

THE
CONNEXION
OF
CHRISTIANITY
WITH
HUMAN HAPPINESS.

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE BOYLE LECTURES
FOR THE YEAR 1821.

BY
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OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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MDCCCXXIII.

ADVERTISEMENT.

By the will of the Honourable Robert Boyle,
—a person whose memory will never cease to
be loved and respected by his countrymen,
—it was provided, that “ an annual salary
“ should be settled on some divine, or preach-
“ ing minister, who should be enjoined to
“ perform the following offices:—1. To preach
“ eight sermons in the year, for proving
“ the Christian Religion against notorious
“ infidels; viz., Atheists, Deists, Pagans,
“ Jews, and Mahometans; not descending
“ to any controversies that are among Chris-
“ tians themselves: the lecture to be on the
“ first Monday of the respective months of
“ January, February, March, April, May,
“ September, October, November; in such

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“ church as the trustees shall from time to
 “ time appoint.—2. To be assisting to all
 “ companies, and encouraging them in any
 “ undertaking for propagating the Christian
 “ religion.—3. To be ready to satisfy such
 “ real scruples as any may have concern-
 “ ing those matters; and to answer such
 “ new objections or difficulties as may be
 “ started, to which good answers have not
 “ yet been made.”

A large portion of the subsequent pages was delivered in a series of sermons, at the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, in fulfilling the duties which are attached to the Boyle Lectureship by the will of the founder.—In preparing the MS. for the press, so many alterations, both of addition and omission, were adopted, that the work imperceptibly acquired another character; and it became necessary to dispense with the original divisions. My design has been of a general

nature; to prove the necessity of the Christian revelation, rather than to disprove any particular mode of unbelief. It is the practice of the modern school of infidelity and licentiousness to portray religion as the enemy of man. In my present attempt to execute the intentions of the learned and pious and amiable Robert Boyle, I have endeavoured to exhibit the fallacy of so unjust and wicked a representation; and to demonstrate, on the contrary, that an inseparable connexion subsists between the reverence of the Gospel and the happiness of man. It has been my aim to embody my reflections in a form that might not deter the young or intimidate the indolent reader from following my course of thought.—It has been my wish to give a popular interest to a subject of universal and everlasting importance.—If my efforts should not prove successful, I trust that the candid will ascribe my failure to a

want of the requisite ability, and a miscalculation of the means, by which so desirable an object is to be accomplished, and not to any deficiency of ardour in the cause, or of diligence in its execution.

TO
The Most Reverend Father in God
EDWARD, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK;

The Most Noble
WILLIAM SPENSER, DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE;

The Right Honourable
LORD GEORGE HENRY CAVENDISH;

AND
The Right Reverend Father in God
JAMES, LORD BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY;

THE TRUSTEES

FOR

THE LECTURE

FOUNDED BY

THE HONOURABLE ROBERT BOYLE,

THESE VOLUMES
ARE HUMBL Y AND RESPECTFULL Y DEDICATED.

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MANKIND have constantly fluctuated, in their religious sentiments, between the opposite extremes of bigotry or indifference, of superstition or infidelity. They have either imagined the visitations of the Deity "in the earthquake and the fire in which he was not," or refused to confess his presence "in the still small voice in which he was:" They have either listened, with credulous devotion, to the pretensions of the fanatic and the impostor,

trembled with the secret apprehension of witchcraft and of spectres, and yielded their implicit faith to the suggestions of dreams and auguries; or they have presumptuously separated themselves from all connexion with the spiritual world, denied the truth of revelation, disputed even the existence of a God, and refused submission to any other authority, than that of the reason and the will.

Such are the extremes, into which the weakness of our nature is betrayed, by ignorance on the one hand, and civilization on the other. At the present day, we are effectually delivered from the errors of superstition; but there is a very considerable danger of our falling into the opposite evil of religious incredulity. "The human reason," says Luther, in his strong, bold manner, "is like an intoxicated peasant; if you support him on one

side, he falls on the other." From believing too much, we have come to believe too little. From falsely imagining the revelations of divinity, in objects that are purely natural, we have begun to suppose, that there is nothing but what is natural in revelation itself. We have only escaped from the central darkness of our ignorance, to become confused and blinded with the excess of light.—By the fair exertion of the understanding, that intellectual night has been dispersed, which, in our father's days, seemed peopled by a host of visionary existences. Those mists have been scattered from the mind, through which every object had appeared magnified to view beyond its true and natural dimensions. In their ignorance of secondary causes, our ancestors referred every accident, which exceeded the bounds of their experience, to the immediate in-

terference of the Deity. The creation had not yet been examined in its detail. They saw nothing in the universe, but its larger outlines and more striking features ; and, as "the eye glanced from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven," it fell upon no intermediate objects, that interposed between Man and his Creator. With us, on the contrary, a more minute acquaintance with the laws of nature seems to have withdrawn our attention from the eternal Being, by whom they were ordained. We have lost sight of the Almighty in the investigation of his works. The soul, wholly bent upon the realities of the material world, seems to have contracted its sphere of vision, and to have become incapable of aspiring to the lofty truths of the gospel ; to have hardened its moral touch, and to have rendered itself insensible to the spiritualities of religion.

We demand for every opinion a conviction that may be apprehended by the senses, and will not admit the possibility of any thing in heaven, or in earth, unless it can be mathematically proved, and experimentally demonstrated to the satisfaction of our frigid philosophy. The age in which Faith superseded Reason has been succeeded by an age, in which Reason has usurped an unjust ascendancy over Faith ; in which the public mind has learned presumption in the consciousness of improvement ; in which thousands among us have become conceited of their intellectual faculties and acquirements ; in which, pretending to derive from the erroneous portion of their fathers' faith, an argument against all that it contains of inspiration and of truth, they have presumptuously turned aside from the gospel of the Redeemer, as if its divine

instructions were unworthy to receive the incense of their enlightened veneration.

This spirit of intellectual pride has, for some time, been gaining ground upon society. It is by no means exclusively confined to those who have openly separated themselves from the ranks of Christianity. The professed disciples of the Gospel, whom, of all men, it ought least to have affected, though removed from the more deadly centre of contagion, have shewn themselves to be infected with the intellectual malady. We find some, outwardly confessing the divine infallibility of scripture, yet refusing to submit the mind to its communications, and debasing its lofty revelations, to adapt them to the narrow measure of their limited capacities. We find others who appear to be altogether Christians when kneeling at the altar of their Redeemer, yet almost

persuaded to apostatize from the creed of their fathers, when they dwell upon the thrice-refuted pages of the infidel: or when, in the too light and familiar converse of society, they sanction his unhallowed insinuations by an ignominious silence. We find others vacillating under the direction of circumstances, now clinging to their creed as a virtuous prepossession of their childhood, and now looking with respect on unbelief, as a kind of splendid emancipation from the prejudices of ordinary men; at one time endeavouring to console their disappointment, or their sorrow, with feeble hopes of the truth of their religion; and at another, smoothing the way to crime, and cheering the timidity of the conscience, by recalling the arguments that would defeat them. While a very considerable portion of the nominal disciples of the

Saviour hold their cold belief, without any real appreciation of the benefits for which they are indebted to Christianity, and scarcely doubt but that the human reason—weak, erring, prejudiced, deteriorated human reason—is sufficient for all the moral and spiritual necessities of man, and effectual of itself, to establish the fairest principles of conduct, and enforce the practice of them by adequate obligations. They can perceive the wisdom of the moral code communicated by the Messiah's revelation; they can estimate the value of those important articles of religious faith, which are assured to them by the gospel; and because, when the truth is discovered to their view, and brought level to their apprehensions, they can enlarge upon its beauty, and investigate its motives, and illustrate its effects, they overlook the immeasurable distance

which exists between the faculties that are necessary to comprehend what is excellent, and the higher order of intelligence demanded for its invention; and arrogantly conceive, that the instruction which appears to them so simple, might have been disclosed with equal ability and clearness, by the unaided faculties of the understanding. While in every moment of their lives, in the familiar intercourse of friends, in the negotiations of the active, in the tranquillity of home, in the competitions of society, they find every passion softened, every rivalry moderated, every bond confirmed, every virtuous affection sanctioned and enhanced, by the persuasions of that religious faith, which, like the sunshine and the showers of the God from whom it emanated, sheds its salutary influence on the evil and on the good; with an inor-

dinate ingratitude they have begun to undervalue its instructions, and to entertain an unworthy estimation of its advantages:—while all is fair, and radiant, and fertile round them, they have learnt to turn away their eyes from the glories of the sun, and doubt their obligation to its beams.

It is against this religious indifference that the following reflections are directed. It is not my object to engage with open infidelity, by again detailing the conclusive evidences by which the gospel is supported. This has been already done so often, and so well, that no honest heart, or unprejudiced understanding, can enter on the inquiry, without being convinced of the supernatural origin of our belief. My aim is of another nature. It will be my endeavour, by a just and candid statement of the necessity of the

Christian revelation to the happiness of man, to awaken the devotion, and arouse the gratitude, of those, who look coldly upon the faith, as upon a thing of inconsiderable worth. I wish to inspire my readers with a fair appreciation of those lessons of eternal truth, which have been communicated by the revelation of the Messiah. In this attempt I shall direct their reflections to the following propositions:—

- 1st. That christian opinions are essential to human happiness.
- 2d. That those opinions could not have been established by the unaided powers of the reason.
- 3d. That, in the absence of those opinions, the reason could suggest no substitutes which could supply their loss.

The first of these heads I shall treat of at considerable length, the other two I

shall dismiss more briefly. In the prosecution of my task, it is my intention to support myself, as far as possible, by the authority, the admissions, and the examples of those, who have been most celebrated among the ranks of unbelief. If I should succeed in establishing the propositions that I have advanced, the conclusion is immediate. Unless all the better feelings of the heart have become extinct, under the overwhelming growth of the worldly passions, it is impossible not to be convinced of the wickedness of that indifferent and ungrateful feeling, with which the revelation of the Messiah is so extensively regarded. And while we learn to love the faith, by contemplating its holy ministrations of joy and peace, we may also derive from the consideration another, and an emphatic, testimony to its divine authority and truth.

If christianity has conferred a happiness on man, which he had not the means of creating for himself, it is the strongest internal proof of its super-human origin. "It is the good tree that bringeth forth the good fruit*." This is one of those indisputable axioms to which infidelity itself has granted its assent. "If in the profound night by which my reason is surrounded," says Maupertuis, "I find a system, which is the only one that can gratify the natural desire after happiness, can I fail to acknowledge it as true? Must I not confess that that which conduces to happiness is that which cannot possibly deceive †?"

* St. Matthew, 7th ch. 17th verse.

† Dans cette nuit profonde si je rencontre le système qui est le seul qui puisse remplir le désir que j'ai d'être heureux, ne dois je pas croire que celui qui me conduit au bonheur, est celui qui ne saurait me tromper."—MAUPERTUIS *Essai de Philosophie Morale*.

PART I.

CHRISTIAN OPINIONS ESSENTIAL TO HUMAN HAPPINESS.

The consideration of this proposition I shall divide into two Chapters, which will again be subdivided into Sections.—The first Chapter will be designed to shew, that Christian opinions are essential to the happiness of society. The second, that Christian opinions are essential to the happiness of individuals.

CHAPTER I.

Sect. I.

CHRISTIAN OPINIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE
HAPPINESS OF SOCIETY FROM THEIR INFLU-
ENCE ON THE PUBLIC MIND.

MAN cannot live alone. He is connected with his fellow-creatures, by the long imbecility of childhood, by the gradually increasing infirmities of age, by the bonds of instinctive affection, and by the necessity of combining with his fellow men, for the purposes of opposing their common enemies, and of supplying their common wants. If separate, the race perishes*.

* Mundi
Principio indulsit communis conditor illis
Tantum animas, nobis animum quoque, mutuus ut nos
Affectus petere auxilium et præstare juberet,

There is also another law resulting from the inevitable conditions of human existence. When associated into bodies, there naturally arises from the superiority of the parent to the child, and from the irregular distribution of bodily strength and intellectual endowment, an inequality among the individuals. Man cannot live alone; neither, when united in society, can all men be equal.

This last ordinance, to which human nature is subjected, has been considered as peculiarly irksome, and a thousand theorists, whose minds have been misled by the meteor light of a false imagination, or exaggerated sentiment, have meditated its abolition. But, however fair

*Dispersos trahere in populum, migrare vetusto
De nemore, et proavis habitatas linquere sylvas;
Ædificare domos, Laribus conjungere nostris
Tectum aliud, tutos vicino limine somnos,
Ut collata daret fiducia.* *JUVENAL. 15, S. 147.*

their systems may appear in speculation; they have ever been found impossible in practice. A few particular nations have attempted, for a time, to dispense with the customary distinctions of society, by expelling all the titles of honour, and the reverence of hereditary rank; but the various degrees of life have still arisen, in some other form and character, and baffled every endeavour to cast over the wide prospect of the social world so dreary and blank an uniformity. You may destroy the aristocracy of birth. You may blot out the names of venerable families. You may debase the living monuments of ancient virtue and wisdom and integrity; but nothing will result from the destruction, but the conferring an entire ascendancy on the fluctuating aristocracy of wealth;—you may institute a change, which shall degrade the love of

honour to exalt the love of money, and postpone fame to avarice, and supersede the direction of the highest to enhance the operation of the meanest human principle of conduct; but degrees of influence and power can never be totally obliterated. It has been continually repeated, and it is palpable to common observation, that if the most exact division of national property were calculated, and each individual were, this moment, to receive his due proportion, in an hour after the distribution the equality would be violated; the prudent would already have gained, on the imprudent; the crafty have imposed on the unsuspecting; the active have surpassed the indolent. Any human interference to restrain these natural effects, would be nothing less than an attempt to counteract the fair emoluments of virtue, and repair the just deficiencies

of vice. While the right of property remains inviolable, and mankind vary in their faculties of body and of mind, there will of necessity be gradations in the constitution of society. They subsist by an original ordinance of the Creator. There may not be degrees of nominal rank, but there must be degrees of power; for wealth is as much power, as poverty is weakness; and there is no means of emancipating the poor from the authority of the rich, the labourer from the employer, the mouth that hungers from the hand that feeds it, but by tearing down the barriers which separate and secure the property of individuals, and returning to the licentiousness of savage life, that all may indiscriminately be involved in a state of utter and abject wretchedness, and become abandoned to the unrebuked oppression of the strongest among men,

to the rage of the beasts of the forests, to the violence and the inclemencies of seasons, and to the unalleviated sufferings of accident and of disease.

Since, then, wherever man exists, he is destined by an irreversible decree of the Creator, either to exercise authority over his fellow-creatures, or to submit himself to the authority of others:—since, by every propensity of the human heart, this diversity of estate must be the source of hostile dispositions; “greatness delighting to shew itself by effects of power, and baseness to help itself by shifts of malice* :”—since the consequent irritation of public feeling must keep alive a continual struggle to shake off or to confirm the shackles of dependance:—since every contest must prove more and more destructive to the stock of national hap-

* Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. Vol. II. p. 418.

piness, and be productive of depopulated fields, of wasted harvests, of ruined cities, of childless parents, of widowed mothers, and of orphaned infants, during the terrors of the conflict:—since defeated insurrection must necessarily be followed by a servitude less lenient, imbittered by the recollection of past hostility, and guarded by additional restraints, from the possibility of future resistance:—since revolution only promises a field of blood, the rending of familiar ties, the degradation of the great to miserable and unaccustomed privations, the promotion of unworthy persons to their vacated ascendancy, and an unprofitable change of masters to the large body of the people:—since, by the inevitable conditions of humanity, life is thus destined to be passed amid the strife of opposite interests, it is evident that, to secure the peace and con-

sequent happiness of society, some interposing influence is demanded, which may moderate between the contending inequalities; which may restrain the arrogance of authority, and calm the restlessness of subjection; which may appease the suspicions of the powerful, and silence the importunate jealousy of the inferior; which may ensure the tranquillity of the whole, by suggesting motives of mutual benevolence, amid such innumerable provocations to mutual malignity.

If mankind had been abandoned by the Almighty to float at random on the stormy sea of passion, without any star in heaven to regulate the direction of their way, there is one universal principle of nature that would effectually have perpetuated the animosities of society:—“Pride, which setteth the whole world out of course”—pride doing and suffer-

ing—pride active in the great, fostered by the contemplation of its own superiority, and demonstrated in arrogance and oppression—pride passive in the weak, silently brooding over the sense of humiliation, and the bitter recollection of indignities—pride triumphant, seizing on every opportunity of augmenting its exactions—pride constrained, availing itself of every occasion of open vengeance or clandestine retribution, would have rendered the enmities of life as violent as the worst passions of the human soul, and as permanent as the pulsations of the human heart. But while the multitudes of the earth are thus collected together, like the children of Israel in the wilderness, to lament their desolate estate, with a barren rock and an unprofitable waste before them, the rock is struck, and the waters of consolation flow around them:—“that rock,” says St. Paul, “is Christ.”

* "Give me the hearts of all men humble," exclaims Hooker, "and what is there that shall destroy the peace of the world?" The Messiah has made humility one of the graces indispensable to the attainment of the rewards of his religion. But he has not only commanded to his disciples the cultivation of this virtue. He has presented to our minds the knowledge of those sacred truths, which may control the elations of the breast. He has, through the medium of the Gospel, discovered to us the objects, that operate as the provocatives to arrogance, in other points of view than those in which they are naturally apprehended, and under circumstances and relations, that display their comparative insignificance.

The conception of such a Deity, as is made known to us in the Gospel,—of a Deity, infinite in his attributes, surveying

* Sermon on Pride. Hooker. Vol. III.

our most private actions, and conscious of our most secret thoughts, the author of our mortal life, and the arbiter of our immortal destination, can never be entertained without communicating to the mind something of the temperance of truth. The simple and unconnected act of looking beyond the world, to an object of dependance and of terror, has of itself a very considerable efficacy in calming the impulses of pride, and restraining the murmurs of discontent. While every desire is anticipated, every sentiment re-echoed with applause, every opposition stifled, the powerful might be too readily betrayed into an oblivion of their actual estate. They might be tempted to receive too credulously the servile whisperings of adulation round them. Surveying themselves in the representations of flattery, while they estimated others by

the knowledge of their imperfections, they might be tempted to conceive that their superiority was of a higher nature, than that which is conferred by the mere external additions of their fortune, and become arrogant in authority, and tyrannous in its exercise.—The conception of the majesty of God most effectually disperses these delusions. It separates between the real littleness and the factitious dignity. It puts aside those glittering appendages of distinction which encompass the mighty of the earth, and most impressively reveals them to themselves. It fulfils the office of that rigid counsellor, who, in the palmy state of Rome, when the triumph was advancing to the Capitol, was stationed in the car of the conqueror, and continually repeated, amid the pomp of victory, as he held the glittering coronet before him: “Remember thou art

man*.” And while the belief in the existence of the Christian’s God teaches humility to the great, it also delivers to the lowly a lesson of submission. If it represses the injurious effects of power, by disclosing to the adoration of its possessors, a pre-eminence so infinitely exalted above all that the world can offer of greatness or distinction, that the little elevations of the earth appear to decline before it, and to shrink into inconsiderable dimensions, it also administers to the weak a very persuasive lesson of content. As the poor looks upward to the Deity, his understanding becomes habituated to the sense of inferiority; he feels that his humbler destiny is no longer to be resented as an unjust exception; he finds

* Quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus, et sibi consul
Ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.

that he occupies an appropriate place in the graduating system of creation; he perceives that, if he is bound by an obligation to submit, his superior acknowledges a higher authority, and that God is ever above the highest; he confesses, that to rule and to obey is an eternal ordinance and inviolable condition of existence; and he derives a consolation to the lowliness of his estate, by reflecting that the most favoured among mankind, however rich in the benefits of life, however affluent in wealth or fame, in talent or authority, standing as he does upon the earth,—in marked comparison with the infinite supremacy of God,—as on a brief and narrow isthmus, between the eternity of the past and the eternity of the future, must always show as insignificant to the view, as to the eye of some distant mariner appears the slow and solitary sea-

bird, careering in the fields of air, with the immeasurable canopy of heaven extended above her flight, and the immeasurable plains of ocean chafing and swelling underneath.

Pride naturally results from the perception of our own superiority, and if we would prove that “it is not made for man,” our arguments must be derived from the intimations of religion. When we would demonstrate the vanity or the wickedness of the passion, the task can only be accomplished, by shewing that the little acquisitions and endowments, which appear to exalt us above our fellow-creatures, are insignificant in comparison with the more vast and important considerations which constitute our equality. But these levelling considerations are essentially religious. Did we only contemplate mankind in their earthly rela-

tions, we should by no means find that the arrogance of the opulent and the powerful were obnoxious to an unmitigated censure. We might even be tempted to exceed in our indulgence; to grant, not only impunity, but approbation; to transpose, with Hume*, the honour and the reproach from the dispositions, to which they are attributed by the Gospel, and class pride among the virtues, and humility among the ignominious affections of the heart. As far as the mortal man only is concerned, pre-eminence of fortune confers not only an external elevation, but bestows the only moral superiority of which his nature is susceptible. We are so completely modified by cir-

* See the Inquiry into the Principles of Morals, 9th Section. Humility is there named among the monkish virtues, which Hume "transfers to the opposite column, and places among the catalogue of vices."

cumstance, that there is scarcely a more marked distinction between the different classes of the animal creation, than between the refined and cultivated being, whose prosperous destiny has allowed him the facilities of improvement, and the unlettered churl, who is the blind instrument of his instincts and his appetites, and whose intellect is incapable of reaching any thing above the most ordinary inventions of his craft. There are a few, who, like Æsop or Epictetus, may cast off the slough of their mean condition, and rise superior to circumstances; but, with the generality of men, the rich are as widely separated from the poor, as knowledge is from ignorance, or refinement from barbarism. Their pursuits, their manners, their hopes, their fears, their sentiments, their pleasures, all are

different. There are no bonds of alliance between them. They scarcely possess a single point of sympathy, which is not common to the whole range of animal existence. There is in the rich the cultivated mind; there is in the poor the brute force that it may direct: there is the master and the slave; and, as the master looks down upon the slave, he may delight himself in contemplating the immeasurable space between them, and remark his own perfection, and derive new arguments of self-complacency, and remorselessly dismiss the wretch, as an outcast from all the tender sentiments of a kindred nature, to toil, unheeded, for the gratification of his avarice; or fall unpitied, in some gladiatorial show, to amuse the weary hours of his indolence. "Pride," says Selden, "may be allowed

to this or that degree*;" but, without religion, who shall appoint its limits or its measure? Beings so dissimilar are only fellow-creatures in their exterior seeming. They are men, but they are not brothers. There is no mutual tie between them, till it has been demanded as a duty from the great, to equalize the painful disproportion, by familiarizing the minds of all men with that knowledge of the Gospel, which renders every individual, in a Christian

* *Table Talk*. "When we approach a man, who is, as we say, at his ease, we are presented with the pleasing ideas of plenty, satisfaction, cleanliness, warmth, a cheerful house, elegant furniture, ready service, and whatever is desirable in meat, drink, or apparel. On the contrary, when a poor man appears, the disagreeable images of want, penury, hard labour, dirty furniture, coarse or ragged clothes, nauseous meats, and distasteful liquor, immediately strike our fancy. What else do we mean by saying, that one is rich, and the other poor? Regard or contempt is the *natural* consequence of their different situations in life."—HUME'S *Inquiry into the Principles of Morals*, Sec. 6. Surely the poor owe some gratitude to the Gospel, which has saved them from this philosophical contempt.

country, more skilled in the important truths of morality and religion, than the most enlightened sages of antiquity; and which teaches its disciples to overlook the differences, that are merely of the earth; to estimate the spiritual graces of the soul above the trivial accomplishments of the understanding; to forget that which is temporal, and attach themselves to that which is eternal; and to find the sacred and indissoluble bonds of brotherhood in the paternity of one God, in the redemption of one Saviour, in the justification of one faith, in the sanctification of one Spirit.

