF BELIEVERS HAVING A RIGHT TO EVERY THING, AND UNBELIEVERS TO NOTHING, seems to be the foundation on which the church of *Rome* has since built her extensive pretensions to temporal authority'. This saint's words are so remarkable, both in respect to the subject above-mentioned, and the exorbitant power he ascribes to princes over the property of their people, that I cannot forbear to insert them. Writing to the *Donatists* he says, *Et quamvis res quæque terrena non rectè à quoquam possideri possit, nisi vel jure divino, QUO CUNCTA JUSTORUM SUNT, vel jure humano, QUOD IN POTESTATE REGUM EST TERRÆ, ideoque res vestras falso adpelletis, quas nec justis possidetis, et secundum leges regum terrenorum amittere jussi estis; frustra que dicatis, nos eis congregandis laboravimus, cum scriptum legatis: LABORES IMPIORUM JUSTI EDENT, &c.*

SIR *Isaac Newton*, in his fourteenth chapter of Observations upon the prophecies of *Daniel*, has collected, from the works of the fathers, a number of erroneous doctrines,

Q. 4

superstitious

• Ch. x. §. 6.

• C. xvi. §. 13.

• Epist. xciii.

superstitious ceremonies, and belief of false miracles, inculcated by these holy men. He instances particularly the *Gregories*, *Nyffin* and *Nazianzen*, *Cyprian*, *Jerom*, *Basil*, *Chryso-
stom*, and *Atbanafius*. “The heathens,” says Sir *Isaac*, “were delighted with the
“festivals of their gods, and unwilling to
“part with these delights; and therefore
“*Gregory*, to facilitate their conversion; in-
“stituted annual festivals to the saints and
“martyrs. Hence it came to pass, that for
“exploding the festivals of the heathens,
“the principal festivals of the christians suc-
“ceeded in their room:—as the keeping of
“*Christmas* with ivy and feasting, and play-
“ing and sports, in the room of the *Baccha-
“nalia* and *Saturnalia*, * * * * and the
“keeping of festivals to the virgin *Mary*,
“*John* the baptist, &c. By the pleasure of
“these festivals the christians increased much
“in number, and decreased as much in virtue.
“*Atbanafius*, who died in the year 373,
“wrote an oration upon the reliques of the
“forty martyrs at *Antioch*; and when the
“miracle-working bones of *John* the baptist
“were carried into *Egypt*, *Atbanafius* hid
“them in a wall of a church, that they might
“be profitable to future generations.” *Chry-
stom* in one of his sermons exhorts to faint-
worship: “Perhaps,” says he, “you are in-
“fluenced



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St. Chrysostom, who relates this last-mentioned miracle, says, that Julian gave orders for removing the bones of St. Babylas to ~~Antioch~~, that they might no longer keep the oracle silent; but in the very moment when these precious reliques entered into the city, the statue of ~~Apollo~~, and the roof of his temple, were destroyed by lightning. St. Chrysostom employs an intire homily; and a large discourse which follows it, in haranguing on this same subject of Babylas, and upon the blessings and daily miracles wrought by the reliques of the martyrs, to the edification of the church and the confusion of unbelievers; and says, that these miracles demonstrated the truth of the resurrection.

The latter part of this account is given by Dr. Middleton*, from whom I shall mention two other miracles reported by two different fathers.

GREGORY of Nyssa relates, “that his name-
 “ sake, called the wonder-worker, being upon
 “ a journey, was forced one night to take
 “ shelter in an heathen temple, famed for an
 “ oracle and divination, where the demöns
 “ used to appear visibly, and offer themselves
 “ to the priests: but the holy father, by in-
 “ voking the name of Jesus, put them all to
 “ flight; and by making the sign of the cross,
 “ purified

* Dr. Middleton's works, Vol. I. p. 127.

“ purified the air, polluted by the steam of
 “ their sacrifices. The next morning, when
 “ the priest came to perform his usual func-
 “ tions, the devils appeared, and acquainted
 “ him, that they had been driven out the
 “ night before by a stranger, and had not
 “ the power to return: nor was he able to
 “ recall them by all the charms of his expia-
 “ tory sacrifices. Upon this the priest pur-
 “ sued Gregory in great wrath, and over-
 “ taking him on the road, threatened him
 “ most terribly, for what he had done. But
 “ Gregory, despising his threats, gave him to
 “ understand, that he had a power superior
 “ to that of devils, and could drive them
 “ whithersoever he pleased. The priest,
 “ amazed at what he said, began to beg,
 “ that for a proof of his power he would
 “ fetch them back again into the temple;
 “ to which Gregory consenting, wrote only
 “ this short note—*Gregory to Satan*,—Enter.
 “ With this the priest was dismissed, and
 “ laying the little billet upon the altar,
 “ brought the devils back again immediately
 “ to their old seats.”]

ST. *Jerom*, who, as Dr. *Middleton* says, is
 of all the ancients the most esteemed for his
 learning and judgment, tells the following
 story: “ When St. *Antony*, a hermit, was
 “ travelling

“ travelling through the deserts of *Egypt*, to
“ seek out *Paul*, another hermit, whom he
“ was ordered to visit by a divine revelation,
“ he met with a *Centaur* upon the road, and
“ being amazed at the figure of so strange a
“ creature, and having armed himself with
“ the sign of the cross, he demanded of the
“ beast, in what part of the desert the ser-
“ vant of God resided: to which the *Centaur*
“ made some answer in a strange and horri-
“ ble tone of voice, and with gestures of
“ great civility pointed out the road to him
“ by stretching forth his right-hand, and
“ then ran swiftly away. *Antony* had not
“ gone many steps farther, wondering within
“ himself at what he had just seen, before he
“ espied a *Satyr* approaching towards him:
“ this creature was a little man, with goat’s
“ feet, a crooked nose, and a forehead armed
“ with horns, who, in token of peace, of-
“ fered him the fruit of the palm-tree, and
“ being presently asked by *Antony*, what he
“ was, replied, I am a mortal, and one of
“ those inhabitants of the desert, whom the
“ deluded *Gentiles* worship, under the names
“ of *Fauns*, *Satyrs*, and *Incubi*; and am now
“ deputed as an ambassador from our whole
“ tribe, to beg your prayers and intercession
“ for us to our common lord and master,
“ whom



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THIS is indeed quite agreeable to "his
 " general character, avowed and defended
 " by himself, to say and unsay, and to argue
 " *pro or con*, just as it suited the times, or
 " served his cause: and this conduct he pro-
 " tends to justify by the examples of other
 " saints, of *St. Paul*,: nay and of *Christ* him-
 " self, whom he represents as laying about
 " them, like mad-men, with every weapon,
 " good or bad, that comes next to hand;
 " without any regard to sincerity and truth,
 " which he thinks no man is tied to in a dis-
 " pute, any further than it serves his turn."

HAD not the learned *Mosheim*, though a
 zealous advocate for christianity, reason to
 express his fears, "that those who search
 " with any attention into the writings of the
 " greatest and most holy doctors of the fourth
 " century, will find them all, without ex-
 " ception, disposed TO DECEIVE AND TO
 " LYE, whenever the interest of religion re-
 " quires it?" But surely this author could
 have little reason to confine these fears to the
 fathers of one late century: might he not
 very justly have said, with *Dr. Middleton*:
 "If these later fathers, biased by a false zeal
 " or interest, could be tempted to propagate
 " A KNOWN LYE; or with all their learning
 " and knowledge, could be so weakly gre-
 " dulous

^c *Ibid.*

^d *Ibid.* p. 130.

“dulous, as to believe the absurd stories
 “which they themselves attest; there must
 “always be reason to suspect, that the same
 “prejudices would operate even more strongly
 “in the earlier fathers, prompted by the same
 “zeal and the same interests, yet endowed with
 “less learning, less judgment, and more con-
 “dulty.”

SECTION II.

TO the foregoing account of miracles given us by the fathers, I shall add the recital of three or four from those ancient and celebrated church-historians, *Eusebius*, *Sozomen*, and *Evagrius*.

THE first of these relates, from a certain author who wrote before his time, “an important fact, that,” says he, “happened among us, and which, if it had happened among the inhabitants of *Sodom*, would, I persuade myself, have caused them to repent.” It was of a martyr named *Natalis*, who lived in that time, and being seduced, by certain heretics, who taught, that *Christ* was but a mere man, to join in this belief, he (*Natalis*) was frequently advised in his dreams to separate from these men; but not conform-

ing

ing to this advice, he was scourged during a whole night by angels: upon which, rising early in the morning, covering himself with sack-cloth and ashes, and appearing before *Zepherinus*, the clergy and people, they were, by his tears and the sight of his wounds, so moved to compassion, that he was restored to the communion of the church^f.

SOZOMEN gives us the two following miracles performed about the year 324 by *Spyridon*, bishop of *Cyprus*.

A CERTAIN person having deposited something of value with *Irene*, this bishop's daughter, she hid it under-ground for the greater security, and died soon after, without discovering to any one where it was concealed. He who had reposed this confidence in her, coming to demand his property, *Spyridon* searched the house for it, but to no purpose; whereupon he went to his daughter's grave, called her with a loud voice, and asked where she had laid what she was intrusted with: she immediately declared the place in which it was hid, and *Spyridon* returning to his house found what had been left with her, and restored it to the owner^g. The same story, with a small variation, is told by *Socrates*, another of these ancient church-historians^h.

THIS

^f *Hist. Eccl.* l. v. c. 28.

^g *Sozomen* l. i. c. xi.

^h *Socrates* l. i. c. xii.



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EVAGRIUS, among other miracles performed by a monk named *Zosimas*, reports the following: This holy man going one day to *Cæsarea*, and leading an ass which carried his baggage, met a lion who ran away with the ass. *Zosimas* followed him into a neighbouring forest, and when the lion had eaten the ass, the monk thus expostulated with the lion: I cannot, said the saint, proceed in my journey, for I am neither young enough, nor strong enough to carry my baggage: you must therefore, for a little time, lay aside your natural fierceness, and carry my luggage. Accordingly the lion immediately fawned upon him, in such a manner as shewed that he offered his service. *Zosimas* then placed his baggage upon the lion's back, and led him to the gates of *Cæsarea* ^h.

THE same author tells us, that the following miracle happened during the time in which *Epiphanius* was bishop of *Constantinople*. A custom had been long observed in this city, that when a large quantity of consecrated bread remained after the communicants had been served, some children were sent for from the schools to eat it: among these there happened to be the son of a glass-maker, who was a Jew. This boy going home that day later than usual, and his father asking

^h *Evagrius*, l. iv. c. 7.

asking the cause of it, the boy told him he had been at church with other children, and what he had eaten. The father in a violent rage immediately threw the child into the furnace in which he melted his glass. The mother missing her son, and not being able to find him, ran up and down the streets filling the air with her lamentations: but three days after, calling for her son at the door of the glass-house, she heard him answer; when forcing her way in, she found him standing upright in the midst of the furnace, the fire having done him no harm. And when she inquired of the boy by what means he was preserved from the flames, he answered, that he had been several times visited by a lady dressed in purple robes, who brought him water which extinguished the fire where-with he was surrounded, and also that she had given him food¹.

S E C T I O N III.

TO these miracles, related as certain truths by some of the most ancient and most admired church-historians, I shall add a few passages of the same nature from the lives of saints, and begin with that of

¹ *Ibid.* c. xxxvi. R. 2. St.

St. *Antony* ^m, written by St. *Athanasius*, who declares, that what he wrote was either from his own knowledge, (for he had often seen him) or from the information of *Antony's* servant, who had lived long with him; and that through the whole he had paid a strict regard to truth. Notwithstanding which, this life of *Antony* consists principally in most monstrous accounts of the many outward and bodily conflicts between the saint and the devil, in which tho' the former sometimes got the victory, yet for the most part he was cruelly whipped, beat, and bruised by the latter, who appeared outwardly and visibly in great variety of shapes; particularly as a most beautiful woman, as a black boy, as a terrible, tall, deformed personage, reaching up to the clouds, and gnashing his teeth. We are likewise told, that this holy man was attacked by a huge company of devils, who "transformed: " themselves into the shapes of all sorts of " beasts, lions, bears, leopards, bulls, serpents, " asps, scorpions, and wolves; every one of " which moved and acted agreeably to the " creatures they represented; * * * * so that " *Antony* was most grievously tortured and " mangled by them." However, at last, our author tells us, " the Lord came to the " saint's help; for as *Antony* looked up, the " roof

^m *Antony* was born about the year 250.



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THE life of *Ignatius*, founder of the order of Jesuits, was written by *F. Ribadeneyra*, one of the society, and intimately acquainted with the saint. *Ignatius*, like most other fanatics who have set up these kinds of religious societies, began with practising great austerities and abominable slovenliness: for “ he went bare-headed night and day, never using a comb, or any thing of that kind; and also suffered his nails and beard to grow without cutting.” He slept very little, and always on the ground; prayed every day seven hours upon his knees, and daily scourged himself three times very sharply.

WE may be certain that the father of so considerable a fraternity as that of the Jesuits came not at all behind the most eminent saints of the *Romish* church, either in conflicts with the devil, in working of miracles, or in divine manifestations. Accordingly, narratives are given of many conquests he obtained over *Satan*, of whom, at last, he made so little account, that “ he did as easily drive him away with the staff in his hand, as if he had been a cat or a little dog.” We have also a long list of distempers miraculously cured by him, which are not worth my inserting: but some of the heavenly appearances and revelations he was favoured with,

with, are too remarkable to be here omitted.
 “ When he had put himself under the banner
 “ of *Christ*, fearing the weakness of the flesh,
 “ the most excellent Queen of angels, having
 “ her most precious Son in her arms, ap-
 “ peared unto him, *as he was awake*, and with
 “ the splendor of her glory enlightened him,
 “ with the sweetness of her presence recreated
 “ and strengthened him, blotting out of his
 “ soul (as it were with her hand) all unclean
 “ cogitations and dishonest representations.”

After this, as he was travelling towards *Rome*
 with two companions, “ God the Father,”
 says my author, “ appeared to him, together
 “ with his most blessed Son, who carried the
 “ cross upon his shoulders; * * * * and he
 “ (the saint) saw that the eternal Father,
 “ turning to his only-begotten Son, recom-
 “ mended *Ignatius*, and those in his company,
 “ unto him with exceeding great love, put-
 “ ting them into his hands,” * * * who
 “ with a loving and mild countenance said
 “ unto him, *Ego vobis Romæ propitius ero* :
 “ *i. e.* I will be favourable to you at *Rome*.”

At another time, as the saint was sitting upon
 the steps of *St. Dominic's* church at *Manresa*,
 “ our Lord opened his understanding, and
 “ represented unto him, as it were, a figure
 “ of the most holy Trinity, which outwardly
 “ signified unto him that which he inwardly

“perceived; and this with such abundant
 “comfort, that he could not think or speak
 “of any thing but of the mystery of the most
 “holy Trinity.” And tho’ his learning, at
 this time, went no farther than to read and
 write, yet he wrote a book of eighty leaves
 on that profound subject. *Orlandus* assures
 us, that *Ignatius* saw the blessed Trinity, as
 plainly as we see one another, under a corpo-
 real representation.

THE life of *St. Francis*, wrote by *Bona-*
venture, a brother saint, contains an account
 of miracles, to which, respecting the number
 of them, all that are recorded to have been
 wrought by *Christ* and his apostles are not
 to be compared: and many of the adventures
 this saint was engaged in, and the feats he
 performed, were as wild and romantic as any
 related of *Don Quixote*: At one time being
 faint, and wanting somewhat to refresh him,
 he turned water into wine. At another
 time, desiring to be solaced by music, he was
 immediately gratified by angels. On a cer-
 tain occasion, being thronged on the sea-
 shore by a crowd of people, who wanted,
 through mere devotion, to touch him, he
 leaped into a ship, which of itself, like a rea-
 sonable creature, and without the help of
 any person, withdrew to a convenient di-
 stance from the land; and then remained un-
 moveable



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Padua preached to fishes, so did St. *Francis* to birds, who were so wonderfully affected by his sermon, that they stretched out their necks, spread abroad their wings, opened their bills, and looked attentively upon him; and tho' he passed close to them, they would not stir, 'till the man of God had made the sign of the cross, and given them his benediction, upon which they all flew away together.

WADDING, in his annals, tells us, that our saint being to preach in the market-place at *Trevi*, the young foal of an ass ran up and down, and very much disturbed him; upon which St. *Francis*, with a pleasing countenance, said to him, "Brother ass, I desire thee to stand still, and not interrupt the word of God, which I am now preaching to this thirsty people." Immediately the ass fell upon his knees, and heard the sermon quite out.

IN the *Speculum vite Sancti Francisci*, we are told there was a terrible wolf not far from *Eugubium*, which sparing neither man nor beast, put the inhabitants in so much fear; that they durst not stir out of the gates of the city. St. *Francis*, moved with a pious zeal not to kill but to convert this wolf, goes, unarmed, out of the gates of the city, the people getting upon the tops of their houses to

to see the issue of this encounter: the wolf comes with open mouth towards the saint, who presently shuts the beast's jaws with the sign of the cross. (Behold! saith our author, the wonderful virtue of the sign of the cross.) After this the saint comes to parly with the wolf in a familiar manner, and says to him, "Brother wolf, I command thee in the name of *Christ*, that thou hurt neither me nor any one else." Upon which he immediately falls on the ground in the posture of a penitent. St. *Francis* takes him to confession, laying before him the horrid cruelties he had committed; but at last offers terms of agreement between him and the city: the wolf by moving his tail and ears plainly shewed, that he understood and accepted the offer. The saint then tells him he knew all the mischief he had done was to satisfy his hunger; he would therefore take care to provide for him, if he would promise never to hurt any body again. The wolf bows his head in token of consent; and when St. *Francis* held out his hand to the beast, he put his right-foot into it to confirm the contract. Upon this the wolf walks quietly with him towards the city; the people seeing that, flocked in great numbers about him; the saint preaches an excellent sermon on the occasion, assures them of brother wolf's conversion,

version, and acquaints them with the promise he had made for his maintenance: the creature then renews his agreement before them all in the manner above-mentioned. The people were filled with great joy, and the wolf lived very innocently and neighbourly among them all the rest of his days, and was much lamented at his death. This story is related by several considerable authors of the *Romish* church, and defended particularly by *Henry Sedulius* *. But to return to our saint's life, written by *St. Bonaventure*.

ONE day, when the people were assembled to worship in the great church of the city of *Affisium*, the weather being extremely cold, and the saint afflicted with a quartan ague, he stripped himself naked except his breeches, put a rope about his neck, and was by his own order drawn up to the top of a stone whereon malefactors, at the time of their punishment, were usually placed: and in this situation, and in this trim, did he preach to a numerous auditory.

OUR holy man being, on a certain time, assailed by a grievous temptation of the flesh, first stripped and then scourged himself very severely with his cord: but that, it seems, not proving effectual, he opened the door of his cell,

* A second Discourse, &c. by *E. Stillingfleet*, D. D. p. 497, et seq.



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“ * * * and there appeared between his
 “ wings the form of a man crucified, having
 “ his hands and feet extended and fastened
 “ to a cross. Two of his wings were lifted
 “ up above his head, two were stretched
 “ forth to fly, and two did cover his whole
 “ body.”

NOTWITHSTANDING this wonder-work-
 ing saint was thus highly favoured, and per-
 formed abundance of first-rate miracles, such
 as curing the deaf, the dumb, the lame,
 those sick of dropfies and palsies, and of all
 other distempers, and even raising many to
 life; yet he sometimes condescended to play
 at small game; as discovering a beast that was
 stolen; clearing a barn of worms; driving
 away noxious flies; miraculously mending a
 man's plough-share, and a woman's dish that
 had been broken into many pieces. But to
 finish with our saint: Just before he died, he
 stripped himself stark naked, among other
 reasons, that he might “ be in all things con-
 “ formable unto *Christ* crucified, who in
 “ poverty and distress did hang naked on the
 “ cross.” At the time of his decease, “ one
 “ of his brethren and disciples saw his blessed
 “ soul, in the form of a most glittering star,
 “ borne aloft, upon a pure white little cloud,
 “ and so carried over many waters by a strait
 “ passage up to heaven.”

SECTION IV.

A few specimens of the whimsical opinions of the fathers, taken from the learned M. Barbeyrac's Traité de la morale des peres de l'Eglise.

JUSTIN MARTYR, in order to remove the scandal of the cross from christianity, observes, that nothing is done in this world without a cross, and brings for instances the masts and yards of a ship, the shape of ploughs, howes, and other mechanical instruments; adding, that what most distinguishes the figure of a man from that of a beast is, that standing upright he can extend his arms so as to form a cross with his body; and that he wears upon his face a nose through which he breathes, and which represents the cross; and that accordingly the crucifixion of our Saviour was foretold by the prophet *Jeremiab* ⁹ in these words: *the spirit before our face, the Christ, the Lord*, as he renders it, instead of *the breath of our nostrils*; &c. an expression signifying only that the king there spoken of was the life and soul of the people. This father held marriage to be in its own nature impure. We see some, says he, renounce the unlawful use of marriage, by which we satisfy

⁹ *Lam. iv. 20.*

satisfy the desire of the flesh. And in another place, “ that *Christ* was born of a
 “ virgin for this reason only, that he might
 “ abolish generation, which is the effect of
 “ an unlawful desire,—the only carnal desire
 “ our Saviour never gratified .”

IRENÆUS declares all swearing, in any case, criminal; and herein he agrees with *Justin Martyr*, as he does likewise respecting the use of marriage, which he pretends was indulged under the gospel only for the hardness of our hearts. He lays it down as a rule, that whenever the scripture barely relates an action without condemning it, we are not to censure it, however heinous in itself, but look upon it as a type. And thus he excuses the incest of *Thamar* and of *Lot's* daughters; because, says he, we must not pretend to be wiser than God. His arguments to justify the *Israelites* robbing the *Egyptians* of their plate and jewels, are, says my author, tedious, weak, and ridiculous. The whole of his sense upon this head seems to be comprehended in his explication of *Luke xvi. 5.* which he quotes thus: *Make yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye are put to flight, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles.* “ For,”

says

† *Traité de la morale des peres de l'Eglise, ch. ii. §. 4 & 7.*



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should use only for the preservation of our lives, and by no means in order to gratify our appetite or inclinations.

