

THE
DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL SIN.

PART I.

THE PAST AND PRESENT STATE OF MANKIND.

BEFORE we attempt to account for any fact, we should be well assured of the fact itself. First, therefore, let us inquire what is the real state of mankind ; and, in the Second place, endeavour to account for it.

I. First, I say, let us inquire, What is the real state, with regard to knowledge and virtue, wherein mankind have been from the earliest times? And what state are they in at this day?

I. 1. What is the state, (to begin with the former branch of the inquiry,) with regard to knowledge and virtue, wherein, according to the most authentic accounts, mankind have been from the earliest times? We have no authentic account of the state of mankind in the times antecedent to the deluge, but in the writings of Moses. What then, according to these, was the state of mankind in those times? Moses gives us an exact and full account: God then "saw that the wickedness of man was great, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." (Gen. vi. 5, 12, 13.) And this was not the case of only part of mankind; but "all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth:" And accordingly God said, "The end of all flesh is come, for the earth is filled with violence through them." Only Noah was "righteous before God." (Gen. vii. 1.) Therefore only he and his household were spared, when God "brought the flood upon the world of the ungodly," and destroyed them all from the face of the earth.

"Let us examine the most distinguishing features in this draught. Not barely the works of their hands, or the works of their tongue, but 'every imagination of the thoughts of their

hearts was evil.' (The contagion had spread itself through the inner man; had tainted the seat of their principles, and the source of their actions.) But was there not some mixture of good? No; they were only evil: Not so much as a little leaven of piety, unless in one single family. But were there no lucid intervals; no happy moments wherein virtue gained the ascendancy? None; every imagination, every thought was only evil continually."*

2. Such was the state of mankind for at least sixteen hundred years. Men were corrupting themselves and each other, and proceeding from one degree of wickedness to another, till they were all (save eight persons) ripe for destruction. So deplorable was the state of the moral world, while the natural was in its highest perfection. And yet it is highly probable, that the inhabitants of the earth were then abundantly more numerous than ever they have been since, considering the length of their lives, falling little short of a thousand years, and the strength and vigour of their bodies, which we may easily gather from the time they were to continue; to say nothing of the fertility of the earth, probably far greater than it is at present. Consequently, it was then capable of sustaining such a number of inhabitants as could not now subsist on the produce of it.

3. Let us next take a view of the "families of the sons of Noah," the inhabitants of the earth after the flood. The first remarkable incident we read concerning them is, that while "they were all of one language, they said one to another, Let us build a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the earth." It is not easy to determine what were the peculiar aggravations which attended this attempt. But it is certain, there was daring wickedness therein, which brought upon them the very thing they feared; for "the Lord," by "confounding their language," (not their religious worship: Can we suppose God would confound this?) "scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth." (Gen. xi. 4, 9.) Now, whatever particulars in this account may be variously interpreted, thus much is clear and undeniable,—that all these, that is, all the inhabitants of the earth, had again "corrupted their way;" the universal wickedness being legible in the universal punishment.

* Mr. Hervey's Theron and Aspasio: Dial. 11.

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4. We have no account of their reforming their ways, of any universal or general repentance, before God separated Abraham to himself, to be the father of his chosen people. (Gen. xii. 1, 2.) Nor is there any reason to believe, that the rest of mankind were improved either in wisdom or virtue, when "Lot and Abraham separated themselves, and Lot pitched his tent toward Sodom." (Gen. xiii. 11, 12.) Of those among whom he dwelt it is particularly remarked, "The men of Sodom" (and of all "the cities of the plain") "were wicked and sinners before the Lord exceedingly;" (Gen. xiii. 13;) so that not even "ten righteous persons" could be found among them: The consequence of which was, that "the Lord rained upon them brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven." (Gen. xix. 24.)

5. We have no ground to suppose that the other inhabitants of the earth (Abraham, with his family and descendants, excepted) had either the knowledge or the fear of God, from that time till Jacob "went into Egypt." This was then, as well as for several ages after, the great seat of learning; inso-much that "the wisdom of the Egyptians" was celebrated even to a proverb. And indeed for this end, as well as "to save much people alive," (Gen. l. 20,) did "God send Joseph into Egypt," even "to inform their Princes after his will, and to teach their Senators wisdom." And yet not long after his death, as their King "knew not Joseph," so his people knew not God. Yea, they set him at defiance: They and their King provoked him more and more, and "hardened their hearts" against him; even after they had "seen his wonders in Egypt," after they had groaned under his repeated vengeance. They still added sin to sin, till they constrained the Lord to destroy them with an utter destruction; till the divided "waters returned, and covered the chariots and horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh."

6. Nor were the other nations who then inhabited the earth, any better than the Egyptians; the true knowledge and spiritual worship of God being confined to the descendants of Abraham. "He had not dealt so with other nations, neither had the Heathens knowledge of his laws." (Psalm cxlvii. 20.) And in what state were the Israelites themselves? How did they worship the God of their fathers? Why, even these were "a stubborn and rebellious generation, a generation that set not their heart aright. They kept not the covenant of God, and refused to walk

in his law. They provoked him at the sea, even at the Red Sea ;" (Psalm lxxviii. 8, 10 ; cvi. 7 ; Exod. xiv. 11, 12 ;) the very place where he had so signally delivered them. " They made a calf in Horeb, and worshipped the molten image," (Psalm cvi. 19,) where they had heard the Lord, but a little before, saying, out of the midst of the fire, " Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image ; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them." And how amazing was their behaviour during those whole forty years that they sojourned in the wilderness ! even while he " led them in the day-time with a cloud, and all the night with a light of fire !" (Psalm lxxviii. 14.) Such were the knowledge and virtue of God's peculiar people, (certainly the most knowing and virtuous nation which was then to be found upon the face of the earth,) till God brought them into the land of Canaan ;—considerably more than two thousand years from the creation of the world.

None, I presume, will say there was any other nation at that time more knowing and more virtuous than the Israelites. None can say this while he professes to believe, according to the scriptural account, that Israel was then under a theocracy, under the immediate government of God ; that he conversed with their subordinate governor " face to face, as a man talketh with his friend ;" and that God was daily, through him, conveying such instructions to them as they were capable of receiving.

7. Shall we turn our eyes for a moment from the scriptural to the profane account of mankind in the earliest ages ? What was the general sentiment of the most polite and knowing nation, the Romans, when their learning was in its utmost perfection ? Let one, who certainly was no bigot or enthusiast, speak for the rest. And he speaks home to the point :—

*Nam fuit ante Helenam cunus teterrima belli
Causa ; sed ignotis perierunt mortibus omnes
Quos venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum,
Viribus editior cædebat, ut in grege taurus.*

" Full many a war has been for women waged
Ere half the world in Helen's cause engaged ;
But, unrecorded in historic verse,
Obscurely died those savage ravishers,
Who like brute beasts the female bore away,
Till some superior brute re-seized the prey :
A wild bull, his rival bull o'erthrown,
Claims the whole subject head, and reigns alone."

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I doubt he who gives this, not as his peculiar opinion, but as what was then a generally-received notion, would scarce have allowed even so much as Juvenal,—

*Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
In terris*

“Chastity did once, I grant, remain
On earth, and flourish’d in old Saturn’s reign :”

Unless one should suppose the reign of Saturn to have expired when Adam was driven out of Paradise.

I cannot forbear adding another picture of the ancient dignity of human nature, drawn by the same masterly hand. Before men dwelt in cities, he says, this

*Turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter,
Unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus.*

“The human herd, unbroken and untaught,
For acorns first, and grassy couches fought;
With fists, and then with clubs maintain’d the fray,
Till, urged by hate, they found a quicker way,
And forged pernicious arms, and learn’d the art to slay.”

What a difference is there between this and the gay, florid accounts which many moderns give of their own species !

8. But to return to more authentic accounts : At the time when God brought the Israelites into Canaan, in what state were the rest of mankind ? Doubtless in nearly the same with the Canaanites, with the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, and the rest of the seven nations. But the wickedness of these, we know, was full ; they were corrupt in the highest degree. All manner of vice, all ungodliness and unrighteousness, reigned among them without control ; and therefore the wise and just Governor of the world gave them up to a swift and total destruction.

9. Of Israel, indeed, we read, that they “served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the Elders that over-lived Joshua.” (Josh. xxiv. 31.) And yet even at that time they did not serve Him alone ; they were not free from gross idolatry ; otherwise, there had been no need of his giving them that exhortation a little before his death : “Now, therefore, put away the strange gods which are among you,” the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the river Jordan. (Verse 23.) What gods these were, we learn by the words of

Amos, cited by St. Stephen: "O ye house of Israel, have ye offered sacrifices to me by the space of forty years? Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which ye made to worship them." (Acts vii. 42, 43.)

10. The sacred history of what occurred within a short space after the death of Joshua, for some hundred years, even until the time that Samuel judged Israel, gives us a large account of their astonishing wickedness during almost that whole period. It is true, just "when God smote them, then they sought him; they returned, and inquired after God." Yet "their heart was not right with him, neither were they steadfast in his covenant." (Psalm lxxviii. 34, 37.) And we find little alteration among them for the better in the succeeding ages; insomuch that, in the reign of Ahab, about nine hundred years before Christ, there were only "seven thousand left in Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal." (1 Kings xix. 18.) What manner of men they were for the next three hundred years, we may learn from the books of the Kings, and from the Prophets; whence it fully appears that, except a few short intervals, they were given up to all manner of abominations; by reason of which the name of the Most High was the more abundantly blasphemed among the Heathens. And this continued, until their open rebellion against God brought upon the whole nation of the Jews (a hundred and thirty-four years after the captivity of the ten tribes, and about six hundred before Christ) those terrible and long-deserved calamities which made them a spectacle to all that were round about them. The writings of Ezekiel, Daniel, and Jeremiah, leave us no room to think that they were reformed by those calamities. Nor was there any lasting reformation in the time of Ezra, or of Nehemiah and Malachi; but they were still, as their forefathers had been, "a faithless and stubborn generation." Such were they likewise, as we may gather from the books of Maccabees and Josephus, to the very time when Christ came into the world.