There is also another truth communicated by the Gospel, in the knowledge of the superintending and directing providence of God, which necessarily conduces to allay the irritations arising from the inequalities of society. Those

objects, which provoke the arrogance of the powerful, and the jealousy of the indigent, are divested of their malignant properties, when they are regarded as the endowments of the Divinity, who maintains over the operations of his hand a regulating control, dispensing the occurrences of life; accelerating or retarding the completion of our purposes, and distributing the various conditions of human existence, for the advancement of the eternal counsels of his wisdom, and the moral amelioration of his creatures. To the Christian's view, riches and distinction inspire no contemplations that elevate the soul; poverty and depression afford no arguments that should abase it. Each estate is necessary to exercise mankind in those active occupations, by which the faculties are strengthened and refined. Each is responsible for a peculiar class

of duties, and produces, amid the different accidents, to which it is liable, the means of educating the heart to a peculiar class of virtues. One indeed appears to be more favourably regarded by the love of the Creator; but the Holy Spirit has pronounced, that this inestimable distinction is conferred, in a manner, which may at the same time intimate humility to the great, and encouragement to the humble*. Unless the volume of eternal truth tampers with us in a double sense, which it were impious for a moment to imagine, it is to the poor that the brightest hopes are beam-

* "One may see," says Pope in one of his letters, "the small value God has for riches, by the people he gives them too." Here Pope speaks as a satirist, but it has been of great importance to the morals of the rich, and the happiness of the poor, to make a separation between the possession of worldly prosperity, and the favour of the Almighty. This is the work of christianity.

ing, and that the blessings of salvation are most secure. "There are to them*," says Bishop Taylor, "many promises and provisions, in that very capacity, they having a title to some certain circumstances and additional of grace and blessing; yet to rich men our blessed Saviour was pleased to make none at all, but to leave them involved in general comprehensions, and to have a title to the special promises only by becoming poor in spirit and in preparation of mind." Poverty is represented in the sacred volume, as arrayed in a religious dignity. It is consecrated to our respect by a variety of pious associations. It was to shepherds keeping their flocks by night, that the angel of the Lord came down with the harmonious declaration of the tidings of

* Sermon on Divine Judgments.

great joy. It was in humble habitations that the Christ was born, and that the Spirit of the Most High abided with him, and that he grew in favour with God and man. It was as a homeless wanderer that he walked the earth, as the ambassador of spiritual hope; and to the poor he spake the sublime announcements of his mission. It was from the ranks of poverty that the apostles of the truth were separated. "It is the poor of this world," says St. James, "that God has chosen as his own*." And to the Christian's apprehension,—where vice has not attained them, and reversed the purposes of the Almighty; where evil counsellors have not insinuated their lessons, and bereaved them of that faith, which is their peculiar grace, and dignity, and consolation, and

* St. James, chap. 2. v. 5.

support,—there appears to shine a sacred radiance about their dwellings; and the heart acknowledges them, as the representatives of Christ upon the earth*, and longs to secure to itself, by benevolent and gentle services, a claim upon their love, and an affectionate remembrance, in the moments of their devotion. There is nothing in the pomp and pageantry of life, when they are considered as the gifts of Providence, that should excite any haughty dispositions in the hearts of their possessors, or provoke the jealousy of the less endowed. When it is demanded by the voice of revelation, "Who maketh thee to differ from another?" and "what hast thou that thou didst not receive †?" The inquiry recalls to our recol-

* See the 25th chapter of St. Matthew, from the 34th to the 40th verse.

† 1st Corinthians, chap. 4. v. 7.

lection, that the Almighty has as absolute a command over the distribution of his material, as of his spiritual, blessings; that if he has intrusted them to our disposal, he has not wholly abdicated his authority; that we hold them but as stewards of his benevolence, and are to employ them, by the direction of his scriptures. When we read, "Lord, what is man that thou hast such respect unto him, or the son of man that thou so regardest him*?" we learn to look inward upon ourselves and our imperfections; to compare the liberalities of the Creator with the deficiencies of our service; and, if separated from the brighter benefits of this life, not to resent on our superiors the liberalities of Providence, as if they were the spoils of any human usurpation; but to silence the suggestions

* Psalm, 143, v. 3.

of envy, nor let our "eye be evil because God is good*."

In addition to these reflections, which are afforded by the Gospel, to confirm the peace between the different classes of society, and harmonize the public mind, under the enjoyment, or the deprivation, of temporal prosperity, the Messiah has revealed to us a hope, before which every perishable treasure becomes depreciated in its value.—What are the fairest emoluments this world can offer; what is the very life, which they adorn and dissipate, when regarded in comparison with eternity?—It were senseless to declaim against "the boast of heraldry, and the pomp of power," and all that may be bestowed upon mankind by the possession of knowledge, of beauty, or of wealth; it were idle to expatiate on

* Matthew, chap. 20. v. 15.

the vanity of those external ornaments, which appear to aggrandize our being, and enhance the privilege of existence, if the earth were the only theatre of action, and the soul were not instinct with a principle of immortality. Objects derive their importance in our estimation from the associations with which they are connected, and the accompaniments by which they are surrounded. The pyramid that seems to soar majestically, amid the sands of the desert, would sink into insignificance, if situated at the foot of the mountain. The aspiring heir of immortality may look down upon the transitory attainments of pride, or avarice, or ambition. They may appear to him as things indifferent and contemptible. He confesses himself a wanderer and a pilgrim on the earth. His soul is wrapt in a more momentous interest. He is ever

rapidly advancing towards the glorious home of his repose, and he is careless of the accidents, that occur upon his way. But remove this distant prospect; take away this expectation of a higher destiny; and the good and evil of this present life are immediately enhanced in his opinion. His sentiments are changed towards them. Wealth and power, fame and title, riches and pre-eminence, are only valueless and empty, when surveyed from the heights of revelation, to the downward scan of the immortal spirit; but when our being is dispossessed of its divinity, and brought level to their height, "these little things are great to little man*." If indeed this life be all; if death be an eternal slumber; if there be no morning that shall dawn beyond the grave, they acquire to themselves a real dignity, and an incal-

* Goldsmith's Traveller.

culable importance. They become the only objects, by which the affections can be influenced, or the energies awakened. They are suddenly rendered indispensable to our felicity. They may perhaps glitter with a deceitful brightness, but, if theirs be the only light, that shines, amid the gloom around us, theirs is the light which we must follow. With nothing but the charms of sense to love and hope for, life is changed in its import and its purposes. Instead of an instrument of good and a sacred trust from the Almighty, we survey it merely as a means of sensual gratification. We become involuntarily the disciples of Epicurus, and exalt pleasure as our god, and regard the virtues only as they administer to the zest or the duration of our enjoyment*. There is no longer any

* Cleanthes Epicuri discipulus, jubebat eos qui audiebant, secum ipsos cogitare pictam in tabulâ voluptatem pulcher-

other philosophy for us, than that which is the harbinger of the decay and the paralysis of nations*. In vain shall any equivocating teacher address us on the beauty of his ideal morals—pleasure, he informs us, is the purpose of our fragile being; and, however he may refine upon its nature, or attempt to explain away the grossness of his institutes, we receive his lessons according to the interpretation of our passions. We are solicited to excess,

rino in vestitu et ornatu regali sedentem; præstò esse virtutes, ut ancillulas, quæ nihil aliud agerent, nullum suum officium ducerent, nisi ut voluptati ministrarent.

CICERO. *De Fin.* lib. 2. c. 21.

* “The philosophy of Epicurus is ever ruinous to society. It had its rise when Greece was declining, and, perhaps, hastened its dissolution, as also that of Rome. It is now propagated in France and England, and seems likely to produce the same effects on both.”

GRAY'S *Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 113.

With regard to France, the fulfilment has fully answered the half oracular anticipations of the poet. God forbid, that a similar corruption of sentiment and opinion should ever, in our land, be the occasion of a similar judgment!

by the recollection of the speediness of our departure; and we adopt the indignant sarcasm of the Apostle, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die*," as the only rational principle of conduct †.

* I Corinthians, chap. 15. v. 32.

† These are the constant maxims of life with those who do not believe in the existence of a future state of retribution:—

"Let us the future hours beguile,
 "With mantling cup and cordial smile,
 "And shed from every bowl of wine,
 "The richest dro'pon Bacchus's shrine.
 "For death may come with blow unpleasant,
 "May come, when least we wish him present,
 "And beckon to the sable shore,
 "And grimly bid us drink no more."

MOORE'S *Anacreon Ode*.

The morals of Anacreon were universal.

"Dark are our fates, to-morrow's sun may peer,
 "From the flushed east upon our funeral bier;
 "Then seize the joys that wine and music give,
 "Nor talk of death while yet 'tis given to live.
 "Soon shall each pulse be still; closed every eye;
 "One little hour remains, or e're we die."

Palladas. BLAND'S *Translation*.

Horace is full of the same motives to voluptuousness; and Martial finds, in the contemplation of the tomb of Augustus,

The luxuries and the distinctions of life, seem to be cast down by the spirit of discord, as prizes to be surveyed with jealousy, contested with animosity, and lost with bitterest discontent. Wealth becomes the sovereign good, and a licentious avarice the universal passion. Poverty seems as an exclusion of the light of the sun from the ephemera that lives but in its beams.—Let no elder brother interpose;—let no parent too long encroach upon the anticipated inheritance. "The death of a father," says a young disciple of Voltaire, "though not the most amiable is the most secret and sincere wish of an

an inducement to sensuality. Compare these impure and gross institutes with the following Christian Epigram of Doddridge:—

"Live while you live, the epicure will say,
 "And give to pleasure every passing day;
 "Live while you live, the sacred preacher cries,
 "And give to God each moment as it flies.
 "Lord, in my view let both united be,
 "I live to pleasure, while I live to thee.

expectant son*.”—Without the dread of a possible punishment hereafter, which—however the heart may fortify itself in the armour of ungodliness—will sometimes clog the liberty of sin, and disturb the serenity of vice, with most tremendous apprehensions; without the dread of a punishment hereafter, what shall prevent the child from accelerating this anxious consummation? Well might Paley ask, “what father would not wish his son to be a Christian †?” In the absence of religious hope, youth appears the only season of enjoyment.—Already its irrevocable hours are bewailed, as too rapid and too few. Every moment, that retards possession, is impatiently resented, as so much of happiness abridged from the shortness of existence. The natural af-

* Standish's *Life of Voltaire*, p. 134.

† *Evidences of Christianity*.

fections perish before the importunity of passion and the avidity of enjoyment. Every heart is highly wrought and feverishly excited, with the grasping violence of the gamester.—Every individual, who, in the least interferes with our desires, whether it be the rich, who withholds his support to our profusion; or the poor, who denies himself to our pleasures, is contemplated as an hateful adversary, in the competitions of selfishness. Mankind are wholly occupied in unparticipated gratification, or invidious pursuit. The order of creation is interrupted and its proportions levelled.—And while the sea of life is thus agitated and disturbed, there is one immortal Being only, who may walk the ocean, and rebuke the troubled waters, with emphasis and power. It is Christ alone, who can restrain the tumults of the storm, and allay

the deadly and universal malignity of the contest, by again declaring the glad tidings of immortality, and demonstrating the nothingness of the passing treasures of the earth, when compared with the imperishable beatitude of Heaven.

The man, who lives under a continual sense of the sublime convictions of the Gospel, is influenced by a sentiment that humbles the mind, while it exalts the soul ; that depresses the human passions, while it elevates the spiritual affections. His thoughts are occupied with lofty and portentous arguments. He bears familiarly about him, an impression, that is kindred to the solemn feeling, with which the heart is filled, in the presence of the mightiest works of nature. He acknowledges, as the permanent disposition of his soul, that contempt of the honours and aggrandizements of the earth, with which

we all occasionally sympathize, when—as the summer sun declines upon our evening walk—or as the wide pavilion of the night is spread above our lonely meditations—or as the ocean is rolling at our feet its everlasting anthem to the praise of the Creator—the spark of our immortality is felt to glow more ardently within us, and mingles in more pure and intimate communion with the Divinity, by whom it was inspired.

Under the persuasion of those important truths, which have been delivered by the Messiah—though their complete effect has been retarded by the corruptions of the human heart—pre-eminence has laid aside much of its arrogance ; inferiority has lost much of its painful feeling of subjection. The Christian world has found that there are higher motives “ of respect than power and riches, and that

poverty and wretchedness are no just occasions of contempt*." Humility has become the characteristic of superior birth, and of an early and ingenuous education. The morals of revelation have been effectual on the manners, even where they have failed to touch the affections of society; and "the rich man's scorn and the proud man's obloquy" have yielded to the semblance, at least, if not to the feeling, of a tenderness for the sensibilities of those who are beneath them.

" Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se
Quam quòd ridiculos homines facit,"

was the opinion of Juvenal. Christianity has mitigated the severity of this affliction. The tone of the sarcastic voice,

* Hume justifies a contrary opinion. See Section 6, of the *Principles of Morals*. And he is right, speaking of men without religion.

the arrogant glance, that scorn might cast upon his dwelling, the sneer of vanity upon the rudeness of his garments; all those outward demonstrations of pride, which prey upon the poor man's heart, which echo on his memory, and which return upon his dreams, have nearly been obliterated by the constant repetition of the instructions of the Gospel. Disgrace is no longer the inseparable companion of his adversity—shame is no longer confounded with his poverty—and, for the other ills of a subordinate condition, he can open in his Bible the abundant source of consolation;—there is his support:—and how successfully it calms the soul, how benignly it inspires him with sentiments of patience and resignation, can only be fully understood by those who have visited the dwellings of the miserable, and

listened to the arguments of consolation that are familiar in the cottages of Christian poverty, and in the chambers of Christian sorrow.

CHAPTER I.

Sect. II.

CHRISTIAN OPINIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE HAPPINESS OF THE DEPENDANT FROM THEIR INFLUENCE ON HIS SUPERIORS.

THAT devout humility which results from a belief in the doctrines of the Gospel, is rather the source of retired contemplation than a vigorous principle of action. It is incompatible with evil, but in itself can hardly be denominated a positive good. It is rather the fruitful soil, on which the virtues may be raised, than an express and irrelative excellence. If the Redeemer had only delivered to mankind those lessons, by which the earth and its attainments and pursuits are degraded in our estimation, the devout disciples of his religion had

lost all bitterness of competition, but they had also wanted every inducement to exertion. They had justified the accusations of Rousseau, and indolently refused to encounter in a race, which only promised to recompense their success with a reward that they despised*. A society of real Christians had been in a state of rest, like the form of Adam, ere his Maker had awakened it into being.—The Almighty has breathed the breath of life into the body.—He has not endured that this “cold obstruction”

* Cette religion, n'ayant nulle relation particulière avec le corps politique, laisse aux lois la seule force qu'elles tirent d'elles-même, sans leur en ajouter aucune autre, et par-là un des grands liens de la société particulière reste sans effet. Bien plus; loin d'attacher les cœurs des citoyens à l'état, elle les en détache comme des toutes les choses de la terre: Je ne connais rien de plus contraire à l'esprit social. Une société de vrais Chrétiens à force d'être parfaite, manquerait de liaison; son vice destructive serait dans sa perfection même, &c. &c. &c. *Contrat Social*, lib. 4. chap. 8.

should exist; he would not that the noble faculties of his creatures should be thus lost in the lethargy of inaction; and he has endowed them with an impulse, a direction, and a purpose, by demanding of them the duties of a strenuous benevolence, and by proposing a requital of eternal happiness or eternal misery, as the reward of their obedience, or the penalty of their omission.

When Bayle, in one of those extraordinary paradoxes, which he had a habit of advancing, for the display of his learning and his ingenuity, maintained that atheism was better than idolatry*; or, in other words, that no religion was more tolerable for a state, than one which was imperfect; it was admirably answered by Montesquieu, “that whatever truth might appertain to his assertion as it

* *Pensées sur la Comète*, &c.

concerned the people, it was absolutely false as it related to their rulers*." The multitude are liable to the influence of many circumstances that might, for a little while, and in an inferior degree, sustain the practice of virtue and deter from the perpetration of offence. The terrors of the law, the desire of popular respect, the prosecution of their worldly interest, till the human mind had become totally corrupt, and learnt, under the unrebuked direction of the passions, to call good evil, and evil good, might act as substitutes for the restraints and motives of religion. But these considerations fail in their persuasion, in proportion as our situation is exalted above the level of ordinary men.—As for interest; those who tread the most elevated walks of life, have no other to pursue than the

* *Esprit des Loix*, Book 24. ch. 2.

full fruition of their passions. As for opinion; they are raised above the vulgar clamour of reproach, and in their bright and conspicuous seclusion, their own sentiments are reverberated by every echo that surrounds them. And as for the law; they, who are the distributors of justice, may ever find the means of eluding its severity. "The laws reach but a very little way, and it is upon the great that their use and potency depend*." There is an eminence of power in every state, which always must inherit a very liberal impunity. The capacity of mischief will always be commensurate with the ability for good. They who have been raised by Providence as the "revengers to execute wrath upon those that do evil †," are of themselves re-

* Burke's Works, Vol. II. p. 260.

† Romans, 13 ch. 4 v.

sponsible to no other jurisdiction than that of the Divinity, whose ministers they are. To them there are no other terrors, than those that dwell around the throne of God;—no other retributions, than those which are gloomily overshadowing the long perspective of their eternity. The powerful may love religion, and yield themselves gently to the hand that abridges their dominion; or they may fear religion, and with difficulty submit to its inhibitions, and violently beat the breast against the barrier*,—against the only barrier,—that would circumscribe the scope of their licentiousness, or their exactions, or their cruelty. “The rich, the great, the prosperous, would be delighted to learn there

* This is the expression of Montesquieu. *Esprit des Loix*, Book 24. ch. 2.

was no God*.” But that unrighteous flatterer would teach a most miserable lesson for mankind, who should emancipate their souls from the salutary apprehensions of an inspecting and avenging Deity. He would let loose the criminal affections to range abroad in unlimited malignity. He would level the only impediment that subsists between Abimelech and his lust, Pharaoh and his cruelty, and Ahab and his usurpations. “If,” says Voltaire, “the world were to be governed by atheists, it were as well to be submitted to the immediate domination of those fiends, who have been described as inveterately preying upon their victims †.” Whoever should insinuate

* Rousseau, Letter to Deleyre.

† Homélie sur l'Athéisme—“ Si le monde était gouverné par des athées il vaudrait autant être sous l'empire immédiat de ces êtres infernaux qu'on nous peint acharnés contre leurs victimes.”

into the hearts of the mighty of the earth those lulling and portentous blasphemies of the infidel, which would pretend that there is no God to mark them—and no penalties which threaten beyond the grave, would give the reins to passion, and mount her in a flaming chariot, that she might whirl, like Phaëton, with boundless and irregular impetuosity along her elevated course, and scatter a withering desolation upon the realms beneath.

Without insisting on the seductions of that dangerous prosperity, which places the great in the more immediate vicinity of crime; which surrounds them with the facilities of transgression; which attracts towards them all those fawning subsidiaries of vice, who would conciliate their approach to favour through the interest of the bad affections; and which gradually betrays them to effeminate and

ignominious sensualities, till, like Nero or Caligula, they become tyrannous from the bitter and resentful consciousness of infamy:—without insisting on that selfish oblivion of every sense of justice or of duty, which so frequently accompanies the intoxication of power, and would persuade its ministers to yield to no other law than their desires, as the Athenian people, whenever a supply was needed for their shows or dances, would carelessly condemn some more affluent inhabitant to death that they might lightly recreate themselves with the confiscation of his wealth* :—without insisting on

* This is mentioned by Lysias, Orat. 29, in Nicom, as a thing of very ordinary occurrence, and as reflecting no imputation on his audience. The money so procured was spent in what was called the public service, *i. e.*, shows and figure dances to amuse the indolence of the people. “The strangers find,” says Lysias, Orat. 30. contra Phil, “that if they do not contribute largely enough to the people’s fancy, they have reason to repent it.” Demosthenes takes

the insatiable nature of the passion, which agitates the ambitious, and compels him to acknowledge, like Buonaparte, " Qu'il n'y a qu'une seule chose à faire dans ce monde : c'est d'acquérir toujours plus d'argent et de pouvoir * :"—without insisting on the corrupting influence of power on the human mind, or on the obdurate and encroaching dispositions which are observable in those who

the greatest care to display his expenses for the pleasures of the people, when he pleads for himself " de corona," and exaggerates Midias's stinginess in this particular, in his accusation of that criminal; " All which, by the by," concludes Hume, from whom these details are taken, " marks a very iniquitous judicature; and yet the Athenians valued themselves on having the most legal and regular administration of any people in Greece."—Note C. C. Vol. I.

* This is taken from a speech of Buonaparte to M. de Melzi, to dissuade him from an act of generous patriotism, he said—" Ne donnez pas dans cette philanthropie romanesque du dix-huitième siècle : il n'y a qu'une seule chose à faire dans ce monde ; c'est d'acquérir toujours plus d'argent et de pouvoir, tout le reste est chimère."—MME. DE STAEL *on the French Revolution.*

love and seek it, and which alone would be sufficient to disturb the happiness of their dependants ; it may with confidence be affirmed that, unless some principles of religion confer the right to rule, and prescribe the duty to obey, the possessors of dominion would, by the very circumstances of their situation, be constrained to tyranny, as their only instrument of defence against the dangers attendant on pre-eminence.

Suppose that the most popular leader, in some moment of strong national excitement and distress, were raised to the direction of affairs by the general consent of his countrymen ; for a little while he might maintain his uninterrupted sway. As long as the emergencies, to which he owed his elevation were in force, he might be attended by a voluntary obedience, and hold his sceptre by the fair

and perfect tenure of opinion. The external difficulties, by uniting the passions of the people in one common interest, might be to him, what Carthage was to Rome, his security against domestic rebellion. But an authority, supported on such an airy basis, would be shaken with every breath of fortune. The first pause, which allowed an opportunity for enthusiasm to cool, would also afford an hour for ambition to devise the destruction of a rival, for envy to depreciate his successes, for slander to blast the laurels upon his brow, for detraction to assoil the brightness of his trophies, and for discontent to murmur her reproaches, as she canvassed the deficiency between the real benefits of his command, and the exaggerated hopes that had authorized his elevation. With these passions operating against him, there would grow up

a natural enmity between the sovereign and his subjects. Their interests would become distinctly opposite; he would no longer be sacred in the estimation of the public, as the protector of their safety, but abhorred as the usurper of their liberties. They would continually encroach on his authority; they would represent his actions, as they appeared tinted by the hues of their own jealousy. They would act towards him as the plebeians* of ancient Rome acted towards the Patricians, and be dissatisfied, while he was distinguished by a single privilege or immunity; they would ever more and more invade his sovereignty, which would be gradually wasted by new submissions that authorized more exorbitant demands,

* "Tant qu'il resta quelques privilèges aux Patriciens; les Plébéiens les leur ôtèrent."—MONTESQUIEU, *Esprit des Loix*. Lib. 11. c 16.

"Till kingly power, thus ebbing out, would be
Drawn to the dregs of a democracy*."

Admitting the truth of those moral axioms of society, which teach us that rule will naturally beget opposition; that ascendancy excites the evil passions of the inferior; and that malignity ever follows pre-eminence like its shadow; this is the very mildest course of events in which his destiny could move. The more ordinary course is of a darker and more sanguinary character. The general progress of the popular idol is from flattery and triumph, to assassination and insults on the dead. The blameless execution of the regal duties would be no defence against this savage consummation †. The righteous judgment, the un-

* Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel. Part I.

† Out of the fifty-eight Emperors who preceded Constantine, fifty were either killed in war or assassinated by their relations.

biassed protection of the weak and the unhappy, the reformation of public grievances and hereditary abuse, if they conciliated distant friends, would exasperate domestic enemies. His virtues would excite the hostility of those, whose interests were compromised in the success of honesty and justice. The patriot monarch might have loyal subjects in the fields and in the villages; but his foes would be those of his own household, who had long battered on the rank corruptions of the court; and who, disappointed of their infamous emolument, would but lightly hesitate in vindicating the wrongs of their avarice by the poison or the stiletto. All history would inform him, that in his dangerous elevation there was but one event to the evil and the good; that if the tyrant has to dread the conspiracies of the oppressed, the virtuous may also

tremble at the impending machinations of the wicked ; that on the throne of unchristian kingdoms there is one violent conclusion to the vices of Caligula, or the innocence of Pertinax. In these circumstances wisdom would advise his abdication, before he suffered this reverse of favour. But such conduct is not to be expected from that inherent love of superiority, which is so invincible in the unregenerated heart. Neither is it consistent with the principles of human nature that he should endure, in passive indifference, to watch the gradual diminution of his authority, and be exposed, in unresisting quietness, to the perils that threatened its extinction. He would be compelled to raise some barrier between himself and the people.—Though the sovereign had been elected, by the public voice, to the distribution of em-

pire ; though he had received the crown by the most perfect human right, that the imagination can conceive, by the unanimous acclamations of his willing subjects ; without some assurance for the constancy of their allegiance, some support for the conservation of his authority, his fall would be as rapid as his rise ; and, like Robespierre or Massaniello, he must expect, in the fickleness of the public mind, to be suddenly hurled down from his tottering pre-eminence, unless he can discover for himself some less violable protection than the continuance of his popularity.

