THE

WORKS

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D.

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES:

CONTAINING THE

CREDIBILITY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY;

JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES;

HISTORY OF HERETICS;

AND HIS SERMONS AND TRACTS:

WITH

GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

TO THE FIRST VOLUME IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

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ERRATA.

Page. line.

117 8 *for* contrived *read* conceived

127 13 *dele* care

171 1 *for* John iv. *read* 1 John v.

265 5 *after* FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLXXVI. *add:* at the end of Mr. Cardale's Inquiry, Whether we have any ſcripture-warrant for a direct addreſs either to the Son or to the Holy Ghoſt?

283 5 *for* No, *read* Nor.

IN THE NOTES.

8 † *for* p. 65, *read* p. 42.
... 114 ... 73.

26 ... ver. 16 ... ver. 39.

80 note 1. line 7. *inſert* a point after A.

117 col. 2. line 7. *for* p. 23. *read* p. 2, 3.

173 col. 1. line 2. *for* Spoſa *read* Sponſa

185 *for* 25 *read* 96

199 col. 2. line 6. *for* exercitandi *read* exorcizandi.

337 note [l] *for* 423, *read* 327.

375 note [f] *after* See, *inſert* Vindication of three of our Saviour's Miracles againſt Woolſton, p. 26 note.

394 *for* 286 *read* 285.

A

VINDICATION OF THREE

OF OUR

BLESSED SAVIOUR'S MIRACLES:

VIZ.

THE RAISING OF JAIRUS'S DAUGHTER,

THE WIDOW OF NAIM'S SON, AND LAZARUS.

In Answer to the Objections of Mr. Woolston's Fifth Discourse on the Miracles of our Saviour.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCXXIX.]

THE PREFACE.

THE ensuing vindication was drawn up about nine months since. But it was done for my own satisfaction, without any view to a publication at that time. And when the Reverend Dr. Harris's remarks on the case of Lazarus came out, I thought, the public and Mr. W. had received in a short compass a full answer to all the material objections of the discourse, with which these papers are concerned.

Nor did I determine to send them to the press, till after I had seen a passage in Mr. W's defence of his discourses, p. 61, where he says: 'whoever was the author of the fore-'said treatise, [The Trial of the witnesses of the resurrection 'of Jesus] he humbly and heartily begs of him to publish 'what in the conclusion of it, he has given us some hopes 'of, the trial of the witnesses of the resurrection of Lazarus,

'becauſe his Rabbi's objections to it are a novelty and cu-
'rioſity, which, by way of ſuch a reply to them, he ſhould
'be glad to ſee handled.' I alſo wiſh, the ingenious au-
thor of that performance may be at leiſure to grant Mr. W's requeſt. In the mean time, Mr. W. ſtill expreſſing a particular regard for his Rabbi's objections, I thought it not amiſs to ſend abroad this vindication, which I had by me.

If Mr. W. by way of ſuch a reply means a reply drawn up with the wit and ſpirit of that author; I freely own it much above my capacity, and am not ſo vain as to attempt it. If by way of ſuch a reply he means a reply without abuſive railing terms, or invoking the aid of the civil magiſtrate, I have done it in that way. I wiſh Mr. Woolſton no harm; I only wiſh him a ſincere conviction and profeſſion of the truth effected and brought about by ſolid reaſons and arguments without pains or penalties. And in this point I agree exactly with that learned Dominican, De Mauſſac, who in his Prolegomena to Raymond Martini's Pugio Fidei, written againſt Moors and Jews ſays: 'We
'muſt with Tertullian openly profeſs, that the new law does
'not defend itſelf by the ſword of the magiſtrate: foraſmuch
'as it has pleaſed Chriſt the author of it, that no man ſhould
'be forced to the embracing of his law by the puniſhments
'of this life, or the fear of them, as appears from many
'places of the New Teſtament, not only of Paul, but alſo
'of John, and Luke, and Matthew. Nor is it, as the
'ſame father ſays at the end of his book to Scapula, a part
'of religion to force religion, which muſt be taken up
'freely, not upon compulſion. Who will lay upon me the
'neceſſity of believing what I will not, or of not believing
'what I will (as Lactantius ſays)? Nothing is ſo volun-
'tary as religion. In which, if the mind be averſe, religion
'is quite deſtroyed. Faith is to be wrought by perſuaſion,
'not by compulſion. Severity has always done harm, and
'always will do harm: and our minds, like noble and generous
'ſteeds, are beſt managed with an eaſy rein; rather by rea-
'ſon than authority, rather by good words than by threats.*'

When,

* Nam cum Tertulliano palam eſt profitendum, Legem novam non ſe vindicare ultore gladio: quod Chriſto ejus autori placuerit neminem ad receptionem ſuæ Legis cogi hujus vitæ pœnis, vel earum metu, ut patet ex variis Novi Teſtamenti locis, tum Pauli, tum Joannis, tum Lucæ, tum Matthæi: quod non ſit religionis, eodem teſte ad Scapulam

When, at the erecting the Royal Society, into which were freely admitted men of different religions and countries, ſome, it is likely, were apprehenſive of this free converſe of various judgments, Dr. Sprat * frankly aſſerts, 'That our doctrine and diſcipline [thoſe of the Church of 'England] will be ſo far from receiving damage by it, that 'it were the beſt way to make them univerſally embraced, 'if they were oftener brought to be canvaſſed amidſt all 'ſorts of diſſenters:—That there is no one profeſſion amidſt 'the ſeveral denominations of Chriſtians, that can be ex-'poſed to the ſearch and ſcrutiny of its adverſaries, with ſo 'much ſafety as ours.'

Dr. Bentley, in a ſermon at a public commencement at Cambridge, ſays,† 'It has pleaſed the Divine Wiſdom, 'never yet to leave Chriſtianity wholly at leiſure from op-'poſers; but to give its profeſſors that perpetual exerciſe 'of their induſtry and zeal. And who can tell, if without 'ſuch adverſaries to rouſe and quicken them, they might 'not in long tract of time have grown remiſs in the duties, 'and ignorant in the doctrines of religion?'

Theſe learned men have aſſured us upon the foundation of the ſcriptures, of the fathers, and reaſon, that all force on the minds of men in the matters of belief is contrary to religion in general, and to the Chriſtian religion in particular; and that ſeverity inſtead of doing good has always done harm.

Theſe points might be enlarged upon, but nothing new can be offered. Poſſibly ſome good men may ſtill be in ſome doubt concerning the iſſue of admitting the principles of religion to be freely and openly canvaſſed. But I think, that ſuch may find ſatisfaction even upon this head in the paſſages I have quoted, provided they will be pleaſed to

Scapulam in fine, cogere religionem, quæ ſponte ſuſcipi debet, non vi. Quis mihi imponat neceſſitatem vel credendi quod nolim, vel quod velim non credendi (ait Lactantius)? Nihil tam voluntarium quam religio. In qua ſi animus averſus eſt, jam ſublata, jam nulla eſt. Fides autem ſuadenda eſt, non imperanda; nocuit enim, & nocebit ſemper rigor: & ingenia noſtra, ut nobiles & generoſi equi melius facili fræno reguntur, docendo magis quam jubendo, monendo quam minando.

* Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 63, ſecond edit.

† Page 3, quarto edit. 1696.

conſider them. However I will add a few obſervations briefly upon this matter.

It is an old ſaying, which has been much admired and applauded for its wiſdom, that truth is great, and ſtrong above all things. There is certainly ſome real excellence in truth above error. Great and important truths are clearer than others, and not likely to be miſtaken, but to ſhine the more for examination. The Chriſtian religion in particular, as contained in the New Teſtament, abounds with evidence.

Theſe are conſiderations taken from the nature of things. Experience is on the ſame ſide. The Chriſtian religion triumphed for the firſt three hundred years over error and ſuperſtition, without the aids of civil authority, againſt the veneration of ancient cuſtom, againſt ridicule, and calumny, falſe arguments, and many ſevere perſecutions. From ſmall beginnings by its own internal excellence, and the force of that evidence with which God had clothed it, and the induſtry and zeal of its honeſt profeſſors, it ſpread itſelf over the Roman empire, and the neighbouring countries.

The Chriſtian church had in the ſame ſpace of time a triumph within itſelf over thoſe falſe and abſurd opinions that ſprang up under the Chriſtian name. 'Theſe hereſies, '*Euſebius* * ſays, ſoon diſappeared one after another, being 'continually changing into new forms and ſhapes. But 'the catholic and only true church, always the ſame and 'conſtant to itſelf, ſpread and increaſed continually; ſhining 'out among Greeks and Barbarians by the gravity, ſimplicity, freedom, modeſty and purity of its manners and 'principles.' This joint victory over Gentiliſm, and over hereſies, was † obtained, as he intimates, by the writings and diſcourſes of the patrons of truth at that time. And indeed it could be owing to nothing elſe, but to thoſe methods, ſupported by holy lives and patient ſufferings.

* Αλλων επ αλλαις αιρεσεων καινοδομεμενων. υπορρευσων αει των προτερων, και εις πολυτροπως και πολυμορφως ιδεας αλλοθ αλλως φθειρομενων Προσηει δ' εις αυξησιν και μεγεθος, αει κατα τα αυτα και ωσαυτως εχουσα, η της καθολου και μονης αληθους εκκλησιας λαμπροτης, κ. λ. H. E. l. 4. c. 7.

† Ομως δ'ουν κατα τους δηλουμενους αυθις παρηγεν εις μεσον η αληθεια πλειους εαυτης υπερμαχους, ου δι αγραφων αυτο μονον ελεγχων, αλλα και δι εγγραφων αποδειξεων κατα των αθεων αιρεσεων γραδευομενους. Ibid.

Our

Our own time alſo affords a convincing inſtance to all that will open their eyes to obſerve. The proteſtant ſtates and kingdoms of Europe, as they enjoy greater liberty than others, proportionably exceed their neighbours in the juſtneſs of their ſentiments, and the goodneſs of their lives. Indeed there is among us proteſtants a great deal of vice and irreligion, which all good men obſerve with grief and concern, and ſome very bad and ſelfiſh men delight to aggravate and magnify with a view to their own evil deſigns; but ſtill without vanity, if we be barely juſt to our circumſtances, ſure we have ſome reaſon to glory over ſome of our neighbours in this reſpect. Which advantage can be aſcribed to no other cauſe ſo much as the liberty we enjoy. For introduce among us the tyranny they are under; and we ſhall be as ignorant, as ſuperſtitious, and corrupt, as they.

If then men ſhould be permitted among us, to go on in delivering their ſentiments freely in matters of religion, and to propoſe their objections againſt Chriſtianity itſelf; I apprehend, we have no reaſon to be in pain for the event. On the ſide of Chriſtianity I expect to ſee, as hitherto, the greateſt ſhare of learning, good ſenſe, true wit, and fairneſs of diſputation: which things, I hope, will be ſuperior to low ridicule, falſe argument, and miſrepreſentation.

For ought I can ſee, in an age ſo rational as this we live in, the victory over our enemies may be ſpeedily obtained. They will be driven to thoſe manifeſt abſurdities, which they muſt be aſhamed to own; and be ſilent in dread of univerſal cenſure. But ſuppoſe the conteſt ſhould laſt for ſome time, we ſhall all better underſtand our Bibles: we ſhall upon a freſh examination better underſtand the principles, and the grounds of our religion. Poſſibly ſome errors may be mixed with our faith, which by this means may be ſeparated, and our faith become more pure. Being more confirmed in the truths of our religion, we ſhall be more perfect in the duties of it. Inſtead of being unthinking and nominal, we ſhall become more generally ſerious and real Chriſtians: each one of which advantages will be a large ſtep toward a complete and final victory.

This victory obtained upon the ground of argument and perſuaſion alone, by writing and diſcourſe, will be honourable to us and our religion; and we ſhall be able to reflect upon it with pleaſure. We ſhall not only keep that good

thing we have received, but ſhall deliver it down to others with advantage. But a victory ſecured by mere authority is no leſs to be dreaded than a defeat. It may appear a benefit for the preſent, but it really undermines the cauſe, and ſtrikes at the root of our holy profeſſion. Will any ſerious and ſenſible Chriſtian, in the view of a future judgment, undertake to anſwer for the damage thereby brought to the doctrine of his Saviour, the meek and patient Jeſus? as meek in his principles, as in the example he has bequeathed us.

I might now addreſs myſelf to our adverſaries, and tell them: that it is a very deſirable thing, that all authors ſhould write, as ſcholars and gentlemen, at leaſt like civiliſed people: that it is a point long ſince determined, that in controverſial writings authors ſhould confine themſelves to things, that is, the merits of the cauſe, without annoying perſons: that it is grievous to all ſorts of men, to have thoſe things which they reſpect, treated with indecency. I might tell them, that other men's reputation is as ſacred as their own. I might remind them, that Chriſtians at this time, generally ſpeaking, are in as good temper, as they were ever known to be: that ſome, being of opinion that Chriſt's kingdom is not of this world, and that it is his pleaſure, that men ſhould not be compelled to receive his law by the puniſhments of this life, or the fear of them, leave men to propoſe their doubts and objections in their own way: that others have openly declared, that they ought to be invited; and others, that they ought to be permitted to propoſe their objections, provided it be done in a grave and ſerious manner. Chriſtians have alſo lately ſhewn an inſtance of their moderation towards ſome books publiſhed in oppoſition to their principles. Theſe are things, which, one would think, ſhould have ſome effect on ingenuous minds; and draw them off from the deſign of any rudeneſs or indecency in their attacks on the ſentiments commonly received among Chriſtians. I might alſo remind our adverſaries of ſome examples of an admirable decorum obſerved by the diſciples of Jeſus in their arguings with the Jews and Gentiles. But really one has little encouragement from ſome late performances to enlarge upon theſe particulars. And perhaps it would be judged ridiculous, to imagine, that any men ſhould oppoſe the goſpel with the ſame ſpirit, with which it was at firſt taught and propagated.

Beſides,

Beſides, as all men are more concerned for the good conduct of their friends, than of others; ſo have I been chiefly ſolicitous on this occaſion about the conduct of thoſe who are engaged in the ſame cauſe with myſelf; that it may be ſuch, as is beſt ſuited to the nature of thoſe ſublime principles they profeſs, and moſt for the laſting honour and intereſt of our religion. And though the things here ſaid may be at firſt diſagreeable to ſome, who are, or have been in part of a different ſentiment, it is not impoſſible, but that upon calm and cool reflection they may obtain their approbation.

A Paſſage of ORIGEN *out of his* BOOKS *againſt* CELSUS, *concerning theſe* THREE MIRACLES.

I HAVE in the vindication prolixly ſhewn, that the literal hiſtories of theſe miracles are rational, conſiſtent, and credible: ſo that we may be ſafe and eaſy in underſtanding them in their literal ſenſe, whatever any fathers or other people may ſay to the contrary. I ſhall however here ſet before the reader a paſſage of Origen written about A. D. 245, which paſſage I have choſen, not only as containing a teſtimony to the real performance of theſe miracles in their literal ſenſe, and ſhewing, that Origen argued the meſſiaſhip of Jeſus from miracles; but alſo as containing an excellent obſervation concerning the credibility of the evangeliſts. The reader will likewiſe perceive, that in Celſus's time, who flouriſhed about the middle of the ſecond century, the miracles of Jeſus were much talked of, and well known to the heathens: and that the Chriſtians in the time of Celſus, or before, believed the miracles of Jeſus, and argued his divine miſſion from them.

'But this, ſays Origen, is no new thing with Celſus, 'when he is not able directly to oppoſe the miracles which 'Jeſus is recorded to have done, to aſperſe them as juggling 'tricks. To which I have already often replied according

'to my ability. And here he* makes us anſwer him; that 'we therefore believe him to be the Son of God, becauſe he 'healed the lame and the blind. He adds; and, as you 'ſay, raiſed the dead. For certain, we do believe him to 'be the Chriſt and the Son of God, becauſe he healed the 'lame and the blind. And we are confirmed in it, becauſe 'that in the prophets it is written: *Then ſhall the eyes of the 'blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf ſhall hear, and the lame 'man leap as an hart.* And that he raiſed the dead, and that 'this is not a fiction of thoſe that wrote the goſpels, is 'evident hence; that if it had been a fiction of theirs, they 'would have related, many perſons to have been raiſed up, 'and thoſe who had lain a long time in their graves. But 'it not being a fiction, there are few of whom this is re-'lated: for inſtance, the daughter of the ruler of the 'ſynagogue (of whom I do not† know why he ſaid, ſhe is not 'dead, but ſleepeth, expreſſing ſomewhat peculiar to her, not 'common to all dead perſons) and the only ſon of a widow, 'on whom he had compaſſion, and raiſed him up, after 'he had bid the bearers of the corpſe ſtop; and the third, 'Lazarus, who had been buried four days.'

* — Και νῦν δε φησιν οιονει ημας αποκρινασθαι, οτι διὰ τῦτ' ἐνομισαμεν αυτὸν ειναι Ὑιον Θεȣ, επει χωλȣς και τυφλȣς εθεραπευσε. Προσιθησι δε και το ως υμεις φαΐε, ανιση νεκρȣς. οτι μεν ȣν χωλȣς και τυφλȣς εθεραπευσε, διοπερ Χριστον αυτον και Ὑιον Θεȣ νομιζομεν· δηλον ημιν εστιν εκ τȣ και εν προφητειαις γεγραφθαι· Τοτε. —— Οτι δε και νεκρȣς ανιση, και ȣκ εστι πλασμα των τα ευαγγελια γραψαντων· παρισαται εκ τȣ, ει μεν πλασμα ην, πολλȣς αναγεγραφθαι τȣς αναστανΐας, και τȣς ηδη χρονȣς εχονΐας πλειονας εν τοις μνημειοις. επει δ' ȣκ εστι πλασμα, παυ ευαριθμητȣς λελεχθαι, την τε τȣ αρχισυναγωγȣ θυγατερα (περι, ης ȣκ οιδ' οπως ειπεν, ȣκ απεθανεν, αλλα καθευδει· λεγων τι περι αυτης ο ȣ πασι τοις αποθνȣσι προσην) και τον μονογενη της χηρας υιον. ἐφ' ᾧ σπλαγχνισθεις ανεστησεν, στησας τȣς φερονΐας τον νεκρον· και τριτον Λαζαρον τεΐαρτην ημεραν εν τω μνημειῳ εχονΐα. Cont. Celſ. l. 2. p. 87.

† Origen, it ſeems, did not then think of the reaſon of this, I have aſſigned the plain reaſon of it, p. 65. See alſo, p. 114.

VINDICATION, &c.

Mr. W. begins his fifth Diſcourſe, p. 1, 2. with ſaying, that he is now to 'take into examination the three miracles 'of Jeſus's raiſing the dead, viz. of Jairus's daughter, Matt. 'ix. Mark v. Luke viii. of the widow of Naim's ſon, Luke 'vii. and of Lazarus, John xi: the literal ſtories of which, 'he ſays, he ſhall ſhew to conſiſt of abſurdities, improba-'bilities, and incredibilities, in order to the myſtical inter-'pretation of them.'

I have read over his examination of theſe miracles, and am ſtill of opinion, that the hiſtories of them are credible.

I. I will therefore firſt conſider all his objections againſt theſe literal ſtories.

II. I will conſider the Jewiſh Rabbi's letter inſerted in this diſcourſe.

III. I will ſhew, that the hiſtories of theſe three miracles are well circumſtanced, and have in them the marks and tokens of credibility.

CHAP. I.

§. 1. Answer to Mr. W's first Objection.

I will firſt conſider all Mr. W's objections to theſe literal ſtories.

Mr. W. ſays in his preamble, before he comes to propoſe his objections in form: 'that theſe three miracles are 'not equally great, but differ in degree, is viſible enough 'to every one that but curſorily reads, and compares their 'ſtories one with another;—the greateſt of the three, and 'indeed the greateſt miracle, that Jeſus is ſuppoſed to have 'wrought, is that of Lazarus's reſurrection; which, in 'truth, was a moſt prodigious miracle, if his corpſe was 'putrefied and ſtank; and if there were no juſt exceptions

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'to be made to the credibility of the ſtory. Next to that, 'in magnitude, is Jeſus's raiſing of the widow's ſon, as they 'were carrying him to his burial.—The leaſt of the three 'is that of his raiſing Jairus's daughter, p. 4, 5.'

For my own part, I will not pretend to affirm, that theſe three miracles are equally great, though the difference is ſmall: but I ſhould think it highly probable, that the Being which can give life to a perſon really dead, though but for a quarter of an hour, or even a minute, is able alſo to raiſe to life another that has been dead many days. The length of time in which a perſon has lain dead from the time he expired does indeed ſomewhat increaſe the certainty of his death. But the difficulty of the work of a reſurrection from real death is ſo very great, that length of time from the deceaſe can add but little to it. This alone (if it be true) ruins Mr. W's firſt obſervation, however plauſible it may have appeared to ſome. And he himſelf ſays, p. 3. 'He believes, it will be granted on all hands, that the 'reſtoring a perſon, indiſputably dead, to life again, is a 'ſtupendous miracle.'

If then it ſhall be made appear, that the three perſons here mentioned were indiſputably dead, and raiſed to life again; or that there are no juſt exceptions againſt the credibility of theſe ſtories; we have in the goſpels three ſtupendous miracles, which were wrought by Jeſus Chriſt; and we have no occaſion to have recourſe to any myſtical interpretations.

1. 'Obſerve,' ſays he, p. 6. 'that the unnatural and 'prepoſterous order of time, in which theſe miracles are 'related, juſtly brings them under ſuſpicion of fable and 'forgery. The greateſt of the three is indiſputably that of 'Lazarus's reſurrection; but ſince this is only mentioned 'by St. John, who wrote his goſpel after the other evan-'geliſts; here is too much room for cavil and queſtion, 'whether this ſtory be not entirely his invention: again, if 'Matthew, the firſt writer had recorded only the ſtory of 'Lazarus, whoſe reſurrection was the greateſt miracle, and 'if Luke had added that of the widow of Naim's ſon; and 'John laſtly had remembered us of Jairus's daughter— 'then all had been well; and no objection had hence lain 'againſt the credit of any of theſe miracles, or againſt the 'authority of the evangeliſts: but this unnatural and pre-'poſterous order of time, in which theſe miracles are re-

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'corded (the greateſt being poſtponed to the laſt) admini-
'ſters juſt occaſion of ſuſpicion of the truth and credibility
'of all their ſtories,' p. 9. 16.

On the contrary I maintain, that St. John the laſt evangeliſt's recording a miracle omitted by the former, even ſuppoſing it to be greater than any related by them, does not adminiſter any juſt occaſion of ſuſpicion of the truth and credibility of all their three ſtories, or of any one of them.

If there be any force in this argument of Mr. W. it muſt lie in ſome one or more of theſe following ſuppoſitions:

1. That ſome of the three former evangeliſts have expreſsly declared, they have related all the miracles, or all the greateſt miracles, which Jeſus ever wrought, or which they knew of.

2. Or, if they have not expreſsly declared this, that however they have in their way of writing ſhewn an affectation of mightily increaſing the number of our Saviour's miracles, or of ſetting down all and eſpecially the greateſt which they knew of.

3. Or elſe, that the later evangeliſts have betrayed a fondneſs in their goſpels, to record more in number, or greater in degree, than thoſe who went before them; and thereby give ground for ſuſpicion of forgery and invention.

4. Or laſtly, that the omiſſion of a miracle recorded by the laſt evangeliſt, if it had been really done, is abſolutely unaccountable.

1. 'That ſome of the three former evangeliſts have ex-
'preſsly declared, they have related all the miracles, or
'all the greateſt miracles that Jeſus ever did, or that they
'knew of.' This they have none of them ſaid. Nor is it ſo much as pretended, they have ſaid ſo. Indeed they have often declared the contrary.

2. Or, 'If they have not expreſsly declared this; that
'the former evangeliſts have however by their way and
'manner of writing ſhewn an affectation of mightily in-
'creaſing the number of our Saviour's miracles, or of
'ſetting down all, and eſpecially the greateſt which they
'knew of.' This Mr. W. charges them with: 'To
'aggrandize the fame of their Maſter, as a worker of
'miracles,' he ſays, 'was the deſign of all the evangeliſts,
'eſpecially of the three firſt,' p. 7. This does not appear from their hiſtories, but quite the contrary. Having related two or three miracles wrought by Jeſus in any place,

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they content themſelves therewith, though they knew of many others. St. Matthew in his eighth chapter, having ſet down the miraculous cures of a leper, of the centurion's ſervant, and of Peter's wife's mother, relates no more miracles particularly, but only ſays in general: *When the even was come, they brought unto him many that were poſſeſſed with devils: and he caſt out the ſpirits with his word, and healed all that were ſick*, Matt. viii. 16. And in divers other places he affirms, many to have been healed, and many other mighty works to have been done, beſide thoſe he puts down. Mark has taken the ſame ſummary method upon many occaſions. *And at even*, ſays he, *when the ſun did ſet, they brought unto him all that were diſeaſed, and that were poſſeſſed with devils. And all the city was gathered together at the door. And he healed many that were ſick of divers diſeaſes, and caſt out many devils*, Mark i. 32, 34. St. Luke has followed the ſame compendious way of writing. Having related a cure, in a ſynagogue, of a man which had a ſpirit of an unclean devil, and of Simon's wife's mother, he adds: *Now when the ſun was ſetting, all they which had any ſick with divers diſeaſes, brought them unto him, and he laid his hands on every one of them and healed them. And devils alſo came out of many, crying out and ſaying, Thou art Chriſt the Son of God*, Luke iv. 40, 41.

As they do not multiply their particular relations of miracles, but omit great numbers which they knew of, ſo neither do they affect always to take the greateſt in degree, or thoſe that ſeem ſo. I do not pretend to underſtand all the various degrees of miracles. But it appears to me a more ſhowy and affecting work to cure a demoniac, than to heal a perſon with a fever. But yet Matthew in the chapter juſt quoted, at the ſame time that he relates the cure of Simon's wife's mother, omits all particular accounts of thoſe which were that ſame day delivered from evil ſpirits, though there were many ſuch inſtances. There is in all the goſpels but one particular account of any perſon cured by only touching the hem of Chriſt's garment, namely, the woman with the bloody iſſue. And yet there were many other ſuch caſes. St. Matthew ſays, that in the land of Genneſaret, they *beſought him, that they might only touch the* HEM *of his garment, and as many as touched were made perfectly whole*, Matt. xiv. 35, 36. St. Mark aſſures us of the ſame thing. *For he had healed many, inſomuch that they preſſed upon him for to*

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TOUCH *him, as many as had plagues,* Mark iii. 10. And in another place he says: *Whithersoever he entered,—they laid their sick in the streets, and besought him that they might touch, if it were but the* BORDER *of his garment: and as many as touched him were made whole,* ch. vi. 56. St. Luke also confirms this account: *And the whole multitude sought to* TOUCH *him: for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all,* Luke vi. 19.