* 11. Our blessed Lord has given us a large description of those who were then the most eminent for religion: "Ye devour," says he, "widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers. Ye make" your proselytes "twofold more the children of hell than yourselves. Ye neglect the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith. Ye make

clean the outside of the cup, but within are full of extortion and excess. Ye are like whited sepulchres, outwardly beautiful, but within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell!" (Matt. xxiii. 14, &c.) And to these very men, after they had murdered the Just One, his faithful follower declared, "Ye stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost; as your fathers did, so do ye." (Acts vii. 51.) And so they continued to do, until the wrath of God did indeed "come upon them to the uttermost;" until eleven hundred thousand of them were destroyed, their city and temple levelled with the dust, and above ninety thousand sold for slaves, and scattered into all lands.

12. Such in all generations were the lineal children of Abraham, who had so unspeakable advantages over the rest of mankind; "to whom pertained the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises:" Among whom, therefore, we may reasonably expect to find the greatest eminence of knowledge and virtue. If these then were so stupidly, brutishly ignorant, so desperately wicked, what can we expect from the heathen world, from them who had not the knowledge either of his law or promises? Certainly we cannot expect to find more goodness among them. But let us make a fair and impartial inquiry; and that not among wild and barbarous nations, but the most civilized and refined. What then were the ancient Romans? the people whose virtue is so highly extolled, and so warmly commended to our imitation? We have their character given by one who cannot deceive or be deceived,—the unerring Spirit of God. And what account does he give of these best of men, these heroes of antiquity? "When they knew God," says he, at least as to his eternity and power, (both implied in that appellation, which occurs more than once in their own poet, *Pater omnipotens*, "Almighty Father,") "they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful." (Rom. i. 21, &c.) So far from it that one of their oracles of wisdom (though once he stumbled on that great truth, *Nemo unquam vir magnus sine afflatu divino fuit*,—"There never was any great man without the afflatus or inspiration of God;") yet, almost in the same breath) does not scruple to ask, *Quis pro virtute aut sapientiâ gratias diis dedit unquam?* "Who ever thanked God for virtue or

wisdom?" No, why should he? since these are "his own acquisition, the pure result of his own industry." Accordingly another virtuous Roman has left it on record, as an unquestioned maxim,—

*Hæc satis est orare Jovem, quæ donat et aufert:
Det vitam, det opes; æquum mî animum ipse parabo.*

"Enough for common benefits to pray,
Which Jove can either give or take away:
Long life or wealth his bounty may bestow;
Wisdom and virtue to myself I owe."

So "vain" were they become "in their imaginations!" So were their "foolish hearts darkened!" (Rom. i. 21, &c.)

13. But this was only the first step: They did not stop here. "Professing themselves wise," they yet sunk into such gross, astonishing folly, as to "change the glory of the incorruptible God" (whom they might have known, even from their own writers, to be

Vastam

Mens agitans molem, et magno se corpore miscens,—

"The all-informing soul
That fills the mighty mass, and moves the whole")

"into an image made like to corruptible man; yea, to birds, to beasts, to creeping things!" What wonder was it then, that, after they had thus "changed his glory into an image, God gave them up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves?" How justly, when they had "changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator," did he "for this cause," punishing sin by sin, "give them up unto vile affections! For even the women did change the natural use into that which is against nature." Yea, the modest, honourable Roman matrons (so little were they ashamed!) wore their *priapi* openly on their breasts. "And likewise the men burned in their lust one toward another, men with men working that which is unseemly." What an amazing testimony of this is left us on record, even by the most modest of all the Roman poets!

Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim!

How does this pattern of heathen chastity avow, without either fear or shame, as if it were an innocent, at least, if not laudable,

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passion, their "burning in lust one toward another!" And did men of the finest taste in the nation censure the song, or the subject of it? We read nothing of this; on the contrary, the universal honour and esteem paid to the writer, and that by persons of the highest rank, plainly shows that the case of Corydon, as it was not uncommon in any part of the Roman dominions, so it was not conceived to be any blemish, either to him or his master, but an innocent infirmity.

Meantime, how delicate an idea of love had this favourite of Rome and of the Muses! Hear him explaining himself a little more fully on this tender point:—

*Eheu! quàm pingui macer est mihi taurus in agro!
Idem amor eritium est pecori, pecorisque magistro.*

Idem amor! The same love in the bull and in the man! What elegance of sentiment! Is it possible anything can exceed this? One would imagine nothing could, had not the same chaste poet furnished us with yet another scene, more abundantly shocking than this:—

Pasiphæen nicei solatur amore juvenci!

"He comforts Pasiphæe with the love of her milk-white bull!" *Nihil supra!** The condoling a woman on her unsuccessful amour with a bull shows a brutality which nothing can exceed! How justly then does the Apostle add, "as they did not like," or desire, "to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to an undiscerning mind, to do those things which are not convenient!" In consequence of this, they were "filled with all unrighteousness," vice of every kind, and in every degree;—in particular "with fornication," (taking the word in its largest sense, as including every sin of the kind,) "with wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness, with envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity;"—being "haters of God," the true God, the God of Israel, to whom they allowed no place among all their herd of deities;—"despiteful, proud, boasters," in as eminent a degree as ever was any nation under heaven;—"inventors of evil things," in great abundance, of *mille nocendi artes*,† both in peace and war;—"disobedient to parents,"—although duty to these is supposed to be inscribed on the hearts of the most barbarous nations;—"covenant-breakers,"—even

* Nothing can exceed this.—EDIT. † A thousand arts of annoyance.—EDIT.

of those of the most solemn kind, those wherein the public faith was engaged by their supreme Magistrate; which, notwithstanding, they made no manner of scruple of breaking, whenever they saw good; only colouring over their perfidiousness, by giving those Magistrates into their hands with whom the "covenant" was made. And what was this to the purpose? Is the King of France, or the republic of Holland, at liberty to violate their most solemn treaties at pleasure, provided they give up to the King of England the Ambassador, or General, by whom that treaty was made? What would all Europe have said of the late Czar, if, instead of punctually performing the engagements made with the Porte when in his distress, he had only given up the persons by whom he transacted, and immediately broke through them all? There is therefore no room to say,

*Modo Punica scripta supersint,
Non minus infamis forte Latina fides.*

"Perhaps, if the Carthaginian writings were extant, Roman faith would be as infamous as Punic." We need them not. In vain have they destroyed the Carthaginian writings; for their own sufficiently testify of them; and fully prove that in perfidy the natives of Carthage could not exceed the senate and people of Rome.

14. They were as a nation *αστοργοι*, *void of natural affection*, even to their own bowels. Witness the universal custom which obtained for several ages in Rome, and all its dependencies, (as it had done before through all the cities of Greece,) when in their highest repute for wisdom and virtue, of exposing their own new-born children, more or fewer of them, as every man pleased, when he had as many as he thought good to keep; throwing them out to perish by cold and hunger, unless some more merciful wild beast shortened their pain, and provided them a sepulchre. Nor do I remember a single Greek, or Roman, of all those that occasionally mention it, ever complaining of this diabolical custom, or fixing the least touch of blame upon it. Even the tender mother in Terence, who had some compassion for her helpless infant, does not dare to acknowledge it to her husband, without that remarkable preface, *Ut miserè superstitiosæ sumus omnes*; "As we women are all miserably superstitious."

15. I would desire those gentlemen who are so very severe

upon the Israelites for killing the children of the Canaanites, at their entrance into the land of Canaan, to spend a few thoughts on this. Not to insist, that the Creator is the absolute Lord and Proprietor of the lives of all his creatures; that, as such, he may at any time, without the least injustice, take away the life which he has given; that he may do this in whatsoever manner, and by whatever instruments, he pleases; and consequently may inflict death on any creature by whom he pleases, without any blame either to him or them;—not to insist, I say, on this, or many other things which might be offered, let us at present fix on this single consideration: The Israelites destroyed the children for some weeks or months; the Greeks and Romans for above a thousand years. The one put them out of their pain at once, doubtless by the shortest and easiest way; the others were not so compassionate as to cut their throats, but left them to pine away by a lingering death. Above all, the Hebrews destroyed only the children of their enemies; the Romans destroyed their own. O fair pattern indeed! Where shall we find a parallel to this virtue? I read of a modern, who took up a child that fell from its mother's womb, and threw it back into the flames. (Pure, genuine human nature!) And reason good,—for it was the child of a heretic. But what evil, ye worthies of ancient Rome, did ye find in your own children? I must still say, this is without a parallel even in the Papal history.

16. They were *implacable, unmerciful*. Witness (one or two instances of ten thousand) poor grey-headed Hannibal, (whom, very probably, had we any other accounts of him than those which were given by his bitterest enemies, we should have revered as one of the most amiable of men, as well as the most valiant of all the ancient Heathens,) hunted from nation to nation, and never quitted, till he fell by his own hand. Witness the famous suffrage, *Delenda est Carthago*; "Let Carthage be destroyed." Why? It was *imperii æmula*; "the rival of the Roman glory." These were open, undeniable evidences of the public, national placability and mercy of the Romans. Need instances of a more private nature be added? Behold, then, one for all, in that glory of Rome, that prodigy of virtue, the great, the celebrated Cato. Cato the Elder, when any of his domestics had worn themselves out in his service, and grew decrepit with age, constantly turned them out to starve,

and was much applauded for his frugality in so doing. But what mercy was this? Just such as that which dwelt in Cato of Utica, who repaid the tenderness of his servant endeavouring to save his life, to prevent his tearing open his wound, by striking him on the face with such violence as to fill his mouth with blood. These are thy gods, O Deism! These the patterns so zealously recommended to our imitation!