In these difficulties there are only two means of safety to which he can address himself, LAW OF FORCE *. Without re-

* "Horum uter uti nolimus, altro est utendum. Vim volumus extingui? Jus valeat necesse est, id est, judicia, quibus omne jus continetur. Judicia displicent, aut nulla

ligion the first of these is unavailable. To attempt to negotiate with a godless people, to prescribe the extent of the prince's rule, to appoint the limits of the subject's liberty, and to confirm the covenant by the sanctity of oaths were with them, of course, superfluous. Such engagements owe all their efficacy to a belief in the existence and the retributions of the Deity, who is invoked to witness them. Without the awful sanction of religion, they are but empty forms and insignificant observances. The ratification of the terms might afford the subject of a riotous holiday * ; but atheism would cancel the bond and erase the signature. The most sacred assevera-

sunt? *Vis dominetur necesse est ; Hæc vident omnes.*"—
CICERO *pro Sext.*

* As the engagements of the 14th July, 1790 and 1792, between Louis XVI. and the French people.

tions are but words, breath, air, to the ungodly multitude ; and the monarch, who should place reliance on so fragile a security, would only afford an hour of confidence for conspirators to assemble unsuspected, and for insurrections to be deliberately organized. The crowd would carelessly forget the obligations they had lightly formed. They would defend their violation of them, by the authority and the example of the numbers who transgressed ; and they would suddenly make a booty of their sovereign, and riotously drag him to the scaffold ; while he, poor man, like Charles the First, or Louis the Sixteenth, was timidly retreating from his right, and studiously observant of his every action, lest he should at all exceed, and involuntarily overpass, the conditions of his compact.

No protection then would remain to

him but FORCE. The struggle, which in every state subsists, between authority and liberty, would break out into an open and avowed hostility. The monarch would be compelled to find his strength in the weakness, and his security in the debasement, of the people. He would be constrained to close up the channels of liberal discussion. "The servant, fee'd," would be retained in every house to pry into the actions of the mistrusted master. Spies would be systematically organized, who might instigate the crime and then obtain the rewards of information. The words would tremble on the lips of the speaker. Every man would doubt a secret enemy, where the ties of blood and kind associations most solicited the interchange of confidence. Justice would be bowed to the interests of the individual, and the subject would

be arraigned upon suspicion, and judged unheard, and condemned without appeal. The possessor of dominion would perceive that there was for him no safety, but in those terrible oppressions by which the hearts of men are broken; and he would be constrained to despotism, not more by the insatiable passions of his own breast, than by the invidious malignity of his dependants.

The principle of despotism is fear. "It is necessary," says Montesquieu, "that in such a government terror should annihilate all spirit and extinguish every sentiment of ambition*." And for himself the tyrant has nothing to apprehend, except that his oppressions should not be sufficiently severe; or that some impolitic

* Il faut de la crainte dans un gouvernement despotique. Il faut que la crainte y abbatte tous les courages et y éteigne jusque au moindre sentiment d'ambition. L. 3. C. 9.

gentleness should limit the purposes of his cruelty, or abridge the measure of his sanguinary precautions*. Savage as such a principle may sound, in the absence of Christianity, it was recognised as the only principle of government. It mattered little with whom the authority was resident, or under what denomination it was exercised; its maxims always were the same. Jealousy on the side of power, supporting itself by the weakness and intimidation of its subjects.

If the sceptre was held by an individual, like those secluded monarchs who

* There is a degree of oppression which rouses men to resistance, but there is another and a greater, which subdues and unmans them. It is remarkable that Robespierre himself was safe, till he attacked his own accomplices. The spirit of men of virtue was broken, and there was no vigour of character left to destroy him, but in those daring ruffians who were the sharers of his tyranny.—MACKINTOSH'S *Defence of Peltier*.

extend their depopulating sway over the regions to which the Gospel is still unknown, he lived in the continual peril of conspiracy and assassination. The sword of Damocles was ever hanging over him; he eyed his subjects with a fearful enmity. His apprehensions taught him tyranny, and his tyranny increased his apprehensions. With a quick suspicion of every superiority, that was at all conspicuous above the dreary waste, which had been levelled by his oppressions, he dealt the immediate death as the recompense of every moral or intellectual excellence, that might attract regard or conciliate affection. With a trembling vigilance he observed every movement of the multitude, that he might learn, whence danger appeared to threaten him, and where his security demanded weightier burthens and more rigorous restraints.

In every difficulty the cowardice of his heart confirmed the cruel maxims of his policy, and blood was his first, as it was his last, expedient. Did his subjects dare to murmur a remonstrance; hundreds suffered for their temerity. Were they still unwarned, thousands followed in the dark procession of the slaughtered. The increase of his danger or his suspicions only multiplied the number of the proscribed, till the world was taught to shudder at the very title under which the regal authority was exercised, and delivered the name of *tyrant* to posterity, as an everlasting appellation of reproach*.

* I prefer using my authorities from Hume's Essays, as coming from the enemies' quarter, they have the more weight. Conclusions derived from facts, collected by myself or any other friend of religion, might be considered as prejudiced judgments founded on *ex parte*, or garbled, evidence; no such objections can be alleged against the

Let it not be imagined, that the government assumed any milder character where it was not thus confined to the hands of

details of Hume, on the decisions that he may form upon them. He tells us, in Essay xi. Part 2,—“ That the Greek tyrannies were altogether horrible.” He supports the assertion by a note, part of which I have transcribed. “ The people, before the usurpation of Agathocles had banished six hundred nobles. Afterwards that tyrant, in concurrence with the people, killed four thousand nobles, and banished six thousand. He killed four thousand people at Gela. By Agathocles' brother eight thousand were banished from Syracuse. The inhabitants of Ægista, to the number of forty thousand, were killed, man, woman, and child; and with tortures, for the sake of their money. All the relations, to wit, father, brother, children, grandfather, of his Libyan army killed. He killed seven thousand exiles after capitulation. It is to be remarked, that Agathocles was a man of great sense and courage, and is not to be suspected of wanton cruelty, contrary to the maxims of his age.”—Note B B, to the *Essay on the Populousness of the Ancients*.

The newly-settled colony of Heraclea, falling immediately into faction, applied to Sparta, who sent Herifidas with full authority to quiet their dissensions. This man, not provoked by any opposition, not inflamed by party rage, knew no better expedient than immediately putting to death about five hundred of the citizens. A strong proof how deeply-rooted these violent maxims of government were throughout Greece.—HUME, *Essay* xi. Part 2.

a single person, but shared with the nobles and the citizens.

Besides the Greek tyrannies, which Hume describes as "altogether horrible*", there was no medium in those days between a severe and jealous aristocracy, ruling over discontented subjects; and a turbulent, factious, tyrannical democracy." But, in reality, ought not those democracies themselves to be considered in the light of aristocracies †? The citizens were in the place of nobles, and their licentious freedom was supported by the slavery of the people ‡. The populace was an en-

* *Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations*. Page 431.

† "The republic of Athens was the most extensive democracy that is read of in history." Hume.—"Yet, if we make the necessary allowances for the slaves and strangers, we shall find that no law was ever voted by a twentieth part of those who were bound to obedience to it."—POTTER'S *Archæologia*.

‡ "Quoi! la liberté ne se maintient qu'à l'appui de la

chained populace*, and their constraints were oppressive, in proportion to the largeness of the masters' liberty. The weight that was removed from the en-

servitude?—peut-être."—ROUSSEAU, *Contrat Social*.—Livre iii. c. 13.

* It is very little considered how widely the bonds of servitude were spread, and how entirely the large body of the people, before they received the emancipation of Christianity, were depressed beneath them. In Athens, the citizens were thirty thousand, the slaves four hundred thousand. In Sparta, the Helotæ were so much more numerous than the freemen, that, lest they should obtain an overwhelming superiority, it was customary for bands of the Spartan youth to be sent secretly, from time to time, into the country, that they might murder every Helot whom they met. This was a measure of common political precaution. There is no reason for supposing that the numbers of slaves, in Greece, exceeded that of other nations. In comparison with Italy, the reverse appears to have been the case. Ten thousand slaves of a day have often been sold for the use of the Romans, at Delus in Cilicia. When it was once proposed in the senate, to mark the slaves by a peculiarity of dress, the motion was rejected on the plea of its danger, lest it should become the means of informing them of their great numerical superiority: And we read of individuals, who were in possession of many hundreds, and even thousands, of these miserable dependants.

franchised neck, was cast as an additional burthen on the yoke of the enslaved. As the immunities were more liberal the bondage was more severe *. But with this miserable exception, the large body of mankind were submitted to the same afflictive maxims of government. Whether they acknowledged one or many masters ; whether the tyrant extended over the people a sad and uniform humiliation ; or whether the few arrogant members of a nominal democracy, made a prey of the national liberty, the subject was every where obnoxious to the same austerities, and the depositaries of power were directed by the same selfish and passionate rules of policy, which directed them to found the permanency of

* Plutarch says, that " in Lacedæmon the free were the most free, and the slave was the most oppressed."—*Life of Lycurgus.*

their own authority, in the depression of their dependants.

It is terrible to contemplate the barbarities to which this system naturally conducted. I would take Athens for the example. It was acknowledged to have been the most lenient government of antiquity. The mind that is refined to gentleness and pity by the spirit of the Gospel, can scarcely bear to dwell on the ruthless exercise of dominion, which is exhibited in the pages of its history. The tyranny exercised by the Athenian people over those who were subject to their control, surpasses description or belief. No accumulations of reproachful epithet, or opprobrious metaphor, could compass their savage abuses of authority. The despotism of one is bad ; but the despotism of many is incalculably worse. Not to mention their wanton acts of

cruelty, of caprice, of aggression, and of injustice, which were as familiar with them—perhaps more familiar—than with any of the most sanguinary tyrants, whose names are infamous in the annals of mankind; but to confine myself strictly to the enormities, which originated in their political morals, we shall find, by looking at the conduct of that brilliant people, that the vaunted democracy of Athens, was animated by all the selfish passions, was directed by all the narrow principles, was supported by all the ignominious arts, and iniquitous precautions, which characterize the dominion of the despot. No Dionysius or Agathocles ever exhibited a more timid and ungenerous suspicion of their subjects, or followed up their suspicions with more of the oppressive vigilance of terror.—Riches were the objects of jealousy. They

might be made the means of obtaining too commanding an influence in the republic; and the wealthy existed, therefore, in a state of constant persecution and alarm. “While I had riches,” says Charmides, “I was obliged to caress every informer. Some imposition was continually laid upon me; and I was never allowed to travel or be absent from the city. Now, I am poor, I look big, and threaten others; the rich are afraid of me; I am become a kind of tyrant in the city*.” Fame was an object of jealousy: nothing of excellence or wealth or reputation might, with impunity, overtop the level of the democracy. The unrelenting people proscribed every supe-

* Xenophon, Banquet of Socrates.—“Whether a man was a citizen or a stranger among that people, it seems, indeed, requisite, either that he should impoverish himself, or that the people should impoverish him, and, perhaps, kill him into the bargain.”—HUME'S *Essays*, Part ii. 11.

riority, as a thing of dangerous consequence* ; and so susceptible was the prudence of their tyranny, that it instigated them even to attack the honourable distinctions which recompense superior virtue, and Aristides was banished for the celebrity of his justice.

But if the arrogant severities of the despot multitude thus aspired to depress and intimidate the eminent, it was on the slave that the more rigorous inflictions of their enfeebling and demoralizing ascendancy were lavished.—As their poets sung, or their orators declaimed, upon the glories of liberty, the Athenians

* “ Every prevailing power, in the Grecian republics, was seen to meet with a confederacy against it, and that often composed of its former friends and allies. The same principle of jealous emulation, or *cautious politics*, produced the Ostracism of Athens, and the Petalism of Syracuse, and expelled every citizen whose fame or power overtopped the rest.”—HUME’s *Essay on the Balance of Power*.

mingled their tumultuous plaudits. They erected temples to her honour, and they worshipped her as divine ; but their love was a jealous love, and it taught them to monopolize her smiles. Their adoration was not a noble sentiment, but a party feeling. It emanated from pride and selfishness, rather than generosity and devotion. They magnified themselves, and not the divinity they served. They rejoiced to lead along the solemn and the fair procession to her praise, and to hymn her brightness, and to shake their incense, and to wave their myrtle branches before her shrine ; but the victims that they immolated at her altar, were the just prerogatives of nature, and the birth-right inheritance of man. The streets, the fields, the villages, the habitations, of the Athenian, were crowded with his troops of slaves ; and he was so per-

fectly aware of the wretchedness of their subjection, that the very love of freedom, which he prized as the most valuable benefit of his own existence, instructed him to dread the vengeance of the wretched beings, who were crouching beneath the lash and the impositions of his authority. Ignorant of those religious commandments, which enjoin the kindness of the powerful and gratitude of the weak; which confer a stability on the interchange of benevolence, by rendering them offices of piety and devotion; he felt that the bonds of affection* were but feeble instruments, and that oppression was his sole security. In exact correspondence with this sentiment he resented their slightest errors with the

* "Metus et terror est infirma vincula Caritatis," (TACITUS, *Agri. Vit.*), an universal maxim, wherever religion has not annealed and strengthened the "vincula caritatis."

most merciless inflictions. He tutored* them to their duty, "as wild beasts are tamed †," with stripes and cruellest severities. He debased their natures by habitual licentiousness; he endeavoured to extinguish in their breast every spark of generous and manly feeling, by illiberal education, by accustoming them to blows and indignities and insults; by sub-

* "This was the condition of slaves at Athens, which, though deplorable enough, if compared with that of their fellow-sufferers in other cities, seems easy, tolerable, and not to be repined at."

"They were wholly at the command of their masters, to be employed as they saw convenient in the worst and most wretched drudgeries; and to be used at their discretion, punished, starved, beaten, tormented, and that in most places without any appeal to superior power, and punished, even with death itself. And, which yet farther enhanced their misery, they had no hope of recovering freedom for themselves, or procuring it for their posterity, but were to continue in the same condition as long as they lived; and all the inheritance they could leave their children was their parents' miseries, and a condition scarce any way better than that of beasts."—POTTER'S *Archæologia*.

† POTTER'S *Archæologia*.

duing the energy of the mind, by the unmitigated pressure of labour and of want; and by degrading them, as far as his ability could reach, to a state of moral and intellectual equality, with those beasts who were the less pitiable partners of their afflictions.—These miserable dependants on the will, the passions, and the caprices of their master, were so entirely outcasts from all human sympathy, that Plato denied to them the exercise of the first right of nature, the right of self-defence; and declares, that* “the slave who defends himself, and kills a freeman, deserves to be punished as a parricide.” If this enormous tyranny aspired to exclude its subjects from the rights of natural justice; it also condescended, with a cautious atrocity, and a

* PLATO, *de Legibus*.

timid savageness, to regulate the most minute oppressions. It strove to surround the giant multitude with chains, which might appear, perhaps, individually weak; but which were compulsory from their complication, and their intricacy, and their accumulated weight. The slave was interdicted from repeating the songs of the freeman. His voice was only permitted to give utterance to obscenities and grossness. He might not trust his memory with any strain that breathed of liberty, or of glory, or of inspiring sentiment. “Those are the songs of our masters,” said the Helot prisoners to the Thebans, who demanded of them the Odes of Terpander. “Those are the songs of our masters, and those we dare not sing*.” The miserable

* PLUTARCH'S *Life of Lycurgus*.

being was debased to an artificial ignominy, and depraved by an unnatural corruption. He was attainted by the vices of civilization, without being admitted to its refinements; he was abandoned to all the grossness of ignorance, while he was studiously dispossessed of all the rugged nobleness of the savage; and then the philosopher pointed to the degraded being, with an air of self-approval and of triumph, and declared that, "some men were created to be slaves*."

"The maxims of ancient politics †," says Hume, "contained in general so little humanity and moderation, that it seems superfluous to give any particular reason for the acts of violence committed

* ARISTOTLE, *Pol. lib. i. ch. 2.*

† *Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations.*

at any particular period." It were, indeed, superfluous to inquire after the collateral and secondary causes of an effect, which proceeded from the vicious principle, on which their political societies were necessarily founded and supported. The grand occasion of these barbarities is palpable to the observation of every man, by whom it is not voluntarily overlooked. "There is no power but of God*," says the Apostle; and they, who were in the discharge of government, felt a deep conviction of this truth. They felt that, unless religion conferred the right to rule, and prescribed the duty to obey, no firm and legitimate authority could exist; that, by nature, no man could maintain any other dominion over his fellow-creatures than that which resolved itself into the usurpa-

* Romans, xiii. 1.

tion of superior strength, and was to be maintained by the exercise of force; that, on worldly principles, the ruler could only calculate on the submission of his subjects, as on a service to be exacted by compulsion, and yielded from necessity. The ingenuity of the human mind could invent no amicable bond, on which the superior and the dependant could mutually rely, and hence originated the enormities of their mutual opposition. Depression, ignorance, and impoverishment, were among the necessary instruments of government. The weak were to be kept weak, the fallen were never to be permitted to arise. If there were any approach to equality of strength subsisting between the parties, there immediately commenced the struggle for pre-eminence. Then began the horrors of the domestic convulsion, the civil, or

the servile war.—Then were the fields uncultivated, and old age and childhood were left alone as the scanty tenants, and the feeble tillers of the soil; then the city fell into decay, and the grass grew in the market-place; then every vigorous arm, bearing desolation to the land, which it was created to protect, was occupied in impious hostilities, and the nation hollowed out its grave, while it ignorantly conceived itself to be digging the foundations of its freedom. And in all these contests for power, which the page of ancient history reveals to us, as excited by the severity, with which authority was exercised, and generally allayed by a more rigorous abuse, we find the same destructive principles universally in action. Whichever party was successful, the conqueror only thought of securing his victories by the extirpation of his oppo-

nents. The laurels upon his brow did not promise to him any permanent dominion, till they were dyed in the blood of *all* his adversaries. It was only, when the weak were humbled even below the degradation in which despair continues to be dangerous, that there ensued that kind of terrible repose, which is discovered at the break of morning amid the scattered ruins of the midnight tempest*. The

* This may perhaps receive an illustration from two extracts from HUME's *Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations*. "In ancient history we may always observe where one party prevailed whether of the nobles or the people, that they immediately butchered all the opposite party who fell into their hands, and banished such as had been so fortunate as to escape their fury—no form, no process, no law, no trial, no pardon. A fourth, a third, perhaps nearly half the city was slaughtered or expelled every revolution, and the exiles always joined foreign enemies, and did all the mischief possible to their fellow-citizens; till fortune put it in their power to take full revenge by a new revolution. And as these were frequent in such violent governments, the disorder, diffident jealousy, enmity which must prevail, are not easy for us to imagine in this age of the world."—"Not to mention Dionysius the Elder, who is computed to

conqueror, sensible that he had no permanent defence to hope for, but in the disability of his opponents, crowned his victory with sentences of exile and proscription, and endeavoured to spread around him the silence and the solitude of the desert, that he might possess himself of the security of its peace*. Despotism was ever the starting-place and the goal of every

have slain above 10,000 of his fellow-citizens; or Agathocles, Nabis, and others, still more bloody than he; the transactions even in free governments were extremely violent and destructive. At Athens the thirty tyrants and the nobles, in a twelvemonth, murdered, without trial, about 1,200 of the people, and banished above half the citizens who remained. In Argos, near the same time, the people killed 1,200 of the nobles, and afterwards their own demagogues, because they had refused to carry their prosecutions farther. The people also in Corcyra killed 1,500 of the nobles, and banished 4,000.—Their numbers will appear the more surprising if we consider the smallness of these states. But all ancient histories are full of such circumstances."

* "Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti calles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius."—TACITUS, *Agricola*.

"Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant."—TACITUS, *Agricola*.

political contention. The people, urged beyond the possibility of endurance, rose against the tyrant, and then became a tyrant to themselves. They separated into factions and divisions which preyed upon each other, till their weakness solicited the invasion of the conqueror, who cast over the infuriated combatants his equal and indiscriminating chains;—or if not so;—wearied with the toil of desolation, and shuddering at the horrors of their work, they made a voluntary sacrifice of their frantic dream of liberty—of that liberty, which may be lost, but never can be regained*,—and, like Rome †, took refuge under the sceptre of a military tyrant, that they might crouch about his

* “Peuples libres!—Souvenez vous de cette maxime, on peut acquérir la liberté, mais on ne la reconvre jamais.”—ROUSSEAU, *Contrat Social*, L. ii. c. 8.

† Augustus cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine principis, sub imperium accepit.—TACITUS, *An.* 1. 1.

throne, and sue to him for a protection against themselves.

It should be remembered, that the nations, from whom these illustrations have been derived, were avowedly the most mild and civilized of ancient times, and that among them the possessor of authority was not entirely emancipated from the constraints of religion. The laws were either supposed to have been received by heavenly inspiration, or were confirmed by the approbation of oracles; and the terrors of a salutary superstition would direct and superintend their distribution. The oath was still binding to the conscience, and the Gods were feared as the avengers of its violation. The furies menaced the criminal with their retributions, and seemed to shake their glaring torches and their hissing snakes before the bewildered imagination of the guilty. In

the absence of the truth, these vague and uncertain apprehensions would perhaps restrain the tyrant from any useless and more wanton excesses of atrocity. Without these invisible limits to circumscribe the violences of passion, he had moved, like the wind of death, over the earth, and left all that dignifies and adorns humanity prostrate on the unpeopled desert of his dominion. The mind shrinks within itself at every attempt to speculate on the extent of the destruction, which would be wrought by the impetuous malignity of ungodly power, surpassing, in its vindictive penalties, the abominations of a godless people. "By taking away piety towards the Gods," says Cicero, "in my opinion you would destroy all good faith, nay all human society—and the most excellent of virtues, justice*." Hume

* *De Naturâ Deorum*, 1. 2.

himself perceived these inevitable results of atheism. He was perfectly aware of the hideous consequences that track the progress of the unbelief, into which he would have seduced his countrymen; he confesses, that the annihilation of all civility and arts and learning and virtue and refinement would necessarily succeed on their adoption. In one of the last sentences, that close his Inquiry into the Natural History of Religion, he declares, that if we could find a people entirely destitute of faith, they would only be a few degrees removed above the brutes*.

For the happiness of the people then, it is evident that some religious con-

* *Natural History of Religion*, sec. 15.—To these testimonies may be added that of MACHIAVELLI.—Sono infami e detestabili gli uomini destruttori delle religioni, dissipatori de' regni e delle repubbliche, inimici delle virtù, delle lettere e d'ogni altra arte che arrechi utilità e honore alla humana generazione.—Lib. 1. *de' Discorsi*.

victions are requisite to restrain the excesses of their governors. "Atheism," says Lord Bacon*, "leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation."—We shall hereafter consider what advantages these human instruments might procure for the generality of mankind; but with him, who is in authority, they would all inevitably conduce to a more tyrannous oppression.—His "sense" would teach him, that they who govern must be feared, and that they who are feared are hated. His "philosophy" would assist him in improving on the arts of Machiavelli, in perfecting the constraints of his power, and in augmenting the exactions of his imposts.—The "laws" he would fabricate to his purposes; his will would tighten or relax them; his "reputation" would

* *Essay on Superstition.*

be founded on the vastness of his territories, and on the number and on the submission of his vassals; and the indefinite emotions of his "natural piety" would plead, with very inefficient organs, against the causeless invasions, and the stern dominion, by which it was to be extended and confirmed. In this respect, then, we must agree with Montesquieu, that even the grossest superstition, which interposed a terror between authority and the severity of its exercise, would be deserving of our tenderness and our respect.—The Gospel does thus interpose; and were we only to regard it, in its relations with our political welfare and security, it has a legitimate claim to our veneration.—But it does more—ininitely more—and it deserves a deeper and a holier gratitude as it is the source of more excellent effects.

Christianity does not only act upon the powerful as an impediment from crime, but as an incentive to good. Its action is not confined to the subordinate offices of withholding from transgression, and conferring a deeper emphasis on the reproaches of the conscience. It is not contented with a censorship, of which the occupation slumbers, where there is no enormity to arouse its rigours, but it is present in the habitations of the great, as a constant and unintimidated monitor, to reveal to them the intent of their pre-eminence; to prescribe the limits of their command; to appoint the channels, by which the stream of power is to flow, and to enforce a diligent application of its purposes. Every other thing becomes constrained in the neighbourhood of authority, and is modelled to its will, and confesses its subjection by compliance. The Gospel

is alone invariable and fixt; it maintains to the monarch or the subject, the master or the dependant, the same imposing attitude of superiority; it addresses each with the same tones of sacred and unequivocating truth; it has no submissive morals; it has no adulatory voice; it has no mitigated terrors.—Like the Baptist, it repeats its warnings unchangeable and unchanged, whether they are pronounced in the palaces of Herod, or amid the savage dwellers of the wilderness. The Gospel is the word of God; and when its ministers make its solemn admonitions heard above the soft and flattering seductions by which the mighty are so perilously encircled,—when emboldened by the insignia of their divine commission they vindicate the rights and privileges of humanity,—

when they dare, like Massillon*, to deliver, in the presence of princes and of nobles, the uncourtly truths, that the people do not exist for the convenience of their rulers, but that their rulers are appointed to an important charge, as the instruments of God's visible providence, for the welfare and protection of the people, they address the great with the only authority which power has not the ability of disputing; and reclaim, as it were, the delegated trust from the hands of man, by whom it might be betrayed, to restore it to the unerring distribution of the Deity, by whom it had been confided.