Nay, there is a great deal of reason to think, that the evangelists did know of more persons raised to life by Jesus, than those they have particularly mentioned. St. Luke, having given the history of raising up the young man, says immediately: *And the disciples of John shewed him of all these things. And John calling unto him two of his disciples, sent them to Jesus, saying, Art thou he that should come, or look we for another.—Then Jesus answering, said unto them, Go your way, and tell John, what things ye have seen and heard, how that the blind see, the lame walk,—the* DEAD *are raised,* Luke vii. 18, 19, 22. In St. Matthew our Lord says the same thing in his answer to John's inquiry: *The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk—the dead are raised up,* Matt. xi. 5. He says, *The dead are raised,* in the plural number. St. Matthew therefore must have known of more than one, though he has given the particular history of the ruler of the synagogue's daughter only.

Farther, in answer to this assertion, that the design of all the evangelists was to aggrandize the fame of their Master, as a worker of miracles; I would observe, that the gospels, though but short histories, are not filled with accounts of miracles. There are whole chapters together containing nothing, but an account of our Saviour's pure and heavenly doctrine. Other chapters contain nothing but parables, which are also interspersed here and there in other parts of the narration. Other chapters are taken up with the cavils of the Pharisees and others, and our Saviour's answers to them, with discourses to the disciples, and divers other matters. So that the miracles alone, separate from the discourses and arguings which they occasioned, make but a moderate part of the gospels. Many miracles undoubtedly the evangelists have related. Nor had Jesus proved himself to be the Messiah, if many miracles had not been performed by him. Such things were expected of the Messiah, when he came by every body. Therefore

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it was, that, as St. John obſerves, *Many believed in his name, when they ſaw the miracles which he did,* John ii. 23. And in another place, *Many of the people believed on him, and ſaid, When Chriſt cometh, will he do more miracles than theſe which this man hath done?* ch. vii. 31. Nor is there any oſtentation in the working of any of theſe miracles, or in the manner in which they are related: but they are done for the confirmation of that excellent doctrine, which Chriſt taught, and that all men might know that the Father had ſent him, and that the word he taught was not his own but the Father's. *If I do not the works of my Father,* ſays he to the Jews, *believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him,* John x. 37, 38. And to the diſciples: *The words that I ſpeak unto you, I ſpeak not of myſelf: but the Father that dwells in me, he doth the works. Believe me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or elſe believe me for the very work's ſake,* ch. xiv. 10, 11.

Since then the firſt three evangeliſts appear not to have given an account of all the miracles of Jeſus which they knew of, nor of all his greateſt miracles, nor of all thoſe which he had raiſed from the dead: ſince they have not filled up their goſpels with accounts of miracles or other wonderful appearances, and have written all without any marks of affectation or oſtentation; it can be no prejudice to the credit of another later hiſtorian of Jeſus, though he relate ſome few particular miracles not expreſsly mentioned by the foregoing.

3. 'Or elſe, that the latter evangeliſts have in their 'goſpels betrayed a fondneſs to record more in number, or 'greater in degree, than thoſe that went before: and 'thereby give ground for ſuſpicion of forgery and inven-'tion.' Here St. John, the laſt evangeliſt, in point of number, is perfectly innocent; he not having related half ſo many miracles, as any one of the former. The offence therefore, if there be any, muſt be this, that later evangeliſts relate greater miracles than the foregoing. And this Mr. W. would inſinuate to have been the practice of all in general. For he ſays, p. 11. 'That the firſt was ſparing 'and modeſt in his romance; and the ſecond, being ſenſible 'of the inſufficiency of the former's tale, deviſes a miracle 'of a bigger ſize; which ſtill not proving ſufficient to the 'end propoſed; the third writer, rather than his Pro-'phet's

'phet's honour ſhould ſink for want of a reſurrection 'miracle, forges a ſtory of a monſtrouſly huge one.' To this I anſwer, that a general concluſion ought not to be drawn from a particular inſtance, or two: ſuppoſing, that the raiſing of the widow's ſon of Naim, related by Luke, be greater than that of raiſing Jairus's daughter, recorded by Matthew; and that the raiſing of Lazarus recorded by St. John be greater than either of the two former, a ſuſpicion of forgery and invention cannot be fairly admitted, unleſs an affectation of enlarging miracles appear alſo upon other occaſions. For which reaſon we will take a view of the conduct, firſt of all, of the three former evangeliſts, and then of St. John.

In the firſt place we will take a view of the conduct of the three former evangeliſts. Matthew relates a ſtory of Chriſt's feeding a multitude in a miraculous manner. He ſays, there were five thouſand of them fed with five loaves, and that twelve baſkets of fragments were taken up, Matt. xiv. Neither St. Mark, (ch. vi.) or St. Luke (ch. ix.) have related a greater miracle of this kind; but tell the ſame ſtory with the ſame circumſtances: whereas if they had been diſpoſed to invent, the two later evangeliſts might have eaſily told a much greater miracle of this ſort than Matthew had done. Again, St. Matthew has given an account of raiſing Jairus's daughter, ch. ix. 18. St. Mark wrote after him, and yet he has not told any greater reſurrection ſtory, but only the ſame, ch. v. 23. Nay, ſometimes a later evangeliſt leſſens a miracle, that had been told by a former: ſo far are they from forging huge miracles, rather than their Maſter's honour ſhould ſink for want of them. Thus Matthew tells of TWO poſſeſſed with devils in the country of the Gergeſenes healed by Jeſus, chap. viii. 28. But Mark who wrote after him, mentions but one of thoſe men, ch. v. 1. Matthew alſo ſpeaks of two blind men reſtored to ſight near Jericho, ch. xx. 29; Mark mentions only Bartimeus, ch. x. 46. and St. Luke ſays: *There was a certain blind man by the way ſide begging*, &c. ch. xviii. 35.

There is another thing very obſervable. One and the ſame evangeliſt, who has given an account of a very great miracle of a certain kind, does ſometimes a good while after relate another miracle of the ſame ſort, but a great deal leſs than the former.

Thus Matthew firſt gives a hiſtory of *five thouſand fed with*

with five loaves and two fiſhes, and ſays there were *twelve baſkets of fragments*, ch. xiv. But when he afterwards ſpeaks of another miracle of this kind, he mentions but *four thouſand fed with ſeven loaves and a few ſmall fiſhes*, and but *ſeven baſkets full of fragments*, ch. xv. Theſe miracles are in the like order recorded in St. Mark, ch. vi. viii. Nay if the raiſing of the widow of Naim's ſon be a greater miracle than raiſing Jairus's daughter, as Mr. W. ſuppoſes; then St. Luke has given an account of his reſurrection ſtories alſo in this method. For the former is in the ſeventh, and the latter in the eighth chapter of his goſpel.

It is utterly unaccountable, that a forger of miracles ſhould fall into ſuch a method. He who forges ſtories of miracles knows they are falſe. His reader's mind muſt be humoured. By a leſſer he may be prepared to receive a greater, which, if told firſt, had perhaps induced him to throw away the whole tale. Beſides a forger of miracles certainly deſigns to entertain his reader, whereas in this way inſtead of being entertained he muſt be diſappointed. And there can be no reaſon aſſigned, why the evangeliſts ſhould have taken this method, (as I have ſhewn they have done, more than one of them, in ſeveral inſtances,) but that they had a ſtrict regard to truth, and that the things they relate had been indeed ſo done. It ſerves to convince us alſo, that they had no undue deſire to aggrandize their Maſter; that they have not uſed art in their compoſitions, or indulged their own fancy or invention; but have followed a certain train of real, though wonderful and ſurpriſing actions.

Now we will take a view of the conduct of St. John, the laſt evangeliſt. It is St. John in particular, that Mr. W. means when he ſays: 'The third writer, rather than his 'Prophet's honour ſhould ſink for want of a reſurrection 'miracle, forges a ſtory of a monſtrouſly huge one,' p. 11. But this is ſomewhat ſtrange, that Mr. W. ſhould impute ſuch an action to St. John; ſince he has himſelf ſaid, p. 7. That 'to aggrandize their Maſter, as a worker of miracles, was the deſign eſpecially of the three firſt.' Moreover Mr. W. allows, p. 9. that one reſurrection miracle is ſufficient. Why then ſhould it be thought, that St. John hath given an account of one raiſed from the dead, but that he knew it had been really done?

But not to rely on theſe obſervations of Mr. W. though ſo much in our favour: let us obſerve St. John's conduct

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on other occaſions; one inſtance, as I ſaid, not being ſufficient. It is he who has informed us of the turning water into wine at Cana in Galilee, John ii. 1. I am fully perſuaded, this was a real miracle. But it appears to me, (and I ſuppoſe to others likewiſe) one of the leaſt miracles any where aſcribed to our Saviour. If St. John forged miracles, why did he put down here ſo inconſiderable an one? Why did he not tell an huge one? He had full ſcope here, as much as any where, the former evangeliſts not having begun ſo ſoon in their account of our Saviour's miniſtry: as is well known to thoſe who are at all acquainted with the harmony of the goſpels.

Nor may any ſay, that the reaſon of St. John's relating here ſo ſmall a miracle was, that he judged it not proper to tell a great miracle at firſt, but to reſerve ſuch an one, and particularly the huge miracle of Lazarus's reſurrection for the laſt. For ſoon after this he relates a ſurpriſing miracle of a great cure wrought on a perſon at a diſtance, and that the ſon of a nobleman. *So Jeſus came again into Cana of Galilee.—And there was a certain nobleman, whoſe ſon was ſick at Capernaum. When he heard that Jeſus was come out of Judea into Galilee, he went unto him, and beſought him, that he would come down, and heal his ſon, for he was at the* POINT OF DEATH.—*Jeſus ſaith unto him, go thy way, thy ſon liveth.* And afterwards upon inquiry *when the fever left him, the father knew, that it was at the ſame hour, in the which Jeſus ſaid unto him, thy ſon liveth. This is again the ſecond miracle, that Jeſus did, when he was come out of Judea into Galilee,* John iv. 46—54.

Let us view St. John in another place. In the ſixth chapter of his goſpel he relates a ſtory of Chriſt's feeding a multitude in a miraculous manner, which is, that he fed *five thouſand people with five barley loaves and two ſmall fiſhes*, and that they took up *twelve baſkets full of the fragments that remained.* This is juſt the ſame, with what the three other evangeliſts had told before. But why did not St. John, if he indulged invention, forge here, or ſomewhere elſe, a ſtory of a monſtrouſly huge miracle? It had been altogether as eaſy for him to have told a ſtory of about ten or twelve thouſand men, or more, fed with two loaves and one ſmall fiſh: and to add, that when all had eaten to ſatisfaction, there were twenty or thirty baſkets full of fragments taken up.

There is no reaſon then to ſuſpect the truth of the hiſtory of Lazarus's reſurrection, purely becauſe it is a greater miracle than thoſe recorded by the former evangeliſts. If the miracle recorded by St. John be greater than thoſe recorded by them, it is not owing (for any thing that yet appears) to St. John's invention, but to truth and real matter of fact, and his regard to it, which was equally the concern of them all.

4. The laſt pretended ground of ſuſpicion of 'fable and forgery' to be conſidered is, 'That the firſt evangeliſt's 'omiſſion of a miracle recorded by the laſt, if the miracle 'had been really done, is abſolutely unaccountable.' Let us hear Mr. W. *who is here very copious, in his way,* ſaying the ſame thing over and over in different words; 'What 'could be the reaſon,' he aſks, p. 6. 'that Matthew, Mark, 'and Luke, who all wrote their goſpels before John, ſhould 'omit to record this remarkable and moſt illuſtrious mira-'cle of Lazarus?—What then was the reaſon, I aſk it again, 'that the three firſt evangeliſt's neglected to record this re-'nowned miracle of Lazarus?' p. 8.

To which I anſwer, that we are under no obligation to account for the omiſſion of the former evangeliſts. It would be no ſufficient ground to refuſe our aſſent to St. John's hiſtory of the raiſing of Lazarus, though we could think of no manner of reaſon at all for its being omitted by the three former.

However a variety of reaſons for this omiſſion offer themſelves. I have already ſhewn, the evangeliſts have not affected to increaſe the number of our Saviour's miracles, but paſſed by many, and thoſe very great ones, which they knew very well. Mr. W. himſelf allows, that one miracle of a reſurrection is ſufficient. He ſays likewiſe, p. 3. that 'the reſtoring a perſon indiſputably dead, to life again, is a ſtupendous miracle.' (I hope to ſhew hereafter, that every perſon ſaid to have been raiſed to life by our Saviour had been certainly dead, and that therefore every one of theſe inſtances are ſtupendous miracles.) If then the leaſt of theſe is a ſtupendous miracle; why ſhould we cavil with the evangeliſts for not putting down every one of them, the greateſt miracle of all, if indeed there be a difference? Is it not very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that an evangeliſt might content himſelf with the relation of one perſon raiſed from the

the dead; ſince one inſtance is ſufficient, and is a ſtupendous thing?

Another very common occaſion of omiſſions in writers is a regard to brevity. Mr. W. himſelf could not help thinking of this excuſe, 'the ſtudying brevity,' p. 9; but he would not allow it to the firſt evangeliſts. Nevertheleſs, I think, they have the beſt title to this excuſe of any men that ever wrote. The four goſpels bound together do not make a large volume: each one ſingly is a very ſmall book. And yet the evangeliſts had before them the moſt copious and engaging ſubject. Beſide the miracles of our Saviour, with circumſtances of time and place, the names of the perſons, occaſions of working them, and divers other extraordinary teſtimonies given to him from heaven; they have actually inſerted in theſe pieces an account of the wonderful manner of our Saviour's birth, the dangers of his infancy, the miraculous appearances of Divine Providence in his favour, and his removals and journeyings from one place and country to another. They have recorded the ſubſtance of his doctrine in plain terms, again and again. They have ſet down many parables ſpoken by him, together with their explications. Here is a miſſion of his twelve apoſtles and other ſeventy diſciples. They have alſo given the cavils and queſtions of the Phariſees, Sadducees, and Herodians, and our Lord's anſwers to them; the obſervations and reflections of the people; our Lord's public diſcourſes before all, and his more private inſtructions to his diſciples; his predictions of his own ſufferings, of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and many other events; a long and particular account of our Saviour's proſecution, condemnation, and crucifixion, as alſo of his reſurrection and aſcenſion: not to mention the hiſtory of the birth, preaching, baptiſm, and ſufferings of John the Baptiſt our bleſſed Lord's forerunner.

He who conſiders this great number and variety of matters contained in the goſpels, (as alſo the engaging nature of them, by which an hiſtorian muſt be much inclined to dwell upon them, both for his own ſake and for the pleaſure and entertainment of others) muſt needs allow, that the evangeliſts have ardently deſired and moſt carefully ſtudied brevity, or their works had riſen to a great bulk. They have certainly aimed at this all along, in almoſt every part of their accounts: and I have before ſhewn they have done this in their relations of miracles; ſince having given a par-

ticular hiſtory of ſome few, they mention many others in a ſummary way only. It is not at all ſtrange then (we have here a very good reaſon of it) that when an evangeliſt had given an account of one perſon raiſed from the dead, it being a ſtupendous miracle, he contented himſelf therewith.

Nor ought the evangeliſts to be blamed for aiming at brevity. They deſerve very high commendations both for the deſign itſelf, and for their excellent execution of it. Their intention was to give a hiſtory of Jeſus, that all men might believe him to be the Chriſt, and might have life through his name. It was abſolutely neceſſary therefore to put down the doctrine of Chriſt, and alſo ſomewhat under each one of thoſe heads above-mentioned. But though the ſubject was extremely copious; theſe books being intended for the uſe of all, for the learned and unlearned, for the poor, the rich, the buſy, for all ranks and orders of men in all times, it was highly needful they ſhould be ſhort. Great books are tedious and diſtaſteful; many books are troubleſome. And I am perſuaded, that the evangeliſts have much more effectually conſulted the benefit of mankind by their ſhort goſpels, than by writing, as they might have eaſily done, many more, or much larger books of the hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt.

I have proved a regard to brevity in general, and particularly in the account of miracles; and have alſo ſhewn that this deſign was neceſſary and reaſonable. This ſtudy of brevity muſt certainly have obliged each one of them to obſerve ſilence upon ſome matters, after they had related others; that they might reſerve room for ſome important events, eſſential parts of their hiſtory, ſtill behind: leſt they ſhould proceed to a length and prolixity, they had reſolved to avoid. It is therefore very eaſy to ſuppoſe in behalf of the three former evangeliſts, that when they had come to ſome certain place or period in their hiſtory of the miniſtry of Jeſus, they obſerved they had given a ſufficient account of his doctrine and miracles: and ſince they muſt reſerve room for an account of his laſt ſufferings, and his reſurrection; they reſolved to paſs over in ſilence what happened between that period and the time of his laſt journey to Jeruſalem, where he ſuffered.

Such a period as this may be obſerved in the three former evangeliſts, by which means they had not an opportunity

tunity of relating the reſurrection of Lazarus. I will ſhew this particularly of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

St. Matthew ſays, ch. xix. 1, 2, 3. *And it came to paſs, that when Jeſus had finiſhed theſe ſayings, he departed from Galilee, and came into the coaſts of* JUDEA BEYOND JORDAN. *And great multitudes followed him, and he healed them there. The phariſees alſo came unto him tempting him,* &c. From which verſe to the ſixteenth verſe of the next chapter follows an account of the queſtion of the phariſees concerning divorce, Jeſus's receiving little children, the young man that came to Chriſt, ſome diſcourſes between Chriſt and the diſciples about riches, and a parable. Then at ver. 17. of that chapter (the twentieth) are theſe words: *And Jeſus going up to Jeruſalem, took the twelve diſciples apart in the way, and ſaid unto them,* &c. From which it is plain, that Jeſus was then going towards Jeruſalem, a little before his laſt paſſover.

St. Mark ſays, ch. x. 1. *And he aroſe from thence, and cometh into the coaſts of Judea by the* FARTHER SIDE OF JORDAN, &c. From whence to the 31ſt verſe is an account of the phariſees queſtion concerning divorce, the little children brought to Chriſt, the young man that came to him, a diſcourſe between Chriſt and the diſciples about riches. Then at ver. 32. it is ſaid: *And they were in the way going up to Jeruſalem,* &c.

From which it appears, that St. Matthew and St. Mark have given no particular account of any journeyings of Jeſus, and have ſpoke but very little of any thing elſe concerning him (except ſome diſcourſes in the place of his retirement) from the time he came into the country beyond Jordan, till they find him in his way to Jeruſalem, before his laſt paſſover.

The ſame thing appears to me in St. Luke alſo. But that I may not be tedious, I will decline ſhewing that particularly at preſent. I may the better be excuſed, becauſe he has two reſurrection miracles, which is one more than is ſufficient.

Now the time of our Lord's coming into the country beyond Jordan may be learnt from St. John. It was ſoon after the feaſt of dedication, John x. 22. which was obſerved in the winter. For he ſays: *They ſought again to take him: but he eſcaped out of their hand, and went again* BEYOND JORDAN *into the place where John at firſt baptized: and there abode.*

And many reſorted unto him, ver. 39, 40, 41. From which country (according to St. John's account) Jeſus afterwards came up to Bethany, and raiſed Lazarus; and then *went into a country near the wilderneſs, into a city called Ephraim, and there continued with his diſciples*, John xi. 54. Theſe removes the other evangeliſts have omitted for the ſake of brevity, or ſome other reaſon. Therefore the reſurrection of Lazarus could not be well brought into their relation.

There is another reaſon of their ſilence about this matter, concurring with their ſtudy of brevity. The deſign of a writer may be collected from his work. From the three firſt goſpels it appears, that the deſign of the three firſt evangeliſts was to give an account of the moſt public part of our Lord's miniſtry. They therefore entirely paſs over the former part of it, and begin their relation after the impriſonment of John the Baptiſt. Thus Matthew, ch. iv. 2. *Now when Jeſus had heard that John was caſt into priſon, he departed into Galilee.* Mark i. 14. *Now after that John was caſt into priſon, Jeſus came into Galilee, preaching the goſpel of the kingdom of God.* And that St. Luke alſo begins his account of our Lord's miniſtry at about the ſame time, is apparent from his goſpel. See ch. iv. 14. &c.

For the ſame reaſon that they omitted the former and leſs public part of his miniſtry, before the impriſonment of John the Baptiſt, they have alſo ſlightly paſſed over what happened from our Lord's arrival beyond Jordan, till he is going up to his laſt paſſover. For in this interval he lived ſomewhat more privately than he had done before. He received all who came to him, either for inſtruction, or to be healed by him; but he did not go about the cities and villages of Judea preaching publicly, as he had done for ſome time before.

St. John obſerving what had been the method of the three former evangeliſts, and that they had given a very ſufficient account of that part of Chriſt's miniſtry which immediately ſucceeded the impriſonment of John the Baptiſt, reſolved to ſupply their omiſſions. By which means he was led to give ſome hiſtory of things done by Jeſus between his temptation in the wilderneſs and the impriſonment of John the Baptiſt; and alſo of ſome things that happened between our Lord's going into the country beyond Jordan, and his journey to the laſt paſſover at Jeruſalem, in which laſt interval the miracle of Lazarus was performed.

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We have here (ſo far as I am able to judge) a fair account of the occaſion of the omiſſion of Lazarus's reſurrection by the three former evangeliſts, and of its relation by St. John.

Once more; Since the miracles of Jeſus were ſo numerous (according to the account of all the three firſt evangeliſts) that they could not be all particularly related without an inconvenient and unneceſſary prolixity; theſe evangeliſts might very reaſonably prefer ſome miracles before others, and in particular the miracle wrought on Jairus's daughter before that on Lazarus. If one of theſe miracles were to be omitted, I would aſk, which of the two it ſhould be? I can readily anſwer for myſelf; I ſhould chooſe to omit that of Lazarus rather than the other. And though all men ſhould not preſently decide with me, I believe that moſt would waver in the choice.

The raiſing any perſon to life is an amazing and truly divine work. Jairus was a ruler of a ſynagogue, of an order of men generally averſe to Jeſus: Lazarus was a friend. The miracle therefore on Jairus's daughter is more unexceptionable in this reſpect than that on Lazarus. All the miracles of Jeſus, conſidering his blameleſs character, and the circumſtances with which they are related, are really unexceptionable. But there are degrees in all kinds of things; and one miracle, even of Jeſus himſelf, may be more unexceptionable than another; which is an important thing in a miracle, as well as the greatneſs of the work itſelf. In this reſpect the raiſing of Jairus's daughter is preferable to that of Lazarus. I paſs by the honour that reſults to Jeſus from the earneſt intreaties of ſo conſiderable a perſon as Jairus, that he would come and lay his hands on his daughter, who was at the point of death, or even now dead.

Moreover, the miracle on Jairus's daughter was performed in the very height of Chriſt's public miniſtry, when there were great numbers continually attending on him; enemies undoubtedly and ſpies, as well as other people. But to Bethany Jeſus came privately with his diſciples, and unexpectedly, to raiſe Lazarus. There happened indeed to be there at that time friends of the Phariſees (as I ſuppoſe there were every where) who went away, and told them what Jeſus had done. But his arrival at Bethany was perfectly unexpected to all, and a ſurpriſe even to the family of Lazarus. The evidences which there are in the relation, that

our Lord's coming to Bethany at that time was unlooked for, ſhew that there was no concert between him and his friends there: but for the ſame reaſon the phariſes might not be ſo well prepared to obſerve this miracle as ſome others.

To conclude this point: Mr. W. ſays, p. 9. 'If Mat-'thew the firſt writer, had recorded only the ſtory of Laza-'rus, whoſe reſurrection was the greateſt miracle; and if 'Luke had added that of the widow of Naim's ſon; and 'John laſtly had remembered us of Jairus's daughter, which 'the other evangeliſts, not through ignorance or forgetful-'neſs, but ſtudying brevity, had omitted, then all had 'been well.'

Undoubtedly, all had been well then, becauſe there are not in the goſpels any tokens of forgery or fiction, but plain marks of a real hiſtory of matter of fact, and of the ſtricteſt regard to truth. But all things are as well now. And if Lazarus's ſtory had ſtood in the three firſt goſpels in the room of that of Jairus's daughter, there might have been as much room for exceptions, as there is now, as appears from what I have juſt ſaid about the circumſtances of theſe perſons. Nor is there any good objection to be brought againſt the preſent order. The three firſt evangeliſts have wiſely taken that miracle, which occurred to them in the courſe of our Lord's moſt public miniſtry, and which is in all reſpects moſt unexceptionable.

Upon the whole, the reaſons I have here offered of the ſilence of the three firſt evangeliſts about Lazarus's reſurrection are ſuch as readily offer themſelves to my mind; they ariſe out of the goſpels themſelves; and they appear to me to be of no ſmall weight. But they are not intended to the prejudice of any other probable reaſons aſſigned by Grotius, or Dr. Whitby, or any other learned and judicious writers.* And whether the reaſons offered by me or others appear fully ſatisfactory, or not, is not very material: we not being obliged, as I ſaid at firſt, to aſſign any reaſon at all for this omiſſion.

I have endeavoured to put the force of this objection of Mr. W. into the four beforementioned ſuppoſitions, which I have conſidered. But there are yet ſeveral particulars he has mentioned under this head of what he calls the 'unna-

* See Dr. Harris's Reaſonableneſs of believing in Chriſt, p. 3, 4.

'tural

'tural and prepoſterous order of time,' which I ſuppoſe we muſt not paſs by. He ſays then, p. 6. 'Since this [Lazarus's reſurrection] is only mentioned by St. John, who wrote his goſpels above ſixty years, according to the beſt computation after our Lord's aſcenſion; here is too much room for cavil and queſtion, whether this ſtory be not entirely his invention.'

No wiſe and honeſt man ought to countenance cavil. It is ſufficient that there be no juſt reaſon for doubt and queſtion, as there is not here. If any man were now to write a hiſtory (never heard of before) of ſome perſon raiſed from the dead, about ſixty years ago, in a town not far from one of the chief cities of Europe; and ſhould mention time and place, and names of perſons concerned, as St. John has done, he would find no credit with any one. Indeed the deſign is ſo fooliſh and extravagant, that no one will attempt it where there is a liberty of inquiry, as there certainly was in St. John's time, the friends of Chriſtianity being fewer than its oppoſers. But there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe, St. John firſt told this ſtory now, ſixty years after our Saviour's aſcenſion. He had undoubtedly told it before an infinite number of times, in converſation, and in public diſcourſes, before many people, when the fact might be inquired into, and eaſily known to be true or falſe. Euſebius, who took a great deal of pains to get the beſt information concerning the authority of all the books of the New Teſtament, informs us from the ancients. 'And 'when now Mark and Luke [he had ſpoken of Matthew 'before] had publiſhed their goſpels, they ſay that John, 'who had hitherto all along preached only by word of 'mouth, was induced to write,'* &c.

From which we learn two things; firſt, that St. John had ſpent his time in preaching Jeſus Chriſt, from the time of our Lord's aſcenſion: ſecondly, that his goſpel contains the ſubſtance of his preaching. For he wrote what he had hitherto taught only by word of mouth. Conſequently he had often told his hearers this ſtory of Lazarus's reſurrection, long before he wrote his goſpel.