17. And what was the real character of that hero, whom Cato himself so admired? whose cause he espoused with such eagerness, with such unwearied diligence? of Pompey the Great? Surely never did any man purchase that title at so cheap a rate! What made him great? The villany of Perpenna, and the treachery of Pharnaces. Had not the one murdered his friend, the other rebelled against his father, where had been Pompey's greatness? So this stalking-horse of a party procured his reputation in the commonwealth. And when it was procured, how did he use it? Let his own poet Lucan speak:

*Nec quenquam jam ferre potest Cæsarve priorem,
Pompeiusve parem.*

“Nor Cæsar could to a superior look;
Nor patriot Pompey could an equal brook.”

He would bear no equal! And this a senator of Rome! Nay, the grand patron of the republic! But what a republican himself, when this principle was the spring of all his designs and actions! Indeed, a less amiable character it is not easy to find among all the great men of antiquity; ambitious, vain, haughty, surly, and overbearing, beyond the common rate of men. And what virtue had he to balance these faults? I can scarce find one, even in Lucan's account: It does not appear that in the latter part of his life he had even military virtues. What proof did he give of personal courage, in all his war with Cæsar? what instances of eminent conduct? None at all, if we may credit his friend Cicero; who complains heavily to Atticus, that he acted like a madman, and would ruin the cause he had undertaken to defend.

18. Let none therefore look for placability or mercy in Pompey. But was there any unmercifulness in Cæsar?

“Who than Julius hopes to rise
More brave, more generous, or more wise?”

Of his courage and sense there can be no doubt. And much may be said with regard to his contest with Pompey, even for the justice of his cause; for with him he certainly fought for life, rather than glory; of which he had the strongest conviction (though he was ashamed to own it) when he passed the Rubicon. Nor can it be doubted but he was often merciful. It is no proof to the contrary that he rode up and down his ranks during the battle of Pharsalia, and cried to those who were engaged with the pretty gentlemen of Pompey's army, *Miles, faciem feri*, "Soldiers, strike at the face;" for this greatly shortened the dispute with those who were more afraid of losing their beauty than their lives, and so prevented the effusion of much blood. But I cannot get over (to say nothing of the myriads of common Gauls whom he destroyed) a short sentence in his own Commentaries: *Vercingetorix per tormenta necatus*. Who was this Vercingetorix? As brave a man, and (considering his years) as great a General, as even Cæsar. What was his crime? The love of his parents, wife, children, country; and sacrificing all things in the defence of them. And how did Cæsar treat him on this account? "He tortured him to death." O Roman mercy! Did not Brutus and Cassius avenge Vercingetorix rather than Pompey? How well was Rome represented in the prophetic vision by that beast "dreadful and terrible," which had "great iron teeth, and devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped under his feet," all other kingdoms!

II. 1. Such is the state with regard to knowledge and virtue, wherein, according to the most authentic accounts, mankind was from earliest times, for above four thousand years. Such nearly did it continue, during the decline, and since the destruction, of the Roman empire. But we will wave all that is past, if it only appears that mankind is virtuous and wise at this day. This, then, is the point we are at present to consider: Are men in general now wise and virtuous?

Our ingenious countryman, Mr. Brerewood, after his most careful and laborious inquiries, computes, that, supposing that part of the earth which we know to be inhabited were divided into thirty equal parts, nineteen of these are Heathen still; and of the remaining eleven, six are Mahometan, and only five Christian. Let us take as fair and impartial a survey as we can of the Heathens first, and then of the Mahometans and Christians.

2. And, First, of the Heathens. What manner of men are these, as to virtue and knowledge, at this day? Many of late, who still bear the Christian name, have entertained very honourable thoughts of the old Heathens. They cannot believe them to have been so stupid and senseless as they have been represented to be; particularly with regard to idolatry, in worshipping birds, beasts, and creeping things; much less can they credit the stories told of many nations, the Egyptians in particular,

Who are said to
Have set the leek they after pray'd to.

But if they do not consider who they are that transmit to us these accounts, namely, both those writers who, they profess to believe, spake "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," and those whom perhaps they value more, the most credible of their contemporary Heathens; if, I say, they forget this, do they not consider the present state of the heathen world? Now, allowing the bulk of the ancient Heathens (which itself is not easily proved) to have had as much understanding as the modern, we have no pretence to suppose they had more. What therefore they were, we may safely gather from what they are; we may judge of the past by the present. Would we know, then, (to begin with a part of the world known to very early antiquity,) what manner of men the Heathens in Africa were two or three thousand years ago? Inquire what they are now, who are genuine Pagans still, not tainted either with Mahometanism or Christianity. They are to be found in abundance, either in Negroland, or round the Cape of Good Hope. Now, what measure of knowledge have the natives of these countries? I do not say in metaphysics, mathematics, or astronomy. Of these it is plain they know just as much as their four-footed brethren; the lion and the man are equally accomplished with regard to this knowledge. I will not ask what they know of the nature of government, of the respective rights of Kings and various orders of subjects: In this regard, a herd of men are manifestly inferior to a herd of elephants. But let us view them with respect to common life. What do they know of the things they continually stand in need of? How do they build habitations for themselves and their families; how select and prepare their food; clothe and adorn their persons? As to their habitations, it is certain, I will not say, our horses, (particularly those belonging to the

Nobility and Gentry,) but an English peasant's dogs, nay, his very swine, are more commodiously lodged; and as to their food, apparel, and ornaments, they are just suitable to their edifices:

Your nicer Hottentots think meet
 With guts and tripe to deck their feet.
 With downcast eyes on Totta's legs,
 The love-sick youth most humbly begs,
 She would not from his sight remove
 At once his breakfast and his love.

Such is the knowledge of these accomplished animals, in things which cannot but daily employ their thoughts; and wherein, consequently, they cannot avoid exerting, to the uttermost, both their natural and acquired understanding.

And what are their present attainments in virtue? Are they not, one and all, "without God in the world?" having either no knowledge of him at all; no conception of anything he has to do with them, or they with him; or such conceptions as are far worse than none, as make him such a one as themselves. And what are their social virtues? What are their dispositions and behaviour between man and man? Are they eminent for justice, for mercy, or truth? As to mercy, they know not what it means, being continually cutting each other's throats, from generation to generation, and selling for slaves as many of those who fall into their hands, as on that consideration only they do not murder. Justice they have none; no courts of justice at all; no public method of redressing wrong; but every man does what is right in his own eyes, till a stronger than he beats out his brains for so doing. And they have just as much regard to truth; cozening, cheating, and over-reaching every man that believes a word they say. Such are the moral, such the intellectual perfections, according to the latest and most accurate accounts, of the present Heathens, who are diffused in great numbers over a fourth part of the known world!

3. It is true, that in the new world, in America, they seem to breathe a purer air, and to be in general men of a stronger understanding, and a less savage temper. Among these, then, we may surely find higher degrees of knowledge as well as virtue. But in order to form a just conception of them, we must not take our account from their enemies; from any that would justify themselves by blackening those whom they seek to destroy. No; but let us inquire of more impartial

judges, concerning those whom they have personally known, the Indians bordering upon our own settlements, from New-England down to Georgia.

We cannot learn that there is any great difference, in point of knowledge, between any of these, from east to west, or from north to south. They are all equally unacquainted with European learning, being total strangers to every branch of literature, having not the least conception of any part of philosophy, speculative or practical. Neither have they (whatever accounts some have given) any such thing as a regular civil government among them. They have no laws of any kind, unless a few temporary rules made in and for the time of war. They are likewise utter strangers to the arts of peace, having scarce any such thing as an artificer in a nation. They know nothing of building; having only poor, miserable, ill-contrived huts, far inferior to many English dog-kennels. Their clothing, till of late, was only skins of beasts, commonly of deer, hanging down before and behind them. Now, among those who have commerce with our nation, it is frequently a blanket wrapt about them. Their food is equally delicate,—pounded Indian corn, sometimes mixed with water, and so eaten at once; sometimes kneaded into cakes, meal and bran together, and half-baked upon the coals. Fish or flesh, dried in the sun, is frequently added to this; and now and then a piece of tough, fresh-killed deer.

Such is the knowledge of the Americans, whether in things of an abstruser nature, or in the affairs of common life. And this, so far as we can learn, is the condition of all, without any considerable difference. But, in point of religion, there is a very material difference between the northern and the southern Indians: Those in the north are idolaters of the lowest kind. If they do not worship the devil appearing in person, (which many firmly believe they do, many think incredible,) certainly they worship the most vile and contemptible idols. It were more excusable if they only “turned the glory of the incorruptible God into the image of corruptible man;” yea, or “of birds, or four-footed beasts, or reptiles,” or any creature which God has made. But their idols are more horrid and deformed than anything in the visible creation; and their whole worship is at once the highest affront to the divine, and disgrace to the human, nature.

On the contrary, the Indians of our southern provinces do not appear to have any worship at all. By the most diligent inquiry from those who had spent many years among them, I could never learn that any of the Indian nations who border on Georgia and Carolina have any public worship of any kind, nor any private; for they have no idea of prayer. It is not without much difficulty that one can make any of them understand what is meant by prayer; and when they do, they cannot be made to apprehend that God will answer or even hear it. They say, "He that sitteth in heaven is too high; he is too far off to hear us." In consequence of which they leave him to himself, and manage their affairs without him. Only the Chicasaws, of all the Indian nations, are an exception to this.

I believe it will be found, on the strictest inquiry, that the whole body of southern Indians, as they have no letters and no laws, so, properly speaking, have no religion at all; so that every one does what he sees good; and if it appears wrong to his neighbour, he usually comes upon him unawares, and shoots or scalps him alive. They are likewise all (I could never find any exception) gluttons, drunkards, thieves, dissemblers, liars. They are *implacable*; never forgiving an injury or affront, or being satisfied with less than blood. They are *unmerciful*; killing all whom they take prisoners in war, with the most exquisite tortures. They are murderers of fathers, murderers of mothers, murderers of their own children; it being a common thing for a son to shoot his father or mother because they are old and past labour; and for a woman either to procure abortion, or to throw her child into the next river, because she will go to the war with her husband. Indeed, husbands, properly speaking, they have none; for any man leaves his wife, so called, at pleasure; who frequently, in return, cuts the throats of all the children she has had by him.

