A letter to William Wilberforce, Esq. on the subject of his late publication [entitled "A practical view of the prevailing religious system"] / By Gilbert Wakefield.

### Contributors

Wakefield, Gilbert, 1756-1801.

#### **Publication/Creation**

London : Printed for the author, by A. Hamilton, 1797.

#### **Persistent URL**

https://wellcomecollection.org/works/d6b5ahp5

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# LETTER

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# WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq.

TO

(Price Two Shillings.)

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# LETTER

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## WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq.

TO

ON THE SUBJECT

OF HIS LATE PUBLICATION.

By GILBERT WAKEFIELD, B. A. LATE FELLOW OF JESUS-COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Beware of falfe prophets !---Ye shall know them by their fruits. Jesus.

Ye blind guides! which ftrain out a gnat, and fwallow a camel. IDEM.

—— Nefas illic fetum jugulare capellæ; Carnibus humanis vefci licet.—In mare nemo Hunc abicit, fævå dignum veråque Charybdi?— Tam vacui capitis populum Phæaca putavit? JUVENAL.

THE SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED AND CORRECTED.

### LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY A. HAMILTON; AND SOLD BY I. CUTHELL, MIDDLE-ROW, HOLBORN.

1797.



## LETTER

TO

## WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

### SIR!

THE privilege, which you have claimed and employed, of addrefling " the higher " and middle claffes of this country" on the religious fystem " of professed Christians, " contrasted with real Christianity," cannot be grudged with confiftency, in application to yourfelf, from one, according to the vulgar acceptation of those words, neither in the high nor middle class, but in the very lowest order of the community, in which we live. Your attention to religious fubjects, in the midft of a corrupt and faithlefs generation, is regarded with more honour and approbation by none of your warmest friends than by your opponent: nor, I believe, have your thoughts, fince we were contemporaries once

at

at Cambridge, and before that period, been more intenfely occupied in the fame fpeculations and purfuits, than mine. Our conclusions, however, from these diligent refearches prove not only different, but in many points totally contradictory: yet, (for I am difposed to pay no futile compliments and to facrifice no self-applause, at the expence of conviction and fincerity, though ready to concede in your favour all that can poffibly be true) I prefume your purposes and affections to have been equally pure, equally zealous, and equally difpaffionate, with my own. Perhaps, in consequence of your elaborate publication, which, from the peculiar fituation and character of it's author, is likely to engage a confiderable portion of popular attention, it may be a circumstance not altogether unimportant to fome of our fellowcitizens, nor abfolutely unworthy of your own regard, to contemplate fome prominent particulars of our difagreement, and the grounds on which we differ.

But, Sir! my leading motive to this public and free addrefs had it's origin in that countenance, which the favourable opinion of your your character, very generally entertained, as a fincere and pious Christian, has reflected on the political conduct of those statesmen, whose views you have promoted with eagerness and conftancy; and whofe interefts you have interwoven with your own. It becomes on this account, I am perfuaded, a confideration of no mean concernment to Englishmen at large to be fupplied with fome measure of determination, whether one, thus fanctified in the estimation of his countrymen, - thus affuming the dignified office of a religious cenfor in fociety, - be indeed entitled to this large tribute of admiration, and illuminated with that knowledge of his fubject, which has a claim to enfure his precepts a reverend acceptance with his disciples. That reasonable postulatum too, I apprehend, is no less pertinent to the subject of Christianity, than to topics of philology and tafte; founded on a requifite alliance between magisterial animadverfion and perfonal accomplishment:

> Let fuch teach others, who themfelves excell ; And cenfure freely, who have written well,

It was my primary intention to examine your publication in detail; but this object I B 2 foon

foon abandoned, as tedious, from the prolixity of your effusions; as unprofitable, from their wildness; as impracticable, from their indiflinction. Your fundamental principles are, in my judgement, fo effentially erroneous, your whole conception of the Gofpel fo abfolutely incompatible with the undifputed conduct and with the unequivocal dictates of CHRIST himfelf, as to render fuch a specific discussion of your fentiments an undertaking of inextricable and hopeless perplexity. Every avenue to conviction, by which fuch arguments, as have been deemed effectual with rational enquirers, might be expected to approach, is obstructed by fantastical preposseffions, by vifionary feelings, by an experimental perception of truth, not explicable on the known elements of vulgar reafoning, and only intelligible to the happy illuminated devotee :

> Φωναντα συνετοισιν° ες Δε το παν, έρμηνεων Χατιζει—.

Your ear alone the myftic founds can gain : Plebeians liften ftill, and ftill, in vain.

Among this vulgar herd of unenlightened fluggifh catechumens I profess my name also. —Suffer us, therefore, in the profecution of this this fubject, to adopt a method of argumentation better fuited to our fcantier knowledge and our grofs conceptions: and, if we prove at once miftaken and prefumptuous, let your fuperior illuminations, with charitable interpofition, reprefs our arrogance, and confute our errors.

I. My first object, then, shall be an attempt to delineate fome striking features of genuine Christianity, according to my notion of that pure, sublime, and simple institution: not by a deduction from imaginary theories, but from indisputable premises; namely,

1. The conduct and character of our Saviour himfelf: and,

2. From his precepts.

At this equitable arbitration, yourfelf, I truft, will feel no inclination to demur.

II. I shall take the liberty of bringing the question home to your own "life and bo-"fom." I shall venture to examine your public conduct in the crucible of these criterions; well well aware at the fame time, from the multiplicity and critical nature of the topics, which fo comprehensive an excursion will involve, of the delicacy and danger of my project from the baffled malignity of a defpairing and flagitious faction; who have riveted their power against the public voice by the most extensive bribery, and malignant calumnies; who are prepared to hazard their own lives with the fortunes of royalty and the constitution in an attempt to maintain their stations by the anarchy of military despotis.

I. I. I shall attempt a delineation of the fincere Christian gospel by a few capital strokes from the practice of our Lord himfelf.

You will readily allow me, that his example is propounded in the fcriptures as a model of imitation for all his followers. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me: (Mat. xi. 29.) Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jefus: (Philipp. ii. 5.) Christ also suffered for us; leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: (I Pet. ii. 21.) He, that saith he abideth in him, ought himsfelf also so to walk, even

even as he walked: (1 John, ii. 6.) We conclude, then, from these and other explicit declarations, that, in the proportion of our approximation to the life of Chrift, will our advances be towards the transcendental excellence of evangelical perfection. Indeed, one previous proposition, not applicable to himfelf, must be prefumed with relation to his disciples, as the passport to life eternal: (John, xvii. 3.) That, in addition to a common belief of one true God, his brethren acknowledge himfelf also to be the anointed servant of Jehovah, (Acts, iv. 27.) the long-expected Meffiah of the Jews, (John, iv. 25, 26.) who died, and was buried, and rose again on the third day, (I Cor. xv. 3, 4.) that he might deliver us from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the fons of God: (Rom. viii. 21.) With this fingle exception only, the life of Chrift must be confidered as a complete exemplar for the zealous emulation of his votaries.

Now, a most comprehensive summary of our Lord's practical virtues is exhibited in one short, but emphatic, sentence of his apostle apostle Peter; (Acts, x. 38.) Who went about, DOING GOOD.

If some of our modern fanatics have conceived accurately of gofpel-truth, the epitome of our Saviour's excellence should have been circumfcribed by very different lines of character; by a copious display of comfortable illuminations, powerful conversions, secret influences, lookings unto God, or fome equivalent imprefiions; provided only, that the things themfelves were equally unintelligible and undefinable: the wild phantoms of defpicable ignorance, and befotted fuperftition. No, Sir! the fublime reprefentation of confummate excellence is depicted in full beauty, and in matchlefs proportion, by five words only of fimplicity and fobernefs : HE WENT ABOUT, DOING GOOD. The relief of human mifery in all it's varieties and complications of diftrefs, the reformation of the vicious, the instruction of the ignorant, the confirmation of the virtuous, the confolation of the meek, the encouragement of the docile, the generous and indignant reprobation of demure hypocrify with tharp untempered expression ; -thefe

these godlike purposes, as the fole means of perfonal happinefs, by fulfilling the will of his Father and our Father, of his God and our God, (John, xx. 17.) through active benevolence to the workmanship of the Creator, was the grand rule of conduct to the Man of Nazareth ; the fole occupation of his thoughts, the unceafing employment of his time, the devoted purpose of his life. Hear the divine declarations of this unequalled preceptor of mankind on the point before us. My meat is to do the will of him that fent me, and to finish bis work: (John, iv. 34.) I was daily with you in the temple teaching: (Luke, xiv. 49.) To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth: (John, xviii. 37.) To him positive beneficence, and positive beneficence alone, invigorated and incited by pure principles of action, was the teft of merit, and the genuine characteristic of Christian fanctity. Feelings, and vi/ions, and experiences, and inexplicable grace, unaccompanied by fervices to men, and unauthenticated by fuch fervices, is a vile jargon, unknown to the Saviour of mankind, and

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and unrecorded in the oracles of truth. The Gospel abhors appearances without realities ; it acknowledges no faith as a meritorious operation of the heart or intellect, but the faith exemplified and fubstantiated by the vitality of works. We are commanded to raife upon our faith a noble superstructure of virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness, charity; (2 Pet. i. 5-8.)-of all the perfonal and relative duties of humanity; if we wish to prove ourselves the followers and friends of Chrift, (John, xv. 4.) not in word only, but in deed and in truth. The virtues and graces of the Gospel, like those of it's illustrious proclaimer, are activity and exercise; not torpid influences, and indolent fenfations : no stagnant pool of devotional mummeries, of infipid mysticifm, that cumbers the ground, and pollutes the atmosphere; but a falubrious expansion of living waters, dispersing health, animation, and fertility, through the earth; and springing up into everlasting life: (John, iv. 10. 14.)