* Ἠδὴ δὲ Μαρκου καὶ Λουκα τῶν καθ' αὑτὸς εὐαγγελιων τὴν ἐκδοσιν πεποιημενων, Ἰωαννην φασι τὸν πᾶνία χρονον ἀγραφω κεχρημενον κηρυγμαλι, τελῶ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐλθειν τοιασδε χαριν αἰτιας. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 24.

Soon

Soon after our author ſays, p. 7. 'The firſt writer of the 'life of a hero, to be ſure makes mention of all the grand 'occurrences of it.—If a third or fourth biographer after 'him ſhall preſume to add a more illuſtrious action of the 'hero's life, it will be rejected as fable and romance, though 'for no other reaſon than this, that the firſt writer muſt 'have been appriſed of it, and would have inſerted its 'ſtory, if there had been any truth in it.'

How the lives of heroes are written, I do not know, not being read in legends and romances. But omiſſions are common in the lives of princes and other great men. Suetonius is allowed to be an excellent biographer, and was a very curious and inquiſitive perſon. Yet no one doubts of the truth and credibility of ſeveral things omitted by him, concerning thoſe emperors whoſe lives he has written. The three firſt evangeliſts have not related all the grand occurrences of Chriſt's life. They expreſsly ſay, they have omitted a great number of them. If they had profeſſed to be particular, and to take great care to omit nothing, there had been ſome ground for this objection: but to make it now, a man muſt have firſt loſt all modeſty.

But it will be ſaid: The objection is not, that the raiſing of Lazarus is another occurrence, or another grand occurrence omitted by the three former hiſtorians; but that Lazarus's reſurrection is a moſt prodigious miracle, p. 4; 'a 'huge and ſuperlatively great miracle,' p. 7; 'the miracle 'of miracles,' ibid; 'a monſtrouſly huge one,' (p. 11.) in compariſon of the other; and eſpecially of the firſt, 'which 'is an imperfect and diſputable miracle in compariſon of the 'other two,' p. 9.

This indeed Mr. W. does ſay, and he is obliged to ſay it, however contradictory it may be to what he ſays at other times. For if the latter miracle related by the laſt writer be only ſomewhat greater, more conſiderable than the former, the argument is of no force. Let us therefore ſee what the evangeliſts ſay. According to St. Matthew, the firſt writer, Jairus's daughter was dead before Jeſus came to the houſe, for the muſicians were come to make lamentations for her. And according to St. John, Lazarus had been dead four days.* He mentions no longer time. But according

* St. John ſays, ch. xi. 17. *When Jeſus came he found that he had lain in the grave four days already.* But, ver. 16. Martha ſays to Jeſus: *Lord*

according to Mr. W's repreſentation of the reſurrection of Lazarus, that it was a 'ſuperlatively great miracle, a monſtrouſly huge one,' in compariſon of the other; one would be apt to conclude, that Lazarus had been ſaid by St. John to have been dead at leaſt forty or fifty years, whereas he does not ſay half ſo many days. The difference as to time between that of the widow of Naim's ſon and Lazarus is ſtill leſs; for he was not only dead, but carried forth to burial.

I argue therefore againſt Mr. W. thus: St. John's miracle exceeds in degree the other two but a ſmall matter, therefore he did not invent and forge it. For if he had had a deſign of forging a miracle, from a ſenſe of the inſufficiency of the former, he would have made it prodigiouſly or vaſtly greater than theſe, which he has not done. The reader will judge, whether this be a confutation of this objection of Mr. W. or not.

I will add farther: The miracle on Lazarus exceeds that on Jairus's daughter in but one circumſtance, which is, that he had lain dead a little longer. In ſeveral other reſpects the miracle on Jairus's daughter is ſuperior to that on Lazarus; for Lazarus was a friend, but Jairus was a ſtranger and a ruler of a ſynagogue; and the miracle on his daughter was performed in the moſt public part of our Lord's miniſtry. St. John therefore did not invent the ſtory of Lazarus from a ſenſe of the inſufficiency of the former: for if he had invented, he would have related not only a hiſtory of a perſon dead much longer than the other (as I ſhewed juſt now) but the perſon to be the ſubject of his miracle would have been a ſtranger, and a Rabbi, a ruler, or a nobleman, or ſome other perſon of figure: and he would have placed it, in all likelihood, in the moſt public part of Chriſt's miniſtry. What I ſay here appears to me to be of the higheſt degree of probability: that if St. John

by this time he ſtinketh: for he hath been dead four days. Therefore the former four days were incomplete, and it was but the fourth day ſince his burial. Mr. Woolſton therefore (to do him juſtice) is in the right, when he ſays, p. 30. 'If thoſe 'four days are numbered according 'to the arithmetic of Jeſus's three 'days in his grave, they are reduci-'ble to two days and three nights.'

So it is: part of the day on which he was buried, then two whole days, and part of the day on which he was raiſed, and three nights. Thus, I ſuppoſe, if Lazarus died on the firſt day of the week, he was buried on the ſecond, and raiſed on the fifth. He had been dead four days complete, or thereabouts; buried four days incomplete.

had

had contrived a miracle, becauſe he judged the former not ſufficient, he would not have taken a friend of Jeſus for the ſubject of it; and he would have related it with ſeveral other different circumſtances.

One quotation more from our author, before we leave this article. 'Suppoſing John (who was then above a 'hundred, and in his dotage) had not reported this miracle 'of Lazarus; but that Clement (joining it with his incre-'dible ſtory of the reſurrection of a phœnix) or Ignatius, or 'Polycarp, or the author of the apoſtolical conſtitutions 'had related it; would not your Chriſtian critics have been 'at work to expoſe it?' p. 12.

This argument is propoſed with great airs of aſſurance, but I cannot ſee the force of it. As to Clement's ſtory of the phœnix, we have nothing to do with it here, that I know of; it not being a Chriſtian miracle, but an old heathen ſtory told by many authors, though with ſomewhat different circumſtances. If Clement, Ignatius, or Polycarp had given the hiſtory of a miracle of Jeſus, written in a credible manner, with proper circumſtances, I make no doubt but a due regard would be had to their authority, in proportion to their nearneſs to the time of Jeſus.

As for John's being above a hundred, when he wrote his goſpel; it ſhews us he was thirty years of age or more, when Jeſus lived here on earth; and therefore was arrived at years of diſcretion, and was able to judge of things. That he was in his dotage, there is no proof. His goſpel is not the work of a man in his dotage. Let Mr. W. ſhew me any where out of the Bible, ſo fine, and yet ſo ſimple, ſo natural a narration of a matter of fact, as that of the cure of the man blind from his birth, contained in the ninth chapter of St. John's goſpel: let him ſhew me any where elſe ſuch a prayer, as that recorded in his ſeventeenth chapter: let him ſhew me ſuch diſcourſes, ſo affectionate, ſo moving, ſo every way excellent, as thoſe in his fourteenth, fifteenth, and ſixteenth chapters: I ſay, let him ſhew me any where elſe ſuch things as theſe, not written by any man in his dotage, but in the prime of life, and the full vigour of his wit and underſtanding.

§ II.

§ II.

Answer to Mr. W's second Objection.

'I pass,' says Mr. W. p. 15. 'to a second observation. '—What became of these three persons after their resur-'rection? How long did they live afterwards? And of 'what use and advantage were their restored lives to the 'church or to mankind? The evangelical and ecclesiasti-'cal history is entirely silent as to these questions, which is 'enough to make us suspect their stories, to be merely 'romantic or parabolical; and there were no such persons 'raised from the dead; or we must have heard somewhat 'of their station and conversation in the world afterwards.'

If I may speak my mind freely: this, and all that follows under this observation, is mere idle and impertinent harangue. I have so good an opinion of the generality of mankind, as to suppose them wiser than to be capable of being moved by it, to admit any doubt of the truth of these histories.

We are not concerned to know, what became of those persons, whom Jesus cured or restored to life. A miracle on the body does not mend the dispositions of the mind. Some of those whom our Saviour healed were ungrateful. Of the ten lepers who were all cleansed as they were going to shew themselves to the priests, according to our Lord's direction, there was but one *that returned to give glory to God*, Luke xvii. 12. Others there were, who published every where the things that God had done for them. Some of these the evangelists have mentioned. But were they or ecclesiastical writers after them obliged to write the lives of all whom Jesus and his apostles healed?

For the truth of these miracles we have the testimony of the evangelists, honest and credible men. Their testimony is confirmed by the event. The gospel of Christ had not had the mighty progress in the hands of the apostles, which it had, if these things had not been true. What they did, who were the subjects of these works, we do not need to know particularly. But the event, or the great progress of the gospel in a short time, renders it highly probable, that many of these persons by modest and humble acknowledgements of the benefits they had received, by satisfying inquisitive

inquiſitive perſons, and by other means, according to their ſeveral ſtations, helped forward the work of the apoſtles and others engaged in ſpreading the doctrine of Chriſt.

Our author, ſpeaking of Lazarus, who is ſaid by * Epiphanius, (though without any certainty) to have lived thirty years after he was raiſed, aſks, p. 16: 'How did he 'ſpend his time all that while? Was it to the honour of 'Jeſus, to the ſervice of the church, and propagation of 'the goſpel?'

Why very probably, ſo long as he lived, he ſpoke, upon all proper occaſions, of this miracle wrought on himſelf, and of the other miracles performed by Jeſus upon others; and exhorted men, ſuitably to his ſtation and circumſtances, to believe on him as the Meſſiah. But it is moſt probable, that our Saviour did not give him a ſpecial commiſſion, like that of the apoſtles, to go preach the goſpel. I believe our Lord had a greater regard to the decorum of things, or if you pleaſe, to the rules of modeſty and prudence. There was nothing better, than for Lazarus to ſtay at home, to be ready to anſwer inquirers, who might come to Bethany to know the truth of the fact reported concerning him. Abroad the teſtimony of others was more worth than his own. And St. John's ſhort account of his reſurrection is more valuable than a hiſtory of it written by Lazarus himſelf would have been. 'And of Jairus's daugh-'ter, and of the widow of Naim's ſon, which is aſtoniſhing, 'we read nothing at all,' p. 17. Not aſtoniſhing in the leaſt. Women are ſeldom admitted to public poſts. The apoſtles did not allow women to ſpeak in the church. It is no wonder therefore, that Jairus's daughter has been no where mentioned, but on occaſion of the miracle wrought upon her. Should her private converſation afterwards have been recorded? I think it was not neceſſary. And after all, ſhe may have been eminently uſeful ſome way or other, though we have heard no more of her. The memory of many great actions has been entirely loſt. We have no authentic accounts of the preaching of many of the apoſtles of Chriſt. As for the widow of Naim's ſon: he may have died ſoon after, or he may have been a very uſeful per-

* Quin & illud inter traditiones reperimus triginta tum annos natum fuiſſe Lazarum, cum a morte excitatus eſt; atque idem ille poſtea triginta aliis annis vixit. In Hæreſ. lxvi. § 34. Note 15. of Mr. W's fifth diſc. p. 16.

ſon,

ſon, or he might not be qualified for public ſervice. We know nothing of theſe matters, nor was any body obliged to inform us of them.

§ III.

Answer to Mr. W's third Objection.

Our author ſays, p. 19. 'By way of objection to the letter of theſe three miracles, let us conſider the condition of 'the perſons raiſed from the dead.—Where then was his 'wiſdom and prudence to chooſe theſe three perſons above 'others to that honour?' p. 20. I anſwer, that Jeſus did not ordinarily chooſe the ſubjects of his miracles, but healed thoſe chiefly who earneſtly implored his mercy, or who preſſed on him to be healed, or importunately deſired it of him by others, when they could not poſſibly come to him themſelves. It was great wiſdom and prudence in him not ordinarily to chooſe perſons, or to do a miracle without being firſt earneſtly ſought to for it. If he had acted otherwiſe, it would have been made uſe of as an exception againſt the truth and reality of the miracle, and the extent of his power. Indeed the widow of Naim's ſon was in ſome ſenſe choſen; but ſince he was publicly carried forth to burial, and the meeting of the corpſe was perfectly caſual, this choice is unexceptionable.

'Jairus's daughter was an inſignificant girl of twelve 'years old.—The widow of Naim's ſon too was but a 'youth, and whether older than the girl above is doubtful,' p. 21.

Never the worſe at all, on any account whatever. The power of raiſing a girl is as great as that of raiſing a woman; and a boy of twelve years old, as a man of forty. The ſuſpicion of cheat and fraud is leſs; the benignity of Jeſus is greater, in that he diſdained not the meaneſt objects.

'But that an inſignificant boy and girl (forſooth!) and the 'obſcure Lazarus, are preferred by Jeſus to ſuch public and 'more deſerving perſons is unaccountable,' p. 25.

The obſcurity of Lazarus is no objection at all, as appears from what has been already ſaid concerning the two others. The more inconſiderable Lazarus was, the benignity of Jeſus is the greater. But they were none of them preferred to others. Were there any other dead perſons propoſed

propoſed to Jeſus to be raiſed, whom he refuſed to concern himſelf with, though he raiſed theſe? None at all. If by preferring is meant chooſing out of the number of thoſe, who died in Judea during our Saviour's miniſtry? it has been anſwered already. Jeſus could not ordinarily chooſe an object, without being deſired. It might have had an appearance of oſtentation, and enemies would have ſaid, of fraud and deceit.

'Jeſus raiſed the dead, and wrought other miracles ſay 'our divines often, not only to manifeſt his own power and 'glory, but his love to mankind: for which reaſon his 'miracles are uſeful and beneficial, as well as ſtupendous 'and ſupernatural acts.—On this topic our divines are very 'copious, as if no more uſeful and wonderful works could 'be done, than what he did, p. 23. Inſtead of a boy and 'a girl, and even of Lazarus, who were all of no conſe-'quence to the public, either before or ſince, I ſhould 'think Jeſus ought to have raiſed an uſeful magiſtrate,' &c. p. 24.

Divines ſay very truly, that moſt of our Saviour's miracles were acts of beneficence to thoſe on whom they were performed, and were in this reſpect ſuitable to the goodneſs and excellence of his doctrine, and to the goodneſs and meekneſs of diſpoſition, that appeared in all the other parts of his life. But the main deſign of a miracle is not the profit of him, who is the ſubject of it, nor of others his friends and relations, who are intereſted in him. The great uſe of a miracle is to atteſt the divine miſſion of him who works it, and to give authority to the meſſuage or doctrine which he brings. And for this purpoſe the raiſing a poor day-labourer is as uſeful, as raiſing a prince; and opening the eyes of a blind beggar by the way-ſide, as curing a powerful magiſtrate, or a wealthy merchant.

It is not the intention of divines to ſtrain the notion of our Saviour's beneficence toward all the miſerable objects that were in Judea, as if he had been obliged to act to the utmoſt of his power for the temporal advantage of men at that time. Mr. W. acknowledges as much. 'That Jeſus 'ought to have raiſed all that died, wherever he came du-'ring the time of his miniſtry, none, I preſume can hold,' p. 20.

That a miracle may be of uſe to confirm the character of a prophet, and the truth of his doctrine, it is neceſſary not only

only that it be done, but that it be known to be done by him, or the divine power concurring with him. Jesus, when at Jerusalem, might have healed a sick person in Galilee, without the person himself, or any other knowing who cured him. But this, though an act of goodness, would not have made known our Saviour's character. Let us give an instance. Jesus might have immediately healed the daughter of Jairus (as he did the centurion's servant, Matt. viii.) upon Jairus's coming to him, and desiring him to come and lay his hands on her. And this would have been perhaps an act of greater goodness to her, than to raise her after she was dead. But then we had not had the proof of his power and divine character, and of the truth of his doctrine, which we now have from the miracle of raising her from the dead. Nay he might have healed her, before her case came to be so desperate as to oblige her father to come to him for help. This would have been a still greater act of goodness to her and her friends, if we measure goodness and beneficence purely with a regard to the temporal ease and advantage of men.

The spiritual interests of men are more considerable than their bodily, temporal interests. The spiritual interests of many are to be preferred to the temporal interests of a few others. Though therefore it might have been many ways more for the temporal advantage of Lazarus and his family, for Jesus to have cured that sickness of which he died, when his sisters first sent to him; yet it was infinitely greater benignity, with regard to the spiritual interests of mankind (of all the sincere and inquisitive, the children of wisdom at that time, and among them, of Lazarus and his sisters, and also of all such persons in future times) not to interpose at first, but to come up to Bethany, and there raise Lazarus from the dead, after he had been buried four days.

I will proceed to one thing more, without observing intermediate steps or gradations. Our blessed Saviour might have healed all the persons he cured during his ministry, and also many others, without their coming to him, or without their so much as thinking of him, and without any one else knowing that those cures were wrought by him: but then neither the men of that age, nor we, had had the proof we now have from his works, of the certainty of a future life, and of the other parts of Christ's doctrine, so admirably suited to raise men from sin to holiness, from earth to heaven, and

to turn them from Satan to God: we had alſo loſt that eminent and undeniable proof they now afford us of our Lord's great character: we had not been aſſured, as we now are, of that unſpeakable inſtance of the love of God, in ſending his Son into the world for our ſalvation.

How far Jeſus may have extended his goodneſs even to the bodies of men, during his abode here on earth, beyond all thoſe miraculous inſtances of his power for atteſting his character, we cannot tell. But it was neceſſary that the exerciſe of his goodneſs in the way of working miracles for the proof of his miſſion and doctrine ſhould be chiefly confined to thoſe who were diſpoſed to aſk help of him; whether they were poor or wealthy, mean and obſcure, or learned and honourable: and that the exerciſe of his goodneſs ſhould be alſo regulated in a great meaſure by the nature of their deſires. This way his miraculous works are free from oſtentation, and are unexceptionable.

But yet, when he had an opportunity of doing good, without incurring the ſuſpicion of oſtentation or concert, he readily manifeſted his compaſſion and benignity to the diſtreſſed; as he did in particular to the widow of Naim, whoſe ſon he raiſed to life when he was carried out to be interred.

And herein indeed appear wiſdom and goodneſs, that thoſe acts of beneficence performed by him on the bodies of men, and thoſe perhaps chiefly poor and mean perſons, ſuch moſtly having come to him, though ſome wealthy and honourable (all however who came to him, none having been refuſed, and ſome who never ſought to him) have been made to ſubſerve the great deſign of almighty God in ſaving mankind; and give credit to that doctrine, which is of ſuch admirable uſe and tendency to cure the minds of men of all evil habits and diſpoſitions: to cure, I ſay, the minds of men, not of one country or age, but of all the world in all time. This is the wiſdom of God, and the power of God, and the goodneſs of God.

'I ſhould think,' ſays Mr. W. p. 24. 'Jeſus ought to have 'raiſed an uſeful magiſtrate, whoſe life had been a common 'bleſſing; an induſtrious merchant, whoſe death was a public 'loſs.'

The deſign of Chriſt in coming into the world was not barely to promote the temporal advantage of men, but for an infinitely higher end. For which reaſon, I ſhould think, he ſhould cure and raiſe thoſe, whoſe cure or reſtoration would

would moſt ſerve this end. Theſe are they only, who might be cured without ſuſpicion of cheat or fraud; which are chiefly ſuch as voluntarily came to him, or whom he caſually met with; whether magiſtrates or ſubjects, wealthy or poor.

Soon after he ſays, p. 25. 'Such inſtances of his power 'would have demonſtrated him to be a moſt benign as well as 'mighty agent; and none in intereſt or prejudice could have 'opened their mouths againſt him, eſpecially if the perſons 'raiſed from the dead were ſelected upon the recommendation 'of this or that city.'

Ridiculous! Should Jeſus have gone to the magiſtrates and people of ſome town or city, and tell them: if they had lately loſt any uſeful magiſtrate or worthy citizen, whom they wiſhed to have reſtored again to life, and would be pleaſed to recommend ſuch perſon to him, he would raiſe him up? I think no miniſter or meſſenger of God, endowed with the power of working miracles, would be guilty of ſuch meanneſs. And if no ſuch perſons came to Jeſus, it was not his fault. However there were ſome ſuch, and they were not refuſed, but were as readily gratified as any others. Thus in the caſe of the centurion, whoſe ſervant was *ſick and ready to die*, we are aſſured, *that when he heard of Jeſus, he ſent unto him the elders of the Jews, and when they came to Jeſus, they beſought him inſtantly, ſaying, that he was worthy for whom he ſhould do this*, Luke vii. 2, 3. And one of the perſons raiſed to life by Jeſus was the daughter of a ruler of a ſynagogue. And if any others had been recommended in a like manner by rulers or elders, there is no reaſon to doubt but they would have been received.

But certainly it was by no means needful, that the miracles of Jeſus, of any kind, ſhould be generally performed on magiſtrates and wealthy men, or at their recommendation. This method might have ſerved indeed to ſtop men's mouths, but not to convince them. There is an obſervation of Origen in his anſwer to Celſus, which is much more judicious than any thing ſaid by our author upon this ſubject. 'It is not, ſays Origen,* 'a number of impoſtors met together, who 'in compliance with the orders of a king or emperor have 'decreed, that he [Jeſus] ſhould be made a God; but the

* Ου γὰ συνελθοντες γοητες, χαριν τινοντες βασιλει τινι κελευοντι, η ηγεμονι προσασσοντι, πεποιηνεναι εδοξαν αυτον ειναι θεον, αλλ' κ. λ. Contr. Celſ. l. 3. p. 133. edit. Cantab.

'creator of the world himſelf, &c.' It is much more for the honour of Jeſus, for the credit of his miracles and religion, and for the ſatisfaction of men in all times, that his miracles and doctrine obtained belief and eſteem without the power and authority of magiſtrates, by the force of their own internal excellence and evidence.

'But now I am ſpeaking,' ſays Mr. W. 'of the fitneſs and 'unfitneſs of deceaſed perſons, to have this grand miracle 'wrought on them; it comes into my head to aſk, why Jeſus 'raiſed not John the Baptiſt to life again? A perſon of 'greater merits, and more worthy of the favour of Jeſus, 'and of this miracle, could not be.—This is a very reaſonable 'queſtion,' p. 25. A very ſilly one, moſt people will think. John the Baptiſt had performed his work and finiſhed his courſe. If he had been ſoon raiſed to life again, the value and merit of his teſtimony given to Jeſus had been much weakened. If it had been related in the hiſtory of Jeſus, that John the Baptiſt had been raiſed again to life by him; Mr. W. might have ſaid, it gave ground for ſuſpicion of colluſion between the principal and forerunner.

§ IV.

Answer to Mr. W's fourth Objection.

Page 26. he ſays, 'That none of theſe raiſed perſons had 'been long enough dead to amputate all doubt of Jeſus's 'miraculous power in their reſurrection.' They have been long enough dead, to aſſure us of a miracle, if they are raiſed, who have been ſo long dead that their neareſt and moſt affectionate friends bury them, or carry them out to be buried: as have they alſo, who have on them ſuch evident tokens of their being expired, that their friends hope no longer for help from thoſe, on whoſe aſſiſtance they before depended, ſo long as there were any ſigns of life. The former is the caſe of the widow of Naim's ſon, and of Lazarus; the latter, of Jairus's daughter. When Jairus came to Chriſt, his daughter was expiring, for he ſays in Matthew, *My daughter is even now dead*; in Mark, *lieth at the point of death.* Still he had hopes of help from Jeſus, for he ſays: *But come and lay thy hand upon her, and ſhe ſhall live.* But before Jeſus got to the houſe ſhe expired, and all hopes were gone. *And there came* (ſays St. Mark) *from the ruler of the ſynagogue's houſe,*

houſe, certain which ſaid, thy daughter is dead, why troubleſt thou the Maſter any further? ch. v. 25. This is good reaſon to ſuppoſe ſhe was really dead. Theſe meſſengers doubtleſs were diſpatched away to Jairus, to acquaint him with the death of his daughter, by thoſe perſons that attended her during her ſickneſs, and were convinced of her being expired.

Mr. W. ſays a good deal more about the time theſe perſons ought to have been dead. Speaking of Jairus's daughter, he ſays, p. 27, 'Suppoſing ſhe was really dead, yet for the 'ſake of an indiſputable miracle in her reſurrection, it muſt 'be granted, that ſhe ought to have been much longer, ſome 'days, if not weeks, dead and buried.' And of the event at Naim, he ſays, p. 29, 'All I have to ſay here, is, that if 'Jeſus had a mind to raiſe the ſon of this widow, in teſtimony 'of his divine power, he ſhould have ſuffered him to have 'been buried two or three weeks firſt.'

Mr. W's firſt propoſition here appears to me very ſtrange, 'That ſuppoſing ſhe was really dead, yet for the ſake of an 'indiſputable miracle—ſhe ought to have been dead much 'longer.' If ſhe was really dead (as ſhe certainly was) and was reſtored again to life, it is with all men of ſenſe and reaſon an indiſputable miracle.

As for the time which Mr. W. requires, that a perſon muſt be 'ſome days if not weeks dead and buried; buried two or thee weeks firſt:' this is not needful. If we could not be certainly aſſured of the death of perſons, by evident tokens appearing in their bodies, in leſs time than Mr. W. preſcribes here, we ſhould not be juſtified in committing to the grave any man in leſs time. Much leſs could we endure to bury our deareſt friends and relations under two or three weeks or more after they ſeem to have expired. We cannot juſtify burying men, but on a well grounded ſuppoſal that they are really dead. We cannot juſtify the laying out of men's bodies, as we do very ſoon after viſible tokens of death, if thoſe tokens were not ſufficient.

And ſince they buried their deceaſed friends much ſooner in thoſe warm countries than we do here, this muſt doubtleſs have been, becauſe dead bodies became alſo much ſooner offenſive there, than in our cold climate. This circumſtance ſtrengthens my argument: for how can we imagine that perſons ſhould, by burying their deceaſed friends ſo early, put them abſolutely and entirely beyond any manner of poſſibility of reviving, unleſs they might well and ſafely

depend upon ſome certain, experienced, and unconteſtable proofs and evidences of their being already deprived of any remaining life?

There may have been miſtakes made ſometimes, though but very rarely; and even thoſe accidents have chiefly happened in caſes of ſudden death. Where any dangerous diſtemper precedes, the poſſibility of miſtake is very ſmall, and can ſeldom happen. This was the caſe, we know, of Jairus's daughter, and of Lazarus: and this confirms us ſtill more in the belief, that their friends were not miſtaken in the perſuaſion of their death; upon which perſuaſion the one had been buried, and for the other the public mourners were come to make lamentations. And as for the young man at Naim; though we do not know how he died, whether ſuddenly, or of a gradual illneſs, we may rely upon the fondneſs of a mother, a widow too, that ſhe would not have carried forth to burial her only ſon without knowing he was become a dead corpſe.