The Chicasaws alone seem to have some notion of an intercourse between man and a superior Being. They speak much of their *beloved ones*; with whom they say they converse both day and night. But their *beloved ones* teach them to eat and drink from morning to night, and, in a manner, from night to morning; for they rise at any hour of the night when they wake, and eat and drink as much as they can, and sleep again. Their beloved ones likewise expressly command them to torture and burn all their prisoners. Their manner of doing it is this:

They hold lighted canes to their arms and legs, and several parts of their body, for some time, and then for a while take them away. They also stick burning pieces of wood in their flesh; in which condition they keep them from morning to evening. Such are at present the knowledge and virtue of the native Heathens, over another fourth of the known world.

4. In Asia, however, we are informed that the case is widely different. For although the Heathens bordering on Europe, the thousands and myriads of Tartars, have not much to boast either as to knowledge or virtue; and although the numerous little nations under the Mogul, who retain their original Heathenism, are nearly on a level with them, as are the inhabitants of the many large and populous islands in the eastern seas; yet we hear high encomiums of the Chinese, who are as numerous as all these together; some late travellers assuring us, that China alone has fifty-eight million of inhabitants. Now, these have been described as men of the deepest penetration, the highest learning, and the strictest integrity; and such doubtless they are, at least with regard to their understanding, if we will believe their own proverb: "The Chinese have two eyes, the Europeans one, and other men none at all."

And one circumstance, it must be owned, is much in their favour,—they live some thousand miles off; so that if it were affirmed, that every Chinese had literally three eyes, it would be difficult for us to disprove it. Nevertheless, there is room to doubt even of their understanding; nay, one of the arguments often brought to prove the greatness, to me clearly demonstrates the littleness, of it; namely, the thirty thousand letters of their alphabet. To keep an alphabet of thirty hundred letters could never be reconciled to common sense; since every alphabet ought to be as short, simple, and easy as possible. No more can we reconcile to any degree of common sense, their crippling all the women in the empire, by a silly, senseless affectation of squeezing their feet till they bear no proportion to their bodies; so that the feet of a woman at thirty must still be as small as they would be naturally when four years old. But in order to see the true measure of their understanding in the clearest light, let us look, not at women, or the vulgar, but at the Nobility, the wisest, the politest part of the nation. Look at the Mandarins, the glory of the empire, and see any, every one of them at his meals, not deigning to use his own hands,

but having his meat put into his mouth by two servants, planted for that purpose, one on his right hand, the other on his left! O the deep understanding of the noble lubber that sits in the midst, and

Hiat, ceu pullus hirundinis!

“Gapes, as the young swallow, for his food.”

Surely an English ploughman, or a Dutch sailor, would have too much sense to endure it. If you say, “Nay, the Mandarin would not endure it, but that *it is a custom* ;” I answer, Undoubtedly it is; but how came it to be a custom? Such a custom could not have begun, much less have become general, but through a general and marvellous want of common sense.

What their learning is now, I know not; but notwithstanding their boast of its antiquity, it was certainly very low and contemptible in the last century, when they were so astonished at the skill of the French Jesuits, and honoured them as almost more than human, for calculating eclipses! And whatever progress they may have made since, in the knowledge of astronomy, and other curious, rather than useful, sciences, it is certain they are still utterly ignorant of what it most of all concerns them to know: They know not God, any more than the Hottentots; they are all idolaters to a man; and so tenacious are they of their national idolatry, that even those whom the French Missionaries called converts, yet continued one and all to worship Confucius and the souls of their ancestors. It is true, that when this was strongly represented at Rome by an honest Dominican who came from thence, a Bull was issued out and sent over into China, forbidding them to do it any longer. But the good Fathers kept it privately among themselves, saying, the Chinese were not able to bear it.

Such is their religion with respect to God. But are they not eminent for all social virtues, all that have place between man and man? Yes, according to the accounts which some have given. According to these, they are the glory of mankind, and may be a pattern to all Europe. But have not we some reason to doubt if these accounts are true? Are pride and laziness good ingredients of social virtue? And can all Europe equal either the laziness or pride of the Chinese Nobility and Gentry,

who are too stately or too indolent even to put the meat into their own mouths? Yet they are not too proud or too indolent to oppress, to rob, to defraud, all that fall into their hands. How flagrant instances of this may any one find even in the account of Lord Anson's voyage! exactly agreeing with the accounts given by all our countrymen who have traded in any part of China; as well as with the observation made by a late writer in his "Geographical Grammar:" "Trade and commerce, or rather, cheating and over-reaching, is the natural bent and genius of the Chinese. Gain is their god; they prefer this to everything besides. A stranger is in great danger of being cheated, if he trusts to his own judgment; and if he employs a Chinese broker, it is well if he does not join with the merchant to cheat the stranger.

"Their laws oblige them to certain rules of civility in their words and actions; and they are naturally a fawning, cringing generation; but the greatest hypocrites on the face of the earth."

5. Such is the boasted virtue of those who are, beyond all degrees of comparison, the best and wisest of all the Heathens in Asia. And how little preferable to them are those in Europe! rather, how many degrees beneath them! Vast numbers of these are within the borders of Muscovy; but how amazingly ignorant! How totally void both of civil and sacred wisdom! How shockingly savage, both in their tempers and manners! Their idolatry is of the basest and vilest kind. They not only worship the work of their own hands; but idols of the most horrid and detestable forms that men or devils could devise. Equally savage, (or more so, if more can be,) as is well known, are the natives of Lapland; and, indeed, of all the countries which have been discovered to the north of Muscovy or Sweden. In truth, the bulk of these nations seem to be considerably more barbarous, not only than the men near the Cape of Good Hope, but than many tribes in the brute creation.

Thus have we seen what is the present state of the Heathens in every part of the known world; and these still make up, according to the preceding calculation, very near two-thirds of mankind. Let us now calmly and impartially consider what manner of men the Mahometans in general are.

6. An ingenious writer, who, a few years ago, published a pompous translation of the Koran, takes great pains to give us

a very favourable opinion both of Mahomet and his followers ; but he cannot wash the Ethiop white. After all, men who have but a moderate share of reason cannot but observe in his Koran, even as polished by Mr. Sale, the most gross and impious absurdities. To cite particulars is not now my business : It may suffice to observe, in general, that human understanding must be debased, to an inconceivable degree, in those who can swallow such absurdities as divinely revealed. And yet we know the Mahometans not only condemn all who cannot swallow them to everlasting fire,—not only appropriate to themselves the title of Mussulmen, or True Believers,—but even anathematize, with the utmost bitterness, and adjudge to eternal destruction, all their brethren of the sect of Hali, all who contend for a figurative interpretation of them.

That these men, then, have no knowledge or love of God is undeniably manifest, not only from their gross horrible notions of him, but from their not loving their brethren. But they have not always so weighty a cause to hate and murder one another as difference of opinion. Mahometans will butcher each other by thousands, without so plausible a plea as this. Why is it that such numbers of Turks and Persians have stabbed one another in cool blood? Truly, because they differ in the manner of dressing their head. The Ottoman vehemently maintains, (for he has unquestionable tradition on his side,) that a Mussulman should wear a round turban ; whereas the Persian insists upon his liberty of conscience, and will wear it picked before. So, for this wonderful reason, when a more plausible one is wanting, they beat out each other's brains from generation to generation !

It is not therefore strange that, ever since the religion of Mahomet appeared in the world, the espousers of it, particularly those under the Turkish Emperor, have been as wolves and tigers to all other nations, rending and tearing all that fell into their merciless paws, and grinding them with their iron teeth ; that numberless cities are rased from the foundation, and only their name remaining ; that many countries, which were once as the garden of God, are now a desolate wilderness ; and that so many once numerous and powerful nations are vanished away from the earth ! Such was, and is at this day, the rage, the fury, the revenge, of these destroyers of human kind.

7. Proceed we now to the Christian world. But we must not

judge of Christians in general from those who are scattered through the Turkish dominions, the Armenian, Georgian, Mengrelian Christians; nor indeed from any others of the Greek communion. The gross, barbarous ignorance, the deep, stupid superstition, the blind and bitter zeal, and the endless thirst after vain jangling and strife of words, which have reigned for many ages in the Greek Church, and well-nigh banished true religion from among them, make these scarce worthy of the Christian name, and lay an insuperable stumbling-block before the Mahometans.

8. Perhaps those of the Romish communion may say, "What wonder that this is the case with heretics? with those who have erred from the Catholic faith, nay, and left the pale of the Church?" But what is the case with them who have not left that Church, and who retain the Roman faith still? yea, with the most zealous of all its patrons, the inhabitants of Italy, of Spain, and Portugal? Wherein do they excel the Greek Church, except in Italianism, received by tradition from their heathen fathers, and diffused through every city and village? They may, indeed, praise chastity, and rail at women as loudly as their forefather, Juvenal; but what is the moral of all this?—

Nonne putas melius, quod tecum pusio dormit?

This, it must be acknowledged, is the glory of the Romish Church. Herein it does excel the Greek.

They excel it, likewise, in Deism. Perhaps there is no country in the world, at least in that part of it which bears the Christian name, wherein so large a proportion of the men of education are absolute Deists, if not Atheists, as Italy. And from hence the plague has spread far and wide; through France in particular. So that, did not temporal motives restrain, no small part of the French Nobility and Gentry would pay no more regard to the Christian Revelation, than do the Mandarins in China.

