A FEW REMARKS
ON THE
EXPEDIENCY AND JUSTICE
OF
EMANCIPATING THE JEWS,

ADDRESSED TO HIS GRACE THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K. G.

BY THE AUTHOR OF
"AN HISTORICAL AND ANALYTICAL VIEW
OF THE
CATHOLIC RELIGION, WITH REFERENCE TO POLITICAL
INSTITUTIONS."

(T. Ancillini)

O δὲ ἐν σφόδρῳ βουλήσει τὸς πολλὰς χειρὶς ἐκ—Hr̄ipides.

Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapon, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Jew, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why revenge? The villainy you teach me, I will execute; and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction.—Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice.

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I am aware that some of my cathedralic readers, indignant at the trespass which I, a man of business, so often commit on the manors of letters, will clamorously cry out, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam," which in plain English means, "Mind your own business." But far from unsheathing the sword of resentment at such peremptory injunction, I modestly beg to submit the following observations in extenuation of my guilt.

1. I mind with activity, care, and perseverance, my business, which begins at nine o'clock in the morning, and ends at six in the afternoon.

2. I possess an unconquerable aversion to dissipation, and inactivity, and am therefore impelled, by the nature of my inclinations, to fill up the vacuum between the hour when my duties cease, and that of my rest, with reading, thinking, and writing. My mind, which wants a strong food, never loses sight of that precept of a Grecian philosopher—

Γυμνάζε σεαυτόν πόνοις ακουστίοις.
3. As I pay my taxes, and am, in common with every inhabitant of this free country, entitled to the privilege of speaking, and publishing my own opinions, I frankly avow that I shall never remain a silent spectator of the injustice of men, and the iniquities of their despots: I scorn protection, court no favour, hate flattery, and am as proud of my present obscurity, the result of my conscientious consistency, as I was formerly of my rank and comforts, the gift of my parents.
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---In this rank age
Much is the patriot's weeding hand required.

Thomson's Winter.

MY LORD,
You have out-maneuvred your opponents at St. Stephen's as you did Marmont at Salamanca; and you have conquered Catholic emancipation as you conquered Spain: victory has in both cases adorned your Grace's brows with a fresh leaf, and posterity will register those triumphal deeds in the annals of glory. *Eodem animo dixit, quo bellavit,* may, with an equal justice, be applied to you, as it was said of a great orator and captain of ancient times. However, the merit or demerit of your senatorial triumph will, unlike your great military achievements, be shared by those illustrious statesmen who preceded you, and whose policy your Grace has, in many instances,

* Camões, the great Portuguese epic poet, has paraphrased the philosopher's sentence in the following verse in his seventh canto:

"N'huma mao sempre a espada, e n'outra a penna."
on the expediency and justice of opposed. It is not my intention to poach on the manors of discussion, and examine whether the advantages which this bold measure is expected to produce, will be more than overbalanced by the evils with which I firmly believe it to be pregnant. My opinion has been fully and fearlessly expressed in my last work, and my name, I trust, will not remain unperceived amidst the crowd of those conscientious writers, who, in every stage of society, have maintained, that the execrable doctrines of Rome are at variance with free institutions. One circumstance must I, however, lament, in common with the opposers and supporters of Catholic emancipation; namely, that in introducing such measure in Parliament, the Right Honourable individual at the head of the Home Department should have recommended it, not as a propitiation to the long-insulted shrine of justice; but as a concession forcibly extorted from the Government by the imposing attitude which the Catholics of Ireland had assumed, and by the utter destitution of means efficiently to oppose it, chiefly arising from the dreaded opposition on the part of the army in Ireland, strongly inoculated with the enthusiasm of Catholic emancipation. This appears to me a serious mistake, my Lord, whose inauspicious consequences may disturb that popularity which both your Grace and the Minister have so unexpectedly acquired;

* "An Analytical and Historical View of the Catholic Religion, with reference to Political Institutions."
since it is reasonable to be dreaded that the Catholics, led by their intrepid and very able commander, and aware that they are not indebted for the boon, unexpectedly obtained, to the sympathy of Government, but to a well-discussed and well-canvassed fear, will at any future opportunity set in motion the same means which have so well availed them: and you know, my Lord, that l'appetit vient en mangeant, and that the giant of the Vatican is not so easily satisfied with a moderate meal, but that he requires fresh food commensurate to his enormous powers of digestion. But another still more alarming fear I cannot conceal from your Grace, as likely to arise from the adoption of the measure to which I have alluded: I mean the increase of crime, and the overflow of the stream of immorality, powerfully urged on by the impunity which Catholic religion boldly holds out to crime,—a fear which can by no means be traced to a distempered mind, or a wicked heart. And indeed, my Lord, when coronets and wealth are profusely lavished upon prostitutes, and these brought forward on the foreground of society; when innocence and virtue are forced to undergo the discipline of a seraglio, in order to emerge from the obscurity of want; when adultery is become a lawful traffic, and the adulterer admitted to legislate in Parliament; when honest poverty is ridiculed, and guilty wealth extolled; when gambling-houses are made the universities, whereat rank and wealth get their claims to
ON THE EXPEDIENCY AND JUSTICE OF public consideration,* it is high time to look with dismay at the increasing influence of a sect, which dispenses rewards and punishments under the usurped authority of God. The portals of Parliament, the sanctuary of the laws, being now open to the most powerful and the most dangerous sectarians on earth, it is not unreasonable to hope that the same advantages will be extended to the harmless followers of an ancient and once-favourite religion; which, unlike the Catholic, produces no forged delegacy from God. Your Grace will, perhaps, start at the idea, that the most inveterate enemies of the Christian Religion should be privileged to till the same soil bathed and fertilized by the sweat of Christian brows; but with a due reference to your Grace's eminent abilities and orthodoxical zeal, I purpose to prove that the rigid and conscientious followers of the Mosaic law are no more hostile to our holy religion, than the supporters of Popish doctrines; and that it is infinitely less criminal, as the illustrious Bacon observes, to plead ignorance of the existence of God, than to worship a tyrannical, illusory Deity. And I defy the honourable and fractional Member for Montrose, who lately, in a fit of Catholic enthusiasm, eulogized the detestable Jesuits as the restorers of literature and the friends of mankind,—I defy that industrious anatomizer of

* Moth.—You are a gentleman and a gamester, Sir.
Arm.—I confess both; they are both the varnish of a complete man.—Love's Labour Lost, Act 1, sc. 2.
pence and farthings, to disprove my assertion,—
that the Holy Founder of Christianity is as differ-
ent from the God of the Vatican, as the illus-
triuous and benevolent King William of the
Netherlands is from the ferocious and sanguinary
Don Miguel;—I challenge the learned and con-
scientious Bishop of Siga to prove that the chari-
table, generous Being, who on the very point of
giving up his holy spirit, amidst the excruciating
sufferings of torture, proclaimed a spontaneous
forgiveness to his enemies, is the same vindictive,
persecuting, unforgiving Deity, who commands
his deputies and vicegerents on earth to burn,
flay alive, destroy, and torture the Jews, and
other sectarians, who dissent from his holy pre-
cepts. The Jews are not only permitted by the
will of God to live and enjoy, in common with
the rest of mankind, all the advantages which
society admits of, but are moreover particularly
distinguished by the favour of Heaven for an un-
interrupted supremacy in wealth and power, and
for the homage and submission which the highest
authorities on earth zealously pay them. Their
existence is no longer visited by those bodily
afflictions which God formerly sent them, when-
ever they fell under his displeasure; their meals
are not blasted with the appearance of those dis-
gusting animals who devoured their viands, and
left behind them the vestiges of desolation;
their houses are not deserted, like the seats of
contagion, but are frequented, and graced by the
wealthy and the grandees, who pay a wilful ho-
mage to luxury and comforts. And your Grace will bear me out in the assertion, that the residence of the eminent Jew in Piccadilly is as much resorted to by individuals of the most orthodoxical creed, as the seat of his Grace of Canterbury: a proof, if proofs were wanting, that Christians do not look upon Jews as individuals labouring under the indignation of God, as wicked fanaticism would make us believe. It is therefore the will of God that the Jews should not only live, but prosper, and be protected, like the rest of human kind; and your Grace will do me the honour to agree with me, that it would be very easy for the Author of Creation to dart a ray of that same light which separated order from confusion, on the darkened minds of the Jews, and make them converts to Christianity; thereby accomplishing in a twinkling of an eye, what the persevering exertions of the missionaries, and the industry of the Society for the Conversion of Jews, have not yet obtained. And that such miracles are not impossible even in our present days, is more than proved by the sudden conversion of the Secretary of the Home Department, from an uncompromising Protestantism to a zealous toleration.

This unexpected miracle has completely thrown into the shade all the celebrated legerdemain of the jugglers of the Vatican, and the no less celebrated performances of the late Prince Hohenlohe. That Mr. Dawson should have leaped from off his steady Protestant seat into the hot-burning con-
venticles of the Catholics, and become a Catholic Gracchus, is a dereliction of duty of the second class; since he might, as he has really done, plead the ocular survey taken by him of the moral state of Ireland, in extenuation of his broken engagements. But that his Right Hon. brother-in-law, Robert Peel, (cheu quantum mutatus ab illo!) who for the last twenty years held with a firm grasp the marshal-staff of the Protestant armies of England;—who, with an energetic indignation (risum teneatis?) rejected the thought of sitting in the same Cabinet with the immortal Canning, because he was a supporter of Catholic emancipation;—who, at the moment of unsheathing the sword of defence, throws down his marshal's staff, and deserts over to his opponent;—who, instead of modestly withdrawing from the Cabinet and Parliament, and concealing in the obscurity of silence the humiliation of his unjustifiable desertion, becomes a zealous approver of the hated measure, and cheerfully assumes (proh pudor!) the unenviable task of introducing and supporting it in Parliament;—who has the unparalleled courage still more to aggravate his misconduct by a paradoxical, ill-weaved, unargumentative speech, vox; vox pretereaque nihil,—is an event which baffles competition. As for the civic honours bestowed upon him by the enthusiastic livery and its amiable, harmless chief, the Lord Mayor, it is a curious anomaly, which is not worth being mentioned. Mr. Peel had done nothing in favour of the Catholics until the moment he deserted his colours;
while the civic crown was meritoriously earned by the bold, indefatigable O'Connell. Like Phæ-ton’s, the Right Honourable Secretary’s downfall is mortal, irretrievable; and arising from the same causes,—want of skill in properly managing the self-assumed task,—multum cæli post terga relicturn. He is politically dead, and irritated patriotism will sing no dirge of gratitude upon his obscure grave—

"Nec, si miserum Fortuna Sinonem
Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget."

With respect to the ignoble crowd of those right honourable and honourable individuals who, at the waving of the great magician’s wand, have suddenly turned their coats, and assumed new features, it is not my intention to blast my pen, and sully my mind, by even alluding to them.

Katapoxiastes tis auton anaragias.

Vengon colla fortuna, e van con lei, very properly were courtiers described by the great dramatist Metastasio. I however respect the sudden conversion of the Right Honourable and learned Lord on the woolsack, as arising from irresistible causes,—the knowledge which that magic seat, like Apollo’s tripods, imparts to the mind of those who sit upon it; since it is obvious that an irresistible fit of vaticination could alone have forced the keeper of the King’s conscience to betray his own.

But before I proceed to demonstrate the justice of admitting the Jews to the free enjoyment of
national privileges, I crave permission to advocate the measure on the plea of expediency, whose thundering voice has lately re-echoed with such mighty effect within the walls of Whitehall, Downing-street, and Parliament. Your Grace, who I have no doubt is well read in history, knows, that at every period of society the Jews have, by their industry, frugality, and perseverance, monopolized that mighty lever of men's minds, money; and that, notwithstanding the cruelties, oppressions, and spoliations inflicted on them by their savage persecutors the Catholics, they have still preserved that privilege, and kept their enemies in a state of bondage. That at no other period of society the case has been more proved than at the present moment, is fully demonstrated by the servile obsequiousness which all the Crowned heads in Europe spontaneously evince towards the most extraordinary Jew who has ever existed since the remotest days of Moses; and who, through his influence on the finances of all countries, could strike a docket against all governments, and make them bankrupts.* If it is therefore true that governments cannot safely

* M. Rothschild has done more for the emancipation of the Jews, than Mr. O'Connell for that of the Catholics. By the magic power of wealth, he has rendered their obstinate enemies their tributaries; while, by the attractive seduction of gastronomic and musical entertainment, he has completely conquered the aversion of the aristocracy to mix with merchants and Jews; and were the whole Church of England to threaten anathemas against the frequenters of the wealthy financier's mansion, they would certainly prefer corporeal to spiritual comforts, and disregard the
navigate through the stormy seas of finances without propitiating the Jews, let us at once remove the thin partition which separates them from our interests, and by making them free and efficient members of society, force them to offer voluntarily, what is extorted from them at enormous sacrifices. If Most Christian, Most Apostolic, Most Faithful, Most Catholic Majesties lavish honours, privileges, and wealth upon the presumed enemies of Christianity, thereby compounding with their own consciences; what can refrain the Constitutional King of Protestant England, who has lately signed a family compact with the sectarians of the execrated Rome, to grant the same boon to the followers of the oldest religion on record, who, by the exclusive possession of wealth, rule the moral destinies of the world? The transition from this state of abject slavery to a perfect stage of liberty, would be, after all, but a trifling change, the abolition of a mere quibble; since, according to the sense of the Constitution, every Dissenter is allowed to take his seat in Parliament, provided he takes the oath of supremacy, or, in other words, provided he makes a sham sacrifice of his principles to the shrine of ambition and interest, retaining the intuitive conviction of their truth. The Jew, therefore, becomes, ipso facto, a British citizen, if he consents to perjure his conscience and adulterate his principles; and what advantages could threats. Those who are acquainted with the irresistible attractions which good dinners possess for the nobility, will bear me out in this assertion—Fruge consumere nati.
the country derive from characters so lowered in their own and the nation's esteem? In like manner, Jews were in former times permitted to reside in Portugal and Spain, provided they frequented Catholic churches, never mind whether to insult or to worship the God of the Christians. How more useful, how more safe, how more consistent with the dignity of a constitutional Government would it be, to allow the Jews to bring into the sanctuary of the laws, as a pledge of honour, a consistency of principles, without forcing them to pay at the door for the admission-ticket, the badge of religious prostitution! The truth of this remark was forcibly felt by George I. and II. under whose governments the Jews very properly indulged the expectation of retrieving their rights of men, and taking a seat among the councils of society. Fanaticism, under the usual garb of patriotism, stopped the triumph of justice; and the persecuted Jews, with a very few exceptions, remained in the same state of helotism in which they are now. The Act of the 10th of George I. enacts the following very striking clause: "That whenever any of his Majesty's subjects, professing the Jewish religion, shall present himself to take the said oath of abjuration, the said words, 'upon the true faith of a Christian,' shall be omitted out of the said oath." The Act of the 13th of George II. cap. 7. is still more remarkable. It enacts, that foreigners who shall have resided seven years in any of his Majesty's colonies shall become naturalized on taking certain oaths: Quakers
were allowed to affirm, and Jews to take the abjuration oath, without the clause "upon the true faith of a Christian." The Act of the 26th George II. chap. 26. granted the Jews the privileges of naturalization on applying to Parliament, without receiving the Sacrament, provided they had lived three years in any of his Majesty's dominions, and been absent therefrom only three months. The bill, embodying such privileges, was introduced in the House of Lords in the year 1753, and was entitled, "An Act to permit persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalized by Parliament, and for other purposes therein mentioned." The measure was recommended in a petition by some eminent merchants and manufacturers, who set forth the great utility likely to arise from its adoption, in not only retaining at home such industrious and wealthy sectarians, but from the encouragement held out to foreign Jews to emigrate to this country, and bring with them their riches and industry. The act was strongly opposed, and ultimately baffled by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Court of Common Council of the city of London, who, in a petition breathing all the illiberality of ignorance and prejudice, portrayed the inevitable ruin of the Constitution, and the downfall of the Established Church.* Since that time no fresh attempt has been renewed to better the condition of those honest sectarians, but all possible latitude has been left to their enemies continually to add