2. But in the *precepts* of our Lord we fhall find a more circumstantial configuration of the Christian character; and, if possible, 6 fcarcely fcarcely a lefs interefting and important picture, than in his life: a life, publicly difplayed on the theatre of human action, but a mere particle of time.

Oftendunt terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra Effe finunt. Nimium vobis Romana propago Vifa potens, Superi! propria hæc fi dona fuiffent.

1. For the first instance of the moral institutions of the Gofpel, Jefus hath there taught us the perfectibility of human nature, beyond any affignable limits of progreffive virtue. This most fublime doctrine, which the unlearned arrogance of modern philosophy has usurped as it's own discovery, though it stood on record, as openly promulgated eighteen centuries ago by the carpenter's fon of Galilee, is laid down with unquestionable precifion in the following comprehenfive exhortation : Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father, which is in heaven, is perfect : (Matt. v. 48.) The fame conclusion is deducible from a parallel injunction of the apoftle Paul, with equal clearness; an injunction, founded on our intellectual refemblance to the universal parent of our race. Be ye, therefore, followers of God, as dear children: (Eph. v. 1.) C 2 To To this effect also will amount by reasonable inference that admonitory invitation of the writer to the Hebrews: Therefore, leaving the principles of the destrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection: (vi. 1.)

By these perspicuous positions of scriptural authority are decidedly confuted those frivolous and profligate maxims of fome modern advocates for corruption in ecclefiaftical and political establishments, who endeavour to reconcile the credulous, the timid, the illiterate, and unreflecting, to their abject fystems of conformity, upon this ignominious pretence; That the generality of mankind has always been, and always must continue, depraved and ignorant : that we, extravagant reformers ! indulge a vain theory, when we expatiate on the practicability of a form of government and a general constitution of civil discipline, which shall meliorate, beyond all competition with our degraded condition at this moment, the moral and intellectual character of the species: which shall exalt, by gradual improvement, the denizens of this terrestrial habitation to a spiritualised state of purity little lower than the angels: (Heb. ii. 9.) Unlefs,

Unlefs, however, the figns of the time deceive me, these days of restitution and refreshment, (Acts, iii. 20, 21.) after so calamitous a period of supine ignorance, passive thralldom, and flavish debasement of all that is noble and generous in man, have commenced their glorious career with rapid strides, and are marching with an acceleration, which no tyranny can impede, from their goal in our vicinity, to the precincts of the universe.

Definit, ac toto furgit gens aurea mundo.

Our age of Iron wanes with quick decay; And man exulting hails his Golden day.

2. Peace and reconciliation, in their moft extensive import, whether of man to God or to his fellow; universal and unbounded love, not circumferibed by incidental diferiminations of country, colour, or opinion; — these endearing principles, of a vigorous renovating quality, are inculcated in every page of the Gospel, with affectionate folicitude and unwearied importunity. Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you; (John, xiv. 27.) was among the last admonitions of our most amiable master, (who fpake as never man fpake; Spake; John, vii. 46.) to his disconsolate disciples before that confummation of magnanimity and benevolence, his voluntary fufpenfion on the crofs. But it were fuperfluous to inveftigate through the scriptures of the New Testament a multitude of texts "in corroboration of this acknowledged doctrine of Christianity, whose herald is emphatically styled THE PRINCE OF PEACE: (Ifaiah, ix. 6.) All those precepts of mutual forbearance and foft affection, exhibited under fuch impreffive figures and animated phrafeology from Matthew, v. 38-48. which exceed, in native fublimity and fimple elegance, the moral leffons of every other fage and inftructor, in whatever time or country, among the most accomplished nations of antiquity, beyond all pretentions of comparison ;- those precepts, I fay, directly and explicitly infer PACIFIC PRINCIPLES, universal and unqualified, to be of the very effence of the Gofpel, and an indifpenfable constitution of Chriftianity. There is one passage, however, fo eminently pertinent and energetic, of fuch awful denunciation against the MAN OF BLOOD, that I should deem myself inexcusable for withholding it from my readers on this occasion.

And

And behold, Simon Peter stretched out his hand, and drew his sword, and smote the highpriest's servant, and cut off his ear. Then said Jesus unto Peter: Put up thy sword into it's place. The cup, which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it? ALL THEY, THAT TAKE THE SWORD, SHALL PERISH BY THE SWORD: (Matt. xxvi. 51, 52. John, xviii. 10, 11.) A truth, ripe for completion in our day.

But we fhall have an opportunity of dwelling more particularly on this topic in the fequel; and I therefore only obferve in paffing, what delectable Chriftians peradventure they muft be, and what a precious Chriftianity beyond all controverfy they muft profefs, who can in any poffible manner or degree, under any fuppofable circumftances whatfoever, co-operate with the military executions of WAR and MURDER on their fpecies!

> Αφρητως, αθεμιστος, ανεστιος, εστιν επεινος, "Ος πολεμε εραται.----HOMER, II. ix. 63.

Curs'd is the man, and void of law and right, Unworthy property, unworthy light, Unfit for public rule, or private care, That WRETCH, that MONSTER, WHO DELIGHTS IN WAR:

Whofe

Whofe luft is MURDER, and whofe horrid joy; To TEAR HIS COUNTRY, AND HIS KIND DESTROY. POPE.

"Oh! my foul! come not thou into their "fecret: unto their affembly, mine honour! "be not thou united. Woe is me, that I "fojourn in Mefech; that I dwell in the "tents of Kedar! My foul hath long dwelt "with him that hateth peace. I am for "peace; but, when I fpeak, they are for "war:" (Gen. xlix. 6. Pfalm, cxx. 5, 6.)

3. After a confcientious performance of our duty, after a life in the main conformable to the dictates of the Gofpel, and habitually devoted to the will of God, the precepts of Chrift authorife in his followers a degree of manly confidence in the goodnefs and promifes of their divine mafter; notwithstanding fome occafional violations of determined purpose; some transient deviations from a general rectitude of courfe. These irregularities are too frequent, alas! and too flagrant with the most circumspect among us in the prefent flagitious conftitution of fociety, and amidst the enormous depravities of civil governments: under an untowardlinefs

towardliness of circumstances, that leaves but a fimple poffibility for the loweft orders of the people to emerge from the abject condition of beafts of burden ; whilst their intellectual and moral capacities are neglected, debased, and profituted, to the vile projects of their tafkmafters, and their natural and religious privileges are trampled in the duft. In this view, eternal life is ftipulated to us on a performance of the commandments, and a proportionate communication of our fubstance, after our ability, to the neceffities of our poorer brethren : (Matt. xix. 16-22.) To do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk bumbly with our God, (Micah, vi. 8.) is all that is required of us by the Lord; is made a fure condition of his prefent favour and future recompence. Him, that cometh to me, fays our Master himself, I will in no wife cast out : (John, vi. 37.) From these and a copious variety of other passages, which it were fuperfluous to collect, or enumerate, for readers converfant in the fcriptures, to whom alone our appeal is made, this conclusion is abundantly deducible : That, though we are, indeed, in the fcriptural expresion, unprofitable servants, (Luke, xvii. 10.) of no supposeable benefit to our master; without D

without any previous and original claim on his bounty; indebted to his mercies for our life, our faculties, our opportunities, and all our enjoyments: still, as he was graciously pleased to receive us into covenant, and has engaged his protection and reward by certain ftipulations proposed on his part and performed on our's ; - fince, moreover, the very effence of his nature is fpontaneous beneficence, and a fatherly affection to the creatures of his hand ; - fince we are perfuaded, on the fureft grounds of conviction, from the fuggestions of reason and from the documents of revelation, that he will not be extreme to mark what is done amis: upon these principles, I fay, men, whole conduct has been generally irreproachable and under the guidance of Gofpel principles, may look up with affurance to their Maker, and expect remuneration at his hands: To form a conclusion different from this, is to change the benevolent Parent of mankind into a harfh exactor of his dues, reaping where he did not fow, and gathering where he had not scattered; (Matt. xxv. 24.) is to transform our divine mafter into an inconfistent and delusive mocker of expectation; invefts him with qualities, which would render even 8

even a fellow-creature odious in our eyes; converts, in fhort, the whole evangelical fyftem into a scheme of absurdity and contradiction, and belies our primary, unalterable, and clear perceptions of truth and juffice. What are we to think, then, of that defpicable cant, that hypocritical humility, of fome modern religionists, which leads them to fpeak of themfelves, after a life confcientioufly devoted, according to their own views of scripture, to the will of God, as the most miferable and abandoned of finners? Yet this, Sir ! is the whining piety, the flavifh fuperstition, of yourself and your adherents. But we have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but we have received the spirit of adoption; whereby we cry, Abba, Father ! (Rom. viii. 15.) There is indeed no fear (1 John, iv. 18.) in the true believer : he acquiesces, a calm expectant ! in humble confidence, and with more than trembling hopes, knowing that what God has promifed, he will perform : in a holy composure of spirit, patient, tranquil, and refigned; not with the hefitating apprehensions of a fervant, but with the chearful affurance of a fon, and a jointbeir with Christ, (Gal. iv. 7. Rom. viii. 17.) D 2 that

that he shall finally lay hold on eternal life: (1 Tim. vi. 19.) Paul indeed styled himself the chief of finners: (1 Tim. i. 15.) And well he might. Confider the cafe attentively. He had perfecuted, bound, and imprisoned, with blind zeal and unrelenting rancour, his fellow-countrymen, for a mere difference of opinion ; for prefuming to employ the imprefcriptible privilege of rationality in judging and acting for themfelves: nay, more; he had glutted his eyes, and defiled his hands, with the dying agonies and the righteous blood of the proto-martyr Stephen! (Acts, vii. 58. xxii. 20. xxvi. 10, 11.) Surely, furely, WILLIAM PITT, with his fanguinary fraternity, whom you love, Mr. Wilberforce ! and his defpotic administration, which you fupport, and are become in confequence a partaker of their monstrous guilt ; - furely these regular statesimen, I fay, will be numbered with the last imitators of perfecuting Saul, with the last perpetrators of fuch unspeakable atrocities, fuch inexpiable crimes, as thefe !!! I faw under the altar the jouls of them, that were flain for the word of God, and for the teftimony, which they held; and they cried with a loud voice, Jaying : How long, O Lord ! boly and

and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? (Rev. vi. 9.10.)