It is ſo natural, and even unavoidable for men that argue againſt plain truth, to contradict themſelves; that it is hardly worth while to take any notice of Mr. W's ſelf-contradictions. I ſhall only juſt obſerve, that this ſtory of Lazarus's reſurrection, which before was repreſented by him as the miracle of miracles, ſuperlatively great, and monſtrouſly huge, as if nothing greater and more prodigious could be deviſed or thought of, is here pretended not to be big enough to aſſure us it was any miracle at all. For he ſays, p. 31: 'It is plain 'that Lazarus was not ſo long dead and buried, as that there 'is no room to doubt of the miracle of his reſurrection.'

Mr. W. ſays, p. 28, 29: 'And where there is a poſſibility 'of fraud, it is nonſenſe, and mere credulity to talk of a real, 'certain and ſtupendous miracle, eſpecially where the juggler 'and pretended worker of miracles has been detected in ſome 'of his other tricks.' Perhaps there are few or no caſes where there is an abſolute impoſſibility of fraud. It is ſufficient that fraud be improbable, unlikely, and next to impoſſible. In ſuch a caſe (which is ours) it is not nonſenſe and mere credulity, but the higheſt reaſon to admit the truth of a relation; and to aſſert a real, certain and great, or if you chooſe, ſtupendous miracle. A fraud is as eaſy to happen in a perſon who has been dead and buried many weeks, as in one publicly carried out to burial.

Herein

Herein however I readily agree with Mr. W. that it is mere credulity to talk of such a thing, where a juggler has been detected in any other tricks. But where was he who is said to have raised the widow's son at Naim detected of any tricks? When Mr. W. has detected such a thing in any one case, I will allow it in this also. But till then, as this story is credibly related, I shall continue to pay a regard to it.

Our author has several other things under this observation; but as they do not properly belong to this, of the length of time these persons are said to have been dead, but rather to his sixth observation, of the circumstances of the narrations, I shall take no notice of them here: I have already spoken to some things here, which might have been let alone till we come to that observation.

§ V.

Answer to Mr. W's fifth Objection.

5. 'The consideration that none of these raised persons did 'or could after their return to their bodies, tell any tales of 'their separate existence; otherwise the evangelists had not 'been silent in their main point,' &c. p. 32.

'None of these persons,' Mr. W. says, 'told any tales of their separate existence.' So I suppose with him. As for the two first: how should they? being only, as Mr. W. says, 'an insignificant boy and girl,' of twelve years of age, or thereabouts. Or if they did, the evangelists were wiser than to take any notice of their tales. As for Lazarus, I would suppose he was a wiser man than to indulge a vain inclination of amusing people with idle stories of no use. Besides, I presume he had been a follower of Jesus before he died. And when he had been raised from the grave, it is likely he was yet farther confirmed by that wonderful work wrought upon himself in the belief that Jesus was the Messias: and that instead of pretending to be wise above what Jesus taught, he would exhort men, and especially his neighbours, to attend him, and hear him, who had the words of eternal life.

The evangelists have recorded no tales told by any of these three raised persons. I much admire this objection. I am very glad they have not mentioned any such things. Jesus himself, who was from above, who was in the bosom of the Father, has not delivered any profound unintelligible theory

of the ſeparate ſtate of exiſtence. The great apoſtle Paul, who was *an apoſtle, not of men, neither by man, but Jeſus Chriſt and God the Father who raiſed him from the dead*, Gal. i. 1. who had been *caught up into the third heaven*, and *into paradiſe*; who had *abundance of revelations*, has not attempted any ſuch thing: but declares that the things he heard were *unſpeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter*, 2 Cor. xii. 2—7. He treats with the utmoſt contempt every thing that has a ſhow of wiſdom without real advantage: exhorts his dear ſon Timothy to refuſe *profane and old wives fables, and exerciſe himſelf rather unto godlineſs*, 1 Tim. iv. 7. to *ſhun profane and vain babblings*, 2 Tim. ii. 16. and requires him to *charge* men *before the Lord, that they ſtrive not about words to no profit*, v. 14.

Jeſus and his apoſtles have made known the certainty of a reſurrection of the juſt and unjuſt; a general judgment, wherein men ſhall be judged in righteouſneſs; when the wicked ſhall go away into everlaſting puniſhment, and the righteous into life eternal. What they ſay of the different recompenſes of good and bad is great and awful, ſufficient to affect the minds of all; but they have not entered into a detail of needleſs particulars, above the capacity of men in the preſent ſtate.

Religion is the concern of all. That is the moſt perfect religion, which is ſuited to all. This is the Chriſtian doctrine, which, as it was preached to the poor, and to every creature under heaven, is wonderfully ſuited to all capacities.

To the immortal honour then of the evangeliſts be it ſaid, that when they wrote the hiſtory of the preaching and miracles of Jeſus, who knew all things, they have not recorded dreams and viſions, or abſtruſe theories of a ſeparate ſtate, for the amuſement of mankind, but important certain truths, taught by Jeſus for their edification.

'Was any perſon, in this age, to be raiſed to life, that 'had been any time dead; the firſt thing that his friends and 'acquaintance would inquire of him, would be to know where 'his ſoul had been, in what company,' &c. p. 32. Not impoſſible: vulgar minds might ſhow ſuch weakneſs even now. And the greateſt minds, while in an uncertainty about another life, might have acted in this manner. Thus ſome of the greateſt men of antiquity, juſtly admired by all the world, have actually told dreams, or accounts of departed men, and doubtleſs with a good intention. But he who has the ſun needs

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not the light of a candle. The evangeliſts, keeping cloſe to their maſter, are vaſtly ſuperior to the greateſt men that were before them.

Our author is pleaſed to trifle ſo much, as to put queſtions about the place where the ſouls of theſe perſons had been, between their death and their being raiſed up again; and particularly the ſoul of Lazarus. 'But the thoughts, that 'any of Jeſus's friends ſhould go to hell, will not be born 'with.—And if Lazarus's ſoul had been in paradiſe, it 'was hardly a good work in Jeſus to recall it,—to the 'troubles and miſeries of this wicked world,' p. 34. Suppoſe Lazarus's ſoul to have been aſleep, or in paradiſe, or in heaven itſelf, it might be a very good work in Jeſus to recall it into this world for a time. It was much for the ſpiritual benefit of many, who might be induced by the great miracle of raiſing him to life, to believe in Jeſus, and receive his doctrine, which, when heartily embraced, is fruitful of the greateſt benefits. Nor could the ſoul of any good man be unwilling to return for a time to the troubles and miſeries of this wicked world, how grievous ſoever, in order to ſerve the great deſign of ſaving his fellow-creatures; for which end Jeſus his Saviour deſcended from the height of glory he had with the Father, took fleſh, and underwent the troubles and ſorrows of this mortal life. And it might iſſue in the end to the advantage of Lazarus himſelf: as no man can doubt, who believes a future judgment, and that Jeſus will preſide therein, which is the doctrine of the New Teſtament.

§ VI.

Answer to Mr. W's sixth Objection.

6. And laſtly, 'Let us conſider the intrinſic abſurdities, 'and incredibilities of the ſeveral ſtories of theſe three 'miracles, p. 36. As to Jairus's daughter, and her reſur-'rection from the dead, St. Hilary * hints, that there was 'no ſuch perſon as Jairus;—and he gives this reaſon, and 'a good reaſon it is, why he thought ſo, becauſe it is 'elſewhere intimated in the goſpel that none of the rulers 'of the ſynagogues confeſſedly believed on Jeſus,' John vii. 48. and xii. 42.

* In loc. Matt.

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St. John's words in the laſt quoted text are theſe: *Nevertheleſs, among the chief rulers alſo many believed on him, but becauſe of the phariſees, they did not confeſs him, leſt they ſhould be put out of the ſynagogue.* This text is no ways to our author's purpoſe. The rulers here mentioned by St. John probably were members of their great council at Jeruſalem, or of the leſſer councils in ſome other cities: but Jairus * was the ruler of the ſynagogue. But ſuppoſing Jairus to have been one of that ſame ſort of rulers which St. John ſpeaks of, here is no inconſiſtency. Jairus might believe in Jeſus and come to him to heal his daughter, and yet not publicly *confeſs him to be the Chriſt.*

'But why did Jeſus ſay, this girl was but in a ſleep?' p. 36. Mr. W. had before affirmed this: *Jeſus himſelf ſays, ſhe was but aſleep.* And it is true that our Lord, *when he came into the ruler's houſe, and ſaw the minſtrels,—he ſaid unto them, Give place, for the maid is not dead but ſleepeth.* But by this our Lord did not intend to deny that ſhe was expired, but to aſſure them in a modeſt way, that ſhe would be raiſed up as it were out of ſleep. That this is our Saviour's meaning, is moſt evident from his uſe of theſe ſame expreſſions in St. John concerning Lazarus. See John xi. 4, &c. Lazarus's ſiſters ſent to Jeſus to inform him that their brother was ſick. *When Jeſus heard that, he ſaid,* to his diſciples, *this ſickneſs is not unto death,* that is, to his final death, to a laſting death. (So the words muſt be underſtood, becauſe, according to St. John, Lazarus did actually expire and die of that ſickneſs.) *But for the glory of God.* Afterwards St. John ſays: *Theſe things ſaid he, and after that he ſaith unto them, our friend Lazarus ſleepeth, but I go that I may awake him out of ſleep. Then ſaid the diſciples, Lord, if he ſleep he ſhall do well. Howbeit Jeſus ſpake of his death.—Then ſaid Jeſus unto them plainly, Lazarus is dead.* Where in formal expreſs terms St. John aſſures us, that by ſleep our Lord meant death. No critical reader will doubt, that this is the meaning of Chriſt's words, which he ſpoke of Jairus's daughter. Nor will any lover of virtue endure to be robbed of ſo ſingular an inſtance of ſuch charming virtues as humility and modeſty. Inſtead of theſe modeſt expreſſions, *Give place, for the maid is not dead but ſleepeth:* had Jeſus been a juggler and impoſtor, as is pretended; or had this hiſtory been a forgery, we had had ſome ſuch ſilly boaſting ſpeech as this: ay! the young woman

* Vid. Grot. in Matt. ix. 18.

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is really dead, and your lamentations are well grounded: but let me only look upon her, and ſay a few words over her, and depend upon it, you will ſee her alive again, and as well as ever.

'If he were going to work a miracle in her reſuſcitation, 'he ſhould not have called death SLEEP; but if others had 'been of a contrary opinion, he ſhould firſt have convinced 'them of the certainty of her death,' p. 36, 37. That is, Jeſus ſhould have ſpent time, and taken pains to convince them of what they were convinced of before, and were ſo poſitive in, that when they underſtood him to ſay the maid was not expired, but only ſleeping in a natural ſleep, *they laughed him to ſcorn.*

It follows in our author: 'And why did he charge the parents of the girl, not to ſpeak of the miracle?' There might be many reaſons for this, and thoſe founded not upon the falſhood or uncertainty of the miracle, but on the certainty and greatneſs of it. This prohibition then was partly owing to the humility and modeſty of Jeſus, who, inſtead of ordering men to proclaim his works, often deſired them to be ſilent about them. It was partly owing to prudence, that he might have opportunity during the ſhort time his miniſtry was to laſt, for teaching men the will of God, and for inſtructing his diſciples; that he might avoid the ſuſpicion of ſetting up for a ruler and governor, or attempting any diſturbance; which ſuſpicion might have ariſen in men's minds, if the concourſe of men to him had been too numerous.

Theſe prohibitions therefore may be underſtood to be only temporary or for the preſent. Thus our Saviour forbid his diſciples to ſpeak of the transfiguration on the mount, *until the ſon of man be riſen from the dead,* Matt. xvii. 9. It was not long before he was to be taken out of this world: and then they on whom he wrought any miracles might ſpeak freely of them, without giving any occaſion to ſuſpect his deſigning a temporal kingdom, to the prejudice of the civil government then in being.

Beſides, though the parents of this maid were to be ſilent of this miracle, here were many others that might ſpeak of it. All her friends who knew ſhe was dead, were witneſſes of her reſurrection, when they ſaw her alive again.

And rather than ſuſpect any bad deſign in this prohibition, which is ſo contrary to the whole character of Jeſus; I would conceive that he might have ſome regard to the character

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of Jairus, as a ruler of the ſynagogue; and ſince he was an honeſt man, who had entertained a faith in Jeſus for working ſo great a miracle, he by this advice of ſilence diſpenſed with his ſpeaking publicly of the miracle, which might have been much to his prejudice, and was not at preſent abſolutely neceſſary. This I am ſure is more conſonant to the meekneſs and goodneſs of Jeſus, upon many other occaſions, than any ſuſpicion of fraud or impoſture.

'And why,—did he turn the people out of the houſe, before he would raiſe her!' p. 37. Why, perhaps, partly for the reaſons of ſilence juſt mentioned. If many had been actually preſent at the raiſing her up, they might have been more excited to ſpread abroad the miracle, and thereby make too great a concourſe; which might have given umbrage, and been a handle to his enemies to charge him with innovations in the ſtate. Another reaſon is this; that no more might thruſt into the room where the young woman lay dead, than thoſe he took with him; that there might be no diſturbance in the houſe; that the perſons, he took along with him, might have no interruption of any kind; that they might be ſedate, and compoſed, and attend only to the work he was about to perform before them; and that they might have a near, clear, diſtinct and full view of it; and that they might afterwards (his diſciples eſpecially) report it to others, upon the fulleſt aſſurance and conviction.

There were the parents of the young woman, and three of our Saviour's diſciples, which are witneſſes enough of any action; and being with our Lord ſix in number might be as many as could have in the room where ſhe lay a clear ſight without interrupting each other. Five cloſe witneſſes, at full eaſe, are better than forty witneſſes in a crowd and confuſion. This action then of our bleſſed Lord in clearing the houſe of hired muſicians and other people is no exception in the leaſt to this miracle.

There is ſtill a reflection of Mr. W's relating to this miracle to be conſidered, which he places under one of his former obſervations; which I paſſed by then, only that it might be conſidered here in its proper place. 'And it is not,' ſays he, p. 27. 'impoſſible, but the paſſionate ſcreams of 'the feminine by-ſtanders might fright her into fits, that 'bore the appearance of death; otherwiſe, why did Jeſus 'turn theſe inordinate weepers out of the houſe, before he 'could bring her to her ſenſes again?' If Mr. W. by the

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'feminine by-ſtanders' means any perſons different from *the minſtrels and the people making a noiſe*, [Matt. ix. 23.] which Jeſus ſaw, when he came into the houſe; and would inſituate, that theſe perſons by 'paſſionate ſcreams' might fright her into fits;' this is mere fiction, and contrary to the hiſtory of this event. This young woman was near expiring when her father left her, and when he came to Jeſus he ſays ſhe was then at the point of death. This ſuppoſition of the father muſt have been owing to the nature of her caſe, which he had ſeen before he left her, and not to any paſſionate ſcreams which he could know nothing of. Beſides, who make paſſionate ſcreams when people are well, and in no danger? And if made, when perſons are deſperate, would rather be of ſervice than otherwiſe. Theſe ſcreams then to fright her into fits and an appearance of death are mere fiction, and an invention of the author againſt the hiſtory.

If by paſſionate ſcreams Mr. W. intends the lamentations of the minſtrels and other people making a noiſe, whom Jeſus found in the houſe: I ſhould have thought Mr. W. might know very well, that it was not poſſible they ſhould hurt the young woman; unleſs they could fright her after ſhe was dead. If her friends had not known ſhe was dead, they would not have ſuffered theſe muſicians to enter their houſe, and make lamentations, and put them to charge without any occaſion. The muſic of theſe minſtrels is alone a ſufficient proof ſhe was dead. But there had before come ſome from Jairus's houſe, which ſaid, *Thy daughter is dead, why troubleſt thou the maſter any farther?* Mark v. 35.

I think I have now conſidered all the objections againſt the hiſtory of raiſing Jairus's daughter.

'As for the ſtory of the widow of Naim's ſon,' ſays Mr. W. p. 37, 38. 'excepting what is before obſerved of the 'ſhortneſs of the time in which he lay dead, and of the 'unfitneſs of his perſon to be raiſed—I have here no more 'fault to find in the letter of it.' Theſe objections I have ſpoke to already. But under one of them Mr. W. placed ſome objections to the circumſtances of this ſtory, which I will now conſider. He then ſays, p. 28: 'And who 'knows but Jeſus, upon ſome information or other, might 'ſuſpect this youth to be in a lethargic ſtate, and had a 'mind to try, if by chafing, &c. he could not do what 'ſucceſsfully he did, bring him to his ſenſes again: or

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'might not a piece of fraud be concerted between Jeſus, 'a ſubtil youth, and his mother and others; and all the 'formalities of a death and burial be contrived, that Jeſus, 'whoſe fame for a worker of miracles was to be raiſed, 'might here have an opportunity to make a ſhow of a 'grand one. The mourning of the widow, who had her 'tears at command, and Jeſus's caſual meeting of the 'corpſe upon the road, looks like contrivance to put the 'better face upon the matter. God forbid, that I ſhould 'ſuſpect there was any fraud of this kind here; but of the 'poſſibility of it, none can doubt.'

To all this I anſwer: that the character of Jeſus and his doctrine prevents all ſuſpicion of ſo vile a thing as that of contrivance. His doctrine is as holy and excellent (to ſay no more) as that which the beſt men ever taught. He is in his whole behaviour innocent, meek, and undeſigning. It is not poſſible, that ſuch a perſon ſhould form or countenance a contrivance to deceive or impoſe upon men.

If he had entertained a thought of contrivance, yet it was not poſſible he ſhould ſucceed therein. How was it poſſible, 'that a piece of fraud might be here concerted between 'Jeſus, a ſubtil youth, and his mother, and others; and 'all the formalities of a death and burial be contrived?' Such a ſcene could not be acted without a great many perſons being in the intrigue (as is apparent from the objection itſelf) who muſt have known the fraud. Jeſus, who had ſo many enemies, and thoſe men of power, was the moſt unlikely of any to ſucceed herein. Beſides, when men form contrivances, they are not of ſuch public open ſcenes as this was, but are attended with ſome circumſtances of ſecrecy. When was there ever ſuch a contrivance as this ſcene is? ſo public, ſo open? Jeſus entering into a city, many of his diſciples with him, and much other people; a public funeral, in day time, attended with much people of the city!

Moreover, none could be under any temptations to enter into a contrivance with him. For Jeſus was poor, and ſubſiſted on the voluntary contributions of his friends; and therefore could give no bribes. Men muſt be ſome way or other tempted to ſuch an action, becauſe they thereby would incur the cenſure of the civil magiſtrate, and expoſe themſelves to ſome very heavy puniſhment. If you ſay here

here, that Jeſus did at laſt ſuffer death, and therefore he muſt certainly have been convicted of ſome ſuch fault as this: I anſwer, that it appears from the hiſtory of his condemnation that he was innocent; that there was no crime proved againſt him; and that Pilate himſelf ſaw clearly, that it was only out of envy and malice that the chief prieſts and phariſees accuſed him. But not to inſiſt now on this: there were no perſons puniſhed, or taken up, as accomplices with Jeſus; not his diſciples, nor any other perſons whatever; which is a demonſtration that no impoſture was proved upon Jeſus, nor ſuſpected concerning him.

As to what is urged in the firſt place: 'Who knows but 'Jeſus, upon ſome information or other, might ſuſpect this 'youth to be in a lethargic ſtate, and had a mind to try, if 'by chafing, &c. he could not do what ſucceſsfully he 'did, bring him to his ſenſes again:' this likewiſe contains an intimation of a fraud, which, as I ſaid, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with Jeſus's character. It alſo ſuppoſes vile and ſelfiſh people to be in a combination or correſpondence with him, which is entirely inconſiſtent with the mean and poor circumſtances of our bleſſed Lord in this world. Laſtly, all the circumſtances of the relation, the tears of the mother (who was the moſt likely of any to know whether her ſon was in a lethargy or not) the great number of the people at this funeral; the great company with Jeſus (who, if the meeting of the corpſe was not caſual, muſt have known it) our Lord's coming up to the bier and touching it, without aſking beforehand any queſtions, concur together to induce us to believe that it was a real miracle. To which might be added, that the company preſent were fully convinced, it was neither a contrivance, nor a cure performed by a ſucceſsful and fortunate chafing, but a great and awful miracle: For *there came a fear on all, and they glorified God, ſaying, that a great prophet is riſen up amongſt us, and that God hath viſited his people*, Luke vii. 16.

We may now proceed to the ſtory of Lazarus, which the author calls long, and ſays, 'Is brimful of abſurdities. 'He will ſingle out only three or four of them at preſent, 'reſerving the reſt for another opportunity, when the whole 'ſtory of this miracle will appear to be ſuch a contexture 'of folly and fraud in its contrivance, execution and rela'tion, as is not to be equalled in all romantic hiſtory,' p. 38.

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Let us however examine the three or four pretended abſurdities, 'Firſt then, ſays Mr. W. 'Obſerve that Jeſus 'is ſaid to have wept and groaned for the death of Lazarus. 'Patience and reſignation unto God upon the death of our 'deareſt friends and relations is what all philoſophers have 'rightly taught; and Jeſus, one would think, ſhould have 'been the moſt heroical example of theſe graces. A ſtoical 'apathy had better become him than ſuch childiſh and 'effeminate grief,' p. 38.

It does not appear from St. John, that Jeſus did weep and groan for the death of Lazarus. He ſays indeed that *Jeſus wept: then ſaid the Jews, behold how he loved him.* But it does not follow, that in this they judged right, any more than in ſome other reflections paſſed on Jeſus at other times; which though the evangeliſts knew to be falſe, they do not concern themſelves to refute them. But ſuppoſing, he did out of love for Lazarus weep for his death; there is nothing in this inconſiſtent with patience and reſignation to God.* Nor is there any thing therein weak and effeminate. The ancients, who by many are thought beſt to have underſtood human nature, did not think tears unmanful, or diſgraceful to a man of true fortitude; as might be amply ſhown, if needful. For my own part, I never loved ſtoical principles or diſpoſitions, and I believe Jeſus had as tender ſentiments as any man. Suppoſing then the death of Lazarus, and the affection Jeſus had for him to have been the cauſe of theſe tears, I ſee no abſurdity in them. But there were other things before Jeſus of an affecting kind, which might have drawn forth theſe tears of compaſſion. He might at that time be affected with the thought of the many afflictions, to which human nature is liable in this ſtate: or he might be affected with the exceſs of ſorrow, which the ſiſters of Lazarus and other perſons then preſent ſeem to have ſhowed on this occaſion.

As for the groans of Jeſus, they were not owing to the death of Lazarus, but to ſomewhat elſe, as is very plain from the account; which is this: *Then when Mary was come where Jeſus was, and ſaw him, ſhe fell down at his feet, ſaying unto him, Lord, if thou hadſt been here, my brother had not died. When Jeſus therefore ſaw her weeping, and the Jews alſo*

* See Dr. Harris's Remarks on the Caſe of Lazarus, p. 75.

weeping

weeping which came with her, he groaned in the ſpirit, and was troubled. Here are two juſt grounds of grief and concern, namely, the exceſs of ſorrow and mourning of Mary and her friends for the loſs of Lazarus; and ſecondly, the tokens which ſhe and the reſt gave of want of faith in his power to raiſe him up after his death. For Mary ſays to him; *If thou hadſt been here, my brother had not died*; which implies her doubting his power to raiſe him up: which was a great fault in her, conſidering the proofs he had before given of his power; conſidering all the appearances from heaven in his favour, and all the other evidences that had been given that he was the Chriſt. It was alſo juſt matter of concern, that the faith of the people with her was ſo far from anſwering the proofs he had given of his power.

The occaſion of his laſt groaning was thus: *And ſome of them ſaid, could not this man which opened the eyes of the blind, have cauſed that even this man ſhould not have died? Jeſus therefore again groaning in himſelf, cometh to the grave.* Here alſo was another ſign of want of faith in his power to raiſe dead Lazarus; which ſhowed, they did not fully believe him to be the Chriſt, though he had given more than ſufficient proof of it.* It is alſo highly probable, that our bleſſed Lord was now touched with the thought of their continued future unbelief, and the miſeries it would bring upon them. As they had not admitted a full conviction of his character from the works they had already ſeen him do, ſo he foreſaw they would not be convinced neither by the great work he was now going to do in raiſing Lazarus to life, but would after all perſiſt in their obſtinate malice and unbelief. And ſuppoſing Jeſus to have really done thoſe things which are told of him in the goſpels, I think no one can deny, but that the hardneſs of heart which was in that people was matter of juſt grief to any wiſe and good man.

'Secondly, obſerve,' ſays the author, p. 40. 'that John 'ſays, *it was with a loud voice, that Jeſus called Lazarus forth*

* There are other places alſo, in which our Lord is ſaid to have been angry or grieved: the cauſe or occaſion of which grief or anger appears plainly to be the ſame with that here aſſigned by me of his groaning, Mark iii. 5. *And when he had looked round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardneſs of their hearts*;—See Mark viii. 12.

'*out of his grave.*—Was dead Lazarus deafer than Jairus's 'daughter, or the widow's ſon?' &c.

It is neceſſary, when a miracle is wrought for the proof of the character or divine miſſion of any perſon, that it appear to be done by him, and not to be a caſual thing. It has been common therefore for all the prophets and extraordinary meſſengers of God to make uſe of ſome external action at the ſame time that they performed a miracle, though that external action was in itſelf of no real virtue. When the red ſea was to be opened to give a paſſage for the children of Iſrael, *God ſaid to Moſes: Lift up thy rod, and ſtretch thine hand over the ſea, and divide it*, Exod. xiv. 16. And when they had paſſed through, *God ſaid unto Moſes, ſtretch out thine hand over the ſea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians*, ver. 26. The *ſtretching the hand* did not divide the ſea, but the divine power that accompanied that action. Nevertheleſs the action was of great uſe to convince the people, that the dividing or returning of the waters, which immediately followed thereupon, was not a caſual natural event, but that God was with Moſes their leader. The ſame thing may be ſaid of any other external actions made uſe of by Moſes, or other ancient prophets. Jeſus in like manner, when he intended a miracle, ſometimes laid his hands on the perſon to be cured; or elſe ſaid, *Be thou clean, be thou healed*, or uſed ſome ſuch other words; that the people might be aſſured, that the cure was wrought by him, and might believe that God had ſent him. For this reaſon, when he raiſed Jairus's daughter, *he took her by the hand*, and ſaid unto her, *damſel ariſe*. And when he raiſed the widow's ſon at Naim, *he ſaid*; *young man, I ſay unto thee, ariſe*. And when he raiſed Lazarus, *he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus come forth*. There is no abſurdity in the loudneſs of the voice. It well became ſo ſolemn and awful an event. When he raiſed Jairus's daughter, there was no occaſion for a loud voice; ſhe being raiſed to life in the chamber where ſhe lay, where there were no more than five perſons preſent. But at Lazarus's grave a loud voice was not at all improper, when there was by a great multitude of people, that all might know Lazarus was raiſed to life by Jeſus. Whether Jeſus ſpoke with a loud voice when he raiſed the widow of Naim's ſon is not related, and we are under no obligation to conjecture. I think, Jeſus might ſpeak in what

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voice he pleaſed upon ſuch great occaſions as theſe. There can be no cavils formed, but what are at firſt ſight unreaſonable.