Christianity has thus dared to speak, and it has not spoken without effect.—
“The Christian religion is incompatible

* I allude more particularly to *Le petit Carême*, the sermon *Sur l'Humanité des Grands envers le Peuple*.

with Despotism*.” Wherever the Gospel has taken root and flourished, it has produced the fruit of a more lenient govern-

* “La religion chrétienne est éloignée du pur despotisme, c'est que la douceur étant si recommandée dans l'Évangile, elle s'oppose à la colère despotique avec laquelle le Prince déferait justice et exercerait, ses cruautés.—Pendant que les Princes Mahométans donnent sans cesse la mort, ou la reçoivent, la religion chez les Chrétiens rend les Princes moins timides et par conséquent moins cruel.”—MONTESQUIEU, *Esprit des Loix*, lib. 21. c. 3.

Bolingbroke, in the following passage, renders Christianity the highest praise in its political effects that any system for ameliorating the condition of mankind could possibly receive. It is the more valuable as coming from an enemy.—“The political views of Constantine in the establishment of Christianity, were to attach the subjects of the empire more firmly to himself and his successors, and the several nations that composed it to one another, by the bonds of a religion common to all of them; to soften the ferocity of the armies; to reform the licentiousness of the provinces; and, by infusing a spirit of moderation and submission to government, to extinguish those principles of avarice and ambition, of injustice and violence, by which so many factions were formed, and the peace of the empire so often and so fatally broken.”—He adds, “No religion was ever so well proportioned, nor so well decocted, as that of Christianity seemed to be to all these purposes.”—BOLINGBROKE'S *Works*, vol. iv. p. 395, quoted by Leland.

ment;—it has produced a consideration for the welfare of the subject. When the Gospel declared it to be the will of the Almighty that mankind should live in charity together, and appointed the benevolence of the heart as the measure of our everlasting happiness, it communicated a principle of confidence to the different classes of society. The powerful were instructed, by the experience of three centuries, that they might rely on the dispositions of a Christian people. When Constantine established the faith of Jesus as the religion of the empire,—though its disciples, for so long a period, had been attacked by every variety of persecution which the ingenuity of malice could devise,—not one of them had ever been detected as the accessory of any of those innumerable conspiracies and insurrections which had been

associated against the lives of their emperors. Tertullian, in his *Apology* for the Faith, challenges the enemies of the Gospel to name a single individual of his faith who had been accused of a participation in such offences*. Rendered confident by so long and so rigorous a trial, the superior was emboldened gradually to relax the fetters, by which his dependants were constrained. His newly-learned religion called upon him to consult their happiness, and he dared intrust them with the liberty of being happy, because the Gospel was to him a continual assurance, that that liberty should not be abused.

“ According to ancient practice, all checks were on the inferior to restrain him to the duty of submission; none on

* TERTULLIAN, *Apol.* 35, 36, 37. See also GIBBON, chap. 20.

the superior, to engage him to the reciprocal duties of gentleness and humanity*." This was in the common course of nature, which is insatiable in the pursuit of power, and when gained only studious of its defence†. Under the influence of the faith, those institutions, which had been raised as another barrier for the safety of the strong, have gradually changed in their purpose and their operation, and become the protection of the weak. Advocates have arisen in princes and in nobles to vindicate the liberty and plead against the oppressing

* HUME'S *Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations*.

† Buonaparte's admonition to the son of Louis is a good illustration of the principles of ungodly power. The boy was destined to be Grand Duke of Berg.—"N'oubliez jamais dans quelque position que vous placent ma politique et l'intérêt de mon empire, que vos premiers devoirs sont envers moi, vos seconds envers la France; tous vos autres devoirs, même ceux envers les peuples, que je pourrais vous confire, ne viennent qu'après."

The above was printed in the *Moniteur* of July, 1810.

of the people. Every unjust enactment has been redressed or mitigated by an ardent and liberal spirit of reform; every partiality has been encountered by the remonstrances of those who were themselves uninjured by its exclusions, and who, actuated by the love of the Creator, were solicitous of no earthly honour in the promotion of the happiness of his creatures*.

Wherever power exists, Christianity has subdued the harshness of its effects.

* The Gospel gave a mild character to the laws of the rudest nations that has no parallel in unchristian times and countries.—"The laws of the Visigoths required the Bishops to defend the poor against the oppression of the rich, and against the injustice of Judges in Courts of Judicature. Charlemagne and Louis recommended to their subjects to love God more than themselves, their neighbours as themselves, and to do nothing to others which they would not wish to be done to themselves. A law of Charlemagne prohibits molesting the stranger; and founds the prohibition on Scripture authority. Basilius, Emperor of the East, ex-

Ungentleness to inferiors, oblivion of past services, severity in the exercise of authority, have been rendered infamous by the lessons of the Gospel, and become abhorrent from the kinder sentiments of regenerated man. The corruptions of the heart have cast many impediments in the way of the complete ascendancy of the Faith; but, notwithstanding their limitations, it has greatly and gloriously triumphed. An incalculable benefit has been obtained by exalting the virtues that are opposite to our selfishness, as the only honourable prin-

horted his son Leo to pity the widow's tears and the cries of the orphan, and to be bountiful to the poor, as he expected mercy from God: which exhortations tended to render his son and his subjects gentle and beneficent. The laws of Charlemagne, Louis, and Lotharius, represent widows, orphans, the poor and oppressed, as under the protection of God and the magistrate."—RYAN'S *Effects of Religion*. Vol. II.

ciples of action, and by compelling the bad to prevaricate with their inhumanity, and conceal the vices that they had before fearlessly exposed. There lives not a single individual, whose childhood has been formed by the morals of Christianity, who would not feel indignant at the imputation of having practised, on any one of the inferior creatures that had been serviceable to his interests, or his pleasures, such barbarities as were exercised without remorse, in the most polished ages of antiquity, on beings of a kindred nature with ourselves.—What Christian could endure the thought that the old, domestic animal, which had become enfeebled in his employ, should be exposed, as the miserable bondsmen of the Romans were, when decay or accident had rendered them unnecessary, to perish of hopeless want on an island of

the Tiber*?—Is it supposed possible that any disciple of the Gospel would suffer his aged hound, or his drooping war-horse—as the elder Cato† did his slaves—to be starved to death, before his sight, and in his own house, rather than charge himself with the burthen of providing for their infirmities?

It is another merit of Christianity, that by its influence mankind have been restored

* Suetonius in *Vita Claudii* —“ Quelques Romains les faisaient jeter tous vivans dans leurs viviers, pour engraisser des murènes.”—Mennais states this piece of barbarity, but does not quote his authority.

† A sufficient proof of the harsh manner in which slaves were used, “ we find,” says Potter, Book 1. chap. 10, “ in the famous Roman Cato, a man celebrated in all ages for his exact observance of the strictest rules of justice. When his servants grew old, and unfit for labour, notwithstanding they had been very faithful and serviceable to him, and had spent their youth and strength in labouring for him; for all this, when years came upon them, and their strength failed them, he would not be at the expense of maintaining them, but either turned them away, unable to provide for themselves, or let them starve to death in his own family.”—The anecdote is from Plutarch.

to that brightest attribute of the golden age and the Saturnian reign, on which the elder poets delighted to expatiate.—“ In those days,” says Plutarch, “ there was neither lord nor slave.”—This ignominious distinction has been cast out, like an evil spirit from the earth, by the efficacy of the name of Jesus. The Gospel has restored every individual to his legitimate dominion over the energies of his mind and the labours of his hand; and all men, admitted to an equal liberty of virtuous exertion, have become equally restricted in their ability to disturb or to destroy. Slavery has retreated as the Faith extended. The bondsman was willingly received as the disciple of the Saviour, and the wretch, whom his fellow-creatures had abandoned as an outcast from their compassion, found a refuge in the mercies of his God.—“ Act as ser-

vants to the Lord and not to men only," said the apostle of the Gentiles, "knowing that whatever good work any one doth, for that he shall receive of the Lord, whether he be a slave or freeman*"—But while he thus addressed the slave with higher principles of duty, and with animating arguments of consolation, he impartially remonstrated, that the masters also "should do the same things, moderating threatening, knowing that the Master even of themselves was in heaven, and that respect of persons was not with him †." Under these awakening admonitions the lord and slave were mutually excited to affection—they were "beloved brothers ‡." Confidence expelled restraint:—the yoke of servitude was lightened:—

* Ephesians, chap. 6. v. 8. † Ibid., chap. 6. v. 9.

‡ "No longer a slave only, but above a slave, a beloved brother."—Epistle to Philemon, ver. 16.

the exactions were mitigated:—the severities repressed:—the bonds were broken. That the merit of this achievement is the undivided triumph of our religion is a fact of history. Slavery was authorized by the laws of the old world; Constantine issued a decree that every slave who embraced Christianity should receive his immediate emancipation.—"As our Redeemer became incarnate," said Gregory the Great, on emancipating his slaves, "to deliver us from the slavery of sin; so should we restore those to freedom who are constrained by the slavery of man." Religion and liberty advanced with an equal progress; whenever the church received any donation of lands, the vassals of the soil were baptized and manumitted. The constant penance, which the Confessor imposed on the crimes of every wealthy peni-

tent, was the enfranchisement of his own slaves, and the redemption of the slaves of others*. In every Christian country the miseries of slavery have retreated before the Gospel, or contended in a yielding opposition against the zeal of its benevolence. Like Satan, it has been trodden down, under the foot of the Messiah; all evil things appear tenacious of existence; but, however protracted may be her expiring agonies, Slavery has received her death-blow; and that blow was given by one who gloried in the Cross of his Saviour, and was actuated by the motives, and argued on the principles, of Christianity.

* BURKE's *History of England*, p. 267, vol. x., octavo edit. of his Works. Thus while Europe was involved in ignorance and barbarism, Religion promoted the emancipation of slaves. MARIALPHUS states, "*Formularum*, lib. 1. c. 39.; lib. 2, c. 33, 34," that some liberated their slaves to obtain the favour of God, and that the Seik granted them their liberty for the pardon of their sins.

But while the great, directed by the spirit of the Gospel, have thus been encouraged to alleviate that weighty burthen of restraint, which had been accumulating, from the earliest ages, for the wretchedness of their dependants, as far as religion is effectual, they have given a stability and permanence to these privileges, and, by the instruction of the people, rendered themselves incapable of re-assuming the immunities which they have restored. It was required by their religion, as one of the indispensable obligations of their ascendancy, that they should promote the glory of the Almighty, by disseminating the knowledge of his word. They were to imitate the Saviour by delivering the Gospel to the poor. The multitude were to be instructed in the will of their God and their Redeemer that the empire of sin might be de-

stroyed, and the Almighty glorified in the obedience of his creatures ; and while the powerful assisted the advancement of these lofty purposes, by public institutions and endowments, they placed in the hands of their dependants the law by which the actions of the mightiest might be censured or approved ;—the inflexible ordinances, by which every instance of tyranny or oppression was condemned ;—the sacred covenant, which authorized the claims of the humble to freedom and to justice, to mercy and to protection.

Such have been the events which in every Christian country have, in various degrees, borne witness to the truth of the revelation, in the excellence of its results. “ Mankind owe to Christianity a political right, for which they can never be sufficiently grateful*.” But let us turn aside,

* MONTESQUIEU, *Esprit des Loix*, lib. 24. c. 3.

from the enumeration of its general advantages, to trace the peculiar and immediate good, which we, as Englishmen, have derived from the propitious operations of the faith ; as it has acted on the hearts and minds of those admirable men who were occupied in the foundation and establishment of our national liberties.

That there should exist a constitution, like that of our country, uniting in itself the valuable properties of the three several forms of government which were common in the ancient world, was once regarded among those desirable things which were impossible to be achieved. In the ages which preceded the revelation of the Gospel, the scheme had been considered as one of those splendid speculations that might amuse the solitude of the contemplative, but which was infinitely too ethereal in its nature to be realized upon the

earth. It was cast aside among the dreams of the enthusiast, as a vision of unattainable felicity. It might be adapted for a world inhabited by a race of pure, intelligent, and passionless existences, but was wholly irreconcilable with the harsh and violent conditions of humanity. "Cunctas nationes et urbes populus, aut primores, aut singuli regunt, delecta ex his et consociata reipublicæ forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest*." Such was the rational opinion of Tacitus.—The historian and the philosopher was fully justified in the judgment which he pronounced. It was evident to his research that nothing similar to such a state had ever flourished in the past; and it appeared equally evident, from the corruptions of the human heart, and the vicissitudes of human cir-

* TACITUS, *Ann.* iv. 33.

cumstances, that, if such a phenomenon ever should arise, among the incalculable accidents of futurity, it could obtain no permanent duration. He perceived that the interests of the three several portions of such a republic would be more frequently in collision than in union; that there would exist more causes of separation than points of contact; that its security must depend on their mutual opposition, not on their mutual amity; that however accurately the power might originally be distributed, the exactness of the equipoise could never be maintained; that the very delicacy of the balance would only render it more susceptible of fluctuation; that some momentary depression, in one of the parties, would inevitably offer an occasion for the encroachments of its rivals; that, at all events, some peculiar and nearer interests would

approximate the two, who would first unite for the deposition of the third, and then contest the monopoly, after they had defaced the symmetry, and levelled the proportions of the government.

That such would be the brief and turbulent existence of a mixt form of constitution, in the absence of those religious assurances, which moderate the passions of the combining parties, appeared indisputable to one of the most comprehensive understandings that ever dignified our nature. But it is useless to speculate on the durability of such a state. Tacitus saw this, and he dismisses the question in a single sentence,—“*Si evenit haud diuturna esse potest.*”—Without the operation of religion, without the interposition of some motives of action, independent of the passions, and superior to their influence, is it possible that a

government, like that of England, ever should receive its birth?—A government of so peculiar a character must be indebted for its origin to the forbearance of its founders. It must be designed and moulded by the hands of men possessing an entire ability to appropriate to themselves the undivided authority of the nation, and exalted, by some lofty principles of duty, above the insatiable and malignant tendencies of their avarice or their ambition. Invested with that unlimited command which is requisite for the reformation of abuse, and the establishment of right, they must be endowed with some sublime convictions which would persuade them contentedly to take their stand at the points of wisdom and of justice, and to resist every provocation to excess that might be suggested by the recollection of past injuries, or the tempta-

tions of personal aggrandizement. Such a moderation in the exercise of power, where its possessors had nothing but the suggestions of human nature to direct them, I may, with confidence, assert to be without example in the annals of mankind; and I appeal to the testimony of Hume himself,—a most unsuspecting and unwilling witness to any truth that may conduce to magnify the benefits of revelation,—in affirming that the salutary temperance, which distinguished the authors of our national liberty, was immediately derived from their faith in the Gospel. In those awful and important moments which have been so perilous in their aspect, and so blest in their issues; in those eventful moments of our history, when the unwilling subject has been compelled, in self-defence, to an honest violation of the duties of submission, it was

the religion of the Saviour, which interposed its venerated authority, to appoint the limits of the reclaimed dominion, and to prevent the just resistance of oppression, from assuming any of the disgraceful qualities of usurpation. When the Barons armed themselves for the deliverance of their country, and challenged from King John their own privileges and immunities, they voluntarily surrendered to their inferior vassals whatever rights they had themselves extorted from the tyranny and injustice of their monarch. This was a splendid sacrifice. They had drawn the sword, and they had conquered their ascendancy, and they gloriously employed their victory in the communication of the rights of freedom. “But,” says the historian, “what we are most to admire is the prudence and moderation of these haughty nobles, who were enraged by

injuries, inflamed by opposition, and elated by a total victory over their sovereign. They were contented, even in this plenitude of power, to depart from some articles of Henry the First's charter, which they made the foundation of their demands, and seem to have been sufficiently careful not to diminish too far the power and revenue of the crown*." Well might the infidel philosopher suffer his admiration to expatiate on this trait of generous forbearance. It corresponded with no maxims that could be deduced from his frigid and narrow theory of morals. He could calculate the force of passion, but he could not calculate the powers of faith; he could speculate on the violence of ambition, and he knew the impetuosity of vengeance and of wrath; but he was either incapable of estimating the coun-

* HUME's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 94. Quarto edit.

teraction of Christian principles, or he had forgotten, that when those valiant men, who swayed the sword of their country, entered on the election of their leader, Fitz-Walter was not chosen to an earthly office, but to a sacred duty, as "Mareshal of the Holy Army of God and of the Church*."

Another moment of vital importance to the constitution was the Revolution of 1688.—Again I turn to the authority of Hume—not to his *History*, but to his *Essays*—in asserting the obligations, for

* HUME's *History*, vol. ii. p. 88. Had the Barons been guilty of any wrong, or had their King been a shade less dark in character, Hume would have taken care to remark this circumstance with sufficient vituperation. But, as they honourably fulfilled the solemn duty they had imposed upon themselves, no allusion is once made to the connexion that existed between their actions and the principles that directed them, though those principles were so unequivocally disclosed in the title of their leader. Compare the moderation of these half-barbarous nobles with the savage results of victory that disgraced the most polished ages of Greece and Rome.

which, at that momentous period, we were indebted to the benignant influence of our religion. If Christianity laid the foundation of our liberties, it has also existed as their security; and the speculations of infidelity itself should teach us to unite at least in one universal petition to the Omnipotent—that the Gospel may never be abridged of its dominion. “All human affairs,” says Hume, “are governed by opinion; now there has been a sudden and sensible change in the opinions of men by the progress of learning and liberty. Most people in this island have divested themselves of all superstitious reverence of names and authority. The clergy have lost their credit; their pretensions and doctrines have been ridiculed, and even religion can scarcely support itself in the world*.” The conclu-

* *Essay on the British Constitution.*—Essay vii. Part 1.

sion that he derives from the contemplation of this unhallowed portrait,—which I trust was the vain reflection of his hopes, and not the express image of the truth,—is the approaching and convulsive death of the constitution. He looks back upon the past, and acknowledges, that without the direction of those sentiments which originate in the Gospel, our present equal and liberal form of government could never have survived the abdication of James the Second. “Had men been in the same disposition at the Revolution as they are at present, monarchy would have run a risk of being entirely lost in this country*.” The old heathen philosophy and the modern godless philosophy have a wonderful consistency in their conclusions. Hume authorizes the sentiment of Tacitus. The historian, who was unin-

* *Essay on the British Constitution.*—Essay vii. Part 1.

structed in the nature of Christianity*, is supported in the justice of his conclusions by the testimony of the historian who renounced it.—“Without religion,” says Hume, “the monarchy had been lost.”—“Delecta ex his,” says Tacitus, in his ignorance of the efficacy of religion, “delecta ex his et consociata reipublicæ forma laudari facilius quam evenire †.”

The parallel extends still farther. The great apostle of modern infidelity looks forward to the future, and, from the diminished influence of the Gospel, he derives his auguries of evil. The predictions which ungodliness pronounces for the inhabitants of this world, are correspondent with the misery which threatens its disciples in the next. The unholy prophet, the Balaam of irreligion, does

* Tacitus calls Christianity an execrable superstition.

† *Ann. lib. iv. 33.*

not discover to our hopes a single gleam of cheering anticipation. No oracles of joy proceed from the misty caverns of his atheism. The inscriptions on his sibyl leaves are legible to the eye, and intelligible to the understanding, but they are indeed most miserable in their import. After his tumultuous scenes of discord and aggression and civil war and slaughter, the brightest prospect that he reveals at the conclusion of his lengthening avenue of sorrow, is the passive subjection of the slave to the uncontrollable oppression of the tyrant. “We shall at last find repose in an absolute monarchy, which it would have been better for us to have established peaceably from the beginning*.” On human principles that constitution, which is our most cherished and valuable inheritance as Englishmen, could never

* HUME'S *Essays*, vii. Part I.

have arisen into being, or, if it had arisen, could possess no stability or duration. It has no vital principle independent of religion, and every reflecting mind must agree with Hume and Tacitus, that on any other terms, “*si evenit haud diuturna esse potest**.”

But to return to the general influence of Christianity on the political situation of mankind. Hume does not agree with Montesquieu in attributing the mildness of modern governments to the operations of the Gospel; he believes it to be the consequence of our improvement in knowledge †. Burke would divide the merit, and supposes that all the good which has

* TACITUS, *Ann.* iv. 33.

† Knowledge in the arts of government naturally begets mildness and moderation, by instructing men in the advantages of humane maxims above rigour and severity, which drive subjects into rebellion, and make the return to submission impracticable, by cutting off all hopes of pardon.
When

occurred “in this European world of ours, depended on two principles, and was indeed the result of both combined—the spirit of a gentleman and the spirit of religion*.”—“The spirit of a gentleman” is, I presume, with the eloquent author of *Reflections on the French Revolution*, an equivalent for “the improved knowledge” of the philosophical essayist; and both may be comprehended in the general term of civilization. Christianity equally rejects the exclusive hypothesis of the one and the ungrateful compromise of the other. Supposing it were true, that civilization had been instrumental to the production of our political liberty, of

When the tempers of men are softened as well as their knowledge improved, this humanity appears still more conspicuous, and is the chief characteristic which distinguishes a civilized age from times of barbarity and ignorance.—HUME’s *Essay on Refinement in the Arts*.

* *Reflections on the Revolution in France*.

our milder government, of our equal laws, of the gradual disruption of the bonds of slavery, the Gospel was the parent, the instructor, and the guide, to which that civilization is indebted for its birth and culture ; and the disciple of the Redeemer may be justly pardoned the resentment and indignation which he feels, when he hears the praises, that are due to his religion, unjustly lavished upon one of its accompaniments. The two things are inseparable. Throughout the whole of Christendom the faith has preceded as the cause ; intellectual improvement has followed as the consequence. Knowledge has advanced as the light of revelation was more visibly disclosed ; it has retreated as that light became obscured. Their progress has been equal. Their effects are so closely interwoven, that it is impossible for any human art to dis-

unite them. He who should attempt to separate the results of civilization from those of religion, must bring to the execution of the task a proficiency in the intricate anatomy of metaphysics, and a microscopic eye, and a hair-breadth delicacy of touch, which are denied to the most gifted of mankind ; and he would find, when his difficult undertaking was accomplished, that the mote he had extracted was infinitely too small for the perception of our grosser organs.

Whatever cultivation and refinement human nature has received, has been communicated through the medium of its literature. It is by the means of books that the wise, of various nations and of distant ages, have given extent and permanency to their inquiries ; and that the ignorance of one generation has been instructed by the experience of the gene-

ration that preceded it. With very few exceptions,—so few that they scarcely merit observation,—the whole circle of European literature acknowledged, till the beginning of the last century, no other principles of duty than the maxims of revelation; no other motives of conduct than the hope of its rewards, or the apprehension of its penalties. The greater portion of the works, in which the public mind was educated and refined, were wholly dedicated to the illustration of the truths, or the enforcement of the practice, of religion. Scarcely an author of enduring reputation had existed whose propositions were not supported by scriptural example and authority; whose pages were not sanctified by the pure and holy spirit of his devotion; and who did not continually recur to the ennobling and elevating recollections of the responsibility

and eternity of man. Religion was the predominating sentiment, from which the mightiest intellects derived their exaltation and their force. Christianity was the revered and the inseparable companion of the cautious researches of Bacon* ; it shared the daily contemplations of Locke† and Selden‡ and Boyle§ and

* Bacon's confession of faith is as fine a summary of the articles of a Christian's creed as could well be drawn up.

† Locke's opinion of revelation is too striking to be omitted.—“ It has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter.”—*Posthumous Works*.

‡ “ He was a resolved serious Christian,” says Sir Matthew Hale to Baxter, “ a great enemy to Hobbes's errors, and I have often seen him oppose Hobbes so earnestly as either to depart from him, or drive him out of the room.”—*Life of SELDEN*.

§ Many persons object to the trivial subjects of Boyle's reflections; to me there is something peculiarly beautiful in the manner his devout and amiable mind reverts from the most trivial circumstance to his God and his Redeemer. The slight occasion of the pious meditation is an evidence of the permanency of the religious impression on his heart.

Clarendon* ; it occupied the gigantic minds of Pascal and of Hooker ; it was the inspiration of Milton† ; it gave the subject to Tasso and to Dante ; it was the theme of Taylor, of Bourdaloue, of Bossuet, and of Massillon‡ ; it was the motive to the investigations of Newton§.

* LORD CLARENDON'S *Essays* are as much founded on the principles, and supported by the authority, of the Gospel as the sermons of Tillotson.