4. Though I am not folicitous to fpecify every characteristic doctrine of Christianity, or aim at the difficult attempt of illustrating all it's excellencies, with a circumstantial copioufnefs unneceffary on this occasion; yet in addreffing you, Sir ! it will in no wife be impertinent to observe, that the religion of Jesus is a system, not of ceremonies, but of fervices. Anxious scruples, (Matt. xxiii. 23. 25.) oftentatious formalities, (verr. 5. 14. 28.) demure grimace, (vi. 16.) long babbling prayers, and indeed all but private prayers, (ver. 5-9.) faftings, and fimilar aufterities, are difcountenanced, or condemned, by express declarations of the Gofpel. Such formalities, in fact, are wholly inconfistent with a genuine profession of our religion in spirit and in truth; (John, iv. 23, 24.) with this fublime refined fcheme of mental worship and internal purity. Our devotional conftitution of foul, our filent principle of duty, is neither invigorated nor improved by the infpection of man, who looketh on the outward appearance only,

only, but by the confciousness of HIS eye, who looketh on the heart : (I Sam. xvi. 7.) As far as we find our affections warmed and our practice benefited by ritual performances, we are furnished with a criterion of our imperfect advances in the true Christian character, and our inadequate conceptions of the powers of the Gofpel: Ceremonial obfervances are the milk fuited to babes in Chrift : Heb. v. 12, 13. When we arrive at the full stature of perfect manhood, (Eph. iv. 13.) when our fenfes, from exercife and experience, shall be able to difcern between good and evil; we may expect to relish the Arong meat of Christianity, and shall venture to put away these childish things : (Heb. v. 14. 1 Cor. xiii. II.)

5. Ecclefiaftical oppreffion, religious impofitions, perfecutions, and civil Tyranny, in all the fhapes of that horrid fiend, are diametrically oppofite to the liberal fpirit of the Chriftian difcipline, and are most expressly and energetically condemned by it. No modes of conviction, beyond the gentle process of calm perfuasion and rational appeal, are authorifed by the gospel of Jesus Chrift. He, that

that bath ears to hear, let him hear ; (Matt. xiii. q.) was the uniform maxim of the generous founder of our religion. He allowed no masters, no rabbis, no fathers, upon earth; (Matt. xxiii, 7-11.) no lordly interferences of councils or fynods, of emperors or popes, of parliaments or prelates, or even royal defenders of the faith ! with his fupreme and fole authority in that fpiritual dominion over the minds and confciences of his fubjects. No high-prieft of mere mortal ordination can rufh with impunity into this fanctuary of the heart. Every species of church establishment, all human formularies of religious doctrine, all compulfory fubfcriptions to creeds, and articles, and canons, that contemptible trumpery of ignorant, lazy, mercenary, and impudent ecclesiaftics ! are a direct profanation of the fanctity of the Gofpel, a profligate usurpation on the unalienable rights of private judgement, and an audacious rebellion against the fovereignty of the fole commiffioned legislator of Jehovah. No foundation can any man lay, beyond what is already laid, Jesus the Christ: (1 Cor. iii. 11.) Neither gold, nor filver, nor precious stones, and much lefs those baser materials of wood, hay, and Jubble.

*Aubble*, laid on this foundation by flavish churchmen, the despicable engines of civil tyranny! will be long endured in connexion with that spotless and simple principle, which abhors all secular and carnal contact.

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Non tamen ulla magis præfens fortuna laborum eft, Quam fi quis potuit ferro refeindere fummum Ulceris os : alitur vitium, vivitque tegendo, Dum medicas adhibere manus ad vulnera paftor Abnegat, aut meliora deos fedet omina pofcens.

Such antichriftian phantoms of our dreary sky, I have no doubt, will foon vanish, with the beafts of darkness, before the piercing beams of Liberty and Science. The night is far Spent: the day is at band: (Rom. xiii. 12.) The Lord will prefently confume these dark iniquities, this delusion, and these lies of Satan, with the spirit of his mouth; and destroy them with the brightness of his coming : (2 Theff. ii. 7-12.) In the mean time, however, if these men trouble us, and pervert the gospel of Christ; if they preach any other gospel, than that delivered in the scriptures; if they teach, for doctrines, the commandments of men; - an authority, paramount and antecedent to all incidental regulations or connexions with

with local governments, commands us to rejest them: (Gal. vii. 10. Matt. xv. 9.)

But fome paffages of the Chriftian volume are, in relation to this fubject of religious domination and perfecution, fo eminently fublime and beautiful, as to merit diffinct recital and ocular exhibition in these pages.

" Another parable put he forth unto them, " faying : The kingdom of heaven is likened " unto a man, which fowed good feed in his "field: but, while men flept, his enemy "came and fowed tares among the wheat, " and went his way. But, when the blade " was fprung up, and brought forth fruit, then " appeared the tares alfo. So the fervants of " the housholder came and faid unto him: " Sir ! didft thou not fow good feed in thy " field? Whence then hath it tares? He " faid unto them: An enemy hath done this. " The fervants faid unto him: WILT THOU " THEN, THAT WE GO AND GATHER THEM " UP? But he faid : NAY ; LEST, WHILE YE " GATHER UP THE TARES, YE ROOT UP " ALSO THE WHEAT WITH THEM., LET " BOTH GROW TOGETHER UNTIL THE HAR-

E

" VEST :

"vest: and, in the time of harveft, I will fay to the reapers, gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them; but gather the wheat into my barn:" (Matt. xiii. 24-31.)

You fee here, Sir! a dictate of confummate wifdom, transcribed, to prevent misapprehension and disregard, as it were, with a fun-beam; a most engaging piece of parabolic history, prohibitory of all interposition with the moral and religious fentiments of individuals; fentiments, not cognizable indeed at the bar of a human judicature:—a precept of anticipation and forefight, directly levelled against intolerant churchmen and despotic legislators, who blend penalties, restrictions, punishments, civil disabilities, or fecular interferences of any kind, with the spiritual interests of the Gospel.

But, to dwell a little longer on this momentous topic;

> \_\_\_\_\_ juvat ufque morari, Et conferre gradum :

we are here prefented with a divine prefcription, which neither dulnefs can mifinterpret,

terpret, sophistry confound, nor artifice evade. But, "No;" fays the church of England, with all the hierarchical infolence of Papal usurpation: " You cannot learn the Gospel " from the fcriptures only; you must not ex-" pect to find it there. I will tell you where " pure Christianity is to be contemplated in " it's perfection; namely, in my articles and " canons : and, if you want befides a most " perspicuous interpretation of them, you " must have recourse by all means to that " goodly manual and most pregnant epitome " of found doctrine, the ATHANASIAN " CREED !!! Moreover, if your obstinacy " and flupidity be fo deplorably incurable, " as to refuse acceptance of all these incom-" prehenfible bleffings at my hands, and " hefitate at the verity of their contents alfo, " you shall not only, WITHOUT DOUBT, PE-" RISH EVERLASTINGLY, (which is a trifle) " but be debarred from all the good things " of Church and State; all those fat fops " and favoury meats, that are referved for " fuch obedient children, as love me, and " his Majesty's ministry for the time being, in " fincerity."

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Another

Another paffage of the New Teftament, not lefs obfervable and imprefive, occurs in the Acts of the Apoftles, chap. v. ver. 34-41. which it were unpardonable to fupprefs or abridge; replete as it is with fingular magnanimity and intrinfic wifdom, and of univerfal reference to all difcuffion, civil or religious.

"Then ftood there up one in the council, a Pharifee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in reputation among all the people; and commanded to put the Apoftles forth a little fpace, and faid unto them: Ye men of Ifrael! take heed to yourfelves what ye intend to do as touching thefe men. For before thefe days rofe up Theudas, boafting himfelf to be fomebody; to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themfelves: who was flain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were fcattered, and brought to nought.

" After this man rofe up Judas of Galilee, " in the days of the taxing; and drew away " much people after him. He alfo perifhed; " and " and all, even as many as obeyed him, were " difperfed.

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"And now I fay unto you, REFRAIN FROM "THESE MEN, AND LET THEM ALONE: "for, if this counfel, or this work, be of "men, it will come to nought; but, if it "be of God, ye cannot overthrow it: left "haply ye be found to fight even againft "God. And to him they agreed."