THESE saints, - as well as their disciples, the *Romish* monastics, we see make great part of religion to consist in acting contrary to the dictates of God in nature. God commands mankind to increase and multiply: but this, say these people, is impure and unlawful. Our Creator hath implanted inclinations and passions in our natures, and bountifully bestowed upon us the means of gratifying them: nevertheless, in so doing, tho' within the bounds of moderation, we commit, it seems, a heinous offence. But to proceed with *Clement*:

WE ought not, says he, to indulge ourselves in luxurious eating: but why? because there is a certain devil, a great glutton, who presides over good cheer, and is the most wicked and most pernicious of devils. Among excesses of this nature to be condemned, he reckons white bread, the use of which, according to him, is effeminate, and turns a necessary food into scandalous voluptuousness. He allows young people to drink no wine, and condemns all those who send for it to other countries. He banishes all music, both vocal and instrumental, from entertainments, unless it be a sacred hymn sung to the harp

- or

or the lute. The flute in particular he thinks is fitter for beasts than men, and that for a very odd reason, *viz.* because hinds are delighted with the sound of it, and because it was a custom to play upon it to mares whilst the horse was covering them. He blames the wearing garlands, among other reasons equally good, because it is an insult upon the passion of our Saviour, who was crowned with thorns. He thinks we are obliged in duty to imitate what *Jacob* was forced to by necessity, when he made a stone his pillow; which, according to *Clement*, was the merit that rendered this patriarch worthy of an heavenly vision. He declares against the wearing of any colour but white, as being the only one suitable to the candor of a christian, and in which God always appeared. What gross notions must this man have entertained of the Deity! *Clement* declaims against looking-glasses, and makes the use of them idolatry, because *Moses* forbid the making of images. Shaving the beard is an heinous crime, for this reason,—the beard is a distinction of sex: besides, the hairs of our head are all numbered, and consequently those of the beard and all the rest of the body. False hair, is an horrible impiety with him, and perriwigs must have fallen under the same censure, had they been worn in his

days: 'tis a cheat upon men, says he, and an affront to God, since by wearing it we accuse him of not bestowing upon us that hair which is fine enough: and when the priest, in some function of his ministry, blesses a woman that wears false hair, by laying his hand upon her head, he blesses not her, but another, for the head is not hers. He applies the apathy of the Stoics to his Gnostic, or perfect christian, whom he represents as subject to no passions, and insensible both of bodily pleasure and pain, as he pretends our Saviour was, and his apostles were also after his resurrection. *Christ*, he says, had no occasion to eat or drink for the nourishment of his body; and if he did, it was only that he might not pass for a ghost *.

AGREEABLE to the opinion of this father, respecting the weighty subjects of hair, &c. was that of St. *Cyprian*: he says, that a woman who paints, or colours her hair, corrupts and violates the work of God, and is worse, merely on that account, than an adulteress: he adds, that it is endeavouring to make God a liar, who has said, Thou canst not make one hair black or white. After having observed, that our Saviour's hair is said in the *Apocalypse* to be as white as wool and as snow, he thus addresses the ladies: "What," says he,

* *Ibid.* c. v. §. 13, et seq.



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Bishop's election, and that upon his morals⁴; Have not the people then a fine time of it?

TERTULLIAN absolutely condemns all war, and every art, employment, profession, or commerce, relating to things whereof the pagans could possibly make any idolatrous use⁵. And *Lactantius* thinks all trade, as being the effect of avarice, unbecoming that contentment and tranquillity, and that contempt of the world, which ought to reign in the heart of a christian. He likewise disallows the putting money out to interest, tho' never so small, which he looks upon as a sort of robbery. This father also pretends, that God has absolutely forbid the taking away of any man's life, either judicially, or in war, or in self-defence⁶.

St. Basil is as patient as *Lactantius*: for his opinion is, that whoever gives another a mortal wound, be the cause or provocation ever so great or just, is guilty of murder; that every layman, who defends himself against a robber, ought to be excommunicated, and a clergyman deposed; for, says he, all who use the sword, shall perish by the sword, according to our Saviour's words. Now, although these fathers have carried this point to a manifest extreme, yet surely mens lives are commonly held a great deal too cheap; the

⁴ *Ibid.* c. viii,

⁵ C. vi,

⁶ C. ix,

the destroying them by duelling, or unnecessary wars is a most execrable action; and the taking them away for mere robberies seems unjustifiable, and bordering at least upon cruelty. Doth not humanity require, that only murder, and a few other crimes of the most malignant and atrocious nature, should be punished by death? And would not the inflicting this dreadful punishment for those crimes only be a means greatly to deter men from committing them? But to proceed; *St. Basil* extends christian patience so far as to think it unlawful to sue for one's right, and of consequence utterly condemns the lawyers. These opinions he founds upon mistaken texts of scripture, making a general rule of the literal sense of these words: *If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also.* He likewise absolutely forbids all swearing upon any occasion^a. Are not many of these the very principles of the quakers? And yet those people, who pay the highest honours to the fathers, hold the quakers in the lowest degree of contempt for entertaining the same notions.

TERTULLIAN, before-mentioned, censures those severely, who accept of public employments, especially in courts of justice,

^a *Ibid.* c. xi.

looking upon it as inconsistent with the profession of a christian to have the least hand in condemning or punishing any criminal; and this, because the purple robe, the *prætextæ*, *trabeæ*, *laticlavi* & *fascæ*, were all originally consecrated to idolatry. He makes all magistrates the colleagues of devils, who, he says, are the magistrates of this world^b. The fathers, tho' they generally chimed in with *Tertullian* till *Constantine's* reign, yet then readily changed their note, and employed all their eloquence to shew, that he might be the governor of this world, as they called him, and a good christian too.

St. Chrysoström extols *Abraham's* prudence and resolution in overcoming his jealousy so far as to expose *Sarah's* chastity; and highly commends her good-natured complaisance for her husband, in submitting to commit adultery in order to save his life. "You see," says the father, "what a proposal he ventured to make to her, and how she accepted it. She does not refuse, or shew any manner of reluctance to it, but plays her part in the comedy admirably well. * * * Who can sufficiently praise her, who, after so long continence, and in so advanced an age, freely consented to expose herself to adultery, and to deliver her body

" to

^b *Ibid.* c. v.



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pass; for which reason the scriptural interpretations of only two of these fathers will be here given: but those shall be two of the most eminent for judgment and learning.

JUSTIN MARTYR frequently affirms, that the gift of expounding the scriptures was granted to him by the special grace of God: let us see what proof he gives of this divine gift. “Hear,” says *Justin*, “how
 “*Christ*, after he was crucified, fulfilled the
 “symbol of the tree of life in *Paradise*, and
 “of all the other things which were to
 “happen afterwards to the righteous. For
 “*Moses* was sent with a rod to redeem his
 “people: with this rod he divided the sea;
 “brought water out of the rock; and with
 “a piece of wood made the bitter water
 “sweet. *Jacob* also with sticks caused his
 “uncle *Laban’s* sheep to bring forth such
 “lambs as were to be his own again, &c.”
 And so he goes on, in this way of allusion, to apply all the sticks and pieces of wood in the Old Testament to the cross of *Christ*: and pursuing the same argument in another place, where he is describing the fight of the *Israelites* with *Amalek*, he says, “that when
 “the son of *Nun*, called *Jesus*, led the peo-
 “ple on to battle, *Moses* employed himself
 “in prayer, with his hands stretched out in
 “the form of a cross: that as long as he con-
 “tinued

“tinued in this posture, *Amalek* was beaten;
 “but when he remitted any thing of it, his
 “own people suffered: and that all this was
 “owing to the power of the cross: for the
 “*Israelites* did not conquer because *Moses*
 “prayed; but because, while the name of
 “*Jesus* was at the head of the battle, *Moses*
 “was exhibiting the figure of the cross.”

ORIGEN, speaking of peace-offerings, says;
 the fat is the soul of *Jesus Christ*, which is
 the church of his friends, for whom he laid
 down his life. It is therefore probable, that
 when we are here forbid to eat the fat, the
 same thing is meant, as when our Saviour
 says, that we ought not to offend one of the
 least of those who believe in him. The
 rump, which is the extremity of the body, is
 a type of perfection and perseverance in good
 works. The breast, which belonged to the
 priest, is an heart full of wisdom, understand-
 ing, and divine knowledge, or rather full of
 God himself. The prophet *Jeremiab*, fore-
 telling the captivity of *Babylon*, and its con-
 sequences, says in the name of God, “I will
 “send for many hunters, and they shall hunt
 “them (the *Jews*) from every mountain, and
 “from every hill, and from the holes of the
 “rocks.” By these rocks *Origen* under-
 stands the company of the prophets, apostles,
 and

and holy angels. And why? Because *Jesus Christ* is called the rock; and consequently all that imitate him are rocks. But when God says to *Moses*, "I will put thee in the cleft of the rock, and thou shalt see my back parts, but not my face;" what do you think is meant by this cleft? It is the coming of *Jesus Christ*, by which we see the back-side of God.

So much for this father's interpretations of the Old Testament: many such-like might be given of the New; but the following single instance may here suffice.

WHEN our Saviour wrought the miracle of the loaves, he commanded the multitude to sit down upon the grass. Would any body have thought, if *Origen* had not told them so, that *Christ* did this, because *Isaiab* had said, all flesh is grass? But this is not all: by making the people sit down on the grass, our Saviour signified, that we ought to keep the flesh under, and subdue the wisdom of it, to be made partakers of the bread which he had blessed. They were ordered to sit either by hundreds, an hundred being a sacred number, and consecrated to God because of its unity; or by fifties, fifty being a number which is the symbol of remission, according to the mystery of the jubilee, which was celebrated every fifty years, or else that

of



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“ selves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven’s sake,” that he actually deprived himself of his virility ^s.

IF to these few specimens of the erroneous doctrines, superstitious ceremonies, and belief of false miracles inculcated by divers of the primitive fathers, and the whimsical opinions entertained by them, and their absurd interpretations of scripture, we add their teaching, and when they had power, practising persecution, we shall then plainly see what manner of men they were ^b. It has been already shewn what violent persecutors several of them, particularly the saints *Atanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, &c.* evidently appear to have been: and Mr. *Barbeyrac* says of St. *Austin*, and proves it from that saint’s own works, that he openly declared for force in matters of religion and conscience. This author styles him the grand patriarch of christian persecutors, as being the first that ever directly justified persecution, and the author of all the sophisms which have since been made use of to vindicate a principle which is contrary to all the dictates of good sense, to natural

^s Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. cap. iii & viii.

^b For a further account of the erroneous doctrines held, and the absurd interpretations of scripture given by the fathers, see the learned Dr. *Whitby’s Dissertation de scripturarum interpretatione secundum patrum commentarios, &c.*

natural equity, to charity, to good policy, and to the spirit of the gospel¹. Surely the judicious M. *Barbeyrac* had great reason to say of the fathers, *A Dieu ne plaise que nous prenions de tels docteurs pour nos maîtres & nos guides en matière de morale!*"

IT is easy to perceive what effects the studying the works of these men, and paying the most extreme veneration to them, must have upon *Romish* ecclesiastics, and others who are equally devoted to them. That by papists these saints should be esteemed as oracles, is not to be wondered at: they have taught much of the nonsense, and many of the superstitious ceremonies and abominable doctrines, with which the *Romish* church so exceedingly abounds: but that many protestants should regard them with the same reverence, is not a little to be admired at and regretted; for this must tend greatly to introduce or establish, among protestants, the ridiculous delusions, and nonsensical and pernicious doctrines, entertained and taught by these weak or designing men. And accordingly we see in fact, that those protestants who have been the most zealously attached to the fathers, and have pleaded in the strongest manner for a blind submission to their authority, have generally been the most inclined to

¹ *Traité de la morale des peres de l'Eglise*, c. xvi. §. 29.

to superstition, to unintelligible doctrines, and to the wicked practice of persecution.

S E C T I O N VI.

Of ridiculous and indecent questions which are common in school-divinity.

ST. Thomas Aquinas, commonly called the Angelic doctor, and eagle of divines, among many other questions proposes the following: *Quare Christus non fuerit hermaphroditus? Quare non assumpsit fœmineum sexum? Utrum sancti resurgent cum intestinis? Utrum Christus cum felle & ipsius receptaculo à mortuis surrexerit? Utrum essent excrementa in paradiso?*

ALBERTUS MAGNUS, who was Aquinas's master, employs no fewer than twenty-four chapters in discussing the following questions, which still afford great matter of debate to school-divines, *viz.* Whether the angel *Gabriel* appeared to the virgin *Mary* in the shape of a serpent, of a dove, of a man, or of a woman? Did he seem to be young or old? In what dress was he? Was his garment white or of two colours? Was his linen clean or foul? When did he appear?



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porro resumpsit, quo pacto, quove modo servatur in terris'?

So much for impertinent and indecent questions in school-divinity: indeed several of them are so indecent, that I chuse to leave the *Latin* veil over them.

S E C T I O N VII.

Instances of the rankest enthusiasm mistaken for the purest and most acceptable religion, and the highest flights of madness for the truest devotion.

IT would be easy to fill volumes with these from the *Romish* and other mystical writers; but a few examples only will be here selected; adoration. Nevertheless, cardinal *Tolet* saith, it was stolen from that church, and carried to *Calcata* in *Italy*, where great miracles were wrought by it. *Ferrandus* tells us, that *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Lorraine*, and *France*, all boast the possession of it. *Roswayd* says, it has been at *Antwerp* for almost five hundred years, and in confirmation thereof pleads the testimonies of the popes *Eugenius* and *Clement VII*. *Symphorianus Campegius* saith, that it is at *Anicium* in *France*, together with *Aaron's* mitre. Others affirm, that it was carried by an angel to *Charles* the great, who deposited it at *Aix la Chapelle*, where, and likewise at all the above-mentioned places, the same worship is given to it. Pope *Innocent III*, notwithstanding his pretence to infallibility, thought it fit that so weighty a cause should be left to God himself to determine. See a second Discourse, &c. by Dr. *Stillingfleet*, p. 479, et seq.

Historia Literaria, vol. II. p. 531, 532.

selected; and first, from *Explication des Maximes des Saints, &c.* by the celebrated M. Fenelon, archbishop of *Cambray*, translated into *English*.

“The purity of love” (the love of God) “consists,” says St. *Francis of Sales*, “in not willing any thing for one’s self, in regarding nothing but the good pleasure of God, for which one would be ready to prefer eternal torments to glory.” The same saint saith, “Should he know that his damnation were a little more pleasing to God than his salvation, he would leave his salvation, and run to his damnation.” In another place,—“I have almost no desires; but if I was to be born again, I would have none at all. If God should come to me, I should go to him also: if he would not come to me, I should hold still and not go to him.” The archbishop tells us, that the other faints of the last ages, who are approved by the whole church, are full of such and the like expressions, which may be all reduced to this,—that one hath no longer any self and interested desire, neither about merit, perfection, nor eternal happiness. Thus to speak,” says he, “is to leave no equivocation in so nice a matter; * * * ’tis to speak as all the fathers, all the chief doctors of the schools, and all mystical saints do.”

“ A DISINTERESTED soul,” says St. *Francis*,
 “ loves not the virtues, because they are hand-
 “ some and pure, nor because they are worthy
 “ to be beloved, or as beautifying and per-
 “ fecting those who practise them, or because
 “ they are meritorious and prepare men for
 “ an eternal reward ; but only because they
 “ are the will of God.”

“ THE spiritual wedding,” says M. *Fenelon*,
 “ uniteth immediately the bride to the bride-
 “ groom, essence to essence, substance to sub-
 “ stance ; that is to say, will to will, by that
 “ entirely pure love so often mentioned.
 “ Then God and the soul make no more
 “ but one and the same spirit, as the bride
 “ and the bridegroom in marriage are made
 “ but one flesh.”

LET us next hear St. *Austin*: “ O love of
 “ sweetness,” says he, “ O sweetness of love,
 “ that dost not torment, but delight, that
 “ dost always burn; and art never extinct !
 “ sweet *Christ*, good *Jesus*, my God, my love,
 “ kindle me all over with thy fire, with the
 “ love of thee, with thy sweetness, thy joy,
 “ thy pleasure and concupiscence, that being
 “ all full of the sweetness of thy love, all on
 “ fire with the flame of thy charity, I may
 “ love thee, my God, with my whole heart,
 “ and with all the power of my inward parts,
 “ *totis medullis præcordiorum meorum*, in the



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“ vernal of the divine wisdom of christians,
 “ direct us to the most unknown, most clear,
 “ and most supreme height of mystical oracles;
 “ in which the simple, absolute, and un-
 “ changeable mysteries of divinity are hidden,
 “ by the over-shining darkness of a teaching
 “ silence, discovering the most glorious light
 “ in the most profound obscurity, and over-
 “ filling the blindest minds with the most
 “ beautiful beams, in that which can neither
 “ be felt or seen.” Much more of the same
 kind of superessential nonsense follows; but
 this may suffice to give the reader a taste of
 mystical divinity, so much in vogue with
 many, even in our time.

ST. Teresa, who founded an order of nuns,
 and whose sanctity is at this day in high re-
 putation among Roman Catholics, wrote her
 own life in *Spanish*, which has been translated
 into our language by an *English* Jesuit: we
 will, for the edification of the reader, make
 a few extracts from it. In some of her rap-
 tures she speaks of God’s carrying away her
 soul, and almost ordinarily her head also after
 her, so that she could not detain it, and some-
 times her whole body, lifting it up. In this
 state, she saith, the soul is ingulfed, or to say
 better, our Lord is ingulfed in her. She had
 visions very frequently, in one of which she
 saw

° Stillingfleet’s answer to Cressy’s, &c. from *Dioms. de
 mystica Theol.* cap. i.

ſaw only the hands of *Chriſt*, and in another his divine countenance; and afterwards ſhe ſaw him altogether, but not with her corporal eyes; yet ſhe ſatisfied herſelf, it could not be imagination only, becauſe the beauty was ſo great, as to exceed her imagination. This viſion of the beauty of *Chriſt* continued with her for two years and a half, in which ſhe had a great deſire to ſee the colour of his eyes, and what bigneſs they were of, but never could obtain that favour. When ſome perſons told her theſe were deluſions of the devil, and adviſed her to croſs herſelf when ſhe ſaw a viſion, ſhe choſe rather to hold a croſs in her hand, which *Chriſt* took in his, and gave it her again with four precious ſtones; and upon them were engraved the five wounds, which no body could ſee but herſelf. Afterwards ſhe had a viſion of angels, and clearly diſcerned the celeftial hierarchy; but ſhe ſuppoſed one of thoſe ſhe ſaw to be a ſeraphim, who pierced her heart with a fiery dart, and when he pulled it out again, it left her wholly inflamed with great love to God, but under exceſſive pain, which yet cauſed ſuch exquisite pleaſure, that ſhe could not deſire to have it removed.

In another place this ſaint helps us to account for all her viſions, raptures, extaſies, &c. by telling us, that ſhe was, at times, in

so great torment, that those about her were afraid she would have gone mad; that she could take no rest neither day nor night, but was continually oppressed with a most profound melancholy.

In the life of *St. Mary Magdelene of Passy*, printed at *Paris* in 1670, and since translated into *English*, we have, among many other instances of devotional madness, the following:

SOON after she became a nun, which was in the seventeenth year of her age, being in an extasy, a voice was distinctly heard, which spake to her these words: "*Crastina die nihil gustabis, nisi panem et aquam: et si hoc non facies, retraham te oculos meos, &c.*" Thou shalt take nothing to-morrow but bread and water; and if thou doest otherwise, I will withdraw my eyes from thee. The saint answered, *Non morior sed vivam, et adimplebo opera tua, &c.* I shall not die, but live, and fulfil thy works. The zeal of her husband (*Jesus Christ*) advanced further in the design he had to render her perfectly conformable to himself; for as she was attending the nuns in the refectory, the Spirit of God threw her upon the ground into an extasy, out of which she being recovered, after many discourses most highly spiritual, she untied her shoes and

stockings



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“ with iron: * * * she used sharp whips
 “ with chains of iron, even to effusion of
 “ blood. One time, when she was assaulted
 “ by the devil *Asmodæus*, she rolled herself
 “ all naked upon faggots of thorn.”

“ AT the expiration of five years she got
 “ out of this gulph, and seemed to pass from
 “ purgatory to a delicious paradise.” Among
 many other extraordinary favours, her divine
 husband (*Jesus Christ*) “ gave her his own
 “ heart in the presence of St. *Angel*, a martyr
 “ of her order, and of St. *Catbarine* of *Sienna*.
 “ He also honoured her with the noble qua-
 “ lity of his spouse, placing a crown of thorns
 “ upon her head, and imprinting the sacred
 “ *stigmata* or wounds upon her feet, hands,
 “ and side.”

“ IN another extasy, which continued six
 “ and twenty hours, * * * she felt in her
 “ body a lively image of all our Saviour’s
 “ passion, imitating it, * * * as if she had
 “ followed him step by step. . . She seemed
 “ first to enter into the garden of *Olives*,
 “ where she felt the agonies of his deadly
 “ sorrow; from which place, as if loaded with
 “ irons, and bound with cords, she passed
 “ through the cloisters, as he passed through
 “ the streets of *Jerusalem*, appearing before
 “ the tribunals of *Annas*, *Caiaphas*, and *Pilate*.
 “ She was tied to a pillar and cruelly whipt,
 “ crowned

“ crowned with thorns, shewn to the people,
 “ and then loaded with a cross; and thus
 “ going to the oratory, * * * and there lying
 “ down with her back upon the ground;
 “ she stretched out her feet and hands; that
 “ they might be nailed to the cross: and
 “ after half an hour of silence, raising herself
 “ upon her feet, all stiff as she was, without
 “ bending arms or legs, and throwing herself
 “ with her back against the wall, she pro-
 “ nounced distinctly the seven words of our
 “ Saviour upon the cross. To those—All is
 “ finished,—she added, Now is the work of
 “ redemption compleated. . . The work of
 “ the communication of thy sufferings is con-
 “ summated. The work of our re-union is
 “ finished in me. In fine, pronouncing those
 “ last words of the holy evangelist,—and
 “ having bowed his head, he gave up the
 “ ghost; she was about to fall to the ground
 “ with great impetuosity; if the nuns, who
 “ were present, had not received her in their
 “ arms. Upon her coming out of this ex-
 “ tasy, she appeared beautiful as an angel of
 “ heaven; and seemed to participate of the
 “ resurrection of her Saviour, as well as of
 “ his cross. * * * *

“ IF she had a good share of the dolours
 “ of the passion of *Jesus Christ*,” says my au-
 “ thor, “ she had no less of the lights of his
 “ glory,

“ glory, and of the splendors of his eternal
 “ generation. Three nights successively she
 “ was admitted to the cabinet of the most
 “ holy Trinity, and saw things which may
 “ be tasted by the favour of the gift of mis-
 “ eration; but cannot be explained by words:
 “ In the year 1592, she had private
 “ and familiar entertainments with the first
 “ person of the most holy Trinity. * * * *
 “ All these graces and divine communica-
 “ tions kindled in her breast the fire of love,
 “ so ardent and so vigorous, that she cried
 “ out oftentimes, O love! I can no longer
 “ support thy flames. O love! re-enter into
 “ myself: my heart is not capable to con-
 “ tain and support thee. And it was ne-
 “ cessary that she should fetch a basin of
 “ cold water to put her arms in, and to
 “ pour it upon her breast, in order to cool
 “ herself.”

WHAT ailed these poor creatures, is suffi-
 ciently apparent; their miserable condition
 is one of the blessed effects of confining poor
 girls in nunneries: but that persons not dis-
 tracted should represent the rankest enthu-
 siasm as the purest and most acceptable re-
 ligion, and the highest flights of madness
 as the truest devotion, is not so easily ac-
 counted for. However, it must be acknow-
 ledged, that when men are brought up to



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ESSAY V.

FURTHER

THOUGHTS

CONCERNING

PERSECUTION

AN ACCOUNT OF

RELIGION;

AND SOME

PROPOSALS for preventing it.

SECTION I.

BY the foregoing accounts of religious cruelty, particularly in Essay the third, it evidently appears, that ecclesiastics have been the grand incendiaries, who constantly lighted up the flames of persecution among christians: this truth is abundantly confirmed

firmed by history and experience. Many of those who pretended to devote themselves entirely to the service of religion, have made what they call the house of God, a den of robbers and murderers: they have pillaged and destroyed the people, laid wealthy cities waste, and turned fruitful countries into frightful deserts.

