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VOLTAIRE'S

LETTERS ON THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

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Inscribed Monthly, Subs'p'ion, $3.00.

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Voltaire's Letters

On the Eminent Writers Who Have Been Accused of Attacking the Christian Religion

Addressed to

His Highness, the Prince of *****

Credidi propter quod locutos sum, "I believed it because I have said it," is the motto of mankind. They repeat an absurdity, and by dint of repeating it, come to be persuaded of it.—Voltaire.

Peter Eckler, Publisher,
35 Fulton Street,
New York.
Bartholomeo Legate’s Heresy Trial before the Consistory Court.
PUBLISHER'S NOTICE.

THESE Letters, by M. de Voltaire, give a condensed and critical synopsis of the arguments advanced by the most eminent writers who had, previous to his time, been accused of attacking the Christian Religion.

Among the most talented of these writers, he mentions Monsieur Freret, who taught "the Adoration of one only God, without the Mediation of Jesus Christ," and whose judicial and appalling arraignment of Christianity, (from pages 62 and 63,) is as follows:

"If God" says Freret, "had deigned to make himself a man and a Jew, and to die in Palestine by an infamous punishment, to expiate the crimes of mankind and to banish sin from the earth, there ought, no longer to have been any sin or crime on the face of it; whereas," he continues, "the Christians have been more abominable monsters than all the sectaries of the other religions put together."

Freret brings, for an evident proof of this, "the massacres, the wheels, the gibbets, and the burnings at the stake, in Cevennes, and near a hundred thousand human creatures that perished under our eyes in that Province;—the massacres in the valleys of Piedmont;—the massacres of the Valteline, in the time of Charles Borromeo;—the massacres of the Anabaptists, massacred and massacrers;—the massacres of the Lutherans and Papists, from the Rhine to the extremities of the North;—the massacres in Ireland, England and Scotland, in the time of Charles I., who was himself massacred;—the massacres ordered by Mary, and by her father Henry VIII; the massacres on St. Bartholomew's, in France, and forty years more of other massacres between Francis II. and the entry
of Henry IV. into Paris;—the massacres by the Inquisition;—massacres, perhaps, yet more execrable, as being judicially committed;—in short, the massacre of twelve millions of the inhabitants of the new world, executed crucifix in hand;—and this without reckoning all the massacres previously committed in the name of Jesus Christ,—without reckoning above twenty schisms, and twenty wars of Popes against Popes, and Bishops against Bishops;—without reckoning the poisons, the assassinations, the rapines of the Popes, John XI, John XII, John XVIII, John XXII, of a Gregory VIII, of a Boniface VIII, of an Alexander VI, and of so many other Popes who exceeded in wickedness a Nero or a Caligula."

Freret also claims "that this horrid and almost uninterrupted chain of religious wars, for fourteen centuries, never subsisted but among Christians,—and that no people, but themselves, ever spilt a drop of human blood for theological disputes."

"We are obliged to grant to Freret," says Voltaire, "that all this is true; but, without claiming to comprehend these mysteries, let us rest content with adoring them."
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FRANÇOIS RABELAIS.
LETTER I.

ON RABELAIS.

SINCE your Highness has a mind to know Rabelais to the bottom, I shall begin by telling you, that his life, such as it stands prefixed to his Gargantua, is as false and as absurd as the history of Gargantua himself. You will find there that the Cardinal having first kissed the Pope’s foot, and then his mouth, Rabelias was willing to exceed this obsequious greeting, but said that “the Holy father should wash himself first.”

There are some things which a respect of place, of decency, and of the person, render impossible. This silly story could never have been invented but by the lowest dregs of the people in some low drinking resort.

His supposed petition to the Pope is of the same kind. It is pretended that he requested the Pope to excommunicate him, that he might not be burned; because, as he said, his landlady having wanted to burn a fagot, without being able to set it on fire, had cried out, that the fagot must certainly have been excommunicated by the Pope’s own word of mouth.

The adventure fathered upon him, at Lyons, is as false and as little probable. It is pretended that not having wherewithal to pay his way at an Inn, nor to defray his expenses to Paris, he got his landlady’s son to write directions on little packages, *Poison for the King; poison for the Queen, etc.*

This stratagem, it is said, he employed, in order to be conveyed and maintained free of cost on the road till he got to Paris, and to make the King laugh.

It is added, that this was at the very time that the King and all France were bewailing the Dauphin Francis, in 1536, who
was believed to have been poisoned, and that Montecuccu.

had been quartered on suspicion of giving him the poison.
The authors of this improbable story never stopped to consider
that, on so terrible a demi-proof, Rabelais would have been
thrown into a dungeon,—that he would have been put to the
torture ordinary and extraordinary, and that, in such mournful
circumstances and under so heavy an accusation, a bad jest
would not have much served him for his justification.

The lives of almost all men of note or celebrity have been
disfigured with stories that do not deserve more belief.

Rabelais’ book, it is true, is a heap of the most impertinent
and the most gross filth that a drunken monk could originate;
and yet it must be owned that it is a very curious satire of the
Pope, of the Church, and of all the events of his time. He
chose too, for his greater security, to write under the mask of
Folly. This he gives you clearly enough to understand, in
his prefatory address.

"Put the case," says he, "that in the literal sense you find
matters laughable enough, and suitable to the name; do not
you therefore stick at that, and be taken, as with the song of
the Sirens; but rather interpret in a higher sense, what you
might peradventure imagine was only written in gaiety of heart.

"Did you ever see a dog light on a marrow-bone? Now a
dog, as Plato says, book the second of his Commonwealth, is
of all animals the most philosophical. If then you have seen
a dog so circumstanced, you may have observed with what
devotion he eyes it, with what eagerness he seizes it, with what
fervor he keeps his hold of it, with what sagacity he strikes
his teeth into it, with what greediness he cracks it, with what
diligence he sucks it? And what induces him to all this?
—what is the hope of his research?—what does he aim at?
Nothing, but a small matter of marrow."*

* "Posez le cas, dit il, qu’au sens litteral vous trouvez matiercs assez
joyeuses and bien correspondantes au nom, toutefois pas demeurer
là ne faut, comme au chant des Sirenes, ains a plus haut sens inter-
preter ce que par avauture cuidiez dit en gaiete de cœur. Veites
vous oncques chien, rencontrant quelque os medullaire? c’est com-
medit Platon Lib. 2. de Rep. la bete du monde plus philosophe, si
vous l’avez vu, vous avez pu noter de quelle devotion il le guette, de
But what is the consequence? Very few readers resembled the dog who sucked the marrow. The most only stuck to the bone, that is to say, to the absurd buffooneries, to the wretched obscenities with which the book is replete. If unhappily for Rabelais the sense of the book had been too deeply penetrated into, if it had been seriously judged, there is all the reason in the world to believe that it would have cost him his life, as it did all those who, in those times, wrote against the Romish Church.

It is plain that Gargantua is Francis the first; Louis the XII. Grandgousier, though not the father of Francis, and Henry II. is Pantagruel. The education of Gargantua is a satire on the education given at that time to Princes. The white and blue colors evidently denote the livery of the kings of France.

The war about a parcel of cakes is the war between Charles V. and Francis I. which began with a quarrel about a trifle between the House of Bouillon la Marche, and that of Chimay. And this is so true, that Rabelais gives the name of Marquet to the carrier of the cakes who began the broil.

The Monks of those times are very naturally painted under the name of Friar John Funnel, nor is it possible to mistake Charles the fifth in the character of Picrocole.

As to the church he does not spare it. From the very first book, chapter xxxix, he thus expresses himself.

"How gracious is our God, to give us such good liquor! I vow that if I had lived in the days of the Saviour, I would have taken special care that the Jews should not have caught him in the garden of Olivet. May the Devil take me too, if I had not hamstrung those gentlemen, the Apostles, who ran away so cowardly after they had a good supper, and thus left their good master in the lurch, at his greatest need. I hate worse than poison a man that runs away when fighting is going forward. 'Sdeath! Why am not I King of France for four-score or a hundred years! By the Lord! I would serve the runaways at Pavia as dogs are when their tails are cut.'"
There is no mistaking the genealogy of Gargantua. It is a most scandalous parody of a most respectable genealogy.

"From those," says he, "are come the Giants, and through them Pantagruel. The first was Calbrot, who begot Sarabroth, who begot Faribroth,

"Who begot Hurtaly, him who was a great eater of soup, and reigned in the time of the deluge.

"Who begot Happemouche, (Fly catcher) who first invented the art of smoke-drying tongues.

"Who begot Foutasnon,

"Who begot Vit-de-grain,

"Who begot Grandgousier,

"Who begot the noble Gargantua,

"Who begot the noble Pantagruel my 'master.'"

Never were all the books of Divinity more made a jest of than in the catalogue of books, which Pantagruel found in the Library of St. Victor, viz. Biga Salutis, Braguetta Juris, Pantouffla Decretum; the Decree of the University of Paris concerning girls; the Apparition of Gertrude to a nun; the Mustard-pot of Repentance; The Invention of the Holy Cross by the Clerks of Cunning; The Prelates' Bagpipe; The lucrative Tariff of Indulgences; The Trinkets of the Celestines; The Divines' Rat-trap; The Joys of a Monk's Life; The Pin-money of Devotion; The Monkey's Pater-noster, &c.

When Panurge asks counsel of Friar John Funnel, to know whether, if he marries, he would be deceived, Friar John recites his Litanies: not indeed the Litanies of the Virgin, but the gross Litanies of his own invention.

This bold profanation would not have been pardonable in a layman; but in a Priest,—but in a Priest!

After this, Panurge goes to consult Hippotadeues, a profound Doctor of Divinity, who tells him he will be deceived, if it should please the Lord.

Pantagruel visits the island of the Lanternmen. These Lanternmen are those Scholastic disputants in Divinity, who, under the reign of Henry the second, began those execrable dissensions, from whence the civil wars arose.
The Island of Tohu-bohu, that is to say, of confusion, is England, which changed its religion four times, since Henry the VIII.

By the Island of Papefiguirié it is clear enough that the Heretics are meant; as by the Papimanians, those mad enough to give to the Pope the title of God.

Panurge was asked if he had been happy enough to see the Pope. He answers that he had seen three, and was but little the better for it.

The law of Moses is compared to that of Cybele, of Diana, of Numa; the Decretals are called Decrottoires.

Laughing at the low masses, which are called dry masses, Panurge says he prefers a wet one, provided it to be with good wine. Confession is turned into ridicule.

The Gastrolacs, that is to say, the possessed, or Demoniacs, come in the way. Gaster invents the means of never being hurt with a cannon-ball. This is intended to ridicule all miracles.

Before they fall in with the island where there is the oracle of the Divine Bottle, they come to the Ringing Island, where they find Cagots,* Clergots, Monk-gots, Priest-gots, Cardingots, and at length the Popegot, who is the only one of his kind.

The Cagots had sadly degraded the whole Island,—the Capuchingots were the most disagreeable and offensive beasts on it.

The fable of the Ass and Horse—the prohibition made at one time, and the liberty allowed at another,—are intelligible enough emblems of the celibacy of the Priests, and of the debaucheries laid to their charge.

The travellers have admission to the Pope. Panurge was inclined to throw a stone at a bishop, who was snoring at High mass. Master Aedituus, (that is to say, Master Sexton,) hinders him, saying,

"Honest friend, strike, stab, murder, all the kings and princes of the earth, by treason, by poison, any way you will, dislodge the angels from Heaven, you may get a pardon for all"

* Hypocrites.
from the Popegot: but take care you do not touch these sacred birds."

From the Ringing Island they go to the Kingdom of Quintessence, Entelechia; by which is meant the Soul. This personage, of whom ever since the existence of man so much is said, and so little known, is not less turned into ridicule than the Pope: but the doubts on the existence of the soul are much more wrapped up than the railleries on the Court of Rome.

The orders of begging Friars inhabit the Island of Brother-Drones. Their first appearance is in procession. One of them answers in nothing but monosyllables to the questions which Panurge puts to him.

At length they arrive at the Oracle of the Divine Bottle. The custom of the Church in those days, was to present to the Laymen, when they took the sacrament, water to make the wafer go down; and in Germany this is still in use. The Reformers insisted absolutely on wine for the figurative representation of the blood of Christ.

The Church of Rome maintained that the blood was in the bread, as well as the bones and flesh. The Catholic priests, however, drank wine with the same bread, though they would not allow it to the Laity to drink.

There was in the island of the Oracle of the Divine Bottle, a fine fountain of clear water. The High Priest Bacbuc gives the Pilgrims some to drink, with these words:

"In times of yore there was a certain Jew Captain, learned and valiant, who, while leading his people through the deserts, did, in a time of extreme famine, obtain manna from heaven, which manna had to them, in virtue of their imagination, the very taste of whatever meat or viands they chose it should have. Now here, in like manner, on your drinking this wonderful water, you will taste wine of whatever flavor you shall fancy it. Therefore, Imagine and Drink! And so we did: upon which Panurge cried out,—'the most delicious wine that in my life I ever drank, or may ninety and sixteen devils take me!'"
Rabelais dissecting society and writing his book.
The famous Irish author, Dean Swift, has copied this stroke in his *Tale of a Tub*, as well as he did many others. Lord Peter gives to his brothers Martin and John, a piece of dry bread for their dinner, and wants to make them believe that this bread contains good beef, partridges and capons, with excellent Burgundy.

Your Highness will please to remark, that Rabelais dedicated that part of his book, which contains this severe satire on the Church of Rome, to the Cardinal Odet de Chatillon, who had not as yet taken off the mask, and declared himself a protestant.

This book was printed with an Imprimatur license; and this license was granted *in favor of the obscenities in it*, which in those days were more valued than the Popegots and the Cardingots.

Nor was this book ever prohibited in France; because everything in it is concealed under a cloak of extravagances which did not leave the leisure to penetrate the true aim of the author.

Would you think it, that this buffoon, who thus laughed aloud at the Old and New Testament, was a Curate?

How did he die?

With these words in his mouth, *I am going in quest of a great Maybe.*

Le Duchat has loaded with notes the works of Rabelais, and, according to the laudable custom of Commentators, he hardly explains anything of what the reader would wish to understand; but takes special care to inform him of whatever signifies nothing for him to know.
YOU ask me if any author before Rabelais had written in his style? My answer is, that probably his model was that collection of Letters of obscure personages, which was published in Germany in the beginning of the sixteenth century. This collection is in Latin, but it is written as naturally, and with as much boldness as Rabelais. The following is a translation from a passage in the twenty-eighth letter:

"There is an agreement or concordance," says this writer, "between the sacred writings and the poetical fables, as you may observe of the serpent Python, killed by Apollo, and The Dragon you have formed to laugh at, spoken of by the Psalmist. Saturn, the old father of the gods who eats his children, is in Ezekiel, who says, Your fathers shall eat their children. Diana going about with her numerous train of virgins, is the blessed Virgin Mary, according to the Psalmist, who says, Virgins shall walk with her. Calisto admired by Jupiter, and returning to heaven, is in Matthew, chapter xii. I will return into my house from whence I came out. Aglaura transformed into a stone may be found in Job, chap. xli. His heart is as firm as a stone. Europa, loved by Jupiter, is in Solomon, Hearken to me daughter, incline thine ear, for the King hath coveted thee. Ezekiel has prophesied of the nudity of Diana. Thou wast born naked. I passed that way and saw thee. The poets have written that Bacchus was born twice, which signifies that Christ was born before all time, and in time. Semele who nursed..."
Bacchus, is the prototype of the blessed Virgin; for it is written in Exodus, *Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee wages."