Can you tell me, Sir ! what fenatorial decifion ever exceeded, for manly candour, for judicious diferimination, for plain unfophifticated fenfe, this admirable fuggestion of the Jewish doctor? The collective annals of human intellect and genius have not registered a transaction, more declaratory of honest intention, more honourable to the fpirit of moderation and found policy, than that before us. Such, indeed, will ever be the uniform language of ingenuous men, warped by no felfish confiderations, unbiasfied by lucrative expectancies, confcious of a rectitude of purpofe, and engaged in the confcientious fupport of a righteous fystem. For every one that doeth evil bateth the light, neither cometh.

to

## ( 30 )

to the light, left his deeds should be convicted: but he, that doeth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God: (John iii. 20, 21.)

Kλεπτων γας ή νυξ, τηςδ' αληθειας το φως. THIEVES court the night, but Truth defies the fun.

Now the decifions of modern Judges and Attornies-General would be couched, I trow, in language very diffimilar to that of the Ifraelitish fage; and something, perhaps, in the style of the following gracious expostulation:

" Culprit ! we would have you to under-" ftand, that our government, of which we " are the difinterested servants, is an abso-" lutely good government; and we will not " fuffer any man to fpeculate upon it, nor in-" dulge himfelf in the vain hope of mending " what the King, who can do no wrong, and " the wifdom of parliament, have fo often de-" clared to be, actual Perfection. We know " it to be fo by experimental fympathy: the " grofs and ignorant multitude are no judges " of fuch delicate questions. Sir ! you have " been guilty of an unpardonable offence in " difcuffing these mysteries in what you call a " rational 8

" rational way, and truly ! in endeavouring " to miflead your countrymen, amidft the " enjoyment of unknown happinefs and pro-" fperity. This fpecies of outrage and pro-" fanation, Sir ! in men, whofe only duty is " obedience, muft not be endured with im-" punity. Sir ! to be brief with you, we will " illuminate your underftanding, and confer " true benefit on the community, by giving " you full opportunity of meditating more " maturely on this fubject, in an inacceffible " baftile, or during a fourteen years' flavery " among thieves and cut-throats at Botany " Bay."

Even the *public orator*, at Cambridge, and that *arcb-hypocrite*, your fellow-traveller, Mr. Wilberforce ! will not deny this procefs to be a most efficacious method of conviction and reformation; extremely proper to be adopted in the *existing circumstances* by a *regular government*, under the prosperous auspices of our immaculate and heaven-born prime-minister ! who, happily for his own country and mankind ! at length, acquiesces in the *uncorrupt* decisions of the legislature, and has long difabused himself of those filly notions of reformation,
formation, which once deluded the immaturity of his understanding !

If our most reverend and right reverend prelates with the wife fenators of the lower Houfe should hear a grave preacher defcanting upon the cruel perfecutions, which the first Chriftians endured; and how their fmall fociety foon dilated itfelf under oppreffion and feverity through the habitable globe; they would acknowledge themfelves convinced by the flatement of the orator, and would clearly difcern the extreme folly of coërcive meafures in that inftance: not aware, in the mean time, becaufe of that judicial blindnefs, which accompanies a mind under the dominion of habitual depravity, that they were purfuing the very measures, which their own unperverted judgement had deliberately condemned in a cafe abfolutely correspondent in all it's parts.

6. But to proceed, and conclude this divifion of my fubject, by the moft important of all topics in the prefent crifis of affairs. The CHRISTIAN RELIGION then, I fay, is a fyftem of EQUALITY, in the moft rigorous and extenfive

tenfive acceptation of that term. It is vain to palliate, as it is imposfible to deny, in my opinion, this inevitable and plain conclusion. That univerfality and diffusion of benevolence, which teach the votaries of the Gofpel to embrace collective man with the arms of brotherly affection, is incompatible with every fpecies of hereditary political diffinction ; is irreconcileable with every degree of ariftocratical fuperiority. The felfishness, the intolerance, the peculiar depravity, more or lefs infeparable, through the unalterable connexion of cause and effect, even from the most gentle and amiable natures ; - these fruits, I fay, of educational fingularities in Nobility, generally fpeaking, can no more unite with the meek, unaffuming, condefcenfive, and affociating qualities of evangelic love, than the heterogeneous materials of the prophetic image, (Dan. ii. 43.) the iron and the clay, could incorporate with each other. I am fimply adverting here to the universal and undeniable tendencies of things; nor would I be underftood to fuppofe, that the most fublime virtues and most endearing benevolent affections may not fubfift in the fphere of exalted ranks. I affert merely, that the education of these higher classes,

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claffes, their early habits and modes of life, their affluent expectations, are a grievous flumbling-block in their way; and *muft* impede in fome degree the freedom of their progrefs in running the race of Virtue and Immortality. Sure I am, that a day will come, and is even now at the door of fome European nations, when the clouds of vulgar fuperfitition and the mifts of infantile prejudice, that encumber and pollute the atmosphere of focial life, whilft they intercept the intellectual prospects of the mind, will be purged from our horizon; when a clear fky will shed it's unfullied splendours and benign influences on the human race :

Scindit fe nubes, et in æthera purgat apertum.

Then fuch monftrous folecifins in religion and reafon, as established churches, hereditary diffinctions and immunities, &c. &c. will only exist in the records of antiquated history, as awful monuments of the wickedness, infatuation, and calamities of mankind.

But obferve, Sir! with what earneftnefs and pathos, the leffons of humility, of reci-8 procal

procal fervice, of the meekest condescension, of the kindeft fympathy, and of undiftinguish ing philanthropy, are inculcated on his difciples by the benevolent Saviour of the world; who difplayed in his own perfon an example of modefty and mildnefs, utterly fubverfive of all usurped domination and transmitted privilege.

" And there was also a strife among his " difciples, which of them should be account-" ed the greatest. But Jesus faid unto them : "Ye know, that the kings of the Gentiles " exercife lordship over them; and they that " are great, exercise authority upon them. "But it shall not be fo among you; but, " whofoever will be great among you, let him " be your minister; and, whosoever will be " chief among you, let him be your fervant. " Even as the Son of Man came not to be " ministered unto, but to minister; and to " give his life a ranfom for many:" (Matt. xx. 25-29. Luke xxii. 24-28.)

Impartiality, however, and a love for the true principles of fair criticifin, call upon me to declare, that the latter fentence is exhibited F 2 with

with a very material transposition of phrase, and variety of readings, in some MS copies of the New Testament, belonging to the Imperial library at Vienna, and other royal repositories, that might be mentioned, if a scrupulous detail of such minutiæ were expedient on this occasion:

> In weftern clime there is a town, To those that dwell therein well known; Therefore, there needs no more be faid here: We unto them refer our reader. For brevity is very good, When w' are, or are not, understood.

Indeed, the variations here fpoken of are delineated in *red* ink, which betrays the hand of a modern interpolator; and stand as follows:

"Even as the kings of the ifles came not to minister, but to be ministered unto; and to give the life of many myriads a ransom for their own pleasure."

Sir! I leave you, and your ministerial partisans, affisted by the wisdom of Parliament, to balance the respective excellence of these readreadings, to fettle these curious aberrations of flumbering transcribers, and to point out the sources of their mistake :

Non noftrum inter vos tantas componere lites.

Again: — " So, after Jefus had wafhed " their feet, and had taken his garments, and " was fet down again, he faid unto them : " Know ye, what I have done unto you? Ye " call me Mafter and Lord : and ye fay well; " for fo I am. If I then, your Lord and " Mafter, have wafhed your feet, ye alfo " ought to wafh one another's feet. For I " have given you an example, that ye fhould " do as I have done to you. Verily, verily, " I fay unto you, The fervant is not greater " than his lord; neither he, that is fent, " greater than he that fent him. If ye know " thefe things, happy are ye, if ye do them :" (John, xiii. 12-18.)

But I shall not multiply quotations in support of a proposition, loudly proclaimed and indubitably demonstrated, by every action of our Saviour's life, and every precept of his tongue. I conclude then, that the pure spirit of the the Gofpel, operative through the whole mafs of the creation, is the life of every man alike; that it comprehends, and fhould pervade every profeffor, from *the beggar on the dungbill*, (1 Sam. ii. 8.) to the monarch *that fitteth* on bis throne: (Exod. xi. 5.) It is altogether frivolous and inapplicable, or univerfally and undiftinguishably pertinent: it is nothing, or the most important of all things possible.

II. I am now arrived, Sir ! at the concluding division of my subject; of less general moment and application, it is true; but, beyond all controversy, of no inconfiderable concernment to yourfelf. You will be weighed in my balance, and found materially wanting. That balance, indeed, is not the even and unerring balance (Job, xxxi. 6.) of the fanctuary; but the balance of a weak and fallible fellow-creature: of one, however, who has watched fome days and fome nights in the fober investigation of scripture truth, and has facrificed many a hecatomb of focial comfort and fecular emolument on her altar: whofe judgement, therefore, has fome authority, and is entitled to some respect. I believe you from my foul to be well-intentioned, unaffuming,

affuming, and uninfluenced by worldly motives; but under the dangerous dominion of fuperstitious and puerile preposseffions. Under this conviction, I have frequently flood forth as your apologist, in opposition to those harsher adverfaries, who could find no folution of your strange political demeanour, but in depravity of heart : a fuppofition, which in all cafes, where no finister views are visible, forces itfelf with extreme reluctancy on my breaft. No: your ingenuous nature has been abused by infidious and felfish profligates ; who, deftitute of worth themfelves, have been eager to proftitute your virtues and reputation to their own interest or popularity. I believe you to be actuated, like the Ifraëlites of the apostle's days, with a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge : (Rom. x. 2.) You are exempt too, I hope and would willingly perfuade myfelf, from that overweening influence of fanatical impreffions, which, beneath the fpecious femblance of humility and felf-annihilation, inflates, with a most dangerous infusion of fanctimonious contemptuousness and Pharifaic pride, that class of Christians, among which you rank.