PRINCES and magistrates have indeed, contrary to all rules of good sense, true policy, humanity, and religion, been frequently persuaded, and, with shame may it be spoken, compelled to assist in plaguing, tormenting, and destroying the subjects of the former, the fellow-citizens of the latter, and the fellow-creatures and fellow-christians of both. What pity it is princes and magistrates should not see, that in this wicked, this diabolical work of persecution, they are but the tools, — the mere tools of vile; rapacious, and merciless priests;

WHAT motives have induced church-men to act so barbarous a part; by what means they are become so extremely numerous, and have gained such a great ascendancy in the christian world; and what hath effectually enabled them to tyrannize and persecute in the most outrageous manner, have in the foregoing Essay pretty clearly appeared: but we shall here take a more full and distinct

view of these particulars, in hope that this may lead to a discovery of some remedies for so terrible and destructive an evil, as persecution on account of religion certainly is.

BUT before we proceed, it may be proper to take notice, that as the *Romish* clergy have eminently distinguished themselves in this unchristian practice, what shall be further said on that head will principally relate to them.

RESPECTING these mens motives to persecution, it is necessary to distinguish the pretended from the real.

THE pretended, are great good-will to mankind, manifested by compelling all men, whom they cannot persuade, to come into their church, and to think, believe, and practise alike in religion, (a hopeful project indeed!) and by this means to render them acceptable to God, and promote their salvation,

'Tis difficult to say, whether this scheme is more foolish and absurd, or tyrannical and wicked.

CAN any thing be more foolish and absurd, than to suppose it practicable that all men should be brought to think alike on points so abstruse and hard to be understood, as many of those relating to religion are industriously rendered, and generally acknowledged



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As these pretended methods of convincing the understanding by tormenting the body, and propagating religion by the destruction of mankind, are in the highest degree foolish and absurd, so are they equally tyrannical and wicked.

THERE are certain natural rights and privileges which it is impossible to take from men without depriving them of their lives: two of the principal of these are, thinking for themselves in matters of religion, and inwardly on this subject, whatever they may be obliged outwardly to do, following the dictates of their own consciences. If some men think others are mistaken or erroneous in these points, it is a kind and charitable part to endeavour, by counsel, argument, and persuasion, to set them right. But all attempts to force these privileges from men are absurd, because impossible,—tyrannical, because unjust.

To put men in prison merely on account of their religious belief or persuasion is a great oppression, and, properly speaking, false imprisonment: to fine them, or take away their estates for that cause, is robbery: to put them to death for not acting against their consciences is murder. Can any thing be more wicked? Is it not then hard to determine, whether

whether the folly and absurdity, or tyranny and wickedness of persecution on account of religion are greater?

THAT good-will to mankind, or their benefit in this world or the next, are the real motives to so unjust and cruel a practice, is the highest degree of impudence to pretend; and certainly must be too gross a deceit to obtain any credit but with bigots or enthusiasts, fools or madmen. It being evident then that these are no other than pretended motives, what are the real?

AN inhuman temper, with a combination of the worst of mens passions, particularly malice, envy, covetousness, pride, ambition, a desire to domineer and tyrannize over others; to which are sometimes added bigotry and enthusiasm: these are the real incentives to persecution, and when joined with a large measure of hypocrisy, complete the character of a persecutor.

THAT the most furious persecutors are oftentimes the most consummate hypocrites, is evident; for many of them have no religion: witness, numbers of the *Romish* clergy, including popes, cardinals, and inquisitors, who stand in the first rank of this wicked tribe. The saying of pope *Leo X*, in a merry humour, to cardinal *Bembo*, is well known: *Quantum nobis profuit hæc fabula de Christo?*

said this prince of persecutors, and pretended vicar of *Christ*.

S E C T I O N II.

AS it is evident then, first, that ecclesiastics have always been the grand promoters and instruments of persecution among christians; secondly, what their real motives to it are; we come, thirdly, to take a view by what means church-men are become so extremely numerous, and have gained so great an influence and ascendancy in the christian world.

To see this in a clear light, it must be considered, that the doctrines of the immortality of the soul, and eternal rewards and punishments, are much more explicitly taught and generally believed among christians, than they had been by *Jews* or *Gentiles*, especially the latter, who were left either to uncertain tradition, or their own vague apprehensions, to form the best judgments they could on these important, tho' obscure subjects. But when immortality was revealed and brought to light by the gospel, and a considerable part of mankind came firmly to believe, that they should after this life be for ever happy



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multitude of rites, ceremonies, and spiritual catholicons, of which as they only are the contrivers, preparers, and dispensers, so they only reap any profit from them.

THESE fables, tricks, and cheats, mostly took their rise in times of great ignorance and bigotry; times always prolific of credulity and superstition. Then were christians taught to believe a purgatory; but at the same time taught also, that if they would be generous to the church, and pay for a sufficient number of masses, their own souls, or those of their relations and friends, or any others they bestowed this favour upon, might be soon redeemed from the pains of it. Then were men made to believe, that it was absolutely necessary they should confess their sins to some of their fellow-creatures and fellow-sinners, who had power to grant indulgences and pardons; and that God had given to one of these poor creatures, or to a number of them called the church, the keys of heaven; “and whosoever he or they shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whosoever he or they shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.” And to fill up the measure of arrogance, impudence, and impiety in priests, and of folly and credulity in the laity, the former invented a religious absurdity and forgery, already mentioned,

tioned, beyond what any of the heathen had ever practised, or the world before ever conceived :—that they, the priests, could and did, whenever they pleased, make God Almighty the great Creator of the universe, swallow him themselves, and give him to the people to eat. And that priests might appear to be of the greatest use and consequence to mankind, and by that means obtain the utmost influence and ascendancy over them, it was pretended and inculcated by these men, that unless the good intention of the priest accompanied this heavenly morsel, it would be of no benefit to the receiver ^p.

As these opinions, if believed, as unhappily they were by multitudes, must subject the laity to be entirely dependent on the clergy in matters appertaining to eternal salvation ^q;

U 4 so

^p If any persons should doubt whether this absurd doctrine, relating to the intention of the priest being necessary to the good effect of the sacrament, is really taught by the church of *Rome*, they need but consult *M. Du Pin's Histoire du Concile de Trente*, tome I. p. 156 ; where it plainly appears, that this article was established both by the councils of *Florence* and *Trent*. However, it is admitted, that *M. Du Pin*, and some other sensible *Roman Catholics*, especially *Frenchmen*, have dissented from this opinion.

^q The *Muscovites* are taught to believe, that when they die, in order for their admittance into heaven, they must

so this dependency, with the riches, honours, and dignities acquired by ecclesiastics, could not well fail of rendering them in the highest degree proud and insolent. A priest might well say to a grandee of the first rank, as *Voltaire* informs us a Jesuit, who was confessor to a queen of *Spain*, did to the duke of *Lerme*: *C'est vous qui me devez du respect, puisque j'ai tous les jours votre Dieu dans mes mains, et votre reine à mes pieds*: i. e. "Tis
 "you who ought to pay me reverence, since
 "I have every day your God in my hands,
 "and your queen at my feet." And can
 we

must take with them a certificate signed and sealed by the patriarch or by a bishop. Accordingly, when a deceased person is to be buried, a heavenly passport, as they call it, drawn up in the following terms, is put between his fingers: We *N. N.* bishop and priest, do by these presents publicly acknowledge and attest, that this person hath lived with us as a good and true christian and *Greek*. And forasmuch as he has committed sins, he hath confessed, and received absolution and the holy sacrament for the remission of those sins. He hath also rendered true worship to God and his saints, and he has fasted and prayed after a proper manner. He hath also constantly behaved well to me his confessor, so that I have granted him a full pardon of all his faults. We have therefore given him this certificate, to deliver to *St. Peter* and other saints, in order that by this means he may, without any hindrance, be admitted into the gate of everlasting glory. *La Religion Ancienne et Moderne des Moscovites*, p. 139.

‡ *Le Siecle de Louis XIV.* T. I. p. 143.



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scruples not to raise the power of a priest above that of God himself; alledging, that God spent a whole week in creating the world, and disposing it in proper order; whereas a priest, every time he says mass, with a word or two produces, not a mere creature, but the supreme uncreated Being himself, the origin of all things *.

S E C T I O N III.

ALTHOUGH this article of faith relating to transubstantiation, just mentioned, (with other doctrines of the same stamp) had its beginning in times of darkness and ignorance ^z, yet, notwithstanding the world has been since so much improved and enlightened with knowledge and literature, it is still believed by multitudes; and not

* *In tractatu de dignitate sive excellentiis sacerdotum.* From *Keyser's Travels*, Vol. I. p. 340.

^z *Purchase Radbert*, abbot of *Corby* in *France*, (in the beginning of the ninth century) was the first that advanced the doctrine of transubstantiation; but it was about the middle of the eleventh century before it was established by the popes, who adjudged all to be burnt as heretics who denied it. *The Instructions of a Parish Minister to his Parishioners on the Subject of Popery*, by *Dr. Stebbing*. This little book is recommended as **excellently** adapted to the purposes it was designed for.

not by the ignorant and illiterate only, but, as they pretend at least, by men of the greatest acuteness, learning, knowledge, wisdom, and judgment. Which, by the way, shews how little even these men are to be depended on respecting subjects of religious belief.

THE church of *Rome* boasts much of working miracles; that she has brought such persons to believe so gross an absurdity, so palpable a contradiction, so manifest an impossibility as transubstantiation, bids the fairest to be esteemed a miracle of any she pretends to have wrought. We will try, however, if this wonderful phænomenon cannot be accounted for without a miracle.

GREAT are the effects of education, prepossession, and bigotry, and perhaps as great is the force of religious awe, and fear of incurring ecclesiastical censure, and the terrible consequences apprehended from it both in this world and the next, in preventing men from freely inquiring into, or doubting what the church has commanded to be received as truth: for surely, did persons of the above-mentioned abilities, or even those of the most common understandings, dare to inquire freely into this doctrine and many other ecclesiastical impositions, they could not fail of discovering the error and falsity of them. But if men whose sight is ever so good will

keep their eyes shut, or suffer others to hoodwink them, they must remain in the dark, and can no more distinguish objects of sight than those who are really blind.

BESIDES, whoever imagines, that the wisest of men have not great weaknesses, knows but little of human nature: and these weaknesses appear on no subject more frequently and notoriously, than in the belief of mens religious inventions. What amazing proofs of learning, genius, sagacity, wisdom, and judgment, have many of the ancient pagans given? Yet the most eminent of these, as well as the simple vulgar, worshipped stocks and stones, believed the most improbable stories, and very devoutly performed the most ridiculous rites and ceremonies in religion,

How many modern great men, eminent for learning and knowledge, have drawn their pens, and doubtless some would have drawn swords if they had worn them, (the sword of persecution they have drawn) to enforce the belief of what contradicts common sense, is a reproach to the church which makes use of it, and a scandal to the christian religion? A composition of this kind is commonly ascribed to a saint. 'Tis true,—Nothing could well be too nonsensical for some saints to compose: but may it not be justly suspected, that such a heap of absurdities was sily invented



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it is more difficult to reclaim them than the common people : *Quand les philosophes* (says M. Fontenelle ¹) *s'entêtent une fois d'un préjugé, ils sont plus incurables que le peuple mesme, parce qu'ils s'entêtent également & du préjugé & des fausses raisons dont ils le soutiennent. i. e.* “ When philosophers become infatuated with a prejudice, they are more incurable than the common people, because they are equally infatuated with the prejudice, and with the false reasonings they make use of to support it.” The same author, in another place, gives a very entertaining and notable instance of this truth : *En 1593, le bruit courut que les dents estant tombées à un enfant de Silesie, &c.* ² *i. e.* “ In 1593, it was reported, that the teeth of a child of *Silesia* of seven years old dropped out, and in the room of one of his great teeth came a tooth of gold. *Horstius*, professor of physic in the university of *Helmstad*, wrote, in the year 1595, the history of this tooth, and pretended, that it was partly natural and partly miraculous, and that it was sent by God to this child to comfort the christians, who were then afflicted by the *Turks*. Do but imagine to yourself what consolation this tooth could be of to the christians, or how it
“ could

¹ *Hist. des Oracles*, ch. viii.

² *Ibid.* ch. iv.

“ could relate either to them or the *Turks*.
 “ In the same year, that this golden tooth
 “ might not want historians, *Rullandus* wrote
 “ the history of it. Two years after, *Ingol-*
 “ *steterus*, another learned man, wrote against
 “ the opinion of *Rullandus* concerning this
 “ tooth of gold, and *Rullandus* immediately
 “ made a fine and learned reply. Another
 “ great man, named *Libavius*, collected all
 “ that had been said about this tooth, and
 “ added his particular opinion. Nothing
 “ could be wanting to so many fine works,
 “ but the truth of the fact—that the tooth
 “ was gold. For when a goldsmith had
 “ examined it, he found that it was a real
 “ tooth artfully covered with leaf-gold.”
 Thus far *M. Fontenelle*, who might find a
 multitude of even more ridiculous absurdities
 than this, related in support of his own reli-
 gion, and a profusion of learning and false
 reasonings made use of by some of the greatest
 men of his church to prove the truth of
 them. And if he himself believes, or rather
 fancies he believes transubstantiation, as there
 is no reason to doubt but he does, he is a
 flagrant instance of what hath been above
 asserted, and of his own observation also *.

ANOTHER instance of almost general de-
 ception, for many ages, of the knowing as
 well

* When this was written, *M. Fontenelle* was living.

well as ignorant part of mankind, is the belief of oracles among the heathens, and witchcraft and the appearance of spirits among all nations and religions. The first were believed to be given forth by gods which never existed; and the latter as well as the former had no existence but in imagination or imposture.

CHRISTIANS readily agree, that pagan oracles did not proceed from God: but many contend earnestly that they were dictated by the devil; an opinion entirely without foundation: for they were undoubtedly the mere forgeries of priests. Many zealous christians are also very loth to part with wizards, and witches, and apparitions; because they look upon the two first, as well as oracles, to be strong evidences of the devil's dealings with, and influence over mankind; and the last as proofs of the resurrection, the being of a God, and the existence of separate spirits.

“To this head,” (the being of a God, and the existence of separate spirits) says a very great and learned divine, “belong those
 “opinions and testimonies of mankind concerning apparitions, of which the ancient
 “world (their poets and historians) spake so
 “much, all which probably could not be
 “devised without ground concerning the
 “power



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and excellent act of parliament, those unjust and cruel laws were repealed^d?

RESPECTING the devil's dealings with, and influence over mankind; if men can be influenced or actuated by any spirits more wicked than their own, which is at least doubtful, there are too many other evidences of the devil's power over men, for us to stand in need of these. And as to stories of apparitions being proofs of the resurrection, &c. we shall only say, that all forgeries or bad proofs tend greatly to weaken a good cause.

INASMUCH then as many things, thus apparently false and ridiculous, have been believed by such numbers of wise and learned persons for many ages, the believing even so monstrous an absurdity as transubstantiation, by other wise and learned persons, may perhaps be accounted for without a miracle. But to return to the subject more immediately before us.

WHEN

^d What Mr. *Keyser*, in his *Travels*, tells us relating to the people of *Geneva*, is very much to their honour. The absurd proceedings, says this gentleman, relating to indictments and sentences for witchcraft and sorcery, were much sooner exploded at *Geneva* than in any other country of *Europe*, not one person since the year 1652 having suffered death on such an accusation; nor are those idle stories on these subjects, which other countries are filled with, so much as mentioned here. Vol. I. P. 174.

WHEN it was found, that the pretended means above-mentioned, of believing improbable tales, and performing insignificant ceremonies, to secure men from everlasting torments, and obtain for them eternal happiness, were so highly approved and eagerly embraced; and what vast respect was paid to the inventors or promoters of them by weak and credulous princes and governors, as well as by the simple populace; what immunities and privileges were granted to church-men; what riches and honours were heaped upon them; this greatly increased their numbers, and is the true cause why there are such swarms of priests among christians at this day. The church becoming so productive of those good things which men most ardently desire, multitudes, especially of the idle, the lazy, the covetous, and the proud, crowded into her service. Here a maintenance, at least, was to be gained for all without labour; for many, riches without industry, and honours and dignities without real merit. A hive filled with honey seldom fails to draw hornets, wasps, and drones in abundance.

THIS body of men, thus separated from the rest of mankind, becoming so extremely numerous, not only set up a distinct but an opposite interest to them: they indeed soon made it their business to pillage and subju-

gate the christian world. And when they had obtained such immense treasures, and other valuable emoluments and advantages, as they soon became possessors of, nothing could be more natural than a desire to preserve and increase their acquisitions*. If
men

* As a flagrant instance of the tyrannical power the *Romish* clergy once possessed in this nation particularly, and their eager desire to preserve what they called the rights and privileges of the church, the reader is here presented with the form and manner of a most horrible curse, which accompanied a solemn oath taken by our king *Henry III*, for that purpose. The king, laying his right hand upon the holy gospels, took the oath tendered to him by the archbishop; and he, and all the bishops that were present, holding lighted candles in their hands, excommunicated all those, who should encroach upon the privileges of the church, in the following words: *AUCTORITATE DEI omnipotentis, & Filii, & Spiritus sancti, anathematizamus, & a limine sanctæ matris ecclesiæ sequestramus omnes illos, qui a modo scienter & malitiose ecclesias privaverint, vel spoliaverint suo jure. Deinde candelæ extinctæ projiciebantur fumigantes & fœtentes, denunciante archiepiscopo: SIC, SIC extinguantur, fumigent, & fœteant animæ condemnatæ eorum, qui hæc violabunt, & sinistre interpretabuntur. Et acclamatum est ab omnibus, sed a rege frequentius & alacrius, Amen, Amen.—* *Acta sunt hæc in capella S. Catharinæ, apud Westmonasterium.* Matthew Paris in *Henrico III*. That is, **BY THE AUTHORITY** of almighty God, and of the Son, and the holy Spirit, we anathematize, and turn out of the doors of holy mother church, all those who shall knowingly and maliciously deprive the clergy of their right. Afterwards the candles were thrown down, and
lay



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shews why faith in the many contrivances of priests is so strenuously insisted on, and such great merit placed in it:—without this faith it is impossible to please priests. What indeed would become of the riches, the influence, the grandeur, and the power of knaves; were it not for the credulity of fools?

S E C T I O N . IV.

TO secure then this great point of believing, princes and governors were called upon to inflict the most cruel punishments on all unbelievers; and in order to prevail with them, two arguments were principally made use of: one, that by converting heretics, tho' the methods made use of were ever so inhuman, they would perform the most acceptable service to God, and thereby commute for a multitude of sins.—This to be sure had its effect with zealots and bigots. The other was, that those who were not of the catholic church could not be good subjects under catholic governments. Such an insinuation or assertion, tho' notoriously false, was very likely to prevail, as it actually did, on all popish sovereigns who believed it, to exercise great rigour against heretics.

BUT

BUT if these persuasive arguments had not the desired influence upon some princes, who preferred the dictates of humanity, good policy, or true religion, to the commands of the pope or his clergy, then the **LAST REASONS** of the church were made use of; namely, curses, excommunications, and threatenings of damnation and deposition: and indeed actual depositions were frequently the consequence of disobedience.

By these and such-like methods, many of those who ought to have been the conservators of the people's liberties, lives, and properties, were engaged in the destruction of them, and became, as hath been already said, the tools of the wretched souls of vile, rapacious, and blood-thirsty priests.

BUT tho' churchmen had gained this considerable point of engaging the civil magistrate in their measures, yet finding that the work of the Lord, as they impiously stiled persecution, went on but slowly in the hands of laymen, they thirsted after an independent and absolute power: this power, which enabled them, in so great a degree, to execute all their designs, was, in many countries, unhappily obtained.

THE use that ecclesiastics made of this fatal gift, this *Pandora's* box, was to scatter plagues amongst mankind. They not only

tyrannized over the common people, and proceeded to the greatest degrees of rage and fury against all who could not for conscience sake submit to their superstitious and abominable institutions; but turned the edge of their power against those who were so weak, impolitic, and infatuated, as to bestow it upon them; causing princes, kings, and emperors to bow their necks to the sacerdotal yoke, and submit to ecclesiastical tyranny.

Thus, as we have before seen, first, who have constantly been the principal promoters and instruments of persecution among christians; secondly, what their pretended, and what their real motives to act so barbarous a part are; so we now see by what means they are become so extremely numerous, and have gained so great an influence and ascendancy in the christian world; and lastly, what has most immediately and effectually enabled them to tyrannize and persecute in so outrageous a manner as they have done.

S E C T I O N V.

THE causes of persecution on account of religion being thus evident, the remedies are obvious. Happy would it be, if they could as readily be applied as discovered!

THOSE



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be the crown of this most desirable and truly glorious work of preventing persecution on account of religion—To trust clergymen with no power but that of DOING GOOD.

WHATEVER objections much the greater part of the reverend body of whom we are speaking may make, or what offence soever they may conceive against regulations so reasonable and beneficial in general, and particularly conducive to so good an end as these certainly are, we may be well assured, that the meek and humble, the humane and disinterested, the honest, in a word, all the truly religious and sincerely CHRISTIAN divines, will readily acquiesce with them. And surely the opposition of those who do not deserve these epithets, should serve only to demonstrate how necessary such regulations are.

BESIDES, there seems to be a very cogent, and indeed unanswerable reason, a reason dictated by experience, in favour especially of the last remedy proposed.—Has it ever been known, that one society of ecclesiastics had power to do mischief, and did it not?

THE *English* protestant clergy are certainly some of the most pious, learned, virtuous, and sensible church-men in the world. The works of numbers of them have done great honour and service to religion, to virtue, and

to learning; and what is still a greater commendation, many of their lives and examples have adorned and enforced the doctrines they have taught. But notwithstanding the admirable accomplishments and exemplary behaviour of abundance of them, yet whenever, as a body of men, they have been trusted with the exercise of power, have they not, like all other ecclesiastics, constantly made an ill use of it?

For answer to this question, one may venture to appeal to every good, wise, and moderate man amongst themselves.

When our clergy, assembled in ~~Councils~~, have been permitted to enjoy their power, and act to the extent of it, have they not frequently persecuted very worthy and deserving men; particularly some of their own brethren, who have been most eminent for piety, learning, morality, and moderation? It has indeed been suspected, and perhaps more than suspected, that this last-mentioned excellent quality in the sufferers hath been the principal cause of their being thus ill treated.

SINCE then such a body of clergymen as those above-mentioned have converted power to so bad a use, doth it not plainly appear, that power was not made for priests?

· ON this subject of preventing persecution, I shall only add, that if those who are set apart to instruct others, instead of entertaining them with what neither teachers nor hearers understand, and (what is still worse) stirring up the latter to dislike and hate one another for difference in opinions, would preach the true gospel of *Jesus Christ*, which is “peace on earth, and good-will to men;” and also enforce this excellent doctrine by their own examples, and recommend all other virtues by the same means, we should undoubtedly soon experience a great alteration in the world. It could then be no longer justly said, “that the leaders of the “people cause them to err.” Neither is it probable we should then see any more treatises published “of the causes of the contempt-“of the clergy:” on the contrary, they would be treated with that respect and reverence, which are due to public benefactors. Indeed it behoves us all to consider, that the best and most solid title to esteem and respect from mankind, is the doing them real and substantial service. And what service can be more real and substantial, than persuading men to lay aside malice and envy, hatred and persecution, and to be peaceable, gentle, and loving to one another?



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therefore, we may well hope, groundless fears, which greatly imbitter their lives.