'Thirdly, becauſe that a miracle ſhould be well guarded 'againſt all ſuſpicion of fraud, I was thinking to make it an 'abſurdity, that the napkin, before Jeſus raiſed Lazarus, 'was not taken from his face, that the ſpectators might 'behold his mortified looks, and the miraculous change 'of his countenance from death unto life,' p. 41. This wiſe objection is repeated again in the Jew's letter. 'But 'however this was, they [the ſpectators] could not but take 'notice of the napkin about his face all the while; which 'Jeſus, to prevent all ſuſpicion of cheat, ſhould have firſt 'ordered to be taken off, that his mortified countenance 'might be viewed before the miraculous change of it to 'life was wrought,' p. 51, 52.

The napkin over Lazarus's face is one proof that he was ſuppoſed by his friends to be dead, when they buried him. Do not all civilized people out of decency cover the face of a corpſe with a napkin, or ſome ſuch other thing, as well as the other parts of it? If any one had been ſent into the ſepulchre by Jeſus, before he commanded Lazarus forth, it might have given ground of ſuſpicion, that the perſon had been ordered in to ſee whether Lazarus was alive, and capable to come out of himſelf, and concur with the command pronounced to come forth. Or it might have been pretended, that he went in to daub his face with ſome juices that might make him look like a mortified corpſe. Any meddling with the body beforehand might have cauſed ſome ſuſpicion, but now there was none at all. And the napkin is a circumſtance, I am very glad St. John did not forget. It very much corroborates other proofs of Lazarus's real death.

'Fourthly and laſtly, Obſerve St. John ſays, ver. 45. *that* '*many of the Jews, who had ſeen the things that Jeſus did* '*here, believed on him*; *and ſome of them*, ver. 46, who *did not* '*believe, went their ways to the phariſees, and told them what* '*things Jeſus had done* in this pretended miracle, and how 'the buſineſs was tranſacted,' p. 41.

It is true, that ſome went to the phariſees, and told them what things Jeſus had done. But it does not follow that they were perſons who did not believe. They did not indeed believe Jeſus to be the Chriſt, as many other Jews

did hereupon; but they believed the miracle, and knew it, and went and told the pariſees of it. That theſe perſons told the phariſees of a miracle done by Jeſus, is evident from the ſpeeches of the phariſees upon occaſion of the report brought them, ver. 47. *Then gathered the chief prieſts and the phariſees a council, and ſaid, what do we? for this man doth many miracles.*

Mr. W. goes on, p. 42. 'Whereupon the chief prieſts 'and phariſees were ſo far incenſed as, ver. 53, *from that 'day forth they took counſel together to put him to death; and* 'ch. xii. 10. *conſulted that they might put Lazarus alſo to death.* '*Jeſus therefore* (and his diſciples and Lazarus fled for it, 'for they) ver. 54. *walked no more openly among the Jews, but 'went thence into a country near to the wilderneſs* (a convenient 'hiding place) *and there continued with his diſciples*; other-'wiſe in all probability they had been all ſacrificed.'

I muſt take leave to obſerve, that it is no where ſaid that Lazarus abſconded or fled for it: nor is there any account of the phariſees having at this time any deſign againſt Lazarus. Afterwards when Jeſus came again to Bethany, we find that Lazarus was then at home. And many of the Jews came thither, *not for Jeſus' ſake only, but that they might ſee Lazarus alſo, whom he had raiſed from the dead. But the chief prieſts conſulted, that they might put Lazarus to death; becauſe that by reaſon of him many of the Jews went away and believed on Jeſus*, John xii. 9, 10, 11. Lazarus therefore did not abſcond, but was at Bethany; and the miracle wrought on him was ſo certain, that many for that reaſon believed on Jeſus. And the reaſon why the phariſees conſulted that they might put Lazarus to death, was not becauſe any impoſture was detected, but becauſe the miracle was too clear to be denied, and induced great numbers of the Jews, even followers of the phariſees, to go away from them, and believe in Jeſus.

But this retirement of Jeſus with his diſciples into a country near the wilderneſs is judged ſo mighty an objection, that it is repeated again in the Jew's letter. 'Why 'did Jeſus and his diſciples, with Lazarus, run away and 'abſcond upon it?—Is there not here a plain ſign of guilt 'and fraud? Men that have God's cauſe, truth and 'power on their ſide, never want courage and reſolution 'to ſtand to it,' p. 44.

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The judgments of men are ſurely very unfair and unequal. When any of the firſt Chriſtians are obſerved to have been too forward in expoſing themſelves, they are repreſented as a company of mad men, and hot headed enthuſiaſts. Jeſus now for avoiding a danger is taxed with want of 'courage and reſolution;' nay his retirement for only a very ſhort time is termed, 'a plain ſign of guilt and fraud.' Thus the deſire of ſerving a preſent low purpoſe prevails over all the regards of juſtice and equity. 'So 'hard is it, (as Socrates * obſerved) though you are 'free from all fault to eſcape unfair judges.' *But wiſdom is juſtified of her children.*

It might be ſufficient here to remind men of Chriſt's returning in a ſhort time to Bethany again, and appearing publicly at Jeruſalem, and teaching in the temple. But let us at preſent obſerve only this hiſtory of his raiſing Lazarus from the grave. When Jeſus heard of the ſickneſs of Lazarus, he was in the country beyond Jordan, John x. 40. and when he propoſed to his diſciples *to go into Judea again*, they remembering the attempts of the Jews againſt him, endeavour all they can to divert him from the journey. *His diſciples ſay unto him, Maſter, the Jews of late ſought to ſtone thee, and goeſt thou thither again?* chap. xi. 8. Jeſus then argues with them, that they need not apprehend any danger to him as yet. *Theſe things ſaid he, and after that ſaith unto them, our friend Lazarus ſleepeth, but I go, that I may awake him out of ſleep*, ver. 11. They from thence take occaſion to argue again, that then their journey to Bethany was not needful: *Then ſaid his diſciples, Lord, if he ſleep, he ſhall do well.* After that he tells them, that Lazarus was dead, and declares his reſolution to go to Bethany: *nevertheleſs let us go unto him.* Whereupon Thomas filled with a kind of indignation † that Jeſus ſhould have no more concern for himſelf nor them, than to expoſe them all to certain death, but at the ſame time ſenſible of his duty to follow him, ſays to his fellow-diſciples; *Let us alſo go that we may die with him*, ver. 16.

* Χαλεπον δε και αναμαρτητως τι ποιησαντας μη αγνωμονι κριτη περιτυχειν. Apud Xenophon. Memor. l. 2.

† Or perhaps, there was no indignation in his mind, but only a warm affection, which diſpoſed him to go with Jeſus, and to call upon the other diſciples to do ſo likewiſe, whatever the danger was.

So that our bleſſed Lord, when he was in a place of ſafety, reſolved to come to Bethany near Jeruſalem for the ſake of Lazarus: and herein ſhowed great courage and reſolution. And what is there, I pray, blameable in his retiring again to ſome diſtance from Jeruſalem, when he had performed the buſineſs for which he came into its neighbourhood?

CHAP. II.

Answer to the Jewish Rabbi's Letter.

We are now come to the letter of Mr. W's Jewiſh Rabbi, whom Mr. W. calls his friend, and ſays his letter 'conſiſts of calm and ſedate reaſoning,' p 55. I on the other hand can ſee no reaſon in it. But the reader ſhall not need to rely upon my judgment. Therefore I will tranſcribe ſome parts of it, and then make ſome remarks. The argument of the letter is, that the ſtory of Lazarus's being raiſed is an impoſture; or elſe the Jews could not have been ſo wicked, as to be on that account provoked againſt Jeſus and Lazarus.

'If there had been an indiſputable miracle wrought in 'Lazarus's reſurrection, why were the chief prieſts and pha- 'riſees ſo incenſed upon it, as to take counſel to put Jeſus 'and Lazarus to death for it?' p. 43.

The reaſon is very evident; becauſe that by reaſon of it *many of the Jews went away*, deſerted the proud phariſees, *and believed on Jeſus*, John xii. 10.

'If,' ſays he, 'hiſtorians can parallel this ſtory of the 'malignity of the Jews towards Jeſus and Lazarus upon 'ſuch a real miracle with thing [things] equally barbarous 'and inhuman in any other ſect and nation; we will 'acknowledge the truth of it againſt our own nation: or if 'ſuch inhumanity, abſtractedly conſidered, be at all agree- 'able to the conceptions any one can form of human 'nature, in the moſt uncivilized and brutiſh people, we will 'allow our anceſtors in this caſe, to have been that people. '—And he promiſes to make it out as fooliſh and wicked 'an impoſture as ever was contrived and tranſacted in 'the world—that it is no wonder the people by an unani-

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'mous voice, called for the releaſement of Barabbas, a 'robber and murderer before Jeſus,' p. 46, 53, 54.

The demand made of a parallel of the malignity of the Jews againſt Jeſus, upon ſuch a real miracle, is very idle, becauſe there never was ſuch a public miracle done by any other for ſo pure a doctrine. But if this Jew or any one elſe will produce an inſtance of ſuch a miracle done by any one, who alſo taught the ſame ſpiritual heavenly doctrine that Jeſus did, and nothing elſe; and who converſed and taught as publicly as Jeſus did; and ſpoke the truth to all without fear or favour: I will ſhow he had an ignominious death, or elſe wondrous eſcapes and deliverances by manifeſt interpoſitions of Divine Providence.

But though an inſtance of equal malignity cannot be ſhown, becauſe there is no other character equal to our Saviour's in innocence of life and greatneſs of works; yet the Jewiſh nation will afford an inſtance, which I am very ſorry is ſo near parallel. Moſes was the greateſt prophet, and meekeſt man, they ever had among them, except Jeſus, and they often murmured againſt him. *And Moſes cried unto the Lord, ſaying, what ſhall I do unto this people? They be almoſt ready to ſtone me*, Exod. xvii. 4. When they ſhould have gone to have taken poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, *All the children of Iſrael murmured againſt Moſes and againſt Aaron. All the congregation bade ſtone them with ſtones*, Numb. xiv. 2—10. that is, Moſes and Aaron, Caleb and Joſhua, or at leaſt theſe two, the only perſons that ſtood by Moſes and his brother.

This people were to a man obliged to Moſes, who had brought them up out of a ſtate of ſervitude. Nor had they any juſt ground of complaint againſt him, whilſt in the wilderneſs, for God ſays: *Ye have ſeen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles wings*, Exod. xix. 4. The bleſſings Moſes propoſed were far more agreeable to carnal minds (ſuch as the Jews and moſt other men's are) than thoſe promiſed by Jeſus. He engaged to raiſe them to a ſtate of independency in a land flowing with milk and honey. The time ſet for this event according to Divine promiſe was now come. And he had performed many great miracles before them, and yet they rebelled continually againſt God and this his ſervant. Nor did any of all this congregation, except Caleb and Joſhua, believe God, as Moſes tells them expreſsly. Deut. ix. 23, 24. They are

called by the Pſalmiſt a *ſtubborn and rebellious generation*, Pſ. lxxviii. 8. *They believed not for all his wondrous works*, ver. 32. Not that they diſbelieved the works themſelves: they knew them, but though they ſaw the works of God, they were not obedient.

Thou knoweſt, ſays Aaron to Moſes, that this people is ſet upon miſchief, Exod. xxxii. 22. As they were then, ſo they continued to be; and ſlew the prophets which God ſent to them. They are upon record in their own writings as the moſt obſtinate of all people, Ezek. iii. 5, 6. They are ſaid to have *changed God's judgments into wickedneſs more than the nations*, ch. v. 6. One would think theſe, and many other ſuch things, were recorded on purpoſe to prevent ſuch an objection as we have now before us; or to help us to anſwer it, if any ſhould be ſo unreaſonable as to make it.

Why ſhould it be thought ſtrange that this people, who would have ſtoned Moſes, and who ſlew many other prophets, ſhould alſo conſpire againſt Jeſus? eſpecially conſidering that they abounded now as much as ever with all kinds of the worſt wickedneſs, except idolatry; (if we may credit Joſephus, and other writers of this nation) and were now diſappointed in their fondeſt expectations of worldly power and ſplendour. I will tranſcribe here an anſwer of Origen to a like objection of Celſus, propoſed in the perſon of a Jew. 'Well then, ſirs, how will you (ſays 'Origen*) anſwer ſuch queſtions as theſe, if put to you by 'us? Which are in your opinion the greateſt miracles? 'thoſe which were wrought in Egypt, and in the wilderneſs? 'or thoſe which we ſay were wrought among you by Jeſus? 'If in your opinion thoſe are greater than theſe latter: is it 'not hence apparent, that according to your cuſtom, you

* Το, τι εκλεσθε, ω κτοι, προς τας πευσεις ημων' αποκρινεσθαι· ποιαι δυναμεις μειζες, οσον επι υμετερα υπολημψει ειναι υμιν φαινονται. αι εν Αιγυπτῳ και τη ερημω η α εφαμεν ημεις πεποιηκεναι τον Ιησεν παρ υμιν; ει μεν δε εκειναι μειζες τετων καθ' υμας εισι· πως εκ αυτοθεν δεικνυται, οτι κατα το ηθος των τοις μειζοσιν απιστησαντων εστι και το των ηττονων καταφρονειν; τετο γαρ υπολαμβανεται περι ων λεγομεν περι Ιησε· ει δε ισαι λεγονται περι τε Ιησε· ταις αναγεγραμεναις υπο Μωυσεως, τι ξενον απηντησε λαῳ και' αμφοτερας τας αρχας των πραγματων απιστεντι; αρχη μεν γαρ νομοθετιας, επι Μωυσεως ην. εν η τα αμαρτηματα των απιστων και των αμαρτανοντων υμων αναγεγραπται. αρχη δε νομοθεσιας και διαθηκης δευτερας κατα τον Ιησεν ημιν γεγονεναι ομολογειται. και μαρτυρειτε δι ων τῳ Ιησε απιστειτε, οτι υιοι εστε εν τη ερημῳ απιστησαντων ταις θειαις επιφανειαις. Origen. contr. Celſ. l. 2. p. 206, 207.

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'may deſpiſe the leſs, who diſbelieved the greater? ſince 'you think thoſe aſcribed to Jeſus leſs than thoſe former. 'But if thoſe, which are related of Jeſus are equal to thoſe 'written by Moſes: is it any thing ſtrange, that the ſame 'people ſhould be equally unbelieving upon both occa-'ſions? For the beginning of the law was by Moſes: and 'in that are recorded the tranſgreſſions of the unbelievers 'and ſinners among you. And the beginning of the ſecond 'law and covenant is allowed to have been given unto us 'by Jeſus. And by your unbelief in Jeſus you make it 'appear, that ye are the children of thoſe who did not be-'lieve the divine appearances in the wilderneſs.'

Any man may perceive, that a prophet is the moſt unpopular of all characters. For he is to *cry aloud and ſpare not; to lift up his voice like a trumpet*, Iſaiah lviii. 1. and ſhow men of all ranks their tranſgreſſions and their ſins. *Moſes at firſt ſuppoſed his brethren would have underſtood, how that God by his hand would deliver them*, Acts vii. 25. But when he endeavoured only to reconcile two of them, and *ſaid to him that did the wrong, wherefore ſmiteſt thou thy fellow?* what a ſmart reply did he meet with? *Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? intendeſt thou to kill me as thou killedſt the Egyptian?* Exod. ii. 13, 14. Theſe were his apprehenſions then; but when he was forty years older, and knew the world better, and God appeared to him and told him, he would ſend him to bring forth the children of Iſrael out of Egypt: after divers fine excuſes, which are not accepted of, he in a modeſt way poſitively refuſes to go. *And he ſaid, O Lord, ſend, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt ſend*, Exod. iv. 13. Nor does he yield, till the anger of the Lord is kindled againſt him. So hazardous and difficult was this office, that God ſometimes promiſes a prophet, as a ſpecial favour and a moſt neceſſary qualification, together with a commiſſion, boldneſs of countenance to execute it. *As an adamant harder than flint*, ſays God to Ezekiel, *have I made thy forehead: fear them not, neither be diſmayed*, Ezek. iii. 9. And Jeremiah he made a *defenced city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls againſt the whole land*, Jerem. i. 18.

It is a very unjuſt way of judging: ſuch an one ſuffered, or was hated and oppoſed; therefore he was a wicked man, or an impoſtor. If we will paſs a judgment on men, we ſhould examine their conduct, as well as the treatment they meet with: otherwiſe we are in danger of being unjuſt to the

the memory of ſome of the beſt men that ever were. Solomon ſays, *A juſt man falleth* [into trouble] *ſeven times, and riſeth up again*, Prov. xxiv. 16. And his father David: *Many are the afflictions of the righteous; but the Lord delivereth him out of them all*, Pſ. xxxiv. 19. Many were the afflictions of our bleſſed Saviour, but he was delivered out of them all, if ever man was; having been ſoon raiſed up from the grave, and ſeated at the right hand of God.

Solomon ſays again: *An unjuſt man is an abomination to the juſt: and he that is upright in the way, is abomination to the wicked*, Prov. xxix. 27. Which laſt obſervation is confirmed by divers heathen writers of good knowledge in human nature: 'That a man can no ſooner be an enemy to 'all vice, and walk in the ways of virtue, but he becomes 'the object of hatred.'* Socrates who had been pronounced by the oracle of Apollo the wiſeſt man, and who has ſince had almoſt univerſally the character of the beſt man among the Greeks,† was put to death by his countrymen the Athenians, a people more renowned for civility and good humour than the Jews. He was always apprehenſive of ſuffering, and ſenſible of the danger he incurred by oppoſing the evil practices of men. He goes ſo far as to tell the Athenians:‡ 'It is impoſſible for any man to be ſafe 'among them, or any where elſe, who honeſtly and courage-'ouſly oppoſes vice and injuſtice." He ſays alſo that he had choſen a private life as beſt ſuited to anſwer his deſign; and that if he had been in the magiſtracy, and taken the courſe he had done of inſtructing and admoniſhing all people,

* Si quis vitiorum omnium inimicus rectum iter vitæ cœpit inſiſtere, primum propter morum differentiam odium habet. Quis enim poteſt probare diverſa? Petron. Arbiter, laudat. a Grot. ad Matt. x. 22.

† Και γαρ και μισενται, ελεγχονλες αυτων τας αμαθιας. Lucian. Contemplant. V. I. p. 357. edit. Amſt.

† Και τον αριστον των Ἑλληνων λαϐων υποθεσιν [Αριστοφανης] ανδρα τοις τε αλλοις θεοις φιλον, και δη και μαλιστα τῳ Απολλωνι. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 13.

‡ Ευ γαρ ισε ω Αθηναιοι, ει εγω παλαι επεχειρησα πρατ̃ειν τα πολιτικα πραγμα̃τα, παλαι αν απολωλειν.—και μοι μη αχθεσθε λεγονl̃ι τ' αληθη. ου γαρ εσ̃τιν οστις ανθρωπων σωθησεται, ουτε υμιν ουτε αλλω ουδενι πληθει γνησιως εναντιϐμενος, και διακωλυων πολλα αδικα και παρανομα εν τη πολει γιγνεσθαι. Plat. Apolog. Socrat. p. 31. E.

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he had not lived ſo long. And Cicero* obſerved in his time, that philoſophy, which propoſed to cure the minds of men, was ſuſpected and hated by the moſt, as a dangerous thing. Some ſovereign princes have loſt their lives in attempts of reformation. Many indeed are the inſtances of the unjuſt judgments of the moſt. A peaceable prince, who protects the eſtates, the commerce, the perſons and conſciences of his ſubjects, is barely beloved: a conqueror is adored; though he needleſsly hazards the lives of his own ſubjects, and violates toward his neighbours all the laws of nations, and all the laws of honour and humanity.

But I am aſhamed to give this argument its full force. I little expected to have ever ſeen this objection ſeriouſly produced againſt the miracles, or any other branch of the hiſtory of the New Teſtament, and called 'calm and ſedate reaſoning,' p. 55. An apologiſt for Chriſtianity might have brought it forth and ſtated it, to adorn his triumph, after a confutation of other more plauſible objections; but for any ſeriouſly to mention the enmity of the Jews againſt Jeſus, as an objection againſt him, can be owing to nothing, in my opinion, but ſtrange ignorance or prejudice, or a moſt contemptuous opinion of all the reaſon and obſervation of mankind.

Let us examine another paſſage in the Jew's letter. 'Such a manifeſt miracle, let it be wrought for what end 'and purpoſe we can poſſibly imagine would ſtrike men 'with awe and reverence, and none could hate and perſe-'cute the author of the miracle; leſt he who could raiſe 'the dead, ſhould exert his power againſt themſelves, and 'either wound or ſmite them dead with it. For which 'reaſon, the reſurrection of Lazarus, on the certain know-'ledge of our anceſtors, was all fraud, or they would have 'reverenced and adored the power of him that did it,' p. 48. And more ſuch ſtuff has this Jew again and again to this ſame purpoſe.

I muſt therefore remind him of ſome examples in the books of the Old Teſtament. In 1 Kings xvii. is the hiſtory of Elijah's raiſing the widow's ſon. In the next chapter he works a great miracle at the altar, and after that

* Animi autem medicina nec tam deſiderata ſit, — nec tam multis grata et probata, pluribus etiam ſuſpecta & inviſa. Tuſc. Q. l. 3. init.

obtaineth

obtaineth rain. Nevertheleſs it is ſaid, ch. xix. 1, 2. *And Ahab told Jezebel all that Elijah had done, and withal how he had ſlain all the prophets with the ſword. Then Jezebel ſent a meſſenger to Elijah,* and ſolemnly ſwears ſhe would deſtroy him, *ſaying, ſo let the gods do to me, and more alſo, if I make not thy life as the life of one of them by to-morrow about this time.* Whereupon Elijah abſconds, and in a prayer to God he ſays, *They ſeek his life to take it away.* In the twenty-ſecond chapter is mention of another prophet of the Lord, by name Micajah, of whom Ahab ſays to Jehoſaphat in plain terms: *I hate him.*

Ahaziah, another king of Iſrael, fell *down through a lattice in his upper chamber, and was ſick,* 2 Kings i. Nevertheleſs, in this condition, (ſuch ſtubbornneſs is there in the heart of man!) he ſends officers, one after another to Elijah, requiring him to come to him. Eliſha alſo, ſucceſſor of Elijah, raiſed a perſon to life and wrought divers other miracles, 2 Kings iv. Notwithſtanding this, Jehoram, another king of Iſrael, ſays: ch. vi. 31. *God do ſo and more alſo to me, if the head of Eliſha the ſon of Shaphat ſhall ſtand on him this day.*

One ſtory more to our purpoſe out of the Jewiſh writings, 2 Kings vi. 11—13. but wherein a foreigner is concerned. The king of Syria is at war with Iſrael. Eliſha informs the king of Iſrael of all his enemies ſteps. The king of Syria is amazed, and complains to his ſervants that they diſcover his ſecrets: *Will ye not ſhow me, which of us is for the king of Iſrael? and one of his ſervants ſaid, none, my Lord, O king; but Eliſha the prophet, that is in Iſrael, telleth the king of Iſrael the words that thou ſpeakeſt in thy bed-chamber.* This king of Syria believed what his ſervant ſaid, otherwiſe he had not concerned himſelf about Eliſha. But it follows there: *And he ſaid, go and ſpy where he is, that I may ſend and fetch him. And it was told him,—behold he is in Dothan. Therefore ſent he thither horſes and chariots, and a great hoſt, and they came by night, and compaſſed him about.* So that it is plain, miracles do not always fill wicked men with ſuch awe and reverence, but that they can ſtill hate and perſecute, and break forth into rage againſt the authors of them.

This Jew ſays, p. 49: 'That it is certain, according to 'chriſtian commentators, that ſome of them did not believe 'the miracle.' Again he ſays, p. 51: 'It is plain from the 'ſtory in John, that there was a diſpute amongſt the by-

'ſtanders

'ſtanders at Lazarus's reſurrection, whether it was a real 'miracle or not. I preſume to ſay: this is a falſe account. It is not plain, that there was any diſpute among the by-ſtanders, whether it was a real miracle. It is plain thoſe people, who went to the phariſees, told them of a real miracle. And the phariſees, when met in council, ſay: *What do we? for this man doth many miracles.*

Nor do I know, that any chriſtian commentators ſay,* that 'ſome of them did not believe the miracle.' They did not believe in Jeſus indeed, but they knew the miracle. *Many of the Jews that came to Mary*, ſays St. John, *believed on him. But ſome of them* (which were preſent, who did not believe in Jeſus notwithſtanding the miracle) *went their ways to the phariſees.* This is the ſenſe of the place. So the Jews in the wilderneſs did not believe God, but no Jew ſure will ſay, they diſputed whether the things done by Moſes were miraculous.

'Perhaps,' ſays this Jew, 'they diſcovered ſome frag-'ments of the food, that for four days in the cave, he 'had ſubſiſted on.' There is no ground here for a perhaps. How ſhould a man take any food, *who was bound hand and foot with grave clothes? and whoſe face was bound about with the* ſo often mentioned *napkin?*

'As it is plain,' (ſays the Jew again) from the ſtory 'in John, that there was a diſpute among the by-ſtanders at 'Lazarus's reſurrection, whether it was a real miracle; 'ſo it is the opinion of us Jews, which is of the nature 'of a tradition, that the chief prieſts and civil magiſtrates 'of Bethany, for the better determination of the diſpute— 'required that Jeſus ſhould repeat the miracle upon another 'perſon, there lately dead and buried. But Jeſus declining 'this teſt of his power, the whole multitude—queſtioned 'the reſurrection of Lazarus. And this was one reaſon 'of that vehement and univerſal outcry and demand, at 'Jeſus's trial, for his crucifixion,' p. 50, 52.

There is no reaſon to believe, that this is the opinion of the Jews; but ſuppoſing it to be ſo, it is groundleſs.

* Grot. ad ver. 46. Impios hos fuiſſe neceſſe eſt: quod genus hominum ne conſpectâ quidem mortuorum reſurrectione reſipiſcere ſolet. Luc. xvi. 31. Omnia enim potius, etiam abſurdiſſima, comminiſcuntur quam ſua commoda aut hominum gratiam (quam iſtos venatos apparet) amittant. Et ad ver. 47. *Multa ſigna facit.* Adeo excœcati erant invidiâ animi, ut quod argumentum eſſe debuerat, quo ipſi crederent, eo in ipſius perniciem incitarentur.

And

And here a preſent opinion is advanced into a tradition. This tradition is ſet up againſt authentic hiſtory, written by witneſſes and other well informed perſons, who lived near the event. Is that a good cauſe, that needs ſuch a defence? will any man of ſenſe and reaſon engage, in any other caſe, in ſo deſperate a cauſe?