They excel still more in murder, both private and public. Instances of the former abound all over Italy, Spain, and Portugal; and the frequency of shedding blood has taken away all that horror which otherwise might attend it. Take one instance of a thousand: An English gentleman was, some years ago, at an entertainment in Brescia, when one who was near him whispered a few words in his ear, which he did not well understand. He asked his host, "What did that gentleman

mean by these words?" and was answered, "That he will murder you: And an Italian is never worse than his word in this. You have no way but to be beforehand with him." This he rejected with abhorrence. But his host, it seems, being not of so tender a conscience, sent a stranger to him in the morning, who said, "Sir, look out of your window;—I have done his business. There he lies. You will please to give me my pay." He pulled out a handful of money, in great disorder, and cried, "There, take what you will." The other replied, "Sir, I am a man of honour; I take only my pay;" took a small piece of silver, and retired.

This was a *man of honour* among the Christians of the Romish Church! And many such are to be found all over Italy, whose trade it is to cut throats; to stab for hire, in cool blood. They have *men of conscience* too. Such were two of the Catholic soldiers, under the famous Duke of Alva, who broke into the house of a poor countryman in Flanders, butchered him and his wife, with five or six children; and after they had finished their work, sat down to enjoy the fruit of their labour. But in the midst of their meal conscience awaked. One of them started up in great emotion, and cried out, "O Lord! what have I done? As I hope for salvation, I have eaten flesh in Lent!"

The same sort of conscience undoubtedly it was, which constrained the late Most Christian King, in defiance of the most solemn treaties, yea, of all ties, divine and human, most graciously to murder so many thousands of his quiet, unresisting subjects; to order his dragoons, wherever they found the Protestants worshipping God, to fall in upon them, sword in hand, without any regard to sex or age. It was conscience, no question, which induced so many of the Dukes of Savoy, notwithstanding the public faith engaged over and over, to shed the blood of their loyal subjects, the Vaudois, like water, to ravage their fields, and destroy their cities. What but conscience could move the good Catholics of a neighbouring kingdom, in the last century, to murder (according to their own account) two hundred and fifteen thousand Protestants in six months? A costly sacrifice this! What is a hecatomb, a hundred oxen, to two hundred thousand men? And yet what is even this to the whole number of victims who have been offered up in Europe since the beginning of the Reformation; partly by war, partly by the

Inquisition, and a thousand other methods of Romish cruelty? No less, within forty years, if the computation of an eminent writer be just, than five-and-forty millions!

Such is the conscience, such the religion, of Romish Christians! Of their Inquisition (the House of Mercy, as it is most unfortunately called) I should give some account, but that it has been largely described by others. Yet it may not be improper to give a specimen of that mercy which they show to those under their care. At the Act of Faith, so called, which was celebrated some years ago, when Dr. Geddes was in Portugal, a prisoner, who had been confined for nine years, was brought out to execution. Looking up, and seeing, what he had not seen for so long a time, the sun in the midst of heaven, he cried out, "How can any one, who sees that glorious creature, worship any but the God that made it?" The Father who attended immediately ordered a gag to be run through his lip, that he might speak no more.

See the Christians, who have received all the advantages of education, all the helps of modern and ancient learning! "Nay, but we have still greater helps than them. We are reformed from the errors of Popery; we protest against all those novel corruptions, with which the Church of Rome has polluted ancient Christianity. The enormities, therefore, of Popish countries are not to be charged upon us: We are Protestants, and have nothing to do with the vices and villanies of Romish nations."

9. Have we not? Are Protestant nations nothing concerned in those melancholy reflections of Mr. Cowley?—"If twenty thousand naked Americans were not able to resist the assaults of but twenty well-armed Spaniards, how is it possible for one honest man to defend himself against twenty thousand knaves, who are all furnished *cap-à-pié*, with the defensive arms of worldly prudence, and the offensive too of craft and malice? He will find no less odds than this against him, if he have much to do in human affairs. Do you wonder, then, that a virtuous man should love to be alone? It is hard for him to be otherwise. He is so when he is among ten thousand. Nor is it so uncomfortable to be alone, without any other creature, as it is to be alone in the midst of wild beasts. Man is to man all kinds of beasts, a fawning dog, a roaring lion, a thieving fox, a robbing wolf, a dissembling crocodile, a treacherous decoy, and a rapacious vulture. The civilest, methinks, of all nations,

are those whom we account the most barbarous. There is some moderation and good nature in the Toupinambaltions, who eat no men but their enemies; while we learned and polite and Christian Europeans, like so many pikes and sharks, prey upon everything that we can swallow."

Are Protestant nations nothing concerned in that humorous but terrible picture, drawn by a late eminent hand?—"He was perfectly astonished (and who would not, if it were the first time he had heard it?) at the historical account I gave him of our affairs during the last century; protesting it was only a heap of conspiracies, rebellions, murders, massacres; the very worst effects that avarice, faction, hypocrisy, perfidiousness, cruelty, rage, madness, hatred, envy, lust, malice, and ambition, could produce. Even in times of peace, how many innocent and excellent persons have been condemned to death or banishment, by great Ministers practising upon the corruption of Judges, and the malice of factions! How many villains have been exalted to the highest places of trust, power, dignity, and profit! By what methods have great numbers, in all countries, procured titles of honour and vast estates! Perjury, oppression, subornation, fraud, panderism, were some of the most excusable; for many owed their greatness to sodomy or incest; others, to the prostituting of their own wives or daughters; others, to the betraying of their country, or their Prince; more, to the perverting of justice to destroy the innocent." Well might that keen author add, "If a creature pretending to reason can be guilty of such enormities, certainly the corruption of that faculty is far worse than brutality itself."

Now, are Popish nations only concerned in this? Are the Protestants quite clear? Is there no such thing among them (to take one instance only) as "perverting of justice," even in public courts of judicature? Can it not be said in any Protestant country, "There is a society of men among us, bred up from their youth in the art of proving, according as they are paid, by words multiplied for the purpose, that white is black, and black is white? For example: If my neighbour has a mind to my cow, he hires a Lawyer to prove that he ought to have my cow from me. I must hire another to defend my right, it being against all rules of law that a man should speak for himself. In pleading, they do not dwell on the merits of the cause, but upon circumstances foreign thereto. For instance: They

do not take the shortest method to know what title my adversary has to my cow ; but whether the cow be red or black, her horns long or short ; whether the field she grazes in be round or square, and the like. After which, they adjourn the cause from time to time ; and in ten or twenty years' time they come to an issue. This society, likewise, has a peculiar cant and jargon of their own, in which all their laws are written. And these they take special care to multiply ; whereby they have so confounded truth and falsehood, right and wrong, that it will take twelve years to decide, whether the field, left me by my ancestors for six generations, belong to me or to one three hundred miles off."

Is it in Popish countries only that it can be said, "It does not appear that any one perfection is required towards the procurement of any one station among you ; much less, that men are ennobled on account of their virtue ; that Priests are advanced for their piety or learning, Judges for their integrity, Senators for the love of their country, or Counsellors for their wisdom ?"

10. But there is a still greater and more undeniable proof that the very foundations of all things, civil and religious, are utterly out of course in the Christian as well as the heathen world. There is a still more horrid reproach to the Christian name, yea, to the name of man, to all reason and humanity. There is war in the world ! war between men ! war between Christians ! I mean, between those that bear the name of Christ, and profess to "walk as he also walked." Now, who can reconcile war, I will not say to religion, but to any degree of reason or common sense ?

But is there not a cause ? O yes : "The causes of war," as the same writer observes, "are innumerable. Some of the chief are these : The ambition of Princes ; or the corruption of their Ministers : Difference of opinion ; as, whether flesh be bread, or bread be flesh ; whether the juice of the grape be blood or wine ; what is the best colour for a coat, whether black, white, or grey ; and whether it should be long or short, whether narrow or wide. Nor are there any wars so furious as those occasioned by such difference of opinions.

"Sometimes two Princes make a war to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions. Sometimes a war is commenced, because another Prince is too strong ;

sometimes, because he is too weak. Sometimes our neighbours want the things which we have, or have the things which we want: So both fight, until they take ours, or we take theirs. It is a reason for invading a country, if the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by faction; or to attack our nearest ally, if part of his land would make our dominions more round and compact.

“Another cause of making war is this: A crew are driven by a storm they know not where; at length they make the land and go ashore; they are entertained with kindness. They give the country a new name; set up a stone or rotten plank for a memorial; murder a dozen of the natives, and bring away a couple by force. Here commences a new right of dominion: Ships are sent, and the natives driven out or destroyed. And this is done to civilize and convert a barbarous and idolatrous people.”

But, whatever be the cause, let us calmly and impartially consider the thing itself. Here are forty thousand men gathered together on this plain. What are they going to do? See, there are thirty or forty thousand more at a little distance. And these are going to shoot them through the head or body, to stab them, or split their skulls, and send most of their souls into everlasting fire, as fast as they possibly can. Why so? What harm have they done to them? O none at all! They do not so much as know them. But a man, who is King of France, has a quarrel with another man, who is King of England. So these Frenchmen are to kill as many of these Englishmen as they can, to prove the King of France is in the right. Now, what an argument is this! What a method of proof! What an amazing way of deciding controversies! What must mankind be, before such a thing as war could ever be known or thought of upon earth? How shocking, how inconceivable a want must there have been of common understanding, as well as common humanity, before any two Governors, or any two nations in the universe, could once think of such a method of decision? If, then, all nations, Pagan, Mahometan, and Christian, do, in fact, make this their last resort, what farther proof do we need of the utter degeneracy of all nations from the plainest principles of reason and virtue? of the absolute want, both of common sense and common humanity, which runs through the whole race of mankind?