These impieties are more apparent than in Rabelais.

It is worthy of note that in Germany, in these early days, they began to laugh at witchcraft. You find in a letter from Acacius Lampirius a pretty strong raillery on the conjuration used for compelling by magic the love of girls.

The secret consisted in taking the hair of the girl, and putting it around the man's neck. He was then to make a general confession, and to have three masses said. A consecrated taper was lighted at the last gospel, and the following formula pronounced:

*O Taper! I conjure thee by the virtue of the Creative Power, by the nine choirs of Angels, by the joyous and sublime Influence, bring me that girl in flesh and bone, that I may enjoy the happiness of her presence.*

The Macaronic Latin, in which these letters are written, carry a ridicule with them which it is impossible to preserve in a translation. There is especially a letter of Peter Charity, Messenger of the Grammar to Ortuinus, of which there is no possibility of translating the Latin ambiguities. The subject of the letter is to ascertain whether the Pope can naturally legitimize a child born out of wedlock.

There is another letter from John of Schwinfordt, Master of Arts, in which it is maintained that Jesus Christ was a Monk,* St. Peter Prior of a Convent, Judas Iscariot a Steward of it, and the Apostle Philip a Porter.

John Schelontzigue relates, in the letter which goes under his name, that he had at Florence met with James Hochstraat, High street, and some time Inquisitor.

"I made my bow to him," says he, "and taking off my hat, said, Father are you the Reverend Father, or not the Reverend Father?"

He answered me, "I am that I am."

I then said to him, "You are Master James of the High

*See Taylor's Diegesis.—Pub.
street; but in the name of the sacred chariot of Elias, how came you on foot? It is a scandal. *He that is ought not to walk on foot in the dirt and mire."

He answered me, "*Others are come in Chariots and on horses, but we come in the name of the Lord.*"

I told him, "By the Lord it rains hard, and it is very cold."

He lifted his hands to heaven, saying, "*Dew of Heaven, fall from on high, and let the celestial clouds rain (on) the just.*"

It must be owned that this is precisely the style of Rabelais, and I make no doubt of his having under his eyes the *Letters of Obscure Personages*, when he wrote his Gargantua and his Pantagruel.

The same satires and the same scandals are thickly sown in these two extraordinary books.
ITALY, as early as the fourteenth century, had produced more than one example of this licentiousness. Look only in Baccace, for the confession of Ser Ciappelletto at the point of death.

His confessor, interrogating him, desires to know whether he ever fell into the sin of pride.

"Ah, my good Father," says the rascal, "I am sadly afraid of being damned for a small emotion of vanity in myself, upon reflecting that I have remained chaste my whole life long."

"Was you very gluttonous?"

"Alas! yes, good father, for besides the appointed fast days, I have always lived on bread and water for three days in the week; but then I sometimes ate my bread with so much greediness and sensuality, that my gluttony has, doubtless, offended God."

"As to avarice, my son, how did you stand?"

"Alas! my good father, I am but too guilty of the sin of avarice, in my having sometimes traded a little that I might give my profits to the poor."

"Was you ever overtaken with choler?"

"Oh! so much, that when I saw the divine service neglected, and sinners did not observe the commandments of the Lord, bless me! what a passion I used to be in!"

Ser Ciappelletto goes on to accuse himself of having had his room swept one Sunday. The Confessor comforts him, and assures him that God will forgive him. The penitent melts into tears, and says he is sure that God will never forgive him.
—that he remembers, when he was but two years of age, that he had been disobedient to his mother—which was an irremissible crime.

"My poor mother," said he, "who bore me nine months in her womb, and who, when I was little, carried me in her arms. No! God will never forgive me for having been such a naughty child!"

In short, this confession having been published, Ciapelleto was sainted, and he was one of the greatest rogues of his time.

It is indeed very strange, that almost all the Italian writers of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, had very little respect for that religion of which their country is the centre.

The more they saw from so near the august ceremonies of this worship, and the High Priests of it, the more they abandoned themselves to a licentiousness which the Court of Rome seemed to authorize by its example.

Who does not know the liberties taken by Machiavel, Ariosto, Aretine, the Archbishop of Benevento, John Della Casa, Pomponatius, Cardan, and many other men of letters?

The Popes took no notice of them, and, provided they had customers for their indulgences, and the government was spared, they might say anything.

The Italians in this resembled the ancient Romans, who, with impunity, laughed at their Gods, but who never disturbed the established worship.

Giordano Bruno indeed was an exception. He had braved the Inquisitor at Venice; and having made an implacable enemy of a man so powerful and so dangerous, he was prosecuted for his book Della Bestia Trionfante, and burned,—a punishment invented among Christians against heretics.*

Bruno admitted of no law but the Patriarchal law—the law of Nature.

*Giordano Bruno was born in 1548 at Nola, an ancient city near Naples, in Italy. After suffering an imprisonment for seven years in a dungeon, in the vain attempt to obtain from him a recantation of his philosophical views, he was burned alive, February 17, 1600, at the Campo di Flora, in Rome, where a grand and imposing Monument has at length been erected to his memory, by the friends of universal mental liberty throughout the world.—Philadelphia.
The book was composed and written in London, at the house of Sir Philip Sidney, who was one of the greatest men in England, and a favorite of Queen Elizabeth.

Among the incredulous, there are commonly ranked all the 14th, 15th, and 16th century Princes and Politicians of Italy.

It is pretended that if Sixtus the IVth had had any religion, he would not have dipped into the conspiracy of the Pazzi, for which they hung the Archbishop of Florence, in his pontifical robes, out of one of the windows of the Town-hall.

The assassins, who executed their parricide in the very moment that the Priest was holding up the consecrated wafer to the people, could not, it was justly observed, have believed in the Gospel.

It appears impossible that there should have been even the least instinct of religion in the heart of Alexander the VIth, who caused all the Princes, whom he was stripping of their countries, to perish by the stiletto, by the rope, or by poison, and who granted to them indulgences, in articulo mortis, that is to say, in the moment of their last sighs.

There is no end of these horrid examples. Alas! my Prince, what do they prove? That the curb of a pure religion, disengaged and cleared from all the superstition which dishonors and renders it incredible, was absolutely necessary to those great criminals. If religion had been more purified, there would have been less incredulity and fewer crimes.

Whoever firmly believes in God, a recompenser of virtue and an avenger of guilt, will hesitate on the point of assassinating the innocent,—the dagger will drop out of his hands.

But the Italians, knowing nothing of Christianity but from the ridiculous legends, the follies and frauds of the monks, imagined there was no religion, because their religion, so dishonored, appeared to them absurd.

From Savanarola's being a false Prophet, they inferred that there was no God—which is but a bad argument.

The execrable politics of those times made them commit a thousand crimes, and their not less horrid philosophy stifled their remorse. They wished to annihilate the God that was to punish them.
LETTER III.

ON VANINI.

In answer to your questions, as to the history of Vanini, I cannot do better than transcribe here what is said of him in the sixth edition of a little work composed by a society of men of letters, and without reason attributed to a man of note.

"Let us pass over the whole space of time between the Roman republic and ourselves. The Romans, much wiser than the Greeks, never persecuted any philosopher for his opinions. It was not so with the barbarian nations who succeeded to the Roman Empire. From the time that the Emperor Frederic II. had quarrels with the Pope, he was accused of being an atheist, and of being the author of the book, The Three Impostors, in conjunction with his Chancellor, De Vineis.

"Does that great man, our Chancellor de L'Hopital, declare against persecutions? He was immediately accused of atheism. * Homo doctus sed verus Atheos. A Jesuit, as much beneath Aristophanes, as Aristophanes is beneath Homer—a wretch, whose name has become ridiculous even among the Romish Fanatics themselves. The Jesuit Garasse, in a word, finds atheists everywhere, for so he calls all those against whom he lets loose his rage of invective.

"He calls Theodore Beza an Atheist. It is him who has induced the public to err with regard to Vanini.

"The unhappy end of Vanini does not move us to indignation and pity, like that of Socrates, because Vanini was but a foreign pedant, without merit. However, Vanini was certainly

*Commentarium Rerum Gallicarum, lib. 28.
no atheist, as has been pretended. He was precisely the contrary.

"He was a poor Neapolitan priest, by trade a preacher and a divine; a fierce disputant on the quiddities and universalities; et utrum chimæra bombinans in vacuo posset comedere secundas intentiones. But as for anything farther, he had not a vein in him that tended to atheism.

"His notion of God is of the most orthodox theology, and the most approved.—'God is his own principle and end; parent of one and of the other; without need of either; eternal without existing in time. For him there is neither past nor future; he is everywhere, and out of every thing; governing every thing: having created every thing; immutable, infinite, without parts; his will is his power, etc.

"Vanini valued himself on renewing that pure sentiment of Plato, embraced by Averroes, that God had created a chain of beings from the least to the greatest, of which the last link was connected to his eternal throne. An idea, in fact, more sublime than true, but which is as far from atheism, as existence from nonentity.

"He traveled to get bread, and to dispute; but, unhappily, dispute is the road quite opposite to that which leads to fortune. They that take it are sure to make so many irreconcilable enemies, as they find learned men or pedants against whom they enter into argument.

"There was no other source of Vanini's misfortune. His warmth, grossness of manners in disputing, brought upon him the hatred of certain divines, and having had a quarrel with one Francon, or Fronconi, this Francon, who was the friend of Vanini's enemies, did not fail of accusing him of being an atheist that taught atheism.

"This Francon, or Franconi, with the aid of some witnesses, had the barbarity, at a confrontment, to maintain his charge.

"Vanini, under trial, being interrogated as to what he thought of the existence of God, answered, that he adored, as the church did, a God in three persons. Having taken up a straw, 'this straw,' said he, 'is enough to prove that there is
a creator.' Upon which he pronounced a remarkably sensible discourse on vegetation, on motion, and on the necessity of a Supreme Being, without whom there could be no motion or vegetation.

"The President Grammont, who was then at Tholouse, relates this discourse in that history of France of his, which is now so perfectly forgotten. At the same time this Grammont, from an unconceivable prejudice, pretends, that Vanini said all this out of vanity, or out of fear, rather than from any inward persuasion.

"But on what can this rash and atrocious judgment of the President Grammont be founded? On the face of Vanini's answer it is evident that he ought to have been acquitted of the accusation of Atheism. But how came it that he was not? This unfortunate priest dabbled also in physic. There was found in his apartment a live toad confined in a vessel. They did not fail on this to accuse him of witchcraft. It was averred that this toad was the God he worshipped. They gave an impious sense to several passages of his books—than which nothing is more easy nor more common, by taking the objections for the answers, by a malignant construction of some ambiguous phrase, or by poisoning an innocent expression. In short the faction that was oppressing him, extorted from the judges a sentence that condemned this unfortunate man to death.

"To justify this death, there was a necessity of accusing this unhappy creature of whatever could be thought the most horrid. Mersenne has pushed the madness of calumny to such a degree, that he was not ashamed of saying in print, that 'Vanini had left Naples in company with twelve of his apostles, to go and convert the world to atheism.'

"What a wretched pitiful charge is this! How could so poor a man as he certainly was, afford to employ a dozen men at regular wages? How could he have persuaded twelve Neapolitans to travel at a great expense to spread every where this detestable and shocking doctrine, at the hazard of their lives?

"Would a king have power enough to hire twelve preachers of atheism? No one before Father Mersenne had advanced
so enormous an absurdity? But after him it has been repeated. It has infected Journals and Historical Dictionaries; and the world, which loves anything extraordinary, has, without examination, believed this fable.

"Bayle himself, in his *Penses Diverses*, speaks of Vanini as of an Atheist. He makes use of his name as an example to support his paradox that *A Society of Atheists may subsist*. He assures us that Vanini was a man very regular in his morals, and that he was a martyr of his philosophical opinions,—on both of which points he is equally mistaken.

"The priest Vanini acquaints us in his *Dialogues*, composed in imitation of Erasmus, that he had a mistress whose name was Isabella.

"He wrote with the same freedom that he lived,—but he was no Atheist.

"A century after his death, the learned La Croze, and a writer who took the name of Philalethes, undertook to justify him; but as none concern themselves about the memory of an unfortunate Neapolitan, a very bad author, there were few who read these apologies for him."

I shall add to these very sensible reflections, that in 1717 there was printed at London a *Life of Vanini*. It was dedicated to Lord North and Gray, and written by his Chaplain, a French Refugee. To give you an idea of that author and of that Life, it is enough to tell you, that he lays in it a stress on the testimony of the Jesuit Garasse, the most absurd and the most insolent calumniator, and at the same time the most ridiculous writer that ever was among the Jesuits.

Here follow the words of Garasse quoted by the Chaplain, and which in fact are to be found in the *Curious Doctrine of the Jesuit*, page 144.

"As to Lucilio Vanini, he was a Neapolitan, a fellow of no account, who had been a vagabond about Italy, to sponge a livelihood, and who strolled through a good part of France in quality of pedant. This wicked rascal being come to Gascony in 1617, proposed to sow his tares to advantage, and to make a rich harvest of impiety, imagining that he had found
there minds susceptible to his tenets. He used to insinuate himself among the nobility, and make as free with their tables as if he had been a retainer of theirs, and familiarized of old with the humor of the country; but he met with understand-ings stronger and more resolute in the defence of truth than he had imagined."

What can your Highness think, after this, of a life written from such materials?

But what will surprise you most is, that when this unfortu-nate Vanini was condemned, there was not one of the books produced, in which it had been imagined that the Atheism was contained for which he was condemned.

All the books of this unfortunate Neapolitan were books of Divinity and Philosophy, printed with the privilege and appro-bation of the Doctors of the Faculty at Paris.

His Dialogues, which are at this day made a handle of blame, and which can hardly be condemned for any thing but being dull and tiresome, were honored with the greatest enco-miums in French, in Latin, and even in Greek.

Among these elogiums there is the remarkable one of a fa-mous Doctor of Divinity at Paris.

Vaninus, vir mente potens sophiaeque magister
Maximus, Italie decus and nova gloria gentis.

These two verses were afterwards imitated in French.

Honneur de l' Italie, emule de la Grece,
Vanini fait connoitre and cherir sa sagesse.

But all these elogiums have been forgotten, and nothing is remembered but that Vanini was burned alive.

It must be owned that sometimes people were burned on rather slight occasions. Witness John Huss, Jerom de Prague, the Counsellor Anne Dubourg, Servetus, Antony, Urban Grandier, the Marshalless d'Ancre, Morin, and John Calas; witness that innumerable list of unfortunates whom almost all the sects of Christains have, in their turns, caused to perish by fire, a horror unknown to the Persians, to the Turks, to
Bartholomew Legale led to execution. The last Smithfield Martyr.
the Tartars, to the Indians, to the Chinese, to the Roman Republic, and to all the people of antiquity, and which will make our posterity blush for their descending from such execrable ancestors.