There are innumerable proofs in the evangeliſts not only that the raiſing of Lazarus was a real miracle, but alſo that the phariſees knew it to be ſo. Their not putting Lazarus or any other perſon to death, as an accomplice with Jeſus, is demonſtration that this and the other miracles of Jeſus were known to be real, and not impoſtures. It is apparent from the trial of Jeſus, that the truth of his miracles could not be called in queſtion. If they had, the evangeliſts, who have recorded ſo many charges againſt Jeſus, and ſo many ſpiteful, ſcurrilous reproaches on him, would not have omitted this.

CHAP. III.

That these three Miracles are well Circumstanced.

I am now to ſhow, that the hiſtories of theſe three miracles are well circumſtanced, and have in them the marks and tokens of credibility. But I have here very little to ſay. Scarce any thing can be added to the perſpicuity of the evangeliſts' ſeveral relations.

I ſhall however make two or three general obſervations, and then go over the particulars of the relation of each miracle.

§ I.

The general obſervations I would mention are theſe,

1. There are in theſe relations proper circumſtances of time and place, and the names and characters of perſons. Of the miracle on Jairus's daughter, the time and place are ſufficiently ſpecified by St. Mark and St. Luke. It was ſoon after his croſſing the ſea of Galilee after Jeſus had cured the men poſſeſſed with devils in the country of the Gergeſenes,

Gergeſenes, *And when Jeſus was paſſed over again by ſhip unto the other ſide, much people gathered unto him, and he was nigh unto the ſea. And behold there cometh one of the rulers,* &c. Mark v. 21. *And it came to paſs that when Jeſus was returned, the people gladly received him. And behold there came a man,* &c. Luke viii. 40.

The character of the perſon on whom the miracle was performed is particularly deſcribed. She is the daughter of a ruler of a ſynagogue, whoſe name was Jairus. Matthew ſays, ch. ix. 18. *There came a certain ruler.* Mark, *Behold, there cometh one of the rulers of the ſynagogue, Jairus by name.* Luke, *Behold, there came a man named Jairus, and he was the ruler of the ſynagogue.* And by Mark, ſhe is ſaid to have been of the *age of twelve years.*

Of the next miracle, related by Luke only, it is ſaid to have been done the day after the cure of the Centurion's ſervant at Capernaum. The place is the city of Naim, the perſon is the only ſon of a widow there. Luke vii. 11, 12. *And it came to paſs the day after, that he went into a city called Naim. Now when he came nigh to the gate of the city, behold, there was a dead man carried out, the only ſon of his mother, and ſhe was a widow.*

Of the laſt miracle related by St. John only, the perſon on whom it is ſaid to have been done is Lazarus, of the town of Bethany, nigh unto Jeruſalem, about fifteen furlongs off, brother of Mary and Martha; friend of Jeſus and his diſciples; and on occaſion of the death of Lazarus, Jeſus came up from beyond Jordan to Bethany, and then retired into a city called Ephraim. Moreover it appears to have been done not long before our Saviour's death.

This ſpecifying of time, place, and names or characters of perſons, is an argument of a real ſtory and not a fiction: for, if it had been a fiction, it might have been eaſily diſcovered.

2. Theſe miracles were done at the uſual place of the reſidence of thoſe perſons, on whom they were performed; a much greater ſecurity, in this caſe, againſt cheat and impoſture, than if they had been done on travellers, who were ſtrangers in the places, where ſuch things are acted on them.

3. They were all very public miracles, as is apparent from the relation. It may be difficult to ſay, where there was the greateſt concourſe; but I am inclined to think, that the

the company at Lazarus's reſurrection was the feweſt; and alſo, that the company which attended Jeſus to the houſe of Jairus was the greateſt concourſe of the three. There were not indeed ſo many preſent at ſpeaking the word, when his daughter was reſtored to life. Nor could the young woman's corpſe be brought out of her chamber, and placed before the houſe, in order to raiſe her there before all the people, without oſtentation; which is entirely unbecoming the character of Jeſus: but all the numerous company then attending our Lord had full evidence of her death, and of her reſtoration to life, as has been ſhown in part already, and may farther appear preſently.

§ II.

We will now go over the particulars of the relation of each miracle, from which it will appear, that theſe perſons had been dead, and were raiſed to life by Jeſus.

Jairus, ruler of a ſynagogue, came to Jeſus and *worſhipped him*; or as Mark, and Luke, *fell down at his feet, ſaying, my daughter is even now dead*, or, *at the point of death, but come and lay thy hand upon her and ſhe ſhall live.*

It is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a ruler of a ſynagogue would come to Jeſus, and aſk him to heal his daughter in ſo earneſt a manner, and with ſuch ſigns of high eſteem and reſpect, and that before great numbers of people, unleſs his daughter's caſe was deſperate, and paſt all hopes of remedy in an ordinary way. It was diſhonourable to pay any reſpect to Jeſus. There were few or none of Jairus's character who publicly owned him for the Chriſt. His application to him muſt be very offenſive to his brethren; and therefore we may be aſſured, he had no proſpect of help for his daughter any other way but this.

Moreover, the manner, in which he comes to Jeſus, ſhows an uncommon concern and earneſtneſs. While Jeſus is ſpeaking in public, he comes and falls down at his feet, and *beſought him greatly—I pray thee come and lay thy hands on her.*

The expreſſions he uſes concerning his daughter repreſent her to be in the utmoſt extremity; ſo that ſhe muſt be near expiring when he left her.

Upon

Upon his earneſt entreaty *Jeſus aroſe, and followed him, and ſo did his diſciples*, Matthew: and much *people followed him and thronged him*, Mark: and from St. Luke it appears, that a *multitude thronged and preſſed him*. From all the three evangeliſts, who relate this matter, it is plain, that when Jairus came to Jeſus, much people was round about him. The requeſt of Jairus, ſo noted a perſon, to come and heal his daughter, would alſo doubtleſs increaſe the number of people that were before gathered together about him. It was impoſſible for Jeſus, ſurrounded by ſo great a crowd, to go in great haſte to Jairus's houſe.

Moreover all theſe three evangeliſts are agreed, that as Jeſus was going along, there came behind him a woman who had an infirmity of twelve years ſtanding, who touched the hem of his garment and was made whole. St. Matthew aſſures us alſo, that Jeſus had then ſome diſcourſe with this woman: St. Mark and St. Luke, that Jeſus perceiving virtue to have gone out of him, ſtood ſtill, looked round him, aſked who touched him. The diſciples then expreſs their wonder that he ſhould aſk ſuch a queſtion. The woman tells her caſe at length before him and all the people; and Jeſus bids her go away in peace. This affair took up conſiderable time; and if Jairus's daughter lay dying when he left her, ſhe may be ſuppoſed to be worſe by this time, if not quite dead.

And accordingly, we are aſſured by Mark and Luke, *that while he yet ſpake* with this woman, there came one or more perſons from Jairus's houſe, ſaying, *Thy daughter is dead, why troubleſt thou the Maſter any farther?* This perſon came from Jairus's houſe, and very probably had been deſpatched away by ſome of thoſe who attended on the young woman. Would any of his ſervants or friends come with ſuch a melancholy ſtory to Jairus, that his daughter had died while he was abroad, if they had not known for certain that ſhe was dead?

By all theſe things we know, that Jairus's daughter died of ſickneſs that made gradual advances; not of a ſudden fit, or fright, or any thing like it. She lay dying when Jairus left the houſe. Some perſons come to him, and tell him that ſhe was dead, and diſſuade him from troubling the Maſter any farther: whereas if ſhe had only had ſomething

like a fit, it had been moſt unreaſonable to diſſuade Jairus from troubling Jeſus any farther.

Let us go on: when Jeſus came into the ruler's houſe, he ſaw *the minſtrels and the people making a noiſe,* Matthew: *He ſeeth the tumult and them that wept greatly,* Mark: *And all wept and bewailed her,* Luke. Here were friends, and public hired muſicians weeping and bewailing the young woman. They knew therefore that ſhe was dead; ſhe had been dead ſome time, or elſe theſe minſtrels had not begun their lamentations.

Jeſus ſays: *Give place; for the maid is not dead but ſleepeth.* Whereupon, ſay all the three evangeliſts, *They laughed him to ſcorn.* So ſure were theſe perſons that ſhe was dead, and not in a ſleep; as they underſtood Jeſus to ſay.

Jeſus puts forth out of the houſe theſe public mourners, and other ſtrangers. When the diſciples and all the people ſaw theſe minſtrels come out, they had farther evidence hereby of the death of the young woman.

Jeſus having removed all ſtrangers, that the houſe might be quiet, enters into the room where the young woman lay, taking with him the parents, *the father and mother of the maiden, and three of his own diſciples*; a ſufficient number of perſons to atteſt any fact; yet not ſo many, but that they might all have a clear and diſtinct view of the thing: the propereſt perſons of any to be admitted; the father and the mother, as beſt knowing the young woman's caſe, the moſt unwilling of any to admit a deceit, and to take another perſon, a ſtranger who had not died, inſtead of their own daughter; three of his own diſciples, who were to be witneſſes of his works, and who could not have been perſuaded to undertake the difficult work of preaching the goſpel after their Maſter's removal without good proof of his divine miſſion; who might alſo aſſure the other diſciples of this thing from their own ſight.

Theſe five perſons Jeſus took along with him; and now the three diſciples ſaw the dead corpſe of the young woman, whom her parents and friends knew to be dead before.

And *he took her by the hand, and ſaid, maid, ariſe. And her ſpirit came again, and ſhe aroſe ſtraightway, and walked.* Upon Jeſus's taking hold of her hand, and bidding her ariſe, ſhe immediately aroſe. It was therefore evidently the effect of that power that accompanied his word. She alſo walked,

ſo

ſo that life and ſtrength were at once conveyed. He alſo *commanded to give her meat.* And then all who miniſtered food to her, and ſaw her eat, were witneſſes of her perfect recovery.

They who were preſent were convinced it was a miracle. *Her parents were aſtoniſhed,* ſays St. Mark: *And they were aſtoniſhed with a great aſtoniſhment,* ſays St. Luke, meaning, it is likely, the three diſciples as well as the parents. Laſtly, St. Matthew ſays, *The fame hereof went abroad into all that land.* So that whether the parents, and the three diſciples preſent, were ſilent, according to Chriſt's direction or not, the thing was known; many were perſuaded of the miracle, and ſpoke of it. And indeed, the circumſtances of her death were ſo public, that all who ſaw her alive again, though they were not in the room at the time ſhe was raiſed, muſt know the miracle.

The three diſciples preſent at this tranſaction were afterwards the moſt forward and courageous of any in declaring Jeſus to be the Son of God, in the midſt of dangers; whereas they muſt have been the moſt backward of all men in giving him this character, if they had perceived this affair to be any thing but a real miracle.

The next ſtory is that of the widow of Naim's ſon. *Jeſus went into a city called Naim, and many of his diſciples went with him,* Luke vii. 11. that is, of his followers, beſide the twelve, and much other people. *Now when he came nigh unto the gate of the city, behold, there was a dead man carried out.* This meeting of the corpſe muſt have been caſual, without any concerted deſign between Jeſus and any people of Naim. For our Lord's life, during the courſe of his miniſtry, was very public. This event happened in a very noted part of it. He had but the day before cured the Centurion's ſervant at Capernaum. At this inſtant there were many of his diſciples and other people with him. There could not have been any agreement tranſacted between him and any at Naim ſo privately but it muſt have been known.

The dead man carried out was the *only ſon of his mother, and ſhe was a widow; and much people of the city was with her.* As ſure as perſons do not carry men forth to burial till they are dead, ſo ſure are we that this was a dead corpſe. The perſon was not one who had no friends to take care

of him. He was the only ſon of a widow, therefore her only ſupport, her huſband being dead.

There were much people of the city with her, her neighbours. Could ſhe have concerted a fraud for carrying out her only child, if he had been alive! It is obſervable, that there were *much people of the city with her*, which is no unuſual thing at the funeral of a perſon who leaves behind him ſo fond a relation as a widow-mother. But had there been any fraud, it is very unlikely that ſhe ſhould have carried out her ſon with much company of that place. She would have contrived ſome pretence to excuſe their company at this time. Or rather, ſhe would have ſaid nothing of the matter to any one, but carried him out privately to burial as dead, without any previous notice. This *much people of the city* with the mother ruins all objections that can be raiſed.

If it be ſaid: it might be the contrivance of the young man, a ſubtle youth, without the knowledge of his mother: I anſwer, that is impoſſible. If he had been abroad in a ſtrange country, he might have contrived ſuch a thing with his comrades: but it is impoſſible he ſhould tranſact ſuch a matter in his mother's houſe without her knowledge. Would a widow let her only ſon be carried to burial out of her own houſe, without knowing whether he was dead or not?

And when the Lord ſaw her, he had compaſſion on her, and ſaid unto her, weep not. Jeſus, before he had ſeen the corpſe, without aſking any queſtions, knowing the power he had of raiſing the dead to life, bid her forbear weeping; thereby intimating in a modeſt way, that ſhe ſhould ſoon ſee her ſon, whoſe death was the cauſe of her ſorrow, reſtored to life.

And he came and touched the bier (and they that bare him ſtood ſtill) and he ſaid, young man, I ſay unto thee, ariſe, and he that was dead ſat up, and began to ſpeak: and he delivered him to his mother. Preſently upon the voice of Jeſus commanding him to ariſe, he ſat up, and began to ſpeak. The tokens of life, ſtrength and vigour, appeared immediately upon the command of Jeſus. His life was manifeſtly known hereby to be the effect of the power accompanying the word of Jeſus.

This was reckoned a miracle by the numerous company preſent, before whom it was publicly done; and they reported it to others, for it follows: *And there came a fear on all: and*

and they glorified God, ſaying, that a great prophet is riſen up among us, and that God hath viſited his people. And this rumour of him went forth throughout all Judea, and throughout all the region round about.

We will now take a view of the laſt ſtory of this kind. *Now a certain man was ſick, named Lazarus of Bethany, the town of Mary and Martha—Therefore his ſiſters ſent unto him, ſaying, Lord, behold he whom thou loveſt is ſick.* Hereby we learn, that Lazarus did not die ſuddenly; that he was not taken off by a fit, but by a ſickneſs which made gradual advances. His ſiſters ſent to Jeſus, *He whom thou loveſt is ſick*; ſuppoſing that out of his affection for Lazarus, he would come to Bethany; and hoping alſo that he might poſſibly get thither before he was dead. That Lazarus was dangerouſly ſick, is evident not only from the ſubſtance of the meſſage, but from their ſending a meſſenger ſo far, and alſo from their not coming either of them to Chriſt. It is alſo hence apparent, that there could be no fraud and contrivance. The matter is not ſecretly tranſacted between Lazarus, his ſiſters, and Jeſus, but here is a meſſenger employed. Moreover, if they had had any thought of ſuch a great deſign in hand, as making a pretence of raiſing up Lazarus, though not dead, ſome one of theſe ſiſters would have come herſelf. Nothing but real ſickneſs could have kept the ſiſters at home, and from coming to Jeſus. The thought of making a pretence of ſo great a miracle as raiſing a dead man to life would certainly have obliged one of the neareſt relations to come in perſon to him, who was to have the honour of ſo mighty a work.

Jeſus ſtaid ſome time in the place where he was, after the receiving a meſſage of Lazarus's ſickneſs. He receives no more meſſages; a ſign there was no longer any need of his coming, and that Lazarus was recovered; or elſe that he was in ſuch a ſtate, that his friends had no longer hopes of any benefit from Jeſus.

But at length Jeſus reſolves to go into Judea, and ſets out with his diſciples for Bethany, though it was nigh to Jeruſalem, where the Jews had lately ſought his life: a ſure ſign of the conſciouſneſs of his innocence and integrity. Had it been thought neceſſary to concert a pretended miracle between Jeſus and theſe perſons; Lazarus might have come to the country beyond Jordan, and a death and a reſurrection might have been contrived there. None would have choſen Be-

thany for the ſcene of a pretended miracle at this time; ſo near the fierceſt enemies, ſo near the great council of the Jews. If a miracle had been contrived at Bethany, it would not have been upon an inhabitant of the place, a well-known perſon, but ſome ſtranger purpoſely arrived there by accident, but who ſhould have no occaſion to come thither again. What reward, what ſum of money could be ſufficient to induce a well-known perſon, inhabitant of Bethany, ſo near Jeruſalem, to enter into a combination with Jeſus, to be the perſon on whom an impoſture of this kind ſhould be acted?

Then when Jeſus came, he found that he had lain in the grave four days already.—And many of the Jews came to Martha and Mary to comfort them concerning their brother. Then Martha, as ſoon as ſhe heard that Jeſus was coming, went and met him: but Mary ſat ſtill in the houſe. Hence it is evident, that Lazarus' death and burial were public things. Moreover theſe ſiſters did not go to Jeſus: Martha does not go, till ſhe hears Jeſus is near the houſe; and Mary ſtays ſtill at home; all arguments of true ſorrow, and that there was no contrivance.

Then ſaith Martha unto Jeſus, Lord, if thou hadſt been here, my brother had not died. How natural expreſſions of ſorrow and concern? Did this perſon, who ſpoke theſe words, know her brother was alive ſtill, and only feigned to be dead? Impoſſible. *But I know, that even now whatſoever thou wilt aſk of God, God will give it thee.* More words, that demonſtrate, they were not in any concerted deſign of feigning a miracle. After ſome more diſcourſe between her and Jeſus, ſhe went her way, and *called Mary her ſiſter ſecretly, ſaying the Maſter is come and calleth for thee.*

As ſoon as ſhe heard that, ſhe aroſe quickly, and came unto him. Now Jeſus was not yet come into the town, but was in that place where Martha met him. The Jews then which were with her, when they ſaw Mary, that ſhe roſe up haſtily, and went out, followed her; ſaying, ſhe goeth unto the grave, to weep there. Mary's grief was real, in the opinion of all theſe perſons, who might, one would think, have known it to be counterfeit, if it had been ſo.

Then when Mary was come where Jeſus was, and ſaw him, ſhe fell down at his feet, ſaying unto him, Lord, if thou hadſt been here, my brother had not died. She had no more thought of

ſeeing

ſeeing her brother raiſed preſently by Jeſus, than her ſiſter Martha had.

When Jeſus therefore ſaw her weeping, and the Jews alſo weeping which came with her, he groaned in the ſpirit, and was troubled. Here are in this joint weeping of Mary and her friends the tokens of a deep ſorrow, ariſing from the death of Lazarus, and a deſpair of ever ſeeing him again, before the reſurrection at the laſt day. Their grief ſo far exceeded the bounds it ought to have done, when Jeſus, who had already given ſuch demonſtrations of his power, was with them, that he *groaned in ſpirit and was troubled.*

Ver. 34. *And ſaid, Where have ye laid him? They ſay unto him, Lord, come and ſee.* Jeſus himſelf firſt makes the propoſal of going toward the ſepulchre by aſking the queſtion; *where they had laid him.* There appear no where any intimations that they had hopes of ſeeing Lazarus alive again.

They go toward the ſepulchre, ver. 38. *Jeſus—cometh to the grave. It was a cave, and a ſtone lay upon it. Jeſus ſaid, Take ye away the ſtone. Martha, the ſiſter of him that was dead, ſaith unto him, Lord by this time he ſtinketh: for he has been dead four days.* Need I here remark, that theſe are the words of one, who knew her brother was dead? She expreſſes herein ſuch a want of all hopes of ſeeing her brother alive again, that Jeſus reproves her, and ſays: *Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldſt believe, thou ſhouldſt ſee the glory of God?*

Now with what deliberation, and with what ſolemnity of addreſs to the Father, does Jeſus proceed to this great work, that the minds of all the company might be attentive, and obſerve?

Ver. 41—44. *Then they took away the ſtone from the place where the dead was laid. And Jeſus lift up his eyes and ſaid, Father, I thank thee, that thou haſt heard me. And I knew that thou heareſt me always: but becauſe of the people which ſtand by I ſaid it, that they may believe that thou haſt ſent me. And when he thus had ſpoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus come forth. And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave clothes: and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jeſus ſaith unto them, Looſe him, and let him go.*

There is no occaſion for remarks here: he who was dead came out with burial clothes upon him, with all the tokens of a corpſe buried by his friends; ſo bound, that in a natural courſe he was not able to move; and he was ordered to be

unlooſed by others, not being able to help himſelf; that all might ſee the tokens of life, ſtrength and vigour, by the actions of walking.

Is there any reaſon to doubt after this view of this relation, whether this was a real miracle; and whether they who were preſent muſt not be ſure it was ſo, and report it as ſuch, as John has done?

But we will proceed a little farther. All preſent are repreſented as perſuaded of it. For *many of the Jews, which came to Mary and had ſeen the things which Jeſus did, believed on him:* that is, believed him to be the Meſſias. *But ſome of them,* being wicked malicious men, *went to the phariſees, and told them what things Jeſus had done.* And the phariſees conſidering the greatneſs of this work, and that ſuch things as theſe would tend to bring *all men,* great numbers of people to believe on him, *from that day forth, they took counſel together to put him to death,* ver. 53.

That this thing was no impoſture, but a real miracle, appears finally from hence; that not long after this, (by which time the phariſees might have inquired into the matter, and got evidence of the impoſture, if any could be had) Jeſus comes publicly to Jeruſalem, enters into the temple, teaches there boldly from day to day, ſpends ſeveral days at Jeruſalem, and in the neighbourhood, at Bethany itſelf the place of this action; and lives all this time in the moſt public open manner at the near approach of one of the Jewiſh principal feſtivals, when there was a general reſort thither from all parts. He celebrates moreover this great feaſt with his diſciples in Jeruſalem. And ſupper being over, he goes into a garden, an uſual place of retirement with his diſciples: whither the officers of the high prieſt come to apprehend him, to whom he voluntarily ſurrenders himſelf. Whereupon he is examined and tried before the council, and before Pilate, but not one impoſture of any kind is proved or charged upon him.

§ III.

I might conclude here, but I am willing to add a few obſervations on the propriety and beauty of our Lord's action, and of the evangeliſts' relations.

St.

St. Matthew informs us, that when the ruler came to Jeſus, he was diſcourſing to the people. *While Jeſus ſpake theſe things unto them, behold, there came a certain ruler to him—ſaying, My daughter is even now dead, but come and lay thy hand upon her,—And Jeſus aroſe and followed him*, Matt. ix. 18.

Jeſus is always ready, never unwilling or unprepared for the performance of any good work: but immediately hearkens to the call, and proceeds without delay from good and uſeful diſcourſe to great and uſeful works.

Not only the diſciples, but thoſe alſo that were hearing him go along with him: *And much people followed him, and thronged him*, Mark v. 24. As he is going, a woman in the crowd, who had a long and grievous infirmity, ſecretly touches him and is healed. *Jeſus, perceiving that virtue had gone out of him*, inſtead of omitting the notice hereof, and haſting along to Jairus's houſe, leſt the caſe ſhould become too deſperate and beyond his reach; but knowing that all things were in his power, ſtops, turns him about, and aſks, *Who touched me?*

How ſedate is his temper! He is not exalted with the thought of the honour done him by a ruler of a ſynagogue, who had earneſtly beſought him to heal his daughter. He is not in any haſte to proceed to his houſe, leſt the opportunity of ſhowing his power in the family of a ruler in Iſrael ſhould be loſt: but ſtands ſtill, inquires who touched him; hears the poor woman tell her caſe, and confirms her cure, by bidding her *go in peace.*

Jeſus was now going to Jairus's houſe, whoſe daughter was by this time dead. And there was no way left for him to help this ruler; and perform his requeſt, of laying his hand on his daughter, that ſhe might live, without raiſing her up from the dead. As he is going to this ſurpriſing awful action of giving life to the dead, virtue iſſues forth from him through his garment, and heals a long and obſtinate diſeaſe. How great is Jeſus here! How tranſporting the idea the mind forms of him!

When he came *to the ruler's houſe, and ſaw the minſtrels and* others *making a noiſe, he ſaid unto them: give place, for the maid is not dead, but ſleepeth*, Matt. ix. 28. What modeſty! what humility! *They laughed him to ſcorn*, ſuppoſing him to ſpeak of natural ſleep. Yet he corrects not their miſtake. Nothing can draw out from him any word that has the appearance of boaſt or vanity.

I ſhall

I ſhall by and by give a like inſtance of modeſty in St. John's hiſtory of the miracle of Lazarus. He who reads ſuch paſſages as theſe in theſe evangeliſts, the one originally of ſo ſordid an employment as that of a publican, the other an illiterate fiſherman, may be aſſured, they did not invent, but that they drew ſome real character: there not being, I believe, another ſuch example of modeſty to be found in any author ancient or modern; how well ſoever ſkilled in hiſtorical facts, or however renowned for greatneſs of genius and fruitfulneſs of fancy. The humble modeſty is equal to the miracle. Such things as theſe do they write, in the cooleſt terms, the plaineſt manner. They ſubjoin not a fulſome, or any other ſet encomium. They have not added a paſſionate exclamation, or ſo much as a hint of ſpecial obſervation. But the attentive reader, when he pauſes and reflects, finds his heart glowing with an ardent affection and zeal for him of whom they write. Nor can he help being tranſported with the thought of the unparalleled unaffected honeſty and ſimplicity of the evangeliſts.

But when the people were put forth, he went in, and took her by the hand, and the maid aroſe. How ſimple! and yet how truly great is this narration of St. Matthew!

I cannot leave this ſtory, till I have obſerved the wondrous propriety of our Lord's action throughout the whole of this affair; which was ſo public, ſo diverſified with incidents and ſo various in its circumſtances. So ſoon as Jairus comes to him, he goes along with him in order to perform the uſeful work he had deſired of him. As he is going, a woman is healed by a ſecret touch of his garment. He aſks, *Who touched me?* The diſciples tell him, that was a ſtrange queſtion. Still our Lord inſiſts upon it, that ſome body had touched him. He then looks round him, but points out no perſon: is only ſilent, till the woman comes, and trembling reveals the whole matter. And what a luſtre has this delay of Jeſus in the way to Jairus's houſe thrown upon his character! What a diſcovery has it made of his knowledge and power! When he hears it reported to the father, that the damſel was dead, he bids him *not fear, but believe.* When he comes to the houſe, he directs all things with the higheſt propriety, by clearing the houſe of ſtrangers, that it might be quiet; taking in with him, *into the room where the young woman lay,* the propereſt perſons that could be choſen out of his diſciples, and out of the whole multitude that was there.

In

In the hiſtory of raiſing the young man at Naim it is ſaid: *And when the Lord ſaw her, he had compaſſion on her, and ſaid unto her, Weep not. And he came and touched the bier, (and they that bare him ſtood ſtill) and he ſaid, Young man, I ſay unto thee, Ariſe.*

On ordinary occaſions Jeſus could not work a miracle without being firſt ſought to, leſt thereby a ſuſpicion ſhould have ariſen, that he had choſen objects within his power. But here the meeting of the corpſe being perfectly caſual, he had an opportunity of ſhowing both his power and his goodneſs, without being ſought to. And he wiſely and graciouſly lays hold of it, as ſoon as it offers. How glorious is Jeſus here! Travelling with his diſciples he meets a dead man, carried forth to burial. And he on the ſudden, without any previous notice of the caſe, without any prior preparation, raiſes the dead man to life.