In how just and strong a light is this placed by the writer cited before!—"I gave him a description of cannons, muskets, pistols, swords, bayonets; of sieges, attacks, mines, countermines, bombardments; of engagements by sea and land; ships sunk with a thousand men, twenty thousand killed on each side, dying groans, limbs flying in the air; smoke, noise, trampling to death under horses' feet, flight, pursuit, victory; fields strewed with carcasses, left for food to dogs and beasts of prey; and, farther, of plundering, stripping, ravishing, burning, and destroying. I assured him, I had seen a hundred enemies blown up at once in a siege, and as many in a ship, and beheld the dead bodies drop down in pieces from the clouds, to the great diversion of the spectators."

Is it not astonishing, beyond all expression, that this is the naked truth? that, within a short term of years, this has been the real case in almost every part of even the Christian world? And meanwhile we gravely talk of the "dignity of our nature" in its present state! This is really surprising, and might easily drive even a well-tempered man to say, "One might bear with men, if they would be content with those vices and follies to which nature has entitled them. I am not provoked at the sight of a pickpocket, a gamester, a politician, a suborner, a traitor, or the like. This is all according to the natural course of things. But when I behold a lump of deformity and diseases, both in body and mind, smitten with pride, it breaks all the measures of my patience; neither shall I ever be able to comprehend how such an animal and such a vice can tally together."

And surely all our declamations on the strength of human reason, and the eminence of our virtues, are no more than the cant and jargon of pride and ignorance, so long as there is such a thing as war in the world. Men in general can never be allowed to be reasonable creatures, till they know not war any more. So long as this monster stalks uncontrolled, where is reason, virtue, humanity? They are utterly excluded; they have no place; they are a name, and nothing more. If even a Heathen were to give an account of an age wherein reason and virtue reigned, he would allow no war to have place therein. So Ovid of the golden age:—

*Nondum præcipites cingebant oppida fossæ;
Non galeæ, non ensis erat. Sine militis usu
Mollia securæ peragebant otia gentes.*

“ Steep ditches did not then the towns surround,
 Nor glittering helm, nor slaughtering sword was found ;
 Nor arms had they to wield, nor wars to wage,
 But peace and safety crown'd the blissful age.”

11. How far is the world at present from this state ! Yet, when we speak of the folly and wickedness of mankind, may we not except our own country, Great Britain and Ireland ? In these we have such advantages for improvement, both in knowledge and virtue, as scarce any other nation enjoys. We are under an excellent constitution, which secures both our religious and civil liberty. We have religion taught in its primitive purity, its genuine, native simplicity. And how it prospers among us, we may know with great ease and certainty ; for we depend not on hearsay, on the report of others, or on subtle and uncertain reasonings ; but may see everything with our own eyes, and hear it with our own ears. Well, then, to make all the allowance possible, we will suppose mankind in general to be on a level, with regard to knowledge and virtue, even with the inhabitants of our fortunate islands ; and take our measure of them from the present undeniable state of our own countrymen.

In order to take a thorough survey of these, let us begin with the lowest, and proceed upward. The bulk of the natives of Ireland are to be found in or near their little cabins throughout the kingdom, most of which are their own workmanship, consisting of four earthen walls, covered with straw, or sods, with one opening in the side wall, which serves at once for door, window, and chimney. Here, in one room, are the cow and pig, the woman with her children, and the master of the family. Now, what knowledge have these rational animals ? They know to plant and boil their potatoes, to milk their cow, and put their clothes on and off, if they have any besides a blanket ; but other knowledge they have none, unless in religion. And how much do they know of this ? A little more than the Hottentots, and not much. They know the names of God, and Christ, and the Virgin Mary. They know a little of St. Patrick, the Pope, and the Priest ; how to tell their beads, to say *Ave Maria* and *Pater Noster* ; to do what penance they are bid, to hear mass, confess, and pay so much *for the pardon of their sins*. But as to the nature of religion, the life of God in the soul, they know no more (I will not say, than the Priest, but) than the beasts of the field.

And how very little above these are the numerous inhabitants of the northern parts of Scotland, or of the islands which lie either on the west or the north side of that kingdom! What knowledge have these, and what religion? Their religion usually lies in a single point, in implicitly believing the head of their clan, and implicitly doing what he bids.* Meantime they are, one and all, as ignorant of rational, scriptural religion, as of Algebra; and altogether as far from the practice as from the theory of it.

“But it is not so in England: The very lowest of the people are here better instructed.” I should be right glad to find it so; but I doubt a fair trial will show the contrary. I am afraid we may still say of thousands, myriads of peasants, men, women, and children, throughout our nation,—

“Wild as the untaught Indian’s brood,
The Christian savages remain;
Strangers, yea, enemies to God,
They make thee spill thy blood in vain.”

The generality of English peasants are not only grossly, stupidly, I had almost said, brutishly ignorant as to all the arts of this life, but eminently so with regard to religion and the life to come. Ask a countryman, What is faith? What is repentance? What is holiness? What is true religion? and he is no more able to give you an intelligible answer, than if you were to ask him about the north-east passage. Is there, then, any possibility that they should practise what they know nothing of? If religion is not even in their heads, can it be in their hearts or lives? It cannot. Nor is there the least savour thereof, either in their tempers or conversation. Neither in the one, nor the other, do they rise one jot above the pitch of a Turk or a Heathen.

Perhaps it will be said, “Whatever the clowns in the midland counties are, the people near the sea-coasts are more civilized.” Yes; great numbers of them are, in and near all our ports; many thousands there are civilized by smuggling. The numbers concerned herein, upon all our coasts, are far greater than can be imagined. But what reason, and what religion, have these that trample on all laws, divine and human, by a course of thieving, or receiving stolen goods, of plundering their King and

* By a late Act of Parliament, there is a happy alteration made in this particular.

country? I say King and country; seeing, whatever is taken from the King, is in effect taken from the country, who are obliged to make up all deficiencies in the royal revenue. These are, therefore, general robbers. They rob you and me, and every one of their countrymen; seeing, had the King his due customs, a great part of our taxes might be spared. A smuggler, then, (and, in proportion, every seller or buyer of uncustomed goods,) is a thief of the first order, a highwayman or pickpocket of the worst sort. Let not any of those prate about reason or religion. It is an amazing instance of human folly, that every government in Europe does not drive these vermin away into lands not inhabited.

We are all indebted to those detachments of the army which have cleared some of our coasts of these public nuisances; and indeed many of that body have, in several respects, deserved well of their country. Yet can we say of the soldiery in general, that they are men of reason and religion? I fear not. Are not the bulk of them void of almost all knowledge, divine and human? And is their virtue more eminent than their knowledge? But I spare them. May God be merciful to them! May he be glorified by their reformation, rather than their destruction!

Is there any more knowledge or virtue in that vast body of men, (some hundred thousands,) the English sailors? Surely no. It is not without cause, that a ship has been called, "a floating hell." What power, what form, of religion is to be found in nine out of ten, shall I say, or ninety-nine out of a hundred, either of our merchantmen, or men-of-war? What do the men in them think or know about religion? What do they practise; either sailors or marines? I doubt whether any heathen sailors, in any country or age, Greek, Roman, or Barbarian, ever came up to ours, for profound ignorance, and barefaced, shameless, shocking impiety. Add to these, out of our renowned metropolis, the whole brood of porters, draymen, carmen, hackney-coachmen, and I am sorry to say, Noblemen and Gentlemen's footmen, (together making up some thousands,) and you will have such a collection of knowing and pious Christians as all Europe cannot exceed!

"But all men are not like these." No; it is pity they should. And yet how little better are the retailers of brandy or gin, the inhabitants of blind alehouses, the oyster-women, fish-wives, and other good creatures about Billingsgate, and the

various clans of pedlars and hawkers that patrol through the streets, or ply in Rag-fair, and other places of public resort! These, likewise, amount to several thousands, even within the Bills of Mortality. And what knowledge have they? What religion are they of? What morality do they practise?

“But these have had no advantage of education, many of them scarce being able to write or read.” Proceed we, then, to those who have had these advantages, the officers of the Excise and Customs. Are these, in general, men of reason, who think with clearness and connexion, and speak pertinently on a given subject? Are they men of religion; sober, temperate, fearing God and working righteousness; having a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man? How many do you find of this kind among them? men that fear an oath; that fear perjury more than death; that would die rather than neglect any part of that duty which they have sworn to perform; that would sooner be torn in pieces, than suffer any man, under any pretence, to defraud His Majesty of his just right? How many of them will not be deterred from doing their duty either by fear or favour, regard no threatenings in the execution of their office, and accept no bribes, called presents? These only are wise and honest men. Set down all the rest as having neither religion nor sound reason.

“But surely tradesmen have.” Some of them have both; and in an eminent degree. Some of our traders are an honour to the nation. But are the bulk of them so? Are a vast majority of our tradesmen, whether in town or country, I will not say religious, but honest men? Who shall judge whether they are or no? Perhaps you think St. Paul is too strict. Let us appeal then to Cicero, an honest Heathen. Now, when he is laying down rules of honesty between man and man, he proposes two cases:—

1. Antisthenes brings a ship load of corn to Rhodes, at a time of great scarcity. The Rhodians flock about him to buy. He knows that five other ships laden with corn will be there to-morrow. Ought he to tell the Rhodians this, before he sells his own corn? “Undoubtedly he ought,” says the Heathen; “otherwise, he makes a gain of their ignorance, and so is no better than a thief or a robber.”

2. A Roman Nobleman comes to a Gentleman to buy his

house, who tells him, "There is another going to be built near it, which will darken the windows," and, on that account, makes a deduction in the price. Some years after, the Gentleman buys it of him again. Afterward he sues the Nobleman for selling it without telling him first that houses were built near, which darkened the windows. The Nobleman pleads, "I thought he knew it." The Judge asks, "Did you tell him or not?" and, on his owning he did not, determines, "This is contrary to the law, *Ne quid dolo malo fiat*, Let nothing be done fraudulently," and sentences him immediately to pay back part of the price.