NOTE.—Bartholomew Legate, a dissenting preacher, who did not endorse the entire creed of the established Church of England, although a firm believer in the authenticity and inspiration of the so-called "Holy Scriptures," was the last martyr to suffer the penalty of death in England, rather than to deny his honest convictions, and endorse a religious creed that he could not conscientiously support.

Florence Gregg, in the preface to her graphic account of Legate's trial and conviction, published in London by Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., in 1886, says that "The king's signature to the warrant for Legate's execution may still be seen at the Record Office; and not only from the pen of Thomas Fuller, in his Church History of Britain, but also from letters of Archbishop Abbot and Sir John Chamberlain, both contemporary with Legate, we learn how he was tried for heresy, stood firmly to his faith, and, for conscience' sake, was burned in Smithfield on March 18th, 1611."

The horror and indignation aroused in the public mind by this judicial murder of a sincere and conscientious enthusiast, caused a revolution in public sentiment which curbed the religious zealots' fanatic zeal, and, let us hope, extinguished forever the murderous fires of Smithfield.—Pub.
Bartholomew Legate led to execution. The last Smithfield Martyr.
LETTER IV.

ON THE ENGLISH AUTHORS
WHO HAVE WRITTEN AGAINST THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

YOUR Highness puts the question to me, who are those writers that have had the boldness to declare not only against the Church of Rome, but against Christianity itself? The number is prodigious, especially in England.

One of the first is Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who died in 1648, and is known by his treatises on the Religion of the Laity, and on that of the Heathen.

Hobbes acknowledged no other religion but that to which the government gave its sanction. He was not for having two masters. The Magistrate is the true Pope.

This doctrine alarmed and provoked the Christian clergy. They raised a loud cry against the scandal—the novelty of it. As to scandal, or rather the occasion of scandal, they might be right; but as to the novelty of it, there was none; for in England the king had been for a long while the head of the Church; the Empress of Russia is the same in a country of more extensive territory than the Roman Empire. The Senate of the Republic of Venice was of old the chief of the religion, and every Roman Emperor was the High Priest of it—the Pontifex Maximus.

Lord Shaftesbury greatly surpasses Lord Herbert and Hobbes for boldness and for style. His contempt for the Christian religion breaks forth too glaringly.

Woolaston's Religion of Nature is written with greater decency and moderation; but not having the same charm of style as Lord Shaftesbury's writings, his book has hardly been read by any but philosophers.
OF TOLAND.

TOLAND has aimed the most violent blows against Christianity. He had a haughty, independent spirit, and although born to narrow circumstances, he might have made his fortune, had he been more moderate. Persecution exasperated him, and he wrote against Christianity, out of both hatred and in a spirit of revenge.

In his first book, entitled Christianity not Mysterious, he himself had written rather mysteriously, and his boldness had at least worn a veil. He was blamed, persecuted in Ireland, and the veil was soon torn. His Jewish Origins, his Nazarenes, his Pantheisticon, were so many open assaults of his on Christianity.

But what is surprising, having been oppressed in Ireland for the most circumspect of his works, he was not molest ed in England in the least for the boldest of them.

He was accused with having ended his Pantheisticon with a blasphemous prayer, which is, in fact, to be found in some editions.

But as this profanation was a parody of a prayer of the Church of Rome, the English were not shocked at it.

There is more: it stands demonstrated that this profane prayer is not Toland’s. It had been composed two hundred years before his time by a society of Topers. It is to be found in the Allegorical Lent, printed in 1563.

That crazy Jesuit, Garasse, speaks of it in his Curious Doctrine, book the second, p. 201.

Toland died with great courage in 1721. His last words were, “I am going to sleep.”

There are some verses extant in honor of his memory, which, certainly, were not made by an English Divine.
WRONGLY it is, that the great Philosopher, Locke, has been reckoned among the enemies of the Christian religion. It is true, indeed, that his writings on *Rational Christianity* differ, in some particulars, from the common belief; but the religion of those Primitives, called Quakers, which makes so capital a figure in Pennsylvania, is still more wide of Christianity; and yet they are reputed Christians.

It has been laid to Locke's charge that he did not believe in the immortality of the soul, because he was persuaded that God, the absolute master of everything, could (if he pleased) give sentiment and thought to matter. But this reproach has been well avenged. It has been contended that God can preserve to all eternity, that atom, that monad which he may have deigned to favor with the gift of thought. This was the opinion of the celebrated and devout Priest, Gassendi,—the pious defender of all that was contained of good in the doctrine of Epicurus. See his famous letter on Descartes.

"Whence comes this notion to you? If it proceeds from the body, you must necessarily not exist without extension. Teach us otherwise how it can so be, that the species or idea of the body which is extended, can be received in you, that is to say, in a substance non-extended. . . . It is true, that you know you think, but you do not know what substance you are, you who do think, though the operation of the thought be known to you. The principal of your essence is hidden from you, and you do not know what is the nature of that substance, of which one of the operations is, to think."

Locke died in peace of mind, saying to Mrs. Masham, and the friends who were round him, "Life is a mere vanity."
OF BISHOP TAYLOR AND TINDAL.

It is perhaps with equal injustice, that Taylor, Bishop of Downe and Connor, has been ranked among the infidels on account of his book entitled *Doctor Dubitantium*. But as to *Doctor Tindal*, author of *Christianity as Ancient as the World*, he was certainly the most intrepid maintainer of the Religion of nature, as well as of the Royal House of Hanover.

He was one of the most learned men of England in history, and was honored with a pension for life of two hundred pounds sterling. As he had no taste for Pope's works, whom he absolutely would have to be without genius, and without imagination, allowing him merely the talent of versifying and of working up the wit of others, Pope, in return, was his implacable enemy. Besides, Tindal was a red-hot Whig—Pope, a Jacobite. It is not astonishing that Pope should have a stroke at him in his *Dunciad*—a work imitated from Dryden, and too full of disgusting images, low expressions and thoughts.

OF COLLINS.

*Anthony Collins* was one of the most terrible enemies of the Christian religion. He was Receiver General of the county of Essex, a good Metaphysician, and a man of great learning. It is to be lamented that he made no use of his profound dialectical talent, but against Christianity.

*Doctor Clarke*, a celebrated Socinian, author of a very good book, in which he demonstrates the existence of God, could never satisfactorily answer Collins's works: and was reduced so low as to employ invectives.

Collins's *Philosophical Researches on the Liberty of Man*; on the *Foundations of Religion*; on *Literal Prophecies*; on *Free Thinking*; have, unhappily, remained victorious works.
OF WOLSTON.

The famous Wolston, Master of Arts at Cambridge, also distinguished himself, about the year 1726, by his Discourses Against the Miracles of Jesus Christ, and he so openly hoisted the flag of defiance, that he had his work sold at his own house in London. There were three successive editions of it, of ten thousand copies each.

No one ever before had gone to such lengths of rashness and scandal. He considers the miracles and resurrection of our Saviour, as no better than childish and absurd stories. He says, that when Jesus Christ changed water into wine, for guests who were already drunk, it was that he probably made punch. God carried away by the Devil to the pinnacle of the temple, and to the summit of a mountain, from whence were to be seen all the kingdoms of the earth, appears to him a shocking blasphemy. The Devil sent into a herd of two thousand swine, the fig-tree dried up for not bearing figs at a time when it was not the season of figs, the transfiguration of Jesus, the white raiment, his conversation with Moses and Elias; in short, his whole sacred history is turned into travesty and made a ridiculous romance. Wolston does not hesitate to use the strongest and most contemptuous expressions. He often alludes to our Saviour as a Wanderer,—as a begging Friar.

He solves all this, however, under favor of a mystical sense, saying, that those miracles are pious allegories. All good Christians, however, do not the less hold his works in detestation.

One day it happened that a woman, heated with devout zeal,
met him in the street and spit in his face. He wiped it off very coolly, and said, "It is thus that the Jews treated your God."

He died in peace of mind, saying, "This is a pass to which every man must come."

You will find in the portable Dictionary of the Abbot Avocat, and also in a new portable Dictionary, where the same errors are repeated, that Wolston died in prison, in 1733. Nothing can be falser. Several of my friends have seen him since his prosecution, in his own house, where he died at liberty.
OF BOLINGBROKE.

LORD BOLINGBROKE never fails of telling you, in his philosophical works, that atheists are less dangerous than divines; in which position he argued like a Minister of State, who knew how much blood religious dissensions and quarrels had cost England. But he ought to have confined himself to condemning the body of Divines, and not the Christian religion, from which every true Statesman may draw the greatest advantages, by bringing it back to its bounds, if it has gone beyond them.

Since the death of Lord Bolingbroke, there have been published some philosophical works of his, still more violent than his Philosophical collection. He displays in them a fatal eloquence. No one has ever written any thing stronger. One may plainly see by them, that he held the Christian religion in horror.

It is a pity that so sublime a genius was for tearing up by the roots a tree he might have made very useful, by pruning its branches, and clearing it of the moss with which it was overgrown.

Religion may be purified. This great work was begun two hundred and fifty years ago: but men can only bear light to come in on them by degrees. Who could, at that time, have foreseen that men would, one day, arrive at analyzing the rays of the sun, at electrifying the thunder, and at discovering the law of universal gravitation—that law which presides over the universe?

It is time, according to Bolingbroke, that Theology should be banished, as well as Judiciary Astrology, Witchcraft, De-
moniac Possession, the Divinatory Wand, the Universal Panacea, and the Jesuits.

Theology has never been of any use, but to overturn the laws—to corrupt the heart. It is only Theology that makes Atheists; for the great number of Divines, who have just sense enough to see the absurdity of this chimerical science, have not, however, judgment enough, to substitute for it a sound philosophy.

Theology is, say they, according to the signification of the word, the knowledge of God. But as some vile dabblers, who have profaned this science, have given the most absurd ideas of God, they thence conclude that the Deity is a chimera, because Theology is chimerical.

This is precisely as if we should say, that bark was not to be taken for a fever, nor temperance used in a plethora, nor blood let in an apoplexy, because there have been bad physicians,—this is to deny a knowledge of the motions of the stars, because there have been Astrologers,—it is like denying the evident effects of Chemistry, because some Quack-chemists have pretended to make gold.

The people of the world, still more ignorant than these little Theologers, say, behold these Bachelors of Divinity and Licentiates, who do not believe there is a God, and why should we? Such are the fatal consequences of the spirit of Theology.

A false science makes Atheists,—a true science prostrates men before the Deity, and makes those righteous and wise whom a misuse of Theology has made unjust and senseless.
OF THOMAS CHUBB.

THOMAS CHUBB was a philosopher formed by nature. The subtlety of his genius, of which he did not make the best use, made him embrace, not only the party of the Socinians, who looked upon Jesus Christ as having been nothing more than a man, but also that of the rigid Deists, who acknowledge only one God, and reject all mystery.

His errors are methodical. He wished to bring all men to unite in one religion, which he thought the most pure, as being the most simple.

The word Christianity is to be found in every page of his works, but the thing itself nowhere in them.

He has the assurance to think, that Jesus Christ was of the religion of Thomas Chubb; but Thomas Chubb was not of the religion of Jesus Christ.

A perpetual perversion of words constitutes the foundation of his persuasion. Jesus Christ has said, Love God, and your neighbor; Therein is the whole law,—therein consists all humanity.

Chubb sticks literally to these words and keeps clear of all the rest.

Our Saviour appears to him a philosopher, like Socrates, who, like him, was put to death for having combated the superstitions and the priests of his country.

He writes, however, without temper, and constantly conceals himself under a veil.

The obscurities in which he wraps himself up, have procured for him more of reputation, than of readers—more fame than profit.

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I HAVE not, it is true, as yet entered on the article referring to Swift, who indeed deserves separate treatment, as he is the only English writer of this kind gifted with genuine humor.

It is very surprising that the two persons who may be reproached for having dared to turn the Christian Religion into ridicule, should both of them have been Priests, having charge of souls.

Rabelais was Curate of Muedon, and Swift was Dean of the Cathedral of Dublin. Both of them broke more jests on Christianity, than what Moliere was so lavish of on Physic; and both of them lived and died in peace, while so many others were persecuted, even to death, for some equivocal words:

But oft, where one shall sink, there swims a brother,
And one shall perish by what saves another.

Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, is an imitation of the three rings. The Fable of the three rings is a very ancient one, of the time of the Crusades. It is of an old man, who dying leaves a ring to each of his three children. They go to loggerheads about which shall have the most beautiful of them. After long debates, they at length discover, that the three rings were all perfectly alike.

The good old man is Theism. The three children are the Jewish religion, the Christian, and the Mahometan.

The author forgot the religions of the *Magi*, and of the Bramins, not to mention many others; but he was an Arabian who knew no more than these three sects. This Fable leads to that indifference which was so much reproached to the emperor Frederic the Second, and to his Chancellor, *de Vineis*,
who were accused of having jointly composed the book, *De Tribus Impostoribus*, which, as you well know, never existed.*

The *Tale of the Three Rings*, is to be found in some collections. Dean Swift has substituted for them Three Coats.

The introduction to this impious raillery is worthy of the work. It is a print, in which are represented three ways of Speaking in Public.

The first is the Theatre of Harlequin and Merry-Andrew; the second is a Preacher, whose Pulpit is the half of a Tub; the third is a Ladder, from the top of which a Man, who is going to be hanged, harangues the people.

A Preacher between a Merry-Andrew and a Man at the Gallows, makes but a sorry figure,—people being judged by the company they keep.

The body of the book is an Allegorical History of the three principal sects which divided the greatest part of Southern Europe,—the Romish, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist; for he says nothing of the Greek Church, which possesses six times the territory of the three others; and leaves quite out of the question Mahometanism, which is still more extended than the Greek Church.

The three brothers, to whom the good old man, their father, has bequeathed three plain coats, and all of the same color, are Peter, Martin, and John; that is to say, the Pope, Luther, and Calvin.

The author makes his three heroes commit more follies than Cervantes ascribes to his *Don Quixote*, and Ariosto to his *Orlando Furioso*; but the Lord Peter is the worst used by the three brothers.

The book is wretchedly translated into French. It was not indeed well possible to do justice to the humor with which it is seasoned. This humor turns chiefly on the quarrels between the Presbyterians and the Established Church of England, on customs and incidents unknown in France, and often on a cer-

*An editor of the French original is surprised that the Author should deny the existence of the book of *The Three Impostors*, it being, as he says, notorious that it was printed thirty years ago, and since reprinted. May be so, but was not the editor of these Three Impostors, himself an Impostor on the Public?
tain play upon words peculiar to the English language. For example, the word which signifies in French the Pope's Bull, signifies in English, both that and the animal called a Bull. Such words in English are a source of ambiguities and pleasantries entirely lost upon a French reader.

Swift was much less learned than Rabelias, more pointed, more delicate. He is the Rabelias of high life.

The Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke procured the best benefice in Ireland, next to the Archbishopric of Dublin, for a man who had soured the Christian religion all over with ridicule; and Abadie, who had written in favor of that very religion a book which had met with the highest encomiums, could get only a paltry little benefice in a country village.

But it is to be observed that they both died in a state of insanity.
LETTER VI.

OF THE GERMANS.

YOUR Germany, too, has not been without its great Noblemen and Philosophers, accused of irreligion. Your celebrated Cornelius Agrippa was looked upon not only as a Conjuror, but as an infidel.

But this is contradictory; for a Conjuror believes in God, since he dares to intermix the name of God with all his conjurations. He believes also in the Devil, since he sells himself to that arch fiend.

Loaded like Apuleius, with these two calumnies, Agrippa was fortunate that he was only in prison for it, and that he was permitted to die in an hospital.

It was he who first broached the idea, that the forbidden fruit of which Adam and Eve partook was unrestrained love, to which our first parents had abandoned themselves, before receiving the nuptial benediction.

It was also Agrippa that, after he had cultivated the sciences, was the first to write against them. He decried the milk with which he had been nursed, and which he had but illy digested.

He died in 1535, in the hospital of Grenoble.

I know nothing of the famous Dr. Faustus, but by the comedy of which he is the hero, or protagonist, and which is acted in all the provinces of the empire.

He appears in these representations to be in a constant and regular commerce with the Devil. He writes letters to him, which are carried in the air by means of a string of packthread.
He receives answers from him. There are miracles in every act; and at the end of the piece the Devil carries Dr. Faustas away.

It is said that he was born in Swabia, and lived under Maximilian the First. I do not believe he made his fortune under Maximilian, any more than under his other master.

The celebrated Erasmus was suspected of irreligion, equally by Papists and by Protestants, because he laughed at the excesses into which both of them fell.

When two parties are in the wrong, he who keeps neuter and is consequently in the right, is pecked at by both.

The statue erected to his honor in the market place of Rotterdam, his country, has revenged him of Luther and the Inquisition.

Malencéhon, (Black earth,) was pretty much in the case of Erasmus. It has been pretended that he changed no less than fourteen times his opinions on the original Sin, and on Predestination. He was called the Proteus of Germany. He could have been the Neptune of it, for bridling the fury of the winds.

"Jam cœlum terramque meo fine numine venti
"Miscere, and tantas audetis tollere moles!"—Virgil.

He was moderate with the spirit of toleration. He passed for indifferent. Having become a Protestant, he advised his mother to continue a Roman Catholic. Thence it was judged that he was neither one nor the other.

I shall omit, with your leave, the multitude of those sectaries who have been reproached rather with embracing factions than with adhering to opinions, and with believing rather in ambition and lust of gain, than either in Luther or in the Pope. Nor shall I say any thing of those philosophers accused of having had no other gospel than the gospel of Nature.

I come to your illustrious Leibnitz. Fontenelle, in pronouncing his elogium at Paris, in full Academy, expresses himself as to his religion, in the following terms. "He is accused of having been only a great and rigid observer of the law of natural right," his Pastors "gave him reprimands upon it in public, and in vain."
As will be hereafter seen, Fontenelle, who spoke thus, had himself been liable to not less heavy imputations.

Wolff, the disciple of Leibnitz, was exposed to the greatest danger. He taught mathematics in the University of Hall, with the greatest success.

The theological Professor, Lange, who was catching his death of cold in the freezing solitude of his school, while Wolff had five hundred hearers, took his revenge by informing against Wolff, as an Atheist.

The late king of Prussia, Frederic William, who understood much better the exercise of his troops, than he did the disputes of the learned, believed Lange too easily, and gave Wolff his choice of quitting his territories in twenty-four hours, or of being hanged.

The philosopher instantly resolved the problem, by withdrawing himself to Marpourg, where his scholars followed him, and where his reputation and fortune both increased.

The town of Hall lost by his retreat above four hundred thousand florins a year, which the affluence of Wolff's disciples had brought to it. The King's revenues suffered by it, and the injustice done to the Philosopher only recoiled on the Monarch. It is well known with what equity and greatness of soul the successor of this prince repaired the errors into which his father had been drawn.

It is said in a Dictionary,* under the article Wolff, that Charles Frederic, a Philosopher with a crowned head, the friend of Wolff, raised him to the dignity of Vice-Chancellor of the Elector of Bavaria, and of Baron of the Empire. The king, of whom this is said in that article, is in fact a philosopher, a man of literature; a very great genius, as well as a great captain, on the throne, but he has no name of Charles—there is not in all his dominions a University belonging to the Elector of Bavaria; and it is the Emperor's prerogative alone to make Barons of the Empire.

These little inaccuracies, which are but too frequent in all dictionaries, might be easily corrected.

* The Historical Dictionary, printed for Michael Rey.
Since that time, the liberty of thinking has made astonishing progress in the north of Germany. This liberty has even been carried to such an excess, that in 1766 there was printed an abridgement of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Fleuri, with a preface in an eloquent style, and which begins as follows:

"The establishment of the Christian Religion has, like all empires, had but weak beginnings. A Jew of the common people, whose birth was disputed, who mixes precepts of morality with the absurdities of ancient prophecies, to whom miracles are attributed, is the hero of this sect. Twelve fanatics spread themselves from the East into Italy," &c.

It is to be lamented that the author of this passage, who was in other respects profound and sublime, should have suffered himself to be so far carried away into freedoms so daring and so fatal to our holy religion. Nothing can be more pernicious. And yet this prodigious licentiousness has hardly excited any clamours. It is to be wished that this book should not be extensively circulated. There have not, I presume, been many copies printed of it.

The discourse of the Emperor Julian against Christianity, translated at Berlin by the Marquis d'Argens, Chamberlain to the King of Prussia, and dedicated to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, would be not a less deadly stroke to religion, if the author had not taken care to tranquillize, by learned remarks, the alarms of tender consciences.

The work is preceded by a sensible and instructive Preface, in which due justice is given to the great qualities and to the virtues of Julian, and in which is also admitted the deplorable errors of that Emperor.

I have a notion that this book is not unknown to your Highness, and that your faith has not been staggered by it.*

*The editor of the French original subjoins the following note: It does not appear to me that our elegant and religious Author is much acquainted with those German authors, who, as he expresses it, have had the misfortune to write against religion. This is thought the reason that, in his commented list, he has not mentioned a Knutzeus, a Koerbach, a Thomasius, a Law, a Dippel, known under the name of Democritus, a Bakker, an Edelmann, besides many others, whose names made noise enough in their time.
LETTER VII.

OF THE FRENCH.

YOU have, may it please your Highness, given a very just guess, that in France there are more men accused of impieties than there are really impious persons,—just as there are more suspicions of poison, than there are in fact poisoners. The thoughtless vivacity with which this nation is reproached, hurries it into every rash judgment. This restless petulence has been alike the cause that many authors have written with liberty, and have been judged with cruelty.

The extreme delicacy of the Theologians, and of the Monks, has always caused them to fear the diminution of their power. They are like sentinels, who are always repeating the watch-cry, and forever asserting that the enemy is at the gates.

On the least suspicion of being aimed at in a book, they sound the alarm.

OF BONAVENTURE DES PÉRIERS.

ONE of the first examples in France, of a persecution founded on panic terrors, was the strange hubbub that lasted so long about the Cimbatum Mundi, a little book, at the most of fifty pages. It is of one Bonaventure des Periers, who lived at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

This Des Periers was a domestic of Margaret de Valois, sister to Francis the First.

Literature was then beginning to revive. Des Periers meant to compose in Latin, some dialogues in the style of Lucian. He then wrote some very insipid ones, on Predictions, on the Philosopher's Stone, on A Talking Horse, on Aelcon's Dogs.
Now in all this wretched, dull, schoolboy's farrago, there is not a single word which bears the least or most distant relation to any of the things which are the objects of our reverence.

It was told some Doctors of Divinity that they were leveled at in the characters of the dogs and the horses.

As to the horses, they had not been accustomed to that honor. The doctors set up a howl! The work was immediately sought after, translated into French, and printed. Upon which, every idle person fancied he found allusions in it, and the Doctors of Divinity began to halloo the Heretic—the Impious Man—the Atheist!

The little book was informed against to the Magistrate, the bookseller Morin was thrown into prison, and the Author into terrible agonies.

The injustice of the persecution proved such a shock to the brain of Bonaventure, that he fell upon his sword, and killed himself in the Palace of the princess Margaret.

All the tongues of the Preachers—all the pens of the Divines, exercised themselves on this tragic death. He has made away with himself, therefore he did not believe in God, therefore his little book, which, however, no one had had the patience to read through, was the catechism of the Atheists. Everyone said it—everyone believed it.

Credidi propter quod locutus sum.—(I believed it because I have said it,) is the motto of mankind. They repeat an absurdity, and by dint of repeating it, come to be persuaded of it.

The book grew extremely rare—which was another reason for believing it infernal.

All the authors of literary anecdotes, and of dictionaries, have not failed of affirming that this book was the forerunner of Spinoza.

We have still extant a work of a Counsellor of Bourges, whose name was Catherinot, most worthy of the armorial ensigns of Bourges. This great judge says, "We have two impious books, which I never saw, the one De Tribus Impostoribus, the other the Cimbalam Mundi."

But, my good friend, if thou didst never see them, why dost thou speak of them?
The Minim Mersenne, the Factor of Descartes, he who gave twelve apostles to Vanini, says of Bonaventure Des Periers, "He is a monster, and a reprobate, of the most consummate impiety."
You are to observe, that he had never read Des Periers' book. There were not known to remain above two copies of it in all Europe, when Prosper Marchand reprinted it at Amsterdam in 1711. Then the veil was drawn aside, and no one exclaimed at its impiety or atheism. It was only found intolerably dull, and it has not been spoken of since.
OF THEOPHILUS.

THEOPHILUS has also fallen into the like oblivion, although very celebrated in his time. He was a young writer, a good companion, and made very easily indifferent verses, which were, however, once in vogue.

He had made great proficiency in literature, wrote Latin very purely, made alike a good figure at table or in a study, and was welcomed by all the young nobility that valued themselves upon wit, and especially at the illustrious Duke of Montmorenci's, who, after having gained battles, lost his head on a scaffold.

Being one day in company with two Jesuits, and the conversation having fallen on certain points of the wretched philosophy of those days, the dispute ran into acrimony.

The Jesuits substituted invectives for reasons. Theophilus was at once a Poet and a Gascoon, genus irritabile vaturn et Guasconum. He composed a small poem, in which the Jesuits were not much spared; here are three lines of it, that circulated over all France:—

Cette grande et noire machine,
Dont le souple et le vaste corps,
Etend ses bras jusqu'à la Chine.*

Theophilus himself repeats them in an epistle in verse from his prison to Louis the Thirteenth. All the Jesuits gave a loose rein to their rage against him. The two most furious of them, Garasse and Guerin, dishonored the pulpit, and violated the laws, by naming him in their sermons, treating him as an Atheist, an execrable reprobate, and exciting against him all their female devotees.

* This great and black machine, of which the supple and enormous body extends its arms to China.

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A Jesuit more dangerous, Voisin by name, who neither wrote nor preached, but who had a great interest with the Cardinal Rochefoucault, commenced a criminal prosecution against him, and suborned, for that purpose, a young debauchee, Sajeot by name, who had been his scholar, and who passed for having been subservient to him, which the accused party reproached him with, at confrontment.

In short, the Jesuit Voisin obtained, by means of the favor of the Jesuit Caussin, Confessor to the King, an order for taking him into custody on a charge of impiety and atheism.

This unhappy man was, on this, forced to fly for it, and the procedure went on against him, in a course of outlawry, so that, in 1621, he was burned in effigy.

Who would imagine that the rage of the Jesuits was not to be satiated even with this? Voisin hired a Lieutenant of the Constableness, one called Le Blanc, to take Theophilus up in his retreat in Picardy. He was thrown, loaded with irons, into a dungeon, amidst the acclamations of the populace, to whom Le Blanc kept crying out, "This is an Atheist we are going to burn!"

Thence he was carried to the Conciergerie, where he was put into the same cell that Ravaillac, the assassin of Henry the Fourth, had been. He remained there a whole year, during which the Jesuits prolonged the procedure, in order to procure proofs against him.

While he was in irons, Garasse was publishing his Curious Doctrine, in which he says, that Pasquier, Cardinal Wolsey, Scaliger, Luther, Calvin, Beza, the King of England, the Landgrave of Hesse, are villainous Atheists and Carpocratians. This Garasse wrote in his time as the miserable ex-jesuit Nonote has written in his: all the difference is, that the insolence of the one is founded upon the influence which the Jesuits then had, and that the rage of the absurd Nonote is the fruit of the horrors and contempt into which the Jesuits are fallen in Europe—it is the serpent striving to bite, even after it is cut in pieces.

Theophilus was especially examined as to the satirical Par-
nassus, a collection of obscenities in the taste of Petronius, of Martial, of Catullus, of Ausonius, of the Archbishop of Benevento la Casa, of the Bishop of Angouleme Octavian de St. Gelais, and of Melin de St. Gelais, his son, of Aretine, of Chorier, of Marot, of Verville, of the Epigrams of Rousseau, and of a hundred other licentious fooleries.

This work was not a production of Theophilus; he had no hand in it. A Bookseller had collected all that he could from Menard, from Colletet, from one Frenide, and from some Lords of the Court.

It was proved that Theophilus was in no wise concerned in this edition, against which he had himself presented a petition.

In short, the Jesuits, however powerful they were in those days, could not have the consolation of getting him burned, and it was even with difficulty that they could prevail for his being banished from Paris.

Yet he returned there, in spite of them, protected by the Duke of Montmorenci, who gave him an apartment in his house, where he died in 1626, of the grief under which he was at length forced to sink, by so cruel a persecution.
OF DESBARREAUX.

DESBARREAU, a Counsellor of Parliament, who, in his youth, had been a friend of Theophilus, and who had not deserted him in his disgrace, has constantly passed for an Atheist; and upon what grounds? On a story made of him about an adventure of a bacon-omelette.

A young man, naturally of a turn for licentious sallies of wit, might very well, in a tavern, have deviated from the sacred institution of meagre-diet on a Saturday, and, amidst a storm of rain and thunder, have thrown the dish out of the window, saying, here is a racket indeed about a bacon-omelette! without in the least deserving the accusation of Atheism. It was doubtless, a great irreverence—it was insulting the Church in which he was born—it was a derision of the ordinance of meagre days—but it was not a denial of the existence of God.

But what principally fixed this reputation on him, was the indiscreet rashness of Boileau, who, in his *Satire on Woman*, which, by the bye, is not his best, speaks of more than one Capaneus in petticoats.