* Smollet, vol. iii. p. 347.
fresh fuel to the fire of persecution. A most disgraceful law has been for a long period in existence among the Livery of London, by which a Jew, who, on the demise of one of the twelve individuals of the same persuasion who hold the ticket of sworn brokers, wishes to become its substitute, is obliged to pay the exorbitant sum of 1,300£. and even 1,500£. as a propitiation to the Lord Mayor for the time being; and the transfer of the same ticket from the same individual, either to his partner or his own relation, must be preceded by the farther sacrifice of 500£. Good God! and are such degrading transactions suffered to exist in a Christian country, nay, in the land of liberty? Is it among a people governed by one of the wisest constitutions in the world, that the traffic of privileges is authorized? Is it among Protestants that the infamous simony of the court of the Vatican is practised? Is it among Englishmen that the criminal right of compounding with our own conscience is made a law of the land? If the Jews, from the nature of their religion, are become the outcasts of society, and are to be deprived of water and fire, let them pine away in servitude and misery; but let us not suffer bribery and corruption to assume a mediatorship between injustice and our conscience. Let the execrable authority of selling privileges and immunities be a perpetual freehold of the sanguinary Odin of Rome; and let us hasten to blot from off our municipal records a law which may claim its parentage from
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Constantinople or Algiers. The hatred which nations have from time immemorial felt against the Jews, is a consequence of the feelings which the authorities by which they were governed studiously and at every opportunity displayed, and not an individual desire of their hearts; since a people, not unlike a family of children, follow the example held out by their superiors in rank and age. And that these feelings were not identified with the cause of God, but were the degraded offsprings of sordid interest, is demonstrated by the influence which gold has uniformly exerted upon them, and which the philosophers of every age have fearlessly produced in their original garb. The illustrious and philanthropic author of "The Spirit of the Laws," observes, that the ordinance which the Government of Russia enacted in the year 1745, for the expulsion of the Jews from Moscow, proves that that Government cannot cease to be despotic. And in another passage of his immortal work, alluding to the facility which, by the invention of bills of exchange, the Jews possessed of transferring their property in any part of the world, he very properly remarks, that the system of expulsion derived a powerful check from such invention: 'Car tel prince qui voudrait bien se défaire d'eux ne serait pas pour cela d'humeur à se défaire de-leur argent.'* A very wise remark, which unmask at once the hypocrisy of the zealous and pious enemies of the Jews. The persecutions

* Liv. xxi. chap. xx.
which they suffered under the religious Richard the First, and the massacres which degraded the reign of that hero of the Crusades; the oppressions and slaughters which they were made the victims of under the Anglo-Norman Kings; and the refined cruelties which were inflicted upon them by the sanguinary Fitz-Richard, Lord Mayor of London, which have been only surpassed by the worthy lieutenant of that monster Don Miguel, General Telles Jordao; the spoliations practised upon them during the reign of Henry the Third and Edward the First, are evident characteristics of those gloomy times of superstition and ignorance, when men were governed by the lieutenants of a ferocious theocracy, and not by the calm and uninfluenced impartiality of the laws; and in proportion as the light of education expanded its rays upon the horizon of those ages, fanaticism lost its influence in the regions of the North, and ultimately established his perpetual residence amidst the sensual nations of the South. The most despotic governments of the present age maintain their hatred against the illustrious children of Moses, from a disgraceful consistency with their institutions; from which, not unlike stagnant and sickly waters, emanate pestiferous exhalations, which poison the atmosphere of the mind. Russia has by a recent ukase expelled almost all the Jews from her territory; but who would think, my Lord, to take for a model of legislative perfection that land of barbarians, where Siberia
and the knout stand in place of the laws? where any attempt on the part of some of its wise and well-meaning Emperors to introduce salutary reforms, has been rewarded by poison and a bowstring; where the benevolent and philosophical measures of the generous Alexander were marred and stifled by an arrogant, despotic aristocracy, and an ignorant and debased priesthood. The Jews are still persecuted in Frankfort, and most of the towns of the German empire. But who would deign to cast a look at those Lilliputian combinations of self-appointed burgomasters and senators, whose public income does not surpass that of a private gentleman in England, and whose army does not even amount to the numerical strength of a British regiment (bravery is out of the question)? The Jews are still persecuted in Spain and Portugal; but what being can escape persecution and murders in those regions, cursed and blasted by the presence of two crowned tigers, governed by a sanguinary religion, and overrun by the hungry harpies of convents and churches? The demise of an ignorant and cruel Pope, granted by God to the fervent supplications of the oppressed Italians, had raised a hope that the relentless tyranny of the priesthood would be sensibly mitigated, as it seemed an impossible event that his successor should prove as perverse as he. But the general expectations have been disappointed; and the new occupant of St. Peter's chair, Pius VIII. has, in his preliminary measures, displayed
the zealous desire of surpassing in iniquities his abhorred predecessor. By several edicts, signed by the Inquisitor-General, he has boldly revived the tyrannical policy of the Canon law, and strictly commanded all faithful Catholics to denounce, under pain of excommunication and other more heavy punishments, all dissenters, especially Jews;* severely prohibiting Catholics to associate with these latter, and even forbidding Christian women to give suck to a Jewish child. Such is, in reality, the newly-appointed Chief of that mischievous and ferocious sect, whom your Grace and the consistent Mr. Secretary Peel have triumphantly brought into Parliament, amidst the deafening plaudits of your Grace's friends pro tempore; such is the lieutenant of our divine Saviour, who denounces persecutions and murders in the name of Him who preached charity and forgiveness. If the supporters of the Catholic religion, which they represent as having lost the ferocious superstition of the middle age, are not yet satisfied that it is an institution only calculated to support tyranny, and whose breath is

* By another still more absurd edict or bull, he has excommunicated the town of Imola, and consequently has forbidden all its inhabitants to partake of any sacrament whatsoever; they cannot obtain passports to travel; all the churches are shut up to them, and they have been declared unworthy of the Papal clemency. And what is all this wretched trouble for? Because some of the people of that town had insulted the palace of Giustiniani, the Archbishop of that town.

“Vedrai, se al mio cantar porgi l'orecchia, Elena trasformarsi in una Secchia.” — Tassoni, Canto 1.
mortal to liberal institutions, I request them to peruse the following passage of a pamphlet lately published by Father Agustinho Jose Macedo, a celebrated writer, and one of the most active spiritual aides-du-camp of the sanguinary Don Miguel: "May God send, that the executions begin in those long days of May, which give full time for them; as this year threatens scarcity, let the people be joyfully treated daily with fresh meat from the gallows."*

Burn your Bibles, shut up your churches, dissolve your religious associations, you who give a sanction to that crowned tiger of Portugal! And, however, there are even in England men who, for a paltry remuneration, undertake to extoll the praises of that monster in their wretched daily writings, only fit for a particular use:

"Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames?"

But let us now turn our distressed attention from this scene of wretchedness to one more congenial to our feelings.

France, regenerated under the present dynasty, and raised to the exalted rank of a free nation, has not only emancipated the Jews from every local distinction, but strives, both by her legislative measures, and her influence on the minds of her people, to obliterate from every public record the hateful recollection of their past

* Times, June 8.
sufferings. The King of the Netherlands, that wise prince, the only one who has derived such sterling profit from the school of adversity, and brought upon the throne all the blessings of charity, justice, and philanthropy, has by persevering efforts, and an unabated anxiety in behalf of those injured sectarians, completely succeeded in restoring them to the rank of men, and placed them on the road of distinctions, honours, and riches. Nor has that great and truly extraordinary Prince been dismayed by the rank opposition which he has endured on the part of the clergy,* and the people of the Netherlands, whose ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism, are only surpassed by the bigotry, blindness, and vulgarity of the Irish clergy and people.† In North America, the name

* We can safely, and without incurring the suspicion of flat­tery, appropriate to this great and virtuous prince, what Xenc­phon says of Cyrus, Δικαίως μοι δοξείς, ὁ Κορσ, εὐδαιμον είναι, ἄγαθος γάρ ἄν ἀνηρ εὐδαιμονείς. Or what Seneca says of a virtu­ous man, whom he compares to the Phoenix, "Vir bonus tam citó nec fieri potest nec intelligi—tanquam phoenix semel anno quingentesimo nascitur."—Epist. 42.

† Having had occasion to visit the Netherlands in the lat­ter part of last winter, I was astonished at the discrepancy which I discovered between this present and the last period when I was in that country, in the year 1808.

The superstitious bigotry which pervades every class of so­ciety in the Netherlands is truly unaccountable, when one re­flects that the French were its masters for upwards of twenty years, and that it is now under the government of the most en­lightened and virtuous prince of the present age. But after I had at different times conversed with several individuals of the
of Jew is sunk into that of man, and the equality with which justice is administered to, and privileges are conferred on, every individual, without reference to the nature of his religious faith, constitutes the bond of that political and moral union, which will at some future day have such decided

Catholic Clergy, my feeling was suddenly changed into indignation at the impudent tricks which the Clergy resort to, in order to maintain the people in their present state of ignorance, and accumulate on their minds the mist of superstition. The following anecdote is one of the many of the kind which I could relate, and which I select for its striking absurdity.

Having entered the beautiful and magnificent Cathedral of Bruxelles, St. Gudule, I was accosted by a tall thin priest, wearing spectacles, who asked me in English, if I would like to see the church; I answered in the affirmative, and he proceeded to detail to me the many holy curiosities which the several altars contained: when all on a sudden he stopped before a chapel, and assuming an unusual garb of gravity, proceeded to relate the following story.

"In that magnificent silver urn are kept two holy wafers, which are shown every Wednesday to the adoration of the faithful, and which exhibit several drops of fresh blood. About two hundred years ago, several Jews, out of hatred to our holy religion, stabbed many times with a pointed knife these two wafers, when out of the wounds oozed these identical drops of blood, which you may see. This execrable deed," continued the priest, "ought alone to be sufficient to maintain in our hearts the sacred fire of revenge against this cursed race of Jews, whom we are bound as good Christians to exterminate." This holy minstaur told me that he was the principal officer of the church, and a Professor of Theology, and as such asked me three shillings for his trouble.—Now let the supporters of Catholic emancipation prove that the religion of Rome is not at our days so superstitious as it was in the time of Boniface VIII. and Adrian I.
influence upon the destinies of Europe. The re-generated Republics of South America make but a slow progress towards the attainment of liberal ideas and free institutions, and evince in their march that hesitation or self-distrust which is the companion of infancy. But this slowness offers more guarantees of permanency than that sudden and impetuous explosion, which arises from enthusiasm, and dies with it; whereas the other is the result of gradual conviction, and thrives with it: at any rate, countries blessed with the liberty of the press, cannot any longer be the seat of intolerance; and sectarians of every kind will soon form but one family of men. That great and immortal man, whom your Grace conquered at Waterloo, has consigned, in the code which bears his name, and which has thrown into oblivion the codes of all preceding ages, that sublime, because true principle, "that man of whatever persuasion, has an indisputable right to the protection of the laws, and the proprietorship of the state." He therefore unbarred to all dissenters the area of competition in sciences, arts, honours, and power; and with a discriminating hand apportioned the reward only to merit, and not to religion. The effects of this salutary maxim were not lost upon the regenerated Jews, who, the moment they felt their mind relieved from the pressure of tyranny, gave themselves up to the contemplation of the sublime, and deserted the path of usury for that of knowledge. Their rapid and indefatigable pro-
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gress in all branches of arts and sciences, is ably portrayed by the industrious, persevering, and very learned writer, Advocate Dupin, in his able work, "Forces Productrices et Commerciales de la France."*

The Grand-duke of Baden, who, if justice were dealt out with an impartial hand, ought to be one of the most powerful monarchs of the present age; that high-minded and excellent Prince, who, immediately after the last general peace, was the first who set the noble example of respect towards mankind, by spontaneously bestowing upon his subjects the splendid gift of a very liberal constitution; that intrepid Sovereign, who, with a courage worthy of the sublime cause he had espoused, resisted the tyrannical commands of the defunct Holy Alliance to destroy that holy palladium; the Grand-duke of Baden, tanto nomini nullum par elogium, has emancipated the Jews from every possible remnant of civil disabilities, and put them on the same level with the rest of his subjects; so that they are now eligible to every situation, both civil and military. And in order to complete to the fullest extent their emancipation, and obliterate from public recollection every vestige of their past slavery, he has

* "Les Hebreux, naturalisés sur notre territoire par les biensfaits de nos loix, ont acquis tous les droits des autres citoyens. L'exercice de ces droits leur donne des vertus : ils se livrent à l'étude ; ils remplacent l'usure par l'industrie ; les voilà Français, par le cœur comme par la naissance."
prevailed upon the legislative body to pass a law, annulling certain fees and duties which the Jews, from time immemorial, were forced to pay to the aristocracy. In Bavaria, but more especially in Saxony, the Jews enjoy almost the same share of privileges as the remaining part of the nation; and in Prussia, if not entirely emancipated, they are ostensibly protected, and well received in society. The effects of this salutary policy in the North of Germany are visible in the progress which the Jews have made in every branch of arts and science, but more especially in the adoption of the manners of polite society, and in the practice of the strictest integrity. What a striking contrast between the emancipated Jews, and those wretched brutes of the same creed, who consume away a painful existence under the rod of the tyrant of the Vatican, and the ignorant despot of Turin!