† There was something very pardonable in the superstitious enthusiasm of Milton's widow, when she said, "that he stole from nobody, but that God's grace and the Holy Spirit visited him nightly."—SYMMONS' *Life of Milton*.

‡ It would be difficult to find a fifth name that would not suffer from a comparison with these Christian orators.

§ Newton says, in a private letter to Dr. Bentley—"When I wrote my treatise about our system, I had an eye upon such principles as might work with considerate men for the belief of a Deity, and nothing can rejoice me more than to find it useful for that purpose." There have been great men in the ranks of infidelity, but the minds of which all the faculties were most perfectly poised, and most justly proportioned, have indisputably been on the side of revelation.—If the question were to be decided by authority, who would hesitate between the testimonies of Bacon or Hume, Locke or Condorcet, Johnson or Bolingbroke, Selden or Hobbes

—By these illustrious men, and men like these, the continent of Europe was humanized and refined. The principles of the Gospel formed the universal system of philosophy. Virtue was everywhere applauded in the language of Scripture—vice was everywhere condemned in consistency with the judgments of revelation. Its morals pervaded the whole body of society. In the very theatres, the qualities of mercy, of benevolence, of chastity, of forgiveness—advanced upon religious grounds, and supported by religious inducements—were familiarized to the minds of those whose profligacy had

Newton or Diderot, Milton or Voltaire? In literature and in art, faith seems the constant attendant of the highest degree of perfection.—Madame de Staël revered Christianity ; Lady Morgan does not.—Sir Joshua Reynolds was a sincere and a devout disciple of the Redeemer ; the trumpet Kneller thought that, "if God had consulted him, he could have given Omniscience some lessons for the improvement of his creation."

removed them from the schools of more severe and venerable instructors*. Even those solitary theorists who, misguided by some erratic meteor of the heart or the imagination, wandered farthest, in the dark midnight of their voluntary unbelief, from the home and safety of the Gospel, continued to profess an admiration for its purity, and recommended its perfect scheme of ethics to the adoption of their disciples. Whatever of improvement, therefore, the nations of Europe have derived from civilization is the immediate operation of religion. The civilization has been a religious civilization. To assert that the extended diffusion of knowledge would have had the

* In the works of Shakspeare, Corneille, Massinger, Ben Jonson, Racine, Beaumont and Fletcher, and others, we meet with the most beautiful expressions of the sentiments, and affecting illustrations of the virtues and the duties of the Gospel. Voltaire himself is Christian in his tragedies: the selfishness of atheism could afford no opportunity of pathos.

same ameliorating influence is an act of the most gross ingratitude. It is the invidious depreciation of an experienced minister of good for the exaltation of some untried competitor, who is raised to unmerited celebrity on the authority of his presumption, and the credit of his assertions. Philosophy could not have effected any thing which Christianity has not achieved. Rousseau does not hesitate to confess, that the success of religion has been infinitely superior to any which could have been anticipated as the consequence of mere human knowledge and cultivation*. At all events, the advocates for the omnipotence of civilization can only support the disputable pretensions of their idol by conjectures and specula-

* Par les principes, la philosophie ne peut faire aucun bien que la religion ne le fasse encore mieux, et la religion en fait beaucoup que la philosophie ne saurait faire.—*Emile*, tom. iii. p. 300.

tions and surmises. They have not been allowed the opportunity of experiment. Christianity had pre-occupied the affections and the understandings of mankind before the godless philosophy had re-awakened from its slumbers. But is it not probable, from the very circumstances of the case, that the author of the *Emile* was accurate in his judgment?—It certainly appears more credible, that the plain and simple and unequivocating lessons of the Messiah, delivered, as they were, with all the weight and dignity of a divine commission, and supported by the sanctions of an inevitable retribution; it certainly appears most credible, that these consecrated instruments would more effectually work to tame the savageness, and secure the harmony, of the world, than the inconclusive subtleties of a Hume, by whom we are instructed that

the boundaries of vice and virtue* are problematical, or the romances of a Voltaire, who would teach us, with a vicious apathy, to look on each as equally indifferent.

* “The bounds between the virtue and the vice cannot here (*i. e.*, in the case of luxury) be exactly fixed, more than in other moral subjects.”—After thus leaving the landmarks of duty to be appointed at the discretion of the individual, the philosopher is kind enough to grant the voluptuary as liberal an indulgence of intemperance and crime as his passions could possibly require, by informing him, “that no gratification, however sensual, can of itself be esteemed vicious.”—*Essay on Refinement in the Arts.*

In the conclusion of his *Inquiry into the Principles of Morals*, he says, “Men still dispute concerning the foundation of their moral duties. When I reflect on this, I fall back into diffidence and scepticism, and suspect, that an hypothesis so obvious, had it been a true one, would long ere now have been received by the unanimous suffrage and consent of mankind.”—We, as Christians, know that the solid basis of all moral duty is “the will of God”—the Gospel has mercifully instructed us in what that will consists—we may learn the value and necessity of the revelation, by finding, that though the wisest of the ungodly have had nearly six thousand years to arrange these matters for themselves, they have not yet laid the foundation of their duty, much less made any advances in raising the superstructure.

But granting for the sake of argument that civilization is capable of creating all those excellent effects, which are so liberally attributed to its influence, is it evident that the mighty agent would ever have had an existence, in the nations of modern Europe, without the aid and support of Christianity?—When all the splendid harvest of ancient poetry and philosophy and art lay at the feet of the barbarian conqueror, and subject to his ignorant disposal; but for the timely interposition of the Gospel might not the use of letters itself have been numbered among the artes deperditæ, and the inscriptions on the monuments of Italy have been as illegible to us as the hieroglyphics of Egypt? The relics of Greek and Roman literature were collected and preserved by the ministers of religion.—The cell of the monk was the cradle of

refinement and of learning. His remote and quiet habitation was the sacred ark where the memorials of the past were treasured, and where knowledge was sheltered in security, till Christianity had gradually subdued those darker and more ferocious passions which were extending their desolating deluge around the walls of his cloister. Literature was cultivated as subsidiary to religion*. The oracles

* "Christianity," says Burke, in his beautiful abridgment of our early history, "is such, that it almost necessitates an attention to many kinds of learning. For the Scripture is by no means an irrelative system of moral and divine truths, but it stands connected with so many histories, and with the laws, opinions, and manners of so many various sorts of people, and in such different times, that it is altogether impossible to arrive at any tolerable knowledge of it, without having recourse to much exterior inquiry. For which reason the progress of this religion has always been marked by that of letters."—Book ii. ch. 2. In this we may discover another of those merciful designs, which the Almighty has executed in rendering the knowledge of his word, a treasure to be diligently sought. The mind wanted some powerful motive to the pursuit of learning. He has given it in his volume of his oracles. But for this necessity all of Greek and Latin literature would have been lost.

of God presented a subject for the labours of the studious, and gave a character of eternal interest to his researches. The illustration of the sacred volume was to be sought in the histories of other nations, in the manners of distant climes, in languages which were gradually sinking into oblivion, or had, for ages, ceased to embody the imaginations of living men. "The curiosity of the clergy," says Gibbon, "was excited to read the original text, to understand the sacred liturgy of the church, and to examine in the writings of the fathers the chain of ecclesiastical tradition. These spiritual gifts were preserved in the Greek and Latin languages, which concealed the inestimable monuments of learning. The immortal productions of Virgil, of Cicero, and of Livy, which were accessible to the Christian barbarians, maintained a silent inter-

course between the reign of Augustus and the times of Clovis and Charlemagne*."—But, if we are indirectly indebted to revelation for the safety of these venerable remnants of the wisdom of antiquity which still exist to us, it was by its immediate influence that the advantages of these possessions were disseminated among the people†. The

* GIBBON'S *Decline and Fall*, ch. 37.

† The purposes proposed by Benedict in the foundation of his order were, "the conversion of Europe to Christianity—the cultivation of her deserts—the revival of learning." None of these points were neglected by the Benedictines while any thing remained for them to do. In this country, the rapidity with which the Gospel was extended by Augustine and his companions, and the immediate improvement in civilization that accompanied its progress, would be rejected as incredible, if they were not so distinctly parts of its history.—Not indeed of Hume's history, for there Christianity never appears to have any other operation than to infatuate a bigot, or kindle the fires of persecution. But any man, who looks fairly at the early ages of our country, will find our religion so intimately interwoven with all moral, political, and literary advancement, as to render it impossible to deny that the Gospel was the cause, and these advantages the re-

Benedictine, when he assumed the vows that bound him to the instruction of the heathen, and to the cultivation of the deserts of Europe, at the same time solemnly engaged himself to assist in the revival of its learning. His monastery was raised in situations that were most desolate and wild and barren; and, while

sults. "The fruits and effects of the mission of Augustine," says Collier, "were striking. A people, hitherto savage, barbarous, and immoral, was changed into a nation mild, benevolent, humane and holy."—"Every thing brightened as if nature had been melted down and re-coined."—See COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, Preface—LINGARD'S *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, and BURKE'S *History of England*, Book ii. ch. 1, 2.—It is true the monasteries became useless, but they were rendered useless by the exertions of their inhabitants. They became rich, and in some respects those riches were abused; but there never existed any proprietors of wealth who so liberally shared it with the poor as the inhabitants of the religious houses. While these existed England required no poor laws. To a very large portion of that wealth, by which the poor were so benefited, and of which the church was deprived, it could plead the claim on which all right of property is founded—the claim of original cultivation by the hands of its servants.

the labour of his hand subdued the wilderness to the service of mankind, the young fertility which bloomed around his dwelling was but the emblem of that superior moral culture of which it was the source and centre. In times of violence the servants of the Gospel were the only depositaries of learning; in times of tranquillity and peace they were the willing ministers of its communication*. Not

* Many devoted themselves to the education of the poor. "The regular ecclesiastics of the religious foundations undertook, out of charity, to teach the lower classes reading, writing, arithmetic, and book-keeping. They likewise taught not only rhetoric, and the Greek and Latin languages, but in towns they kept schools of philosophy and theology, scholastic and moral, mathematics, geometry and fortification.—HELYOT, tom. iv. p. 307., quoted by Chateaubriand.

"That the monasteries were the best schools of education is a fact universally admitted. History scarcely mentions a person of either sex, without mentioning, at the same time, the monastery in which that individual was educated. Neither was this education confined to the nobles or to the wealthy. The children of their tenants, and the very poorest of the poor, were there instructed in religion and morality. A school was as regular an appendage to a monastery as a

contented with their own exertions, they claimed the co-operation of the rich; they proved, on the authority of Heaven, that charity was his most important occupation; and that to aid the march of intellect was one of the loftiest occupations of charity. Under the influence of this persuasion, national learning followed as the inseparable consequence of national conversion. The places of education multiplied. The wide extent of civilized Europe contains not a single university that was not founded by some royal, or

church." Dr. Robertson (*History of Charles V.*, vol. i. p. 19, and note xi., 4to) attempts to stigmatize the instruction which was thus charitably afforded, on the authority of a passage taken from the remains of Elegius, bishop of Noyon. If the historian was not himself guilty of garbling the words of this prelate, he was most basely deceived; for the whole passage is a perfect refutation of his extract.—It describes the character of a true disciple of the Gospel, and conveys a lesson of as pure morality, and sound Christian truth, as can possibly be delivered.—See BUTLER *on the English and Irish Catholics*, vol. i. p. 69.

noble, or affluent disciple of the Redeemer, in compliance with a religious sense of duty*. When literature directs its force against the Gospel it raises the arm of a parricide, and strikes at the heart of a parent, to whom it is indebted for its existence and protection; for its most splendid instances and its purest arguments; for its inspiration of high thoughts, and for its treasure of uncontaminated sentiment.

Whatever advantages then have been wrought by civilization, have been wrought through the medium of Christianity; but independent of its connexion with religion, has civilization the power of pro-

* Chateaubriand says that all the European universities and schools, without exception, were founded by religious princes, or by bishops and churchmen. Book vi. c. 5.—It appears that he is correct. See also FLEURY'S *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, tom. x. p. 24. For the services which in this country the clergy have rendered to the cause of learning, see SHUTTLEWORTH'S volume on the *Church and Clergy*.

ducing those admirable effects which are so generously classed among its consequences? "Learning," says Montesquieu, "renders men mild and and amiable*." It ought perhaps to be attended with this result; but neither the records of nations, or of individuals, bear witness to any necessary union between science and benevolence, arts and gentleness.

Hume has told us that humanity is indissolubly linked with industry and knowledge, and that it is peculiar to the more polished and luxurious ages of the world †, —but this opinion is not authorized by reason, or supported by experience.—St. Paul, describing the manners of the Roman empire in the period of its highest refinement and cultivation, names the want of natural affection ‡ among the hi-

* *Les Connaissances rendent les hommes doux.*

† *Essay on Refinement in the Arts.*

‡ *Romans, ch. i. v. 31.*

deous catalogue of its abominations. His description is authenticated by the testimony of every author who has diligently investigated the manners of the age in which he wrote. In the centre of those advantages, which are supposed to soften the affections, and to moderate the passions, the Romans became alienated even from that instinctive sentiment of tenderness and compassion, which is among the universal characteristics of our race. So far from being humanized by the perfection of their mechanical skill, and the extension of their knowledge, these very things appear to have wrought their moral degradation. The consequence is not extraordinary. It was as naturally engendered by their excessive luxury, as the poison of the serpent by the sultriness of the summer's sun. As industry conduces to the improvement of those arts

which smooth the couch of dissipation, and pamper the caprice of appetite; selfishness is fostered and the heart hardened in the same proportion as the manners are effeminated. The passions that are engendered in the rank soil of luxury and indolence are avarice and sensuality; and these are cold and obdurate of nature, cowardly and cruel, studious of their own, and oblivious of the claims of others. The Saviour of the world never exhibited more forcibly his perfect knowledge of the inward workings of the heart, that he had himself created, than when he described the miserable Lazarus, exposed, without pity or relief, at the gate of him who "was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day*." This tenderness of compassion is unknown to those who circulate in those

* Luke, ch. xvi. v. 19, 20.

flowery passages of existence, from which all asperities are studiously removed. They who dwell amid the show, the softness and the accommodation of highly-cultivated and artificial society, instead of vaunting the disinterested kindness of their companions, weary us with their perpetual cry of lamentation over the forgetfulness and the inconstancy, the ingratitude and the heartlessness, of their associates. The love of ease and the dread of inconvenience, which are created by a minute attention to personal indulgence, supersede the claims of the affections, and subdue the impulses of compassion. The emotions of involuntary pity become extinct in the tainted atmosphere and the perfumed chambers of luxury, as the natural life inhales contagion from the balmy air and the beautiful serenity of a Roman spring.

It is asserted that the connexion between humanity and knowledge is demonstrated by experience; but from what region of the world is this experience to be derived? Were the Romans more mild in their manners,—were fewer children exposed by their parents to perish in helpless infancy,—were their slaves more leniently treated,—was victory attended with more instances of clemency,—were the numbers on the proscription lists diminished,—were the gladiatorial shows less frequent or less sanguinary, after Marcellus had enriched the city with the curiosities of Greece, and inspired his countrymen with their first perception of the beautiful, than when Fabius disdained the spoil of statues and of pictures, and indignantly abandoned to the Tarentines the images of their conquered

and their angry divinities*? If humanity originates in knowledge, the truth of the proposition should be testified in the conduct of individuals. Those princes and commanders who have been most celebrated for literary acquirements, should also have been most illustrious for their gentle distribution of authority. The author of the Commentaries ought not to have been the murderer of Cato's senate at Utica†. Cicero should not have doubted whether there was any cruelty in the murdering of slaves by hundreds, at the public spectacles, for the amusement of his civilized and polished and

* Marcellus adorned the city with curiosities in the Grecian taste. Fabius Maximus, when he took Tarentum, brought nothing of this kind away: but said, "Let us leave the Tarentines their angry deities: Marcellus was blamed at Rome, by the severe citizens, for having given occasion to idleness, to vain discourse, and luxury."—PLUTARCH'S *Marcellus*.

† *Appian. de Bel. Civ. lib. 2.*

luxurious countrymen*. The elder Dionysius, who experienced more delight at obtaining the prize of poetry at Athens, than in all his preceding victories; and his son, who died with the excess of joy on hearing that his tragedy had succeeded, ought to have been recorded as the protectors, and not detested as the tyrants, of Syracuse. On the principle of a necessary union between knowledge and gentleness of heart, Nero should have been renowned as the mildest of emperors; he was a person of infinite accomplishment; he was an orator, a poet, a dancer, and a musician; he was so delicately alive to the sentiment of art, that he set fire to his metropolis for the purpose of delighting his imperial admiration of the sublime, by singing the destruction of Troy amid a scene of corre-

* *Tusculanæ Disputationes*, lib. ii. 16.

spondent horror;—but thus pre-eminently polished as he was, it yet remains for the historian to discover “the indissoluble chain” which united his luxury and refinement with any demonstrations of humanity.—These examples are drawn from ancient times, when it may be said, that “the practice of domestic slavery naturally produced a ferociousness of manners, and rendered every man of rank a petty tyrant*.” But if civilization is so inseparably connected with the mild affections, as we are instructed to believe, why did it not moderate this authority? Why did it suffer the continuance of those bonds, which must have so cruelly outraged its accompanying tenderness of nature? Why did the effective principle of good so extensively prevail, without any effort to annihilate the counteracting

* HUME'S *Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations*.

principle of evil?—But I am wrong.—I have mistaken the meaning of the infidel humanity; the word has its religious and its irreligious appreciation. In its infidel interpretation, perhaps, learning and refinement may propagate humanity. The philosophic virtue has no relation to Christian benevolence. Its very admiration of excellence is exaggerated into a vice, and it hates sin so much, that it loves man too little. It bears kindred with the cruelty of the despot, and not with the charity of the Christian. “Who,” exclaims Hume, “can read the accounts of the amphitheatrical entertainments without horror! one’s HUMANITY is apt to renew the barbarous wish of Caligula, that the people had but one neck; a man could almost be pleased, by a single blow, to put an end to such a race of monsters*.”

* HUME’S *Essays*, Note U. Vol. I.

—I do not deny to civilization the merit of its union with a HUMANITY which can meditate, with complacency, on the idea of depopulating the metropolis of nations at a blow; and which sees nothing but a race of criminals to be condemned and slaughtered, where the love of the Gospel would discover the occasion of mercy, and souls to be redeemed, and sinners to be converted.

If I am opposed by Hume, I am supported by Rousseau, in asserting that the comparative mildness of modern governments has not been the consequence of their civilization. “A purer faith,” says the author of the *Emile*, “has given a greater gentleness to Christian manners. This improvement is not the work of literature; for wherever it has previously flourished, humanity has not been the more respected by its means; the cruelties of

the Athenians, of the Egyptians, of the Roman emperors, of the Chinese, are the examples of this truth*." Had a few more years of life been granted to him, he need not thus have sought, in the annals of the past, or in the descriptions of more distant regions of the earth, for the authorities that might substantiate his assertions. The sorrows of apostate France might have delivered to him the tremendous confirmation of his words. In the triumph and operations of that infidel

* Nos Gouvernemens modernes doivent incontestablement au Christianisme leur solide autorité, et leurs révolutions moins fréquentes; il les a rendues eux-mêmes moins sanguinaires: cela se prouve par le fait, en les comparant aux Gouvernemens anciens. La religion, mieux connue, écartant le fanatisme, a donnée plus de douceur aux mœurs Chrétiennes le changement n'est point l'ouvrage des lettres; car partout où elles ont brillé, l'humanité n'en a pas été plus respectée: les cruautés des Athéniens, des Egyptiens, des Empereurs de Rome, des Chinois, en font foi. Que d'œuvres de miséricorde sont l'ouvrage de l'Évangile!—*Emile*, tom. iii. p. 199.

philosophy, which he had so eloquently assisted and reproached, he might have been instructed to estimate, with justice, the worth of that benevolent revelation, which, in his writings, he had persecuted and praised. When God and Christ were banished from their temples, and impure objects of adoration were exposed upon their altars; when the Apostles were denounced, and Voltaire was canonized; when the Christian monarch was disgraced, defamed, and murdered; when the godless usurpers of his power, each stimulating the cruelty of the other, desired by a single blow to annihilate their foes, and that "even the very ashes of their enemies might be rooted from the land*;" when the Loire was impeded in its course by the drowned bodies of the ministers

* Fouché to Collot d'Herbois. *Moniteur*, Dec. 24, 1793.

of Christ*, and the silence of the midnight ocean was disturbed by the cries of the expiring victims † of revolution; when children ‡ were sentenced for the faith and the loyalty of their parents; and they, whose infancy had sheltered them from the fire of the soldiery, were bayoneted as they clung about the knees of their destroyers; when the slaughter of hundreds § was the celebration of victory, and the ordinary modes of trial and of execution were proscribed, as processes too dilatory for the impatient avidity of carnage; when suspicion was proof, and invention was exhausted to facilitate the despatch of

* Several hundreds were destroyed in the Loire.

† The Noyades, who suffered by an invention of Carriere's.

‡ This alludes to the bloody sacrifice of 500 children, made by the orders of Carriere.

§ "We have only one way of celebrating victory, we send this evening 213 rebels to be shot."—Fouché to Collot d'Herbois.

the condemned*; when, in the National Convention, the pretended defenders of the people demanded their victims from among the people by hundreds of thousands †; when such enormities were practised and defended and applauded by men who gloried in their systematical ungodliness,—by persons as refined as mere civilization could render them,—by writers of plays, and makers of speeches, and painters of pictures, and authors of moral essays, and metaphysical disquisitions; when these were the acts of those self-denominated philosophers—who, professing the most boundless philanthropy for the whole human race, were possessed by the most merciless ferocity against every individual of the species—then it was

* Just before the death of Robespierre a guillotine was invented to execute eight at a time.

† Marat in the National Convention called for 270,000 heads.

that Rousseau's eulogium on the benignant tendency of the Gospel to moderate the excesses of the powerful was most terribly illustrated, and most awfully confirmed. It then no longer remained to be disputed whether "philosophy, upon the throne, would be the master of its passions, and manifest in the benevolence of its command that 'douce humanité,' which it had vaunted in its humbleness and its retirement*." "God has never left himself without a witness †" In these latter days we have received the present and visible demonstration of the vice of infidelity in the abominations of its votaries. We have learnt to appreciate the worth of Chris-

* "Reste à savoir si la philosophie, à son aise et sur le trône, commanderait bien à la gloriole, à l'intérêt, à l'ambition, aux petites passions de l'homme, et si elle pratiquerait cette humanité si douce qu'elle nous vante la plume à la main."—ROUSSEAU'S *Emile*.

† Acts, ch. xiv. v. 17.

tianity, as we have trembled at the consequences of its abolition.—To the rulers of a mighty nation Atheism was religion, and reason the corrupted idol that they set up for the adoration of the people, That reign of Atheism and of reason was the reign of terror. So appalling was the dominion of these evil powers, that they who had invoked the spirits, and had tasked their energies, were intimidated at the spectacle of ruin: they shuddered at the presence of the extensive havoc which had been so ruthlessly designed: they were struck with a sudden panic, as society, like a dying man, appeared to lie in its last desperate and convulsive agonies before them: they hastily commenced the work of resuscitation: they strove to heal the wounds they had inflicted; and their first effort, to awaken the departing spirit into life, was to renounce their an-

nihilating creed ; to proclaim a religious festival* ; to confess that there is a God above us, and that man is born for immortality.

* Fête de Dieu, proclaimed by Robespierre himself.

CHAPTER I.

Sect. III.

CHRISTIAN OPINIONS ESSENTIAL TO THE
HAPPINESS OF THE POOR BY THEIR OPE-
RATION ON THE RICH.

THERE can be no doubt of the benefit derived to the large body of society by the dissolution of those bonds which linked the slave to the passions and caprices of his master. Human nature itself is aggrandized by such an emancipation. But still there are situations and accidents in life under which individuals, in the labouring classes of society, would find their freedom by no means an unmitigated good. In a state of slavery the poor were united, in the hour of sick-

ness or distress, to a natural protector, who would be induced, by his personal interest in their welfare, to provide for their relief. A deliverance from this alliance, if it has freed the poor from the misery of permanent subjection, has also freed the rich from the obligation of permanent support. The passage in which Necker argues this point, and places the bane and the antidote before our view, is so impressive, that I cannot forbear translating it.