1. To proceed, therefore, in my plan .-You will recollect, Sir ! that the volume, which we fo juftly love,-those boly feriptures, that are able to make us wife unto falvation, (2 Tim. iii. 15.) has furnished it's readers with a touch-stone, at which we may try our faith, whether it be adulterate, or pure. The words of our Lord's favourite disciple will possibly recur to memory on this occasion: If any man will do bis will, be shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God: (John, vii. 17.) Concerning your own knowledge of this doctrine, with respect to your own foundness in the faith, few scruples, I dare fay, have broken in of late years upon the tranquillity of your acquiescence. Your fellow traveller, to whom I have before alluded in these pages, whofe foul hypocrify and dark malignity, though unfufpected by yourfelf, are practically known to me; that impostor, I fay, has contributed to confirm you in a gloomy fystem of evangelical fanaticism, which he derides as much as any man in theory, and contemns openly and avowedly, beyond all others, in his conduct. The remarks, Sir ! which I am proceeding to fubjoin, will affift your determination with respect to the uncorruptness of

of your religious creed, infinitely better than the fuggestions of that subtle sycophant and deceiver, on the principles of my unexceptionable authority just quoted from the book of life.

2. In relation to your private character and focial manners, I have been favoured with no opportunities of experimental knowledge. I feel myfelf, however, entirely disposed to believe you here fo far irreproachable and praifeworthy, as the egregious puerility of your religious fancies will allow. Your public character alone, abundantly confpicuous, from the elevation of your polition, to the whole community, will conftitute the bafis of my enquiries and conclusions; and this is fo strongly marked by actions of most decisive quality, as to admit, I should suppose, on a full and fair statement, no possible diversity of fentence with rational and difpaffionate enquirers.

In one word, Sir ! to launch at once into the middle of my fubject, you ftand impeached, in a most awful day of trial, at the bar of Religion, Reason, and Humanity, of that high G crime

crime and mifdemeanour, - a long, and uniform, and ardent fupport, in your political capacity, of that right bonourable gentleman, WILLIAM PITT. Here pause a moment, I befeech you! you, who love the Gofpel; you, who glory in a crucified Redeemer ! Endeavour to frame, before you proceed, fome conception of the direful pregnancy, the multitudinous dependencies, of this fhort and fimple proposition: " The friend of "WILLIAM PITT." - You will obtain mercy, I truft ; becaufe you have acted ignorantly, in unbelief: (1 Tim. i. 13.) You are not, you cannot be, perfectly aware, I am perfuaded, of the immeasurable enormities comprised in that zealous and powerful co-operation with fuch a minister: or the bare contemplation of the circumftance would aftound and petrify your foul.

Adfpice : namque omnem, quæ nunc, obducta tuenti, Mortales hebetat vifus tibi, et humida circum Caligat, nubem eripiam.

Turn your eyes hitherward, whilft I develop the horrid texture of wickednefs extreme, and calamity unexampled: — contemplate, if you can, with a calm furvey, the frightful fpectacle: tacle :— trace the black embroidery, and the thick *characters of bell*, that are wrought in fuch fanguine colours, with fuch awful and living portraiture, on the ample bofom of it's folds and drapery.

Quanquam animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit, Incipiam.

3. You well remember, Mr. Wilberforce ! that this WILLIAM PITT, who has loft bis memory, profeft himfelf, at the commencement of his parliamentary career, a moft ftrenuous advocate for reform in the reprefentation of the people; as the only radical cure, that could be devifed, for the multifarious and flagrant corruptions of our government. His words, I am informed, are tantamount to the following declaration; or, in truth, accurately the fame with thefe: "Without a reformation in Parliament, nei-"ther the liberty of the fubject can be pre-"ferved, nor can we expect to have a wife, "virtuous, or difinterefted adminiftration."

"Well!" you would reply: "My friend "continues in this fentiment: he is still an "advocate for reformation in the reprefen- $G_2$  "tative " tative body of this kingdom." Obferve then, Sir ! I entreat you, to what alternative by this fond credulity you are reduced. You muft either accept with implicit acquiefcence the unfupported affertion of the ftripling ftatefinan, and obftinately refift the cleareft demonftrations of undifputed fact in the maturity of his public life: or affign fome adequate reafon for his prefent fupinenefs on the fubject of this meafure.

I muft remind you, Sir ! that, during his adminification, this man has created, including his reverend progeny of prelates and the exaltations of inferior nobility to higher titles, nearly one half, I believe, of the peerage of this realm.— Mark this diligently: and ceafe to wonder, that Sir Brook Boothby has ftyled our prefent houfe of lords, "New creatures " of the minifter, and old valets of the king; " courtly lawyers, and a courtly hierarchy."

Further.—It is most notorious, and what no effrontery, I think, can gainfay, that the reprefentatives of the people during the fame period have numbered amongst them in large proportion a description of men, more immediately diately and effentially under the influence of the minister from their mercantile character, incomparably beyond the example of any former period that can be specified. With reason, therefore, has the same elegant, but fatiric, pen, characterised this *bonourable* affembly, as composed " of placemen, pen-" fioners, hungry expectants, India delin-" quents, and every other description of mi-" nisterial dependants; kennelled like hounds, " and crouching for employment : represen-" tatives, representing nothing but their own " personal interest."

It were a fuperfluous fcrupulofity to extend our refearches further in profecution of the point in queftion. Deteftable furely muft be that audacity, which refufes to acknowledge, —deplorable that fottifhnefs, which is unable to perceive, — the abfolute irreconcileability of fuch a conduct with fuch profeffions. No, Sir ! This was the lure holden out by a young grey-beard in impofture to entrap popular fimplicity; a fimplicity, irrationally feduced by boaftful promifes, fuperficial loquacity, and a precipitate prefumption of hereditary virtues. The public attachment was effectually fecured,

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even to an excess of enthusiaftic fondness and admiration. His difinterested partisans, however, have been long difenchanted of their fond delirium; they have been sobered for many years from the intoxicating fumes of his magic cup: but alas!

#### Nil fibi legatum præter plorare, fuisque :

unavailing remorfe is their only confolation now; and the bitternefs of felf-condemnation, too juftly merited by fuch groundlefs and immoderate credulity! their fole reward Reformation is erafed for ever from the tablet; and Revolution is written in it's place. Dabit Deus bis quoque finem.

For my own part, whether from a fingular propenfity of penetration into human character with fome fuccefs, or from fuperior opportunities of experimental obfervation, I never found myfelf at any period of my life miftaken in my judgement of that man. His difdainful afpect, and fupercilious demeanour, when a contemporary youth at Cambridge ; the felf-opiniated dictatorial complexion of his first fpeeches in public life; the prematurity of his oratorical exhibitions ;—all thefe strik-

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ing peculiarities were fufficient indications, to my mind at leaft, that "all was falfe and "hollow;" a gaudy ftructure, deftitute of foundation and ftability; the bloffoms of wifdom and of virtue, without the root: and, becaufe they had no root, they are withered away.

> Quafi folftitialis herba, paullisper fuit : Repente exortus est, repentino occidit.

This frail folfitial flower, one transient day Saw fpread it's verdure, bloffom, and decay.

Ye fons of Cam ! in whofe hearts this golden idol (but a mere wooden log to me) has been long fet up and worfhipped ; your eyes have often feen a fit emblem for this object of your profane adoration on the bofom of that wizard ftream, which washes the ballowed feet of our Alma Mater !

(O! name for ever fad, for ever dear !)

Your eyes have noticed a plant, expanding it's broad foliage and ftately flower on the furface of the waters; but have found, on clofer infpection, that " the ftem, by which it receives " nourifhment and fupport, was flender as a " thread."

This, Sir! is the man, the grand exemplar

of fystematical corruption, and the fworn foo to all reformations whatfoever ; ---

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- quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore !

whole measures you have promoted with cordial concurrence, with a confidence unlimited, and with the powerful influence of your reputation, amidst an inconfistency of conduct, to which it feems impossible for any intellect above the mere imbecillity of idiotifin to have been the dupe. You have admired, loved, and revered this minister, with the mark of the beaft, with all the unequivocal characters of apostafy and perfidy, deeply engraven on his forehead. But this, I suppose, is one of your extraordinary methods of

## LOOKING UNTO JESUS!

4. You proved yourfelf the ftaunch coadjutor of this incomparable guardian of our liberties, civil and religious, in his opposition to a repeal of the Test-laws and penal statutes in behalf of the Protestant-diffenters from the Church establishment. When the delegates from that body waited on the minister with an

an explanation of their intended proposition to Parliament, and a folicitation of his fupport, this complicated monster, this Amphisbæna dire, left an impreffion upon them at their first interview, fignificant of an intended patronage of their petition. There is no misrepresentation, Sir ! no exaggeration, in this flatement. My informants are the eye and ear witneffes of this transaction. Whether he were fincere at that time, and were afterwards diverted from his purpose by motives of interest and ambition; or even then were biaffed by the countervailing influence of his habitual duplicity; I take not upon me to decide. The fact only is incontestable : that his fubsequent exertions on this queftion were diametrically oppofed to a previous expectation, excited by his looks, and words, and demeanour, in men not likely to deceive themfelves, and incapable of deceiving others.