"Du tonuerre dans l'air bravant les vains carreaux,
Et nous parlant de Dieu du ton de Des-Barreaux."* 

Yet never did this magistrate write anything against the Deity. It is not fair to blast with the name of Atheist, a man of merit, against whom there is no proof: it is a cruel indig-

*Braving the vain thunderbolts in the air, and speaking of God in the strain of Desbarreaux.
nity. On Desbarreaux was fathered the famous sonnet, which ends thus:

"Tonne, frappe, il est tems, rend moi guerre pour guerre,
J’adore, en perissant, la raison qu’aigrit:
Mais deffus quel endroit tombera ton tonnerre
Qui ne soit tout couvert du sang de Jesus Christ."

This sonnet is absolutely good for nothing. Jesus Christ in verse is not tolerable. Rend moi guerre pour guerre, is not French; besides, guerre pour guerre itself is very flat; and dessus quel endroit is detestable.

These verses are of the Abbot Lavau; and Desbarreaux ever took it very ill their being imputed to him.

ON LA MOTHE LE VAYER.

The temperate, discreet, La Mothe le Vayer, Counsellor of State, Preceptor of the brother of Louis the XIVth, and even for near a year, to Louis XIV himself, did not less incur suspicions than the voluptuous Desbarreaux. There was at that time very little philosophy in France. His Treatise on the Virtues of the Heathens, and the Dialogues of Orasius Tubero, made him enemies. The Jansenists especially, who agreed with St. Augustine, in looking on the virtues of the great men of antiquity as no better than splendid sins, gave him no quarter. The highest pitch of fanatic insolence is, their saying, "No one shall have virtue but we and our friends; Socrates, Confucius, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, were reprobates, because they were not of our communion."

People are pretty well now recovered from this absurdity; but in those days it was predominant.

It stands related in a very curious work, that one day one of those demoniacs, seeing La Mothe le Vayer pass in the gallery of the Louvre, said aloud, "There goes a man without religion."

Le Vayer, instead of having him punished, turned to the man, and said, "My friend, I have so much religion that I am not of your religion,"
ON ST. EVREMONT.

THERE have been some works published against Christianity, under the name of St. Evremont, but none of them are his.

It had been imagined, that after his death those so-called dangerous books might be made to pass under favor of his reputation; and, indeed, because there are to be found in the works really his, several strokes which denote a mind rid of the prejudices of infancy. Besides, his Epicurean life, and his perfectly philosophical death, served for a pretext to those who wanted to gain credit with his name for their pernicious opinions.

We have especially an Analysis of the Christian Religion, which is attributed to him. It is a work tending to invalidate the whole chronology, and almost all the facts of the holy Scriptures. No one has gone deeper than the author into a discussion of that opinion which even some Divines have held, that the Astronomer Phlegon had spoken of the darkness which covered the whole earth at the death of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I own, that the author is perfectly in the right against those who sought for a support in the testimony of this Astronomer; but then he is much in the wrong to aim at combating the Christian system, under the pretext that it was ill defended.

Besides, as to St. Evremont, he was incapable of such scientific researches. His wit was agreeable and genuine; but he had little of learning, no genius, and his taste not very pure.
His *Treatises on the Romans* procured him a reputation, by which he was unhappily encouraged to compose the wretchedest plays, and to make the baldest verses that ever tired readers; who are, however, no longer tired with them, for nobody now reads them. He may be placed in the rank of those men, amiable and full of wit, who flourished in the brilliant times of Louis the XIVth, but not in the rank of the superior geniuses.

**ON FONTENELLE.**

**BERNARD DE FONTENELLE**, since Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, had still a much greater shock to encounter.

In 1686 he succeeded in having inserted in the *Republic of Letters* of Bayle, a very ingenious relation of the island of Borneo: this was an allegory on Rome and Geneva; they were anagrammatically couched under the names of two sisters, Mero and Enegu.

Mero was a tyrannical sorceress, who exacted from her subjects that they should come and declare to her their most secret thoughts, and afterward that they should bring her all their money.

Before they were admitted to kiss her feet, they were obliged to adore the bones of the dead; and often, when they had a mind to breakfast, she made the bread disappear.

In short, her sorceries and her mad procedure raised a great party against her, and her sister Enegu got the half of her kingdom from her.

Bayle did not, at the first, discover the drift of the pleasantry; but the Abbot Terson having commented it, the thing made a great noise.

It was in the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Fontenelle ran some risk of being shut up in the Bastile, upon which he had the meanness to make some poor enough verses in honor of this revocation, and of the Jesuits. They were inserted in a paltry collection, entitled, *Le Triomphe de la Re-
ligion sous Louis le Grand. Printed at Paris, for L’Anglois, in 1687.

But having afterwards with great success methodized, in French, Vandale’s learned History of Oracles, the Jesuits persecuted him.

Le Tellier, the Confessor of Louis the Fourteenth, recalling to mind the allegory of Mero and Enegu, would fain have treated Fontenelle as the Jesuit Voisin had treated Théopilus.

He solicited a Letter de cachet against him. But the celebrated Keeper of the great seal, D’Argenson, at that time Lieutenant de Police, preserved Fontenelle from the rage of Le Tellier.

This anecdote is more important than all the literary bagatelles put together, of which the Abbot Trublet has frothed up a great volume concerning Fontenelle. It shows the danger to which philosophy is exposed, when a fanatic, or a rascal, or a monk who is both, has unhappily the ear of the Prince.

This is a danger to which a Philosopher will never be exposed under your Highness.

ON THE ABBOT DE ST. PIERRE.

The Allegory of Mahometanism, by the Abbot of St. Pierre, was much more striking than that of Mero.

All the works of this Abbot, of which several have passed for reveries, are the works of an honest man and a zealous patriot, but every thing in them has a smack of pure Theism.

Yet, he was not persecuted; an exemption he owed to his writing in a manner that made no one jealous. His style has no graces; he was little read, and pretended to nothing; those who read him laughed at him, and called him, a good kind of man, (un bon homme.)

If he had written like Fontenelle, he would have been undone, especially as the Jesuits were then in power.
PETER BAYLE.
MEANWHILE, and for many years before, there was rising into reputation the immortal Bayle, the first of dialecticians and of skeptic philosophers. He had already published his Thoughts on the Comet, his Answers to the Questions of a Country Correspondent, and at length, what may be called his Dictionary of Reason.

His greatest enemies are forced to own that, in all his works there is not a single line that can be called an evident blasphemy against religion; but then his greatest defenders must allow, that in his articles of controversy, there is not one page that does not lead the reader into doubt, and often into incredulity.

They could not convict him of being impious, but he made others impious by putting his objections against our doctrinal tenets into so strong a light, that it was scarcely possible for a mediocrity of faith not to be staggered with them; and, unhappily, the greatest part of his readers were in the condition of a mediocrity of faith.

It is related in one of these Historical Dictionaries, where truth is so often mixed with falsehood, that the Cardinal de Polignac, passing by the way of Rotterdam, asked of Bayle whether he was a Church-of-England-man, or a Lutheran, or a Calvinist? and his answer was, "I am a Protestant, for I protest against all religions."

Now, in the first place, Cardinal Polignac never took Rotterdam in his way but when he went to conclude the peace of Utrecht in 1713, and then Bayle was dead.

Secondly, This learned Prelate was not unapprised of Bayle's
being born a Calvinist in the county of Foix, and that never having been in England nor in Germany, it was not natural to think he could be either a Church-of-England-man or a Lutheran.

Thirdly. He was too polite to question a man about his religion. Bayle, it is true, had really sometimes said what he was feigned to have said to the Cardinal, to which he would add, that he was something like Homer’s cloud compelling Jove.

He was, in other respects, a man of great regularity and simplicity of manners—a true Philosopher to the utmost extent of that word.

He died suddenly after having written these words, "See what that thing called Truth is."

He had fought for it all his life, and found nothing everywhere but errors.

After him, inquiries have gone greater lengths. A Maillet, a Boulainvilliers, a Boulanger, a Meslier de Trepigni, the learned Freret, the Dialectian du Marsais, the intemperant La Mettrie, have attacked Christianity with as much inveteracy as a Porphyry, a Celsus, or a Julian.

I have often tried to ascertain the reason which could determine so many modern writers to display their hatred against Christianity.

Some have answered me, that the writings of the more modern apologists of our religion had provoked their indignation; that if those apologists had written with that moderation with which their cause should have inspired them, no one would have thought of opposing them; but that their bilious overflows were contagious, and gave to others the bilious disorder; that their passion excited passion; and that the contempt which they affected for Philosophers, begot their contempt in return. So that, at length, that fell out between the defenders and the enemies of Christianity, which had been seen to fall out among all other communions.

There has been much written with too much passion on both sides, and invectives have been mixed with arguments.
OF BARBEYRAC.

BARBEYRAC is the only commentator of whom there is more account made than of his Author. He translated and commented the farrago of Puffendorf, but he enriched it with a preface, which alone procured a sale for the book.

He ascends, in this preface, to the sources of morality, and has the spirited candor to make it appear, that the Fathers of the Church did not always know this pure morality; and that they disfigured it by strange allegories—as when they say that the rag of red cloth exposed at the window by the woman tavern-keeper Raab, is visibly the blood of Jesus Christ—that Moses expanding his arms during the battle against the Amal-echites, represents the cross on which Jesus Christ expired—that the kisses of the Shunamite, are the marriage of Jesus Christ with his Church—that the great gate of the ark of Noah, is a type of the human body, and the wicket, of the stomach and digestive organs.

Barbeyrac could not, in point of morality, endure, that Augustine should become a persecutor, after having preached Toleration. He highly condemns the gross invectives that Jerome utters against his adversaries, and especially against Rufinus, and against Vigilantius. He animadverts on the contradicitions in the morality of the Fathers; while it provokes his indignation, that they had sometimes inspired a hatred of their country, as where Tertullian positively prohibits Christians to carry arms for the defence of the empire.

Barbeyrac had violent enemies, who accused him of wanting to destroy the Christian religion, by rendering those ridiculous who had maintained it with their indefatigable labors.
He defended himself; but in his defence he exhibited so profound a contempt for the Fathers of the Church; he testifies so much disdain for their false eloquence, and for their dialectic; he so highly prefers to them Confucius, Socrates, Zaleucus, Cicero, the Emperor Antoninus, Epictetus, that it is easy to see that Barbeyrac is rather the zealous partisan of the eternal Justice, and of the law of Nature given by God to man, than the worshipper of the holy mysteries of Christianity.

If he has deceived himself in taking God to be the father of all mankind; if he has been so unhappy as not to see that God cannot love any but Christians, under a submission to him of heart, and of understanding, his error is at least that of a virtuous soul, and since he loved mankind, it is not for mankind to insult him; it is for God to judge him.
OF MADEMOISELLE HUBERT.

MADEMOISELLE HUBERT was a woman of a great deal of wit, and sister to the Abbot Hubert, well known to the prince, your father. She wrote, about the year 1740, jointly with a great Metaphysician, a book entitled, *La Religion essentielle a l'Homme*.

It must be confessed that, unhappily, this essential religion is pure Theism, such as the Noachites practiced it before God had deigned to constitute to himself a beloved people in the deserts of Sinai and Oreb, and to give them particular laws.

According to Mademoiselle Hubert, and to her friend, the religion, essential to man, ought to be of all times, of all places, and for all understandings. Everything that is mystery, is above man, and was never made for him. The practice of the virtues can have no relation with the tenets of religious doctrine.

The essential religion consists in what a man ought to do, not in what he cannot conceive. Intolerancy is to the essential religion, what barbarism is to humanity, cruelty to mildness. This is precisely the summary of the book.

The author is very abstract. The book is a succession of lemmas and theorems which diffuse sometimes more obscurity than light. It is not easy for a reader to keep up the succession of ideas.

It is really very astonishing that a woman should write like a geometricalian, on so interesting a matter; perhaps she had a mind to disgust her readers, who would have persecuted her, if they had understood her, or had received any pleasure in reading her.

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As she was a protestant, she has hardly been read by any but Protestants.

A Preacher, by name Desroches, undertook to refute her, and that politely enough for a preacher. The Protestant Ministers ought, one should think, to be more moderate with the Theists, than with the Catholic Bishops and Cardinals.

Let us suppose, for an instant, what God forbid should happen, that Theism should prevail—that there should be but one plain simple religion under the authority of the laws and the magistrates, that all religious worship was reduced to the adoration of a Supreme Being,—the avenger of evil, the rewarder of good,—the Protestant Preachers would lose nothing by the change,—they would still remain in the official charge of presiding over the prayers addressed to that Supreme Being,—they would still be masters of morality,—their pensions would still be preserved to them; or, even if they were to lose them, the loss would be comparatively very small.

Their antagonists, on the contrary, have rich prelacies, they are Counts, Dukes, Princes: they have sovereignties, and, although all this worldly grandeur and these riches do not perhaps entirely become the successors of the Apostles, yet our prelates will never suffer themselves to be stripped of them. Nay, even the temporal rights which they have acquired, are, at present, so connected with the constitution of the Roman Catholic States, that they could not be deprived of them without violent convulsions.

Now, Theism, being a religion clear of enthusiasm, will never of itself, cause any revolution. It is erroneous, but pacific.

All that could be feared is, that if Theism were to be so universally diffused, it might insensibly dispose all people to despise the yoke of the priests; and that, on the first occasion, the magistracy would reduce them to the sole function of praying to God for the people; but so long as they continued moderate they would be respected. There is nothing but the misuse of power that can enervate power.

And, in fact, let us, my Prince, remark, that two or three
hundred volumes of Theism have not in the least diminished the revenue of the Roman Catholic Priests, while two or three books of Luther and Calvin have deprived them of about fifty millions a year.

Two hundred years ago a quarrel about Theology was enough to overturn the systems of Europe. Theism could never collect together four people in arms.

It may even be said, that this religion, while it deceives the mind, softens it, and is qualified to appease such quarrels as are produced by a misunderstanding of truth.

However that may be, I confine myself to giving a faithful account of things to your highness. It is yours to judge.
OF FRERET.

The illustrious and profound Freret was perpetual Secretary to the Academy of Belles-Lettres at Paris.

He had made as great a progress as, humanly speaking, can well be made in the Oriental languages, and in the obscure depths of antiquity. In doing, however, justice to his immense erudition, and to his probity, I am far from excusing his heterodoxy.

He was, like St. Irenæus, not only persuaded that Jesus Christ was above fifty years of age when he suffered, but he agreed in opinion with the Targum, that he was not born in the time of Herod, and that his birth must be referred to the time of the little King Janæus, the son of Hircan.

The Jews are the only people who hold this singular opinion: M. Freret tried to support it, by pretending that our Gospels were not written till more than forty years after the year in which we place the death of Jesus; that they were not composed but in foreign languages, and in towns very distant from Jerusalem, as Alexandria, Corinth, Ephesus, Antiochia, Ancyra, Thessalonica, all places of great trade, full of Therapeutæ, the disciples of John, of Judaites, of Galileans divided into several sects; thence, says he, the cause of there having been a greater number of gospels different from each other: each particular and secret society insisting to have theirs.

Freret pretends that the four which still remain canonical, were the last written. He believes that he produces incontestable proof of it, in his allegation that the first Fathers of
the Church quote very often passages which are only to be found in the gospel of the Egyptians, or in that of St. James, and that Justin is the first who expressly quoted the received gospels.