* "The empire of the higher classes of society over their inferiors," says that admirable man, "is now more entire and independent than ever. They are no longer bound to any continued protection towards those whose services they may demand. The appetites and the caprice of those favourites of fortune decide the

* NECKER *sur la Religion*, ch. xvii.

period of their connexion with the man whose only patrimony consists of his time and of his strength; and as soon as that connexion is interrupted, the poor, absolutely separated from the rich, is abandoned to encounter all the distressing hazards of his destiny. He must again hasten to offer the labour of his hand to the dispensers of subsistence; he must expose himself to their refusal; he must frequently, in every year, experience all the distress occasioned by the fluctuation of his resources. Without doubt, when such a state of things was established by the support of law, it was presumed that, amid the multiplied relations of social life, there would exist a kind of balance and equality between the necessity, which compels the labourer to request employment, and the desires by which the rich are induced to accept his services. But

this equipoise, so essentially necessary, can never be exactly and constantly established, since it must ever be the result of a fortuitous concurrence of accidents, and the uncertain effect of an infinite multitude of operations, no one of which is submitted to any positive control. Still, when to maintain the security of property it was found necessary to leave the fate of the greater number of mankind to the chances of fortune, or to intrust their support to simple probabilities, it was indispensable to find some salutary expedient which might regulate the free exercise of the rights of property. That happy and ameliorating power could only be discovered in an obligation to benevolence imposed by the divine will, and in a spirit of charity universally diffused among mankind. Such sentiments and such duties, the last resource afforded to

the unfortunate, could alone repair the evils of a system, by which the condition of the majority of a nation is made to depend on the fortuitous and doubtful agreement of the convenience of the rich, with the necessities of the poor.—Yes:—without that succour, without the intervention of the most estimable of virtues, the multitude might justly have complained of those social institutions which, as the price of their independence, intrusted their subsistence to the capricious protection of their superiors. And thus it is," concludes Necker, "that charity, which is venerable under so many points of view, has become the intelligent and political principle which serves to amalgamate the liberty of the individual with the necessary but imperious laws of property."

These are not the opinions of a specu-

lative student. They are the words of one who had been actively employed in the most important trusts and occupations. He says, that "the only expedient which could repair the ills arising from the inequalities of life must be derived from an obligation to benevolence imposed by the divine will." From what other source could this alleviating influence be derived?—No natural suggestions of the human heart would have directed it. Witness the experience of all antiquity and the state of total abandonment to which the afflicted were consigned. We do not read in the records of ancient Greece or Rome, though we are sufficiently conversant with their *pistrinæ* and their *ergastula*, of the existence of a single charitable asylum.—The heart inherits its natural impulses of compassion; but they quickly perish in the absence of religious excitement and

cultivation; their interposition is resented as importunate by the vehemence of the unregenerated soul; they are rejected as officious adversaries to the speculations of self-love, and all the maxims, as well as all the customs of antiquity, were designed for their destruction rather than their encouragement. Pity was a feeling to be doubted and subdued; hatred or ambition, lust or vengeance, were consecrated by the praises of their poets and their historians, and were honourable in the schemes of their philosophy; but the only mild emotion that pleaded against their violence, and reported to our deteriorated nature the perfection of its origin, was denounced by the corruption of the heart, and, like the Saviour of the world in the assembly of the malignant, was detested for its innocence, and persecuted for its purity. With

Cicero*, compassion was a property of the weak; with Seneca, it was a characteristic of the base†. Virgil‡ and Marcus Aurelius reverse the instructions of Jesus, and describe it as a part of wisdom to be impenetrable to the sorrows of the poor. Even Epictetus, who, as a fellow-sufferer in the wrongs of slavery, should have learnt some lessons of tenderness for the miserable in the rigid school of personal affliction, scarcely ever mentions the sentiment of humanity, but to admonish his disciples against yielding to its impressions.

The influence of instinctive pity is of itself weak and transient. We are so continually recalled to those nearer interests, which are important to ourselves, that, unless some convictions of religion

* *Tus. Dis.* lib. iv.

† *De Clem.* lib. xi.

‡ *Georgics*, Book II. p. 499.

connect our destiny with that of the unhappy, the remembrance of their affliction, and the desire of relieving it, is seldom more enduring than the actual presence of the object by which the emotion was awakened. All the efforts of mere human instruction had been directed to abridge and to confine the sphere even of this limited dominion. Till compassion was hallowed by the approbation of the Messiah, the wretched had nothing of protection or support to expect from the voluntary sympathy of the affluent. With the heathen prosperity was an evidence of the favour of the Deity; and he who was scorned by fortune was avoided by mankind*.

But though the poor would be excluded by the affections of the heart from any

* *Fatis accede, Deisque*

Et cole felices, miseros fuge.—Lucan viii. l. 486.

participation in the comforts of the wealthy, perhaps the law might interpose to amend the obduracies of nature, and enforce the alms that compassion had refused. In some moment of public apprehension a portion of their right of property might be extorted from the rich, and they might render their possessions chargeable for the provision of the destitute.—Would such an ordinance have been effectual? Not to speak of the injustice with which it would operate upon the higher classes of society; of the tyranny which would thus bereave them of the honest emoluments of their prudence or their exertions; of the folly which, to secure an occasional resource for the unfortunate, would render the attainments of industry responsible for the deficiencies of sloth;—would such an institution be productive of advantage

even to those whom it was intended to assist?

On this head we may speak from experience. What Christ delivered as a precept to his disciples, as a test of their faith, and an evidence of their religious love, we have exaggerated into a legal ordinance; and we have felt the evil of mingling any thing of human invention with the perfect suggestions of the Holy Spirit. We have a legal provision for the necessitous. With us the sacrifice was voluntarily made from principles of Christian duty, and in a devout and a sincere, though a mistaken, intention of obedience to the recorded will of the Creator:—with us, therefore, the affluent do not complain of any injustice or severity in the enactment; for, though no human power could with propriety have interfered to compel their charities and

constrain their munificence, they acknowledge that the Deity possesses a legitimate authority over the distribution of his gifts. The rich, therefore, are sufficiently content with the institution; but what has been its effects upon the poor themselves?—It has anticipated the influence of the natural affections, and acted as a check upon the moral virtues of the people. It has converted the honest accumulations of the prudent into the granaries of the negligent. It has, for the lower orders, dispensed with the necessity of all consideration for the future, by constantly presenting to their contemplation, after the wasted youth, and the inconsiderate marriage, and the dissolute manhood, the certain prospect of a legal refuge for their age. It has operated in the manner diametrically contrary to that in which it was designed, and promoted

and increased the poverty that it was intended to obviate.—“The only expedient which can repair the ills arising from the inequalities of life must be derived from an obligation to benevolence imposed by the Divine will.” There is a double imperfection in every other system of relief. Every scheme of compulsory alms must be defective, not only in its means of alleviation—which can only be temporary and pecuniary—but it can admit of no moral discrimination. It can take cognizance of the present necessity, but it cannot distinguish between the afflictions which are the innocent results of remote and incalculable contingencies, and the distress which originates in vice, and which only encounters in privation the punishment eternally designed to it by the providence of God. For this imperfection there is no remedy. Any

thanked, and the hand that ministers them regarded as the active instrument of his benevolence.

While the constrained assistance has a demoralizing effect upon the people, the liberal alms which are distributed from the spirit of Christian charity would exist among the poor as the visible testimony of the truth and power of the Gospel. In a religious sense there is the greatest difference between the scanty dole of the parish officer and the various succour which is entreated by the love of Jesus, and piously conceded in reverence of his name.

Nor is there any fear lest the supply should be more inadequate to the end, than would be necessary to punish waste and to make imprudence fearful, and to render indolence abhorred. We cannot in our present circumstances entertain

even a probable conjecture respecting the abundance and the efficacy of that relief, which might be afforded to the poor, by the unconstrained benevolence of their Christian brethren. Without our present institutions there would be a smaller number of necessitous, for one immediate tendency of a legal provision is to act as a premium upon wretchedness, and foster the increase of want. With fewer claimants there would be a more generous supply; for another immediate effect of a certain legal provision for the poor is the exhaustion of the springs of voluntary pity. There is not a single individual, however deeply he may be impressed with the sacred truths of revelation, or penetrated with the affections of the Gospel, but feels that the sight of sorrow is answered in his heart by a far weaker sympathy than if there were no such institu-

tions in existence. It ought not to be so—but so it is. The poor laws remove the miserable from our personal protection; they separate him from our proper and especial guardianship. We provide for the national stock of calamity in the mass, and with this contribution we satisfy the conscience, and persuade ourselves that we have a less immediate concern in the individual instances of affliction. When the wretch lies before our path in the extremity of squalidness and want, he no longer appears to address himself to our compassion with all the rights of sorrow and all the sacred claims of Christianity. Occupied with nearer interests, we no longer acknowledge the criminality of rejecting the example of the Samaritan*, but pass onward with the Priest and Levite of the

* St. Luke, ch. x. v. 30.

parable, and abandon him to his destiny, while we excuse ourselves before the tribunal of the heart, by the recollection of his authorized protectors, and of the distant home where the proper application may secure to him a relief.

But, in defiance of these impediments which exist to counteract the demands of our religion, we still perceive that the power of the Gospel is invincible; that impaired, though not subdued, by the incumbrances of human ordinances, it is still abundant in efforts of charity; and we may conceive how sufficient its energies would be, in their unconstrained and unabridged ability, by the munificence with which the claims of every more extensive and more severe calamity is answered; by the splendour of our public hospitals and institutions; by the wealth expended in national education, and in

propagating the lessons of everlasting truth ; by the active benevolence of thousands among the retired and obedient disciples of the Saviour, who, " possessing themselves in quietness," are conscious of no sorrow that does not spring from sympathy with another's wo, and whose dearest joys are found in administering to his necessities. " The poor ye have always with you*," said the Redeemer of mankind,—they exist upon the earth as the representatives of Christ. We read in the sacred record of his word, that the communion between the afflicted and their Redeemer is so inseparably interwoven, that every act of liberality to them will be rewarded as performed towards himself; and while Christianity is prevalent upon the earth, and charity is exalted to our religious veneration as

* St. Matthew, ch. xxvi. v. 11.

the most valuable sacrifice that the obedient can present before the throne of the Creator, and as the only human atonement* for the past transgressions of the penitent, there will continue to exist two abundant sources of benevolence from which affliction may derive the waters of consolation. If the munificence of piety should fail, there is another motive as certain and as permanent as the corrup-

* " Alms and fastings are the wings of prayer, and make it pierce the clouds ; that is, humility and charity are the best advantages and sanctification of our desires to God." This was the counsel of Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar, " Eleemosynis peccata tua redime ;" Redeem thy sins by alms, so the Vulgar Latin reads it ; not that money can be the price of a soul, for " we are not redeemed with silver and gold ;" but that the charity of alms is that which God delights in, and accepts as done to himself, and procures his pardon according to the words of Solomon ; " In truth and mercy iniquity is pardoned ;" that is, in the confession and alms of a penitent there is pardon ; " for water will quench a flaming fire, and alms make an atonement for sin ;" this is that love which, as St. Peter expresses it, " hideth a multitude of sins."—Bishop TAYLOR—*Doctrine and Practice of Repentance*, c. x. §. 6.

tion of our nature, which will extort the alms from the terrors of the conscience.

If the humbler classes of mankind have any consideration for their worldly happiness, never will they suffer the name of Jesus to be blasphemed. The lower the place we fill in the gradation of society, by so much the greater is our interest in the preservation of the faith. To the poor Christianity is their sole inheritance of good. It is the bright patrimony which God has given them, and by which he has exalted their temporal inferiority, and bestowed a religious equality on the conditions of existence. As the poor are subjects, it is their security for political freedom; as they are dependants, it is their protection against private tyranny; as they are necessitous, it is their claim on sympathy, and their hope for succour. The hour in which the Gospel fails will

be the miserable hour, when the passions, which it has weakened or expelled, will re-establish their savage domination; in which pride and selfishness, and lust and rapine, will re-ascend our thrones, and usurp our judgment-seats, and revel in our palaces, and extend over our fading fields and our depopulated cities the iron rule and the torturing power of their oppression; till, in the utter wretchedness of this mortal being, we shall even languish for that dark repose and mute annihilation of the grave, which is the only refuge that infidelity can offer to despair.

CHAPTER I.

Sect. IV.

CHRISTIAN OPINIONS ESSENTIAL TO THE
HAPPINESS OF THE SUPERIOR, BY THEIR
OPERATION ON THE DEPENDANT, CLASSES
OF SOCIETY.

If there were found a family in which the due respect for the parent and the master was forgotten; in which the unprofitable day was spent in contested pretensions to authority, and obstinate resistance of command; in which every endeavour to establish a directing influence should be frustrated, by impious children and rebellious domestics; in which the individuals, without reference to their common welfare and security,

should separately pursue the violent bent of their inclinations, and make a wilful spoil of the decent accommodations of their home, and, contrary to every design of order and of peace, only join in unanimity of opposition:—if there were found a family so forgetful of its natural duties, and so blind to its general advantages, we might trace, in its brief career of tumult, and in its end of inevitable ruin, the imperfect emblem of the wretchedness and desolation, which would follow the severing of those ties, by which the different classes of society are connected.

That rule and submission are indispensable to the happiness of mankind few have had the temerity to dispute; but it is one thing to acknowledge their necessity, and another to establish them as principles of right and duty. There is an imperfection in every thing of human

origin or human arrangement. Much of the corruption of our nature ever mingles even with our best designs and with our wisest efforts ; and it is the peculiar character of our social institutions that their evil bears, with all the oppression of its weight, where their good is least immediately perceptible. The excellence of those regular degrees of authority and subjection, which pervade civil society, is very distinctly visible to those who are enjoying its immunities, in the security of their property, in the obedience that waits on their desires, and in the rapid execution of their purposes ; to them, exercised as they are in exalted trusts, and appointed to splendid but invidious offices, and abounding in those things which excite the malignant passions of the multitude, the inviolability of the laws and ordinances is inseparably connected with the

welfare and the tranquillity of their existence. They experience the convenience, and they acknowledge the wisdom, of those enactments which intrust the rank of the powerful, and the possessions of the affluent, to the severe protection of the law. But the wisdom of such a system is by no means so self-evident to the many. The meditative mind may trace its kindly influence from the heart to the extremities of society, and discover, that, as there is no part uncherished by the vigour and the support which it diffuses, neither is there any part, however abject or remote, that would not be injured by its abolition. This is a truth ; but it is an obscure truth. The advantages which result from the fair gradations of rule and of obedience, approach the labouring classes through such circuitous and complicated channels, that it requires an edu-

cated attention to follow them in their windings, and to track them to their source. Doubtless the poor would be sufferers in the miseries of anarchy;—doubtless the poor participate in the advantages of government; but the portion of good which circulates to them so coldly cheers the narrowness of their homes, that they deserve the pardon, and not the punishment, of their superiors, if they fail to comprehend in what manner their interest is involved in the quiet subsistence of institutions, which secure to their masters the liberty and the command and the appropriated wealth of nature; and which yield nothing to themselves but the oppressive residue of constraints and labours and exclusions.—“*Malesuada*” has ever been considered as one of the most appropriate epithets of poverty, and discontent is the evil lesson that she incul-

cates in the hourly sense of personal privation, and in the tantalizing perception of the superfluities of others. In opposition to such powerful and constant arguments it would be difficult—nay, it would be impossible—to produce on the minds of the lower orders of society any permanent conviction of the benefit which they derive from the regulations of civil life; and, unless such a conviction can be produced, it would be in vain, on any human grounds, to assert a claim to their submission.

There was a time in which men yielded their ignorant obedience to their superiors, “without any inquiry about its origin or its cause, any more than about the principle of gravity or resistance, or the most universal laws of nature*,”—but that time of tranquillity has past away.

* HUME'S *Essay on Original Contract*.

The human mind has received an impulse which shakes it with a kind of feverish agitation, and induces an impatience of repose. To its diseased and nervous irritability change ever appears to smile with the auguries of golden promise, while all that is established is regarded without any of the ancient reverence for prescription. We have acquired a taste for experiment; we are desirous of attempting some new thing, and the wisest appointments of our fathers are slighted as the barbarisms of a darker age. Every thing is investigated and discussed without any tenderness for the importance of the object, or consideration of our ability for the task. The word duty has lost its sacred import to the understanding, and no longer strikes upon any chord that vibrates at the heart. It intimates a constraint; and, though an amiable con-

straint, corresponding to mutual claims and obligations, it has become repulsive to our undefined and irregular aspirations after freedom. The child begins to doubt the authority of the parent; the servant of the master; the subject of the prince. The meanest among us, by his evening fire, or as he plies his handicraft, mingles in ignorant discussions on the rights of government, and boldly vindicates his privilege of resistance. Each is jealous of the higher power, and restless in a lower station, and clamorous for the reasons of his subjection.—Has infidelity any thing to offer which may appease his doubts, and satisfy his inquiries, and conciliate his discontent?—Is it imagined that the understanding of the peasant or the mechanic, suffering by temporary privations, and warped by passion, by prejudice and by evil counsels, will be in-

duced to a patient submission to authority, by the persuasion of any of the subtile speculations of philosophy?

You may tell him of an original contract, in which each man has surrendered a portion of his liberty for the security of the rest, and require his obedience to its conditions;—he has never heard of such a contract;—he denies the right of any second person to negotiate the limits of his actions;—he finds that neither his father nor his most distant ancestors have ever witnessed to such a covenant; and he boldly challenges the production of it. Thus urged, you acknowledge that the whole is an invention of the learned—a philosophic fiction—a kind of sandy and artificial mound, that you have raised as the support of your scheme of civil rights and duties, which it had been found impossible to erect on any more natural

and substantial basis. With whatever eloquence the claims of this visionary bond may be enforced, surely the subject may very justly hesitate to comply with its demands, and deny that the ingenious falsehood can be binding to his conscience.

But there is another plea, by which you would enjoin the duty of submission to authority—a plea that would address itself to the minds of the inferior and less privileged classes of civilized life, armed with all the point and force of logical deduction. It would derive its convictions from religion as distinct from, and independent of, revelation; and it partakes, in a more than ordinary degree, of all that inconclusiveness and doubt, which is inseparable from every attempt to raise the fabric of our earthly or our eternal happiness on any other foundation than

that which, by the mercy of the Almighty, has been laid, "which is in Christ Jesus*." You would require the voluntary subjection of the inferior, because God willeth the happiness of his creatures; and, as civil government promotes that happiness, obedience to civil government is therefore a compliance with the will of God. Here the whole strength of your argument lies on the very point which your adversary disputes;—he grants that "God willeth the happiness of his creatures;" but he will advance no farther with you. He will not hearken to the elaborate discussion, or the subtile proof, of the second proposition, from which your conclusion is deduced; he either contests the fact, or only acknowledges its truth, under other modifications, than those which actually exist; and he disco-

* 1 Corinthians, ch. iii. v. 11.

vers the duty of resistance in the very arguments from which you would derive the duty of submission. "If," says your opponent, "God willeth the happiness of his creatures, he must also will a more equal participation of his earthly blessings." He argues, therefore, that such a large monopoly, and so extensive an impoverishment, must be offensive to the just benevolence of the Almighty; and, like Spence, among whose disciples he is perhaps enrolled, he clamorously demands the abolition of your power, and the confiscation of your inheritance, because he deems the happiness of the majority of mankind to be connected with a less partial and restricted distribution.

Thus insufficient is every suggestion of human reason to induce the submission of the inferior, as a concession rather than a compulsion, or, in other terms, to

procure a state of peace between the higher and the lower gradations of society, rather than a state of war. If the arguments were more conclusive and more level to common apprehension, I do not believe that their influence would be at all enhanced, or that they would prevail against the inward solicitations of the passions, or the constant comparison of the poor man's wants with the rich man's affluence. The cold calculations of the political economist would never be brought to bear against such resistless prepossessions. Controversy would only aggravate the enmity. There is nothing but the Gospel which could effectually interpose and silence the interminable and irritating discussions, and by its sacred infallibility assert for the superior the right to rule, and impose on the dependant the duty to submit.

* "Whoever overthrows religion," says Plato, "overthrows the foundations of all human society."—† "A people of philosophers," says Diderot, speaking of that atheistical sect of which he was so distinguished a member, "a people of philosophers, if it were possible to form one, would find that its cradle was its tomb from the very vice of its constitution." It was from the perception of this fact, that, wherever the light of revelation was unknown, men strove to feign its sanctions by asserting for their laws and institutions a supernatural descent, and imitating, by the dreams of superstition, that religious consecration which has been ef-

* *De Legibus*, 10.

† *Correspondance of GRIMM and DIDEROT*, vol. 1. 492. —"On a dit quelquefois qu'un peuple chrétien, tel qu'il doit être suivant l'esprit de l'Évangile, ne saurait subsister. Cela serait bien plus vrai d'un peuple philosophe, s'il était possible d'en former un; il trouverait sa perte, au sortir du berceau, dans le vice de sa constitution."

fectually afforded by the truth of the Gospel. There is nothing but the halo, which the faith has shed around the fabric of society, and by which it is represented to our veneration as a temple that we may piously adorn, but which it were worse than sacrilege injuriously to approach, that preserves its stability amid the accessions of popular calamity, or prevents its swaying with every breath of popular passion, or falling before the first violent attack of popular resentment.

Christianity has placed the duty of civil obedience on the same level with the other obligations of morality. If it has said "fear God," it has also said "honour the king;"—if it has said "thou shalt not kill," or, "thou shalt not steal," or "thou shalt not commit adultery," it has also said, "let every soul be subject unto the higher powers." The Gospel

has declared itself on this subject with the same force and clearness with which it has delivered its less questioned precepts. The duty rests on the same grounds, the recorded will of the Almighty, and is guarded by the same assurances, the hopes of everlasting mercy, and the terrors of everlasting judgment.

I of course do not mean to attribute to Christianity those ordinances, which in less enlightened times were promulgated under its supposed authority, and which asserted that the right by which power is held is at once divine and undefeasible, and that our duty requires of us an obedience unresisting and irrespective. This is as much an unwise exaggeration of the Gospel precepts, as if one were to extend the commandment of "thou shalt do no murder," to an exclusion of the right of self-defence. But even these exploded

dogmas are better practical principles, can be supported by stronger arguments*, and are infinitely less calculated to disturb the tranquillity of the social world, than the institutes of those who

“ Maintain the multitude can never err,
And set the people in the papal chair†,”

who would derive the right of government entirely from popular consent; and who would invalidate its energies, by continually dwelling on the privilege of resistance, till opposition appears the rule, and submission the exception.

There may be cases in which two obligations clash. The will of man may be at issue with the will of the Almighty, and then there can be no doubt to whom the reverence is due. I know the clergy are generally accused of insisting, with

* As a proof of this, see Bishop BERKELEY'S *Tract on Passive Obedience*; and Bishop TAYLOR'S *Rule of Conscience*, Book III. chap. iii. Rule 3.