You likewife, Mr. Wilberforce! feemed originally inclined to favour thefe petitioners, before the engine of prieftcraft and political cajolery had been played on your fimplicity; but you fpeedily recovered your fteps from this incidental deviation into rectitude. You

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are confcious, that what I am going to affirm, is truth. You, good creature ! dutiful fon of orthodoxy ! pious nurfling of our dear Mother-Church ! you were fmitten forfooth ! with a holy compunction of fpirit, left the repeal of these laws, and the consequent removal of civil difabilities, should prove ultimately prejudicial to the interests of the hierarchical establishment in these kingdoms, and overset the Thirty-nine Articles; that impregnable bulwark of our faith ! Your understanding was feized, I must prefume, with a momentary oblivion of a most emphatical leffon in our Scriptures; or your theological preceptors, it is poffible, had neglected the proper interpretation of that important paffage. Suffer me to recall the words to your remembrance, and to accompany them with a few notes of illustration, as we pass.

"And Jefus faid unto bis difciples: But whom fay ye that I am? And Simon Peter anfwered, and faid: Thou art the Chrift, the fon of the living God. And Jefus anfwered, and faid unto him: Bleffed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona! for flefh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which "which is in heaven. And I fay alfo unto "thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this "rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell fhall not prevail against it:" (Matt. xvi. 15-19.)

Now obferve, Sir ! what momentous and fundamental principles of Chriftianity are enveloped in this fhort dialogue between our Mafter and his apoftle. You cannot employ with a brighter profpect of edification a few moments of your time, than by concentrating your attention to an evolution of these principles.

We are here taught, upon no lefs evidence than the declaration of our Lord himfelf;— 1. that the badge of communion with the Gofpel is a fimple acknowledgement, that Jefus is the Chrift, the fon of the living God: or, in other words, that Jefus of Nazareth was the promifed Meffiah of the Ifraelites, delegated by God for the redemption of mankind from ignorance, and fin, and death.

Now, Sir! I demand of you, I demand of the whole priesthood and prelacy of this land, H 2 by

by what authority ye prefume to fuperinduce other conditions of Christian fellowship upon this fingle postulatum of your Saviour? On what plea of reafon have ye taken upon you to deprive any man of the unalienable birthright of equal citizenship, because he refufes acceptance of your forgeries and impofitions; your creeds, your articles, your canons, and fummaries of faith? Who commiflioned this felf-created dictator in fpiritual concerns, this man of fin, this fon of perdition, thus to lord it over God's beritage; - thus, by fuch impious exaltation of his power, to invade a divine prerogative, and usurp a throne even in the temple of God himfelf? (2 Theff. ii. 3. 4. 1 Pet. v. 3.) But poffibly this rebellion against the fole legiflation of Jehovah, and the fupremacy of Chrift in his own kingdom, may be another of your modes of

# LOOKING UNTO JESUS !

2. You may remark further from this paffage, fo pregnant with Gofpel truth! that the revelation of genuine Christianity, and it's profession in fimplicity and purity, are detached from from all intercourfe with *flefb and blood*: that is, human principles, worldly motives, civil power, temporal policy, are as diffonant from the fpirituality of our religion, as unconnected with that vital operation of intrinfic agency, as unaccording with those invisible influences of the intellect and heart, — as *light with darknefs*; as *Chrift with Belial*: (2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.)

God never made his work for man to mend.

Your ecclefiastical institutions, Sir ! are in reality a most offensive abomination in contraft with the fweet favours of Gospel incense : they conftitute the most prominent feature in that antichriftian tyranny, on which the word of prophecy has denounced most exemplary vengeance; a vengeance, that is now at length awaking from a flumber (2 Pet. ii. 3.) of ages, and roufing all it's energies into action. The victims, indeed, after the ufual procedure in great national judgements, enjoy themfelves with heedlefs fecurity, as in a perfect calm : like the antediluvian generation of Noah's day, " they eat, they drink, they " buy, they fell, they plant, they build:" (Luke, xvii. 28.) they continue their career

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of fupineness and deception, of prodigality and infolence, of venality and cruel perfecution, in conjunction with their state-ally, though a dreadful specimen of similar infatuation, so recently exhibited in a neighbouring country, is staring them in the face.

> But that two-handed engine at the door Stands ready to fmite once, and fmite no more !

3. Finally, Sir! Chrift has advertifed us, in this passage, of the perpetual permanency of his Church, founded on that adamantine profession of his Messiahship: *The gates of hell* (or rather, of the grave; i. e. mortality and destruction) *shall not prevail against it.* 

Go now, and fuppofe this mighty fabric, whofe contriver and builder is God (Heb. xi. 10.) Omnipotent; whofe foundations repofe on the immutability of Truth; whofe compartments are coextensive with the globe; whofe battlements transcend the skies:—go now, and imagine this vast edifice tottering from it's center by the affaults of non-conformists and unbelievers: call loudly for your Church and her rotten props; fummon your king, your minister, and bishops, with all the names of hierarchical hierarchical diffinction, (a great multitude, which no man can number, Rev. vii. 9.) to put out their fingers, before it lie proftrate in the duft !

I cannot excuse this species of folly, Sir ! in you, who have devoted yourfelf to heavenly meditation and a painful ftudy of the scriptures. Mr. Pitt's conduct in this respect is sufceptible of much more palpable extenuation. Spiritual musings and sober love-feasts form no part of his enjoyments and occupations. Gallio careth for none of these things: (Acts, xviii. 17.) The principles of civil liberty, he has forgotten ; those of religious, he never knew. I could readily prevail upon myfelf, if all elfe were well, to obliterate at once, with the rafure of forgetfulnefs, this transgreffion from the long and crouded catalogue of his offences. Compared with his other crimes, fuch hostility to an equal participation of religious privileges is no more than one barren fpot in a wide and dreary wildernefs : a mere volcanic eruption amidst the conflagration of the universe!

5. We are now afcending a much higher ftep on the ladder of political atrocities; to which I shall raise you, Sir ! from the vantageground of a few preliminary observations.

TRUTH, Sir! is the most meritorious purfuit, the very nobleft acquifition, of an intellectual and moral creature: the bloffom of Happinefs, and the root of Virtue. To this purpose is that fine remark of Plutarch: Ουθεν ανθρωπω λαβειν μειζον, ου χαριζεσθαι Θεω σεμνοτερον, αληθειας: " Man can receive no " bleffing of greater worth, God can beftow " none more venerable, than TRUTH." But how, Sir ! is Truth to be difcovered, whether evangelical, moral, philosophical, or political, but by diligent and unreftrained inveftigation; by the full and free application of human intellect? Tell me, then; Is not that man a rebel against Reason, against Truth, Humanity, and God; are not those laws, I do not fay, abfurd and wicked, but abfolutely void, and antecedently incapable of obfervance without an actual profanation of the divine will; -which prefume to circumferibe, or fetter, much more to deftroy and punift, this fundamental

mental criterion of rationality — this first duty of intellectual existence?

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- cunctis undamque, auramque, patentem.

If the government of any country anfwer all the purpofes of it's inftitution in rendering the people happy, men will not be *argued* out of their feelings and common-fenfe by the fanciful exaggerations of a repining fcribbler: but if, again, the rulers of a nation become defpotic and unmerciful, devoted to their own purpofes of peculation and ambition; that writer deferves well of his fellowcitizens and mankind at large, who attempts by reafon and argument to deftroy a conftitution, which exifts only to retard the providential intentions of univerfal happinefs to the human race.

We are here engaged, however, in a threadbare topic; and I haften my application of it to your cafe. I shall, therefore, but just share to mention the *fruitless* of such impotent restrictions; or rather their direct tendency to promote the very purpose, which they are endeavouring to impede. The rays of knowledge may indeed be partially intercepted I for for a time, and broken, by the obliquity of legal interpolition; but the parent luminary ftill purfues, unretarded, his progrefs through the fkies, to invigorate and illumine univerfal Nature.

Now permit me, Sir! to direct your attention towards the illustrious achievements of your redoubtable hero in this department of tranfgreffion.

1. The freedom of public difcuffion has been abridged by fanguinary flatutes virtually incompatible with the verbal compact between the fubjects and their principal fervant (Rom. xiii. 3.) the chief magistrate of this realm, the creature ( $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\omega\nu\eta$  KTI $\Sigma$ EI, I Pet. ii. 13.) of our hands: a compact, ratified by a public and folemn oath at the time of his conditional investiture with his delegated office.

2. Many of our fellow-citizens have been punifhed by fevere and arbitrary fines, by long and cruel imprifonments, by banifhment to the extremities of the earth among *beathen* favages, under very trying circumftances of calamity

calamity in a fudden transition from the liberal enjoyments of a literary life to dark loathfome dungeons, - to difeafe, and chains, and famine, and defolation : their spotless fame has been exposed to the flanders and obloquy of their countrymen from false calumnies, pretended plots, and unfubstantiated accufations of regal murder: they have been tried for their lives like the meanest felons, and impeached of the blackest political crimes, under the imprefiions of strong public prejudice; and, when pronounced innocent by their peers, in fpite of all the machinations of diabolical malice and the foul exertions of mercenary lawyers in this work of blood, they have been difmiffed, after a tedious imprisonment and exorbitant expences, arifing from the iniquities of office, without the smallest retribution

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for these flagrant injuries, which indeed ho retribution could compensate, on the part of their unrelenting persecutors.

These are but cursory gleanings from a full harvest, a small selection from the multitudinous enormities of that grand national impostor, WILLIAM PITT!

Τι πρωτον, τι δ' επειτα, τι δ' ύστατιον, καταλεξω; Ι 2 thefe these are but a flight specimen of his infernal manœuvres against some of the most valuable and accomplished members in scciety, FOR TREADING IN HIS OWN STEPS! (observe this, Mr. Wilberforce!) for attempting the *fame reformation* of abuses by the *fame means*; namely, by a melioration of the reprefentative body in the Commons' house of Parliament : an object, which raised himself to power and popularity. — Such have hitherto been the contrary fortunes of these reformers!