If this dangerous system was to gain credit, it would evidently follow, that the books bearing the title of Matthew, of John, of Mark, and of Luke, were not written but towards the time of the infancy of Justin, about a hundred years after our vulgar era. This alone would overturn our religion from its very foundations.

The Mahometans, who saw their false Prophet himself give out the leaves of his Koran, who saw them after his death solemnly reduced into order by the Calif Abubeker, would triumph over us; they would say, "We have but one Alcoran, and you have had fifty gospels; we have precisely preserved the original, and you have, at the end of some ages, picked out four gospels, of which you never knew the dates. You have made your religion piece-meal, ours was made at one stroke, like the creation. You have varied a hundred times, we have never changed.''

Thank Heavens! we are not come to that wretched pass. What would become of us if what Freret advances was true? We have sufficient proofs of the antiquity of the four Gospels. Besides, St. Irenæus expressly says there ought to be but four.

I own that Freret cuts to pieces the pitiful argument of Abadie.

This Abadie pretends, that the first Christians died for the Gospels, and that it is only for the truth that people will die.

But this Abadie acknowledges that the first Christians had forged false Gospels; so that even according to Abadie himself, the first Christians died for falsities. Abadie should have considered two essential points; first, that it is nowhere written that the primitive Christians were examined by the Magistrates touching the Gospels; secondly, that there are Martyrs to all Communions.

But if Freret gets the better of Abadie, he is himself overpowered by the miracles which our Holy Gospels have record-
ed. He denies the miracles; but there are opposed to him a cloud of witnesses. He denies the witnesses: oh then, there is nothing left for it but to pity him!

I agree with him, that there has been too frequent use made of pious frauds; I agree with him that, in the Appendix of the first Council of Nice, it is said, that in order to distinguish all the canonical books from the false, they were placed confusedly one with another, upon a great table, and that a prayer was addressed to the Holy Ghost, that he would make all the Apocryphal ones fall to the ground: and they immediately fell, and only the genuine ones remained.

I confess, in short, that the church has been overrun with false legends; but from there having been falsities and deceit in it, does it follow that it has had no truth, no candor?

Certainly Freret goes too far, he demolishes the whole edifice, instead of repairing it. He does as so many others have done, he leads to the adoration of one only God, without the mediation of Christ.

But, at least, his book breathes a moderation which might make one almost pardon his errors,—he preaches nothing but indulgence and toleration. He does not cruelly abuse the Christians, like Lord Bolingbroke; he does not laugh at them like the Curate Rabelias, and the Curate Swift. He is a Philosopher, the more dangerous for his being very learned, very consequential, and very modest.

It is to be hoped that there may be found men of learning, who will refute him better than has hitherto been done.

His most terrible argument is, that if God had deigned to make himself a man and a Jew, and to die in Palestine by an infamous punishment, to expiate the crimes of mankind and to banish sin from the earth, there ought no longer to have been any sin or crime on the face of it; whereas, says he, the Christians have been more abominable monsters than all the sectaries of the other religions put together.

He brings, for an evident proof of this, the massacres, the wheels, the gibbets, and the burnings at the stake, in the Cevennes, and near a hundred thousand human creatures that
perished under our eyes in that Province;—the massacres in the valleys of Piedmont;—the massacres of the Valteline, in the time of Charles Borromeo;—the massacres of the Anabaptists, massacred and massacrers;—the massacres of the Lutherans and Papists, from the Rhine to the extremities of the North;—the massacres in Ireland, England and Scotland, in the time of Charles I., who was himself massacréd;—the massacres ordered by Mary, and by her father Henry VIII; the massacres on St. Bartholomew's, in France, and forty years more of other massacres between Francis II. and the entry of Henry IV. into Paris;—the massacres by the Inquisition;—massacres, perhaps, yet more execrable, as being judicially committed;—in short, the massacre of twelve millions of the inhabitants of the new world, executed crucifix in hand;—and this without reckoning all the massacres previously committed in the name of Jesus Christ,—without reckoning above twenty schisms, and twenty wars of Popes against Popes, and Bishops against Bishops;—without reckoning the poisons, the assassinations, the rapines of the Popes, John XI, John XII, John XVIII, John XXII, of a Gregory VIII, of a Boniface VIII, of an Alexander VI, and of so many other Popes who exceeded in wickedness a Nero or a Caligua.

In short, he claims that this horrid and almost uninterrupted chain of religious wars, for fourteen centuries, never subsisted but among Christians,—and that no people, but themselves, ever spilt a drop of human blood for theological disputes.

We are obliged to grant to Freret, that all this is true; but in making the enumeration of the crimes which have come to light, he forgets the virtues that have been kept concealed;—he forgets especially that those diabolical horrors, of which he has made so prodigious a display, are an abuse of the Christian religion, and not the spirit of it.

If Jesus Christ has not destroyed sin on earth, what does that prove? At the most, it can only be inferred, that, as the Jansenists say, Jesus Christ did not die for all, but for many, pro vobis et multis: but without claiming to comprehend these mysteries, let us, my Prince, rest content with adoring them.
OF BOULANGER.

THE Christianisme Devoile, or Christianity Unveiled, of Boulanger, is not written with that method and depth of erudition and criticism which characterize the productions of the learned Freret.

Boulanger is a bold Philosopher, who advances to the sources, without deigning to sound the streams. He is at once afflicted and intrepid. The horrors with which so many Christian churches, from the very beginning of their existence, have stained themselves; the cowardly barbarity of the Magistrates, who could sacrifice to the Priests so many worthy subjects; the Princes, who, to please them, have become infamous persecutors; so much nonsense in the ecclesiastical quarrels, so many abominations in the course of those quarrels, the people murdered or ruined, the thrones of so many Priests composed of the spoils and cemented with the blood of men; those horrid wars of religion with which Christianity alone has overrun the face of the earth; this enormous chaos of absurdities and of crimes, moves so powerfully the imagination of Boulanger, that, in some portions of his book, he goes near to doubting the Divine Providence itself.

Fatal error! which, however, the fires of the Inquisition, and our religious wars, might, perhaps, almost excuse, if it could be excusable. But no pretext can justify Atheism. Should all the Christians have cut one another's throats, should they have devoured the entrails of their brothers, murdered for arguments, should there remain no more than one single Christian on the face of the earth, let him but look at the Sun, and it is impossible that he should not acknowledge and adore an Eternal Being. He might in his affliction, say, "My forefathers and my brethren have been monsters, but God is God."
OF MONTESQUIEU.

OF all the Philosophers, Montesquieu was the most moderate, and carried the smoothest edge. In his *Persian Letters* he was only pleasant, but in his *Spirit of Laws* he is neat and profound. This work, in short, full of excellent things, and of faults, seems founded on the *Law of Nature*, and on an indifference for all religions. It is this especially that made him so many enemies, and so many partisans. But the enemies were, for this once, vanquished by the Philosophers.

A cry, long kept in, broke forth on all sides; and there began to be discovered the progress of Theism, which had been, for a long while, striking profound roots. The Sorbonne had a good mind to censure the *Spirit of Laws*; but they felt that the public would censure them, and therefore kept silence. There were only a few miserable obscure scribblers, such as an Abbot Gupon, and a Jesuit, who abused the President Montesquieu, and became but the obscurer for the attempt, notwithstanding the celebrity of the man they were attacking. They would have done more service to religion, if they would have combated with the arms of fair reason; but they were bad advocates in a good cause.

OF DE LA METRIE.

HENCEFORWARD there came on a flood of writings against Christianity. La Metrie, a Physician, and the best of the Commentators on Boerhaave, quitted, as he himself said, the physic of the body for the physic of the soul. But
his *Homme-Machine*, (Man a Machine,) gave the Theologers room to see that he administered nothing but poison.

He was Reader to the King of Prussia, and Member of his Academy at Berlin. That Monarch, satisfied with his morals and services, never deigned to enquire whether La Mettrie, held erroneous opinions on Theology. He considered in him only the natural Philosopher, and the Academican; in which qualities it was that La Mettrie had the honor of having that hero-philosopher deign to compose his funeral elogium. This elogium was read at the Academy by a Secretary of the Cabinet.

A King, governed by a Jesuit, might have proscribed La Mettrie and his memory; a King, who was governed only by his reason, abstracted the Philosopher from the Infidel, and, leaving to God the care of punishing his impiety, protected and praised his merit.
OF THE CURATE MESLIER DE TREPIGUI.

T HE Curate Meslier was one of the most singular phenomenons that had yet been seen among all the meteors of evil portent to the Christian religion.

He was Curate of the village de Trepigui, in Champagne, near Rocroi, and did also duty at a little village annexed to it, called Butt. His father was a weaver in serge, of the village of Mazerni, dependent on the duchy of Rhetel. This man, of manners irreproachable, and assiduous in all his duties, gave every year to the poor of his parish all that remained to him of his revenue. He died in 1733, aged fifty-five years. It caused great surprise the finding, at his dwelling, three large manuscripts, of three hundred and sixty-six sheets each, all three of his own handwriting, and signed by him, entitled My Testament. He had written on a piece of brown paper, in which was wrapped one of the three copies directed to two parishioners, these remarkable words:

"I have seen and been convinced of the errors, and abuses, the follies, the wickedness of mankind. I hate and detest them; I durst not say so much during my life, but I will at least say it at my death; and it is for the divulgation of this, that I write this present memorial, that it may serve as a testimony to all who shall see or read it, if they please."

The substance of this work is a natural and unpolished refutation, without exception, of all the tenets of our doctrine. The style is very forbidding, and such as might be expected from the Curate of a Country village. Towards the composition of this strange writing against the Bible, and against the Church, he had no help but the Bible itself, and some of the
Fathers. Of the three copies, there was one kept by the Grand Vicar of Rheims; another was sent to Chauvelin, Lord Keeper of the Seals; the third remained in the register office of the place. The Count de Caylus had, for some time, in his hands, one of these three copies, and soon after there were above a hundred in Paris, which were sold for ten Louis-douzaires a piece. Several of the curious in literature still preserve this sad and dangerous monument. A priest who, dying accuses himself of having professed and taught the Christian religion, made a stronger impression on the minds of many, than the thoughts of Paschal.

Such, methinks, would have done better to reflect on the unaccountable turn of this moody priest, who aimed at delivering his parishioners from the yoke of a religion which he had himself, for twenty years, preached to them. Why address this Testament to clowns, who could not read? Or, if they could read, why deprive them of a salutary yoke, a necessary fear, which is the only thing to prevent secret crimes? The belief of rewards and punishments after death, is a curb of which the people stand in need. Religion, well purified, would be the first and best bond of society.

But this Curate wanted to annihilate all religion, even that of Nature. If his book had been well written, the profession, with which the author was dignified, might have had too great an influence on his readers. There have been several little abridgments made of it, of which some have been printed: they are happily cleared of the poison of atheism.

It is yet more surprising that a Curate, in the neighborhood of Paris, durst, even during his lifetime, write against that religion which his office was to teach. He was, by the government, sent, without any noise or stir, into exile. The manuscript of his production is extremely rare.

Long before that time, the Bishop of Mans, Lavardin, had, at his death, given a not less singular example. He did not, it is true, leave a testament against the religion which had procured him a bishopric, but he declared that he detested it; he refused the Sacraments of the Church, and swore that he had
never consecrated the bread and wine at his saying mass, nor had any intention of baptising children, or of conferring holy orders, at the time of his administering baptism to Christians, and of ordaining Deacons and Priests.

The Bishop took a wicked pleasure in the thought of perplexing those who had received at his hands, the Sacraments of the Church. He died laughing at the scruples they would have, and enjoyed their disquiet.

It was decided that no one should be re-baptized or re-ordained. Some scrupulous Priests, however, got themselves ordained a second time.

The Bishop Lavardin did not, at least, leave behind him any monument against the Christian religion. He was a voluptuary that laughed at everything; whereas the Curate Meslier was of a gloomy character, and an enthusiast;—of a rigid virtue, it is true, but only the more dangerous for that virtue.*

*Meslier's Testament has been translated into both the English and German languages by Miss Anna Knoop, a talented and well educated German lady.

The English version bears the title Superstition in all Ages by Jean Meslier, a Roman Catholic Priest, who, after a pastoral service of thirty years at Etrepigny and But, in Champagne, France, wholly abjured religious dogmas, and left this work as his last Will and Testament to his parishioners and to the world.

The German translation is entitled Glaube und Vernunft oder Le bon sens des römisch-katholischen Priesters Jean Meslier. Nach dem französischen Original überetzt von Fräulein Anna Knoop.

Both the English and German versions have been incorporated and published in Eckler's Library of Liberal Classics, and have met with a favorable reception by American and German readers.
YOU ask me some particulars of the *Encyclopædia*; I obey your orders. This immense project was conceived by Messieurs Diderot and D'Alembert, two philosophers, who do honor to France. One of them has been distinguished by marks of generosity from the Empress of Russia; the other by the refusal of a splendid fortune offered him by that Empress, but which that wise philosophy of his would not permit him to accept. The Chevalier Jaucour, of a family on which he himself reflects a lustre, both by his vast store of knowledge, and by his virtues, joined with these two men of literature, and signalized himself by an indefatigable labor.

They were assisted by the Count of Heronville, Lieutenant-General to the King of France, profoundly versed in all the arts which are included in, or have affinity to, the great art of war; they had also the aid of the Count of Tressan, another Lieutenant General, whose various merits are universally acknowledged; and of Monsieur de St. Lambert, who, making better verses than Chapelle, has withal not gone the less deep into whatever relates to arms. There are other General Officers who have furnished excellent memorials on Tactics.

This Dictionary was also enriched by able Engineers, with every thing concerning the attack and defence of places. Presidents and Counsellors of Parliament have furnished several articles on the Civil Law. In short, there is no science, no art, no profession of which the greatest masters have not emulously contributed to make this Dictionary a valuable
work. It is on earth the first and perhaps the last example of such a considerable number of men of superior worth, eagerly concurring, without interest, without any private view, not even reputation, (for some have concealed their names,) to form that immortal production of the treasures of human knowledge and understanding.

This work was under the auspices and under the eyes of the Count D'Argenson, a Minister of State, capable of understanding it, and worthy of protecting it.

The porch of this prodigious edifice is a preliminary discourse, composed by Monsieur D'Alembert. I dare aver, that this discourse, which received the applause of all Europe, appeared superior to the method of Descartes, and equal to the best of the illustrious Chancellor Bacon's writings on this subject.

If in the body of the Dictionary itself there are some frivolous articles, and others that favor more of the declaimer than of the Philosopher; this fault is abundantly repaired by the prodigious quantity of profound and useful articles.

The Editors could not well refuse certain young adventurers who had a mind to exhibit, in this collection, their productions in company with the master pieces of great men.

An over-politeness was the cause of great injury to this work; it is the saloon of Apollo, in which indifferent Painters have sometimes mixed their paintings with those of a Vanloo, and a Lemoine.

But your Highness will, doubtless, have observed, that this collection is precisely the reverse of other collections; that is to say, that the good is greatly predominant over the bad.