† DRYDEN—*The Medal*.

too much earnestness, on the duty of civil obedience, and of not allowing sufficient latitude to the spirit of opposition. If this be the case, we are justified by the approbation even of our greatest adversary—of one who had attacked our faith, and undermined our influence, and who has libelled our characters* with a virulence, which public opinion would have resented

* See Note I, to the *Essay on National Character*—in which Hume endeavours to prove, from the very circumstances of our situation, that we must be worse than ordinary men. He says that our hatreds are peculiarly rancorous, and authorizes his assertion on the proverb of “*Odius theologicum* ;”—which is just as rational an argument as if one were to call all lawyers iniquitous, or all physicians ignorant, or all travellers untrue, on the authority of Foote or of Moliere. We have no defence against the Proteus forms of accusation. If we are bad, we are doubly disgraced, because, it is said, we are by our profession bound to be better than our neighbours;—if we are good, it is only hypocrisy, for the strictness of that profession necessarily constrains us to be worse. Hume, in his *Essay on National Character*, contrasts clerical vices with military virtues. It was prudent at least to lay the opprobrium of his philosophical speculations on the class least likely to visit his calumnies with any personal chastisement.

as illiberal, if we had not been marked for obloquy, by the sacredness of our profession, and excluded from the boasted liberality of the irreligious, by our more immediate connexion with the service of the Creator. Hume has said, that as "obedience is our duty in the common course of things, it ought chiefly to be inculcated; nor can any thing be more preposterous than an anxious care, or solicitude, in stating all the cases in which resistance may be allowed. In like manner, though a philosopher reasonably acknowledges, in the course of an argument, that the rules of justice may be dispensed with in cases of urgent necessity, what should we think of a preacher, or casuist, who should make it his chief study to find out such cases, and enforce them with all the vehemence of argument and eloquence? Would he not be better em-

ployed in inculcating the general doctrine than in displaying the particular exceptions which we are, perhaps, but too much inclined of ourselves to embrace and to extend*?" If then the ministers of religion dwell upon the duty of submission, without weakening the impression of their lessons, by turning aside for the consideration of those extraordinary cases of exemption, which occur not above once or twice in a millennium;—in the above passage we find our justification. But it seems that we are interested in the cause, and, therefore, culpable for the performance of an office which is acknowledged to be a property of our ministration. We are not to inculcate a virtue, because we ourselves may be benefited by its practice. This is a *non sequitur* of the grossest absurdity. We certainly are interested

* *Essay on Passive Obedience.*

in the preservation of national order and tranquillity. Every individual of the kingdom, except the ferocious inhabitant of the prison, the outlawed fugitive from public justice, and the man whose bad ambition would be satisfied to erect his throne upon the ruins of his country;—except these, and such as these, every individual in the kingdom is naturally interested in preserving the immunities of virtue, and the restraints on crime, in warding off the wanton conflagration, and in preventing the indiscriminate slaughter of revolution. So far the minister of religion is interested with the wisest, and the best, in declaring to the dependant classes of society the legitimate claims of their superiors. They are to render “custom to whom custom—honour to whom honour—tribute to whom tribute;”—these obligations the Christian clergyman is so-

lemnly engaged to illustrate and enforce. But here his occupation meets its limits. With the peculiar opinions of the several political parties in a state, he acknowledges neither participation or communion. His business is with the general duties of mankind, and not with the petty factions and divisions, which are struck asunder in the collision of the passions of the world. There is no side on which he can with dignity array himself. If his voice be mingled with those of the flatterers of power, he makes “his good to be evil spoken of* ;” he affords a just occasion of suspecting that he fawns to

* While he makes his own good to be evil spoken of, and thus injures religion in the disgrace of its servant, he also, in some degree, impedes the cause he supports. Johnson, in his inimitable description of the arts, by which signatures are gained to popular addresses, says that some sign them “to vex the parson.” A man cannot depart from the line of duty without exciting somewhere a counteracting power to urge him back again to his proper station.

rise ; he is no longer to be distinguished from the ignominious votaries of avarice and ambition ; and he loses the reverence of mankind as he becomes included under the dominion of their passions : and if, on the other hand, he unite in the clamour of opposition, his politics assume a hue of discontent and envy, and are marked by traits of bitterness and asperity, that very ungracefully connect themselves with the character of his faith, or the humility of his profession. A minister of the Saviour degrades himself from the high prerogative of his station when he surrenders his sublime neutrality. By the very virtue of his situation he is the moderator, the arbiter, and not the accessory, of faction. His office is to pass among the parties like some consecrated herald, and keep alive in each the benevolence of their common Christianity, while they are most

widely separated by the opposition of their sentiments. His holy and important delegation is to stand between them, like Aaron “ between the living and the dead,” and correct the exaggerations of dispute, and persuade to mutual concession, and to deprecate the violence of enmity. He has no concern with the little differences of political opinion. The Bible speaks not of these distinctions ; and it is from the Bible that all this authority is derived. But he is concerned in the manner by which those opinions are supported ; for here the language of the Bible is explicit, intelligible and direct, in declaring that the subject shall not rise in rebellion against his rulers. This is an ordinance of his religion, and he abandons a very important part of his divine commission, if he permit himself to be deterred from impressing the conviction of

this law on the minds of the people;— however, in the hour of peace, the honest execution of his trust may be reproached by anonymous attack or vulgar insinuation, or however, in the terrors of the civil contest, it may expose his life to the malignity of the mutinous.

It certainly does appear to me, reading the volume of Revelation, I hope without prejudice or prepossession, but with an humble desire to receive the word of God in the sense designed by the Holy Spirit, that no commandment is more distinctly stated than that of willing submission to authority;—that this duty enjoins at least some degree of endurance from the subject; and that there is a religious virtue in that endurance. The language of revelation is so plain and so forcible upon this head, that Milton himself, when he attempted to warp its sense to the service

of the regicides, and to mitigate the scriptural condemnation of their actions, becomes guilty of quibbles and evasions that would have disgraced a criminal under the terrors of conviction*. I can scarcely

* I here allude to his tract on the tenure of Kings and Magistrates. I could not find a more striking instance of the subterfuges to which the assertors of the right of *violent* opposition to government are reduced than the following passage:—“Be he king, or tyrant, or emperor, the sword of justice is above him; in whose hand soever is found sufficient power to avenge the effusion of so great a deluge of innocent blood. For if all human power to execute, not accidentally, but intendedly, the wrath of God upon evil doers without exception, be of God, then that power, whether ordinary, or, if that fail, extraordinary, so executing that intent of God, is lawful and not to be resisted.”

In this passage Milton voluntarily misunderstands St. Paul, who, as is seen from the context, evidently uses the word “power” as synonymous with “civil authority.” Having thus perverted the Apostle’s meaning, he derives from it a maxim that justifies assassination, or poison, or any kind of murder, of unjust magistrates, under the pretence that “the power” was in the hands of the agent, and that he was therefore religiously justified in avenging “the deluge of innocent blood.” Milton found that Scripture would afford no support to his arguments, and he therefore deserts it, in the conclusion of his work, for the more favourable authority of certain Calvinistic divines.

conceive any thing more express than the following passage from St. Paul:—"Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God:—Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power; do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil be afraid, for he beareth not a sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. For this cause pay ye tribute also: For they are

God's ministers attending continually on this very thing. Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour*." It appears impossible that any injunction should be more unequivocally expressed, or be more studiously comprehensive; and when it is remembered that this is not a solitary precept; that there are innumerable other passages of revelation which authorize the lesson it conveys, and none which militate against it; when it is remembered that, at the time this instruction was delivered, the sceptre of the world was swayed by a monarch who disgraced humanity, and that the persons to whom it was immediately addressed were obnoxious to every rigour of persecution, which his most inveterate and ingenious

* Romans, ch. xiii. verses 1 to 8.

malice could invent; when we remember that the Redeemer, “who died leaving us an example*,” mildly surrendered himself to death, and indignantly rejected every attempt at rescue†, in obedience to the iniquitous decision of the constituted authorities;—when we remember the express letter of the Scriptures, and these its impressive corroborations, we must either impiously conceive that the Holy Spirit tampers with us in a double sense, and that the example of the Saviour is defective; or honestly acknowledge, that the duty of civil submission to princes and to magistrates is not one of those insignificant observances which may with impunity be allowed or doubted, adopted or renounced, as it coincides with

* 1 St. Peter, ch. ii. v. 21.

† John, chap. xviii. v. 10, 11. Matt. chap. xxvi. ver. 51 to 54.

the caprices, or offends the inclinations, of the moment. Patience of wrong, slowness of resentment, and forgiveness of injuries, are confessed on all sides to be among the ordinary obligations imposed upon the disciple of the Messiah. Who will venture, with any confidence, to assert that these precepts are to be inscribed upon the code of his domestic and his social morals, and considered as superfluous to his political relations?—“Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but from God.”—There would have been very little necessity for this commandment, and not the slightest merit in our compliance with its requisition, if obedience were only to be rendered as long as we participated in the benefits of prudent counsels and of wise enactments, and of a perfect execution of the laws. Our reverence for au-

thorities would then have fallen under another class of duty in gratitude for the communication of such blessings ; but we are also to submit, though the arm of power may press somewhat heavily upon us. We are then placed in the situation of exercising the suffering and forbearing virtues. The extent of such endurance I do not take upon myself to limit or appoint. Addison has wisely estimated its proportions. "The obedience of children to parents," says the author of the *Spectator**, "is the basis of all government, and set forth as the measure of that obedience which we owe to those whom Providence has placed over us." These terms coincide with every principle of Christian duty ; and with the same affection should we meditate the good and lament the misfortunes of our

* *Spectator*, Number 189.

superiors ; with the same tenderness should we excuse their little imperfections, and veil them from too public and too curious an observation ; with the same gentle deference should we remonstrate with their errors ; and only at the same extremity, with a grieving spirit, and after a long and a respectful patience, should we dare to disunite ourselves from those alliances which "God has joined," and which nothing but the most imperious necessity should compel "man to put asunder."

It has been said by an eloquent writer, whose works are extremely popular among the dissenting portion of our countrymen, "that the only way to determine the agreement of any thing with the will of God is to consider its influence on the happiness of society ; so that in this view the question of passive obedience is re-

duced to a simple issue: Is it best for the human race that every tyrant and usurper be submitted to without check or control?—It ought likewise to be remembered, that if the doctrine of passive obedience be true, princes should be taught it, and instructed, that to whatever excesses of cruelty and caprice they proceed, they may expect no resistance on the part of the people. If this maxim appear to be conducive to general good, we may fairly presume it concurs with the will of the Deity; but if it appear pregnant with the most mischievous consequences, it must disclaim such support*.” To this passage I have two

* This passage is from the Preface of HALL's pamphlet on the liberty of the Press; it is in answer to a sermon of Bishop HORSLEY on the duty of submission, but, I think, not on passive submission, as Hall understands it, any more than a sermon against murder would recommend a quiet submission to a cut-throat. The bishop enforces, as he ought to do, the general duty, and does not digress to consider the

objections. I protest against the rule of interpretation; and, even if the rule were warranted, I doubt the justice of its application. As Christians we have no interest in the consideration of the possible consequences of any religious precept or opinion, which we find to be really and undeniably inculcated by the oracles of God. The adoption of Hall's method of judgment were to set up the imbecility of

exceptions. We have nothing to do in the common circumstances of life, with those extremities which render resistance venial. Bishop Horsley's sermon was preached before the House of Lords, and for such a place there was perhaps an error in the choice of subject. A sermon on obedience to authorities is adapted for the mixt congregation of the parish church; its delivery before the aristocracy of the country was an idle waste of an opportunity of good, and a flattery of the very passions which it was his duty as a minister of Christianity to rebuke. In such a situation, and before such an audience, his theme should have been connected with the duties which the great owed to their inferiors, and for which they are eternally responsible to their God. Bishop Latimer or Bishop Andrews would not have been guilty of such an unprofitable misapplication of their talents.

human reason against the perfect intelligence of the Almighty, and to oppose the speculations of our doubtful metaphysics to the eternal ordinances by which the universe is governed. The Almighty has not conferred upon us so imperfect and inadequate a revelation as to require that the reason should prepare the way in which the wisdom of the Gospel is to follow. The Christian is not called upon to agitate his mind, by balancing the remote effects and the possible operations of the divine commandments. Such a timid scrutiny appears to indicate a deficiency of faith, a suspicion of the wisdom, and a distrust of the providence, of God. Our duty is strictly limited to the study of the Gospel, and to the performance of its instructions. Beyond this we have neither an obligation or an interest: and we may with humble confidence re-

sign all anxiety respecting the results and tendencies of our conduct to the superintending benevolence of the Almighty, who will never fail to regulate the happiness of mankind by the measure of their obedience to his laws. But while I most solemnly dissent from that rule of judgment which would separate between the divine commandments, and acknowledge or reject them, according to some speculative estimate of their probable effects, I am most religiously confident that the tree will ever be known by its fruits; that obedience to the will of the Eternal will invariably conduct to salutary issues; and, on that very principle, when the sacred ordinance is so unequivocally written, I should doubt the melancholy event which the amiable antagonist of Bishop Horsley anticipates, from an inviolable

compliance with the Christian duty of submission to superiors.

Let it not for a moment be supposed, while I thus assert the just claims of the powerful, that I would appear as the advocate of tyranny, or breathe a sentence that might reproach the glory, or extenuate the praise, of freedom.—I love liberty as well as the eloquent assertor of the freedom of the press can love it.—Every heart that is inspired with the adoration of the Saviour will abhor oppression in proportion as the soul is purified by the knowledge of his Gospel, by the imitation of his example, and by the communion of his Spirit. But when, on the authority of Revelation, I call for the dutiful submission of the subject, my mind is forcibly persuaded that I advance the cause of liberty, and propose the only

ground on which it can successfully be planted, or permanently thrive.—When it is said by Hall that “if the doctrine of passive obedience be true, princes should be taught it, and instructed, that to whatever excesses of cruelty and caprice they proceed, they may expect no resistance on the part of the people,” he surely has forgotten that we no longer are discussing any human proposition; that we no longer are investigating the political maxim of Plato* or of Tacitus†; but a precept advanced on the irresistible authority of the Omniscient, and defended by super-

* “Id enim Plato jubet—vim neque parenti, neque patriæ afferri oportere atque hanc quidem ille causam sibi, ait, non attingendæ reipublicæ fuisse, quod cum offendisset populum Atheniensem prope jam desipientem senectute, cumque eum nec persuadendo, nec cogendo regi posse vidisset, cum persuaderi posse diffideret, cogi fas esse non arbitraretur.”—CICERO, *Ad Divers.*, i. 8.

† “Imperatores bonos voto expetendos, qualescunque tolerandos.”—TACITUS, *Hist.*, iv. 8.

human and everlasting sanctions. If we were contesting a mere speculative principle of political philosophy, there might, perhaps, be some room for controversy. If the duty simply rested on the grounds of natural reason, it might, with much plausibility, be alleged, that some checks would be demanded to counteract the encroachments of authority; and that such a necessary restraint could only be supplied by the apprehensions of exasperating the people. Such an argument, fallacious as it is, might afford occasion for much eloquence of declamation, from those who love the tumult of licentiousness, rather than the peace of a liberal obedience. But under the Gospel dispensation it has no possible reference to the conditions on which society exists. The same voice which commands the reverence or the patience of the subject, commands with

an equal emphasis the protection and the clemency of the monarch. The same motives which induce the submission of the weak, restrain the excesses of the powerful; and, unless it can be proved that the poor alone are actuated by the convictions of religion; that, on the throne and on the judgment-seat, there is contained an anodyne against the terrors of the grave and the reproaches of the conscience; that to the mighty of the earth the felicities of heaven present no objects of alluring hope; that to the breasts of princes hell and its eternity of wo convey no horrible forebodings:—unless the faith is limited in its sphere of influence, it never can be true, that the Christian lessons of enduring subjection on the one hand, and of mild dominion on the other, when inculcated as duties of religion, should operate as inducements to tyranny

and encouragements of oppression. In the common order of events, by the general laws of Providence, the effect must be diametrically opposite. All human things are eventually directed by opinion. This is an axiom of universal application. The example of the monarch may afford a sanction to the vices of his subjects, but the example of his subjects must first prepare the way for the vices of the monarch. His conduct will always be in unison with the tone of popular feeling; it will never more exceed the prevalent iniquity of the multitude than might be expected from the affluence of his means, the multiplicity of his temptations, and the facilities of offending. If the Roman Emperors were prodigies of crime, they were attainted by the contagious exhalations that mounted the Palatine from the corruptions of the people. There is a

harmony of thought and feeling which pervades every society; and if the rulers of a nation be found voluptuous or cruel, venal or unjust, the manners of the inferior classes will always supply the successive notes of the diapason. But when the Almighty in his mercy communicated to mankind the Gospel of his Son, he presented to the world the sacred institutes, from which the public mind was to derive its estimate of conduct and its principles of action. He prescribed the channel in which the stream of opinion was to flow. The Gospel naturally directs to equal rule and liberality of government; it opposes a permanent resistance to tyranny and injustice; it operates with a steady, even, and continued agency for the amelioration of the condition of mankind; it is the seed which the Lord has sown, and it will inevitably arise in majesty,

and spread over us its protecting branches, and fill the air with fragrance; if, with faith in the wisdom, and devout reliance on the providence, of God, we will allow it to grow up and flourish beneath the genial influences of heaven, and not destroy the promise of its blossoms by endeavours to anticipate the fruit. They who would dispense with the peaceful energies of religious opinion, and attempt to accelerate its progress, by stimulating the passions of the multitude to revolt, act as Herod did when he inquired of the birth-place of the Messiah;—they incarnadine their souls in the blood of the innocents, and put to flight the blessing that they would pretend to glorify.

According to the Gospel-views of morals and of duty, obedience to superiors,—contented, cheerful, and affectionate obedience,—by no means rests on the

unsupported authority of the texts to which we have referred in the preceding pages. It is interwoven with the whole system of our religion; it succeeds as a natural effect of the holy dispositions which it inculcates. A good Christian must be a good subject. That love which is the distinguishing and peculiar characteristic of his faith must be eradicated from his soul, ere the heart will swell with the passions of the disaffected, or his voice be raised in the counsels of sedition, or his hand be armed in their support.

The charity of the Christian is not abridged and circumscribed in its action. His mild affections do not only rest with those who are on a level with himself, or communicate in gentle offices with his inferiors, while they timidly retreat from every eminence that is raised above their

proper elevation. There is no envy mingled with his perception of pre-eminence. He knows that the superintending providence of God has ordained to each his station, and attributed to each his duties; and, as the disciple of that Redeemer, "who died for the sins of the whole world," he would scorn to love his fellow-creature less, because the Almighty has appointed his brother heir of immortality to tread the sunny acclivities of life, while he is doomed to toil in the shade of the valley.

The charity of the Christian does not seek its own but the general advantage. It does not vent the sense of disappointed ambition in the clamours of disaffection; nor meditate the resentment of a private wrong in the overwhelming vengeance of a public calamity; nor endeavour to undermine where it was not permitted to

preside; nor strive to sink the vessel, because another might be stationed at the helm.

The charity of the Christian will not fawn before the iniquities of the mighty; or flatter the vicious favourite; or fear to utter its reproof with a modest and a manly openness; or sell its truth and honour for the wages of infamy; or act as the subsidiary of wicked counsels;—but neither will it suffer him to commit a present certain evil, for the sake of a remote possible good. He cannot overlook the terrors of revolution in the anticipation of the casual benefit that may succeed it. He will not speculate on murders and conflagrations, and the infraction of the laws, and the violences of an infuriated people, as the means of political reformation, any more than he would calmly dwell upon the artificial

fertility which waves its harvests, for a few brief summers, above the bones that whiten on the battle plain, and contemplate the watering his fields with blood as an invention of agricultural economy*.

The charity of the Christian does not instruct him to believe, that his superiors are exalted above the operation of the virtues of his religion; that they are raised to a cold and desolate ascendancy, to which the kind affections, that are liberally diffused to others, can never soar to cheer them, and whence they may look down upon the richness and the beauty of the lower earth, while they are themselves surrounded by a mountainous and stony barrenness. He does not conceive that the Gospel laws are abrogated with

* Does not the constant defence of the French Revolution, and the heartless estimate of its few beneficial results, savour of such insensibility?

reference to them, or that its decrees are superfluous to their happiness. He does not imagine that, while their temptations are most perilously multiplied, and their infirmities more conspicuously manifest, they alone are outcasts from the protection of that benevolence by which the failings of others are extenuated, and which commands that man shall "not judge his neighbour, lest himself be judged, nor condemn, lest he also be condemned."

The charity of the Christian does not ignorantly fancy that slander is the less slander, because it strikes at exalted marks, and is conversant with venerable names: it does not suppose that the offence, which is criminal against an equal, can acquire impunity from the very circumstances that aggravate its guilt: it does not deem that calumny becomes venial because it mingles with sedition,

because it is derived from darker sources, because it is less an object of personal knowledge, because it is supported by less obvious authority, and is succeeded by more lamentable results. Not believing that a crime acquires to itself an honour, and a dignity, from the terror of its effects, the faithful disciple of the Saviour feels that the disseminating of injurious reports and malignant insinuations, which the law of the Almighty has prohibited, when directed against the peace of families, can never become innocent by being levelled against the order and tranquillity of nations. He knows that all human things subsist by opinion; that evil hints, and insidious whisperings, and the supposition of ungenerous motives, and the lighter scoffs of ridicule, insinuate away the reverence of government; that these inconsiderable things waste the energies

of power, as the rock is wasted by the water-drop; and his charity instructs him that he may not weaken the foundations of the social column, by tearing missiles from them, to hurl against the statue that crowns and beautifies its summit.

The charity of the Christian "would do as it would be done by." If it would be safe within its cottage from riotous intrusion, it would also vindicate for the inhabitant of the palace the same inviolable security. His charity is not exclusive:—we have read of a charity that was, which invented an unnatural alliance of love and hate; which imagined a wild confusion of the virtues of heaven with the vices of the earth; and, as of that strange union of the elder world, when the sons of God and the daughters of men were mingled, most gigantic and appalling was the monstrous progeny—

I mean the charity of the infidel philosophy. In France a cry was raised "of peace to the cottage and of war to palaces*." The words were reiterated by applauding multitudes. The sentiment was hailed as the watchword of revolution; and its tender mercies were witnessed at the guillotine; and its records received their deep inscription upon the earth in the many channels which were fretted by the blood of its victims. But the charity of the Gospel is unacquainted with any reservations. The whole creation is its object. It would deliver from the slightest corporal sufferance the poor insect that we tread upon; it scales the Empyrean, and soars aloft upon the wings of angels, in emotions of adoration and of praise to the ever-

* "Guerre aux châteaux; paix à la chaumière."—This, the war-cry of the Revolutionists, originated in Condorcet.

glorious and unimaginable presence of our Redeemer and our God. It is an intimate communion with the predominating attribute of the Creator, and is infinite as the Holy Spirit of that Deity from whom it is an emanation and an impulse. If it beam with a more cheering brightness; if it glow with a kindlier ardour for the friends of our childhood, and the companions of our youth, and the inmates of our home, there exists not a single living thing that is alienated from its sympathies; and, if it willingly descend to mingle tears of pity with the sorrows of the poor, it encounters no impediment in its ascent to the loftier habitations of the mighty.

Under the prevalence of such a disposition, the germs of civil animosity are destroyed. Remove from the public mind that discontent which loathes inferiority;

the intrigues of disappointed ambition ; the factious feelings of baffled pride ; the love of aspiring slanders ; the malignant spirit with which our jealousy surveys the actions, and perverts the motives, and criticises the good, and exaggerates the evil of our superiors ; remove from the public mind these vicious provocations to political hostility, and it is impossible that the tranquillity of civil life, with which the privileges and the property of the higher classes of society are so inseparably connected, should ever be endangered by the rebellious encroachments of their inferiors. There would be no resistance to authority, but such as would be honestly derived from the diversities of human character, the nature of our studies, and the peculiarities of our pursuits. There would be a mild discussion of the designs, and an impartial exami-

nation of the wisdom, of our public councils. But such an opposition would be the stability rather than the weakness of the state ; it would be as the purifying airs of heaven which agitate the stagnant atmosphere, and preserve the vitality of its mass, rather than as the tempest that appals the people, and lays waste their habitations ; it would originate in honourable principle, and be supported with a manly confidence ; and it would be urged, on the legitimate occasions of expressing it, with the calmness which is inseparable from the deliberate consideration of the truth, and without any of the animosity which is begotten in the contest for victory.

It has been said by Sully *, “ that the

* “ Pour la populace, ce n'est jamais par envie d'attaquer qu'elle se soulève mais par impatience de souffrir.”—SULLY *Mémoires*, vol. 1. p. 133.

people are never excited to revolution by the desire to attack, but by the impatience of suffering." This great man spoke of a Christian people, of a multitude, not doubting the authority of their governors to rule, or the duty of the subject to obey. Their faith, therefore, would hold them to their allegiance by a common sentiment; and nothing but the sympathy of a common calamity could defeat its influence, and urge them to rebel. But, in the absence of those religious feelings and opinions which, by a mild coercion and affectionate inducement, persuade the individual to the duties of his station, and confine him, by spiritual barriers, from every aggression on his fellows, it may very fairly be disputed whether the many would require the sympathy of want or the impulse of distress to associate in conspiracy, or to

provoke sedition. There would be sufficient points of contact, and sufficient incitements continually before them. They would be united by the animal propensities of our nature; by pride, that hated the dominion which constrained it; by the avidity of plunder; by the love of desperate hazards, which would stake the little good that it possessed against the richer prize that might be won amid the incalculable accidents of revolution. These views are by no means grounded on private or solitary speculation. They are objects of general consent. They are axioms tacitly admitted, as principles of action, by every modern apostle of sedition. All who have desired to overthrow the established institutions of their country, from the guilty conspirators against God and man, who persecuted our moral happiness, in the pages of the *Encyclopédie*,

to their ignominious disciples, whose writings,—like the cold and the burning paroxysms of an intermittent ague,—now shake the healthy spirit, and now make feverish the noble temper of our nation with accessions of periodical blasphemy—all have aimed at the faith of Jesus, their first blow of hostility against the state.—They feel that Christianity is the bond by which society is permanently connected, and that division cannot exist till the bond is severed;—that it is the principle of love, and that enmity never can irreconcilably predominate among the degrees of men till the venerable impulse be extinct;—that it is the heart that supplies the body with animation and support, and they would stab the heart that they might hack the limbs.