It appears to me, that he who firmly believes these opinions are untrue, and nevertheless stands by unconcernedly and sees his fellow-creatures deceived and terrified, and hears his Creator libelled and blasphemed by the doctrine of ETERNAL PUNISHMENTS, hath as little concern for the honour of God as for the peace of mankind.

THAT such punishments could answer no salutary purpose, and would be absolutely incompatible with wisdom and goodness, hath, it is presumed, been already made appear^s; and if so, then we may assure ourselves they will not be inflicted; and some persons may think nothing more need be said on the subject: but as this is a matter of great concernment to mankind, and much zeal hath been exerted, and many arguments made use of, to evince the reality of these punishments, I shall here mention several of the most considerable, and hope to shew, that they neither do, nor possibly can prove the point asserted. Indeed the doctrine itself is so unlikely to be true, and every argument pretended to be drawn from reason in favour of it so extremely weak, (and what is still beyond all the rest) it so directly contradicts

^s In the Essay of Religious Cruelty.

dicts the ESSENTIAL ATTRIBUTES of the Divine Nature, that were it not to “ vindicate the ways of God to man,” and set mens minds at ease from such terrible apprehensions, one might be ashamed to bestow any pains in disproving it.

SECTION I.

THE opinion that our Creator condemns multitudes of his creatures to eternal misery, hath been invented or propagated by different persons for different purposes. Some have pretended, that he punishes men in this manner for not believing the unintelligible and irrational creeds, and not practising the insignificant, ridiculous, and many times abominable ceremonies, which knaves have invented to cheat fools. Others have supposed, that the belief of sinners and unbelievers being punished everlastingly was the most effectual means to deter men from being wicked, and have therefore inculcated this bad opinion with a good design.

SOME of the principal arguments usually urged in support of this doctrine are,

FIRST, “ That because sin is infinite in respect of the object against whom it is committed,



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“ committed, which is God; therefore it
 “ deserves ‘an infinite punishment’.” And
 that the supreme Being having established
 certain laws and ordinances for men to keep
 and perform, and made known certain facts
 and doctrines which he hath commanded
 them to believe, the justice and glory of God
 require he should punish those who act con-
 trary to these laws and ordinances, or do not
 believe these facts and doctrines, that is to
 say, sinners and unbelievers, with eternal
 misery; and more especially as to the keep-
 ing and performing the former, and faith in
 the latter, he hath annexed eternal happi-
 ness, which, as well as eternal misery, being
 set before men, who are at liberty to chuse,
 they have therefore nothing to complain of.

SECONDLY, In confirmation of this doc-
 trine it is said, that very great men, divines
 especially, have believed and taught it.

THIRDLY, That the scriptures plainly de-
 nounce these punishments.

FOURTHLY,

‡ An opinion somewhat of this nature prevails in the
 empire of *Japan*. Almost all crimes are there punished
 with death: the reason assigned for such an unjust and
 cruel procedure is, that disobedience to so great an em-
 peror as him of *Japan* is an enormous crime. The de-
 sign, says my author, is not to reclaim offenders, but to
 revenge the prince. *De l'Esprit des Loix*, tom. I. l. vi.
 ch. 13.



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IN order to form a right judgment of the other part of this argument,—that the justice and glory of God require he should punish sinners and unbelievers with eternal misery, many particulars might be considered; but to avoid prolixity, only a few will be here mentioned.

It should be remembered who created man, and that if he is induced to sin by his own inclinations and passions, who implanted these in his nature, and who hath given him so small a portion of reason and resolution, as is seldom, if ever, sufficient entirely to restrain and govern them: and if for this purpose, or to obtain faith, any supernatural assistance be necessary, who alone is able to afford it; and if it be not afforded, who hath withheld it: but if man is tempted to sin, or to infidelity, by any other being of superior cunning, power, and abilities, it well deserves inquiry, why this being is not restrained from effecting his vile and most audacious purposes of
rendering

*Quæis paria esse fere placuit peccata, laborant,
 Cum ventum ad verum est: sensus moresque repugnant,
 Atque ipsa utilitas, justî prope mater & æqui.*

Lib. I. Sat. 3.

Thus *Englished* by Mr. Francis:

Who hold all crimes alike, are deep distress,

When we appeal to truth's impartial test.

Sense, custom, social good, from whence arise

All forms of right and wrong, the fact denies.

rendering men for ever miserable, and thereby disappointing the Almighty's design of making his creatures for ever happy.

BESIDES, as the terms of salvation are commonly described, there appears so manifest a disproportion between a likelihood of gaining eternal happiness, and the danger of suffering eternal misery, that probably not one in many thousands since the creation of the world hath obtained the former, and consequently all the rest of mankind have been condemned to the latter. Would any man voluntarily accept such a chance for eternal happiness, with such prodigious odds for eternal misery against him? How then can it be just to place men in such circumstances? Or, if this were the case, with what truth or propriety could it be said, that happiness and misery are set before them, and they at liberty to chuse?

If the generality of men were to be thus unhappy, an omniscient Being must have known it. May we not be permitted to ask—Why then did he create them? Surely not from necessity; for if so, then God himself could not be a free agent. Many of the heathens thought, that even their supreme deity *Jupiter* was over-ruled by Fate or Destiny; but no christian will say this of the true God. Since then there was no necessity for man to be created, would it not have

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been infinitely better he had never existed, than that such multitudes should be for ever miserable? Indeed, were this the wretched condition of men, the propagation of mankind would be a most deplorable evil, and nothing could be more desirable than the speedy extinction of the species.

THESE particulars will be left to the reader's consideration, which they seem well to merit; and I shall proceed further to observe,

THAT if all men are liable to be eternally punished, but may nevertheless, by certain means, obtain eternal happiness, then undoubtedly God would give to ALL MEN a clear, distinct, and certain knowledge,

FIRST, What faults, failures, or sins they are thus to be punished for, and by what means they may avoid everlasting misery and gain everlasting felicity. And,

SECONDLY, If the justice and glory of God require, that he should punish sinners and unbelievers with everlasting torments, then undoubtedly both justice and reason require also, that it should be in the power of the former not to sin, and of the latter to believe aright.

CERTAINLY, if the justice and glory of God require, that he should punish sinners and unbelievers with eternal misery, he would as a righteous judge and lawgiver afford



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“ with another ; tho’ they do not think it a
 “ sin to break their word, to injure a person,
 “ to rob or murder him¹.”

“ THE people of *Formosa* suppose, that
 “ there is a kind of hell, but it is to punish
 “ those who at certain seasons have not gone
 “ naked ; who have dressed in callicoes, and
 “ not in silk ; who have presumed to search
 “ for oysters, or who have undertaken any
 “ business without consulting the song of
 “ birds : whilst drunkenness and debauchery
 “ are not regarded as crimes. They believe,
 “ even that the debauches of their children
 “ are agreeable to their gods^m.” And so
 great, so wise and learned a man as *Sir Thomas
 More* firmly believed, and laid down his life
 as a testimony of it, that his eternal salvation
 was concerned in acknowledging no other
 head of the church than the pope.

SECONDLY, Of the means of avoiding those
 punishments and obtaining eternal bliss.

“ IN *India* the people believe, that the
 “ waters of the *Ganges* have a sanctifying
 “ virtue. Those who die on its banks are
 “ imagined to be exempted from future tor-
 “ ments, and intitled to dwell in a delight-
 “ ful.

¹ *Relation de frere Jean Duplan Carpin, envoyé en
 Tartarie par le pape Innocent IV, l’an 1246. De
 l’Esprit des Loix, t. II. l. xxiv. ch. xiv. p. 81.*

^m *Recueil des voyages qui ont servi à l’établissement de
 la Compagnie des Indes, tom. V. par. I. p. 192. Ibid.*

“ful region. Urns filled with the ashes of
 “the dead are frequently sent from the most
 “remote places to be thrown into this river.
 “What then does it avail, whether these
 “people have lived virtuously or not, so
 “that when dead their remains are cast into
 “the Ganges “?”

It would be endless even barely to mention the variety of opinions that prevail among Pagans, Jews, and Mohammedans, concerning the means of avoiding everlasting punishments and obtaining eternal bliss, and of the many ridiculous and even wicked inventions they have sought out for those purposes. And though all the different churches and sects of christians lay claim to, and pretend to be guided by one and the same rule, which they say is infallible, yet nothing can be more various and contradictory than their belief and practices on these subjects.

As means to escape everlasting punishments, and obtain eternal happiness, some prescribe holy oil and holy water to be applied outwardly, and holy bread and holy wine, transubstantiated into the flesh and blood of *Christ*, to be taken inwardly; with a multitude of other contrivances, several of which have been already mentioned, equally rational and efficacious, and which others

* *Lettres édifiantes, quinzieme recueil. Ibid. p. 82.*

esteem superstitious, and vain, and childish. Many place their hopes of salvation entirely in faith and baptism, and in the merits, death, and sufferings of *Christ*; some in the performance of moral duties, — in good works, which others make little or no account of, esteeming all man's righteousness as filthy rags.

A VERY famous *French* author and divine hath, in a celebrated performance, described a man thus pleading for himself in the other world: *Je n'ai jamais fait aucun mal; j'ai mis tout mon plaisir à faire du bien; j'ai été magnifique, liberal, juste, compatissant: que peut-on donc me reprocher? i. e.* “I never did any evil; I placed all my happiness in doing good; I was generous, liberal, just, and compassionate: what then can any one lay to my charge?” All this was allowed him, and also that in his life “the testimony of his conscience had been favourable to him.” Now surely one would think this person was much too good for hell, and might have been placed in a state of happiness.—No such matter.—Our author hath condemned him to endless misery.

SUCH were the sentiments of a *Roman Catholic* prelate. Let us now hear the opinion of

• *Les Aventures de Telemaque*, l. 18, p. 131, 4to. à Paris.



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“petual obedience to *Christ*: in which re-
“nunciation he must turn his face to the
“west, as being opposite to the region of
“light, and representing the prince of dark-
“ness, whom he renounces: but in making
“his vow to *Christ* he must turn again to the
“east, where *Paradise* was planted, which
“is now again laid open to him. Then he
“must be anointed on the head and shoulders
“with holy oil, consecrated for that purpose
“by the bishop, to enable him to wrestle
“the more successfully with the devil: then
“he is to be plunged three times under
“water, once at the name of each person of
“the blessed Trinity, to represent the faith
“into which he is to be baptized, and also
“the three days burial of *Christ*, and his re-
“surrection on the third day. After this he
“must be anointed again with holy chrism,
“or a compound of oil and balm, consecrated
“by the bishop; and is to be cloathed with
“a white garment, the emblem of that pu-
“rity to which he has devoted his life: then
“he receives the kiss of peace, in token of
“his incorporation into the church: and
“lastly, is made to taste of consecrated milk
“and honey, to denote his spiritual infancy,
“and his entrance into the land of rest, of
“which *Canaan*, the land of promise, flow-
“ing with milk and honey, was a type.”

As

As to the eucharist, he affirms it to be a real and proper sacrifice; and calls sacrifice in general, “the most perfect, efficacious, and
 “honourable service that we can pay to God;
 “and the particular sacrifice of the eucharist,
 “the most excellent worship which God
 “ever prescribed to man; which by its pur-
 “gative and expiatory nature procures a ge-
 “neral remission of sin for the whole church,
 “and atones likewise for the wilful trans-
 “gressions of particular sinners.” In order
 to give a true and full notion, as this author
 calls it, of the eucharist, he employs, as Dr.
Middleton informs us, an hundred and fifty
 pages, or about eighty entire chapters of his
 catechism. Besides recommending the keep-
 ing of feasts and fasts; the latter, “to punish
 “ourselves for our sins, by suffering hunger
 “and thirst, depriving ourselves of our plea-
 “sures, and even of a part of our necessary
 “nourishment;” besides recommending these
 and many other such-like duties, he prescribes
 praying morning and night, and also every
 third hour of the day; and to some to ex-
 tend their devotions to every third hour of
 the night. But to christians much engaged
 in business, he proposes they should make
 the sign of the cross, and use this form of
 words—“In the name of the Father, and of
 “the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen;
 “as

“ as the strongest and most significant of
 “ all prayers ; because we confess by it the
 “ mystery of the Trinity, and by the motion
 “ of our hands express the figure of the cross,
 “ or the mystery of our redemption, with
 “ that also of the incarnation, on which it
 “ depends.”

HE likewise advises “ to pray standing on
 “ all Sundays, and on every day, between
 “ *Easter* and *Whitsunday*, out of respect and
 “ remembrance of our Lord’s resurrection.”

And adds,—“ The posture of kneeling is
 “ adapted only to occasions of humiliation
 “ and penitential devotion ; but that of stand-
 “ ing is a beautiful symbolic representation of
 “ our Lord’s resurrection, proper to raise our
 “ thoughts from the earth, and to unite them
 “ more closely with God and the things
 “ above : and no ceremony of the church can
 “ be more efficacious for the purpose of ele-
 “ vating the mind, and inflaming the affec-
 “ tions, and stirring up the faculties of the
 “ soul ⁹.”

SUCH are some mens sentiments, and thus
 do they differ concerning the sins for which,
 according to their apprehensions, everlast-
 ing punishments are to be inflicted, and
 the

⁹ Dr. *Middleton’s* works, 4to ed. Vol. I. p. 195,
 196, 199, 200, 203.



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supposing they do give such information; this can be only to persons who are acquainted with them, and believe their report: Pray, what evidence that sinners and unbelievers are in this manner to be punished, have those who know nothing of the scriptures, or give no credit to them? And are not men, tho' entirely ignorant of these writings, or who have no faith in them, as liable to be so punished as those who have this knowledge and this faith? Surely no one will say they are not: for were that the case, then a knowledge of, and faith in the scriptures, would be one of the greatest misfortunes that could possibly befall those who are acquainted with and believe in them.

We may here be told, that people to whom the scriptures were unknown, have believed future and everlasting punishments:

Of some this may be true; of multitudes it is not true. But how came any, unacquainted with the bible, by this belief? Not from innate knowledge; for then it would have been an absolute certainty, and common to all men. Reason did not teach it them: REASON could never teach, that men should suffer infinite punishments for faults committed in a finite state. They were not taught it by outward divine revelation; for there hath been none but our scriptures:
nor

nor by inward divine revelation ; for, we say, they were not favoured with it. Indeed, had this faith been so made known to them, they, who were ignorant of the bible, would have had a much more certain knowledge of future punishments than any book could convey : whereas, in reality, those people's opinions on this subject were so vague, and such idle dreams, that they deserve not the name of belief, much less of knowledge.

SINCE then those who knew nothing of the scriptures, or placed no faith in them, had not an innate knowledge of future or eternal punishments, nor were taught this belief by reason or revelation, it might proceed from mere fancy or whimsy ; or, which is much more likely,—it was inculcated to the common people by their leaders or governors, who taking advantage of the fear and credulity so prevalent among mankind, invented and propagated this opinion for particular purposes, although they, the teachers or governors themselves, believed nothing of it.

BUT if any persons should pretend, that the belief of future and everlasting punishments was conveyed by tradition to people who had it not from the scriptures ; it will then be asked, how those from whom the tradition was originally derived came by this knowledge ?

knowledge? And if it cannot be proved, as it is impossible it should, that they received it by divine revelation, then this opinion will still center in imagination or contrivance.

AND as to the information of eternal punishments being given to men by the scriptures, should this, for argument sake, be admitted, a question might then arise: how came the authors of scripture to know that such punishments would be inflicted? The answer undoubtedly will be,—by inward divine revelation: indeed they could obtain it no otherwise. Then their knowledge of this fact was absolutely certain: but those persons who are not favoured with inward divine revelation have only the report of others, which is far short of knowledge; and much the greater part of mankind know even nothing of this report. Now, pray, are not all men as much concerned to be at a certainty respecting these punishments, as the writers of the bible were? Undoubtedly they are. How then has it happened that all are not at equal certainty? Could not Omnipotence as easily have given this knowledge directly to every man, as to a few to inform others? Surely he might. As all men then were equally concerned to know of these punishments, how came it to pass, that the knowledge of them was revealed only to a few.

who



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power of the former not to sin, and of the latter to believe aright.

In making an inquiry if they have this power, I shall not enter into a long, puzzling, metaphysical dissertation on free-will; a subject upon which a great deal has been said, and perhaps to little satisfaction; but chuse much rather to appeal to common sense and experience. Both these will shew us, that, if the circumstances which direct and determine mens moral actions and religious belief are not in their power, then those actions and this belief are not in their power. But, that these circumstances are entirely out of mens power, a little observation and reflection will evidently prove. Of this we will give some instances; and first of moral actions.

A BOY is born of poor, necessitous, and profligate parents, and with a strong natural propensity to vice: in his very infancy, spirituous liquors, which serve to inflame his passions and extinguish his reason, are frequently given him. As soon as this child is capable of good or bad actions, instead of being carefully instructed in the former, he is diligently taught the latter, particularly to pick pockets: if he performs this dextrously, he is commended and rewarded; if not, he is blamed and punished. This boy never associates with any persons but those who are as
bad

bad or worse than himself, and is immersed in one continued scene of debauchery and wickedness: he proceeds, as he grows in strength and impudence, from petty to greater villanies, becomes street-robber, foot-pad, or highway-man, and at last commits the most horrible crime of murder. What shall we say? Was it in the power of this unhappy, wretched, and wicked creature to live a sober, righteous, and pious life? Had he his choice of what parents he would be born, and by whom and in what manner and circumstances educated; and what company he would keep?

ANOTHER youth is placed as page to some great person at a court, where he sees nothing but luxury, lewdness, pride, envy, dissimulation, and vice, in the most alluring shapes: he perceives, that virtue and piety are so far from being esteemed and rewarded, that they are constant subjects of contempt and ridicule, and that the only path to preferment and honours lies through the temple of vice. What chance has a youth thus educated, and with such examples continually before his eyes, to become chaste, temperate, sincere, and honest; in a word, to be virtuous and pious?

MULTITUDES of other instances might be given, in which mens moral actions, by cir-

circumstances entirely independent of their own choice, are as much influenced as those of these children.

UNDOUBTEDLY, many men who have acted very profligate and vile parts in the world, would, if differently circumstanced, have been excellent persons. That temper of mind which has rendered even some banditti so remarkably faithful to their wicked comrades, so fearless and amazingly intrepid, if properly cultivated and directed by an early, a liberal, a virtuous, and religious education, might have formed firm friends, courageous defenders of their country, or even resolute martyrs.

DOETH it not then plainly appear, that mens natural tempers, and such accidents or circumstances of their lives as are entirely out of their power, do, in a great degree at least, direct and determine their behaviour and actions ?

SINCE

A question may here arise:—Whether, if mens behaviour and actions are thus determined by circumstances out of their power, it is just and reasonable to punish them at all even in this world? To which I answer:—If mens behaviour and actions are determined by such circumstances, punishments are very properly to be reckoned among them, and may be, as we see they frequently are, of great force and efficacy to prevent mens doing ill, like weights thrown into a scale to turn the balance: therefore this opinion doth not at all render
punishments



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haps never heard of any other religion, than that of his own country, or was brought up with the utmost prejudice and aversion against all other religions he might have heard of: let any one, I say, ask himself, if such a person could be other than a *Mohammedan*? And respecting those born and educated where that which we esteem the only true religion is taught and professed, suppose some of these, after the most careful and deliberate consideration, the most diligent and impartial inquiry, and the most sincere desire to be rightly informed, should doubt of or disbelieve certain articles in religion which some think essential, is it consistent with justice that such persons should therefore be made for ever miserable?

SECTION III.

BUT were it in the power of all mankind to be virtuous and religious, and to believe every article of the true faith, a question, and a very considerable one too, will still remain, *i. e.* whether for unbelief and temporal faults it is reasonable or equitable that men should be eternally tormented, and suffer terrible and inconceivable punishments, when no good purpose whatever can possibly be answered by them?

LET

LET men lay aside their prejudices, and consult reason; let them consider the nature of things, and the justice and goodness of God, and then answer this question. In truth, when men say, that justice requires the Deity should punish sinners and unbelievers in this manner, they talk they know not what. But this we do know: that to punish without some good end, or to a degree beyond what the necessity or the nature of the case requires, would proceed from revenge or cruelty, and not from justice. To pretend, therefore, that the Deity punishes in such a manner, is to blaspheme his holy name. How then can God be glorified in thus punishing his creatures, in making the works of his hands for ever miserable? Surely those who say he is, talk very weakly or very impiously. Men frequently speak of the glory of God without any just sentiments concerning it: but if they are able to judge at all what his glory consists in, and think in any degree reasonably about it, they must suppose it is partly in his infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, and in communicating happiness to his creatures: we may be certain it cannot consist in cruelty. Such diabolical wretches as a *Muley Ismael*, a *Kouli Khan*, or a *Louis le grand*, may have placed their glory in making men miserable; but

surely it is the greatest folly or impiety to affirm this of the Deity.

SECONDLY, In confirmation of this doctrine it is said, that very great men, divines especially, have believed and taught it. That is granted: but perhaps many have taught this doctrine who did not believe it; and some of these, as hath been already observed, may have done so with a good, and others with a bad design.

HOWEVER, we have already seen, that very great men frequently fall into very great errors, and that it is oftentimes more difficult to convince them than the common people. But perhaps so many eminent persons have not fallen into this error (the belief of eternal punishments) as is generally supposed.

AN eminent divine hath taken much pains to prove, that the ancient philosophers, even the theistical, did not believe a future state of rewards and punishments, tho' they were perpetually inculcating this doctrine to the people: "After having read their history, considered their characters, and examined their writings with all the exactness I was able," says this author, "it appeared evident to me, that these men believed nothing of a future state of rewards and punishments, which they most industriously propagated



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That he seems to endeavour to prove it, is certain: but at the same time he mentions several objections (tho' not near all he might have mentioned) against such punishments; particularly, "that they are inconsistent with the justice and goodness of God." "This objection," says the archbishop, "hath been attempted to be answered several ways, none of which seems to me to give clear and full satisfaction to it." He then specifies one of these answers, for the particulars of which the reader is referred to the sermon itself, and saith; "But this I doubt will upon examination be found to have more of subtilty than of solidity in it." This might perhaps with equal justice and reason be said, not only of all the other answers he quotes, but of his own also, on which he seems to lay great stress, and by it attempts to solve this difficulty. And indeed he does afterwards acknowledge, "that this misery is so terribly severe, that at present we can hardly tell how to reconcile it with the JUSTICE AND GOODNESS of God." He undertakes nevertheless to prove, "that the eternal punishment of wicked men, in another world is plainly threatned in scripture." It is a common case, this: when men find reason against them, then they have recourse to authority. What honour or service

vice they, by this means, do the authority they appeal to, is left for them to shew. However, the point, that this punishment is threatned in scripture, the archbishop seems to think plainly made out. But, after all, the good-natured prelate appears sensible, that the executing these threatnings would be so contrary to “the ESSENTIAL PERFECTIONS of the divine nature,” that he is very desirous to find a salvo in the case. “He that threatens,” says the bishop, “keeps the right of punishing in his own hands, and is not obliged to execute what he hath threatned any farther than the reasons and ends of government do require: and he may, without any injury to the party threatned, remit and abate as much as he pleaseth of the punishment that he hath threatned.” This is indeed true of man: but can any thing be more unlike God than to threaten what he never intends to perform? Let it but be proved, that God hath threatned, and surely no man in his senses will dare to doubt the execution. But the case will be very different, if MEN have presumed to threaten IN THE NAME OF GOD, and without his authority.