You will easily think that, in such a town as Paris, fuller as it is of men of literature than ever were Athens and Rome, those who were not admitted into this important undertaking, set themselves against it.

The Jesuits began; they had wanted to be employed on the articles of Theology and had been refused. This was enough for them to accuse the Encyclopedists of irreligion; that was a thing in course.
The Jansenists, seeing that their rivals had sounded the alarm, did not remain quiet. They were in some measure engaged to show more zeal, than those whom they had so much reproached for their easy morality.

As the Jesuits exclaimed against the impiety of the work, the Jansenists howled at it. There happened to be a Convulsionary, or Convulsionist, one called Abraham Chaumeix, who lodged an accusation in form, entitled, *Prejuges legitimes contre l'Encyclopédie*, or, Just Prejudices against the Encyclopaedia, of which the first volume had just appeared.

It was a strange assemblage this of the word *prejudice*, which properly signifies illusion; and the word *just*, which belongs only to what is reasonable.

He carried, however, his most unjust prejudices so far as to say, that if the poison did not appear in the first volume, it would, doubtless, be perceived in the following ones; which was as much as to render the Encyclopedists guilty not of what they had said, but of what they would say.

As witnesses are necessary in a criminal process, he produced St. Augustine and Cicero; and these witnesses were so much the more unexceptionable, for that it could not be suspected, that Abraham Chaumeix had even the least acquaintance with them.

The cries of some, possessed with a spirit of malignancy, joined with those of this senseless wretch, excited a persecution that lasted but too long: yet, what came of it at length?

That happened, which happened to sound philosophy, to the emetic, to the circulation of the blood, to innoculation: all these were for a time proscribed, and all have at length triumphed over ignorance, stupidity and envy.

The dictionary of the Encyclopedia, notwithstanding its faults, still subsists, and Abraham Chaumeix is gone to hide his rage at Moscow.

It is said, the Empress has compelled him to good manners; if so, it is one of the prodigies of her reign.
LETTER IX.

OF THE JEWS.

Of all that have attacked, in their writings, the Christian religion, the Jews are perhaps those who are the most to be dreaded; and if there were not to be opposed to them the miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ, it would be very difficult for a man of no more than a moderate share of learning to make head against them. They look on themselves as the elder-born of the family, who, though they have lost their inheritance, still keep their title. They have employed a profound sagacity in explaining all the prophecies to their own advantage. They pretend that the Law of Moses was given them as an eternal one; that it is impossible that God should have changed, and forsworn himself; that our Saviour himself has acknowledged it. They object to us, that according to Jesus Christ, not a point, not a tittle of the Law, ought to be transgressed; that Jesus was come to accomplish the Law, not to abolish it; that he observed all the commandments of it; that he was circumcised; that he kept the sabbath, and solemnized all the festivals; that he was born a Jew, lived a Jew, and died a Jew; that he never instituted a new religion; that we have not a single line of his; that it is we ourselves, and not he, that made the Christian religion.

A Christian must not pretend to hazard a dispute with a
Jew, unless he understands the Hebrew as perfectly as his own mother tongue, as it is this alone that can qualify him to understand the prophesies, and answer the Rabbins. Thus does Joseph Scaliger express himself in his Excerpta, "The Jews are subtile reasoners: How miserably has Justin written against Tryphons, and Tertullian yet worse! He that would refute the Jews, must know Judaism to the bottom. What a shame it is! that Christians should write against Christians, and not dare to write against the Jews!"

The Toldos Jeschut is the most ancient Jewish writing that has been transmitted to us against our religion. It is a life of Jesus Christ, quite contrary to our holy Gospels; for the author makes no mention of them; and probably he would have tried to refute them, if he had known any thing of them. He makes Jesus the adulterous son of Miriah, or Mariah, and of a soldier called Joseph Pander, or Panther. He relates that he and Judas wanted each to make himself head of a sect; that both seemed to operate prodigies in virtue of the name of Jehovah, which they had learned to pronounce as it ought to be, for it to have its efficacy in conjurations. It is a heap of Rabbinical reveries, much beneath the Thousand and One Nights.

Origen no doubt refuted him, and he was the only one that could do it; for he was almost the only one of the Fathers who understood the Hebrew language.

The Jewish Theologers scarce wrote any thing more tolerable than the Toldos Jeschut, till the eleventh century: then it was, that being more enlightened by the Arabs, who were become the only learned nation, they put more judgment into their works.

The writings of the Rabbin Aben Ezra were much esteemed: He was, among the Jews, the founder of reason, as much as reason can be admitted into disputes of this kind. Spinoza has made great use of his writings.

Long after Eben Ezra came Maimonides, in the thirteenth century, who had yet a greater reputation. Since that time, to the sixteenth century, the Jews had intelligible books, and
consequently the more dangerous; they printed some of them towards the end of the sixteenth century. The number of their manuscripts was considerable. The Christian Theologers, being afraid of their power of seduction, ordered that all the Jewish books, on which hands could be laid, should be burned; but they could neither discover all the books, nor convert a single man of them to their religion. There have, it is true, been seen, some Jews to feign an abjuration, sometimes through fear, but not one of them ever sincerely embraced Christianity.

A Carthagenerian would, no doubt, sooner have taken the part of Rome, than a Jew have turned Christian. Orobio speaks of some Spanish and Arab Rabbins, who abjured and became Bishops in Spain; but he takes special care to avoid saying that they had, from their hearts, renounced their religion.

The Jews have not written against Mahometanism; which they are far from holding in such horror as they do our doctrine. The reason of which is evident,—the Mahometans do not make a God of Jesus Christ.

By a fatality never enough to be deplored, many learned Christians have quitted their religion for Judaism. Rittangel, Professor of the Oriental Languages at Koenisberg, in the seventeenth century, embraced the Mosaic Law.

Anthony, Minister at Geneva, was, in 1632, burned for having abjured Christianity in favor of Judaism. The Jews reckon him among the Martyrs who do them the most honor. His disastrous persuasion must have been very strong, since he preferred to retraction, the suffering so cruel a death.

In Nassachon Vetus, that is to say, the book of the Ancient Victory, may be seen a stroke concerning the superiority of the Mosaic Law over the Christian and the Persian, which is in the true Oriental taste.

A King commands a Jew, a Galilean, and a Mahometan, each to quit his own religion, and to embrace whichever he pleases of the two others; and if they do not change, the executioner is there to strike off their heads.
The Christian says, since there is a necessity of dying or changing, I had rather be of the religion of Moses than of that of Mahomet; for the Christians are more ancient than the Mahometans, and the Jews more ancient than Jesus; I will therefore turn Jew.

The Mahometan said, I cannot bear the thoughts of being a dog of a Christian, I had rather be a dog of a Jew, since the Jews have the right of priority.

May it please your Majesty, says the Jew, you see I can neither embrace the law of the Christian, nor that of the Mahometan, since both of them have given the preference to mine. The King, moved at this reason, sent away the executioner, and turned Jew.

All that can be inferred from this little story is that Princes ought not to employ executioners for apostles.

However, the Jews have had rigid and scrupulous Doctors, who have feared that their countrymen should suffer themselves to be overcome by the Christians. There was especially a Rabbi among them who thus expresses himself:

"The wise forbid the lending of money to a Christian, lest the creditor should be perverted by the debtor. But a Jew may borrow money of a Christian, without the fear of being seduced by him, for a debtor always avoids his creditors."

Notwithstanding this curious advice, the Jews have always lent their money, at an exorbitant interest, to Christians, and have not been the more converted by them.

After the famous Nassachon Vetus, we have a relation of the dispute between the Rabbin Zechiel, and the Dominican Friar Paul, called Cyriac. This is a conference held in the year 1263, between these two learned men, in the presence of Don Jaquez, King of Arragon, and of the Queen his wife.

This conference is very memorable. The two champions were well versed in Hebrew and in antiquity. The Talmud, the Targum, the archives of the Sanhedrim, were on the table. The contested passages were explained into Spanish.

Zechiel maintained that Jesus had been condemned under the King Alexander Jannæus, (and not under Herod the
Tetrarch, since we had not the power of life and death in our hands; we could not have crucified him, because that manner of punishment was not in use among us. Our Talmud has it, that he who perished in the time of Jannæus was condemned to be stoned to death. We can no more believe your Gospels than those pretended Letters of Pilate which you have forged.”

It was, no doubt, easy to confound this vain Rabbinical erudition.

The Queen put an end to the Conference, by asking of the Jews, “Why they stunk?”

This same Zechiel had also several other conferences, of which one of his disciples gives us an account. Each party attributed to itself the victory, though it can never be but on the side of truth.

The Rampart of Faith, written by a Jew, called Isaac, and found in Africa, is far superior to the relation of Zechiel, which is very confused and full of puerilities. Isaac is methodical, and a good Dialectian; never, perhaps, had error a greater support. He has collected, under the heads of a hundred propositions, all the difficulties of which the unbelievers have been since so free.

There it is you may see the objections against the two genealogies of Jesus Christ, so different from each other.

Against the quotations of the passages of the Prophets, which are not to be found in the Jewish books.

Against the divinity of Jesus Christ, which is not expressly announced in the Gospels, but which is not the less proved in the holy Councils.

Against the opinion that Jesus Christ had no brothers nor sisters.

Against the different narratives of the Gospels, which have however been reconciled or harmonized.

Against the history of Lazarus.

Against the pretended falsifications of the ancient Canonical writings.

In short, the most determined infidels have hardly advanced anything that is not in this Rabbi Isaac’s Rampart of the
Faith There is, however, no making a crime of it to the Jews, their having endeavored to justify their ancient religion at the expense of ours. They are only to be pitied. But what reproaches ought not to be made to those who have availed themselves of the disputes of the Christians and Jews to combat both religions? Let us pity those who, frightened at the contradictions of seventeen centuries, and tired with so much disputing, have thrown themselves into Theism, and will admit only one God, with a pure morality. If they have preserved Charity, they have renounced Faith: they have believed themselves to be men, instead of being Christians. They ought to be submissive, and they have aspired to be wise. But "how much is the folly of the crosss superior to such wisdom!" says the Apostle Paul.
OF OROBIO.

OROBIO was so learned a Rabbi, that he fell into none of those reveries which have been reproached to the other Rabbis.

‘Profound, without being obscure, possessed of polite literature, a man of an agreeable turn of wit, and extremely well-bred.

Philip Limborch, of the Arminian party in Amsterdam, made an acquaintance with him towards the year 1685. They had long disputes together, but without any acrimony, and like two friends that seek to enlighten each other. Conversations rarely clear up the subject-matters of them: It is not easy to follow constantly the same object, and not to run out of the course: One question begets another. In a quarter of an hour, one is surprised to find one’s self insensibly off the first ground.

They agreed then on putting into writing the objections and answers, which afterwards both of them printed in 1687.

It is, perhaps, the first dispute between two Theologers, in which there are no reciprocal invectives: On the contrary, the two adversaries treat one another with respect.

Limborch refutes the opinions of “the most learned and the most illustrious Jew;” who, with the same formularies of compliment, refutes the most learned and the most “illustrious Christian.” Orobio even never speaks of Jesus Christ but with the greatest circumspection. This is the summary of the dispute.

Orobio sets out with maintaining, that it was never ordained to the Jews by their Law, to believe in a Messiah.
That it is no where to be found, that Israel was to be threatened to be no longer the chosen people, if it did not believe in the future Messiah.

That in no place is it said that the Judaical law is the adumbration or figure of another law; that, on the contrary, it is everywhere said, that the Law of Moses is to be eternal.

That every Prophet, even should he work miracles in order to change any thing in the Law of Moses, ought to be punished with death.

That, true it was, that some Prophets had foretold to the Jews, in their calamities, that they should have one day a deliverer; but this deliverer would be the support of the Mosaic Law, instead of being its destroyer.

That the Jews are in constant expectation of a Messiah, who is to be a powerful and just King.

That one proof of the eternal immutability of the Mosaic religion is, that the Jews, dispersed all over the earth, have for all that never changed a single tittle in their law, and that the Israelites of Rome, of England, of Holland, of Germany, of Poland, of Turkey, of Persia, &c., have constantly held the same doctrine since the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, without there having risen up among them the least sect, that has deviated from one single observance, or from one single opinion of the Israelitish nation.

That on the contrary, the Christians have been divided among themselves from the very first period of their religion coming into existence.

That they are, at this moment, split into more sects, than there are Christian states, and that they have persecuted each other with fire and sword for above twelve centuries; that if the Apostle Paul allowed it to be right that the Jews should continue to observe the precepts of their law, the Christians of these days ought not to reproach them for doing what the Apostle had formerly permitted to be done.

That it is not out of hatred and malice that Israel has not acknowledged Jesus; neither is it out of base or carnal views that the Jews adhere to their ancient law; that, on the con-
trary, it is only in the hope of the blessings of Heaven that they have remained faithful to it, notwithstanding the persecu-
tions of the Babylonians, the Syrians, the Romans,—notwith-
standing their dispersion and disgrace,—notwithstanding the
hatred of so many nations; and that a whole people ought not
to be called carnal, who, for near forty centuries, have been
the Martyrs of God.

That it is the Christians who have had carnal advantages in
view. Witness almost all the first Fathers of the Church, who
hoped to live a thousand years in a New Jerusalem, amidst
abundance, and amidst all bodily delights.

That is impossible that the Jews should have crucified the
true Messiah, since the Prophets expressly say, that the Mes-
siah shall come to cleanse Israel of all sin; that he will not
leave a single stain in Israel; that it would be the most horri-
ble sin, the most abominable pollution, as well as the most pal-
pable contradiction, that God should send his Messiah to be
crucified.

That the precepts of the Ten Commandments being perfect,
any new mission was entirely useless.

That the Mosaic Law never had any mystical sense.

That it would be deceiving mankind, to tell them things
which were to be understood in a sense different from that in
which they were expressed.

That the Christian Apostles never equalled the miracles of
Moses. That the Evangelists and Apostles were not all sim-
ple people! Since Luke was a Physician, and Paul had
studied under Gamaliel, of whom the Jews have preserved the
writings.

That there is not the shadow of simplicity or idiocy in the
requiring of the new converts to bring in all their money to
the common stock: that Paul was so far from being a plain
dealer, that he employed the greatest artifice on his coming to
sacrifice at the temple, and in swearing before Festus and
Agrippa that he had done nothing against Circumcision, and
against the Law of Judaism.

That, in short, the contradictions which are to be found in
the Gospels prove that those books could not possibly be inspired by God.

Limborch answers all these assertions with all the strongest arguments that it is possible to employ; and had so great a confidence in the justness of his cause that he did not hesitate to have this celebrated dispute committed to the press.

As he was of the Armenian party, that of the Gomarists persecuted him; they reproached him with having exposed the truths of the Christian religion to a combat in which its enemies might triumph.

Orobio was not persecuted in the Synagogue.

**OF URIEL D’ACOSTA.**

There happened to Uriel d’Acosta much the same thing as to Spinoza; he renounced Judaism, at Amsterdam, to attach himself to Philosophy.

A Spaniard and an Englishman having applied to him for counsel, about their inclination to turn Jews, he dissuaded them from this design, and talked to them against the religion of the Hebrews.