Holland and the United States of North America offer a confirmation of Mr. Dupin's philosophical remarks in those galaxies of Hebrew geniuses in all sciences and arts, which irradiate the firmament of the mind; and Doctor Myers, the learned compiler of inter-national law, and who, although a Jew, was selected by the honest William to be Secretary of the Committee who drew up the constitution, has, like another Dupin, drawn up a moral statistic of Holland, in which he minutely describes the progress which, since their emancipation, the Jews have made in morals
and knowledge, and the decrease of crimes there-from resulting. Such, my Lord, are the effects of liberal institutions and of public education upon men's minds, which, not unlike fields, yield more or less abundant crops, in proportion to the cares bestowed upon them. But your Grace, as a military man, will bear me out in the assertion, that if honours and rewards were not held out to soldiers, they would not be able to stifle in their breasts the rebellious voice of fear, and cross with cheerful undauntedness the boundaries of life. If the adoption of free institutions in England had not paved the way to every man for improvement and perfection, the contrast between the English of the Saxon Heptarchy, and those of George the Fourth, would not be as striking as is the comparison between the bigoted Edward offering before the shrine of Becket his bare shoulders to the flagellations of the irritated monks, and the Monarch of Britain, the first gentleman in existence, opening in person his august Parliament. The enmity which Christians bear towards the Jews, (and which, as I have already observed, originates with the misconduct of their governments,) is unsuccessfully justified on the misrepresented plea, that they are a set of savages, deprived of every other feeling but the desire of accumulating riches;* deaf to the se-

* And why should they not love money, when, at all times, it has proved for them the means to save their lives and liberty, or, in other words, to allay the thirsty rapacity of their persecutors?
EMANCIPATING THE JEWS.

Producing attraction of knowledge; shut out by the moroseness of their temper from any social

But who is not equally fond of money in England, where, infinitely more than in any other part of the world, everything can be obtained by the help of money?—

"Omnia Romae cum pretio."

Παρὰ Καρχιδώνοις ὁδεῖν αἰσχρῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν πρὸς κέρδος.

Polyb. lib. vi. p. 497.

In England, where the horrid crime of adultery is redeemable with money, and a great many transgressions from the laws are equally atoned for with money;—in England, where merit, stripped of fortune, is like a body deprived of flesh;—in England, where the most ignorant brute, if rich, can command the obsequious homage of the most exalted individuals, both for pedigree and wealth;—in England, where female beauty, female attractions, and female virtue, seldom meet with due reward, unless accompanied with fortune? And have we forgotten those days of national enthusiasm, when the highest individuals of the aristocracy, the army, and navy, strove to get a snug place in all the directions of those industrious delusions, the Mining and other companies; and in the avidity of securing profits, and in their reluctance to discharge the duties of their self-assumed station, they displayed worse than the dishonesty so unjustly attributed to the Jews?

"Cum tua pervides oculis malas lippus inunctis,
Cur in amicorum vitis tam cernis acutum,
Quam aut aquila, aut serpens Epidaurus?"

Hor. Sat. 3, lib. 1.

Having had the misfortune to associate with several high names in the directorship of sundry companies, and indignant at their callousness for their own character, I willingly paid out of my own pocket the shares of their debt towards the shareholders, and exclaimed with the Latin moralist—

"Nunquam fidelis cum potente societas."
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intercourse; and feeding with the zeal of secta-
rians the hatred of intolerance. Supposing,
for the sake of argument, that they are such
as their enemies represent them to be, what
interest could the degraded Jews feel in ene-
vouring to emulate the rest of their fellow-
creatures, when the portal of national privileges is
closely shut up to them by the hand of tyranny;
when the voice of charity is drowned in the yells
of fanaticism, and the temple of justice guarded
by hungry satellites, who ask and exact from
them enormous fees? But situated as the Jews
are in England, stripped of their municipal rights,
continually smarting under the acute torture
of humiliation, and possessing, more than any
other sect, the means of indulging their appetites
and satisfying the cravings of revenge, these
calumniated Jews far surpass their hypocritical
enemies in the exercise of domestic virtues, in
the practice of charity towards all men without
distinction, in the absence of all criminal propen-
sities, and in a steady, uniform conduct as citizens
and men. Do we ever hear of those enormi-
ties being committed by the injured Jews, which
so flagrantly distinguish the triumphant aristo-

But the enemies of the persecuted Jews, like the Roman satirist,
find their good account in heaping upon them their own iniqui-
ties, and in thus rendering the name of Jew synonymous with
corruption and bad faith.

"Qualia-cumque voles Judaei somnia vendunt."

Juv. Sat. vi. ver. 547.
cracy of this country, such as adultery, gambling, and (I tremble in writing it) incest, and unnatural crime? Do we ever hear of a Rabbi escaping the deserved punishment of death under the shelter of a mitre? My Lord, the peaceful, well-regulated conduct of the Jews, lingering under the restraint of slavery, ought alone successfully to advocate their cause with a British parliament, independent of other considerations of a paramount importance. But the expediency, nay, the utility of associating those industrious sectarians to the rest of the community, and of forcing them, not by compulsory means, but by the stimulus of gratitude and common interest, to throw the whole of their resources into the emaciated Exchequer of England, is an advantage, which ought to supersede the necessity of arguments and the authority of proofs. Let the Jews be freed from the many shackles which keep their industry entangled, and they will soon apply their energy, and their wealth, to the improvement of manufactures, and the increasing of agriculture. An important revolution in the commercial policy of the world has already commenced,

* I am in possession of facts of such horrid complexion, as would disgrace the most brutal people in existence. But if the exalted Nobleman, who five or six years ago lived not one hundred miles from Hanover-square, is still alive, he will recollect his intrigues with his own sister, and the atrocious expedient resorted to in order to conceal the sad consequences. I feel no courage to proceed.—They were not Jews!
and its complete consummation is on the eve of being accomplished, as the elements are fast accumulating. Nations, under the impulse of their governments, incessantly strive to emancipate themselves from the tribute they are obliged to pay each other, by cultivating that produce which is peculiarly fertile in another region, and deficient in theirs; and I apprehend that the day is not at a great distance, when the admission into foreign countries of the produce of England and her Colonies, will supersede the disputes for the possession of territory or the settlement of boundaries, which have hitherto constituted the principal features of European diplomacy, and been the themes of sanguinary wars. When Napoleon first introduced and encouraged in France the culture of the betterave, for the manufactory of sugars, the sarcasms of your Grace’s country were unsparingly levelled against that great man’s conceptions. Subsequent events have proved that his plans were much better than the dreams of a head burning with febrile ambition. The manufactory of sugar is now carried on to an alarming extent in France, and bids fair to supersede in a very few years the necessity of importing from the foreign, and their own colonies, such indispensable commodity. North America is not backward in the cultivation of the sugar-cane; and the fertile province of Florida, which three years ago yielded but five hundred hogsheads of sugar, produced last year upwards of seventy thousand. And it is
evident that, in a few years more, instead of deriving its supplies from the British West Indies, she will, after supplying herself, export the surplus of her indigenous stock to foreign regions; and what will then become of the West India interest in Europe, when, encumbered as it is with the expense of a colonial administration, it will have to maintain a struggle in foreign markets with America, almost free from public debt, and governed by a simple, but vigorous local administration? In the United States of America, and in a great portion of Italy, lead is obtained in very considerable quantities; and the trade of this article in England, already powerfully harassed by her competition with Spain, bids fair to become a ruinous concern. The cultivation of cochineal has been introduced in several parts of Europe, and many other exotic commodities gradually receive their nationality in our hemisphere. The persevering war which, for the last thirty years, the whole world has so successfully carried on against English manufactures, has, within these few years, assumed a very alarming feature; and this once fertilizing stream of English industry, is daily becoming more and more embarrassed and languid, from causes kindred to the financial posture of this great nation. It is therefore in this most critical state of domestic affairs, when nations are rapidly reaping the fruits of the late Lord Londonderry's fatal administration, that the statesman at the head of Government is necessarily
bound to seek a remedy amidst the ruins of prejudice, and in the adoption of hitherto untried measures. The records of history demonstrate that the Jews have, at any era of public distress, been called upon to step in between the impending ruin of a state and her tottering safety; and the Florentine Republic, who, by the excellency of her institutions, the bravery displayed in the field by her citizens, and the industry employed at home, had placed herself at the head of all contemporary nations, and engrossed the trade of the whole world;—the Florentine Republic, who, by the help of her triumphant navy, had spread terror amidst her most remote enemies, and brought a salutary relief to her friends;—that powerful, wise, industrious Government who, although dimmed by the gloom of four centuries, still continues to dart an hereditary light upon the moral firmament of Tuscany;—that prudent Republic, always intent to profit by the errors of other nations, gave a most hospitable and generous reception to the swarm of Jews, driven out of Portugal and Spain by the perpetual despots of those ill-fated countries; nor could the thunders of the Vatican, which still retained undiminished their destructive effect, deter those bold Republicans from listening to the voice of charity, and the suggestions of policy.

It was in the year 1430, that the distress oc-

* According to Scipio Ammirato; but a chronicler of much merit states it to have taken place in the year 1436.
occasioned in the finances of Tuscany, by the expensive wars and political speculations in which she had been engaged, having encouraged usury to an alarming extent, prompted Government to put a check to that pestilence of society, by allowing the Jews to reside in the Republic. They were accordingly authorized to lend out money at the rate of four deniers per livre, which was not one-fourth part of the ruling interest of the day.* In the course of fifty years, as it appears from the registers diligently kept at the Archivio delle Reformazioni, the Jews proved to have amassed the exorbitant sum of fifty millions of florins of gold, and to have almost totally destroyed the perverse spirit of usury. This unexpected and glorious success of the Jews so far awoke the persecuting envy of those Christian people, that on the 13th August, 1495, they actually rose in rebellion, and forced the reluctant Government, by a solemn decree, to expel them, and repeal the privileges which had been granted to them by a previous ordinance:—an unprincipled, injudicious measure, which, after the lapse of nearly two hundred years, was repeated towards the honest Protestants residing in France by the weak Louis XIV. and whose baneful effects are still severely felt by that illustrious nation. It was, however, not long before the absence from Tuscany of those very industrious sectarians produced a relapse into the public calamities, rendered still more galling by a com-

* Amm. Stor. Fior. lib. 20, p. 10, 63.
parison with their past prosperity; so that in the subsequent year, 1496, and in spite of the violent declamations of monks and priests from the pulpit, the Senate once more recalled the expelled Jews, and admitted them to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens. It was in this year that upwards of an hundred and eighty thousand families of that persuasion were expelled from Spain, and perhaps as many from Portugal; and that the Senate, with as much policy as justice, extended to them the generous hospitality already granted to their brothers.* The wealth which some of those new guests brought into their adopted country, produced effects so sudden, so visible, and so beneficial, both on the individual and collective prosperity of the Republic, that the Senate, by a new decree, declared that no unforeseen event could force them to strip their useful guests of the privileges conferred upon them, and which they repaid with a tenfold reward: a determination by which the Republic abode, with a firmness and courage that has gained for her the admiration and gratitude of the remotest posterity, and which soon circumstances put to the test. Since, the rapidly rising power of the Republic, and the restoration to health of all her energies, having awoken the jealousy of other states, they suddenly launched forth into exclamations against the Jews, as the most obstinate promoters of usury; and grasping at the code of the Canon laws,† insisted

† "Quanto amplius Christiana Religio ab exactione compescitur
both by arguments and threats, on the necessity on the part of the Republic of stripping them of all their properties, and hand them over to the destructive hands of sacerdotal power. But such was the integrity and the justice displayed by the Senate on this occasion, or, to speak more properly, such was their conviction of the signal good which the presence of such industrious sectarians had conferred on the emaciated Republic, that they not only resisted with firmness the threats of foreign Powers, but inflicted severe and impartial punishments to the utmost rigour of the law, on any individual who dared to spread opinions hostile to the safety of the Jews. And a very celebrated Franciscan monk, nearly allied to the powerful and illustrious family of Visconti, having ventured to infringe on the law, was without any ceremony expelled the city at twelve o'clock in the night, by the usual escort of the Sbirs, like a common malefactor, and allowed only three days to get out of the States of the Republic.*

The influence, however, of foreign governments, entirely ruled by the perfidious Court of Rome, was not so ineffectual as to leave the Florentine Senate undisturbed in its praiseworthy forbearance towards the persecuted sectarians; as it was