WHAT a poor shift is here! Is this like the archbishop's usual candor? What a task do men undertake, when they labour to

prove doctrines directly contrary to reason, and perhaps to their own sentiments also! But truth at last prevailed: for a little after this remarkable passage he acknowledges, that “we may rest assured, God will judge
 “the world in righteousness; and if it be
 “any wise inconsistent either with righteous-
 “ness or goodness, which he knows much
 “better than we do, to make sinners misfe-
 “rable for ever, that he will not do it; nor
 “is it credible, that he would THREATEN
 “sinners with a punishment which he could
 “not execute upon them.” Let the reader judge, by what is last said, if both the execution and the THREATNINGS also of eternal punishments do not appear to be entirely given up by this great man. We will proceed, however, to our third article, That the scriptures plainly denounce everlasting punishments.

WHETHER they do or not, divines and other learned men differ greatly, as it is well known they do also about the true meaning of scripture in a multitude of places. Some suppose the words *for ever* and *everlasting* may be taken, and are frequently used, in a limited sense: others are very positive, that in those places where they relate to punishments, they are intended, and ought to be understood, in an unlimited sense. Of this latter



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Jude, the second of *Peter*, the second and third of *John*, are not generally received. And after mentioning several false and counterfeit books, as the *Acts of Paul*, the *Book of the Shepherd*, the *Revelation of Peter*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and the *Institutions of the Apostles*, he adds, “and among these may be placed the *Apocalypse* of *John*, which some expunge from the number of the sacred books, and others think may remain.” Concerning this revelation of *John*, the same author informs us what *Denys* bishop of *Alexandria* said concerning it, which begins thus: “Some of those,” says *Denys*, “who lived before our times, have absolutely rejected this book, and having examined it chapter by chapter from the beginning to the end, have shewed, that there is neither sense nor reason in it. They say also, that the title is false, because the book was not written by *John*, and that it abounds too much with ignorance to be a revelation. They assure us, that this book was not composed by any one of the apostles, nor even by any of the holy authors of the church: that it is a forgery of *Cerintbus*, who making himself head of a sect, assumed the name of *John* to authorize his extravagant fancies.”

SUCH

SUCH were the sentiments of some very ancient christians respecting certain books of scripture. As to modern divines,

GROTIUS declares his opinion as follows:
 “ I have truly said, that all the books in the
 “ *Hebrew* canon were not dictated by the
 “ Holy Ghost. * * * * * There was no oc-
 “ casion for histories to be dictated by the
 “ Holy Spirit. * * * If *Luke* had written his
 “ books by the dictates of divine inspiration,
 “ he would have chosen rather to establish
 “ his authority on that, than on the faith of
 “ the witnesses he followed. So in writing
 “ the Acts, which he had seen done by *Paul*,
 “ he had no need of inspiration.”

ARCHBISHOP Tillotson says, “ If any man
 “ is of opinion, that *Moses* might write the
 “ history of those actions, which he himself
 “ did or was present at, without an imme-
 “ diate revelation of them, or that *Solomon*,
 “ by his natural and acquired wisdom, might
 “ speak those wise sayings which are in his
 “ Proverbs, or the Evangelists might write
 “ what they heard and saw, or what they
 “ had good assurance of from others, as St.
 “ *Luke* tells us he did, &c. without the im-
 “ mediate dictate of the Spirit of God, he
 “ seems to have reason on his side. For that
 “ men

* Grot. *Votum pro pace. Artic. de Canonis Scripturis.*
 Op. tom. IV. p. 672.

“ men may without an immediate revelation
 “ write those things, which they think with-
 “ out a revelation, seems very plain. And
 “ that they did so, there is this probable ar-
 “ gument for it; because we find, that the
 “ evangelists, in relating the discourses of
 “ *Christ*, are very far from agreeing in the
 “ particular expressions and words; * * * *
 “ but if the words had been dictated by the
 “ Spirit of God, they must have agreed in
 “ them. For when *St. Luke* differs from
 “ *St. Matthew*, in relating what our Saviour
 “ said, it is impossible that they should both
 “ relate it right as to the words and forms
 “ of expression ^b.

DR. *Middleton* tells us, “ As ’tis necessary
 “ to believe of the scriptures in general, that
 “ they are divinely inspired; so it is as necessary,
 “ from the evidence of plain facts and decla-
 “ rations in those very scriptures, to allow
 “ some exception to this general rule, and
 “ not to insist, as some do, that every word,
 “ sentence, narration, history, or indeed
 “ every book we call canonical, was dictated
 “ by God. * * * * Here then,” adds this
 author, “ I fix my foot, and take upon me
 “ to assert, that we are under no obligation
 “ of reason or religion to believe, that the
 “ scriptures are of absolute and universal in-
 “ spiration,

^b *Tillotson's works*, vol. III. p. 449.



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enemy; and his children also? “When he” (his enemy) “shall be judged,” says *David*, “let him be condemned; and let his prayer become sin. * * * Let his children be continually vagabonds and beg. * * * Let there be none to extend mercy unto him; neither let there be any to favour his fatherless children.” with a great deal more in the same strain.

AND what shall we say of the account given in the book of *Genesis* concerning the creation of man, and for what cause he was not only deprived of the happy state in which he was originally placed, but both himself and all his posterity, according to the most common and orthodox opinion, were sentenced by God to eternal misery? By an impartial examination of this narrative, we shall perhaps be able to satisfy ourselves, whether even this part of the scriptures, upon which, as some think, so much depends, carries with it, if taken in a literal sense, as most divines insist that it should be, any appearance of being divinely revealed.

THE account in the second and third chapters of *Genesis* is briefly as follows:

THAT “the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground:” that nevertheless “he formed him in his own image, in the
“image

* *Psalms* cix. 7, 10, 12.

“ image of God created he him: male and
“ female created he them.” That “ the
“ Lord God planted a garden, and there he
“ put the man, one of whose ribs God took,
“ and thereof made he woman. And the
“ Lord God commanded the man, saying,
“ Of every tree of the garden thou mayest
“ freely eat: but of the tree of knowledge of
“ good and evil, thou shalt not eat; for in
“ the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt
“ surely die:” that is, as we are taught to
believe, thou shalt live for ever in eternal
misery.

BEFORE we go any further, a query here
seems naturally to present itself. Would a
good man plant in his garden a tree which
bore pleasant, but poisonous fruit, and con-
tent himself with forbidding his children to
eat thereof, telling them, that if they did,
they should surely die? On the contrary, if
he knew of such a tree, would he not im-
mediately destroy it? and more especially
if he could be sensible, that unless he did so,
his children would certainly destroy them-
selves by eating the fruit thereof, and like-
wise render all their posterity miserable? But
to proceed with our narrative:

NOTWITHSTANDING this prohibition
against eating the fruit of the tree of know-
ledge, and the terrible penalty annexed to

disobedience, the serpent, who “was more
 “subtle than any beast of the field,” entering
 into discourse with the woman, so beguiled
 her, that “she took of the fruit thereof and
 “did eat, and gave also to her husband with
 “her, and he did eat.”

AFTER they had committed this heinous
 and fatal crime of eating forbidden fruit, or,
 as an eminent divine has called it, robbing
 an orchard^f; “they heard the voice of the
 “Lord God walking in the garden in the
 “cool of the day: and *Adam* and his wife
 “hid themselves from the presence of the
 “Lord God amongst the trees of the garden.”
 However, they were found out, and God
 pronounced sentence upon the serpent, upon
 the woman, and upon the man. But as
Adam and *Eve* were naked, except the aprons
 of fig-leaves they had made themselves, “unto
 “*Adam* also and to his wife did the Lord
 “God make coats, and clothed them.”

THUS the first man, as above-mentioned,
 not only forfeited the happy state designed
 for

^f I might have had my tenement, such as it is, (a little
 sorry house of clay) upon better terms, if it had not been
 for a fault of my great grandfather: he and his wife to-
 gether, with the advice of an ill neighbour, were con-
 cerned in **ROBBING AN ORCHARD** belonging to the
 lord of the manor, and so forfeited this great privilege,
 to my sorrow I am sure. The works of *J. Swift, D. D.*
&c. vol. XII. p. 296, 297.



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as a literal account, and insisted on to be a fable or an allegory : and surely this is much less strange, than that one man of sense should contend for its being a true historical narration.

“ *PHILO*, a learned Jew,” says Dr. *Middleton*, “ calls it a piece of rustic simplicity
 “ to imagine, that God really employed the
 “ labour of six days in the production of
 “ things: in which he is followed by *Origen*,
 “ *Austin*, *Ambrose*, and others. What man
 “ in his senses, says *Origen*, will believe, that
 “ the first, second, and third days, and the
 “ evenings and mornings, passed without
 “ sun, moon, and stars, and the first even
 “ without the heavens? Who so silly as to
 “ think, that God, like an husbandman,
 “ planted a garden,” (here he might well
 have added, and like a taylor made coats of
 skins) “ and in it a real tree of life, to be
 “ tasted by corporeal teeth; or that the know-
 “ ledge of good and evil was to be acquired
 “ by eating the fruit of another tree ‘?’” As
 to God’s being six days in creating the world,
 it is, according to the opinions of the above-
 mentioned eminent persons, an idle tale : but
 “ *Moses*,” as Dr. *T. Burnet* says, “ being
 “ minded to consecrate the seventh day for a
 “ sabbath,

¹ Dr. *Middleton*’s works, vol. II. p. 126, 127.

“ sabbath, he therefore spun out the crea-
 “ tion to six days ^k.”

SUPPOSE this account had been written by a heathen historian or poet, what should we have thought? Could we then have imagined it any other than a fable or an allegory, and a very strange one too? Or, if we had taken it in a literal sense, should we not have held it so childish, romantic, notoriously false and silly, as to be much more properly the subject of ridicule than of serious criticism, and not an object worthy of even pagan faith? Man formed out of the dust, and woman made out of one of his ribs.—A dumb serpent accosting the woman in articulate and intelligible language: on which she, instead of being frightened, and hastening to her husband to inform him of what had happened, enters calmly into a dialogue with the beast; and he prevails upon her to act contrary to the express commands of her Creator—Who “ walking in the garden in the cool of the
 “ day, called unto *Adam* ;” and after some discourse with him and the woman, and cursing the serpent, and pronouncing sentence upon the man and his wife, he, “ the Lord
 “ God, made coats of skins, and clothed
 “ them.”

A a 4 IMPROBABLE

^k *Archæologia Philosophica*, translated into *English*, p. 39.

IMPROBABLE and irrational as every one of these circumstances might appear, if taken literally, or related by an heathen writer, they are not by much the worst part of this narrative. God, the fountain of justice and goodness, is here represented as suffering his own creature, for whom he intended everlasting happiness, to be by another of his creatures, of superior abilities and cunning, seduced from his duty, and thereby the man and all his posterity rendered for ever miserable : whereas, if God had been pleased to interpose, all this evil had been prevented, and his kind intention towards man had not been frustrated.

SOME divines indeed, as hath been already observed, being desirous to get rid of the manifest absurdities of so shocking a story, appear willing it should pass for an allegory. But admitting this, would it not even then, supposing it formed by an uninspired person, appear highly injurious to the honour of God, and extremely prejudicial to the interest of religion ? For it represents the Deity, as we have just now seen, disappointed in his design of rendering his creature man happy in the state he had placed him, and by an opposite power, who, in this case, is described as gaining his point in opposition to the will of the Almighty. Nay, God himself is represented



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OF GOD, the invisible, incomprehensible, almighty Creator of the universe? Of whom it might well be said, as it was with great strength and beauty of expression by *Isaiah*,
 “To whom will ye liken God? or what
 “likeness will ye compare unto him? Who
 “hath measured the waters in the hollow of
 “his hand? and meted out heaven with a
 “span, and comprehended the dust of the
 “earth in a measure, and weighed the moun-
 “tains in scales, and the hills in a balance?
 “Behold, the nations are as a drop of a bucket,
 “and are counted as the small dust of the
 “balance: behold, he taketh up the isles as
 “a very little thing. All nations before him
 “are as nothing, and they are counted to
 “him less than nothing.”

NOTWITHSTANDING LIKENESS OF GOD, says also, in the sixth chapter of the same book, (*Genesis*) “God saw, that the wicked-
 “ness of man was great in the earth, and that every
 “imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil
 “continually. And it repented the Lord that he had
 “made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his
 “heart.” But if it be said, that the first man was created innocent, and this account given of his posterity, who were all born after his fall; yet pray how much in the likeness of an all-wise, omnipotent, and unchangeable God, must a poor weak wretched creature be, who in his most perfect state disobeyed his Maker, and knowingly incurred so grievous a penalty as eternal misery for himself and all that were to follow him, only for the sake of eating perhaps an apple or a fig?

^m *Isaiah* xl. 12, 15, 17, 18.

NOTWITHSTANDING the glorious and inconceivable majesty of the Deity, of which even this noble and sublime description can give us but a very imperfect idea, and the infinite disparity between God and man, yet the author of *Genesis* hath, lest it should not be sufficiently observed, four times in the compass of two verses, repeated, that God created man in his own image and after his likeness". Does this favour of inspiration?

IF a writer took upon him to give an account of the creation of the world, concerning which there could be no traditional or historical knowledge, (for certainly man could not tell what happened before he had a being)

" A reverend divine, who hath taken much pains to vindicate this strange text, after producing some ridiculous conceits of certain *Jewish* rabbies concerning it, and telling us his own opinion wherein this likeness of God and man consists, cites an expression of one, who cried out with extasy, *Non homo sum, sed Deus, quoniam naturam immortalis sum.* And of this enormous rant our divine says, " bold as the expression was, it is in fact (under " modest restrictions) not far from the truth." And a little lower he adds, " it is very reasonable to suppose, " that the departed souls of good men will be * * * to " all eternity approaching still nearer the glorious per- " fections of the Deity, till perhaps, in process of time; " Man will be spiritualized to such a degree, as to excel " in dignity the highest order of created Beings, as much " as those sons of glory excel man in his present dejected " state." *The Doctrine of endless Torments freely and impartially debated; &c.* By John Maud, M. A. Vicar of St. Neots, &c. p. 17.

a being) or if men undertook to foretel future contingencies, they had indeed occasion for divine revelation: nevertheless, might not one write a book of *Genesis*, and others pretend to prophecy, without being divinely inspired?

BEFORE we take leave of this narrative of the creation and fall of man, &c. that the reader may see it has not been here treated more freely than by a very eminent and learned divine, it is thought proper to subjoin some extracts from a translation of the *Archæologia Philosophicæ* of the Rev. Dr. Burnet, dedicated by him to the late king *William*. Indeed it reflects great dishonour on any account or system of things, whether religious, or civil, or philosophical, if they will not bear a strict and free examination; and whatever fools, bigots, or hypocrites may say or pretend, it is in the highest degree scandalous, and prejudicial to true religion and the interest of society, to prevent, or even discourage such examination; and persecution, for so bad a purpose, is destructive of that liberty which all mankind are intitled to, and consequently a crime of the most malignant nature.

BUT let us hear this excellent author: "Great," says he, "is the force of custom and a pre-conceived opinion over human minds. Wherefore these short observations



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—“ ALL these things,” that happened
 between the creation and fall of man, “ are
 said to have been transacted in one day’s
 time, or perhaps but in half a day.” * * *
 “ And that very same day mistress bride be-
 ing, to I know not what intent, pleased to
 ramble among the groves of the garden,
 chanced to meet with the serpent, &c.”
 * * * “ But I cannot bear to see, that in so
 short a time all things were inverted and
 put into a total disorder; and that the whole
 frame of nature, which had been but just
 now composed and polished, should, before
 the first time of the sun’s setting, fall to
 ruin and confusion. In the morning God
 said, all things were good; and in the even-
 ing of the same day, all things are accursed.
 Alas! how fleeting and unconstant is the
 glory of things created! A work that was
 so elaborate as to be six days ere it could
 be brought to perfection, and that by an
 omnipotent architect, to be thus ruined by
 so vile a beast.”

—“ REALLY it seems a very cruel and
 very hard thing, that God should be said
 to have tormented, nay, and ruined man-
 kind for so small a fault, and that too
 committed through the levity of a woman’s
 mind. Wherefore some are of opinion,
 (which

^a *Ibid.* p. 21.

^r *Ibid.* p. 22, 23.

“ (which I am not much averse to) that *Moses*
 “ laid so vast a punishment on so small a
 “ crime, only to the end he might procure
 “ the greater deference and authority to his
 “ own laws, *which often decree with the*
 “ *greatest severity things frivolous, and in their*
 “ *own nature indifferent.* For who would
 “ not fear to violate the most petty, inconfi-
 “ derable precept that comes in the name of
 “ God, *if the eating of one forbidden apple*
 “ *could bring perdition to all mankind?*”

TOWARDS our author's conclusion of this
 treatise, he says, “ As we are christians, we
 “ worship the supreme Deity, a God of the
 “ greatest power and goodness, or, as he is
 “ usually defined, a being infinitely perfect.
 “ Now can we say, that a being infinitely
 “ perfect made coats of skins, and put them
 “ on the man and the woman? with many
 “ other things which are related concerning
 “ the being of infinite perfection in that col-
 “ loquy with *Adam*, the woman, and the
 “ serpent. *When therefore we attribute any*
 “ *thing to the Deity which is unworthy of him,*
 “ *not in words only, but really as to the matter*
 “ *itself, we offend against the dignity of the*
 “ *Divine Nature; which, if it were done with*
 “ *a wicked mind, would not only have an air*
 “ *of REPROACH, but of BLASPHEMY.*”

BY

By these few extracts from this treatise of our worthy and pious author, particularly the last paragraph, his sentiments concerning the *Mosaic* account of the original of men and things, sufficiently appear. Could the reverend Doctor possibly believe, that a book which attributed to the Deity so many things unworthy of him, as our learned divine himself plainly insinuates this does, was written by divine inspiration?

S E C T I O N V.

ACCORDING to the opinions of those eminent divines quoted in the last section, there are many parts of the bible in which revelation was not at all necessary. Relations of facts that men themselves had been eye-witnesses of, or such as they might hear from others, or learn by tradition, needed no divine revelation. The same may be said of giving advice, or persons signifying their desire, about the most common and trivial things: as when *Paul* advises *Timothy* to drink no longer water, but use a little wine for his stomach's sake^u; or when the same apostle desires *Timothy* to bring the cloke and parchments with him that he left at *Troas*^v; surely

^u 1 *Timothy* v. 23.

^v 2 *Timothy* iv. 13.



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“ments.” And the same author informs us from *Erasmus*, that cardinal *Hugo* was so far from thinking all parts of scripture were written by divine revelation, that he treats a passage in *St. Matthew*, “as little better than a lie, or such an account as one would expect from a man in his cups.”

By the foregoing account which the scriptures give of themselves, we seem to be under a necessity of allowing, that all parts of these writings were not divinely revealed: but if this did not convince us, the many and palpable inconsistencies in several places must put this matter beyond dispute. 'Tis true, this will occasion a great, and it may be feared, an almost insuperable difficulty; which is, to distinguish what parts were, and what were not so revealed. Probably the apprehension of this difficulty hath caused many divines of more zeal than knowledge, or more art than honesty, to contend so earnestly for such an apparent falsehood, as that every word of the bible was by divine inspiration. But let what difficulties soever arise, that which is true should not be denied or concealed. In mens conduct and actions they should pay especial regard to consequences: but in disputes, or searching after truth, which ought to be the end of all disputes,

putes, when premises are true, let consequences answer for themselves. As in truth there can be no contradictions or absurdities, we may be certain it will lead us into none. Let us therefore boldly follow wherever she conducts us.

THAT the scriptures then were not wholly given forth by divine revelation, is, as appears above, not only conformable to the opinion of some of our greatest divines, but also to the testimony of the scriptures themselves: That some parts of them may have been faultily transcribed or printed, wrong translated, interpolated, taken in a literal sense when the meaning was allegorical, and in many other respects misunderstood, seems as true. . But that God will ever act contrary to his essential attributes, is absolutely impossible: and what can be more contrary to these than the punishing HIS CREATURES WITH ETERNAL TORMENTS? Should it not therefore be well considered; whether the attempts to prove this doctrine from scripture, were they to succeed, would not tend greatly to weaken, if not totally destroy the authority of scripture?

S E C T I O N VI.

FOURTHLY, 'Tis said, that the belief of everlasting punishments is absolutely necessary to deter men from being wicked, and also part of the foundation of religion, and therefore ought on no account to be discouraged. But as we hope it hath already been proved, that this opinion cannot be true; if it shall also appear not in any comparison so serviceable to prevent vice as many imagine or pretend, or as other means are, but on the contrary, in divers respects very prejudicial, and a foundation for a bad religion only, then surely it ought to meet with that discouragement it so well deserves.

THOSE who have made any observations on human nature must allow, that all dangers or evils, however great, if at a distance, lose much of their force and terror: whereas smaller dangers or evils near at hand, or before our eyes, are frequently attended with a very forcible influence and effect. That the fear of punishments of this last kind operates strongly in deterring men from wickedness, and the apprehension of those of the former very feebly, is therefore certain. And as to faults which are not punishable by the laws, are not men much more generally restrained from



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374 *Of EVERLASTING PUNISHMENTS.*

world, or of those which are present, tho' but temporary in this world, deter men most effectually from wicked actions, let us suppose the former fear remained and was universal, but that no present punishments being inflicted, the latter of course ceased. In this case, what fatal consequences must ensue! The earth would immediately be covered with wickedness, as the waters cover the sea. The weak and timorous would be presently destroyed by the strong and the daring, who would soon perish by one another, and the world in a short time be by this means depopled. But supposing the former, the fear of future and eternal punishments ceased, and that of present punishments, which were duly, strictly, and universally executed, remained in full force; the different effects between the dread of present punishments, although but temporal, and that of future, tho' eternal, would then be evident.

As a further proof of the little effect that the fear of punishments in a future state hath on many who believe them,—doth not daily experience shew us, that multitudes of the most flagitious wretches are among the number of such believers?

THE *Portuguese* are generally allowed to be some of the greatest bigots upon earth to what they call religion, and consequently, the

the common people especially, are far from any doubt concerning hell-torments: yet in the midst of the late dreadful calamity, when, from the universal confusion, bad men thought themselves in little or no danger of present justice overtaking them, they perpetrated the most horrid and execrable crimes: yet no sooner were some executed, than the terror of immediate suffering prevented others from proceeding in those wicked actions, which the belief or fear of future and eternal misery had not power to restrain them from committing.

Is it not then evident, that the good effects of this doctrine of everlasting punishments are few and precarious? The bad we shall presently see are many and certain.

SUCH a belief impresses the mind with false, unworthy, and shocking opinions of the Deity: it greatly imbitters mens lives, and very probably tends to harden sinners and make them desperate, and to deter men from serious and religious thoughts. Nay, it is undoubtedly a great cause of atheism: for many may suppose it much more eligible, if not more reasonable, to think there is no God, than to place their faith in one who will make his own creatures for ever miserable.

IN respect to this belief being part of the foundation of religion; it may be so of that which is false, but cannot of that which is true: it is certainly too bad a foundation to build any thing good upon.

As faith in God is the basis of religion, so the belief that he is a being of perfect goodness must be the foundation of all true religion: for were he an evil being, it would undoubtedly be in vain to worship him; or, if any acceptable worship could be invented, it must be of a malignant and cruel kind, such as bloody sacrifices or the like.

“THE *Hottentots* adore an evil Deity, whom they call *Touquôa*, and look upon him as the father of mischief, and the source of all their plagues. Upon any apprehension of danger or misfortune they coax him with the offering of an ox or a sheep; and at other times perform divers ceremonies to wheedle and keep him quiet.”