And he delivered him to his mother. The higheſt propriety! He was moved by compaſſion to perform this work, and he delivers the raiſed perſon to her, to whom his life was the greateſt comfort. Not to ſay farther, that ſhe would beſt know, whether it was her ſon or another, that was reſtored to her: and that inſtead of making a ſhow, and calling upon the multitude to admire the action; he barely delivers the young man to his mother, as if he had only performed an ordinary piece of kindneſs.

In the hiſtory of raiſing Lazarus there are theſe things very obſervable. Jeſus had declared to his diſciples a deſign of going to Bethany. Before he ſets out from the place where he then was, he ſays to them: *Our friend Lazarus ſleepeth; but I go that I may awake him out of ſleep.* Here we have again a like example of humble modeſty, with that I obſerved before in the account of Jairus's daughter. Theſe low ſoft terms does he uſe concerning death, and raiſing to life: the one he terms ſleep, the other awaking him out of it; as appears from what follows. *Then ſaid his diſciples, Lord, if he ſleep he ſhall do well. Howbeit Jeſus ſpake of his death: but they thought he had ſpoken of taking of reſt in ſleep.* Jeſus was obliged to let them underſtand what he meant. *Then ſaid he unto them plainly, Lazarus is dead. And I am glad for your ſakes, that I was not there (to the intent you may believe) nevertheleſs let us go.* When Jeſus ſpoke in the low and ambiguous term of ſleep, he added: *But I go, that I may awake him out of ſleep.* But having now ſaid plainly, that Lazarus

Lazarus was dead, he does not ſay: but I go to raiſe him to life; only intimates in general, that there would be ſome new proof given them to confirm their faith; ſtudiouſly avoiding every thing that had any appearance of boaſting. The modeſty here is rather greater than in the former caſe. There Jeſus had to do with a mixed multitude of ſtrangers. Here he is talking with his own diſciples. Yet he forbears to ſay beforehand in plain terms, that he ſhould raiſe Lazarus to life.

Herein alſo is adorable the wiſdom, the goodneſs, the condeſcenſion of Jeſus; that he who could have healed ſick Lazarus, or raiſed him when dead, without opening his lips, or riſing from his ſeat, went from the place of his retirement beyond Jordan into Judea, where they had lately ſought his life: becauſe his raiſing up Lazarus at Bethany, the place where he had died, and was well known, in all thoſe circumſtances, and before ſo many perſons as he afterwards did, in perſon, would be a means of convincing men of the truth of his miſſion, and of drawing men of that and future ages to the belief of his doctrine, which is ſo ſuited to prepare them for eternal life.

There is likewiſe ſomewhat very remarkable in the manner of performing this miracle. The great works which our Lord did are in themſelves a proof, that he was eſpouſed by God. He accordingly made frequent and public appeals to his works, as certain proofs and evidences, that God was with him. But he did not ordinarily, at the time of doing theſe works, formally and expreſsly addreſs himſelf to God. But now being about to perform in the ſight of mortal men ſo extraordinary and affecting a thing, as the raiſing up from the grave a man that had been buried four days, he lifts up his eyes to heaven, and adores the Father in an act of praiſe and thankſgiving; acknowledging the power of doing the works he had already done, and of that he was then going to perform, to have been given him by the Father. *Then took they away the ſtone from the place, where the dead was laid. And Jeſus lift up his eyes, and ſaid, Father, I thank thee that thou haſt heard me. And I knew that thou heareſt me always: but becauſe of the people which ſtand by, I ſaid it, that they may believe that thou haſt ſent me.* That is, the works I do declare that thou art with me; but that the people may have the fuller aſſurance that thou concurreſt with me, and that the words I ſpeak are not mine but thine; before I do this great and awful work in their ſight,

I publicly

I publicly praiſe and thank thee. In this way (of an immediate appeal to God) the fulleſt proof poſſible was given, that his authority was from the Father, and all objections were anſwered. See John xiv. 8—11. xvi. 28—30.

Other things might be obſerved here, but I ſhall take notice of but one particular more. *And when he thus had ſpoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth.* Sure the majeſty of the voice well became the work. Herein is ſome reſemblance of that loud command, at the ſound of which ſhall be broken all the bars of hell and the grave, and their doors fly open, and the dead of all orders and of all times ſhall awake and come forth; ſome to honour, and ſome to ſhame and everlaſting contempt. There is a peculiar propriety and decency in this loud and majeſtic voice, as it had been immediately preceded by an humble and thankful acknowledgment of the Father, who is over all.

THE END OF A VINDICATION OF THREE OF OUR SAVIOUR'S MIRACLES.

A

LETTER

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR MDCCXXX.

Concerning the QUESTION, whether the LOGOS ſupplied the PLACE of a HUMAN SOUL in the PERSON of JESUS CHRIST.

TO WHICH ARE NOW ADDED, TWO POSTSCRIPTS:

The firſt, containing an Explication of thoſe Words, the Spirit, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, as uſed in the Scriptures.

The ſecond, containing Remarks upon the third Part of the late Biſhop of CLOGHER's Vindication of the Hiſtories of the Old and New Teſtament.

Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they, which teſtify of me, John v. 39.

Ergo nec Parentum, nec Majorum Error ſequendus eſt: ſed Auctoritas Scripturarum, et Dei docentis Imperium. Hieron. in Jer. cap. ix. ver. 12—14.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLIX.]

THE PREFACE.

THOUGH the names in this letter are fictitious (as they always were, and the ſame that appear now:) it is a part of a real correſpondence. Papinian, who was a man of a mature age, of great eminence, and a diligent reader of the ſacred ſcriptures, has long ſince accompliſhed his courſe in this world. Philalethes is ſtill living. The letter, ſent to Papinian, was never returned; but Philalethes kept a copy of it. Though written almoſt thirty years ago, it has hitherto lain concealed in the writer's cabinet. Nor has it, till very lately, been ſhown to more than two perſons, one of whom is deceaſed. Whether this will be reckoned full proof, that the writer is not forward to engage in religious diſputes, I cannot ſay. This however is certain: he would have great reaſon to think himſelf happy, if, with the aſſiſtance of others, without noiſe and diſturbance, in the way of free, calm, and peaceable debate, he could clear up a controverted point of religion, to general ſatisfaction. If

If any ſhould aſk, why is this letter publiſhed now? I would anſwer in the words of Solomon: *There is a time to keep ſilence, and a time to ſpeak.* But whether the preſent ſeaſon has been fitly choſen, the event, under the conduct of Divine Providence will beſt ſhow.

The reader is deſired to take notice, that whatever he ſees at the bottom of the pages, is additional. There are alſo ſome additions in the letter itſelf, eſpecially near the end, where more texts are explained than were in the original letter.

For better underſtanding the argument, it may be needful to obſerve, for the ſake of ſome, that by divers ancient writers we are aſſured, it was the opinion of Arius, and his followers, 'That [1] our Saviour took fleſh of Mary, but not 'a ſoul:' 'that [2] Chriſt had fleſh only, as a covering for his 'Deity: and that the Word in him was the ſame as the ſoul 'in us: and that the Word, or the Deity in Chriſt, was liable 'to ſufferings in the body.'

Mr. Whiſton, in his Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Clarke, giving an account of the act in the divinity ſchools at Cambridge, in the year 1709, when Mr. Clarke, then rector of St. James's, received the doctor's degree, ſays, at p. 20, 21. 'In the courſe of this act, where I was preſent, 'profeſſor James ... digreſſed from one of the doctor's 'queſtions, and preſſed him hard to condemn one of the 'opinions, which I had juſt then publiſhed in my Sermons 'and Eſſays. Which book he held in his hand, when he was 'in the chair. I ſuppoſe, it might be this: that our Saviour 'had no human ſoul, but that the Divine Logos or Word 'ſupplied its place. ... However, Dr. Clarke, who I believe, 'had not particularly examined that point, did prudently 'avoid either the approbation or condemnation of it. Yet

[1] — σαρκα μονον τον σωτηρα απο μαριας ειληφεναι, διαβεβαιωμενοι, και εχι ψυχην. Epiph. de Arianis in Indic. T. I. p. 606.

Αλλα και αρνωνται ψυχην αυτον ανθρωπινην ειληφεναι. Id. H. 69, n. 19, p. 743. A Conf. n. 48—51.

[2] Αρειος δε σαρκα μονην φησ αποκρυφην της θευτητος ομολογει· αντι δε τα εσωθεν εν ημιν ανθρωπα, τατεστι της ψυχης, τον λογον εν τη σαρκι λεγει γεγονεναι. κ. λ. Athan. Contr. Apollin. l. 2, n. 3. p. 942. C.

In eo autem quod Chriſtum ſine anima ſolam carnem ſuſcepiſſe arbitrantur, minus noti ſunt ... ſed hoc verum eſſe, et Epiphanius non tacuit, et ego ex eorum quibuſdam ſcriptis et collocutionibus certiſſime inveni. Auguſt. de Haer. c. 49.

have

'have I reaſon to believe, he long afterwards came into it, 'upon a farther examination: though, I think, he ever 'avoided, according to his uſual caution, to declare publicly 'that his approbation, even upon the moſt preſſing appli- 'cations; which is one great inſtance of that impenetrable 'ſecrecy, which Dr. Sykes juſtly notes to have been in him, 'upon many occaſions.'

So Mr. Whiſton. Who clearly declares his own opinion. Who likewiſe ſuppoſeth, that the ſame was for ſome while received by Dr. Clarke. But he ſeems not to have had any certain evidence of it. For, as he acknowledges, 'Dr. Clarke never publicly declared his approbation of it.'

Nevertheleſs it may not be diſagreeable to ſee here what Dr. Clarke himſelf ſays in his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity. part I. ch. iii. numb. 998. p. 197. 'Matt. iv. 1. *Then 'was Jeſus led up of the ſpirit into the wilderneſs.* From this, 'and many other of the following texts, it ſeems, that the 'Logos, the Divine Nature of Chriſt, did ſo far κενωσαι εαυτον, 'diminiſh itſelf, as St. Paul expreſſes it, Philip. ii. 7. that, 'during the time of his incarnation, he was all along under 'the conduct of the Holy Spirit.'

And part II. ſect. xxviii. p. 301. 'The Holy Spirit is 'deſcribed in the New Teſtament, as the immediate author 'and worker of all miracles, even of thoſe done by our Lord 'himſelf: and as the conductor of Chriſt in all the actions of 'his life, during his ſtate of humiliation here on earth.'

Before I finiſh this preface, I muſt make ſome citations from Dr. Robert Clayton, late Lord Biſhop of Clogher; who, in the third part of his Vindication of the Hiſtories of the Old and New Teſtament, has expreſſed himſelf after this manner. Letter v. p. 80, 81. or p. 443. '*He who had 'glory with the Father, before the world was, emptied himſelf,* 'or diveſted himſelf of that glory, in order to redeem mankind, 'and deſcended from heaven, and *took upon him the form 'of a ſervant, and was made man.* That is, he, who was 'a glorified pre-exiſtent ſpirit in the preſence of God, ſub- 'mitted to deſcend from heaven, and to have himſelf con- 'veyed by the wonderful power of Almighty God, into 'the womb of a virgin. Where being clothed with fleſh, 'and ripening by degrees to manhood, he was at length 'brought forth into the world, in the ſame apparent ſtate and 'condition, with other human infants.'

Again, Letter vii. p. 132, 133. or 482, 483. 'And 'accordingly this exalted ſpirit was, by the wonderful power 'of God, as before related, conveyed into the womb of 'the virgin Mary, and was made man; that is, was made 'as much ſo, as his mother could make him, without being 'impregnated by man. And now being deprived of the 'immediate preſence of God the Father, and being ſhut up in 'darkneſs, and the ſhadow of death, he was after nine months 'brought forth into life, in the form of a feeble infant, 'with all the weakneſs, and frailties, and infirmities of human 'nature about him. And as he grew up into life, and 'his reaſon improved, this only ſerved to make the terrible 'change and alteration of his condition, ſo much the more 'perceptible, and the recollection of it ſo much the more 'grievous and inſufferable. The dreadfulneſs of which ſtate 'is hardly conceivable to us, becauſe that we never were 'ſenſible of any thing better than our preſent exiſtence. But 'for any being, which had ever enjoyed the happineſs of 'heaven, and had been in poſſeſſion of *glory with the Father*, to 'be deprived thereof, and to be ſent to dwell here in this 'world, encompaſſed within the narrow limits of this earthly 'tabernacle, and the heavy organs, made of fleſh and blood, 'it muſt, literally ſpeaking, be to ſuch a being, an hell upon 'earth.' So ſays that celebrated writer.

To the letter are now added two poſtſcripts. Concerning which nothing needs to be ſaid here. They who look into them, will ſee what they are.

One thing the author would ſay. He hopes, the whole is written in the way of reaſon and argument, with meekneſs and candour, without acrimony and abuſe: though not without a juſt concern for ſuch things as appear to him to be of importance.

FEBRUARY 12, 1759.

A LETTER

A

LETTER

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR MDCCXXX.

Concerning the Queſtion, whether the LOGOS ſupplied the Place of an human Soul in the Perſon of JESUS CHRIST.

TO PAPINIAN.

You have, it ſeems, heard of the correſpondence between Eugenius and Phileleutherus, and particularly of an incidental queſtion, concerning the Arian hypotheſis. You have been informed likewiſe, that I am well acquainted with this correſpondence. And, as it has excited your curioſity, you demand of me an account of it, and alſo my own opinion upon the point in debate.

If it were proper for me to deny you any thing, I ſhould entirely excuſe myſelf, and be perfectly ſilent: being apprehenſive that touching upon a ſubject of ſo much niceneſs and difficulty may occaſion ſome trouble to yourſelf, as well as to me. But you are determined not to accept of any excuſes.

I muſt then, without farther preamble, declare to you that I cannot but take the ſame ſide of the queſtion with Phileleutherus: though once, for ſome while, I was much inclined to the other.

However, whilſt I was favourable to the ſuppoſition, that the Logos was the ſoul of our Saviour, I was embarraſſed with a very conſiderable difficulty. For the ſcriptures do plainly repreſent our bleſſed Saviour, exalted to power and glory, as a reward of his ſufferings here on earth: but I was at a loſs to conceive how that high being, the firſt and only immediately derived being by whom God made the world, [1] ſhould

[1] Dr. Clarke, Scripture doctrine, &c. P. I. numb. 535, p. 86. 'The third interpretation is, that 'the Word is a perſon deriving 'from the Father (with whom he 'exiſted before the world was) 'both his being itſelf, and in- 'comprehenſible power and know- 'ledge, and other divine attributes 'and authority, in a manner not 'revealed, and which human wiſ- 'dom ought not to preſume to 'explain.'

ſhould gain any exaltation by receiving, after his reſurrection and aſcenſion, a bright reſplendent human body, and being made the King and Lord of all good men in this world, and the judge of mankind, and, if you pleaſe, to add likewiſe, being made higher than the angels, to whom, according to the ſame hypotheſis, he was vaſtly ſuperior before.

But to ſpeak my mind freely, I now entirely diſlike that ſcheme, and think it all amazing throughout, and irreconcilable to reaſon.

However, that we may not take up any prejudices from apprehenſions, which our own reaſon might afford, I ſhall ſuſpend all inquiries of that ſort, and will immediately enter upon the conſideration of what the ſcriptures ſay of the perſon of our Saviour.

He is called a man in many places of the goſpels. And every body took him for a man during his abode on this earth, when he converſed with all ſorts of people in the moſt free and open manner. He frequently ſtyles himſelf *the ſon of man.* He is alſo ſaid to be *the ſon of David,* and *the ſon of Abraham.* He is called a man even after his aſcenſion. Acts xvii. 31. *He has appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteouſneſs, by that man whom he has ordained.* 1 Tim. ii. 5. *For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Chriſt Jeſus.* And St. Peter to the Jews at Jeruſalem, Acts ii. 22. *Ye men of Iſrael, hear theſe words, Jeſus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and ſigns, which God did by him in the midſt of you, as ye yourſelves alſo know.*

Ib. Part II. p. 242, § ii. 'With 'this firſt and ſupreme cauſe and 'Father of all things, there has 'exiſted, from the beginning, a 'ſecond divine perſon, which is 'his Word or Son.'

Page 297, § xxvi. 'By the ope-'ration of the Son, the Father 'both made and governs the world.'

Page 298, § xxvii. 'Concerning 'the Son, there are other things 'ſpoken in ſcripture, and the 'higheſt titles are aſcribed to him, 'even ſuch as include all divine 'powers, excepting abſolute inde-'pendency and ſupremacy.'

A part of Mr. Peirce's paraphraſe upon Col. i. 15, 16. is in theſe words: '—and ſince he was 'the firſt being that was derived 'from the Father. And that he 'muſt be the firſt derived from him, 'is hence evident, that all other 'beings were derived from God, 'the primary and ſupreme cauſe of 'all, through his Son, by whom, 'as their immediate Author, all 'things were created that are in 'heaven, and that are in earth, 'viſible and inviſible, &c.'

Now

Now if Jeſus Chriſt be a man, he conſiſts of a human ſoul and body: for what elſe is a man?

This title and appellation of *man* being ſo often and ſo plainly given to our Saviour, muſt needs lead us to think that he was properly man, unleſs there are ſome expreſſions of another kind that are deciſive to the contrary. But we find that he is not only called a man, but is alſo ſaid to be a man as we are, or like to us. Heb. ii. 17. *Therefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren.* Ch. iv. 15. *We have not an high prieſt, which cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without ſin.* And ſee the ſecond chapter of that epiſtle throughout.

Beſide theſe plain expreſſions, deſcribing our Lord to be a man, and like to us; this point may be argued from a great number and variety of particulars related in the New Teſtament: for two evangeliſts have recorded our Lord's nativity. St. Paul ſays, *God ſent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law*, Gal. iv. 4. If it were expedient that our Saviour ſhould be born into the world, as we are, and live in infancy, and grow up to manhood, as we do, and be liable to all the bodily wants, weakneſſes and diſaſters to which we are expoſed: muſt it not have been as needful, or more needful, and as conformable to the Divine Wiſdom, that he ſhould be alſo like unto us in the other part of which we are compoſed, a human ſoul, or ſpirit?[2]

Moreover

[2] 'And when we ſay, that perſon 'was conceived and born: we de- 'clare, he was made really and 'truly man, of the ſame human 'nature which is in all other men. '—For *the mediator between God 'and men is the man Chriſt Jeſus*, '1 Tim. ii. 5. *That ſince by man 'came death, by man alſo* ſhould *come 'the reſurrection of the dead*, 1 Cor. 'xv. 21. As ſure, then, as the 'firſt Adam, and we who are re- 'deemed, are men; ſo certainly is 'the ſecond Adam, and our me- 'diator, man. He is therefore fre- 'quently called *the ſon of man*, and 'in that nature he was always pro- 'miſed: firſt to Eve, as her 'ſeed, and conſequently, her ſon: 'then to Abraham. And that ſeed 'is Chriſt. Gal. iii. 16. and ſo the 'ſon of Abraham: next to David; '... and conſequently of the ſame 'nature with David and Abraham. 'And as he was their ſon, ſo are 'we his brethren, as deſcendents 'from the ſame father Adam. *And 'therefore it behoved him to be made 'like unto his brethren: for he laid 'not hold on the angels, but on the 'ſeed of Abraham*, Heb. ii. 16, 17. 'And ſo became not an angel, but 'a man.

'As then man conſiſteth of two 'different parts, body and ſoul, ſo 'does Chriſt.... And certainly, if 'the Son of God would vouchſafe 'to take the frailty of our fleſh,

Moreover, this ſuppoſition does beſt, if not only, account for our bleſſed Saviour's temptation, and every part of it. For how was it poſſible that he ſhould be under any temptation, to try the love of God to him, by turning ſtones into bread! or by caſting himſelf down from a pinnacle of the temple! How could all the glories of this world, and the kingdoms of it, be any temptation to him, who had made all things under the Supreme Being? Had he forgot the glory and power which he once had? If that could be ſuppoſed, and that this want of memory of paſt things ſtill remained; it might be as well ſuppoſed, that he had no remembrance of the orders which he had received from God, and of the commiſſion with which God the Father had ſent him into the world.

The ſuppoſition of Chriſt being a man, does alſo beſt account for his agony in the garden,[3] and the dark, yet glorious ſcene of his ſufferings on the croſs, and the con-

'he would not omit the nobler 'part, our ſoul, without which 'he could not be man. For *Jeſus 'increaſed in wiſdom and ſtature:* 'one in reſpect of his body, the 'other of his ſoul, Luke ii. 52.' Pearſon upon the Creed, Art. iii. p. 159, 160, the fourth edition. 1676.

[3] Luke xxii. 44. *And being in an agony....* Και γενομενος εν αγωνια.] I would put the queſtion, whether it might not be thus tranſlated? *And being under great concern.* I will tranſcribe here a paſſage of an ancient writer, repreſenting the anxiety, or ſolicitude of Julius Cæſar and others, when Octavius Cæſar, then a young man, had a dangerous ſickneſs. Χαλεπως δε διακειμενα, παντες μεν εν φοβῳ ησαν, αγωνιωντες, ει τι πεισεται τοιαυτη φυσις, μαλιστα δε παντων ο Καισαρ. Διο πασαν ημεραν η αυτος παρων αυτῳ ευθυμιαν παρειχεν, η φιλος πεμπων, ιατρος τε αποσατειν ουκ εων. Και ποτε δειπνωντι ηγγειλε τις, ως εκλυτος ειη, και χαλεπως εχοι. Ὁ δε εκπηδησας ανυποδητος ηκεν ενθα ενοσηλευετο, και των ιατρων εδειτο εμπαθεσατα μερος ων αγωνιας, και αυτος παρεκαθητο. κ. λ. Nic. Damaſcen. De Inſtitutione Cæſaris Auguſti Ap. Valeſ. Excerpta. p. 841.

I have obſerved, that ſome learned men ſeem ſtudiouſly to have avoided the word *agony* in their tranſlations. In the Latin vulgate is: et factus in agonia. But Beza tranſlates: et conſtitutus in angore. Le Clerc's French verſion is: et comme il étoit dans une extrême inquietude... And Lenfant's: et comme il étoit dans un grand combat... Which laſt I do not think to be right. For the original word is not αγων, but αγωνια. The Syriac verſion, as tranſlated into Latin by Tremellius, Troſtius, and others, is: cum eſſet in timore, inſtanter orabat. I ſhall add a ſhort paſſage from V. H. Vogleri Phyſiologia Hiſtoriæ Paſſionis J. C. cap. II. p. 4. Ideoque non immerito dici poteſt αγωνια (quam in defectu commodioris vocabuli angorem Latine vocemus) promptitudo rem quampiam aggrediundi, ſed cum timore et trepidatione.

cluding

cluding prayer there: *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?*

And the making the Logos to be the ſoul of Chriſt does really annihilate his example, and enervate all the force which it ſhould have upon us.

But it may be ſaid, that there are ſome texts, which lead us to think, that Jeſus Chriſt had a human body, but not an human ſoul: particularly, John i. 14. and Hebr. x. 5.

John i. 14. *And the Word was made fleſh, and dwelt among us.* But it ſhould be obſerved, that *fleſh* in the ſcriptures both of the Old and New Teſtament, is oftentimes equivalent to *man*, Pſ. lvi. 5. *I will not fear what fleſh can do unto me*, ver. 11. *I will not fear what man can do unto me.* And in innumerable other places. And in the New Teſtament, Matt. xiii. 20. Luke iii. 6. John xvii. 2. Acts ii. 17. 1 Pet. i. 24.

What St. John ſays therefore is this: *And the Word was made fleſh*, or took upon him the human nature.[4]

St. John ſays, 1 Ep. iv. 2, 3. *Every ſpirit that confeſſeth that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is of God. And every ſpirit that confeſſeth not that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is not of God.* See likewiſe 2 Ep. ver. 7.

It is well known, that in the early days of Chriſtianity, particularly in Aſia, where St. John reſided, there aroſe people, generally called Docetes, who denied the real humanity of Chriſt, and ſaid, he was man in appearance only. Theſe St. John oppoſeth in his epiſtles, if not in his goſpel alſo. Againſt them he here aſſerts, that Jeſus had the innocent infirmities of the human nature, and that he really ſuffered, and died. But when he ſays, that *Jeſus Chriſt came in the fleſh*, he does not deny, that he had an human ſoul, or was man completely. Indeed, it is here implied, that he was man as we are.[5]

Heb.

[4] 'He took upon him our human 'nature, became himſelf a man, 'ſubject to the like frailties with 'us, and lived and converſed freely 'amongſt men.' Dr. Clarke's Paraphraſe of St. John i. 14. the fourth edition. 1722.

[5] Ecce in quibus verbis ſuis omnino manifeſtant negare ſe, quod ad unitatem perſonæ Chriſti etiam humana anima pertineat; ſed in Chriſto carnem et divinitatem tantummodo confiteri. Quandoquidem cum penderet in ligno, illud, ubi ait, *Pater, in manus tuas commendo ſpiritum meum*, divinitatem ipſam volunt eum intelligi commendaſſe Patri, non humanum ſpiritum, quod eſt anima.... Et his atque hujuſmodi

Hebr. x. 5. *Wherefore, when he cometh into the world, he ſaith: ſacrifice and offering thou wouldeſt not, but a body haſt thou prepared me.*

But it is reaſonable to think, that[6] a part is here put for the whole, and that the word, *body*, is not to be underſtood excluſively of the ſoul. St. Paul writes to the Romans: *I beſeech you therefore, that ye preſent your bodies a living ſacrifice to God*, ch. xii. 1. But no one ought hence to conclude, that the Romans had not ſouls as well as bodies, or that their ſouls might be neglected. No. The faculties of the mind, as well as the members of the body, were to be conſecrated to God, and employed in his ſervice. At the beginning of the next chapter St. Paul ſays: *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers.* Where the other part of the human nature is put for the whole.

And it is manifeſt from ch. ii. 17—18. and other places, that the writer of the epiſtle to the Hebrews believed Chriſt to be man, or to have the human nature complete like unto us. It would therefore be very unreaſonable to underſtand body in this place excluſively of the ſoul.

The words of the apoſtle are a quotation from Pſ. xl. prophetically repreſenting the readineſs of Chriſt to do the will of God in this world.