Ille crucem fceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema.

These o'er the sea to favage deferts roam; This deluges the world with blood at home.

Perhaps a dire reverse of doom is unfolding from the bosom of futurity: yet I wish, that not a hair may perish from the heads of the authors of our miseries! May they rather live to explate during this existence their dreadful crimes in the bitterness of remorse; and may their *future days be one whole contrition* for their fins!

Now, Sir ! in this monftrous mafs of guilt unparalleled, you, as the abettor and acceffory of this Minister, are entitled to some share; nay, nay, must in reason be deemed a principal participant. The patronage and support, of fuch men as you, has enabled this *child of perdition* to run with impunity and fuccess his long race of hardened apostafy and ferocious perfecution. Yet you still adhere to your affociate ! You still repose upon his humanity and virtues an unreferved confidence, as if he were a second *Titus*, the delight, the pride, the ornament, of human nature ! And this, peradventure, is your third method of

### LOOKING UNTO JESUS!

6. Finally, Sir ! you have feconded, justified, and encouraged our wordy warrior, in that most tremendous of all measures, The war with France:

Oh ! write it not, my Hand !— The name appears Already written :— wash it out, my Tears !

a war, originally projected upon fictitious and abfurd pretences, against every obvious dictate of religion, of reason, and sound policy; a war, prosecuted with barbarian serocity, amidst the perpetual admonitions of miscarriage, and the unceasing expostulations of the

the wife and good; a war, accompanied with a complication of calamity and a devastation of the human species, prodigious beyond all examples in the records of mortality, fince the first revolution of the fun. Even your guilt, Sir ! as an approver only and fubordinate promoter of this most nefarious of all possible undertakings, is great and terrible indeed ! I am fure, for my own part, that I would not exchange conditions with you, under the circumstance of that horrible atrocity, unrepented and unannealed by remorfe and reparation, by the fighs of a broken heart, and tears of blood - for all the honours and riches; that kings and potentates could beftow. Yet this, it is poffible, may be another of your ways of

## LOOKING UNTO JESUS!

And in this place, Sir ! permit me to direct your eyes upon an emblematical exhibition, which has fuggefted itfelf to my fancy, during it's occupation on the prefent fubject.

In the front of this *ideal* picture, you may obferve a prodigious pile of carcafes, maimed, bruifed, mangled, and gored with many wounds. From the foot of this Alp of car-

7

nage,

nage, you difcern streams of blood iffuing with ftrong eruption, and cutting channels for themselves in every direction through the country. On all fides, at various distances, are discovered a variety of ghastly forms, as if they had just escaped beyond hope from that mass of flain, looking back with a mixture of horror and exultation on their flaughtered companions : fome, deprived of their limbs, and others writhing with the tortures of horrid wounds. In the Weft, are prefented to your view vaft multitudes withering and finking with the blaft of death in peftilential climates; weltering on the fhore, or floating on the ocean. Through the whole painting are difperfed ruined towns, wasted fields, ships and villages in flames. The intervening fpaces are diversified with groups of difconfolate widows and helplefs orphans, decrepit fires and hoary matrons, bereft of their only comfort; beating their breafts, and rending the fkies with groans and lamentations.

At one corner of the piece, you may fee brethren of malignant afpect, armed againft brethren, and affailing each other with implacable placable ferocity: abetted and affifted in their unnatural hoftilities by a band of ruffians, just landed from their ships; whom their drefs and ensigns proclaim the inhabitants of another country.

Above, in the regions of the sky, darkened with clouds and deformed by tempefts, you may difcover a portentous griefly fiend, fcattering around him firebrands and death, with famine, peftilence, and war, attendant on his nod; in dark Divan with his foul affeffors, the partners of his mischiefs, befmeared with the blood of human facrifice, and grinning borribly a ghastly smile, to see the fuccefsful operation of their devilish purposes. In a remote corner of the picture, rays of light are feen gradually darting from the horizon: you behold them strike the fouls of those aërial damons with consternation and difmay; with borrible imaginings of their own deftruction in the speedy diffolution of their empire. -

But your friend engaged in this war, truly, in behalf of *Religion*, *Humanity*, and *regular* Governments!

1. By the pretence of this motive of religion, it should feem, that your copy of the Gospels prescribes, as an admirable specific for reforming the manners of the world, and as the true medium of doing God fervice, (John, xvi. 2.) the cutting of men's throats by a legion of brutal mercenaries trained for the purpose, and legalized to the trade of flaughter !- By this too we may be led to conclude, that the Jesus, to whom you look, came into the world, not to SAVE men's lives, but to DESTROY them: (Luke, ix. 56.) By this, in fhort, we might reasonably prefume, from the piety and fanctity of your doctrines and your life, that a trivial monofyllable has flipped, from the careleffnefs of copyifts, out of one commandment in the decalogue, as exhibited in your Bible, where you have been accustomed to read it thus:

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#### THOU SHALT COMMIT MURDER !

2. In the next place, the interefts of *bu-manity*, beyond all poffibility of contradiction, are admirably forwarded and fecured by the conversion of men into fomething much worfe than *brutes*:—

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Indica

Perpetuam; sævis inter se convenit ursis:

into fiends and devils, gorged with the flesh and blood of their fellow-men. But, what is the guilt of the poor ignorant hungry offenders, compared with that of those finners, their employers and inftigators; of whom you are CHIEF? (1 Tim. i. 15.) Not much more, in a fair estimate, than that of the passive bayonet, to the hand which thrufts it to the heart .--OH! Sir! are not the words of Peter too applicable to conduct fuch as your's? Thou haft neither part, nor lot, in this matter; for thy beart is not right in the fight of God. Repent, therefore, of this thy wickedness; and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee : for I perceive, that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity: (Acts, viii. 21-24.)

evond all possibility of contradiction,

Surely, the rankest *beathenism* is incomparably preferable to so base a species of *Christianity* as this.

Indica

3. And,

3. And, beyond all peradventure, politician PITT! and Rabbi WILBERFORCE! regular government is admirably confulted by the proci pagation of alarms and terrors, by the fabrication of plots and treafons, by the fomentation of fufpicion and malevolence; by fetting a man at variance against bis father, and transforming bis oven houshold into his greatest foes; (Matt. x. 35, 36.) by arming the more profligate portion of fociety with fwords and flaves against the other. We may venture to mix also in this never-failing recipe, this perfect panacea, for focial regularity and national composure, a few lighter ingredients, such as taxes, bankruptcies, a fearcity of corn, and fuch an exorbitant increase in the expence of common necessaries, as render a decent maintenance of ourfelves and families in the lower orders of life extremely difficult, and to fome impracticable. But this accumulation of anxiety and diftrefs, thefe scenes of misery, derived purely from the profligacy of our rulers, in lieu of a prosperity, never equalled by any nation under heaven, within our reach, may be poffibly one of the religious confequences, Sir ! that refult from your fingular mode of

LOOKING UNTO JESUS!
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4. But laftly, that I may not bewilder myfelf with a theme of inexhauftible calamity, to the prime actors in which, (you, I mean, *Mr. Wilberforce!* with your friend Moloch, and his companions, —

—— horrid crew ! befmear'd with blood Of human facrifice, and parents' tears ;)

no bitterness of invective, in my conscientious opinion, can poffibly do justice ; - whose villanies and cruelty transcend in their effects, on a fair comparison of the respective cases, all that fable has transmitted, all that history records, of the most merciles favages of antiquity :- to avoid bewilderment, I fay, amidst fuch a multiplicity of topics, (for time would fail me, should I attempt to speak at large) I shall only folicit your attention to one confideration more, and then difinifs you to your beads and prayer-book, to divide with your favourite minister in parliament on questions of perfecution, tyranny, and bloodfhed; after a few farewell reflections, and a fhort leffon of advice.

Your heaven-born friend, amongst the number of his pious meditations on the means

of

of restoring a regular government to France, happily devifed the god-like fcheme of fubduing the inhabitants of that populous empire to religion, humanity, and laws, by the fummary discipline of FAMINE. Gracious parent of the universe! who givest to the beast his food, and feedest the young ravens, when they cry; (Pfalm, cxlvii. 9.) who openeft thy hand, and all thy creatures are filled with good; (civ. 28.) who art kind to the unthankful, and the evil; (Luke, vi. 35.) who makest thy sun to rife on the wicked and on the good, and sendest rain on the just and on the unjust; (Matt. v. 45.) who hast expressly commanded us, by the mouth of thy dear Son, to love our enemies, to blefs them that curfe us, and to pray for our despiteful persecutors, (ver. 43, 44.) that we may merit the endearing appellation of thy children : - were it previoufly conceiveable, that beings in the buman shape divine, with the fame life-current circulating in their veins, heirs to the fame infirmities of the flesh, and joint-partakers of mortal feelings and affections - could calmly contrive, deliberately purfue, and audacioufly avow, this fcheme of pre-eminent atrocity; a fcheme, that beggars all capacities of lan-

guage,

guage, and fets every power of calculation at defiance? — In this guilt alfo, you, Mr. Wilberforce! have made yourfelf, by filent acquiefcence and fubfequent fupport of the horrid perpetrators, a deteftable affociate. *Guilt*, did I fay? This may be, on the contrary, with you, for aught I can difcover, fome peculiarly edifying mode of

### LOOKING UNTO JESUS!

And now, Sir! let me take the liberty of propofing a fimple queftion for your folution: - Upon a review of the preceding picture of your compeers, coloured from the life with the pencil of difinterefted truth, will you prefer *loyal Chriftian Englifhmen*, of the deferibed complexion, to the people fo extravagantly reviled by them, I mean *rebellious French atheifts*; or not? Suppofe we affift our decifion on this point by defeending from general competition to a fpecific inftance. Whether of the twain, for example, do you moft approve and reverence; *Buonaparte*, (late the fond object of my folicitude day and night;

> ——— πολλας μεν αϋπνυς νυκτας ιαυον, Ήματα δ' αίματοεντα' ——

but now, with his unrivalled companions of the war, my confolation and my triumph!) BUONAPARTE, I fay, or EDMUND BURKE? The one, a prodigy beyond compare in eloquence and genius; but a fiend in malignity, and infatiable of human blood;

## Shutting the gates of mercy on mankind:

the other, in the very midft of victories, which eclipfe even the achievements of that unrivalled Carthaginian, preferring one civic crown, for the prefervation of a fingle citizen from death, to the melancholy glory, that could refult from a thoufand triumphs of a conqueror, wading through floods of flaughter to his reward !