MANY of the ignorant *Indians* in *America*, who imagine that two great spirits, one good and the other bad, govern the world, worship the latter but not the former, and assign this reason why they do so: the good, say they, cannot hurt us, but the bad will. These poor people do not consider, that the

utmost

* The present State of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, Vol. I. p. 104.



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378 Of EVERLASTING PUNISHMENTS.

knew that his father would punish him with the most extreme torments, or, tho' it were in his power, would not save him from suffering them, what filial respect or veneration could he have for such a parent? And is not God much more intimately related to his creatures, than an earthly parent to his children? And may not creatures reasonably hope for and expect more care and affection from their Creator, than children from their parents? And is it not mens belief, that they are under the protection of the Deity, and receive from him all the good things they possess, and that he will bestow upon them all the happiness they shall hereafter enjoy, which is the foundation of true religion?

If therefore there are any texts of scripture, which seem to threaten, that God, who is a being of infinite goodness, will punish men with everlasting torments, we shall leave divines to settle the point, whether such passages, as before-mentioned, are not wrong translated, interpolated, or misunderstood. But however that may be, had not the learned and judicious Dr. *Middleton* reason to say?
“ It is a principle constantly laid down by
“ all the expositors of sacred writ, that every
“ part of it must be expounded in such a
“ manner as to render it consistent with rea-
“ son, and the known attributes of the Deity;

“ and whatever will not admit of that interpretation, cannot be received as of divine authority. If this be true,” saith the same author, “ it follows, that our notion of God and his attributes is not to be drawn originally from the scriptures, but from nature and reason, previously to our study of scriptures, which otherwise would be apt to lead us into dangerous errors.”

DANGEROUS errors indeed! For the want of observing this rule, of drawing our sentiments of God and his attributes from nature and reason, and not originally from the scriptures, has been one principal cause of our ascribing the human passions, and even the worst of them, such as anger, jealousy; hatred, revenge, &c. to the Deity. These passions the scriptures in a multitude of places have ascribed to him, “ with whom,” they have also told us, and truly told us, that there “ is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.”

DID not men entertain unreasonable and absurd opinions of God, they would not imagine him to be cruel; and did they not suppose him to be cruel, they could not believe he would punish them with eternal torments,
 or

^b Dr. Middleton's works, vol. II. p. 123.

^c The General Epistle of James, ch. i. 17.

or even suffer the works of his hands to be for ever miserable^d.

To avoid the force of this argument, some advocates for the doctrine of eternal damnation say, that **EVERLASTING MISERY** is not an arbitrary punishment by God, but a natural consequence of sin, and agreeable to the nature

* A zealous advocate for this doctrine of Endless Torments, before quoted, tells us, "that the inhabitants of the old world even **FORCED THE ALMIGHTY,** "in vindication of his justice, to cut them utterly off "from the face of the earth. They had, by such long "repeated abominations, **REDUCED HEAVEN TO THIS "UNAVOIDABLE DILEMMA,** either of contending with "them by threatenings and punishments, even to eternity, had he continued them upon earth; or else destroying them utterly out of this world, and shifting the scene of those torments to the land of **ETERNAL "HORROR."** And in another place he says, that whether the number of sinners who fall under the sentence of **ETERNAL MISERY** "be greater or less, it does not, "as is pretended, at all impeach the goodness of God, "because it is a punishment which the objects of it even "FORCED divine justice to inflict, and wilfully called "down upon themselves, in spite of every merciful method of conviction a thousand times repeated. And I "doubt not," says our author, "but the objects of this "punishment will fully discover its equitableness, acknowledge God's justice in this affair, and even **THANK "THE ALMIGHTY** that it was not, as to its kind and "DEGREE, of a more dreadful nature." Yet, of these torments he tells us, "that in duration they will be endless, and in **DEGREE INFINITELY GREAT."** *The Doctrine of endless Torments freely and impartially debated, &c. By John Maud, M. A. Vicar of St. Neots, &c. p. 110, 398 and 412.*



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then would the lot of poor man be! Here his days are few and full of sorrow, and, according to some mens opinions, he seems necessitated to come into this world for little else but to be damned in the next; where, say they, he is compelled to live for ever, that he may be for ever miserable.

If this was the deplorable condition of our species, would not *Milton* have had great reason to represent the first man, *Adam*, thus expostulating with his Creator?

*Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay
To mould me man? Did I solicit thee
From darkness to promote me? * * * * *
* * * * * As my will
Concurr'd not to my being, 'twere but right
And equal, to reduce me to my dust,
Desirous to resign and render back
All I receiv'd; unable to perform
Thy terms too hard, by which I was to bold
The good I sought not. To the loss of that,
Sufficient penalty! why hast thou added
The sense of endless woes? Inexplicable
Thy justice seems'. * * * * **

INEXPLICABLE indeed, were this the case. But we hope it has been evidently made to appear,

FIRST, That the justice and glory of God are so far from requiring he should punish
sinners

' *Paradise Lost*, book X.

sinners and unbelievers with eternal torments, that such punishments would be directly contrary to both.

SECONDLY, That notwithstanding very great men, divines especially, may have taught this doctrine, yet it is highly probable many of these have not believed it themselves, but inculcated this opinion for some particular purposes; and if they had believed it, that for very great persons to be mistaken is not at all unusual.

THIRDLY, That learned men do not agree, whether these punishments are denounced by scripture or not: and if some passages should seem very much to favour the opinion that they are, yet as divers parts of scripture were certainly not given forth by divine inspiration, and others, according to the apostle *Peter*, "*are hard to be understood;*" such passages may be justly included among one or other of those, and consequently not of sufficient authority in this point: and indeed, that no authority can be sufficient to command our assent to what is contrary to the essential attributes of the Deity ^s.

FOURTHLY,

^s — If any doctrine is either mediately or immediately contrary to the moral attributes of God, the consequence is, that such doctrine cannot be true; nor can any evidence (no not miracles themselves) prove, that such

FOURTHLY, It seems evident, that this belief is not so necessary or effectual as is commonly thought, to deter men from being wicked; and that a doctrine so contrary to the divine goodness cannot be any part of the foundation of a liberal and a true religion, although it may of a slavish and a false one; that it is attended with many very bad consequences, particularly imbittering mens lives, creating in their minds impious opinions of the Deity, or rendering them atheists.

CERTAINLY, if we believe the world was created and is governed by a being of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, we must allow, that all absolute evil is necessarily excluded from the universe; and doubtless eternal misery would be an evil of this kind.

A QUESTION may here arise: Do we not all experience many evils both physical and moral? We do indeed! And this occasioned some persons to imagine, tho' weakly, that the world was created and is governed by two beings, one good and the other bad: and according to a common opinion among the greater part of christians, who in words disclaim this doctrine, the world seems divided, tho' very unequally, between two such powers: I say unequally; for by the number of such a notion can come from God. *The Scripture Doctrine of the Redemption, &c.* By A. A. Sykes, D. D. C. I. p. 5.



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position which will reconcile their existence with the perfect goodness of God.

If any should inquire, how evil can produce good? it must be acknowledged, that this is an exceeding difficult question to answer fully and satisfactorily in all cases: however, many instances of it are obvious. 'Tis an evil to cut off a limb from a living man; but if this be done to preserve life, it is consequentially good. Pain and sickness are evils; but if, as many think, constant health and uninterrupted ease do not afford so great a degree of pleasure, as a return of health after sickness, or of ease after pain, then these evils produce good. Besides, they may be of service in weaning men from this world, and in causing them to leave it with willingness instead of regret. Nay, death itself, commonly esteemed the greatest of temporal evils, if it be the entrance of a better life, is a most substantial good; but if of eternal misery, is then a real and terrible evil.

THESE indeed are instances only of physical evil producing good: how moral evil can be any way beneficial, the writer of this Essay acknowledges himself ignorant: but, as man is formed and circumstanced, moral evil seems inevitable; and if it be really so, this is a very strong reason why God will pardon it.

it. The well-known and good-natured opinion of *Origen* was, that not only bad men; but even devils should be finally happy.

SECTION VII.

AFTER all, some may ask,—Are the good and the bad to fare alike in a future state? Before this query is answered, a previous question may be necessary: Is it not possible, nay, is it not highly probable, that the good only will arrive at a future state? One of the best writers of our nation, and perhaps of any other, seems at least much inclined to this opinion.

Mr. Locke, in his treatise intitled *The Reasonableness of Christianity, &c.* sets out with endeavouring to prove, that the penalty incurred by *Adam* and his posterity, on account of the sin he committed, was not, as some will have it, a state of endless torments in hell-fire, but death literally speaking. “It seems,” says this author, “a strange way of understanding a law, which requires the plainest and directest words, that by death should be meant eternal life in misery. Could any one be supposed by a law that says, For felony thou shalt die, not that he

“ should lose his life, but be kept alive in
 “ perpetual exquisite torments? And would
 “ any one think himself fairly dealt with
 “ that was so used?” Again, “ I must
 “ confess by death here I can understand
 “ nothing but a ceasing to be.” And a
 little further he says, “ Immortality and bliss
 “ belong to the righteous; but an exclusion
 “ from *Paradise* and a LOSS OF IMMOR-
 “ TALITY is the portion of sinners*.”

THE scriptures do in many places favour
 this opinion, that death, literally speaking, and
 not eternal misery, is the portion of sinners:
 but as we must acknowledge, that these
 writings do also in other places seem to assert
 the contrary, their authority therefore will
 not, on this occasion, be pleaded.

HOWEVER, we shall endeavour to shew,
 if the apostle *Paul* meant, by God's making
 one vessel unto honour and another unto
 dishonour, not that one man was designed
 only for everlasting life and happiness, and
 another for death, but that one was made
 for eternal bliss, and another for eternal mi-
 sery; *St. Paul* would in that case appear to
 have given a most shocking account of the
 Deity and his dealings with his creature
 man. Might not man then, in the words
 the apostle puts into his mouth, with great
 reason



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have supposed, the apostle really intended by vessels of dishonour, and vessels of wrath; men that were created by God to be eternally miserable, he certainly had the greatest reason here to have said, as he did say in another place before cited, "That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord; but as it were foolishly;" for surely the Lord never taught, that he created some men, nay, far the greatest part of mankind, to make them everlastingly miserable; neither could it be wise in any one to say so. But if nothing more was designed by the apostle than to shew, that some men were formed to die and absolutely cease to be; and others, tho' also to die, should nevertheless rise again to perpetual happiness; this would greatly alter the case. And,

IF we suppose this to be the distinction between the good and the bad, the wise and the unwise, will not their states be vastly different? Will not the latter be sufficiently punished, and yet without cruelty, by the loss of immortality and eternal happiness? I say without cruelty; for if when men die they cease to be, they are then no more miserable than before they had a being.

BUT this, it may be said, is all conjecture.—Very true: and what more than conjecture can be expected on a subject which will not admit

admit of certainty, and we have no real knowledge concerning it? But, pray, is not this a conjecture beyond all comparison more reasonable, than to suppose a being of INFINITE GOODNESS punishing his creatures with INFINITE TORMENTS?

AND perhaps, after all, some mens ceasing to be may not, strictly and properly speaking, be so much a punishment, as what nature hath subjected them to.

INDEED, if we take a view of the bulk of mankind, their behaviour, diversions, and employments, how little do they appear like IMMORTAL BEINGS?

TRAVELLERS give accounts of many nations, who shew but few signs of knowledge beyond several kinds of the mere brute creation: the principal difference between them is of shape, and that perhaps not always to the advantage of the former¹, and speech, which among some of them, particularly the *Hottentots*, is extremely defective. The common employment of many of these IMMORTAL CREATURES is to destroy one another, to which some of them are

C c 4

incited

¹ In the opinion of a late reverend and celebrated author, one species of brutes, at least, hath much the advantage in this respect, and in most other respects also. See the account of horses in *Gulliver's Travels*, and how much superior to *Yahoos* they are there represented.

incited both by malice and hunger; for no sooner have they gratified the former by shedding the blood of one of their own species, than they satisfy the latter by feeding on his carcase.

BUT we need not search distant parts of the world to discover brutes in human shape, nor extend our inquiry after them so far as the *Cape of Good-Hope*, to the *Hottentots* there: let us only cast our eyes on many of the common people among ourselves, the *Hottentots* at home. Behold what wretched, stupid, mischievous, wicked animals numbers of them are, and what their employments, and diversions frequently consist in: for the most part how trifling or vile the former, how savage and cruel the latter! When numbers of the vulgar get together for their diversions, or on any other account, and are without awe or controul, do but attend to their behaviour, the subjects of their discourse, and their wise reflections. Or whoever has been present with five or six hundred or a thousand such creatures in a ship of war, and observed their demeanor, and heard their ribaldry, their oaths, curses, and blasphemy, and the confused din of noise and nonsense among them, will have had a fine opportunity of observing how much

much



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rise up, or perhaps rather sit down, to play. Cards and dice, rioting and wantonness, are their delight, their enjoyment; and the chief business of their lives. View them in their assemblies, their routs, and their masquerades, and see how much like IMMORTAL BEINGS they appear and act, and what strong signatures of immortality and eternal life are impressed upon them.

WERE a superior being, capable of discovering the thoughts and intentions of mens hearts; or rather the wild imaginations and fancies of their brains, and taking in all the various transactions of mankind at one view, to behold us, what a scene of folly, madness, and wickedness would be displayed to him? And how much like heirs of immortality and eternal life would far the greater part of mankind appear to such a being?

HERE he would see some planting men, others in a most cruel manner destroying, not single persons only, but whole armies and nations also, and making this their diversion or employment. Here he would behold unbounded licentiousness attended with excessive mirth and jollity, riot and wantonness: there, the most grievous oppression and tyranny in some, and in others the deepest sorrow and misery, with weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth. In all men

he would discern much weakness, in far the greater part much wickedness. Under the most specious appearances of friendship, morality, and religion, he would plainly discover much deceit, vice, and hypocrisy. What dark clouds of ignorance, error, and superstition would he see this world enveloped with, and only a few small lucid appearances here and there of knowledge, virtue, and true religion? He would hear men preach temperance, justice, and charity; and see the same men live in luxury, and in the practice of injustice and cruelty. He would observe some men without thought or reflection; and others, who were slaves to their vices and certain convenient and favourite opinions, set up for free-thinkers. He would see vast numbers adoring the works of their own hands, and christians persecuting christians on account of different modes of worship, and manifesting their love to mens souls by most cruelly tormenting their bodies. He would behold multitudes of rational creatures playing the most apish and foolish tricks, in the worship of a being of infinite wisdom, and exercising the most inhuman cruelties to please a God of infinite goodness.

THE bulk of mankind evidently appearing so little suited to, prepared for, or worthy of a future

a future state of immortal happiness, and it being so directly contrary to the essential attributes of God, who is perfectly good, that any of his creatures should be for ever miserable, what can we reasonably suppose, but either that the virtuous and pious only shall inherit eternal life? or, if, as some think, the Deity will not suffer anything he hath created absolutely to perish, that then the stupid and the wicked may be so changed and purified, as to enjoy such a state of being, as their several natures and capacities are fitted for? this however to be vastly different from, and inferior to, the condition of the wise and the good. But to suppose, as many do, that this purification of the mind is to be effected by burning the body, or by elementary fire, or by any other tormenting punishment, is a gross conceit and most monstrously absurd. On the contrary, if there be any possible method, as undoubtedly there is, of purifying corrupt men, and fitting such for a future state of felicity, without tormenting them, we may rest assured, that no **TORMENTS** will be made use of.

THIS opinion, that all creatures capable of happiness will be finally happy, although in very different degrees, or at least that none will be for ever miserable, seems so conso-

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nity would. Yet we suppose the Almighty, whom, properly speaking, none can injure, doth not act with so much benignity to us, as we acknowledge we ought to do, nay as many of us actually do, by one another. Once more,—I would ask a real good man, if he doth not feel a most exquisite pleasure in making others happy? or, were it in his power to make all mankind so, whether the very thought would not be ravishing beyond expression? Yet we are not willing to allow this disposition to the FOUNTAIN OF GOODNESS; but suppose, nay assert, that he will condemn millions of millions of his creatures to everlasting misery. Surely, if any opinion men form of the Deity can be offensive to him, this must be so in the highest degree.

TRUE it is, that all absolute certainty concerning a future state is, for wise reasons no doubt^m, withheld from us: nevertheless it certainly behoves every man so to conduct himself in this life, as if he were sure of another.

FOR supposing there should be no future state, but that man when he dies shall cease
to

^m Among other wise reasons, perhaps for this; that if we were certain of passing, when we go hence, to a state of perfect happiness, we should not have patience to stay here our allotted time.

to be; yet what will he lose? or rather, what advantage, respecting this life, will he not gain by a virtuous and pious conduct? Our loss, if it may with any propriety be deemed a loss, will be only of such pleasures as, like *Circe's* cup, turn men into beasts; or, like palatable poisons, serve to consume and destroy us. But as to our gain,—If there be any real good in health of body and strength and vigour of mind; in reputation with, and esteem of worthy men; in peace and satisfaction in our own breasts; and in reflecting with pleasure on our actions: this good,—these benefits, and many more, accrue from temperance, justice, and charity;—in a word, from virtue and piety. But, if our enjoying a future state, or any considerable degree of happiness in it, should depend on the habits we contract here, and on our conduct and behaviour in this world, then what infinite service and benefit will a rational, a virtuous, and a pious life be to us?

On the whole, we hope it may be reasonably and safely concluded, that God will not even suffer any of his creatures to be for ever miserable, much less punish them with everlasting torments: but on the contrary, if he hath allotted a future
and

400 **OF EVERLASTING POSSESSIONS,**
and eternal life for man, that all men of every nation, and of every religion, (and suffer me to add,—all without any particular denomination of religion also,) who have lived soberly, righteously, and piously, shall be for ever happy.



ESSAY



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of proof? yet this is frequently the case in almost all religions.

A *Danish* missionary asked some *Malabarian* Bramins, or Priests, if they could demonstrate that their idols were true gods? The Bramins answered, that the matter being self-evident, wanted no proofs or demonstrations^a. The same people boast, that they have a law written by God himself^o; and the *Mohammedans* assert, that their Koran was so composed^p. Now the first of these, instead of being a self-evident truth, is a self-evident falsehood, and the two last cannot possibly be proved. Most certain indeed it is that they are false: for God, properly and strictly speaking, hath no more wrote books, than he has built houses, planted gardens, or made cloaths for men or women.

If some of those, who call themselves christians, would impartially and thoroughly examine their own doctrines and creeds, how many articles, just as true and demonstrable as those of the *Malabarians* and *Mohammedans* above-mentioned, might they find in them?

THE common and most successful method of establishing faith in false facts and false doctrines,

^a Conferences between the *Danish* Missionaries and the *Malabarian* Bramins, p. 293. ^o *Ibid.* p. 83.

^p The Koran translated by Mr. Sale, p. 170.

doctrines, is to pretend a divine authority for the truth of them. Thus when the *Malabar* Bramins have once brought the people to believe, that their law was written by God; the *Turkish* Mufty, that the Koran was composed by the Almighty; and the *Romish* Priests, that their church is infallible; there are then no facts however false, nor no doctrines however absurd, which they may not impose upon the people: for those who should attempt to controvert any facts or doctrines contained in these books, or adopted by this church, would immediately be told, they are of divine authority, and therefore what is asserted or taught by them must not be called in question or reasoned about. Such persons or societies therefore, who would keep clear of error and delusion, should above all things resolve not to admit any law, or book, or authority, as divine, which is not evidently demonstrated so to be.

MENS faith generally increases in proportion to their ignorance: the less they know, the more they believe. Those who know nothing are very apt to believe every thing.

AN intemperate zeal is very productive of false faith: for as a great degree of elementary heat produces many noxious vermin, so does violent religious heat give birth to a multitude of false and pernicious opinions.

THE love of wondering is also a mighty help to belief, and on some subjects is a much shorter as well as a much surer way to it than reasoning: *Tu ratiocinare, says St. Austin, ego mirer; disputa tu, ego credam.*

FAITH doth not only remove mountains, but, which is a much greater work, creates abundance of things. What numbers of miracles, wizards, witches, necromancers, apparitions, demoniacs, &c. owe their very being to faith? No sooner did we in this country cease to believe in them, but, with us, they ceased to exist: and most certain it is, that if the people all the world over did no longer believe in them, they would likewise lose their existence every where.

CREDULITY is universally regarded as a mark of weakness, and greatly contemned in every thing except false religion. The reason why it is so much recommended and extolled in that is evident: an extravagant belief in fools is the source of an exorbitant power in knaves.

THE corruption of the understanding is the generation of false faith: when the former is thoroughly corrupted, what monsters of the latter doth it produce!

THERE are two cases in which every man should be strictly upon his guard even against himself: - when he believes what he very
much



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true, and of which they are able to form a judgment.

WHEN we have duly, deliberately, and to the utmost of our ability considered any facts or propositions propounded to us, the opinion we shall be of, whether these are true or false, is not in our power. If we pass any judgment at all, (for sometimes we are so in suspense as to form none) it must be as the evidence or proof appears to us. For as Mr. *Locke* very justly observes, “Our will hath
 “no power to determine the knowledge of
 “the mind one way or the other. No more
 “than in objects of sight it depends on the
 “will to see that black which appears yel-
 “low, or in feeling to persuade ourselves
 “that what scalds us feels cold.” This being really the case respecting belief, wherein doth the merit of faith consist? or how can we justly be blame-worthy or punishable for the want of it?

In reality, the whole merit of faith, on which some lay so much stress, seems entirely to consist in using all the means in our power to be rightly informed, and receiving truth in the love of it. And blame or punishment for not believing can only be justly incurred, when the means of obtaining faith are neglected or refused. Is it not highly
 unreasonable

² *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, vol. II. ch. 13.

unreasonable then to suppose and teach, that God will arbitrarily reward or punish men for what is out of their power?

THE reward of faith, and punishment for the want of it, apparently consist in the different consequences attending the one and the other. For example: if a person believes that an almighty being of infinite wisdom and goodness created and governs all things, then, if he thinks consistently, his opinion will be, that there is a general harmony in the universe; and as this being certainly designed final happiness for all his creatures to whom he allotted a future state and rendered capable of happiness, that nothing can possibly disappoint the designs of Omnipotence. On the contrary, those who do not believe the world was thus created, may perhaps imagine, that blind chance (which, by the way, is a non-entity) governs it, and consequently, that the whole will end in confusion, unhappiness, or annihilation. Or, if any should entertain a belief, that an EVIL DEMON created and governs all things, such persons will be in dread of EVERLASTING MISERY. Thus we see, that a rational faith is rewarded with hope and tranquillity of mind, and the want of it is punished with despair and great uneasiness; or to speak

more properly, these are the natural consequences of them.

AGAIN, if one man believes, that a temperate, virtuous course of life is essential to happiness, and another does not think so; the believer, if he lives and acts according to his faith, will probably be rewarded with better health, more esteem among good men, a clearer and more vigorous understanding, and with longer life also, than he would otherwise have enjoyed; and likewise with satisfaction and peace of mind in this world, beside what he may expect and hope for in the next. But the infidel will in many respects be an actual sufferer here, besides the dread he may be in of punishment hereafter. Thus we see faith as well as virtue is its own reward, and infidelity as well as vice carries its own punishment with it.