Now, how many of our tradesmen come up to the heathen standard of honesty? Who is clear of *dolus malus*, such fraud as the Roman Judge would immediately have condemned? Which of our countrymen would not have sold his corn, or other wares, at the highest price he could? Who would have sunk his own market, by telling his customers there would be plenty the next day? Perhaps scarce one in twenty. That one the Heathen would have allowed to be an honest man; and every one of the rest, according to his sentence, is "no better than a thief or a robber."

I must acknowledge, I once believed the body of English merchants to be men of the strictest honesty and honour. But I have lately had more experience. Whoever wrongs the widow and fatherless, knows not what honour or honesty means. And how very few are there that would scruple this! I could relate many flagrant instances.

But let one suffice: A merchant dies in the full course of a very extensive business. Another agrees with his widow, that provided she will recommend him to her late husband's correspondents, he will allow her yearly such a proportion of the profits of the trade. She does so; and articles are drawn, which she lodges with an eminent man. This eminent man positively refuses to give them back to her; but gives them to the other merchant, and so leaves her entirely at his mercy. The consequence is, the other says, there is no profit at all; so he does not give her a groat. Now, where is the honesty or honour, either of him who made the agreement, or him who gave back the articles to him?

That there is honour, nay, and honesty, to be found in another body of men, among the gentlemen of the law, I firmly believe, whether Attorneys, Solicitors, or Counsellors. But are

they not thinly spread? Do the generality of Attorneys and Solicitors in Chancery love their neighbour as themselves, and do to others what (if the circumstances were changed) they would have others do to them? Do the generality of Counsellors walk by this rule, and by the rules of justice, mercy, and truth? Do they use their utmost endeavours, do they take all the care which the nature of the thing will allow, to be assured that a cause is just and good before they undertake to defend it? Do they never knowingly defend a bad cause, and so make themselves accomplices in wrong and oppression? Do they never deliver the poor into the hand of his oppressor, and see that such as are in necessity have not right? Are they not often the means of withholding bread from the hungry, and raiment from the naked, even when it is their own, when they have a clear right thereto, by the law both of God and man? Is not this effectually done in many cases by protracting the suit from year to year? I have known a friendly bill preferred in Chancery by the consent of all parties; the manager assuring them, a decree would be procured in two or three months. But although several years are now elapsed, they can see no land yet; nor do I know that we are a jot nearer the conclusion than we were the first day. Now, where is the honesty of this? Is it not picking of pockets, and no better? A Lawyer who does not finish his client's suit as soon as it can be done, I cannot allow to have more honesty (though he has more prudence) than if he robbed him on the highway.

“But whether Lawyers are or no, sure the Nobility and Gentry are all men of reason and religion.” If you think they are all men of religion, you think very differently from your Master, who made no exception of time or nation when he uttered that weighty sentence, “How difficultly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of heaven!” And when some who seem to have been of your judgment were greatly astonished at his saying, instead of retracting or softening, he adds, “Verily I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.” You think differently from St. Paul, who declares, in those remarkable words, verified in all ages, “Not many rich men, not many noble are called,” and obey the heavenly calling. So many snares surround them, that it is the greatest of all miracles, if any of

them have any religion at all. And if you think they are all men of sound reason, you do not judge by fact and experience. Much money does not imply much sense; neither does a good estate infer a good understanding. As a gay coat may cover a bad heart, so a fair peruke may adorn a weak head. Nay, a critical judge of human nature avers, that this is generally the case. He lays it down as a rule,

*Sensus communis in illâ
Fortunâ rarus :*

“Common sense is rarely found in men of fortune.” “A rich man,” says he, “has liberty to be a fool. His fortune will bear him out.” *Stultitiam patiuntur opes* : But, *Tibi parvula res est* : “You have little money, and therefore should have common sense.”

I would not willingly say any thing concerning those whom the providence of God has allotted for guides to others. There are many thousands of these in the Established Church; many among Dissenters of all denominations. We may add, some thousands of Romish Priests, scattered through England, and swarming in Ireland. Of these, therefore, I would only ask, “Are they all moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon them that office and ministry?” If not, they do not “enter by the door into the sheep-fold;” they are not sent of God. Is their “eye single?” Is it their sole intention, in all their ministrations, to glorify God, and to save souls? Otherwise, “the light which is in them is darkness.” And if it be, “how great is that darkness!” Is their “heart right with God?” Are their “affections set on things above, not on things of the earth?” Else, how will they themselves go one step in the way wherein they are to guide others? Once more: “Are they holy in all manner of conversation, as He who hath called them is holy?” If not, with what face can they say to the flock, “Be ye followers of me, as I am of Christ?”

12. We have now taken a cursory view of the present state of mankind in all parts of the habitable world, and seen, in a general way, what is their real condition, both with regard to knowledge and virtue. But because this is not so pleasing a picture as human pride is accustomed to draw; and because those who are prepossessed with high notions of their own beauty, will not easily believe that it is taken from the life; I shall endeavour to place it in another view, that it may be cer-

tainly known whether it resembles the original. I shall desire every one who is willing to know mankind, to begin his inquiry at home. First, let him survey himself; and then go on, step by step, among his neighbours.

I ask, then, First, Are you thoroughly pleased with yourself? Say you, Who is not? Nay, I say, Who is? Do you observe nothing in yourself which you dislike, which you cannot cordially approve of? Do you never think too well of yourself? think yourself wiser, better, and stronger than you appear to be upon the proof? Is not this pride? And do you approve of pride? Was you never angry without a cause, or farther than that cause required? Are you not apt to be so? Do you approve of this? Do not you frequently resolve against it, and do not you break those resolutions again and again? Can you help breaking them? If so, why do you not? Are not you prone to "unreasonable desires," either of pleasure, praise, or money? Do not you catch yourself desiring things not worth a desire, and other things more than they deserve? Are all your desires proportioned to the real intrinsic value of things? Do you not know and feel the contrary? Are not you continually liable to "foolish and hurtful desires?" And do not you frequently relapse into them, knowing them to be such; knowing that they have before "pierced you through with many sorrows?" Have you not often resolved against these desires, and as often broke your resolutions? Can you help breaking them? Do so; help it, if you can; and if not, own your helplessness.

Are you thoroughly pleased with your own life? *Nihilne vides quod nolis?* "Do you observe nothing there which you dislike?" I presume you are not too severe a judge here; nevertheless, I ask, Are you quite satisfied, from day to day, with all you say or do? Do you *say* nothing which you afterwards wish you had not said? *do* nothing which you wish you had not done? Do you never speak anything contrary to truth or love? Is that right? Let your own conscience determine. Do you never do anything contrary to justice or mercy? Is that well done? You know it is not. Why, then, do you not amend? *Moves, sed nil promovet.* You resolve, and resolve, and do just as you did before.

Your *wife*, however, is wiser and better than you. Nay, perhaps you do not think so. Possibly you said once,—

“Thou hast no faults, or I no faults can spy;
Thou art all beauty, or all blindness I.”

But you do not say so now : She is not without faults ; and you can see them plain enough. You see more faults than you desire, both in her temper and behaviour : And yet you cannot mend them ; and she either cannot or will not. And she says the very same of you. Do your parents or hers live with you ? And do they, too, exercise your patience ? Is there nothing in their temper or behaviour that gives you pain ? nothing which you wish to have altered ? Are you a parent yourself ? Parents in general are not apt to think too meanly of their own dear offspring. And, probably, at some times you admire yours more than enough ; you think there are none such. But do you think so upon cool reflection ? Is the behaviour of all your children, of most, of any of them, just such as you would desire, toward yourself, toward each other, and toward all men ? Are their tempers just such as you would wish ; loving, modest, mild, and teachable ? Do you observe no self will, no passion, no stubbornness, no ill-nature or surliness among them ? Did you not observe more or less of these in every one of them, before they were two years old ? And have not those seeds ever since grown up with them, till they have brought forth a plentiful harvest ?

Your servants, or apprentices, are probably older than your children. And are they wiser and better ? Of all those who have succeeded each other for twenty years, how many were good servants ? How many of them did their work “unto the Lord, not as pleasing man, but God ?” How many did the same work, and in as exact a manner, behind your back as before your face ? They that did not were knaves ; they had no religion ; they had no morality. Which of them studied your interest in all things, just as if it had been his own ? I am afraid, as long as you have lived in the world you have seen few of these black swans yet.

Have you had better success with the journeymen and labourers whom you occasionally employ ? Will they do the same work if you are at a distance, which they do while you are standing by ? Can you depend upon their using you, as they would you should use them ? And will they do this, not so much for gain, as for conscience' sake ? Can you trust them as to the price of their labour ? Will they never charge more than it is

fairly worth? If you have found a set of such workmen, pray do not conceal so valuable a treasure; but immediately advertise the men, and their places of abode, for the common benefit of your countrymen.

Happy you who have such as these about your house! And are your neighbours as honest and loving as they? They who live either in the same, or in the next house; do these love you as themselves? and do to you, in every point, as they would have you do to them? Are they guilty of no untrue or unkind sayings, no unfriendly actions towards you? And are they, (as far as you see or know,) in all other respects, reasonable and religious men? How many of your neighbours answer this character? Would it require a large house to contain them?

But you have intercourse, not with the next neighbours only, but with several tradesmen. And all very honest; are they not? You may easily make a trial. Send a child, or a countryman, to one of their shops. If the shopkeeper is an honest man, he will take no advantage of the buyer's ignorance. If he does, he is no honestest than a thief. And how many tradesmen do you know who would scruple it?

Go a little farther. Send to the market for what you want. "What is the lowest price of this?" "Five shillings, Sir." "Can you take no less?" "No, upon my word. It is worth it, every penny." An hour after he sells it for a shilling less. And it is really worth no more. Yet is not this the course (a few persons excepted) in every market throughout the kingdom? Is it not generally, though not always, "Cheat that cheat can: Sell as dear as you can, and buy as cheap?" And what are they who steer by this rule better than a company of *Newgate-birds*? Shake them all together; for there is not a grain of honesty among them.