He was condemned to receive, at the pillar, forty stripes, save one, and afterwards to prostrate himself on the threshold of the door of the Synagogue; so that all the Congregation trampled on him as they came out.

He had this adventure printed in a small book, still extant. In this work, he professes himself to be no Jew, nor Christian, nor Mahometan, but the adorer of one only God.

This small book is entitled, *An Example of Human Life.*

The same Limborch refuted Uriel d’Acosta as he had Orobio; and the Magistracy of Amsterdam did not in the least interfere in these quarrels.
LETTER X.

OF SPINOZA.

It appears to me, that as false a judgment has been formed of Spinoza's character as of his writings. Here is what has been said of him in two Historical Dictionaries.

"Spinoza had so great a desire of immortalizing himself, that he would have gladly sacrificed to that glory his present life, should he have been sure of being torn to pieces by an enraged populace.

"The absurdities of Spinozism have been perfectly refuted by John Bredenbourg, citizen of Rotterdam."

So many words, so many falsities. Spinoza was precisely the contrary of the picture here drawn of him.

It is right to detest his Atheism, but wrong to belie his character. Never was there a man, in every sense, more averse to vain glory. This must be owned. Do not let us, while we condemn, calumniate him.

The minister Colerus, who long occupied the very room in which Spinoza died, agrees with all his contemporaries, in owning that Spinoza constantly lived in a profound retreat, seeking to secrete himself from the world, an enemy to all superfluity, modest in his conversation, careless of his dress, working with his own hands, never putting his name to his works. All this is not in the character of a man ambitious of reputation.

As to Bredenbourg, so far from refuting him perfectly well, I dare believe he refuted him perfectly ill. I have read his work, and leave the judgment of it to whoever shall, like me, have the patience to peruse it.
Bradenbourg was so far from clearly confounding Spinoza, that he himself, frightened at the weakness of his own argument, became forcibly and against his own will, the disciple of him whom he had attacked.

A great example this of the weakness and inconsistency of the human understanding.

The life of Spinoza is written circumstantially enough, and is too well known for a repetition of it being here necessary.

Your Highness will, however, give me leave to request your joining with me in making one reflection on the treatment which this Jew, when quite young, met with from the Synagogue.

Being accused by two young people of his own age, of not believing in Moses, they attempted, in order to put him in the right way again, to assassinate him with a stab from a knife, as he was coming out of the Play-house,—some say as he was coming out of the Synagogue, which is more likely.

After they had failed of the final dispatch of his body, they determined not to miss his soul: they proceeded to the greater Excommunication, or Chammatæ.

Spinoza contended, that the Jews had no authority to exercise this kind of jurisdiction in Amsterdam.

The Town-Council referred the decision of this affair to the Consistory of the Pastors; these concluding that, if the Synagogue had such a right, the Consistory might enjoy it with greater reason, gave it in favor of the Synagogue.

Spinoza, then, was proscribed by the Jews, with great ceremony. The Signer of Israel fulminated the words of execration; the Horn was sounded, the Black Tapers were melted drop by drop, into a vessel full of blood. Benedict Spinoza was devoted to Belzebub, to Satan, to Ashtaroth, and all the Synagogue cried, Amen!

It is strange that such an act of jurisdiction should have been allowed—an act that resembles more the procedure of a meeting of Sorcerers, than a just judgment.

It is not unlikely, that without the stab from a knife, and the black tapers quenched in blood, Spinoza would never have
written against Moses and against God. Persecution exasperates. It emboldens those who feel they have genius, and will render those irreconcilable whom indulgence would have kept within bounds.

Spinoza renounced Judaism, but without ever embracing Christianity. He did not publish his treatise on *Superstitions Ceremonies*, or *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* till 1670, about eight years after his excommunication.

It was pretended that there were discoverable in this book the seeds of his Atheism. This was pretended for much the same reason, or prejudice, that one sees a bad physiognomy in a man who has done a bad action.

This book is so far from Atheism, that Jesus Christ is often mentioned in it as one sent by God. It is very profound, and the best Spinoza ever wrote. I doubtless condemn the opinions of it, but I cannot help esteeming its erudition.

It was Spinoza, I think, who first remarked, that the Hebrew word *ruhag*, which we translate by *soul*, signified, among the Jews, wind, breath, in its natural sense; and that, whatever was eminently Great, bore the title of Divine. The Cedars of God, the Winds of God. The melancholy of Saul, was the Evil Spirit from God. The virtuous were the Children of God.

It was Spinoza, who first unfolded that dangerous system of Eben-Ezra, that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, nor the book of Joshua, by Joshua. It is only from following after him that Le Clerc, several Dutch Divines, and the celebrated Newton, have embraced that opinion.

Newton differs from Spinoza only in this, that he attributes to Samuel the books of Moses, whereas Spinoza makes Esdras the author of them.

You may see all the reasons which Spinoza gives for his system, in his eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters. One may observe great exactness in his chronology, a great knowledge of the history, language, and manners of his ancient country, with more of method and reasoning than in all the Rabbins put together.
It appears to me, that few writers before him, had satisfactorily proved that the Jews acknowledged any Prophets among the Gentiles.

In a word, he made a guilty use of his intellectual lights, but he had very great ones.

You must search out Atheism in the ancient Philosophers, for you see it no where openly but in the Posthumous works of Spinoza. His Treatise on Atheism, not being under that title, and being besides written in an obscure Latin, and a very dry style. Count de Boulainvilliers has reduced it into French, under the title of Refutation of Atheism,—but we have only the poison,—Boulainvilliers, it may be supposed, not having had the time to give us the antidote.

There are few who have remarked, that Spinoza in his deplorable book, is forever speaking of an infinite and supreme being. He announces a God in the same breath that he is aiming at annihilating the belief in one.

The arguments with which Bayle overwhelms him, would appear to me unanswerable if, in fact, Spinoza had admitted a God,—for God being, according to him, nothing but the immensity of things, such a God being at once matter and thought, it is absurd, as Bayle has very well proved it, to suppose that God should be at once active and passive, cause and subject, doing the ill and suffering it, loving and hating himself.

"A man of any sense," says Bayle, "would prefer cultivating the earth with his teeth and nails, to the cultivating an hypothesis so shocking and so absurd." For, according to Spinoza, those who would say, "ten thousand Germans have killed ten thousand Turks," would express themselves ill and falsely. They should say, "God, modified into ten thousand Germans, has killed God modified into ten thousand Turks."

Bayle would be much in the right, if Spinoza had acknowledged a God, but the fact is that he does not at all acknowledge one, and has only employed that sacred word that he might not too greatly shock mankind.

Wrapped up in Descartes, he makes a bad use of that
author's equally celebrated and senseless expression,—"Give me motion and matter and I will soon form a world."

Full also of the idea so incomprehensible and so repugnant to Natural Philosophy, of the Plenum, Spinoza imagined that there could exist not more than one substance,—one only power that reasons in men, feels and remembers in animals, sparkles in the fire, flows in the waters, blows in the wind, roars in the thunder, vegetates on the earth, and is co-extended everywhere throughout space.

According to this theory, everything is necessary, everything is eternal. Creation is impossible. No design in the structure of the universe, in the permanence of the species, and in the succession of individuals. The ears are no longer made for hearing, the eyes for seeing, the heart for receiving and propelling the blood; the stomach for digesting; the brain for thinking; the generative organs for propagating life; and all the designs of Nature, are but the effects of a blind necessity.

You have here a just exposition of Spinoza's system, and withal, you have here the weak points by which his stronghold is to be attacked; a stronghold, if I am not mistaken, founded on an ignorance of Natural Philosophy, and on a most prodigious misuse of Metaphysics.

The author of La Henriade has said, "A Catechism announces God to Children, Newton demonstrates him to the Wise." The more one knows of Nature, the more one must adore God.

Atheism can do no good to morality, and may do much harm. It is almost as dangerous as fanaticism. You are, my Prince, equidistant from either, and this it is which has induced me to lay the truth before you, without any disguise. I have answered all your questions from those about that learned buffoon, Rabelais, to those concerning that rash metaphysician, Spinoza.

I could have added to this list a crowd of little books, scarcely known to any but to Librarians; but I was afraid that in multiplying the number of the guilty, I should seem to diminish their guilt.
I hope that the little I have said will confirm your Highness in your opinion of our doctrine, and our scriptures, by observing that they have only been combated by headstrong Stoics; by literary men, vain of their knowledge; by people of the world, who are guided by their own weak reason; by men of wit who take jests for arguments; by Theologers, who, in short, instead of walking in the ways of God, have bewildered themselves in their own ways.

Once more, what ought to be a just consolation to a soul so noble as yours, is, that the Theism, which now-a-days destroys so many souls, can never disturb the peace of nations, nor be prejudicial to the sweets of society.

Controversy has everywhere caused human blood to flow, and Theism has stopped the effusion. It is, I confess, but a bad remedy, but it has cured the most cruel wounds. It is excellent for this life, if it is detestable for the other. To be sure it dams a man, but it renders him peaceable.

Your country has formerly been in flames upon matters of argument: Theism restored concord to it. It is clear that if Poltrot, James Clement, Jaurigni Balthazor Gerard, John Chatel, Damiens, the Jesuit Malagrida, &c., had been Theists, there would have been fewer Princes assassinated.

God forbid, that I should prefer Theism to the holy religion of a Ravaillac, of a Damiens, of a Malagrida, which they knew so little of, and injured so much! I only say that it is more agreeable to live with Theists, than with such as Ravaillac, or Madam Brinvilliers, who went regularly to confession.

But if your highness is not of my opinion, why, then,—I am in the wrong.
A SECRET PROJECT,

PRESENTED TO THE OTTOMAN EMPEROR, MUSTAPHA III.
BY ALI BEN ABDALLAH, BASHA OF CAIRO.*

SOVEREIGN LORD OF THE UNIVERSE, ever victorious, beloved by thy faithful subjects, dreaded by the infidel Christians, and revered throughout the East.

Nothing can stand in opposition to thy supreme power, but the Alcoran, and those who support it with their authority—the Mufti, the Imaums, and the Dervises.

Thy power and thy wisdom, it is true, maintain thee on the throne, and make thee prosper in the greatest part of thy august designs; but our superstitious religion is, and ever will be, an obstacle to the happiness of thy empire.

The Alcoran fills the brave and noble Mahometans with pernicious and ridiculous ideas; it begets in their minds an irrational fear of eternal torments, and of certain fabled monsters, whom the expositors of that book call evil angels.

This pretended revelation forbids to those nations, subject to thy empire, the use of wine, and other innocent pleasures of life, and flatters them, to indemnify them for this privation, with the imaginary hope of a blissful paradise, after their death.

Numbers of thy subjects consecrate themselves to the false theology of the Prophet; while, to the prejudice of the public good, they neglect the cultivation of rice, and of silk, and of other useful employments.

All the inhabitants of thy vast Empire pass, in the Mosques and in Idleness, at least one-quarter of their time during the
year, which time is consumed by the Fridays appointed for
divine service, the festivals of Mahomet, of Aboubeckher, of
Ali, of Omar, of Abdallah, etc., and not to mention the con-
siderable sums which the maintenance of an almost infinite
number of sacred idlers must entail.

There is then sacrificed to the precepts of Mahomet, and to
the whims of his Priests, the profit which would be produced
by the labor of thirty millions of men, for three months of
the year.

In short, the happiness and wealth of the Mahometans can
never arrive at their height,—the treasures of the Empire will
be deprived of a generous income,—the stream of its affluence
will be restricted in its course,—so long as the Alcoran shall
presume to prescribe laws to the subjects of the first Monarch
of the world.

Nothing, sublime Emperor, would be more advantageous
than, if it were possible, to abolish and suppress our religion:
but, in short, if circumstances do not admit of destroying this
phantom by force of arms, it may at least be indirectly attack-
ed and ruined little by little.

If thou deignest to employ these last means, it is almost in-
dubitable that Superstition shall sink under the efforts of the
Conqueror of Georgia.

A Jew, poor and ambitious, established the Christian reli-
gion; an artful Arabian Merchant founded ours. Why should
it be more difficult to a powerful Prince, who possesses the
highest degree of wisdom, to overturn a false faith, by sapping,
little by little, its foundation?

Yes, Mighty Sovereign, to destroy the religion of Mahomet,
that rival of thy authority, that enemy to the happiness of thy
states, it will be enough that thy Will shall dictate the Decree
of it; and that thy sublime penetration shall supplement what-
ever may be deficient in the following means:

I. Let there be made a collection of the Fables contained
in our Alcoran, and in that of the Christian Scriptures, in order
that, by a comparison of the one with the other, it may be
seen that our religion is, within a small matter, as ridiculous
as that of the Christians.
II. Let there be translated into our language such books as appear in favor of the *Religion of Nature*, as also the controversies that the Jews, the Catholics, the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Greeks, the Quakers, the Memnonites, and the other Christian sects have had among themselves.

III. On the Friday, let it be permitted, during divine service, to keep the shops open, to sell sherbert in the public houses and gardens.

IV. Let the festivals of the second order, which are already suppressed in Persia, be no longer celebrated in the Ottoman Empire.

V. Let it be permitted, and even recommended to the Priests, to wear, at the times they do not exercise the functions of their ministry, secular habits, in order thereby to give greater freedom to their conversation, and manner of thinking.

VI. Let there be assigned to the Priests of town and country, instead of a part of their maintenance in ready money, some lands, in order to divert their attention from the care of preserving their authority.

VII. Let whatever is competent to the jurisdiction of civil tribunals, as for example, the publication and confirmation of marriages, be once for all taken away from the Doctors of the Mahometan Law, and given in charge to the Magistrates appointed by the Emperor.

VIII. That, for the future, in order to suppress one of the principal sources of superstition, the youth shall no longer be taught in the public schools by the Interpreters of the Alcoran, but by the Civilians and Philosophers.

IX. When the faith of the Mahometans shall have been in some measure staggered by these preliminary means, let some persons, considerable for their rank, or for their fortune, be influenced on the part of the Sultan with the assurance of his protection, to separate openly, and all at once, from our established religion.

When this occurs, a large number of the inhabitants, both of the cities and of the provinces, will follow the example—some out of conviction, some out of vanity, many out of interest, or for other motives.
Nor need there be any doubt but that the rest of the nation will at length become careless and indifferent, and cease to observe the old and antiquated forms of worship.

The history of the Christians is full of the like changes in belief,—we see that, not more than two centuries ago, whole States of Europe, under the conduct of their Princes, have without difficulty, shaken off the yoke of the Mufti of Rome.

Proceeding in this manner, most Invincible Monarch, thou shalt then execute an enterprise, now looked upon as impossible, and yet being far from difficult to the power and wisdom of Mustapha III.

Thou shalt thus conquer and destroy a most pernicious superstition, which hath already endured beyond a thousand years! Grateful Mahometans shall owe to thee their disenthallment from error and the enjoyment of universal mental liberty and freedom, which, thenceforth, nothing shall disturb! And thy name, most Gracious Sovereign, shalt ever be honored and renowned to the remotest posterity.
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