* Amm. ibid.
vailed upon to curtail, although to some trifling extent, their unlimited privileges by some very ridiculous by-laws, and crooked half measures, which showed at once the unrelenting perfidy of the enemies of the Jews, and the reluctant condescension of the Florentine government towards their persecutors. The Jews were prohibited from buying landed property, filling up employments, and associating in the ostensible pageantry of municipal ambition. And in order to mark them out for public contempt, they were forced to wear a certain badge of distinction, namely, the men a yellow scarf in their hats, the females a like one on their right arm. The extinction of the Florentine Republic by the assumption to the supreme power of the family of the Medicis materially affected the interest of the Jews, whose privileges were included in the death warrant of public liberty. That wealthy and artful family, which was raised to a princely dignity by the favour of the Pope, and several members of which successively filled St. Peter's Chair, partly from a baneful spirit of superstition, and partly from feelings of gratitude towards the Chief of Rome, renovated with fresh vigour the persecution against the Jews, whose very existence was only spared through the sacrifice of their fortune, and through the most abject humiliations. On the extinction of that dynasty by the death of the dissolute Jean Gaston, the government of the ill-fated Tuscany fell to the branch of the House of Lorena, in the person of Francis the First,
whose marriage with the great Maria Theresa, and her firmness in supporting him on the throne of Germany, kindled afterwards the fire of a long and destructive war. Francis brought along with him a swarm of Loreneses, who imbued with the most hostile superstition against dissenters, zealously availed themselves of any circumstance to vent their fury against the long tormented Jews, and still to aggravate their sufferings. But a burst of effulgent light suddenly blazed forth on the moral horizon of Tuscany, overcast with the mist of ignorance, in the appearance among its desolate natives of that anomaly of despotic princes, Peter Leopold. This genuine philosopher, who, by all his actions, studiously showed his disappointment at having been born a Prince, demolished at a single blow all those Gothic ordinances, which like many incubuses had been engraven on the legislation of Tuscany, and having surrounded himself with the most prominent geniuses in arts and sciences which Italy boasted of, laid the foundation of that immortal code, which as long as it was in existence, secured the happiness of every inhabitant of Tuscany. In the salutary reforms effected by that excellent prince, the ill-treated Jews bore a prominent share; since by an edict dated in the year 1747, they were once more, and for ever, not only restored to the rank of citizens, but raised to that of friends of the Grand Duke. And as all the measures pursued by him were directed against the clergy and the aristocracy,
the emancipation of the Jews became in his hands an efficient engine whereby he accomplished the complete subjugation of those two despotic classes. And, indeed, the views of that truly enlightened and amiable prince were not frustrated by the grateful Jews, who, by the rapid and constant alterations both in their principles and actions, and by the visible improvement which their manners exhibited, fully justified the boldness of the prince's measures. The amalgamation of the individuals belonging to both sects became as complete as unequivocal; and as several of the most distinguished Jews were raised to the highest aristocratical honours, all classes vied with each other in courting the opulent slaves, now completely emancipated, and society no longer presented those feudal disputes, which, not unlike some loathsome insects, live but one day. Tuscany at last constituted but one family, headed by a generous, affectionate father, and the Jews were no longer signalized as beings of a different species from Christians. In the conception and complete consummation of these beneficial reforms the Grand Duke was mainly encouraged and supported by his brother the Emperor of Germany, Joseph II., who brought to the throne all the virtues of a private individual, and unfolded the most genuine qualities of a patriotic prince. By an edict dated the same year, 1747, he ordered the Jews to be put on the same level with the rest of the sectarians, and even called some of the most
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eminent amongst them for talents and integrity to his Court and his councils. The same spirit of praiseworthy forbearance has been maintained by his successor; the present Emperor, Francis I.; and I owe it to justice to add, that the present mild and benevolent Grand Duke of Tuscany, (who in all his private and public actions shows himself the worthy son of his late lamented and truly excellent father) continues to extend his unlimited friendship to that portion of his subjects, the happy Jews. And now I defy the most rigid Catholic to declare on the testimony of his conscience, whether the emancipated Jews of Austria and Tuscany, in the discharge of the duties of society, and in the practice of the rules of good breeding, are surpassed by any inhabitant of those interesting countries. But even the Pontifical Government found it indispensable to the prosperity of the Roman estates to grant hospitality to the Jews; taking, however good care to overbalance the privileges which they were forced to confer upon those martyrs of principle, by the many tyrannical restrictions which they imposed upon their individual liberty, and which alone would suffice to characterize that anomalous government as twin to the Turkish. And as the tyranny was more or less increased under the government of different Popes, according to the nature of their individual feelings, it is evident that the persecutions which the chiefs of the Catholic religion inflicted on the Jews, were
not identified with the interests of that sect, but were solely results of political combinations, unconnected with the cause of God; a kind of accommodating policy, in the management of which the perfidious court of the Vatican has at all periods of its history displayed a peculiar skill. If, therefore, the Papal Government, and the most zealous nations in its interest, have on the footing of expediency admitted the oppressed Jews within the precincts of society, with as few tyrannical restrictions as the policy of that sect required: if governments, stained with the infamy of absolutism, have on the same footing of expediency stretched a friendly hand to those conscientious Dissenters, in opposition (as papistry affirms it) to the tenets of the Church, and the will of its God; it is imperatively incumbent upon constitutional England, wandering unrestrained through the fields of moral and political independence, and unconnected with any species of sanguinary theocracy, to open her protecting arms to the Jews, and emancipate them from those ridiculous disqualifications which were enacted in the dark age of religious fanaticism, and which like many incubuses lay upon the British Constitution. Emancipation has been enthusiastically granted (I have Mr. Peel's authority) to a sect, whose tenets, whose tendency, whose influence on the moral world are diametrically hostile to free institutions; to a sect, every page of whose history (with Mr. Hume's permission) reeks with human blood; to a sect, whose impure chief styles
himself the Vicegerent of the immaculate God, and who enforces a sanguinary dictatorship over all governments and nations; to a sect, whose feelings, whose interests, whose views are, and will always be, hostile to Protestant interests; to a sect, which the majority of the British nation look upon with horror and dismay, as the historical monument of its past miseries; to a sect, which even your Grace and the Right Honourable Secretary have repeatedly maintained to be irretrievably hostile to the welfare of England:—if therefore, I repeat, Emancipation has been granted to the powerful Catholics, arrayed and disciplined under the banners of the Vatican; if dangers have been overlooked, oaths infringed, professions trampled upon, old characters destroyed, and all this for the sake of stern expediency, what can prevent England extending the same benefit, on the same plea of expediency, to a sect possessing no worldly or spiritual chief, professing no religious hatred, boasting of no pedigree of blood and cruelty, but exclusively monopolizing that moral strength of society,—money? If the rigid orthodoxy of the Right Hon. and learned Chancellor, and of the Right Hon. the Home Secretary, has most reluctantly (using their own words) given way to the interests of the state in one important instance, what can prevent them from making a fresh, but trifling propitiation on the altar of patriotism? My Lord, it lies now in your power to make of the scattered fragments of a great nation, a people
of citizens. Unbar to them the road to fame, to ambition, to learning; light up in their hearts the extinguished fire of pride; tune their minds to the harmony of virtue, and you will soon reap the fruits of your philanthropic industry in the regenerated, but too long calumniated Jews. After having attempted to establish the expediency of emancipating the Jews, I shall equally endeavour to demonstrate the justice of such a measure, by proving that the enmity which Christians bear towards them, solely arises from their undeviating attachment to a religion which for many centuries exclusively ruled the world; and which to have neglected would have drawn upon them punishments far more dreadful than the present, so profusely lavished on them. The magic word of creation was uttered by God on behalf of the Jews: for them were unbarred the gates of existence; for them was drawn up the organic code of creation; for them order was separated from confusion; and for them the sun shot its virginal ray on the manors of hereafter. It was for them that the regions of the air were peopled with the variegated nations of the feathered tribes, and that the fathomless seas were filled with progenies of beings, affording a nutritious and wholesome food. The music of the spheres was tuned for them; and the progress of vegetation was performed for them. The supreme happiness of the Israelites thus became the subject of God's benevolence, and the rod of punishment was raised against the enemies of that favourite nation. God promised
the Jews a Messiah, and the divine pledge was redeemed in the birth of Jesus Christ our Saviour. The new doctrines promulgated by that truly sublime God were received with distrust by some, with enthusiasm by others; the former refused to drink at the cup of consolation, the latter drank to intoxication. The pagans or followers of the revolting and sanguinary doctrines of Polytheism eagerly grasped the hand of salvation stretched out by the holy Messiah, while the stern Jews, proud of their ancient favouritism, staggered, hesitated, doubted. The majestic building of Christianity was erected on the basis of the Mosaic Laws, and most of the chief features of that ancient religion were engrafted on the code of the new one; so that it is not too bold to assert that Christianity, in its pure origin, is a modification, or rather an improvement of the Judaic religion. The sweetest forbearance was substituted for rigid persecution; the word of command was transformed into that of exhortation; example took the place of discipline, and the healing balm of charity was poured upon the irritated wounds of sectarism and scepticism. Philosophy stripped herself of the rich plumage of learning, and meagre Atheism cast away with disdain the sterile property of doubt. The portentous rapidity with which the new doctrines gained ground, spread alarm among the supporters of obsolete Paganism, and the immolation of the holy founder of Christianity was consummated. The government, under whose
orders this execrable crime was perpetrated, was Pagan, not Jewish. The Emperor was a sectarian of Paganism, and equally hostile to Christian and Israelite doctrines. The Jews were timid subalterns, who, partly from a steady attachment to their favourite religion, partly actuated by the magic power of discipline, might have consented to become the instruments of the perfidy of government; but the unjustifiable crime, I repeat, originated with the Pagan Emperor. Nor can the criminal conduct of a few ragged Jews, urged on and paid by the Pagan police to embitter the triumphant death of that sublime martyr of truth, involve the whole generation of Jews in the participation of the deserved punishment, while the majority of these stern sectarians remained passive spectators of the horrid deed. In the same manner we have seen in this country a few half-naked, starving individuals insult, both by words and deeds, the majesty of the King, while the rest of the British nation deprecated the unmanly attempt, and disclaimed any participation in it. That the inexhaustible charity of our Saviour did not, even at that trying moment, abate, is proved by the testimonial of the scriptures, which represent the holy martyr strongly advocating the forgiveness of his enemies in his last dying moments. After this dreadful event, the Jews were not simultaneously destroyed, but by the will of God left in possession of their lives and properties; and it was only through their tenacious adherence to
their religion, and through their unbending pride, that their political consequence as a nation was annihilated by the destruction of Jerusalem, through a Pagan Emperor, Titus, equally hostile to Jews and Christians. Whatever destiny the inscrutable mind of God may have reserved for the Jews, I contend that it is highly criminal in men to attempt to investigate, and that it is even more than criminal to anticipate by persecution in this world, the punishment which God may reserve in the other for them. \textit{Deorum injuriæ, Diis curæ}, ought to be the invariable rule of every public and private man. The mildness of the new doctrines had begun to operate conversion even among the Jews, at a rapid rate; when Paul, assuming a dictatorial authority, destroyed at one blow that pillar of the Mosaic and Christian law, circumcision, which our Saviour had erected as the basis of our religion, which had been confirmed by the Third Council held at Jerusalem, and declared to be a law of the new religion. Nor was the abolition of circumcision the only infringement of the holy \textit{Magna Charta} granted by our Saviour: as several other disciplines and by-laws, faithfully copied from the Mosaic Law and engrafted on the new religion, partook of the same fate. It was then that the Jews suddenly relapsed into their former distrust, and, rapidly travelling from error to error, adopted the strange belief that our Saviour was not the real Messiah promised by God, because his works were destroyed, and
his acts annulled by the hands of his servants—mortal like themselves. In this erroneous opinion, they were successively strengthened by the considerable alterations which the Christian religion underwent through the agency of men, and by the countenance of the most execrable doctrine, totally at variance with Christianity, which the self-styling successors of St. Peter and lieutenant of God openly gave them; alterations which have denaturated Christianity below the standard of Paganism, and whose tendency has given birth to Atheism. They beheld the humble Bishop change his tattered garment for the dress of magnificence and royalty; charity assume the garb of avarice and lust, persecutions substituted for exhortations, torture for admonitions, debauchery for chastity, fire and bloodshed supersede baptism, and, in short, the sanguinary code of Paganism, refined and perfected in cruelty, substituted for mild and charitable Christianity.

My Lord, my mind sinks into apathy, my heart bleeds, my hand drops the pen at the recollection of the cruelties inflicted by the followers of the doctrines of Christianity upon the Jews; persecutions which must have nearly exhausted the fountain of divine mercy.* The

* The fortitude which the Jews showed amidst the tortures of fire inflicted on them by the charitable Catholics, in order to persuade them to abjure their religion, and the tenacity with
complaints of suffering mankind reached at last the throne of God, who sent in the person of Luther a powerful champion of Christianity. But how many scenes of devastation and bloodshed even this mission gave rise to! How dreadful and heart-rending were the effects of the collision of the two sects! How different from the primitive simplicity of Christianity was even the Reformation! The Jews saw the arrow of persecution blunted, but not destroyed; they perceived pride changing attitudes, but not nature; power assuming new features, and luxury new forms; in short, earthly passions identified with the interests of Heaven. They saw two parties tear each other asunder in the name of God, and each claiming the delegation of Christ. They did no longer hesitate, but disbelieved; and as a wandering adventurer, disappointed in his expectations, and tired of his peregrinations, returns into the bosom of his family, they withdrew once more into the sanctuary of the Mosaic Law. It was in vain that missionaries endeavored to reason them out of their shelter; their words were suspected, because they were mortal;

which they resisted the intreaties of their new friends and clung to their faith, reminds me of a passage in Sophocles' Antigones.

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\text{Verse 269 and 270.}
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We were ready to handle the boiling fire, and walk upon it and swear.
their pledges were scorned, because held out by
individuals of the same species who had formerly
decided them. Jews did, and will remain, in
spite of threats, tortments, and missionaries.

The Reformation has certainly proved the greatest blessing that God has vouchsafed to bestow upon mankind since the birth of Christianity; it has, however, lessened, but not rooted out abuses; it has discouraged, but not destroyed vice; and we behold the Protestant Bishops and the Protestant Clergy assume the same pomp, practise the same pride, bask in the same sun of worldly grandeur as their co-labourers in the vineyard of Christianity, the Catholics.

At any rate, my Lord, you will not call me a libeller when I assert that even Protestantism is as much distant from the modest simplicity of the primitive Church, as the Popish sect is from the reformed, and that the hesitation of the Jews to select between the two, and their ultimate resolution to cling to their own, is the natural consequence of the denationalization of both. I do not intend to enter the area of orthodoxy, and throw down the gauntlet to sectarians and opinionists; but I maintain that the Jews ought not to be singled out of the bulk of society as outcasts and criminals, because they refuse to abjure a religion which they have professed for nearly five thousand years, and which has for more than three thousand years exclusively ruled over the moral world. I have often read
and attentively examined that book of sublime truths, the Scriptures, and have never been able to discover any proof of a delegacy having been entrusted by God to men to act in his behalf. I have not therein read that he has commanded men to persecute the Jews in this world, because he may have reserved to himself to call them to account in another; I have not seen any specific order to plunder them of their rights, of their properties, of their liberty; to shut them out of the pale of society; to make them abjure their tenets by the sanguinary logic of torture: and I again firmly maintain, and shall be at any time ready to prove, that any attempt on the part of man, however exalted his station in society may be, to assume the right of administering justice in the name of God, is a trespass on the rights of God himself, and an infringement of all the laws of heaven.