WHEN a strange and improbable fact, or an abstruse proposition which men do not understand, is propounded to them as an article of faith, and by an authority they reverence, or there is danger in disbelieving, they are frequently, by awe or fear, deterred from examining: in this case, tho' they ever so strongly declare they believe, and even fancy they do so, yet the truth is, they neither believe nor disbelieve. And this is really the
condition



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huddled over this matter too lightly, without due consideration, and without suffering the improbability or impossibility of it to make a proper impression upon your mind? And is this you call faith, a real and inward conviction and assent of the mind, or only an outward and thoughtless acknowledgment in words?

IN order to form the best judgment we are able on what passes in the minds of others, we should strictly attend to what passes in our own.

WERE ten thousand people to tell me, that they saw a man's head cut off whilst he was preaching, and that it continued to speak almost an hour after it was severed from the body¹; or that a mad woman, having killed her child, divided it into two parts, and boiled one half, which her husband taking out of the pot, and carrying to a saint's tomb, the child became whole again and was restored to life²: if, I say, ten thousand people told

Helveticus, scarce one of the youths in orders durst enter on the examination of those controversies, lest they should fall into opinions by which they would have been excluded from the ministry, p. 5 and 6.

¹ *A Treatise concerning Policy and Religion*, part II. p. 403. By *Thomas Fitzherbert*, Esq; and catholic priest. Printed, with licence of superiors, in the year 1610.

² *Ibid.* p. 482. My author says of this last-mentioned miracle, that it is testified by divers grave men, and among others

told me they were eye-witnesses of these facts, I should not give the least credit to them: and yet here is no logical contradiction; but there is nevertheless such a contradiction to common sense and universal experience, that I should think it much more likely all these people told lies, or were somehow imposed on, than that these stories should be true.

IF the most learned men in the world were to affirm, that one and the same body occupied two different places at the same time, I might think them mad, or that they endeavoured to impose upon me; but what they affirmed would not obtain the least degree of credit, because I know this to be impossible. Again,

SUPPOSE I should find it written in any book, or in ten thousand books, or know it to be a doctrine taught by all the churches in

others by *St. Antoninus*, the most learned and holy bishop of *Florence*; and was so famous in *Britany*, where it was done, that the people flocked from far and near to see the child. And it seems worthy of being remarked, that this author, who appears to have been a man of sense and learning, produces the above-mentioned miracles, and many others equally absurd and extravagant, as undeniable proofs that the *Romish* religion is the only true one, and complains most heavily “of the blindness or senseless stupidity of heretics, who will not be convinced by such instances of the clear sun-shine of God’s glory.” *Ibid.* p. 489.

in Christendom, that although God was a being of infinite goodness, yet he punished his creatures with infinite torments; I could notwithstanding believe no other, but that this was a false opinion, because it included a manifest contradiction, and greatly derogated from the honour of the Deity.

.. If men can, in any sense, be said to credit a fact which they think improbable, or assent to the truth of a proposition they do not understand, this must proceed from an opinion that the relator or proposer will not deceive them, and is more properly a belief in him than of the fact or proposition itself: and this, many times, is rather a suspense of mind, or not entirely disbelieving, than really and thoroughly believing. But if what is proposed for mens belief appears to them absolutely impossible, let it come from what authority soever, they cannot receive it for truth:

• If a person unacquainted with the nature of fluids, and who has not seen the following experiment, should be told by a philosopher, that a tube of water only one inch diameter would press upon the bottom of a vessel three feet diameter, with the same force as a pillar of water equal in height to the water in the tube, and of a base equal to the bottom of the vessel, and this person gave credit to this paradox, it would be almost entirely owing to the opinion he entertained of the knowledge and veracity of the relator, and therefore much more properly a belief in him than of the fact.



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“you as a sober fair man; but now I am
“sure you lie.”

HERE is an instance of a true fact reported to one who entertained a very good opinion of the reporter; yet what was asserted appearing impossible to the person to whom it was related, he could give no manner of credit to it.

LET us suppose the same story told to this king by a priest of *Siam*, who declared to the former that his eternal happiness depended on believing it. The king, notwithstanding this declaration, could have given no more credit to the fact than when reported by the *Dutch* ambassador, and for this plain reason;—it appeared to him impossible.

WE see therefore, that whatever is to be the object of our faith, should not only be true in itself, but appear so to us. However; certain it is, that many things are required (not by God we may be assured) of men to believe, as necessary to their salvation, which are far from appearing true to us, and doubtless are as far from being true in themselves.

IT will be said, that we are absolutely obliged to believe all divine revelation. This is granted. But, as Mr. *Locke* very justly says,

* *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, vol. II. ch. 15. p. 276.

says, “ we must be sure that it be a divine
 “ revelation, and that we understand it right,
 “ else we shall expose ourselves to all the ex-
 “ travagancy of enthusiasm, and all the error
 “ of wrong principles.” This assurance,
 upon which so much depends, is attended
 with difficulties indeed, such difficulties as
 many people seem not aware of.

THE very persons who are favoured, or
 suppose they are favoured with extraordinary
 divine revelations or inspirations, if they
 would think soberly and rationally, must
 find it extremely difficult to be certain, that
 these really are what they imagine them to
 be. The strongest persuasion in their own
 minds that they are from God, without some
 other evidence, is no manner of proof: this
 both reason and experience evidently demon-
 strate. For it is impossible, that any men
 can have stronger persuasions in their own
 minds of being divinely inspired, even so
 strong as to lay down their lives in proof of
 it, than multitudes of enthusiasts have had,
 who were nevertheless most apparently mis-
 taken. Of this truth the Anabaptists of
Munster, the Camisards in *France*, the Fifth-
 monarchy-men among ourselves, and many
 other fanatics are flagrant instances,

THERE seem therefore to be no certain
 evidences of the reality of extraordinary divine
 revelations

revelations or inspirations but miracles, and this undoubtedly was Mr. *Locke's* opinion. "We see," saith he, "the holy men of old, who had revelations from God, had something else besides that internal light of assurance in their own minds to testify that it was from God. They were not left to their own persuasions, that those persuasions were from God, but had outward signs to convince them of the author of these revelations. And when they were to convince others, they had a power given them to justify the truth of their commission from heaven, and by visible signs to assert the divine authority of a message they were sent with. *Moses* saw the bush burn without being consumed, and heard a voice out of it. This was something besides finding an impulse upon his mind to go to *Pharaoh*, that he might bring his brethren out of *Egypt*; and yet he thought not this enough to authorise him to go with this message, 'till God, by another miracle of his rod turned into a serpent, had assured him of a power to testify his mission by the same miracle repeated before them whom he was sent to."

INASMUCH then as, according to this great man's opinion, miracles were necessary to
testify

* *Ibid.* ch. 19. p. 324.



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—to convey the mind and will of God to mankind, in order that they might obey and be happy. Pray, are not all men alike interested to know this? And are not all men equally under the care of their Creator? Is it then reasonable to suppose that, for such purposes, God would acquaint a few persons only with what was absolutely necessary, and he intended all should know? This round-about procedure is contrary to the operations of God in nature, which are all performed in the most direct and effectual manner possible. And is it not also contrary to scripture? which tells us, “*that was the true light, which lighteth EVERY MAN that cometh into the world*.” Again,—“*The grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to ALL MEN, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lust, we should live soberly, righteously, and godlily in this present world*.”

SURELY no one can think but Omnipotence could as easily make known his mind and will to every individual, as to a few particulars, and then all must be acquainted with it: whereas, were the other method taken, multitudes could know nothing of these partial revelations, and consequently the design of them would not be answered.

But

^a *John* ch. i. 9.

^b *Titus* ch. ii. 11, 12.

But we should consider, that the designs of an ALL-WISE and ALMIGHTY being cannot possibly be disappointed: therefore we may be certain the most proper methods are always taken to accomplish them. How then can we conclude otherwise, than that, according to the above-cited texts of scripture, what is necessary, respecting mens salvation, for every man to know, is to every man revealed?

If any particular person, without giving full and satisfactory proof of his authority, pretends, that the mind and will of God, respecting what others are to believe and perform, is revealed to him, would it not be just and proper for these to say?—If God requires this belief and performance of us, no doubt but he will reveal to us that he hath so done, and when he doth we will believe and obey.

AMONG a sect of enthusiasts, who were great asserters of and pretenders to immediate divine revelation, there happened to be a very handsome man of an easy fortune: a certain woman of the same sect, much inferior to him both in person and circumstances, became enamoured of this man, (an incident as common, at least, with saints as sinners) and told him the Lord had revealed to her that he was to be her husband. Very

well, replied he, when the Lord hath revealed to me that you are to be my wife, I will marry you.

OUR male enthusiast, in this case, certainly behaved like a man of sense, and asserted a right which all men have an equal title to:—That a revelation which is their own immediate concern, should be made known immediately to themselves; or at least, that those who pretend they have received divine revelations which relate to others, should give evident proof of their being divine revelations.

In fine,—may we not conclude, First, that there can be no other merit in believing, than sincerely and earnestly endeavouring to obtain the best information we are able, and readily embracing truth when we discover it? Secondly, that disbelieving is a crime only in those who neglect or refuse the means of being informed? Thirdly, that the benefit arising from faith principally depends

‘ —Belief or disbelief, says the pious and learned Dr. *Whitby*, in his *Last Thoughts*, page 40, can neither be a virtue, or a crime, in any one who uses the best means in his power of being informed. If a proposition is evident, we cannot avoid believing it; and where is the merit or piety of a necessary assent? If it is not evident, we cannot help rejecting it, or doubting of it; and where is the crime of not performing impossibilities, or not believing what does not appear to us to be true?



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ESSAY VIII.
ON THE
INFLUENCE
OF
NATURAL TEMPER.

*Mankind one day serene and free appear ;
 The next they're cloudy, sullen, and severe :
 New passions new opinions still excite,
 And what they like at noon, they hate at night.*

Garth's Dispensary, Canto III.

IF it be true that *Democritus* was always laughing at the world, and *Heraclitus* always weeping over it, this different behaviour was much more owing to the different tempers of these philosophers, than that the world is a proper object of constant scorn or sorrow.

WHAT a delightful place is this world ! says one man : What a scene of misery ! says another : yet both in health, and the former lives in a cottage, and the latter in a palace.
 How

How bright and charming did every thing appear yesterday? how gloomy and hideous, to the same person, do all things seem to day? yet nothing is changed but the man's temper. What excellent peaches and nectarines, says one old fellow to another, with a dish of fruit before them, had we when we were young, and how sour and crabbed are they now? Aye, aye, replies his companion,—they might well be so,—for then what a warm sun we had^a?

FOR what reason did our amorous poet *Walter* write so much of the love of women when he was young, and of divine love in his old age? Very probably for the same reason that *Solomon*, as the rabbies say, wrote the *Canticles* in his youth, the *Proverbs* when he was of riper years, and the *Ecclesiastes* when he was old. Men, add these *Jewish* writers, usually compose songs when they are young, parables when they are grown to be perfect men, and discourses of the vanity of things in their declining years.

MÆCENAS solicited *Horace*, in his advanced age, to write again in the lyric strain: but he excused himself, and says,

Non eadem est ætas, non mens.—

And a little after adds,

E e 4

Nunc

^a I think there is something like this in *Gil Blas*.

Nunc itaque et versus et cætera ludicra pono :

Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum :

Condo et compono, quæ mox depromere possim^e.

FROM whence did it proceed that *Erasmus* acknowledged, if he were put to the trial of suffering martyrdom for his religion, he believed he should imitate *St. Peter*? and that *Luther*, when told by his friends, if he went to the diet of *Worms*, he would share the same fate with *John Huss*, who was burnt alive for a heretic, answered, he would go thither, (to defend his religious opinions) if there were as many devils combined against him in that city as tiles upon the houses?

WHY is Dr. * * * * * so flamingly zealous? And why does he treat every one, who differs from him in opinion, with asperity and abuse? And why doth the bishop of * * * * * behave to all men and all parties with affability and humanity?

WHAT may be the reason that the Rev. Mr. H * * * * y endeavours to terrify his auditors into the belief and practice of religion by telling them, that hell is opening her mouth to swallow them up in endless perdition, the indignation of an almighty God ready to fall upon them, and worse than ten thousand falling mill-stones, ready to grind



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“ and concupiscence, that being all full of
 “ the sweetness of thy love, all on fire with
 “ the flame of thy charity, I may love thee,
 “ my God, with my whole heart, and with
 “ all the power of my inward parts,” *tatis*
medullis præcordiorum meorum, as it is in the
 original. Again, “ O banquet of love,
 “ heavenly sweet, let my bowels be re-
 “ freshed by thee, my inward parts over-
 “ flow with the nectar of thy love.”

ST. *Teresa*, in her life written by herself, tells us she had a vision of angels; and a seraphim, as she supposed, pierced her heart with a fiery dart, and when he pulled it out again, it left her wholly inflamed with great love to God; but under excessive pain, which yet caused so great pleasure, that she could not desire to have it removed.

“ LET me stay and entertain my longing
 “ soul with the contemplation of thy beauty;
 “ till thou shalt condescend to kiss me with
 “ the kisses of thy mouth, till thou shalt
 “ bring me into thy banqueting-house.
 “ My God, my happiness, who art fairer
 “ than the children of men, draw me, and
 “ I will run after thee—wound me deep,
 “ and strike me through with the arrows of
 “ a divine passion.”

“ UP,

^f Meditations, translated by *Stanhope*, p. 258.

^z Page 232.

^h *Norris's Miscel.*, 12mo. p. 358 and 261.

“ UP, my soul, become an humble spouse
 “ of the Lord *Jesus*, feed thyself with his
 “ beauty, make him thy darling, receive him
 “ into thy bosom, quench thy thirst with
 “ his blood, hold him fast, do not let him
 “ go.—O lovely bridegroom of my soul,
 “ wound my heart, that it may be sick of
 “ love !”

“ My dearest Lord, when shall I enjoy
 “ and talk with thee alone, in language soft
 “ and tender, sweet and charming, as the un-
 “ reserved retirements and endearing whis-
 “ pers of the most passionate lovers “ ?”

IT is easy to perceive from whence this
 amorous devotion flows.

How happens it that people are one day
 quite dazzled, as they imagine, with rays of
 divine light, in perfect extasies, and lifted up
 to the third heaven? and the next, without
 any intervening misbehaviour, clouded, in
 despair, and sunk down to the bottomless
 pit?

FROM what does it proceed that some
 imagine the Deity is most acceptably wor-
 shipped by fighting, sorrowing, and groan-
 ing? and others by singing, dancing, and
 merry-making?

THE

ⁱ *Herneck's Fire of the Altar*, p. 33, 34. ^k *Thomas à Kempis*, translated by *Stanhope*, p. 325. For this and some of the foregoing instances of amorous devotion, see also the foregoing pages 276, 277, 279.

THE *Israelites* were, at times, much addicted to this mirthful devotion; and their king *David*, in his youth, appears to have been a notable performer in it.

“ — Thus all Israel brought up the ark of
 “ the covenant of the Lord with shouting, and
 “ with sound of the cornet, and with trumpets,
 “ and with cymbals, making a noise with psal-
 “ teries and harps ¹. And as the ark of the
 “ Lord came into the city of David, Michal,
 “ Saul’s daughter, looked through a window,
 “ and saw king David leaping and dancing
 “ before the Lord ^m.”

“ THE *Hottentots* seem to have some ve-
 “ neration for the moon, on whose appear-
 “ ance, at certain times, they assemble in
 “ great numbers, * * * * and dance, clap
 “ their hands, and cry and rave all night ⁿ.
 “ In shouting, screaming, jumping, dancing,
 “ &c. lie all their formalities in the worship
 “ of the moon ^o.—The fervours of their de-
 “ votion are unequalled. When they have
 “ done, they retire to their several homes
 “ with as much cheerfulness and satisfac-
 “ tion as any other people in the world do
 “ from the performance of their religious
 “ duties ^p.”

WHY

¹ 1 *Chron.* ch. xv. 28.

^m 2 *Samuel* ch. vi. 16.

ⁿ *Present State of the Cape of Good-Hope*, vol. I. p. 96.

^o *Ibid.* p. 97.

^p *Ibid.* p. 98.



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*Poor little, pretty, flutt'ring thing,
 Must we no longer live together?
 And dost thou prune thy trembling wing,
 To take thy flight thou know'st not whither?
 Thy humorous vein, thy pleasing folly
 Lies all neglected, all forgot:
 And pensive, wav'ring, melancholy,
 Thou dread'st and hop'st thou know'st not what.*

THE reader, who understands *French*, will not perhaps be displeas'd to see here also Monsieur *Fontenelle's* imitation of these remarkable verses :

*Ma petite ame, ma mignonne,
 Tu t'en vas donc, ma fille, & Dieu sçache où tu vas:
 Tu pars seulette, nuë, & tremblotante, belas!
 Que deviendra ton humeur foliçbonne?
 Que deviendront tant de jolis ébats?*

MARGARET of *Austria*, daughter to an emperor, was contracted in marriage to a king's son, who, after the death of his father, sent her back to her own country, and refused to marry her, tho' he had made a solemn promise so to do: after this she was betrothed to another prince, and in her passage by sea to meet her spouse, so violent a storm arose, that she expected immediate death, at which time she compos'd this epitaph for herself:

*Cy gyst Margot, la gentil damoiselle,
Qu'a deux maris, et encore est pucelle.*

VESPASIAN, when at the point of death; in ridicule of that custom among the *Romans* of deifying their emperors as soon as they were dead, said to those about him, "I find I am beginning to be a God."

RABELAIS made as much a jest of death as he had done of life: being very near his end, cardinal *Du Bellay* sent his page to inquire after his health. "Tell my lord," said he, "in what circumstances thou findest me; I am just going to take a leap in the dark, *Je m'en vay chercher un grand peutestre*: let down the curtain, the farce is done." A little before this he called for his domino (a sort of hood worn by some ecclesiastics) saying, "Put me on my domino, I will die in it, for, *beati qui in DOMINO moriuntur*."

When Sir *Thomas More*, in order to suffer death, was ascending the scaffold, it seemed so weak, as to be in danger of falling: upon which, turning briskly to the officer who attended him; "I pray," said he, "see me safe up, and for my coming down, let me shift for myself." And after laying his head upon the block, he had the executioner stay till he had put aside his beard, saying, "That had never committed any treason."

BUT to proceed with our inquiries—Why do the same men make others martyrs for religion, and then become martyrs themselves? What caused the wise, the learned, and excellent archbishop *Fenelon* to be captivated by the enthusiastic reveries of a woman more than half distracted^a? And why was the late Mr. *W*****n* industrious in hunting after paradoxes, busy in applying prophecies and explaining revelation, and extremely fond of the apostolical constitutions? And tho' he differed so much from himself at different times, and was remarkably variable in his religion, why was he violent against all who differed from him, especially on religious subjects?

Is not the cause of one of the most eminent wits in our age writing satires against mankind, and describing his own species as a parcel of monkeys, quite evident? And did it not proceed principally from the same cause, that a most admirable poet, his contemporary, chastized those he disliked with scorpions?

FROM what did it proceed that *Achitophel* was,

*Restless, unfixt in principles and place;
In pow'r unpleas'd, impatient of disgrace^c?*

And

^a Madame Guyon.
Achitophel.

^c Dryden's *Abraham and*



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long enough, for he should die unconquered: then he gave leave to extract the weapon, and immediately expired. How shall we account for the different conduct of these eminent personages on the same occasion? And to what shall we ascribe that remarkable equanimity so conspicuous in all the behaviour and actions of *Epaminondas*?

CHARLES XII, king of *Sweden*, when but a boy, insisted with the greatest heat and obstinacy against the queen his grand-mother, that the blue coat he had then on was black. Another time, upon her not immediately opening the door of her chamber at his request, he ran his head with such violence against it, that he fell down senseless. In his adult age he insisted, that a wall which his sledge-horse had run against, should be pulled down, that he might have his will of driving over it. Another time he would make his horse bend and crawl along with him through a low passage, where, had the horse raised itself ever so little, he must infallibly have lost his life'. Do we not plainly see from these instances of obstinacy and violence in this prince's childhood and youth, to what the extreme delight he always took in war, and that frantic and furious

behaviour

' Travels through *Germany*, &c. By *J. G. Keyser*, vol. I. p. 158.

behaviour at *Bender*, which occasioned the *Turks* to call him Head of Iron, and indeed the whole conduct of his life was owing? and, in particular, why he was so remarkably vindictive, implacable, and tyrannical?

CAIUS GRACCHUS was a person of very extraordinary abilities, but in continual broils. It is observed of him, that his countenance, gesture, and motion were earnest and vehement: when he harangued the people, he would walk about the rostrum, and in the heat of his orations pull his gown off his shoulders, and was the first among the *Romans* who used such gestures. Being, when pursued by his enemies, deserted by those he expected would have defended him against the senate, it is reported he prayed earnestly to the goddess *Diana*, that the *Roman* people, as a punishment for their ingratitude and treachery, might remain in perpetual slavery. Does it not evidently appear to what cause the violence of *Caius's* behaviour and actions, and in a great measure his unhappy end, might be justly attributed?

POMPONIUS ATTICUS lived at a time when the commonwealth of *Rome* was torn to pieces by civil wars: he engaged in none of them, nor sided with any of the contending parties, but was beloved by *Pompey*,

Cæsar, Mark Antony, and Brutus. When *Atticus* was young, the sweetness of his aspect and elocution was very remarkable. And it is recorded of him, by *C. Nepos*, that he never managed a criminal process against any one, nor subscribed to an accusation, or ever went to law. If much of this conduct might be owing to prudence, is it not apparent that much also was owing to natural temper? Nay, may we not ascribe great part of the former to the latter?

WHAT rendered *Sardanapalus, Tiberius Cæsar, Heliogabalus, pope Alexander VI,* and his son *Cæsar Borgia*, with multitudes more, such prodigies of wickedness? And what caused *Titus Vespasian, Marcus Antoninus, Adrian, Aristides,* and a few others among the great, to be such shining examples of virtue?

ALTHOUGH it is as natural for most men to be wicked as for the sparks to fly upward, yet there are a small number naturally good. They are, by nature, so happily formed that every thing indecent, consequently all vice, is shocking in their sight: to them

*Vice is a monster of so frightful mein,
As, to be bated, needs but to be seen^o.*

And to such virtue appears with a most amiable aspect.

MENS



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not without remedy. It has been elsewhere² observed, that *Socrates*, tho' one of the most virtuous persons the gentile world hath to boast of, yet acknowledged, that he was naturally inclined to be vicious.

PHOCION appeared by nature to be austere and morose, insomuch that he was hardly ever seen to laugh; yet on many occasions shewed remarkable mildness and command of temper. At a time when he was speaking to the people of *Athens*, on a subject of great public concernment, he was very rudely interrupted and grossly abused by an unmannerly orator: *Phocion* sat down 'till this fellow had done; then rose up, and proceeding with his discourse, took no more notice of any thing the orator had said than if he had not heard him. As this admirable man was passing to the place of his execution, one of the rabble spit in his face: upon which *Phocion*, turning to the officers, only said, "Will nobody correct this fellow's rudeness?" And when just before his death a friend asked him if he would send any message to his son; "Yes, by all means," said he, "command him from me to forget the *Athenians* ill treatment of his father."

IT is not uncommon for great virtues and great vices to exist in the same person: when
the

² *Essays and Letters on various Subjects.*

the former predominate, they many times, in a considerable degree at least, subdue the latter, and form a worthy and an excellent character: when the latter gain an ascendancy, the former are frequently destroyed or rendered useless, and the whole man is then so contaminated as to become a mere mass of corruption. Where there are some good qualities, an early cultivation of them by useful precepts and examples, and inuring the possessor to right habits, may be attended with the most happy consequences. But where nature has supplied no proper materials, nothing that is valuable can ever be erected.