It was maintained by Hobbes, that “the natural condition of man is a state

of war—a war of all men against all men; that there is no way so reasonable for any man as to anticipate, that is, by force and wiles to master all the persons of others that he can, so long till he sees no other power great enough to endanger him*.” These maxims are quoted by Leland as extraordinary. But they follow as immediate results from the principles of the man who uttered them.—Such must necessarily be the views and sentiments of every candid unbeliever. Hobbes surveyed mankind as separated from their connexions with the revealed Divinity; and he has most admirably portrayed the savageness of an apostate and God-abandoned world. The enmity between the two classes of society is, according to every natural principle, so inevitable a consequence of their respective

* Principles extracted by Leland from the *Leviathan*.

conditions, that they, who are ignorant of the efficacy of Christianity, or omit to calculate its power, can imagine no other feeling to subsist between the parties than that of a reciprocal hostility. "If," says Hazlitt, who ranks as a mighty teacher in the modern school of infidel philosophy, "if the lower ranks are actuated by envy and uncharitableness towards the upper, the latter have scarcely any feelings but of pride, contempt, and aversion to the former*." This is not the actual situation of mankind; but it is the situation to which the want of Christianity would reduce us. Without the reception of those sacred precepts of religion, which impose the offices of gentle rule and of mild obedience, the social world would either be the prey of an anarchy that trampled down every salu-

* *Table Talk.*

tary restraint, or of a despotism that enchained it. If this faith in the Gospel were withdrawn, society might, perhaps, for a little while retain something of a regular movement from the mere "vis inertix" of its former impulse; it might be preserved a short time by the lingering purity of its decaying morals; it might yet a little while be bright with the reflected glow of evening, though the sun had sunk beneath the ocean:—but that impulse would gradually weaken,—that purity would perish,—that twilight would pass away; and as the moral night began to blacken on the horizon, every populous city would teem with insurrection; every peasant calculate on the spoils of his master; every hovel would become tenanted with its gaunt conspirators. Inferiority would be synonymous with sedition. The poor would be instinct with

malice ; they would brood over their fancied wrongs, and meditate imaginary oppressions ; they would indulge the wild exaggerations that worked as insanity within them, and become familiar with the dreams of secret assassination and clandestine vengeance, till the correspondent deed became at length habitual to their practice. From such opponents,—and we cannot yet so entirely have lost the recollection of what horrors the unbelieving disciples of revolt may meditate, as to doubt whether such opponents would exist ;—from the wild successors of such men as Despard or Thistlewood the depositaries of political power would have but one method of relief—to intimidate, to weaken, and to oppress ; to surround themselves by military defences ; to rely on the swords and bucklers of their soldiery for a brief and precarious

existence till they were basely sold by them for a more liberal donative, or murdered, at the sudden change of favour, by the Janissaries, who were collected for their protection.—* “ Powerful, formidable monarchs,” exclaims Voltaire, in his letter to Frederic the Great, “ who command millions of men and invincible legions, religion is the strongest bulwark of your thrones, and the most respectable tie of society, the most certain guarantee of your authority and the subordination of the people. It is religion that must be responsible for their fidelity and service, which compels them to lavish their blood and fortunes for your defence and preservation ;—by this, good order, peace, and harmony are supported among your

* This extract from Voltaire is from BROUGHTON'S *Age of Christian Reason*, in which volume the entire letter is translated.

subjects, as well as that spirit of concord and universal benevolence which unite them like one great family. In fine, it is religion that stops the regicide hand of a male-content proscribed and disgraced, and prevents his avenging your violence and injustice. Were there no religion each one would give a loose to his passions; each one would exert his strength to oppress the weak, his cunning to deceive the simple, his eloquence to seduce the credulous, his credit to destroy commerce, his power to promulgate terror, horror, bloodshed, carnage;—shocking disorders in themselves, but inseparable from the principles of infidelity.”—* “Our modern governments,” says Rousseau, “are incontestably indebted to Christianity for their more secure authority, and their less frequent revolutions.” It is the

* ROUSSEAU—*Emile*, tom. III. p. 199.

foundation of our social peace. “It has taught the powerful to rely on his dependants, and the dependant to confide in his superior*.”—This last sentence is in the words of Montesquieu—of an author whom I have often quoted; who had no prepossessions in favour of our religion; who viewed all things with the calm consideration of the philosopher; who was never tempted, by his imagination or his emotions, to exceed the measure of his authority, or advance a step which he had not first established upon proof.—Once, and only once, he is unwillingly betrayed into an expression of enthusiasm. As his meditative eye reposed on those fair proportions and that just agreement of society, to which the Messiah’s revelation has given rise, he exclaims,

* MONTESQUIEU—*Esprit des Loix*, b. xxiv. c. 3.—“Le prince compte sur les sujets, et les sujets sur le prince.”

in admiration of the work before him,
 * “ Oh admirable faith!—Thus it is that
 a religion, which only seems to have for
 its object the happiness of another life,
 creates for man the happiness of this.”

* “ Oh! chose admirable! La Religion Chrétienne, qui
 ne semble avoir d'objet que la félicité de l'autre vie, fait
 encore nôtre bonheur dans celle-ci.”—*Esprit des Loix*,
 liv. xxiv. ch. 3.

CHAPTER I.

Sect. V.

CHRISTIAN OPINIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO
 HUMAN HAPPINESS AS THEY TEND TO
 MODERATE THE FEROCITY OF WAR.

WHILE I maintain the absolute neces-
 sity of those convictions, which are de-
 rived from revelation to secure the peace
 and happiness of society, it would appear
 unfair to the opponents of the Gospel,
 and would certainly be unjust to Chris-
 tianity itself, if I failed to notice a re-
 proach which has very frequently been
 attributed to the charge of our religion.
 Every objection that can be advanced
 against the faith should be studiously re-
 corded, and impartially investigated, for

the examination will always tend to the developement of some latent praise, and the illustration of some less obvious excellence.

It was inquired by De Volney*, what diminution would occur to the happiness of the world if the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament were consumed by some modern Omar, with the records which are revered as divine by the votaries of idolatry and superstition?—In consideration of the various misery to which religion had afforded the occasion or the pretext, he denominated the portion of his library, that contained the vo-

* Ces livres sont aux Indiens ce que sont l'ancien et le nouveau Testament aux Chrétiens, le Koran aux Musulmans, le Sadder et le Zend-avesta aux Perses, &c., en considérant ce qu'ils renferment tous, je me suis quelques-fois demandé quelle vérité perdrait le genre humain, si un nouvel Omar les brûlait; et je n'en ai pu découvrir une seule: j'appelle la caisse où je les renferme la boîte de Pandore.—DE VOLNEY—*Ruines*, p. 305. 2d edit.

lumes which are revered as inspired by the different nations of the world, the real box of Pandora.—Of the consequences of other and erroneous creeds we have no present interest in inquiring. I believe no mode of superstition has ever been generally admitted by a people that did not communicate more of benefit than of injury; that did not preserve more of traditionary truth than it had received of human imagination; that did not more than atone for every malignant tendency, by its silent influences of consolation and of hope.—From the contemplation of those enormities, which appear to be inseparable from idolatry, we do not derive an argument for the abolition of the false, but a motive for the grateful reverence and the diligent promulgation of the true, religion. Any creed, by which man is connected with immortality, is

preferable to the despair of unbelief. It is more eligible that a few should suffer as the martyrs of superstition, than that the multitude, in the moments of affliction, should be bereaved of their reliance on divine protection; or, in the infinite combinations of their social intercourse, be delivered from the invisible restraints which are imposed on violence and fraud, and lust and malice, by the apprehensions of a future retribution.—Plutarch, indeed, maintained, and, under the persuasion of his arguments, Lord Bacon* and the sceptic Bayle† have been induced to coincide in the opinion, that atheism was more tolerable than idolatry. The question is susceptible of endless controversy. It proposes to us a painful

* BACON'S *Essay on Superstition*, who gives the quotation from Plutarch.

† *Sur la Comète*.

choice between death or pain, stupor or delirium. It was once submitted to the determination of Johnson—his masculine and comprehensive intellect was fit to grapple with speculations of such gigantic magnitude: and he pronounced his verdict with a propriety and force of illustration which must ever bear conviction with his decision.—“A man may live,” said the author of the *Rambler*, “in a corrupted atmosphere; but he must die in an exhausted receiver*.”

But we have no concern with the effects of unhappy or mistaken methods of belief. The particular accusation urged against the Gospel alleges, that it has been the means of disturbing the tranquillity of the world; that it has excited the most violent and rancorous animosities; and that it has given rise to a series

* BOSWELL'S *Life of JOHNSON*.

of wars and persecutions of the most deadly and enduring character.—Such are the avowed or the insinuated charges to be encountered in the pages of Shaftesbury and of Collins; of Hume and of Voltaire; of Priestley and of Gibbon*.—“Charity and brotherly love,” says the author of the *Characteristics*, “are very engaging sounds, but who would dream that out of these should issue steel, fire, gibbets, and rods?”—Who, indeed, would dream of such effects?—That Christianity has been made the pretext of many guilty enmities can never be denied; but if they were guilty, they were in the same degree unchristian.—It is true that the sacred garments of religion have been most deeply and terribly imbued in the blood of the human race; and what has not afforded to the ferocity of man an argument for

* RYAN *on Religion*, vol. ii. p. 176.

the slaughter of his brother?—But surely the accusation here has been too hastily advanced, and too inconsiderately admitted.—Have we not condemned the Gospel for the vices of its disciples?—Have we not imposed on Christianity the reproach which is only merited by the beings to whom it is addressed?—Are we not attempting, like the Jews, to save Barabbas by the sacrifice of Jesus?—It is indisputably right to judge of principles by their effects, but before we resolve on our conclusion we ought first to be assured that the effects are the natural consequences of the principles. And to the inquirer who is thus cautious in his research, and honest in his judgment, it will appear, that if there be one error more wild and inconsequent than another in the whole system of infidelity, it is manifested in the endeavour to attain

the Gospel with the imputation of those severe hostilities and persecutions which have formerly disgraced the nominal disciples of the Saviour, or of those uncharitable affections by which they still continue to be disgraced.

The Son of God descended incarnate upon the earth on a mission of reconciliation and of instruction and of mercy:—his advent was hailed by the voices of angels in the air; and “peace on earth and good-will towards men” formed the burthen of the celestial anthem: his life was recorded for our example, and it contains an uninterrupted narrative of acts of benevolent power and unresisting endurance of oppression: he added to the moral code of preceding revelation a new commandment, as the characteristic symbol of his faith, and as the indispensable grace of his disciples; and that

commandment was, “Love one another as I have loved you.” Such are the principles of the Gospel as they are exhibited in the actions, and proclaimed by the instructions, of the Messiah.—Those principles are charity and peace; and if the occasional effects have been enmity and war, what is the conclusion to be drawn from so extraordinary an inconsistency between the apparent cause and the practical result?—Every honest mind would attribute the distortion to the obliquity of the medium through which it passed. If the principle was good, and the consequences were evil, the malice must have existed in the instrument by which the principle received its operation. The irregularity, instead of diminishing the reverence, demonstrates the necessity, of the revelation. The contests that have originated in the perversion of Christianity

simply prove, that there is a deep, instinctive, complexional ferocity inherent in the disposition of the being to whom the religion has been communicated; that the morbid corruption of his nature must be most perilously virulent when the manna of heaven only serves to engender a poison at the heart; that there was a most urgent claim for the interposition of the Deity to mitigate and to repress the destructive violence of the passions, by some suggestions of religious hope and fear, since we find that they can even over-master the restraint of supernatural convictions, and pervert by their injurious alchymy the institutes of social peace into the bitterness of civil and domestic opposition, and corrupt the obligations to benevolence into the occasions of malignity.

Lord Bolingbroke acknowledged that

“ the wars, persecutions, and massacres, among the Christians ought in no part to be ascribed to the Gospel, nor could be reconciled to its principles*.” Every thing with which man is conversant has been converted into a subject of contest, and proposed as the price of victory †. Opposition is the element in which he seems to breathe most freely—war is the action that the natural man delights in.—If there be no immediate subject of foreign enmity, he will invent to himself, in the

* Vol. v. of his Works, p. 264—quoted by Leland.

† “ And still while man is man there will be found
 “ Those who on this, or any creed will ground,
 “ Or none at all, some false pretence to draw
 “ The scimitar; and scorning every law
 “ Divine and human, like the deluge, flood
 “ Their native country with their brothers' blood.
 “ —Ask you for proof from bigot zeal? review
 “ Charles's dread deeds on St. Bartholomew.
 “ Ask you for proof from want of faith?—they're clear
 “ In the dread deeds of Danton and Robespierre.”

slightest argument, an opportunity of strife. Every cause of separation, whether it be real or imaginary—whether it be the rivulet which flows between the boundaries of neighbouring nations, or the shadowy varieties of a creed, which, in all the master doctrines, is as immutable as the God from whom it was derived:—every, even the most trivial, subject of division will provoke and agitate the turbulent passions of the unregenerated heart; every, even the slightest, accident is sufficient according to the just and the severe, but the painful apologue in the *Idler*, “to drive men, by some unaccountable power, one against another, that vultures may be fed*.” From the creation of the world to the present hour, there has scarcely been an interval of

* *Idler*; from the paper which, in the original edition, was No. XXII.

general and uninterrupted peace among the nations, except that which harbingered the nativity of the Messiah; when the world, exhausted by the labour of destruction, paused awhile, and rested upon its arms to meditate on the desolation it had wrought.

For the hostility and the bloodshed, therefore, which have been so frequently attributed to its charge, Christianity is not responsible. If we argue justly, it is not the religion of Jesus, but the depravity of man, that deserves to bear the condemnation. The animosities would have originated on some other plea, though the Saviour had never taught or suffered.—And this may be asserted with the greater confidence, because there has been evinced in every species of religious war or persecution more of policy than of faith; more of contest for

power than of zeal for any peculiarity of creed*?

But if Christianity is innocent of the imputation with which it has been reproached; if it has not been the source of those implacable and deadly enmities, for which mankind, by connecting them with venerable names, have sought a consecration and an atonement; if it has not been the original occasion of those fields of blood, which ambition and pride and

* I consider this as true of every kind of religious persecution—of the Inquisition, of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, of the Anabaptist war in Germany, &c. &c.—The Reformation was opposed on account of the political influence and power which was connected with Popery; when the Reformists acquired the ascendancy, in addition to this motive, they were actuated by resentment for past sufferings, and by a dread of suffering again should their enemies recover their pre-eminence. I think it is Montesquieu who has said, that “every religion which is persecuted becomes persecuting; for if by any accident it acquires the superiority, it attacks its opponent, not as a religious sect, but as a worldly tyranny.”—On this subject see RYAN’s *History of the Effects of Religion on Mankind*, vol. ii. sec. 7.

bigotry and revenge have been solicitous to justify, by raising above their battle the banner of the Cross; our most holy religion can assert for itself an opposite merit which none have had the temerity to controvert.—While it refutes the evil accusation, it claims to itself the praise of having given a milder tone to the hostile passions of our nature, and mitigated the horror of their effects!

Christianity has not annihilated the miseries of war, but it has limited their duration and their extent. It has restrained the hand of the conqueror.—“Victory now leaves the vanquished in possession of their life, their liberty, their laws, their property*.” These formerly

* “Nous devons au Christianisme et dans le gouvernement un certain droit politique, et dans la guerre un certain droit des gens, que la nature humaine ne saurait assez reconnaître. C’est ce droit des gens qui fait que, parmi nous, la

were numbered among the legitimate spoils of conquest. In the earlier part of our reflections we have noticed the desolating results which, in ancient times, were the inevitable attendants on military success. Previously to the advent of the Messiah, the only law acknowledged by the combatants was the right of the conqueror to exterminate the conquered. To destroy was justice; to enslave was mercy. It was a blest deliverance for the vanquished when avarice defended them from slaughter, by surrounding them with the protection of its chains.

Clemency was the crime, and destruction was the virtue, of the Pagan military character. It is enumerated by Cicero among the crimes of Verres, that he had

victoire laisse aux peuples vaincus ces grandes choses, la vie, la liberté, les loix, les biens, et toujours la religion, lorsque on ne s'a vengée pas soi-même."—*Esprit des Loix*, liv. xxiv. c. 3.

spared the life of a pirate. His reasons for considering this act of mercy as an offence is a striking illustration of the ferocity of ancient morals. "No enemy of Rome should be permitted to exist longer than was absolutely necessary. The general who obtained a triumph should grant a respite to the hostile leaders; "ut, his per triumphum ductis, pulcherrimum spectaculum, fructumque victoriae populus Romanus percipere possit*:" but the moment the triumphal car departed for the forum they were to be cast into prison, and delivered over to the executioner. The appalling cheapness at which the price of human life was estimated when it animated the heart of a fellow-creature, whose faction was opposite, or whose country was hostile to those of the ascendant party, is demonstrated in the cold

* CICERO *contra Verrem*.

indifference with which Tacitus lightly touches on enormities, that chill the blood of the Christian with horror and aversion as he reads. The careless notice of the historian is in painful unison with the impenetrable savageness of the actors.—A victory had been obtained over the Germans. Some of the barbarous and miserable fugitives endeavoured to conceal themselves from the violence of the Romans among the leafy branches of their native forests. They were discovered in their dangerous concealment. To destroy them,—all unarmed and defenceless as they were,—was an occasion of sport to the vacant soldiery—a kind of trivial relaxation after the severer exertions of the conflict,—“*Admotis sagittariis per ludibrium figebantur**.” A few pages afterwards, we read of a proclama-

* *Annal.*, lib. ii. c. 16.

tion, issued by Germanicus to his forces, instructing them, that “they should be insatiable of blood; that there was no necessity for encumbering themselves with captives; and that the war could only be concluded by the *utter extermination* of the people*.”—It were idle to continue these citations, which evince the habitual terrors of the ancient warfare. These are merely the examples of a constant practice, not rare and extraordinary instances of savageness. Even with those commanders who were most renowned for mercy the desolating operations were the same; and Marcellus at Syracuse, or Fabius at Tarentum, were the authorities and the precedents that made honourable so indiscriminating a massacre.

* *Annal.*, lib. ii. c. 21.—“*Orabatque insisterent cædibus nil opus captivis, solam interuiccionem gentis finem bello fore.*”

The mitigation of these barbarities was not the gradual*, but the immediate effect of Christianity. The ferocity and the mercy of the battle has fluctuated with the reception or contempt of our religion. The hostile emotions were moderated in their effects under the Christian emperors.—The example of Constantine is peculiarly striking. I translate from Naudet †. “After his first victories, Constantine

* “These Romans, who so coolly and so concisely mention these acts of *justice* which were exercised by the legions, reserve their compassion and their eloquence for their own sufferings when the provinces were invaded and desolated by the arms of the successful barbarians.”—GIBBON'S *Decline and Fall*, ch. 26. He adds in a note, “Observe with how much indifference Cæsar relates, in the Commentaries of the Gallic War, that he put to death the whole senate of the Veneti, who had yielded to his mercy (ch. iii. p. 16.); that he laboured to extirpate the whole nation of the Ebricones (vi. 31.); that forty thousand persons were massacred at Bourges by the just revenge of his soldiers, who spared neither age nor sex (vii. 27.);” &c.

† NAUDET sur les changemens opérés dans toutes les parties de l'administration de l'empire Romain, sous les regnes de Diocletian, &c.—Quoted by Menais, vol. i. p. 425.

delivered over the hostile chiefs whom he had made his prisoners to be destroyed by the wild beasts in the theatre; and the Pagan panegyrists loudly celebrated this barbarous sacrifice.—They delighted themselves in expatiating on the triumph in which an emperor added the slaughter of his enemies, to heighten the magnificence of the public spectacles. After the light of revelation had dawned upon his soul, an orator again enlarged upon the same victories; but he no longer dwelt upon the punishments of the conquered.—These things, which had formed so gratifying a theme to the haughty feelings of the Pagan prince, were abhorrent from the gentler sentiments of the Christian monarch. He had now learnt other lessons; and, actuated by higher principles, he had endeavoured to alleviate the terrors of the conflict, by offer-

ing a pecuniary reward to every soldier who should save the life of an enemy."

While these were the mercies of the Christian emperor, the virtues of the Gospel no sooner became desecrated in the minds of men under Julian the apostate, than the natural cruelty of the human heart, unmitigated by religious influence, recovered its severe ascendancy, and revived all the original malignity of the conflict. Gibbon does not deny—though his language skilfully disguises—the inhumanity of his favourite hero. There cannot be a more impressive contrast between the opposite effects of Paganism and Christianity, of philosophy and revelation, than that which he has unintentionally displayed in the twenty-fourth and the thirty-first chapters of his History. On the one hand we are presented with the march of Julian, the

literary, the enlightened, the philosophic prince, proceeding on his Asiatic invasion, amid all the horrors of burning cities and depopulated fields and slaughtered nations; on the other, we are presented with the advance of Alaric the rude, Gothic soldier, unacquainted with letters, humanized only by the simple lessons of the Redeemer, marching upon the capital of the world with the least possible severity; and, as he moves along the Flaminian way, despatching the bishops of the several towns of Italy as the bearers of conciliatory offers, and conjuring the infatuated Honorius that he would protect the capital from those inevitable calamities which defeat the precautions, and baffle the authority, of the commander.

Even on the third time of his arriving before the walls of Rome, after it had

twice experienced the clemency of the conqueror, and all his moderate proposals of peace had been eluded or rejected, Alaric offered to the astonished inhabitants an example of military mercy, that put to shame the sanguinary triumphs of their heroes. While the barbarians were on the point of entering the eternal—but the conquered—city, and the inhabitants awaited in trembling expectation to receive from the invader that sentence of extermination which, in the plenitude of their power, they had so often dealt towards the victims of their own arms, two successive proclamations were issued to the soldiery. The first declared, that the life of every individual should be considered sacred who sought refuge within the walls of any Christian sanctuary. The second was designed to moderate the wantonness of slaughter amid the avidity

for plunder*. That these unaccustomed acts of clemency were at the time considered as the effects of the religious opinions of the conqueror may be known by the contemporary sarcasms of the opponents of the Gospel. With a strange ingratitude they derived an argument against the truth of the Redeemer, from the very mercy that had preserved them †. They declared, that to save an enemy was an act unworthy of the Divinity; and that the equal safety which was experienced by the Pagan and the Christian, marked a deficiency either of the intelligence or of the power of our God

* OROSIUS. *Hist.* lib. vii. ch. 39.

† Nothing can be so partial and unjust as Gibbon's manner of relating the conduct of Alaric.—All his noble moderation, his forbearance, his desire of peace, are degraded into cunning, hypocrisy, and a sense of weakness—without any imaginable authority for such insinuations—by the artful substitution of injurious for honourable epithets.

—either of intelligence to distinguish, or of power to enforce distinction.

This lenity has not been a transitory result of our religion. As the nations of modern Europe became gradually subjected to the direction of the faith, their political contests lost gradually more and more of their rigour and their duration. They had become united by a sympathy of religious hopes and fears and sentiments, which preserved the natural rights of humanity inviolate amid the wild oblivion of the combat, and the reckless intoxication of success. This alleviation of the severity of the hostile passions had existed for ages among us; and he who was the bravest in the fight had made it his glory and his distinction to be the mildest in the victory; when yet again, with the wars of infidel and revolutionary France, the military character

recovered all its savageness. Again the battle “palled itself in the dunnest smoke of hell;” again the sword of the conqueror delighted in the wantonness and riot of destruction; and again the conquered acknowledged in the lasting oppression which subdued them, that no Christian hand was the unwilling instrument of their distress.

At length, galled beyond endurance by the oppression of the iron yoke, to which they were subjected, the impoverished and insulted nations awakened from the motionless despair that had appeared to usurp their force and paralyze their energies. Firm in their Christian strength, and united by a Christian compact, they armed themselves against the foe to the happiness of man:—they fought:—they conquered: they entered the precincts of their common enemy:—they were the

masters of the destiny of the oppressor :—they looked down, from the heights about the city, upon that gorgeous Babylon which had been enriched by the extorted wealth of their treasuries, and ornamented by the collected spoil of all that was most exquisite and rare among the decorations of their temples and their palaces :—they held the very captain as their prisoner, whose successful and unparalleled atrocities had appalled and conquered and constrained them :—and, while every human passion solicited an awful and enduring vengeance ; while every human principle would have persuaded an exact and rigorous reprisal, the morals of Christianity prevailed above the natural dictates of the heart ;—no fields were wasted ;—no city was destroyed ;—no penalty was exacted from the fallen ;—the merciless received no

other chastisement than mercy. — The proud, who had so loudly vaunted the extension of the ruin which he had wrought, was afflicted with no other retribution from the injured than the silent and the gloomy consciousness of humiliated pride.

The miseries of war have afforded to the whole race of infidel philosophers a favourite and exhaustless subject of declamation ; and never have its effects been more general or destructive than in the age when the pretended philanthropists most vehemently expatiated on its injustice. Christianity does not declaim ; —it exhorts to peace ; it declares the precepts by which the causes of discord are removed ; and, when the people are compelled to arms, it enjoins humanity to the conqueror, as the paramount and the indispensable law of the combat.—“ *La religion pénètre jusque dans les camps*

pour en bannir la haine et l'inexorable cupidité, pour arrêter l'abus de la force, pour attendrir la victoire, et pour couvrir le faible de son inviolable protection. Ne pouvant retenir le glaive, elle en émousse la pointe, et verse encore du baume sur les blessures qu'il a faites*."

* MENAIS, vol. i. p. 425.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.