The principle so uniformly advocated by philosophers and statesmen of every age, that all religions have an equal right to the protection of the law, and that the communion between the creature and the Creator is a feeling distinctly separated from any worldly interest, is become the adopted maxim of wisdom and policy: but it has always been maintained with equal firmness, that those sects, whose principles and tenets are at variance with the nature of the existing government, thereby creating a third interest, which may become the nucleus of the seeds of resistance,
are to be excluded from any participation in the
government itself. This maxim, which ought to
be the guide of every statesman, has been disre­
garded by the British Parliament, in the removal
of the political disabilities which pressed upon
Catholics. Some equally signal privileges were
granted in the last session but one to the Unitari­
ans; and under your Grace’s vigorous adminis­
tration the world is at last in the hope of being
indulged with the majestic exhibition of a govern­
ment distributing rewards and privileges to sec­
tarians of every kind, without subjecting them to
the painful and degrading ordeal of the inquisi­
tion of consciences. But why shall the Jews be
excluded from this salutary and long-wished-for
measure? Are they more criminal than the Uni­
tarians, who disown our Saviour as the Son of
God? Are they more culpable than the Catho­
lies, who have transformed this Son of God into
one of the most ferocious beings that the mind of
a Homer, a Dante, or a Milton could devise? What
political danger can accrue to the British
Constitution, by the admission into Parliament of
sectarians who acknowledge no other supreme
spiritual chief but God, and who can spontane­
ously take an oath, and with a full sanction of
their conscience maintain it? while the Catholics,
who worship the Pope as their spiritual and tem­
poral chief, and the supreme lord and despotic
chief of every authority on earth (Autocratus), are

* Vide my last work, “An Analytical and Historical View,”
&c. pp. 7, 8, and all the authorities therein quoted.
now privileged to tender an oath, which the nature of their religion renders at any time nugatory, and the authority of their consciences disowns? Why should the Jews be denied the right of sitting in parliament, and filling places under Government, while both Catholics, Protestants, and Dissenters crave their protection, court their company, and constantly associate with them? My Lord, the present is not an era of political anomalies, or punctilious quibbles; nor are you a man fit to support systems of delusion—you have carried a measure which has astonished the world; it is now left for you to accomplish another, which will secure for you the gratitude of philosophers, the admiration of statesmen, the blessings of future generations: and in the same book of immortality where Glory has registered your illustrious name as a warrior, Justice will record you as a wise statesman. The interest of your country imperiously requires that Jews be propitiated, and made friends on durable principles. "Non exercitus, neque thesauri, praesidia regni sunt, verùm amici quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur," said Mycipsa to his children on his death-bed;* and this wise recommendation of the dying monarch may be safely inculcated on every statesman as the rule of his daily actions.

The sublime task devolves on you, my Lord, of putting an end to a system which is an insult to God, and a stain on civilization. My con-

* Sall. de bello Jug.
fidence in your Grace is unlimited; because you have been put by the strength of your merits far above temptation, and beyond the reach of bribery; because you have been brought up in the field, where straightforwardness and decision are substituted for the intricacies and hesitations of diplomacy; because you are a plain, truth-dealing speaker, and not a gorgeous verbose orator, aiming at the transient glory of stage-effect; because you have shown yourself incapable of favouritism towards any individual of either sex; and because you are a complete man of business.* But endowed as your Grace is with all these substantial accomplishments, posterity will visit your name with the greatest severity, if the fatal abuses under which the prosperity of your country is incessantly pining away, are not redressed by your powerful mind. The obdurate selfishness of the aristocracy, and the licentiousness and pride of the clergy, were the original cause of that tremendous explosion, the French Revolution. The people of England are now far more generally in-

* With all my sincere esteem for the distinguished talents and the philanthropic benevolence of the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh, I confess that I feel dismayed at the eternal, verbose, meandering eloquence of his speeches, which, not unlike those interminable German sonadas, fatigue the mind into a soporiferous quietness, and render it completely deaf to their strophe, anustrophe, and epode. As for the oratory of the Member for Montrose—alas! it puts me in mind of those consumptive, tedious speeches of Benjamin Constant, which, from their interminable length, seem to have taken a long lease of the tortured attention of his hearers. What severe visitation some of our modern speakers entail upon us!—and for what?
structured than the French of those times, who had not before their eyes so many instances of political commotions, so successfully consummated by oppressed nations subsequent to that event; and you know, my Lord, that it is not enough for the glory of the architect and the stability of the building, if its interior is suffered to moulder away in decay, while its main walls are continually propped up and kept in repair. It is not enough for your Grace's glory to have hitherto so successfully defended England from the attacks of its external enemies, if you suffer its domestic foes, abuses and corruption, to undermine the stamina of its internal strength. Rome was unconquerable and powerful as long as public virtue presided over her councils; but when luxury, immorality, and abuses followed the triumphant return of Lucullus from the Asiatic conquest, when favouritism both religious and political usurped the place of merit and integrity, Rome fell an easy prey to hungry barbarians, in spite of the bravery of her legions; and the Roman empire was eventually blotted out of the list of nations.

The principal source of the ruin of the Greeks, according to an illustrious writer, was their ignorance of the extent and nature of the ecclesiastical and civil power, which were suffered to encroach upon each other. The aristocracy of this country is too immoral, too much tenacious of their

* *:

"La source la plus empoisonnée de tous les malheurs des Grecs, c'est qu'ils ne connurent jamais la nature, ni les bornes.
ON THE EXPEDIENCY AND JUSTICE OF privileges, too much wedded to their comforts, to make any voluntary surrender of these advantages in favour of the people. The clergy are too much addicted to worldly pleasures, and too much possessed of the means of indulging them, to suffer the least encroachment on the part of the legislature. But the people are aware of it, and at some period or other may furnish out of their ranks a Masaniello, who will redress abuses by the strength of his influence, nec, siquid in moribus labaret, defuturum corrigendi auctorem.*

To reduce within its constitutional limits the overgrown authority of these two powerful rulers of society, is a labour worthy of the conqueror of Napoleon. Do not suffer, my Lord, the brave and virtuous Hector's predictions of the impending ruin of his country, to be applied with an equal effect to your illustrious England.

Εσσεται ἡμαρ, ὅτι ἂν σωτ' ἀνάλη Ιλιος ἱρη,  
Καὶ Πριαμος, καὶ λαος ἐνμελείω Πριάμων.
II. lib. vi.

I am, my Lord,  
Your Grace's most humble  
And obedient servant,  
An Ausonian.

4, Wells-street, Oxford-street,  
August 10, 1829.

It is not from any hostile feelings towards the English Clergy, or much less towards the Established Religion, that I have in-
dulged in these few severe strictures; but it appears to me that the enormous wealth which the Church possesses in the United Empire, affords her irresistible temptations to deviate from the holy path marked out by our Saviour, and to meddle with worldly purposes far beyond the nature of its institutions. I wish, and approve that the clergy be well provided for, and put without the reach of want. But I cannot reconcile the anomaly of one bishop’s discharging his Christian duties at a salary of two thousand pounds a-year, while many others require an income of fifteen or twenty times greater than that; or, in a word, why the Bishop of Durham should be allowed upwards of thirty thousand pounds a-year, while that of Landaff scarcely receives three thousand. And for what purpose all this waste expenditure of public money? for the sake of enabling them to bequeath handsome fortunes to their relatives, and to vie with the aristocracy in the enjoyment of worldly pleasures. The same disproportion is observable in the distribution of prebends and benefices among the inferior clergy, a great many of whom receive no less an income than five or six thousand pounds a-year. But nothing can, in my opinion, equal the absurdity, nay, the irregularity, of permitting a clergyman to discharge the parochial duties of three different churches, several miles distant from each other, through the instrumentality of young, and very often ignorant curates, to whom is granted the miserable stipend of seventy or eighty pounds a-year; while the director of the three churches, not unlike the manager of three different theatres, enjoys amidst the dissipations of the metropolis, his otium cum dignitate. This is really too bad, as the late Lord Liverpool said of a living noble and gallant Lord; and the effects of this pernicious system are visible in the highly censurable conduct of some individuals, who by their conduct are a real disgrace to the Established Church. This is too flagrant to be longer endured; and if the clergy are not put by the supreme chief of the State under spiritual restraint, the people who know them, and witness their irregularities, will do it without the help of a proxy. The clergy and the aristocracy are too rich, too powerful, too insensible to the calamities which afflict the nation.

We are unable to cope with foreigners in trade and manufactures, on account of the heavy taxations with which we are
ON THE EXPEDIENCY AND JUSTICE OF

loaded. Let a good and efficient property-tax of fifteen per cent. be decreed by Parliament. Let Government appropriate to the benefit of the nation the income now possessed by the archbishops and bishops, and set three thousand pounds a-year upon the former, and two thousand upon the latter; let the clergy be moderately paid, and on an equal footing, and let the product both of the property-tax, and the wished for reduction in the ecclesiastical department, be applied to the extinction of as many taxes and duties. It will be then, and then alone, that England, disencumbered from her financial fetters, will be like an individual relieved from the pressure of debts, restored to her wonted mental elasticity, and enabled to cope with success with foreign manufacturers. It will be then, and then alone, that the Church, curtailed in her means of worldly dissipations, will be restored to her wholesome spiritual avocations, to which God has destined her. If Government does not interfere, the people, I repeat, will; voluntary concessions may alone and for ever avert the calamities of a revolution.

The political apathy in which England is now plunged, and which is a gloomy result of the critical state of her finances, is what we call, in military phraseology, a false position: it cannot last any longer, because it is a violence inflicted on her feelings as a nation, and a most dangerous visitation on her independence; and while the area of political controversies is crowded with the champions of the interests of all nations, England alone stands motionless and silent, unheeded of her past glories and her future destinies. The ministry, unable to put a plausible construction upon this unnatural lethargy, strive to represent it as the result of a sound and wise policy of non-interference in the internal broils of foreign nations. But is the dangerous war carried on by Russia in the East a domestic occurrence, to enforce the system of non-interference? And why does England resort to the humble, insecure expedients of negotiation, instead of showing forth her formidable front, loaded with the hereditary glory of centuries? The forbearance which she displays against the wretched usurper of Portugal, the first in the list of ancient and modern tyrants, is explained on the same plea of non-interference. But if this policy is a maxim of political justice, why
EMANCIPATING THE JEWS.

55

did England so perseveringly oppose the march of the French Revolution, and suffer the strong-headed Pitt to bequeath upon his country the sad legacy of six hundred millions of national debt? And if that minister's conduct was fatal to the interests of England, (and who could now deny it?) why is his memory still revered, and his statues suffered to adorn public places, instead of being dragged to the Gémonies? And why did Lord Castlereagh interfere in the revolution of Italy, and the regeneration of Spain, or suffer other Governments to interfere? But above all, why have British cruisers been directed to act in open hostility against the faithful subjects of the brave and patriotic Don Pedro, the ally of England, while the flag of the proscribed tyrant Miguel is openly respected, and that sanguinary monster's interests zealously protected? Another attempt at justification of the non-interference in the internal affairs of Portugal has been set up by the Ministry, by representing the people to be decidedly hostile to free institutions. And what could that ill-fated country undertake now, widowed as she is of her most shining characters, both in virtue and bravery? And what could the terrified remainder of that illustrious people attempt now, curbed as they are under the sanguinary rod of terror, both political and religious? And what reforms can be successfully effected by a nation of a third rank, like Portugal, allied, by a family compact and corrupted blood, to the despot of the Escorial, without foreign aid? But could England herself have effected the glorious Revolution of 1688, without the assistance of a foreign army, led by its gallant Prince William? There was a time when England would have rejected with scorn and indignation the thought of using the tedious and insecure language of negotiations, instead of appealing to the bravery of her children—"Cet heureux tems n'est plus;" and she never will recover her supremacy, either in the cabinet or in the field, unless she mends considerably the state of her finances, by depriving of the superfluity of their income the two highest and most vicious classes of society—the Clergy and the Aristocracy.— Ultimam! While distress and misery pervade every class of society, it is neither just nor political, nor safe, that the clerical and laical aristocracy should, like Nero, be allowed to fiddle.
The following Chapter, taken from my Work, "An Analytical and Historical View, &c." contains so much historical information of the Mosaic Religion, that I have thought it advisable to reproduce it.

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The arrows of the persecutions of this Tribunal were more peculiarly pointed at the dissenters from the Church of Rome, whose apparent crimes, in those ages of superstition, derived an accession of importance from public opinion. Heresy, which was unknown to ancient religions, because they only knew morality and worship,* became the watchword of the ministers of the Inquisition, and the hideous monster, to whom any sect which dissented from the Catholic religion, was assimilated. Under the government of the tyrant Maximus, the competitor of Theodore I., Priscillian and his sectarians, whose opinions had been condemned by some Spanish bishops, were inhumanly murdered; and if St. Martin himself had not sought safety in a speedy retreat to Treves, he would have been included in the same death-warrant. Heresies multiplied in proportion as persecutions assumed a more decided attitude and a more refined cruelty; so that in the fifth century their numbers exceeded fifty.† The world was then transformed into a vast arena, where dissenters, not unlike wild beasts, were hunted by the Catholics of the Inquisition, and condemned to various species of torture and death, with all the formalities of a mock trial, and with all the splendour

* "On ne vit jamais d'hérésie chez les anciennes religions, parce qu'elles ne commurent que la morale et le culte. Dès que la métaphysique fut un peu liée au Christianisme, on disputa; et de la dispute naquirent différents partis, comme dans les écoles de philosophie."—Voltaire, Questions sur l’Encyclopédie.
† Voltaire, Questions sur l’Encyclopédie.
of popular entertainments. "It is a great evil to be heretics," observes M. Voltaire; "but is it a great good to support orthodoxy by soldiers and by executioners?" asks the same philosopher.

At the head of these dissenters stood the Jews, as the most strenuous and the most obstinate opposers of the religion of Christ. Of this once so illustrious though now so much fallen nation, I purpose to take a cursory view, with that spirit of fearless independence which is the parent of truth and the intrepid foe of prejudice; and, lest my opinions should be misinterpreted into an aberration from my religious principles, I once more willingly and unhesitatingly declare, that I am, both from inclination and conviction, firmly attached to the religion instituted by our Saviour, which is not the same professed by the Church of Rome; and that no human event can wean my affections from so tender and so beloved a parent.