But are not your own tenants, at least, or your landlord, honest men? You are persuaded they are. Very good: Remember, then, an honest man's word is as good as his bond. You are preparing a receipt, or writing, for a sum of money, which you are going to pay or lend to this honest man. *Writing!* What need of that? You do not fear he should die soon. You did not once think of it. But you do not care to trust him without it; that is, you are not sure but he is a mere knave. What, your landlord, who is a Justice of Peace; it may be, a Judge; nay, a Member of Parliament; possibly

a Peer of the realm! And cannot you trust this Honourable, if not Right Honourable, man, without a paltry receipt? I do not ask whether he is a whoremonger, an adulterer, a blasphemer, a proud, a passionate, a revengeful man: This, it may be, his nearest friends will allow; but do you suspect his honesty too?

13. Such is the state of the Protestant Christians in England. Such their virtue, from the least to the greatest; if you take an impartial survey of your parents, children, servants, labourers, neighbours; of tradesmen, Gentry, Nobility. What then can we expect from Papists? what from Jews, Mahometans, Heathens?

And it may be remarked, that this is the plain, glaring, apparent condition of human kind. It strikes the eye of the most careless, inaccurate observer, who does not trouble himself with any more than their outside. Now, it is certain the generality of men do not wear their worst side outward. Rather, they study to appear better than they are, and to conceal what they can of their faults. What a figure, then, would they make were we able to touch them with Ithuriel's spear! What a prospect would there be, could we anticipate the transactions of the great day! could we "bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and make manifest the thoughts and intents of the heart!"

This is the plain, naked fact, without any extenuation on the one hand, or exaggeration on the other. The present state of the moral world is as conspicuous as that of the natural. Ovid said no more concerning both, near two thousand years since, than is evidently true at this day. Of the natural world he says, (whether this took place at the fall of man, or about the time of the deluge,)

*Jupiter antiqui contraxit tempora veris,
Perque hyemes, astusque, et inaequales autumnos,
Et breve ver, spatiis exegit quatuor annum.*

"The God of nature, and her sovereign King,
Shorten'd the primitive perennial spring:
The spring gave place, no sooner come than past,
To summer's heat, and winter's chilling blast,
And autumn sick, irregular, and uneven:
While the sad year, through different seasons driven,
Obey'd the stern decree of angry Heaven."

And a man may as modestly deny, that spring and summer,

autumn and winter, succeed each other, as deny one article of the ensuing account of the moral world :—

*Irrupit venæ peioris in ævum
Omne nefas : Fugere pudor, verumque, fidesque ;
In quorum subiere locum, fraudesque, dolique,
Insidiæque, et vis, et amor sceleratus habendi.*

“ A flood of general wickedness broke in
At once, and made the iron age begin :
Virtue and truth forsook the faithless race,
And fraud and wrong succeeded in their place ;
Deceit and violence, the dire thirst of gold,
Lust to possess, and rage to have and hold.”

What country is there now upon earth, in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, be the inhabitants Pagans, Turks, or Christians, concerning which we may not say ?—

*Vivitur ex raptò : Non hospes ab hospite tutus :
Filius ante diem patrios inquit in annos ;
Victa jacet pietas ; et Virgo cæde madentes
Ultima cælestium terras Astræa reliquit.*

They live by rapine. The unwary guest
Is poison'd at the' inhospitable feast.
The son, impatient for his father's death,
Numbers his years, and longs to stop his breath :
Extinguish'd all regard for God and man ;
And Justice, last of the celestial train,
Spurns the earth drench'd in blood, and flies to heaven again.”

14. Universal misery is at once a consequence and a proof of this universal corruption. Men are unhappy, (how very few are the exceptions !) because they are unholy. *Culpam pœna premit comes* : “ Pain accompanies and follows sin.” Why is the earth so full of complicated distress ? Because it is full of complicated wickedness. Why are not you happy ? Other circumstances may concur, but the main reason is, because you are not holy. It is impossible, in the nature of things, that wickedness can consist with happiness. A Roman Heathen tells the English Heathens, *Nemo malus felix* : “ No vicious man is happy.” And if you are not guilty of any gross outward vice, yet you have vicious tempers ; and as long as these have power in your heart, true peace has no place. You are proud ; you think too highly of yourself. You are passionate ; often angry without reason. You are self-willed ; you would have your own will, your own way, in everything ; that is, plainly, you would rule

over God and man ; you would be the governor of the world. You are daily liable to unreasonable desires : Some things you desire that are no way desirable ; others which ought to be avoided, yea, abhorred, as least as they are now circumstanced. And can a proud or a passionate man be happy ? O no ! experience shows it is impossible. Can a man be happy who is full of self-will ? Not unless he can dethrone the Most High. Can a man of unreasonable desires be happy ? Nay, they " pierce " him " through with many sorrows."

I have not touched upon envy, malice, revenge, covetousness, and other gross vices. Concerning these it is universally agreed, by all thinking men, Christian or Heathen, that a man can no more be happy while they lodge in his bosom, than if a vulture was gnawing his liver. It is supposed, indeed, that a very small part of mankind, only the vilest of men, are liable to these. I know not that ; but certainly this is not the case with regard to pride, anger, self-will, foolish desires. Those who are not accounted bad men are by no means free from these. And this alone (were they liable to no other pain) would prevent the generality of men, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, from ever knowing what happiness means.

15. You think, however, you could bear yourself pretty well ; but you have such a husband or wife, such parents and children, as are intolerable ! One has such a tongue, the other so perverse a temper ! The language of these, the carriage of those, is so provoking ; otherwise you should be happy enough. True ; if both you and they were wise and virtuous. Meanwhile, neither the vices of your family, nor your own, will suffer you to rest.

Look out of your own doors : " Is there any evil in the city, and " sin " hath not done it ? " Is there any misfortune or misery to be named, whereof it is not either the direct or remote occasion ? Why is it that the friend or relation for whom you are so tenderly concerned is involved in so many troubles ? Have not you done your part toward making them happy ? Yes, but they will not do their own : One has no management, no frugality, or no industry ; another is too fond of pleasure. If he is not what is called scandalously vicious, he loves wine, women, or gaming. And to what does all this amount ? He might be happy ; but sin will not suffer it.

Perhaps you will say, " Nay, he is not in fault ; he is both

frugal and diligent ; but he has fallen into the hands of those who have imposed upon his good-nature." Very well ; but still sin is the cause of his misfortunes ; only it is another's, not his own.

If you inquire into the troubles under which your neighbour, your acquaintance, or one you casually talk with, labours, still you will find the far greater part of them arise from some fault, either of the sufferer or of others ; so that still sin is at the root of trouble, and it is unholiness which causes unhappiness.

And this holds as well with regard to families, as with regard to individuals. Many families are miserable through want. They have not the conveniences, if the necessaries, of life. Why have they not ? Because they will not work : Were they diligent, they would want nothing. Or, if not idle, they are wasteful ; they squander away, in a short time, what might have served for many years. Others, indeed, are diligent and frugal too ; but a treacherous friend, or a malicious enemy, has ruined them ; or they groan under the hand of the oppressor ; or the extortioner has entered into their labours. You see, then, in all these cases, want (though in various ways) is the effect of sin. But is there no rich man near ? none that could relieve these innocent sufferers, without impairing his own fortune ? Yes ; but he thinks of nothing less. They may rot and perish for him. See, more sin is implied in their suffering.

But is not the family of that rich man himself happy ? No ; far from it ; perhaps farther than his poor neighbours. For they are not content ; their " eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor " their " ear with hearing." Endeavouring to fill their souls with the pleasures of sense and imagination, they are only pouring water into a sieve. Is not this the case with the wealthiest families you know ? But it is not the whole case with some of them. There is a debauched, a jealous, or an ill-natured husband ; a gaming, passionate, or imperious wife ; an undutiful son ; or an imprudent daughter,—who banishes happiness from the house. And what is all this but sin in various shapes ; with its sure attendant, misery ?

In a town, a corporation, a city, a kingdom, is it not the same thing still ? From whence comes that complication of all the miseries incident to human nature,—war ? Is it not from the tempers " which war in the soul ? " When nation rises up against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, does

it not necessarily imply pride, ambition, coveting what is another's; or envy, or malice, or revenge, on one side, if not on both? Still, then, sin is the baleful source of affliction; and consequently, the flood of miseries which covers the face of the earth,—which overwhelms not only single persons, but whole families, towns, cities, kingdoms,—is a demonstrative proof of the overflowing of ungodliness in every nation under heaven

PART II.

THE SCRIPTURAL METHOD OF ACCOUNTING FOR THIS DEFENDED.

I. 1. THE fact then being undeniable, I would ask, How is it to be accounted for? Will you resolve it into the prevalence of custom, and say, “Men are guided more by example than reason?” It is true: They run after one another like a flock of sheep, (as Seneca remarked long ago,) *non qua eundum est, sed qua itur*: “Not where they ought to go, but where others go.” But I gain no ground by this; I am equally at a loss to account for this custom. How is it (seeing men are reasonable creatures, and nothing is so agreeable to reason as virtue) that the custom of all ages and nations is not on the side of virtue rather than vice? If you say, “This is owing to bad education, which propagates ill customs;” I own, education has an amazing force, far beyond what is commonly imagined. I own, too, that as bad education is found among Christians as ever obtained among the Heathens. But I am no nearer still; I am not advanced a hair's breadth toward the conclusion. For how am I to account for the almost universal prevalence of this bad education? I want to know when this prevailed first; and how it came to prevail. How came wise and good men (for such they must have been before bad education commenced) not to train up their children in wisdom and goodness; in the way wherein they had been brought up themselves? They had then no ill precedent before them: How came they to make such a precedent? And how came all the wisdom of after-ages never to correct that precedent? You must suppose it to have been of ancient date. Profane history gives us a large account