On the whole, it seems evident, that mens conduct and opinions also are greatly influenced by their natural dispositions, and that happiness depends much more upon our tempers than on our understandings: for we see many persons of the best sense, tho' in health and plenty, exceedingly unhappy; but very few so, in the like circumstances, who are remarkably good-natured. Indeed, that quick sensibility which generally accompanies fine sense, notwithstanding it may afford some peculiar pleasures to those who possess it, yet oftentimes contributes to render them uneasy and uncomfortable.

A N
O R A T I O N
I N P R A I S E O F
D E C E I T and L Y I N G ,

Delivered before a

Mixed and numerous Assembly of both Sexes.

D E C E I T being the Orator.

NOTWITHSTANDING the high rank and dignity of our family, its great antiquity, our extensive dominion, and the general use we are of to all orders and degrees of men in every profession, art, and trade, and in almost all negotiations and transactions of the world; yet so far are we from obtaining those honours and praises we so justly merit, that we are universally de-
cried

· y Although the author of this trifle is well aware how greatly it must suffer by being named with *Erasmus's Moriae Encomium*, yet he chuses to acknowledge the hint was taken from that celebrated performance; by which he hopes the designing part will be sufficiently warranted, however unworthy of the highly-finished original this slight sketch may be in the execution.



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or other great personages, who are born of good and worthy parents, or who themselves act worthily and virtuously, were to be honoured, what a condition would the generality of kings, princes, and other great people be in? Instead of thinking so highly of themselves as they mostly do, and exacting such reverence from others, they might humble themselves in dust and ashes, and with great propriety cry out,—Lord, have mercy upon us! as well as upon those over whom we rule and govern.

THIS objection then being, as we think, sufficiently answered and removed, and our claim to royal parentage and the honours thereunto annexed fully settled and established, we shall proceed to demonstrate our antiquity, and the great advantage we always have been and still are of to the generality of mankind from the highest to the lowest.

OUR antiquity will sufficiently appear, when we come to shew, as we shall in the progress of this discourse, the use made of us in the earliest ages of the world: it may therefore suffice at present just to mention, that very soon after the creation, the serpent, who was it seems more subtle than any beast of the field, beguiled or deceived *Eve*. Whether the serpent, as some have imagined, being of the male kind, then beguiled or
deceived

deceived your grandmother in the manner many of her daughters have since been deceived by the same sex, I will not take upon me to determine; but certain it is, that the great business of multitudes of her offspring has been to beguile and deceive one another, from that time to this, on every subject and in every way they could contrive or invent.

IN this laudable employment, the plea of antiquity has been of no small service to them and to us: for by this means we many times repel the attacks of an enemy, and assault him, as it were, from high ground. Truth, when she endeavours to gain our votaries from us, (for tho' all men pretend to worship her, yet far the greater number are really devoted to us) and in her small still voice tells them, on one side, of impositions, improbabilities, absurdities, impossibilities; and on the other, of reason, proof, and demonstration, all which she offers to shew them in the clearest, that is in her own, light; we presently thunder out antiquity and authority, —not forgetting, in a lower voice, to whisper interest: by means of the first we darken all about us, and astonish and intimidate our hearers; by the second we gain their hearts, and keep them zealously attached to ourselves.

How serviceable we have been to the ancient patriarchs, to lawgivers, kings, prophets, and saints, and to many other great personages of former and latter times, is well known to all the world.

ABRAHAM and *Isaac*, in their travels, thought to preserve themselves from danger, on account of their handsome wives, by our help. When *Abraham* “ was come near to “ enter into *Egypt*, he said unto *Sarah* his “ wife, Behold now, I know thou art a fair “ woman to look upon. * * * Say, I pray “ thee, thou art my sister.” Again, “ And “ *Abraham* said of *Sarah* his wife, She is my “ sister.” In the same manner did *Isaac* manage respecting his wife *Rebekah*. And pray, of what eminent service were we to *Jacob*? His mother and he confederated to deceive poor blind *Isaac*, and by that means cheated his brother *Esau* of the blessing designed for him. “ And *Jacob* said unto his “ father, I am *Esau* thy first-born.” * * * “ And he (*Isaac*) said, Art thou my very son “ *Esau*? And he said, I am.”

AFTER this *Laban* deceived *Jacob* by giving him *Leah* in the room of *Rachel*. However, if wives are a blessing, *Jacob* had no cause to complain, but on the contrary to rejoice and be thankful: for he got *Rachel* afterwards, and so had two wives instead of
one;



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“fear not : and when he had turned in unto
 “her, into the tent, she covered him with a
 “mantle. And he said unto her, Give me,
 “I pray thee, a little water to drink, for I
 “am thirsty : and she opened a bottle of
 “milk, and gave him drink and covered
 “him. Again he said unto her, Stand in
 “the door of the tent, and it shall be, when
 “any man doth come and inquire of thee,
 “and say, Is there any man here ? that thou
 “shalt say, No. Then *Jael* took a nail of
 “the tent, and took an hammer in her hand,
 “and went softly unto him, and smote the
 “nail into his temples, and fastened it into
 “the ground : (for he was fast asleep and
 “weary) so he died.”

WHAT a noble action was here ! and how
 deservedly extolled, even to this day, altho’
 performed above three thousand years since !

IN the song of *Deborah* and *Barak* it is
 said, “Blessed above women shall *Jael* the
 “wife of *Heber* the *Kenite* be, blessed shall
 “she be above women in the tent. He
 “asked water, and she gave him milk, she
 “brought forth butter in a lordly dish. She
 “put her hand to the nail, and her right-
 “hand to the workmens hammer : and with
 “the hammer she smote *Sisera*, she smote
 “off his head, when she had pierced and
 “stricken through his temples. At her feet
 “he

“ bowed, he fell, he lay down : at her feet
“ he bowed, he fell ; where he bowed, there
“ he fell down dead.”

LIKE unto this was the behaviour of *Judith*: after she had fervently prayed, that the Lord would “ smite by the DECEIT
“ of her lips the servant with the prince, and
“ the prince with the servant, and break
“ down their stateliness by the hand of a
“ woman ; she washed her body all over
“ with water, and anointed herself with pre-
“ cious ointment, and braided the hair of her
“ head, and put on a tire upon it, and put
“ on her garment of gladness. And she
“ took sandals upon her feet, and put about
“ her bracelets, and her chains, and her rings,
“ and her ear-rings, and all her ornaments,
“ and decked herself bravely, to allure the
“ eyes of all men that should see her.” After
all these formidable preparations for a double
execution, away she went to *Holofernes's*
camp, and by her deceitful words, insinuating
flattery, and irresistible beauty, ravished the
general's heart ; and being left alone with
him all night in his tent, after another de-
vout prayer, she with his own sword “ smote
“ twice upon his neck with all her might,
“ and took away his head from him.”
Which glorious exploit was celebrated in a
song of her own composing, wherein she,
exulting

exulting over *Holofernes*, among other things, says, or sings, “*Judith* the daughter of
 “*Merari* weakened him with the beauty of
 “her countenance. For she put off the gar-
 “ment of her widowhood, * * * * and
 “anointed her face with ointment, and bound
 “her hair in a tire, and took a linen garment
 “to deceive him. Her sandals ravished his
 “eyes, her beauty took his mind prisoner,
 “and the fauchion passed through his neck.”

I need not tell you what numbers of fine pictures, some of them with angels represented as approving the fact and rejoicing at it, have also been drawn to preserve the remembrance of this applauded action.

So much for sacred writ : as to prophane story,

HAD not *Helen* been false to her husband, and ran away with *Paris*, her name had not been eternized in *Homer's* immortal verse.

BUT as you, ladies, are not all such heroines as those I have just mentioned, you cannot expect we should lay such mighty obligations upon you as to immortalize your names. However, you must acknowledge great favours received from us. Pray, to whom are almost all of you beholden for the very title I now give you? And were it not for us, what a loss would you be at for the principal subject of your conversation?—that
 of



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ask any of these questions, 'tis that impertinent creature Truth. Then again, when you display your outward adorning, of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or putting on of apparel, she would trump up that old-fashioned, long-neglected ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, and pretend truly that this is of great price. Moreover, that bold baggage Truth would be inquiring what sort of mistresses of families, parents and wives you were? Whether you looked well after your household affairs; if you were not peevish, proud, and tyrannical mistresses to your servants; careless of your childrens education, and particularly bad examples to your daughters, and expensive, ill-tempered, and, at best, mere useless wives? And she might very probably carry her inquiries still farther, to things I dare not so much as name. Then again, she would assert, that the principal reason why your families, and the business of them, are irksome to you, is the habit so constantly indulged of frequenting balls, concerts, assemblies, routs, ridottos, masquerades, &c. &c.

AND further, she would tell you, that the placing so much of your pleasure in these amusements is one cause why they many times afford you so little: for the too frequent repetition of them entirely destroys

their

their novelty: and surely you need not be told, that novelty is the very essence of pleasure. She would also add, that you often go to them more for fashion sake, or because you do not know what in the world else to do with yourselves or your time, than for any real delight you find in them.

AFTER this unpolite and uncourtly manner would Truth be finding fault with your conduct and behaviour. But as for me, dear ladies, I vow and protest,

*You have no faults, or I no faults can spy;
You are all beauty, or all blindness I^z.*

ENOUGH doubtless having been said to shew what obligations you, ladies, are under to our family, and consequently, whether the preference be in justice due to Truth or to Us, I must now therefore apply again principally to the male part of this assembly.

WHETHER we were of any service to the Leader and Lawgiver of the *Israelites*, I shall leave you, my auditors, who have read your bibles, to judge. Certain it is that to other Legislators, such as *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Mahomet*, and many more, we have afforded great assistance, in making the people believe, that the religions and polities they instituted were of divine appointment.—As to Kings, there

G g 2 is

^z *Codrington*, to the author of the Dispensary.

is a maxim which says,—“ He who knows
 “ not how to dissemble or deceive, knows
 “ not how to reign.” ’Tis plain, most kings
 are strict observers of this maxim: for they
 make it their principal business to deceive
 one another, and their subjects also;—think-
 ing, no doubt, that he who deceives most
 reigns best. And in a due observance of our
 dictates they are imitated, if not out-done,
 by the generality of their Courtiers, whose
 unwearied endeavours are to deceive both
 prince and people.

THE Ambassadors of princes, who are their
 representatives, do generally, as in duty bound,
 exactly copy after their constituents: a very
 considerable one amongst the former has ac-
 knowledged, and left upon record, that they
 are employed by sovereigns to lye for their
 masters*.

IF Truth were here present, as I hope she
 is not, for I own I have a mortal aversion to
 her, she would plead, that it is the true inte-
 rest of kings, princes, and states, as well as of
 courtiers and all private and particular persons,
 strictly to follow her. But I hope you will
 not be so misled, or pay the least regard to
 what she says. Sure I am, that experience is
 against her, and a vast majority of mankind,
 who certainly have a right to determine every
 thing,

* Sir William Temple.



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endeavour to persuade his master, that he might enjoy himself better in peace than in war; and that nothing could be more unjust than to deprive other sovereigns of their legal dominions, or of greater prejudice to his own subjects than to engage them in unnecessary wars? What, I say, would become of a courtier who should give such pacific advice to such a warlike prince? The best he could expect would be an immediate dismissal from all employment. And thus, 'tis more than ten to one, it would fare with any, who, in the two following cases, should advise so profuse or covetous a prince to restrain his pernicious appetites, and not burden the people with too heavy taxations;—not to flay, tho' he might shear his flocks. Now, what a most vexatious thing it is for a courtier to be turned out of place, and lose all the pleasures, profits, and emoluments thereunto annexed, is better felt than described! I doubt not, my lords and gentlemen, for such I perceive I am honoured with as hearers, but some of you very
 designed to do when he had conquered them? And the king shewing him how one conquest would produce others, What, said *Cineas*, shall we do after all these are finished? We will then, answered *Pyrrhus*, enjoy the pleasures of peace and repose. And what, O king, replied *Cineas*, hinders our doing so now, while they are in our power; since by engaging in war we may be utterly deprived of them? *T. Liv.* l. 12, c. 19. See also *Plutarch*, in the life of *Pyrrhus*.

very sensibly feel this corroding evil, with all its most mortifying circumstances.

As to Prophets, many of them are our constant followers, and have their sole dependence upon us. Thus saith *Jeremiah*, who was himself an eminent prophet: “From the prophet even to the priest, every one dealeth falsely.” Again, “Then the Lord said unto me, The prophets prophesy lyes in my name: I sent them not, neither have I commanded them, neither spake unto them: they prophesy unto you a false vision and divination, and a thing of nought, and the deceit of their heart.”

OF the twelve Apostles,—one deceitfully denied, and another basely betrayed his master.

WERE I now to relate all the use we have been of to Saints, I should wear out my lungs and tire your patience: a few hints must therefore suffice. Plain it is, most of these holy men thought it extremely meritorious to lie for religion.

ST. *Jerom*, one of the most learned and eminent among them, tells us, in his life of *Paul* the hermit, that a raven constantly brought him half a loaf of bread every day during sixty years for his subsistence in the wilderness, except when St. *Antony* came to

G g 4

visit

^c *Jeremiah* ch. viii. 10.

^d *Ibid.* ch. xiv. 14.

visit him, the bird then bringing a whole loaf: and that when *Paul* died, two lions came to assist *Antony* in the burial of *Paul*, by digging a grave for him with their feet, after which they departed with the blessing of *Antony*^c.

THE same venerable father, in his life of *Hilarion* the monk, relates, that this saint happening to travel into *Dalmatia*, was there informed of a terrible dragon that was laying waste the whole province, and of so enormous a size and strength, that by the force of his breath he could suck up into his mouth whole oxen and sheep, together with the herdsmen and shepherds, and swallow them down at once. *Hilarion*, in order to deliver the country from this monster, ordered a pile of wood to be prepared, and having put up his prayers to *Christ*, called the dragon and commanded him to ascend the pile, which he did; and fire being put to the wood, the beast was burnt alive in sight of all the people^f.

THAT true friend of ours, St. *Atbanasius*, to whose memory we should be extremely ungrateful, if we did not mention him with the utmost respect, after giving an account of many strange things which happened to,
and

^c Dr. *Middleton's* works, vol. I. p. 122.

^f *Ibid.* p. 218.



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particular saints? when it is so notorious what vast assistance we have given to many of them, who “have not scrupled to pledge
 “their faith for the truth of facts, which no
 “man of sense can believe, and which their
 “warmest admirers are forced to give up as
 “fabulous^b :” and when St. *Jerom* has confessed, “that he did not find fault with
 “an error, which flows from an hatred of
 “the *Jews*, and a pious zeal for the christian
 “faith.”

RELIGION, as it was taught and practised almost throughout the world for thousands of years, and as now professed and managed in most countries, was and is entirely of our contrivance and invention. To whom were the heathens obliged for their sacrifices, lustrations, auguries, prophecies, oracles, and all their other religious ceremonies and observances, as well as their omens and miracles? Nay, to whom did their very gods themselves owe their existence? And to whom, I pray, are multitudes commonly called christians beholden for all the miracles they have coined, and the number of religious doctrines and practices they have invented? Who made legions of saints out of fools, madmen, and scoundrels? and then ascribed so many
 miraculous

^b Dr. *Middleten's Inquiry*, &c. p. 129. ⁱ *Oper.*
 T. IV. p. 113. from Dr. *Middleten's Inquiry*, p. 128.

miraculous cures and other supernatural effects to them, and their images and relicks? And who were the principal founders of all the orders of monks, friers, nuns, &c? And, as I have reason to believe that my numerous auditory is composed of persons belonging to many different churches and sects,—let me ask every one of you, whether you do not think that my brother and I have had a great hand at least in all religions but your own?

HAVING just now mentioned miracles and relicks, I would put our numerous and most excellent friends of the *Romish* communion in mind what vast obligations they are under to us, especially for these things, by which not only their clergy fill their coffers, but their religion is so highly honoured and strongly supported. To give a few instances:—By whom have they been furnished with accounts of St. *Katbarine*, who saw the eternal Father producing his Son out of his mouth, and St. *Dominic* out of his breast^k? Of St. *Walstan*'s seeing angels ring bells in heaven to the praise of the blessed Trinity^l? Of St. *Martin*, who would not suffer a devil he dispossessed a certain man of, to pass through his mouth; but, in order to punish Satan

^k Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s Second Discourse, p. 489, ex *Lud. Granad. de festo Dominici, & Jansenius vit. Dom.*

^l *Ibid.* p. 530, ex *Capgrave*, f. 296.

Satan for not readily obeying the saint, he forced him out the other way, like a dose of physic^m? Of the saints *Aldelm*, *Deicola*, *Goar*, *Florentius*, and *Amabilis*, who all hung their garments on the beams of the sun, and St. *Brigit* hers, dropping wet, on a shadowⁿ? And who supplied this church with such precious relicks, as a finger of the Holy Ghost quite fresh; a nail of a cherubim; some drops of sweat from the archangel *Michael*; and a ray of the star which guided the three kings^o; and also innumerable other miracles and relicks of the same stamp, and equally credible and venerable?

I PERCEIVE there are here present many Gentlemen of the Long-Robe; but I will say very little of them: for although what I should say be strictly true, yet if they suffer thereby, tho' ever so justly, I understand they may sue me for a libel, and recover damages: however, I shall venture to put them in mind what excellent benefactors we are to them; for were it not for us, they would have, comparatively, very little business, and what they have might be dispatched in a tenth part of the time, and at a tenth part of the expence it generally is.

BY

^m *Sulp. Severi de B. Martini vita liber, cap. xvii.*

ⁿ *Stillingfleet's Second Discourse, p. 514, ex Rolland. Acta Sanctorum, c. iv.*

^o *Keyser's Travels, vol. II. p. 93, from Henry Stephens.*



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“ All that a man hath will he give for his
“ life ? ”

OF what singular service have we been to Historians ? How many omens which signified nothing, how many prodigies that never happened, how many wonderful feats which were never performed, have we furnished them with to embellish their histories ? What opportunities of gratifying their malice, revenge, partiality, and party prejudices have we afforded them ? And as to Dedicators, the obligations they lie under to us are innumerable. What contributions have they raised through our assistance, by ascribing courage to cowards, learning to dunces, wisdom to fools, and generosity to niggards ; in a word, bestowing every good quality and every amiable accomplishment on those who were entirely destitute of all that was valuable or praise-worthy ?

THE vast use we are of to Merchants and Tradesmen of all sorts is known full well, and virtually acknowledged by them in a proverbial saying, That there is a cheat in all trades but their own. In *China* every merchant has three sorts of weights ; one heavy for buying, another light for selling, and a third of the true standard for those people who will not be deceived. Are not false weights and measures, as well as other deceitful dealings,
common

common all the world over? St. *Austin* relates the following story of the *Carthaginians*, who were some of the most eminent merchants and traders of their time: A certain mountebank having promised the inhabitants of *Carthage*, if they would come next day to hear him, he would discover to all of them their most secret thoughts, they came accordingly in great numbers, and he told them, “ that when they sold any thing, every man
 “ used his utmost endeavours to sell as dear
 “ as possible, and when they bought, to buy
 “ as cheap as possible.” The people fell a laughing, and all acknowledged that this was true. Pray, are not these methods of dealing as common with you now as they were then with the *Carthaginians*? And is it not a constant practice among you to conceal or extenuate all the defects of whatever you have to sell, and with all the rhetoric you are masters of, set forth and magnify every good quality, and even pretend there are excellencies in your wares which you well know they have not? Besides, is it not a common custom among you, especially when you think your customers are of the good-natured and considerate sort, to pretend to tell them what your commodities cost? Now I would ask how often, or whether ever you told the truth in that case? There is one thing more

on this subject which I cannot well omit, because it redounds so much to the honour of our family. With what readiness and alacrity do many men practise our precepts, especially when habituated to them? And how delightful do they appear for their own sakes as well as on account of the advantages attending them! So amiable I doubt not to some, that tho' the profit were equal on the side of honesty and of knavery, nay, if the difference rather inclined to the former, (provided it was not too considerable) they would prefer the latter, finding by experience what the scripture says to be true,—“that the bread of deceit is sweet.”

So much for you Merchants and Tradesmen.—Now a word or two with those Gentlemen there in the laced cloaths with swords by their sides. You, I well know, pretend so heartily to despise us, that whoever should venture to call your sincerity in question, or give you the lye, would run the utmost risk of being killed upon the spot; and in vindication of your veracity you would stand a chance of the same fate yourselves, or even of being hanged. But is not this very behaviour of yours, whatever appearances in favour of truth and sincerity you may chuse to put on, a proof of your zeal and attachment to us? For which of you would not tell a hundred



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celebrate as much as possible the characters of all those on your own side, especially the great and leading men; and to blacken and vilify the reputations of all who oppose you? For these excellent purposes do you not frame and propagate party-lyes, not only without scruple or remorse, but even with the greatest alacrity and pleasure? And do not the most active, who are thus laudably employed, especially if they acquit themselves with art and ability, meet with the applauses of their party, and oftentimes also with more substantial rewards? If the cue be given by your leaders and directors to teach that an arbitrary monarchy is more for the benefit of a nation than a limited monarchy; that a large standing army, in time of peace, is necessary to preserve the people's liberties, and a militia destructive of them; that in such a country as *Britain*, which abounds with great numbers of stout able-bodied young men, fit for the most active and laborious employments, it is nevertheless impracticable to form a numerous and useful militia: or if it should be thought convenient to assert, that luxury and extravagance conduce to independency, that bribery and corruption are necessary to the choosing a proper and uncorrupt representative of the people: if these, or any other propositions of a like nature and tendency, are to be proved, would many of
you

you, MEN OF HONOUR, at all scruple to use your utmost efforts to demonstrate the truth and utility of them?

TIME would fail, and your patience also, for me but barely to enumerate the multitudes who act entirely by our dictates, and owe their very being and existence to us. Besides those already mentioned, what think you of popes, cardinals, inquisitors; and all other persecutors for religion? None of these have any certain knowledge; numbers are extremely ignorant, and many of them do not believe one word of what they persecute others even to death for not believing. By whom are such men actuated? and by whose means have they gained the power, rank, dignities, and influence obtained by them in the world?

BUT I need not enter farther into particulars,—your own knowledge and experience will abundantly supply what I shall omit; and assist you to fill up a long list of our dependents. However, before I conclude, I shall take this opportunity of very heartily recommending to you the multiplying of oaths, especially in cases where it is very much the people's interest to break them. And my desire also is, that all oaths may be administered without any solemnity: not that I am an enemy to solemnity in many cases; for, if properly applied, it is of most excellent service to

our cause: but this rule should always be observed,—Whatever is to serve our purpose must constantly be carried on in the most solemn manner that can be devised: but in every thing for the promotion of truth, let even order and decency be totally neglected. More heartily still, if possible, do I recommend the establishment of creeds and religious tests and subscriptions: the more abstruse, unintelligible, and contrary to reason these are, the more effectually do they serve our ends and purposes.

I SHALL now only add, what I think is obvious enough,—That the real design of this speech, as was hinted in the beginning of it, is to demonstrate the influence we really have over far the greater part of all orders and degrees of men, and to induce the world to treat us in such a manner, as every impartial person must allow we richly deserve.

F I N I S.



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