For nearly forty centuries did the Jewish religion hold the supreme sceptre over the minds of men, while other sects were left in that minority of consequence, which in our days is become the doom of the Mosaic faith. It was for the Jews that God created the world, and worked those series of miracles which stopped the march of the elements, altered the code of creation, tamed the fury of the seas, and made the strength of legions submit to the rod of an obscure shepherd.* The Jews were therefore the elect of God, and as such, possessed that pride which is the unavoidable infirmity of humanity, conscious of basking in the sun of an exalted station. This pride soon degenerated into a moroseness of temper, which unfitted them for hold-

* Consider Judaism as a religion given by God himself in the most ostensible manner to a people, whom he chose to be his peculiar people, whom he separated from the rest of mankind, and with whom he made a solemn covenant; consider the whole series of miracles that were wrought to convince, to persuade, to assist and defend, to reward and to punish this people occasionally.—Bolingbroke's Essay xxxiii. vol. v.
ing any station in society; because, convinced that they were the elect of God, and that it was not in the power of any human perfection to add lustre to the dignity of such eminent rank, they not only spurned communion with their fellow-creatures, but evinced an unconquerable antipathy to wash off the ignorance of their minds at the fount of knowledge.

Neither the Arcadian gardens nor the Tusculum could inspire them with a desire of improving their minds, nor smooth the roughness of their tempers. The rigid doctrines of the Mosaic religion could not prove palatable to the licentiousness of Paganism: and the familiar intercourse which the latter allowed mortals to hold with the immortals, did but ill harmonize with that sullen reverence which the former inculcated to its followers towards an incomprehensible God.* Hence, strengthened in the obstinacy of their religious tenets, despising all other sects, and holding knowledge and civilization in the highest contempt, they formed a distinct body of living creatures, insulated from the rest of the world. Nor did the manifestation of their religious zeal confine itself to the practice of usages and habits quite unconnected with the spirit of those times; as they did not suffer the most trifling circumstance to escape, in order to make those who dissented from their faith feel how degraded and contemptible they were, when compared to themselves, the elect and favourites of the true God.†

This, to say the least, imprudent manifestation of principles, the energy of which neither the alteration of manners nor the influence of ages has abated, being in collision with the generality of opinions, rendered them the objects of universal hatred, and this hatred, in proportion as they be-

* The simplicity of the Mosaic religion, when contrasted with the striking pomp of the religious ceremonies of the Pagans, made these latter indulge in sarcastic observations, of which the following was the most striking—

"Nil praeter nubes et coeli numen adorant."

† See Diod. Sicul.; Dion Cassius; Herodotus; and Cicero.
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came weak, encouraged persecutions. For many centuries under the Assyrian and Persian monarchs, they were reduced to a state of abject slavery; but it was under the successors of Alexander, that, having prodigiously increased both in number and wealth, they attracted the attention, and excited the wonder of nations. Neither the violence of the Grecian monarchs, nor the persuasions and arguments of learned men, could divert them from their steady adherence to their opinions and actions, to the tenacity of which they have at all times sacrificed their felicity, and even their lives. The vigour of their minds, not impaired by any abstract system of philosophy, or by any practice of knowledge, was solely centred in the thought of accumulating riches, which could alone furnish them with the means of making a stand against public hatred, and thus successfully protect their religious and civil rights. This immoderate love of riches, and no other motive, transmitted from generation to generation, gave rise to those unrelenting persecutions, which, under the mask of religious zeal, have disgraced humanity, and stained the world with indelible infamy. The great event covenanted by the Scriptures, was finally fulfilled in the birth of Christ, and the fond hopes of mankind for the appearance of a religion which should supersede the obscenities of Paganism, and put an end to its cruelties, were realized in the institution of Christianity. The sullen austerity of the Jews not only remained unaffected by this most sublime circumstance; but they viewed it as an invasion of their spiritual privileges, and an infraction of the rights of their hitherto favoured religion. They respected him as a prophet and a teacher of morals, but did not acknowledge him as the promised Messiah, because his doctrines did not entirely harmonize with the religion of Moses.* Neither the unassuming demeanour of

* The Jewish converts, who acknowledged Jesus in the character of the Messiah foretold by their ancient oracles, respected him as a prophetic teacher of virtue and religion.—Gibbon, chap. x. 5.
the Redeemer, nor the mild morality of his doctrines, nor
the example of universal charity inculcated and practised
by his disciples, could move the gloomy obstinacy of the
Jews. They joined their hatred to the hostilities of the
Pagans, and waged a war of opposition to the triumphant
tenets of the rising religion.*

It is not my task to enter the labyrinth of controversy,
and poach on the manors of orthodoxical history. This
subject has for ages ingrossed the undivided attention of
divines and historians, and nearly exhausted all the schol­
astic subtleties and all the arguments of theology. But
without attempting to justify the inveterate resistance of
the sons of Israel to the bewitching doctrines of the
Christian religion, we may trace it to that scrupulous ad­
herence to the precepts of the Mosaic law, which com­
dined an unequivocal hatred to all sects, that, both in their
eternal and external practices, differed from their own.

It would, indeed, be a matter of surprise, if a people,
accustomed, during upwards of twenty centuries, to revere
a religion as the only genuine one which could open the
gates of eternal bliss, and encircle the head of the true be­
liever with the wreath of celestial glory—a religion, the
strict observance of which had been inculcated by God
himself with the most terrifying threats, and the least aber­
ration from which had at all times been visited with the
most severe punishments—it would indeed have been a sub­
ject of true astonishment, if that long-cherished, long­
dreaded, long-practised religion had been suddenly for­
saken for the new one, in spite of the irrefragable authen­
ticity of the Divine mission of its founder. History proves

* This propensity for religious disputes, which the Jews constantly
evined at every period of their eventful history, is strongly depicted
by Josephus, the admirable chronicler of the siege of Jerusalem, the
downfall of which, and with it the ultimate ruin of the empire of
Israel, was chiefly accelerated by the violent dissensions of its nu­
merous inhabitants, on subjects connected with religion.
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that it is not so easy a task for men's minds to divest themselves of long-retained habits, especially when they are connected with supernatural objects, the existence of which is guarded by the arms of terror. And indeed the steadiness with which the Jews of all ages have clung to their original doctrines, of which some are of the most revolting nature; the generous sacrifices which they have made of all worldly advantages to the shrine of religious consistency, and the palm of martyrdom which they have eagerly grasped, completely bear me out in this observation. Nor is it, after all, an extraordinary occurrence that the radiance of truth, which beamed from the mouth of the Saviour, should not have dissipated the mist of ignorance which enveloped the minds of the sons of Israel, averse to the benefits of education, when we reflect that the same resistance to the godly truths of the Gospel was offered by other sectarians, not labouring under the same mental disadvantages as the Jews did. And when, in succeeding ages, the road to knowledge had been smoothed by the progress of civilization, and a conversion to the tenets of Christianity was thus rendered more probable, the atrocious persecutions which the spurious followers of that religion inflicted on dissenters, raised an insurmountable bar to their conversion; since they, and especially the proud sons of Israel, could not bring themselves to think, that a religion which had belied its original parent, and was supported by every species of crime and violence, should be exchanged for their ancient law, which rested on charity and forbearance. The reverence which they preserved for Moses, the most illustrious of all legislators that ever existed, the gratitude which they owed him for the innumerable benefits which he had conferred on their ancestors, were not advantages to be easily overbalanced in their hearts by the tyrannical and sanguinary despotism of the new sectarians. In the pertinacity of these feelings they were, no doubt, encouraged by the preservation in the new religion of certain doctrines and ceremonies which were the principal features of the old
one.* I particularly allude to circumcision, that main pillar of the Mosaic faith, which was instituted in the time of Abraham, and was the seal of the covenant with God between himself and his generations. It was in the year of the world 2107, and 1808 before Christ, that Abraham circumcised himself at the age of ninety-nine, and his son Ismael at the age of thirteen. Circumcision became hereditary, and every male child after the eighth day of his birth was obliged to undergo that operation.† Jesus Christ himself, following the commands of his Divine Father, suffered himself to be circumcised; and all his disciples and followers were subjected to the same formality. In the year 51 of Christ, a Council was held at Jerusalem by his disciples, (which was the third of that kind,) in order to discuss whether those who embraced the new doctrines of Christianity were bound to preserve the duties of the ancient law, or whether they ought to be emancipated from that observance, and solely to conform to the doctrines prescribed by the new law.‡ Some Jews who arrived from Judea, pertinaciously maintained, that without circumcision there could be no salvation. After long and warm disputes, the Apostles and the Elders decided that the Gentiles should continue to circumcise themselves, and follow the ancient law in all its doctrines, but abstain from idolatry, from shedding human blood, and from other sins of a like nature. Peter and Paul grew very warm in the dispute touching the rites of universal alliance; and Augustin, bishop of Hippo, and a writer of the fifth century, charges the first with heresy, and with attempting to force Judaism upon the disciples of the new law, as he maintained that all the disciples and Christians should be circumcised.§ The disputes originated with the Christians

* The Divine authority of Moses and the Prophets was admitted and even established, as the firmest basis of Christianity. *Gibbon*, vol. ii. ch. 15.
† *Genesis*, ch. 17, v. 9, et seq.
‡ *Acts of the Apost.* chap. 15.
newly converted, who, wishing to reconcile circumcision, and the preservation of several of the Mosaic rites, with the doctrines of the new religion, strove to persuade the Gentiles to embrace their opinions. Paul and Barnabas, who had been deputed to the Council, strongly opposed the introduction of any Mosaic or Pagan rite into the new religion; while Peter, who felt the importance of converting the numerous nations of Gentiles, and knew the tenacious adherence of the Jews to the Mosaic law, warmly advocated the expediency of granting to them the enjoyment of their cherished religious privileges, provided these did not clash with the main doctrines of the new religion. * James, the bishop of Jerusalem, president of the Council, and brother to Christ, supported Peter's sentiments, and from the influence which his age and rank gave him over the rest of the Council, his opinion became the rule of the Church. † To the Jews, therefore, was left the option, either of embracing Christianity without undergoing the operation of circumcision, or to unite this to baptism. Paul, who had been so strenuous and so violent an opposer of Peter's opinion, was now compelled to conform to the decision of the Council, and, as an earnest of his submissive obedience, he circumcised Timothy, the son of a Jewess. ‡ The warm solicitude of this Apostle, the real founder of the Christian religion, was not suffered to be long dormant; as, perceiving with what stubbornness the Jews followed their ancient usages, and the strenuous efforts they were incessantly making in order to prevail upon the Gentiles to conform to them, he took the extraordinary resolution of annulling the decisions promulgated by the Council of Jerusalem, and striking off from the records of the Christian religion all vestiges of servitude to the Mosaic

* Peter was taught by a vision not to despise the Gentiles. Acts, chap. x. v. 15 and 20.
† S. John Chrysost. tom. 5. in Matth. ch. 1; Euseb. Hist. Ecc. lib. vii. ch. 12; S. Hieron. lib. i.
‡ Acts xvi. 3.
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law. Paul, therefore, upon his sole individual authority, and from an over-stretch of zeal, forbade what Jesus Christ and the Council had permitted.* This bold measure, the propriety of which I leave to divines and ascetics to trace to a legitimate source, was not calculated to strengthen the confidence either of the Gentiles or the Jews towards the new religion; as they, and more especially the latter, whose firm attachment to the ancient law had derived a further increase from the recent decision of the third Council, became more determined to stand in defence of that covenant which God had granted to Abraham, and which neither the Saviour, nor the Council of the Apostles, had thought fit to alter. This infatuation of the minds of the children of Israel in defence of obsolete and barbarous usages, which, if it had been treated with contempt, would have died a natural death, was met by the zealous followers of the new sect with a degree of irritation commensurate with the obstinacy of the worshippers of the old law.† And this unnecessary collision of two equally irritated parties, was for many ages productive of an abundant harvest of miseries; the recollection of which strips religion of the sacredness of its dogmas. Far be from my mind the idea of attempting to palliate the execrable indignities which some of the Jews committed against the sacred person of our Saviour. No, no: I repeat it again and again, I glory in the exalted name of a Christian of the primitive Church; but I contend that the crimes of a few worthless individuals are not to entail an everlasting execration upon whole generations; and that the Jews of the present age do not deserve to share the same punishment, of which their remote ancestors, the worthless criminals who actually insulted the Saviour, had rendered themselves so conspicuously deserving. Christ has said, “He that believeth, and is baptized,

* De Potter, Hist. des Conciles, tom. i. p. 15.
† See Note, p. 81.
shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned.*

But he has not ordained that damnation shall be inflicted on the unbeliever in this world by the mercenary hands of men: he has reserved for himself the cognizance of the crimes of those who may have deviated from his holy precepts; and it would be highly impious to suppose that the same generous mercy which the Divine Founder of Christianity so prominently showed towards his most relentless enemies, at the very moment of his spirit ascending to heaven, will not be equally shown by him in the abode of immortality.† At any rate, the assumption of the attributes of God by men is an unjustifiable violation of the precepts of the Gospel; and, as such, highly criminal, and loudly calling for the united resistance of religion and justice. Both Pagans and Christians joined now in the anti-evangelical task of destroying the nation of the Jews; and the cruelties and extortions which the Roman Emperors practised upon those infatuated sectarians, were only sur-

* St. Mark, ch. xvi. v. 16. "Mais sur quel fondement parvint on enfin à faire brûler, quand on fut le plus fort, ceux qui avaient des opinions de choix? Ils étaient sans doute criminels devant Dieu, puisqu'ils étaient opinionnaires. Ils devaient donc, comme on n'en doutait pas, être brûlés pendant toute l'éternité dans l'autre monde. Mais pourquoi les brûler à petit feu, dans celui-ci? Ils représentaient que c'était entreprendre sur la justice de Dieu, que ce supplice était bien dur de la part des hommes, que de plus il était inutile, puisque une heure de souffrance ajoutée à l'éternité est comme zéro."—Voltaire, Questions sur Encyclop.

† "Deorum injuriae Deis cura." Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 73. "Le mal est venu de cette idée, qu'il faut venger la divinité. Mais il faut faire honorer la divinité, et ne la venger jamais: En effet, si l'on se conduisait par cette dernière idée, quelle serait la fin des supplices?" Montesq. liv. xii. ch. 12.