Are we, Sir! in the place of God to fcrutinize the *bidden man of the beart*, and to decide on principles, where no public profession of them has been uttered? No: the external act, by which alone fociety can be benefited or impaired, is in most cafes the only standard whereby our determinations on character must be regulated. Your faith and mine, on what I deem the fundamental points of revelation, is probably not very different: but I can fuggest

geft to my own mind a variety of exculpatory reasons, in heedleffness, fashionable levity, fecular diffipation, an immoderate conceit of fuperior difcernment, fundamental defects of education, neglect of adequate information and laborious enquiry, a perpetual exposure of grofs depravity and puerile fuperstition in professing Christians, with other obstacles and difcouragements, as probable fources of the unbelieving propenfities of the prefent day. Shew me thy faith by thy works; (James, ii. 18.) and I am fatisfied: I want no more. Godwin's Political Justice I read with pleasure and improvement; with admiration of the philosophical composure, the temperate but vigorous ratiocination, the perspicuous energetic style, the clear difcernment, and the unreferved investigation, of it's author .- I differ, perhaps, in many points; but I confess, that I love fuch men, and wish ardently that they were not only almost, but altogether, fuch as I myself am: (Acts, xxvi. 29.) Qui tales funt, utinam essent nostri! When, on the other hand, I take up your publication, my predominant feelings are those of difgust, abhorrence, and indignation. I expect with fuch principles an exemplary purity of conduct .--I con-

I contrast your professions with your life; your faith with your works; holy lectures with blood-guiltines; the follower of JESUS with the friend and advocate of PITT. And can you with a more compleat definition of irreconcileable antipathy, than the contents of the last clause; or a more ample vindication of my fenfations on the perufal of your book? In fact, Christians, like you, Mr. Wilberforce! ignorant what spirit ye are of, prove a more fruitful fource of atheifm and infidelity, than all other caufes put together ; formalists, as ye are, of devout fentiments and fanctified demeanour, but accomplices in enormities fhocking to human feelings; whited sepulchres, beautiful on the outfide, but full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness; (Matt. xxiii. 27.) having a form of godliness, but without the power; (2 Tim. iii. 5.) professing, in thort, to know God, but in deeds denying him; abominable, disobedient, and to every good work reprobate : (Tit. i. 16.)

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I am aware, Sir ! that this fentence on you will be thought exceedingly intemperate and harfh by men of dull fenfations and of no zeal even for gospel truth : but, what I have written, I have written ; and have exhibited at the fame time my vouchers for writing thus, from

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the

the unerring book of life, in the preceding pages. My words are, in reality, the words of truth and foberness: (Acts, xxvi. 25.) they will stand the test of Reason and the Scriptures; though Feftus, perhaps, and his crew of mercenary parafites, or lukewarm worldlings, may think me mad. I shall acknowledge the contents, with the exultation of confcious rectitude, " in the hour of death, and in the day of " judgement." According to my own conceptions of the fubject under contemplation, I have affigned " proper words to their proper " places." If the language be deemed in any respect too harsh and pointed, it must be fo deemed with reference only to the feelings of the cenfurer; for I could find no adequate image of my own fenfations in any other phraseology. Out of the abundance of my heart my mouth bath spoken. If crimes of the deepest dye under the colour of Christian fanctity can be ftigmatifed, in the judgement of fome readers, by any terms of reproach more than commensurate to their deserts, I grudge no man. the enjoyment of this opinion; but, amidst the invectives of foes, and the remonstrances of friends, continue to retain my own, and filently transfer from myfelf, on deliberate and deep con-

fome erroneous principle of action in my objectors. The genuine correspondences of words and things, and the reality of moral diffinctions, will still fubfist, in fpite of the prudery, the fastidioufness, the constitutional inanimation or mistaken candour of mankind; and will neither be confounded, nor difrespected, with impunity. The practical benefits of my procedure I could illustrate by various examples of notoriety, if required. Thomas Paine, for instance, will answer Bishop Watson's pamphlet; but, I predict, will never venture a reply to mine. Wounded pride and confcious profligacy have fet their feal upon his tongue. To have written otherwife, on the prefent occafion, were to me flavish timidity from felfish motives, a mean treachery to my conviction, an impious rebellion against truth, a facrilegious indifference to every thing venerable, dear, and facred; to every thing praifeworthy, and of good report. That awful declaration of our Lord is ever prefent in these conjunctures to my mind. Whofoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, int his adulterous and finful generation, of bim alfo shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of

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of his Father with the holy angels: (Mark, viii. 38.)

Civis erat, qui libera poffet Verba animi proferre, et vitam impendere vero !

This species of plain-dealing, this application of sharp rebuke, recommended in cafes of extreme malignancy by the fpirited apostle, (Tit. i. 13.) is unpalatable and exceptionable to those alone, whose insipidity of nature leads them to prefer difease with indolence to remedy with exertion ; who miftake earnestnefs for paffion; who are influenced by felfish confiderations of fame or intereft; who are afraid of drawing the attention of an opponent, or the public, to a free difcuffion of their own characters. No supposeable cafe of iniquity can be lefs ambiguous, than that upon which I have ventured to decide. You know, Sir! who vented their indignation without reftraint against the Scribes, the Lawyers, and the Pharifees; who, again and again, without a poffibility of affurance beyond the demonstration of open facts, pronounced that depraved generation, VIPERS, FOOLS, and HYPOCRITES.

Finally,

Finally, Sir ! be perfuaded by me,

----- fas eft et ab hofte doceri,---

though indeed no enemy, to commence, and this inftantly, a ferious, refolute, and laborious ferutiny into that religious creed, which you have imbibed from your nurfe and grandmother: (2 Tim. i. 5.) Take my word for it, fome material articles of your faith are nothing better than a profane and old-wives' fable: (I Tim. iv. 7.) Sweet and bitter water (James, iii. II.) cannot bubble at the fame time from the fame spring. Apostafy, falshood, treachery, venality, rapacity, corruption, persecution, cruelty, military despotisin, the destruction of human happinefs, a boundlefs luft of devaftation, the deliberate murder of many myriads, and, amidit oceans of blood, an infatiable thirst for more ; -- all these things must be laudable in themfelves, and pleafing in the fight of God, or your religion, which fuffers you to be an accomplice and abettor of these crimes, must be a scheme of impiety and lyes, entitled only to univerfal execration, and ripe for vengeance. Consider of it; take advice; and speak your mind: (Judges, xix. 30.)

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With the fincerest defire for your speedy conversion to a sounder Christianity, for an unfeigned repentance, and effectual amendment, I subscribe myself, Sir!

## Your hearty well-wisher,

BILL TAL TAL THE CALLER A DEL

## GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

Hackney, June 12th, 1797.

### I HAVE

I HAVE taken advantage of a vacant page to annex a character of Mr. Pitt from a late fpeech of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT to the inhabitants of Bofton: nor do I recollect ever to have feen a finer fpecimen of vigorous and fimple eloquence, than this effufion of that invaluable patriot.

" Of this fame Mr. Pitt I must take a little He formerly told you what I more notice. now tell you. He told you, it was not fafe to trust implicitly in any Minister, or any man; but in your Constitution, and in your own Rights. In my own hearing, he has eloquently mourned over the decay and corruption in the representative part of our Government, and pathetically defcribed the thoufand evils flowing from that fource; quoting his illustrious Father, and other grave and wife Statesmen, as agreeing with him in a belief, that, without a Reform in that particular, there was for this Nation no falvation. To him. perhaps, it was referved, both to give, and to fulfil, a dreadful prophecy ! With this quondam Reformer, whom I was then difposed to hail as a political Meffiah, as the deftined Saviour

Saviour of his Country, it was once in particular my fortune to dip in the fame difh, and to drink of the fame cup, as an humble difciple; -and to join him in a folemn declaration to the Public, that, ' without a Parliamentary Reformation, neither the Liberties of the Nation can be preferved, nor the permanence of a wife and virtuous Administration fecured.' What, then, must be my feelings, when I have lived to fee this man a Judasthe baseft of all apostates-felling his Country to the very Faction, whose corruptions he had exposed, for the proud station of Prime Minister; - building the permanency of his own wicked Administration on doubly fortifying that F Etion in the strong-holds of power; and, in cold blood, and by false accusations, attempting to take away the lives of men, whole fteady fidelity to the People, and whofe perfeverance in the caufe of Reform, was fo great a contrast and reproach to his own treachery !"

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