"I dislike extremely that gloomy theology which would make the Supreme Being more inexorable than man: the whole tenor of Scripture speaks a contrary language; and we know nothing from reason of his Divine attributes except from their bearing some analogy to our own. Now, what father of a family would say to a repentant son, your repentance comes too late, and I will never forgive you?" Bishop of Llandaff's Letter to the Duke of Grafton, July 1807.
passed by the refinements of barbarity which, for many succeeding centuries, became the favourite pursuit of the spurious successors of St. Peter. After having at different eras suffered signal decimations, the power of the Jews was entirely crushed by Titus at Jerusalem, when that far-famed seat of the pride and power of the children of Abraham was levelled with the dust, undermined by the obstinacy and riotous disposition of its numerous defenders. Since that fatal event, they have ceased to constitute a nation; and, wandering in search of rest and happiness, have, in proportion as they have grown weaker, increased the unrelenting cruelty of their persecutors. The Popes now assumed with satisfaction the task of convincing by violence those who dissented from the new doctrines, or rather from doctrines created and fostered by their ambitious despotism. Instead of pouring into the irritated hearts of the Jews the balm of the Gospel, instead of producing the conciliatory mandate of Christ, they eagerly grasped the sword of revenge, and peremptorily held out to them either an unqualified conversion to the tenets of Rome, or a series of persecutions and lingering torments. Humanity shudders at the recital of the savage cruelties which individuals, styling themselves the successors of Peter and the delegates of Christ, have at all times practised towards this race of deluded sectarians, whose principal crime it was to preserve a firm attachment to a religion now proscribed, but which had, however, for a great many centuries held the sceptre of supremacy over all other sects. After many centuries of slaughters and robberies, the Jews became at last reconciled to the necessity of apparently embracing the new doctrines, in order to save their lives and those of their children, and, what was still more dear to them, their fortunes. They, therefore, consented to become Christians; but, the moment they had been baptized, they secretly recanted their forced abjuration of the Mosaic laws, and devoted their tyrants to curses and revenge. They went to mass, but, instead of offering up to God the supplicating vows of
religious hearts, they poured forth torrents of blasphemies against their persecutors the Christians, and against the merciful Founder of Christianity, in whose name they were made the subjects of unrelenting sufferings.* Those countries, especially, which, from being the seats of ignorance and superstition, were unacquainted with the sublime morality of the Gospel, took the lead in that atrocious war of persecution and destruction. I particularly allude to Spain and Portugal, the two portions of Europe where the ravages committed by the priestly oligarchy have been more severely felt, and the effects of which are, alas! but too visible even at the present day. The fanaticism of Isabella of Castille, aided by the political cunning of her husband, Ferdinand of Arragon, commenced a series of hostilities against the peaceful Jews and Moors, who, by cultivating with perseverance all branches of arts and sciences, had materially improved the prosperity of the country, and acquired considerable riches. In the year 1482, they established that engine of destruction, the tribunal of the Inquisition; and turned away from their kingdom all Jews and Moors who would not embrace the Catholic faith. The impolicy of this measure is no less conspicuous than its injustice; since it was to the long stay which the Moors had made among them, that the Spaniards were indebted for the first glimmerings of the light of knowledge, and for the appearance of that spirit of chivalry which had thrown such lustre on their character, and stamped it with the seal of generosity and courage—advantages which, if they had not been crushed by the blasting hand of priestcraft, would have raised that nation to the pinnacle of civilization and glory. The expelled Jews arrived by thousands in Portugal, whose King, John II. actuated less by a sense of justice and compassion, than by a sordid desire of becoming possessed of the immense riches which the sons of

* "Car la violence peut faire des hypocrites et non des Chrétiens." Millot, Éléments de l'Hist. de France.
Israel had brought along with them, consented to give them shelter, and leave them unmolested for the period of ten years, at the expiration of which he promised them assistance, and means to leave his kingdom with their families and their property. The price of this concession was fixed at the moderate sum of eight dollars, which for a king, even of so small a country as Portugal, was a very degrading bribe. The novelty of the tenets of the new comers, but, above all, the invaluable talent which they possessed of accumulating riches, excited both the envy and the hatred of the natives; in which feelings they were greatly encouraged by the open exertions of the Court of Castille. Portuguese missionaries, in despite of the solemn treaty entered into by the king, were seen preaching crusades against the harmless Jews, with that energy and perseverance which are the parents of hatred. Despair soon compelled a great number of them to seek an asylum in the Levant, where Turkish brutality was less cruel than the pledged mercy of the Catholics of Portugal. They therefore hired a great many vessels in order to carry their designs into execution; but the epidemic of fanaticism had infected their crews, and the Jews, who had trusted their fortunes and families to those dens of cannibals, were robbed and murdered, after having endured all the savage brutalities which a mistaken sense of religion suggested to their persecutors. Nor did these unjustifiable hostilities against the Jews in the least abate; on the contrary, they were increased, and reproduced in a different shape, and perpetuated by that poison of social institutions, impunity. Until the death of John II. which happened in the year 1495, the Jews were spared the ignominy of slavery; as that monarch had decided to affect in appearance a strict adherence to his treaties with that nation, although, in reality, he had in many instances most unblushingly infringed them. But the detestable task of filling brimfull the cup of their evils, and stretching upon them the hand of destruction, was reserved for his son and successor, Emanuel. The
virtuous Osorius, Bishop of Silveira, in Algarve, has in the
life of that prince portrayed the history of the atrocious
persecutions endured by the unhappy Jews, and has adorned
his pages with that lovely sympathy, which the sublime
Las Casas displayed both in his actions and his writings, in
advocating the cause of the butchered Americans.* Ema­
nuel, wishing to wrest from eternal damnation the souls of
so many thousand Jews, decreed by an ordinance in the
year 1496, that all male Jews, who had not attained the age
of fifteen, should be torn from their parents, and brought up
in the Catholic faith. Those among their parents who de­
sired to escape extortions and the horrible torments of the
Inquisition, consented to change apparently their religion,
and to embrace the Catholic faith; while, on the other hand,
those who preferred a virtuous consistency with their reli­
gious principles, to the advantages arising from this mock
conversion, perished by the sword, famine, and fire. In
the year 1506, a newly-converted Jew, who seemed to
entertain some doubts of the veracity of a miracle, was
murdered by the mob, and thrown into the fire: a monk
seized this favourable opportunity to preach a violent per­
secution against them, for which, during three days, up­
wards of 2000 of them were tortured, murdered, and burnt
alive!† All those sanguinary violations of the code of

* Ovrad's History of Portugal, book ii. et seq.
† Sismondi, Hist. de la Lit. du Midi de l'Eu­.

"On confiscait leur biens lorsqu'ils voulaient être Chrétiens; et
bientôt après on les fit brûler lorsqu'ils ne voulurent pas l'être.”

“Enfin il s'introduisit une coutume, qui confisca tous les biens des
Juifs, qui embrassaient le Christianisme.” Ibid.

Father Bougerel, a Provençal historian, informs us, that a Jew,
accused of having blasphemed the Virgin Mary, was condemned to be
flayed alive; and that some knights in disguise mounted the scaffold,
and after having driven away the executioner, performed themselves
the horrible deed, in order, as they alleged, to avenge the honour of
the Holy Virgin. This anecdote is quoted by Montesquieu.—Is this
religion?
nature were committed in the name of that Divine Being who had died for the welfare of mankind, and whose last words were forgiveness to his enemies, and charity towards all men, without distinction;* and thus Religion, who had descended on earth in order to spread the doctrines of mercy, and teach men how to help and assist each other, became, in the hands of perfidious individuals, the instrument of their evil designs, and the scourge of mankind, which she had been wont to protect. But from what cause did this demon-like spirit of persecution against the Jews arise?—From a strict adherence of those sectarians to the faith of their fathers, strengthened and justified by the concurrent testimonies of many centuries.* This same conscientious discharge of the duties of their faith was productive to them of the same effects of sanguinary persecution by the Turks, after the birth of Mohammedanism, another atrocious sect, for its sullen despotism and furious intolerance only second to its sister the Catholic. The unexpected success of the Reformation seemed to have materially contributed towards disarming the rage of the Catholics; who now beheld with dismay the rising of a religion, whose tenets, resting on arguments and evidence, bade fair to demolish the proud throne of the Vatican, and offer under her mighty wings a secure shelter to persecuted dissenters. The Popes, therefore, assumed the garb of compassion towards the Jews, and for a short time seemed to have sheathed the sword of persecution. But this temporary clemency was not a preliminary step of a return to the primitive institutions of Christianity, nor a symptom of the recantation of their fiend-like doctrines. It was the prudent hesitation of skilful tacticians, on the sudden appearance of obstacles of which they

* "Loin de sentir que tout homme est digne de respect lorsqu’il préfère les ordres de sa conscience à tous les avantages mondiaux, ils méprisaient et haïssaient les Juifs, parce que ceux-ci demeuraient fidèles à leur croyance." Sismondi, vol. iv. p. 505. "Illi solatium est pro honesto dura tolerare, et ad causam patientia respicit."—Cir. de Prud.
could not calculate the magnitude; or perhaps, like Sylla's unexpected mercy, arose from lassitude, or from a satiety of cruelty. Perhaps, too, they apprehended that the rising Lutheran sect might re-invigorate the resisting obstinacy of the Jews, who now perceived that the Catholic religion, in spite of her claims to a Divine origin, was, like the son of Thetis, vulnerable in some part of her body.

In these assumptions I am completely borne out by the many instances of cruel persecution against the Jews, into which the Pontiffs have at different periods of society relapsed, whenever occasions started up favourable to the consummation of their cherished plans of religious tyranny. In this instance, however, they permitted to the Jews the exercise of their industry, but stripped them of all their municipal and religious rights; assigned for their abode certain parts of the towns quite separate from the rest of the community, and in which, in order to prevent the spreading of the contagion of their doctrines, they were immediately at the setting of the sun, not unlike wild beasts, carefully shut up; and in order to keep alive among the people the sacred fire of Catholic hatred, they forced the Jews of both sexes to wear on their breasts a yellow band, the badge of ignominy, or rather, in the opinion of the wise, the badge of honour, since it was for their steady attachment to their principles that they suffered these various kinds of martyrdom. The several petty governments of Italy, partly from a reverberation of that despotism by which they were guided, and partly from a sense of abject submission to the Court of Rome, eagerly entered into the views of the latter, and joined the band of the persecutors of the Jews.

The Emperor Joseph II. of immortal and philosophical memory, used his vast power and great influence over the councils of Europe in the development of his plans of legislative reform and unrestrained liberty. In the year 1768, having ascended the throne of Austria, he illustrated the succeeding one by the publication of his remarkable
decrees in favour of the liberty of the press, of the abolition of vassalage, and of universal toleration. With the suppression of the infamous tribunal of the Inquisition at Milan, he broke asunder the fetters of servitude which for so many centuries had oppressed the persecuted Jews, and put them on the same level with the rest of his subjects, with reference to a full enjoyment of all municipal and social rights. The announcement of these liberal measures was hailed by the enthusiastic gratitude of Europe, and the gloomy horizon of the despotism of Maria Theresa was brightened by the light of the reign of Joseph. Even the immortal Klopstock consecrated one of his sublime odes to the celebration of these auspicious reforms, and certainly the fascination of poetry was never employed to a more laudable purpose. Tuscany, likewise, whose monarchical institutions had been erected on the splendid ruins of the Florentine Republic, offered a generous hospitality to these injured beings; and Leopold, that extraordinary anomaly in the history of absolute princes, had the wisdom to welcome them, not only as the martyrs of the stern consistency of their principles, but as the heralds to national industry and prosperity. The befriended Jews fully answered the sanguine expectations of that excellent monarch, and the vigour which they infused into the veins of that most happy portion of Italy, generously repaid him for the hospitality which he had granted them. The Tuscan people were soon taught to appreciate the advantages arising from the presence of such industrious visitors, and willingly associated their feelings with those of their master: a proof, if proofs were wanting, that a nation, not unlike a family, welcomes those precepts of education, and embraces those rules of discipline, which its chiefs think fit to trace out to them; and that the vices and virtues of a prince, not unlike a mirror, reproduce their example upon the opaque minds of his subjects.*

* "Quand un prince paraît désirer le crime, on s'empresse de le commettre." Millot, Élem. de l'Hist. de France.
I have, perhaps more than the limited subject of my observations required, dwelt on the so often discussed subject of the Jews, not from any feeling of partiality to the nature of their religion, or to their decrepit institutions; but because I have thought, that a brief recapitulation of the persecutions endured by them at different periods of society, and under the sole directions of the chiefs of the Catholic religion, would tend to establish, in the most evident point of view, the secession of that persecuting sect from the merciful religion of the primitive Church; and that, therefore, a sect so peculiarly remarkable for its spirit of intolerance, and for the poison of revenge by which it is governed, is not fit to concur in the regular march of the free institutions of a nation, where a general distribution of privileges is indiscriminately administered to the followers of any sect, without allusion being made to the nature of its tenets. The apologists of persecution accuse the Jews of an ungovernable thirst after riches, a passionate love of usury, an irresistible tendency to defraud, a permanent absence of honesty, and a decided hostility to knowledge. If they are so, they are such as their cruel masters have determined they should be; as it is one of the baneful effects of despotism to root out of the ground of the heart the germs of virtue, and encourage in their stead the growth of the thorns of vice. Where there does not exist a bond of mutual love, no return of confidence can exist. Nations governed by tyrannical institutions are divided into two factions—the oppressors and the oppressed; as distinct in the features of their passions, as men of different colour are in those of their faces; and while the first display in their actions that bold security which is the result of impunity, the other must necessarily affect a spurious timidity, which is the parent of deceit. The oppressor commands, the oppressed deceives. And what has society a right to expect from men degraded in their own estimation, stripped of their religious claims, put out of the pale of civilization, curtailed in their appetites, persecuted, oppressed—whose
hearts do not vibrate a pulsation which is not a propitiation to revenge, and whose minds do not respond to the acute spur of pride? In Turkey, in Rome, in Poland, and in many petty sovereignties of Europe, where the moral faculties of man are under the lock of despotism, the Jews are as ignorant, as degraded, as contemptible as the tyranny of their masters is oppressive and cruel; while the Jews in Tuscany, * in Holland, in England, and in other countries, governed by free institutions, or by a moderate despotism, where the property of the thoughts is not farmed to a gang of spies and relentless agents of the police, but is the safe inheritance of men, the generality of the Jews do not differ from other sectarians in the practice of those duties which society has pointed out to individuals of every nation and rank. And could Turkey, or modern Rome have produced such brilliant geniuses and upright characters as Mendelsohn, Maimonides, and Ricardo? * The inordinate love of riches, that paramount pursuit of the Jews to which all other desires are subordinate, is, I apprehend, not only a result of their old habits of industry, but a necessary sub-

* I seize with peculiar satisfaction this opportunity of paying a sincere tribute of respect to the memory of my excellent friend, the late Samuel Fiorentino, of Siena, a very learned writer, and one of the most distinguished poets of modern times. To a genuine fund of vast erudition, he joined a most tender heart, abounding in all the luxuries of sensibility, and enriched with the treasures of pure morality. This truly excellent man, who narrowly escaped being thrown upon the same pile where some of his companions, both in religion and politics, were roasted alive, at Siena, under the personal presidency of the Archbishop, after the retreat of the French army from Tuscany in the year 1799, had, by the suavity of his manners and the brilliancy of his talents, endeared himself to all classes of society, not excepting the clergy, with a great many of whom he lived on a footing of intimacy, without however betraying the duties of his conscience. The late illustrious Scipio de Ricci, Bishop of Pistoja, very properly called him, in my presence, one of the best Christians he knew, thus energetically depicting the excellence of his morals. Fiorentino was a happy illustration of the influence of education, as the Rebecca of Sir Walter Scott is the "beau idéal" of female perfection.
stitute for that consequence in society, to which every man, from the natural effect of his moral construction, must inevitably aspire. It is, moreover, an hereditary legacy transmitted to them by their forefathers, who in all times found, in the possession of riches, an efficacious means to put a stop to the unrelenting persecutions of their oppressors.* To the same want of consideration in society must be traced that antipathy to knowledge and to all the refinements of education, which, in almost every stage of the world, the Jews have studiously evinced. But, in proportion as the sphere of their rights has been enlarged, and, by the adoption of liberal institutions, they have been replaced in the road of emulation, we have seen Jews swelling the number of those distinguished characters, both in arts and sciences, who reflect a vivid light on the pride of nations. This observation is more peculiarly applicable to those countries which have been favoured by the blessings of the Reformation, and where the Christian charity of the primitive Church has superseded the sanguinary theories of the middle age; and thus we behold in Holland the gratifying spectacle of a monarch, one of the very few princes who have derived a salutary profit from the lesson of adversity, displaying a system of toleration in religious matters, which is only excelled by that liberal and wise policy which distinguishes the reign of that truly excellent man. Neither the intrigues of the Court of Rome, nor the powerful threats of the Holy Alliance, have made any impression on the enlightened mind of the good William.†

* Les Juifs, enrichis par leurs exactions, étaient pillés par les princes avec la même tyrannie ; chose qui consolait les peuples, et ne les soulageait pas. Les rois ne pouvant fouiller dans la bourse de leurs sujets, à cause de leurs privilèges, mettaient à la torture les Juifs qu’on ne regardait pas comme citoyens.” Montesquieu, Esp. des Lois, lib. xxi. chap. xx.

† The King of the Netherlands has latterly promoted the most respectable Jews, in several of the great commercial towns of Holland, to be members of the municipal council.
The firm attachment of the Jews to the religion of their ancestors is the theme of universal surprise, and has furnished the Court of Rome with the pretext for inflicting on those celebrated dissenters the most severe punishments, and for shutting them out of the pale of society; but, while we behold, in the common transactions of life, men dedicate the energies of their minds, and consecrate their fortunes, to the preservation of a few trifling privileges of aristocracy, or of a similar insignificant description, can the inflexible adherence of the Jews to their once favourite religion, and their opposition to the doctrines of the new one, excite in our minds any sense of wonder? Instead of employing threats, tortures, and persecutions, why does not the Pope adopt the slow but operating efficacy of persuasion? Let the conciliatory morals of the Gospel, let the sublime maxims of the Founder of Christianity be exhibited to them in their original purity, and free from the alloy of corruption. Let them be recalled to the banners of Christ by a mild treatment like straggling recruits, and not brought back by compulsion like refractory deserters; and I have no doubt that the religion of Moses, so much worn out in its institutions, and so much unconnected with the spirit and the manners of the present age, will gradually

By another no less wise ordinance, he has decreed that no person shall be admitted to any office, civil or ecclesiastical, for which the degree of Licentiate is required, unless he has bond-fide studied four years in a university of the King's dominions.

Several other decrees have been published during the last year all tending to the salutary measure of promoting public education and the circulation of knowledge. The Ultras both of Belgium and France are grown mad at such reforms, the object of which is to curtail the baneful influence of the clergy, by submitting them to the discipline of literary education, which in progress of time will restore them to the sacred duties of the Gospel. The persevering resistance both of the Archbishop of Malines and his followers, has been repressed by the steady firmness of the King, who has thus held out to other sovereigns, who govern Catholic subjects, an example worthy of imitation.
yield to the impulse of opinion. But, as long as the Christian religion is exhibited to the sons of Israel clad in the garments of the Court of Rome, and surrounded by the frightful pomp of priestly persecution, these stern sectarians are justified in persevering in their spirit of resistance. Were I myself deprived of the inestimable possession of a true faith in the moral of the Gospel, I should prefer to be a follower of the faith of Moses, rather than a believer in the doctrines of the Vatican. The same observation respecting the influence of religion, may be safely applied to the influence of public opinion. Let the finger of national prejudice cease to point out the Jews as beings of a different cast from the rest of men; let the impediments which prevent their approach to the shrine of ambition be removed; let them feel the advantages of education, by rewarding merit with distinctions and praises; in short, let the name of man be substituted for that of Jew,—and I am confident that the inventors of the bills of exchange, the general treasurers of society, the idolaters of money, will assume in public opinion that distinguished station to which they are unquestionably entitled by the energy of their minds, and by their persevering character. It is not a boon which the wronged Jews ask from their tyrants; it is an act of justice, which has long been denied them, merely through the prejudices of the preceding ages, when the voice of Rome was, like thunder, the harbinger of destruction. Times have happily altered, and the power of the Popes must now derive its support from intrigue and bribery.

The spoliations which princes and governments have, at all times, committed on the Jews, the hostilities and persecutions to which they have been subject, have raised the indignation of the philosophers and historians of all ages. Montesquieu assures us that their enemies said, that “it was from a wish to try their faith, and deprive them of any vestige of the slavery of Satan, that they were robbed of their property.” Hume has portrayed with the pencil of Tacitus, the cruelties, massacres, and robberies which
the Jews suffered under Richard I. Henry III. John, and the rest of the Anglo-Norman princes: and the well-known fact of the Jew, who, under the latter tyrant, submitted for seven days to lose a tooth a-day, and pay, on the eighth, ten thousand marks of silver, is a specimen at once illustrative of the degrading attachment of the Jews to money, and of the spirit of rapacity which was so much prevalent in those times of superstition and tyranny. "The Jews, enriched through their shameful exactions, were plundered by princes with the same tyranny," well observes the author of "The Spirit of the Laws," "until at last they found, in the invention of the bills of exchange, the means of transporting, with the utmost celerity, their riches from one country to another, without exciting the suspicion of their persecutors. Driven out of France under Philip August, and Philip the Tall, they took shelter in Lombardy, where they gave, both to merchants and travellers, bills of exchange upon their friends in that former country, for which they received the value on the spot. Usury, with an ardent love of which the Jews stand so boldly charged by public opinion, was sanctioned by the laws of that age; and we find, on reference to the chronicles of France, that, towards the end of the thirteenth century, Philip August reduced the legal rate of interest from fifty to forty-eight per cent. per annum. The Jews, therefore, who, from their adroitness in accumulating fortunes, were the general money-lenders to mankind, were, by the sanction of the law, authorized to practise usury, which, in fact, was nothing else than a branch of ordinary trade. And here two very important observations offer themselves to my mind; first, that, by the absolute monopoly of riches, the Jews held in a kind of bondage their cruel enemies, in the same manner as the vanquished Greeks held in vassalage their conquerors, the Romans, by the exclusive possession of knowledge; and secondly, that all those persecutions of the Catholics against the Jews, lost a great deal of their poison at the appearance of the Reformation, and that they
totally ceased in England when Henry VIII. abolished the obnoxious code of the Vatican; a striking proof, indeed, that the spirit of religious persecution, by the excitement it gives to our evil passions, silences in our breasts the admonishing language of conscience. If, therefore, the modern Jews still preserve a partiality for the degrading practice of usury, and indeed they share this infamy in common with many other sectarians, it is to be traced to the existence of those disqualifications, and those persecutions, under which they still labour, and which extinguish in their breasts the sacred flame of pride. Napoleon, whose plans of reforming the manners of the nations subject to his sceptre, bore the usual stamp of his vigorous mind, had, by the conviction of a general synod of all the Rabbies and learned Jews at Paris, called the Sanhedrim, laid down the basis of a permanent alteration in the habits and pursuits of those inflexible sectarians. Through the powerful agency of discussion and argument, he had nearly convinced them that most of the doctrines of their religion had been suggested to their great statesman and prophet by local causes, connected with their temporary welfare, which had long ceased, and the existence of which clashed with the spirit of the social institutions of the present times. He had most forcibly dwelt upon the necessity of weaning their affection from their old pursuit, the immoderate desire of accumulating wealth, and of substituting for that degrading passion, the love of glory. He had impressed upon their minds the expediency of curing the prejudices which society entertained against them, by a strict adherence to integrity. But, above all, he had succeeded in rekindling in their breasts the long-dormant spark of ambition, by holding up to their terrified minds the prospect of again constituting an illustrious nation, under the sanction of permanent institutions, because harmonizing with the spirit of the age. Hard and difficult as the task had at first appeared, even to that great man, still he had nearly accomplished it; and many of the illustrious Rabbies, whom I have at different times met, in some of the prin-
cipal societies in Paris and Amsterdam, have most earnestly evinced to me their conviction of the expediency of Napoleon's plan; as they themselves, bona fide, admitted that the proper channel for conveying persuasion to the minds of strict sectarians, is through their clergy, who (and more especially among the Jews) hold the keys of those seats of judgment. In like manner, by rewarding conjugal fidelity, and holding up to scorn and contempt those individuals who deviated from that most necessary virtue, he had cured both Italians and Frenchmen of that true pest of society, infidelity by system. But it is with grief, mixed with surprise, that I behold the Jews in this country, where the road to distinction is, with trifling exceptions, left equally open to the followers of all religions, affect a zealous contempt for all sort of knowledge, and confine their supreme felicity to the possession of riches. Such surrender of the noblest of human propensities, the desire of acquiring instruction; such apathy for the real valuable distinctions to which men in society can aspire—tend to lower them, both in their own estimation and in that of their friends, by reducing the sum of feelings to a single individual feeling, or, as Mr. Hazlitt would better say, "by making them men of a single idea." (See D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature.) The evil, I apprehend, is beyond any remedy, at least, as long as that lottery of human passions, the Stock Exchange, shall be left open to ardent youths, who, in the summary methods of acquiring money, find the means of gratifying their boisterous passions at the expense of their name, their tranquillity, and perhaps their happiness. It is objected by the enemies of knowledge, that a mind absorbed in the hard pursuits of commerce, cannot, with justice to the interests it has in view, divide its attention with other avocations, both in principle and effects quite different from the principal it has in view. Without adverting to the time which men of business waste away in amusements and dissipation of every kind, we may safely assert that commerce, especially in our day, requires the aid of many useful sciences,—as history,
APPENDIX.

geography, chemistry, laws, and others, and that a good merchant must therefore be a scientific man. The truth of this observation is more forcibly felt in a country like England, where, from the effects of her excellent constitution, men of business are eligible to the most exalted stations in society. At any rate, on casting a glance at the list of those merchants who have lost their fortunes during the late tremendous catastrophe, it will appear evident that their minds were not distracted by an excessive love of knowledge; as, with a very few individual exceptions, the majority of those persons, so unexpectedly ruined, had scarcely received the benefit of a common education.

Mr. John Farquhar, lately dead, was, till the last moments of his existence, passionately fond of literature, in many branches of which he peculiarly excelled. He was a great lover of chemistry, to which science he actually owed the commencement of his colossal fortune; since, when he was only a cadet in the East India Company's service in India, by the application of the practical part of that science to arts, he was able to discover a new system of manufacturing gunpowder, which being approved of by the then Governor-general, Warren Hastings, became for him the source of immense wealth. Mr. Farquhar, who has left a fortune of a million and a-half sterling, was, at the time of his death, principal partner in one of the first East India houses in London, the chief partner of an extensive brewery, and of a highly-respectable banking-house. The late illustrious Ricardo was the author of his own fortune; and the present Mr. Alexander Baring, who is the ruling partner of the first house in Europe, is endowed with a large share of knowledge, and is a sincere lover of literature. But above all, Voltaire, that versatile genius, to whom no nation can oppose a rival, amassed his immense fortune through mercantile transactions.
Note to p. 64.—"Je faisai ici une reflection. Sanctorius a observé que la chair de cochon que l'on mange se transpire peu, et que même cette nourriture empêche beaucoup la transpiration des autres aliments : il a trouvé que la diminution allait à un tiers. On sait d'ailleurs que le défaut de transpiration forme ou aigrit les maladies de la peau ; la nourriture du cochon doit donc être défendue dans les climats où l'on est sujet à ces maladies, comme celui de la Palestine, de l'Ara­bie, de l'Egypte, et de la Lybie."—Montesq. Esprit des Lois, lib. xxiv. ch. 25.

This remark accounts for the prohibition in which the illustrious statesman Moses enjoined the Jews not to eat pork, the unwholesome­ness of which was very well known to him; and, in order to render that prohibition still more binding, he strengthened it with the author­ity of religion.
Lately published by the same Author,

AN

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VIEW

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CATHOLIC RELIGION,

WITH REFERENCE TO POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

"Conscientia potest adumbrari, quia non est Deus; extingui non potest, quia à Deo est."

Tertull.

"Quæque ipse miserrima vidi, Et quorum pars magna fui."

Virg. Æn. lib. 2.

EFFINGHAM WILSON, ROYAL EXCHANGE.