Wherefore when he cometh into the world, he ſaith. 'Which' 'words are capable of two interpretations. They may

modi ſanctarum ſcripturarum teſtimoniis non reſiſtant, fateanturque Chriſtum, non tantum carnem, ſed animam quoque humanam Verbo unigenito coaptaſſe.... Aut ſi eo moventur quod ſcriptum eſt, *Verbum caro factum eſt*, nec illic anima nominata eſt: intelligant, carnem pro homine poſitam, a parte totum ſignificante locutionis modo, ſicuti eſt, *Ad te omnis caro veniet.* Item, *Ex operibus legis non juſtificabitur. omnis caro.* Quod apertius alio loco dixit: *Ex lege nemo juſtificabitur.* Itemque alio: *Non juſtificatur homo ex operibus.* Sic itaque dictum eſt, *verbum caro factum eſt:* acſi diceretur, Verbum homo factus eſt. Veruntamen iſti, cum ejus ſolam humanam carnem velint intelligi hominem Chriſtum, non enim negabunt hominem, de quo apertiſſime dicitur, unus mediator Dei et hominum homo Chriſtus Jeſus... &c. Aug. Contr. ſermon. Arian. cap. ix. tom. VIII.

[6] 'A body here is a ſynecdochical 'expreſſion of the human nature 'of Chriſt. So is fleſh taken, 'when he is ſaid to be made fleſh. 'For the general end of his having 'this body was, that he might 'therein and thereby yield obedi-'ence, or do the will of God. And 'the eſpecial end of it was, that 'he might have what to offer in 'ſacrifice to God. But neither of 'theſe can be confined unto his 'body alone. For it is the ſoul, 'the other eſſential part of the 'human nature, that is the prin-'ciple of obedience.' Dr. J. Owen upon Hebr. x. 5. p. 29.

[7] See Beauſobre upon Heb. x. 5. 'relate

'relate to our Lord's nativity, when he literally entered 'into the world. Or they may relate to the entrance upon 'his miniſtry. Then it was, that *the Father ſanctified him, 'and ſent him into the world*, John x. 36. and xvii. 18. And 'then it was, that he devoted himſelf to God entirely. Nor 'can it be well doubted, that the prayer, which Jeſus made, 'when he was baptized, and received the ſpirit, which 'is mentioned Luke iii. 31. contained a declaration, equi-'valent to that in this place: *Lo I come to do thy will, O 'God.* Compare John v. 30. and vi. 38.'

I will now conſider ſome texts, which have been thought by ſome to repreſent to us the pre-exiſtence of the ſoul of our Saviour, before his conception in the womb of the virgin Mary.

The form of God, Philip. ii. 6. ſeems to me to have been enjoyed by our Lord in this world. It [8] denotes his knowledge of the hearts of men, his power of healing diſeaſes, and raiſing the dead, and working other miracles, at all times, whenever he pleaſed, and all the other evidences of his divine miſſion. This ſenſe does wonderfully accord with what our Lord ſays, John x. 34—36. and in many other places of that goſpel. *Is it not written in your law, I ſaid, ye are gods? If he called them gods, to whom the word of God came, and the ſcripture cannot be broken, ſay ye of him, whom the Father hath ſanctified, and ſent into the world, thou blaſphemeſt, becauſe I ſaid, I am the Son of God?* But though he had ſo great power, *he made himſelf of no reputation:* he lived in a mean condition, and ſubmitted to the reproaches of enemies, and at laſt to death itſelf. Which was plainly a voluntary ſubmiſſion. For being innocent, he needed not to have died, but might have been tranſlated without taſting death.

If this be the meaning of that text, then 2 Cor. viii. 9. is alſo explained: that [9] *though he was rich, yet for our ſakes he became poor.*

[8] Μορφη, *forma*, in noſtris libris non ſignificat æternum et occultum aliquid, ſed id quod in oculos incurrit, qualis erat eximia in Chriſto poteſtas ſanandi morbos omnes, ejiciendi dæmonas, excitandi mortuos, mutandi rerum naturas: quæ vere divina ſunt, ita ut Moſes, qui tam magna non fecit, dictus ob id fuerit Deus Pharaonis. Grot. in Philip. ii. 6.

[9] Id eſt, cum vi polleret omnis generis miracula patrandi, etiam mortuos reſuſcitandi, perſonam tamen geſſit tam humilem, ut ne domum quidem haberet propriam. Grot. in loc.

John

John i. 15. *John bare witneſs of him.... He that cometh after me, is preferred before me. For he was before me.* And ver. 30. *This is he, of whom I ſaid: after me cometh a man, which is preferred before me. For he was before me.* But I apprehend, that John the baptiſt does not here ſay, that Jeſus was before him in time. But he ſays: 'He who comes 'after me, has always been before me, or in my view. For 'he is my chief, or prince, or principal.' This ſuits what he ſays of the great dignity, and tranſcendent excellence of our Lord's perſon and character, at ver. 27. *Whoſe ſhoes latchet I am not worthy to unlooſe:* and ver. 23. *I am the voice of one crying in the wilderneſs, make ſtraight the way of the Lord:* that is, I am the harbinger, or fore-runner of the great perſon, who is about to appear among you. I am come before him, to prepare for his reception.

John viii. 58. may be thought a ſtrong text for the pre-exiſtence of our Saviour's ſoul. But really he there only repreſents his dignity as the Meſſiah, the ſpecial favour of God toward him, and the importance of the diſpenſation by him. It is a way of ſpeaking, reſembling that in Rev. xiii. 8. *Whoſe names are not written in the book of life of the lamb, ſlain from the foundation of the world,* and explained, 1 Pet. i. 20. *Who verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world.* [10] See alſo Eph. i. 4. 2 Tim. i. 9. Tit. i. 2. The Jewiſh people have a ſaying, that [11] the law was before the world was created. In like manner the diſpenſation by the Meſſiah was before the diſpenſation of Abraham, in dignity, nature, and deſign, though not in time.

The Jews were much offended at the words, recorded in the 56. ver. Nevertheleſs our Lord does not there ſay, that he had ſeen Abraham, or that Abraham had ſeen him in perſon. What he ſays is this: *Your father Abraham rejoiced to ſee my day. And he ſaw it, and was glad;* that is, he earneſtly deſired to ſee the time, when all the nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed, through his promiſed ſeed, the

[10] Fuerat ante Abrahamum Jeſus divina conſtitutione: infra xvii. 5. Apoc. xiii. 8. 1 Pet. i. 20. Conſtat hoc, quia de ipſo ipſiuſque Eccleſiâ myſtice dictum erat, recente humano genere, futurum, ut ſemen muliebre contereret caput ſerpentis. Grot. in Joh. viii. 58. Vid. et Bez. in loc.

[11] Sic *Legem fuiſſe ante mundum,* aiunt Hebræi. Vide Thalmudem de Votis. Grot. ad Joh. xvii. 5.

Meſſiah.

Meſſiah. And *by faith he ſaw it, and was glad.* Compare Hebr. xi. 13. [12]

Another text proper to be conſidered here is John xvii. 5. *And now, O Father, glorify thou me with the glory, which I had with thee before the world was.* But this, according to the Jewiſh phraſeology, may be very well underſtood of the glory, always deſigned for the Chriſt by the immutable purpoſe of God. See Grotius upon the place. That our Lord had not, before his nativity, the glory, which he here prays for, is apparent from the whole tenor of the goſpel, and from clear and manifeſt expreſſions in the context. For the glory, which he now prays for, is the reward of his obedience. Ver. 4. *I have finiſhed the work, which thou gaveſt me to do. And now O Father, glorify thou me..* And St. Paul ſays, Philip. ii. 9. *Wherefore God alſo has highly exalted him,* Hebr. ii. 9 *..for the ſuffering of death he was crowned with glory and honour,* ver. 10. *For it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many ſons to glory, to make the captain of their ſalvation perfect through ſufferings.* And Hebr. xii. 2. *Looking unto Jeſus, who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame. And is ſet down on the right hand of the throne of God.* And Luke xxiv. 26. Our Saviour ſays to the diſciples, in the way to Emmaus. *Ought not the Chriſt to have ſuffered theſe things, and to enter into his glory?* And St. Peter 1. ep. i. 10, 11. *Of which ſalvation the prophets have inquired..Searching what, or what manner of time the ſpirit of Chriſt which was in them did ſignify, when it teſtified before hand the ſufferings of Chriſt, and the glory that ſhould follow.* And St. Paul. Acts, xxvi. 22, 23. *..ſaying no other things than thoſe, which the prophets and Moſes did ſay ſhould come: that the Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, and that he ſhould be the firſt that ſhould riſe from the dead.* All harmonious, as we ſee, that the glory of the Meſ-

[12] Cæterum, ex Hebræorum idiotiſmo, dies alicujus nihil aliud declarat, quam ſpatium quo vixerit aliquis, aut inſigne quidpiam, quod ipſi vel facere vel ferre contigit. Quæ res notior eſt, quam ut teſtimonio egeat. Dies ergo Domini nihil aliud ſignificat, quam ipſius adventum in carnem. Vidit enim eum eminus Abraham, fidei nimirum oculis, ut declaratur Hebr. xi. 13... Ac gaviſus eſt,... Reſpicit autem expreſſe Chriſtus ad id quod dicitur Gen. xvii. 17. Abrahamum, accepta de naſcituro ſibi illo ſemine promiſſione, ſeſe proſtraviſſe, et riſiſſe. Unde et ipſi Iſaaco nomen impoſuit Dominus. Bez. ad Joh. viii. 56.

ſiah

ſiah was ſubſequent to his obedience and ſufferings on this earth. See likewiſe Rom. i. 3, 4.

Nor can I forbear to obſerve to you, that Auguſtin, who has largely conſidered the words of John xvii. 5. and in ſo doing quotes Eph. i. 4. and Rom. i. 1—4. underſtands them of Chriſt's human nature, and explains them in the ſame manner that I have done. Quaſi verò quiſquam regulam fidei intuens, Filium Dei negaturus eſt prædeſtinatum, qui eum negare hominem non poteſt. Recte quippe dicitur non prædeſtinatus ſecundum id quod eſt Verbum Dei, Deus apud Deum... Illud autem prædeſtinandum erat, quod nondum erat, ut ſuo tempore fieret, quemadmodum ante omnia tempora prædeſtinatum erat, ut fieret. Quiſquis igitur Dei Filium predeſtinatum negat, hunc eundem filium hominis negat... ſecundum hanc ergo prædeſtinationem etiam clarificatus eſt antequam mundus eſſet, ut eſſet claritas ejus ex reſurrectione mortuorum apud Patrem, ad cujus dexteram ſedet. Cum ergo videret illius prædeſtinatæ ſuæ clarificationis veniſſe jam tempus, ut et nunc fieret in redditione, quod fuerat in prædeſtinatione jam factum, oravit, dicens: *Et nunc clarifica me tu Pater apud temetipſum, claritate, quam habui priuſquam mundus eſſet, apud te:* tamquam diceret, Claritatem quam habui apud te, id eſt, illam claritatem, quam habui apud te in prædeſtinatione tua, tempus eſt, ut apud te habeam etiam vivens in dexterâ tuâ. Auguſt. In Joan. Evang. cap. 17. Tr. cv. n. 8. ed. Bened. Tom. III. p. 2.

It has been thought by ſome, [13] that Chriſt, or the Son, appeared to the Patriarchs, and was oftentimes ſent upon meſſages to men by the ſupreme being, before the times of the goſpel. But where is the proof of this? It was the opinion of ſome of the ancient writers of the church, who had a philoſophy, that was a mixture of Pythagoriſm and Platoniſm. Nevertheleſs, this ſuppoſition, that God had employed the Son in former times, before the goſpel, is overthrown by the very firſt words of the apoſtle in the epiſtle to the Hebrews. *God, who at ſundry times, and in divers manners ſpake in time paſt unto the fathers by the prophets, has in theſe laſt days ſpoken unto us by his Son.* It is alſo inconſiſtent with the apoſtle's arguments to care and circum-

[13] That opinion is modeſtly rejected by Mr. Peirce, in his Paraphraſe on the Epiſtle to the Hebrews. Chap. i. ver. 2.

ſpection,

ſpection, ſteadfaſtneſs and perſeverance, which follow afterwards. Heb. ii. 1, 2, 3. *Therefore we ought to give the more earneſt heed to the things which we have heard... For if the word ſpoken by angels was ſteadfaſt... how ſhall we eſcape, if we neglect ſo great ſalvation, which at the firſt began to be ſpoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?* See likewiſe ch. iii. 1. *For this man was counted worthy of more honour than Moſes*... ver. 6. But Chriſt, as a Son *over his own houſe.*

Still it may be ſaid, that nothing but the pre-exiſtence of the ſoul of Chriſt can ſuit thoſe expreſſions of his being *ſent from God*, and *coming from God.*

To which I anſwer, that the account here given by me is well ſuited to all ſuch expreſſions in their utmoſt latitude, according to the ſtyle of ſcripture. For we may be all ſaid to be ſent by God into the world, without the ſuppoſition of a pre-exiſtent ſoul. Eſpecially are prophets ſent from God. But above all Jeſus is moſt properly *the ſent of God*, as he had the higheſt and moſt important commiſſion.

So John i. 6. *There was a man ſent from God, whoſe name was John.* Nevertheleſs none ſuppoſe, that John the baptiſt came directly from heaven: but only, that he was inſpired, and had a divine command to appear in the world, and bear witneſs concerning the Chriſt, who would come preſently after him.

And the commiſſion which our Lord gave to his apoſtles, is expreſſed by himſelf after this manner. John xvii. 18. *As thou haſt ſent me into the world, even ſo have I ſent them into the world.* And xx. 21. *As my Father has ſent me, ſo ſend I you.*

But, as before ſaid, Jeſus is *the ſent of God*, as he had the higheſt commiſſion. John iii. 34. *He whom God has ſent, ſpeaketh the words of God*, chap. iv. 34. *My meat is to do the will of him that ſent me*, chap v. 38. *Ye have not his word abiding in you. For whom he has ſent, ye believe not.* See alſo ver. 23, 24, 30, 34, 36. And x. 36. *Say ye of him, whom the Father has ſanctified, and ſent into the world, thou blaſphemeſt, becauſe I ſaid, I am the Son of God?* And in the hiſtory of the cure of the blind man, recorded in the ninth chapter of the ſame goſpel, at ver. 7. *And ſaid unto him: go, waſh in the pool of Siloam, which is by interpretation, ſent.* Probably here is an alluſion to our Lord's character, as *the ſent of God.*

And

And there may be an intimation intended, that he is the *Shiloh*, ſpoken of in Gen. xlix. 10.

There are ſome other texts needful to be taken notice of here, John xiii. 3. *Jeſus knowing that he was come from God, and went to God,* οτι απο θεϑ εξηλθε. xvi. 27. *For the Father himſelf loveth you, becauſe ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God,* οτι εγω παρα τϑ θεϑ εξηλθον. ver. 28. *I am come forth from the Father, and am come into the world. Again, I leave the world, and go to the Father.* Εξηλθον παρα τϑ πατρος. This expreſſion is explained in chap. viii. 42. Whence we perceive, that [14] thereby is intended our Lord's divine commiſſion. *Jeſus ſaid unto them: If God were your Father, ye would love me. For I proceeded forth, and came from God. Neither came I of myſelf, but he ſent me.* Εγω γαρ εκ τϑ θεϑ εξηλθον, και ηκω. κ. λ.

The reproaches and contradictions which our Lord met with, and the ſufferings of his death, are often ſet before us. But if the Logos, that high and exalted ſpirit, in the Arian ſenſe, was the ſoul of Chriſt; this part of his humiliation, in clothing himſelf with an human body, would have been frequently repreſented and deſcribed in the cleareſt and moſt emphatical expreſſions.

Here, if I miſtake not, is a proper place for ſetting down thoſe obſervations upon this ſcheme, which reaſon may ſuggeſt, and were paſſed over before.

In the firſt place, I do not apprehend it poſſible that ſo glorious and perfect a ſpirit ſhould undergo ſuch diminution by being united to an human body, as to become thereby unconſcious, or to be greatly enfeebled. I think, that if this ſpirit were to animate, and take upon it the part of a ſoul in an human body; its power, cogitation and knowledge would ſubſiſt and remain, even in its infant ſtate. In ſhort, the human body would be ſwallowed up by this great ſoul. That ſoul would exert itſelf in the body, and ſuſtain it with all facility, without reſt, food, or any other refreſhment, againſt all pain and uneaſineſs, and every kind of infirmity. This, I ſay, would be the caſe, ſuppoſing ſo great a being to take upon it a human body. If an angel (as is ſuppoſed) can move with agility a material vehicle, made denſe enough to be ſenſible to human eyes; what influence would not this powerful Logos have over the groſſeſt human body? But this is not agreeable to fact,

[14] Voyez cette façon de parler expliquée ci deſſus, ch. viii. 42. par la miſſion. Lenfant upon John xvi. 27.

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as repreſented in the New Teſtament: for there Jeſus is ſaid to have *increaſed in wiſdom* as he grew up. And he had hunger and thirſt, and was *wearied with journeying*, and had all the ſinleſs infirmities of the human nature, and was ſubject to death.

But ſecondly, ſuppoſing this humiliation to be poſſible, I think, it could not be reaſonable. It is not reaſonable that ſo great a being ſhould ſubmit to unconſciouſneſs, or any ſuch like debilitation. Conſequently, it cannot be required by God. It is incongruous to all juſt notions of things, that any other ſpirit, beſide a human ſoul, ſhould be made ſubject to the infirmities of human fleſh.

I forbear mentioning ſome things, which appear to me conſequences from the Logos (in the Arian ſenſe of that term) being the ſoul of our bleſſed Saviour. And, as they are not mentioned, they need not affect you, unleſs they ſhould occur to your thoughts.

I now proceed to the introduction to St. John's goſpel. For I believe, you may be of opinion, that I muſt not paſs it by entirely, notwithſtanding its difficulty. I will therefore explain it briefly, or a part of it at leaſt, according to the beſt of my ability: ſtill willing, however, to receive farther light from any one that ſhall afford it.

In the beginning was the Word. By *beginning*, I think, cannot be intended the beginning of the goſpel, but of the creation, or rather always, from eternity *was the Word. And the Word was with God:* that is, was always with God, though not fully manifeſted, till theſe laſt days of the world.[15] *And the Word was God.* Και θεος ην ο λογος. Which ſometimes has been rendered thus: *And God was the Word.* But there are learned men, who ſay, that then the Greek would have been Και ο θεος ην λογος: and, that the article being joined with λογος, therefore that is the antecedent, and our tranſlation is right.

Here I had been wont to ſubmit to what Dr. Clarke ſays, The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, P. I. numb. 535. 'Of theſe words there are only three interpretations. The 'firſt is, that the Word was that ſame perſon, whom

[15] 1 John i. 2. *For the life was manifeſted. And we have ſeen it, and bear witneſs, and ſhow unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifeſted unto us.* 1 Tim. iii. 16. *And without controverſy, great is the myſtery of godlineſs. God was manifeſt in the fleſh.*

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'he was with. And that is both a contradiction in terms, 'and alſo the ancient hereſy of Sabellius.' But now that does not move me. I am of opinion, that God here is the ſame God that was mentioned before. St. John uſeth a gradation. Firſt he ſays, *the Word was* always, before all time. Then he adds: *and was with God:* and laſtly, that he *was God* himſelf. What follows confirms this interpretation, ver. 3. *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.* Who ſhould this be, but God the Father, the one living and true God, and author of life, and all being? Are there more creators than one? Would any Jew, or diſciple of Jeſus, aſcribe [16] the creation of the world to any but God, or his reaſon, or underſtanding, or diſcretion, his wiſdom, his power, his word, his ſpirit, which is the ſame as God himſelf? ver. 10, *He was in the world, and the world was made by him.* This needs no comment. ver. 11. *He came to his own, and his own received him not.* I pray whoſe people were the Jews, but God's, his, who ſtyled himſelf Jehovah? He now came, in Jeſus, to his own people. But they received him not.

St. John therefore intends the one true God, not any inferior deity.

Shall I ſhow this more particularly from other places of his goſpel? It is obſervable, that St. John, out of the many diſcourſes of Jeſus, (a great part of which he has omitted, as appears from ch. xx. 30, 31. ch. xxi. 25.) has ſelected thoſe, in which our Lord ſpeaks very expreſsly of the commiſſion, which he had received from the Father, and of his near and intimate union with him.

In all the goſpels our Saviour aſcribes his miracles to the Father, particularly in Luke xi. 20, and Matt. xii. 28. And the people do the ſame. *And when the multitude ſaw it, they marvelled, and glorified God, which had given ſuch power unto men.* Matt. ix. 8.

But in none of the goſpels is this done ſo frequently, and and ſo expreſsly as in St. John's. chap. v. 9. *The Son can do nothing of himſelf, but what he ſeeth the Father do:* and onward to ver. 27. and ver. 30—32. and ver. 36, 37. chap. viii.

[16] The creation of the world is always aſcribed to the one living and true God, in the Old and New Teſtament. Gen. i. Exod. xx. 11. Job xxvi. 13. xxxviii. 4. Pſ. xxxiii. 6. cxxxvi. 5—10. cxlvi. 5, 6. Iſ. xlii. 5. xlv. 12. li. 13. Jer. x. 12. li. 15, and elſewhere. Acts. iv. 24. xiv. 15. xvii. 24. Rev. iv. 8—11. x. 6. xiv. 7.

18. *The*

18. *The Father that hath ſent me, beareth witneſs of me.* Ver. 28, 29. *When yé have lifted up the Son of man, then ſhall ye know, that I am he, and that I do nothing of myſelf: but that as the Father has taught me, I ſpeak theſe things. And he that ſent me, is with me. The Father has not left me alone. For I do always the things that pleaſe him.* Ver. 42. *For I proceeded forth, and came from God. Neither came I of myſelf, but he ſent me.* Ver. 54. *It is my Father that honoureth me, of whom ye ſay, that he is your God.* Ch. x. 35. *The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witneſs of me.* Ver. 29, 30. *My Father, which gave them me, is greater than all. And no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand. I and my Father are one.*

This appears alſo in the diſcourſes of others, recorded in this goſpel, ch. iii. 2. Nicodemus ſays . . . *Rabbi, we know, that thou art a teacher come from God. For no man can do theſe miracles that thou doeſt, except God be with him.* And ch. ix 30. *Herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not whence he is. And yet he has opened my eyes.* Ver. 33. *If this man were not of God, he could do nothing.*

All theſe texts ſeem to me ſufficient to ſatisfy us, that by *the Word*, which St. John ſays, *was in the beginning, and was with God, and was God*, he does not mean a being ſeparate from God, and inferior to him, but God himſelf, or the wiſdom and power of God, which is the ſame as God, even the Father, who alone is God, nor is there any other.

If by the word, in the introduction to his goſpel, St. John had intended a being ſeparate from God, and inferior to him; it is reaſonable to expect, that he ſhould be mentioned again afterwards. But nothing of that kind appears. He ſpeaks indeed of *the Son, and the only begotten Son of God.* But thereby is not meant *the Word*, but the man Jeſus, the Meſſiah, in whom *the Word*, that is, the power and wiſdom of God, reſided.

I now therefore proceed, ver. 14. *And the Word was made fleſh, and dwelt among us:* that is, as before ſhown. 'And 'the Word was made man, or took upon him the human 'nature.' *And we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.* That is, 'And 'we beheld in Jeſus ſuch power and wiſdom, that we could 'not doubt his being the Meſſiah.' That St. John intends the Lord Jeſus, is evident from what he adds in the 15th verſe. *John bare witneſs of him, and cried, ſaying, this is he,*

of whom I ſpake. He that cometh after me, is preferred before me.

And the Word was made fleſh, and dwelt among us. And we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. This is the ſame, which, in other words, is ſaid in divers texts of the New Teſtament. Matt. i. 20—23. *And ſhe ſhall bring forth a Son, and thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus... Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled, which was ſpoken of the Lord by the prophet, ſaying: behold a virgin ſhall conceive, and ſhall bring forth a ſon, and they ſhall call his name Emmanuel, which is God with us.* And John iii. 34, 35. *For he whom God hath ſent, ſpeaketh the words of God. For God giveth not the ſpirit by meaſure unto him. The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand.* Col. i. 19. *For it pleaſed the Father, that in him ſhould all fulneſs dwell.* And ch. ii. *In whom are hid all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge.* And ver. 19. *For in him dwelleth all the fulneſs of the godhead bodily.*

And we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father. As before hinted, it was not *the Word*, which St. John and others beheld, but Jeſus, in whom the Word dwelled. Him they beheld: and his greatneſs was conſpicuous; ſo that he appeared, and they knew him to be *the only begotten of the Father*, or the Meſſiah.

Only begotten Son. The ſame phraſe is again in John iii. 16 and 18. in our Lord's conference with Nicodemus. *Only begotten*, and *well beloved Son* are equivalent. This laſt is the phraſe in ſeveral texts: as Matt. iii. 17. Mark i. 11. Luke iii. 22. Matt. xvii. 5. Mark ix. 7. Luke ix. 35. So Prov. iv. 3. *For I was my father's ſon, tender, and only beloved in the ſight of my mother.* Comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 1.

The Chriſt, or *the Meſſiah*, and *the Son of God*, are equivalent in the New Teſtament. Matt. xvi. 16. Peter's applauded confeſſion of our Lord's character is in theſe words: *Thou art the Chriſt, the ſon of the living God.* So likewiſe John vi. 69. But in Mark viii. 29. it is: *Thou art the Chriſt of God.* And Luke ix. 20. *the Chriſt of God.*

And that in the language of the Jews the titles of Meſſiah and Son of God are the ſame, may be ſeen in Matt. xxvi. 63. and Luke xxii. 66, 70. But now I ſhall argue it more particularly from St. John's goſpel, ch. i. 34—49. John the baptiſt bears teſtimony to Jeſus under ſeveral characters, all equivalent to that of the Meſſiah. *And I ſaw*, ſays he,

and

and bare record, that this is the Son of God. Again, the next day after John ſtood, and two of his diſciples. And looking upon Jeſus as he walked, he ſaith: behold the lamb of God. Theſe diſciples are convinced... *one of them, which heard John, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He firſt findeth his own brother Simon, and ſaith unto him: we have found the Meſſias... Philip findeth Nathanael, and ſaith unto him: we have found him, of whom Moſes in the law, and the prophets did write, Jeſus of Nazareth, the ſon of Joſeph.* Nathanael likewiſe, after ſome heſitation is convinced, and makes a like profeſſion, ſaying: *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the king of Iſrael.*

All theſe pious men, acquainted with the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament, upon the ground of John's teſtimony, and their own converſation with Jeſus, under ſomewhat different appellations, but of one and the ſame meaning, acknowledge Jeſus to be the Chriſt. See alſo John ix. 35, 36. and 1 John v. i. 5.

The Jews, it is likely, had learned this title and character of the Meſſiah from Pſ. ii. 7, 12. And ſee 2 Sam. vii. 14.

When Jeſus was baptized, he was ſolemnly and publicly declared to be the Meſſiah. *There came a voice from heaven, ſaying: this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.* After which having been led up of the ſpirit into the wilderneſs, the tempter, when he came to him, ſaid: *If thou be the Son of God*, that is, if indeed thou art the Son of God, [17] or the Chriſt, *command that theſe ſtones be made bread.*

I would now endeavour to ſhow, upon what accounts Jeſus is in the ſcriptures ſaid to be *the Son of God.*

Sonſhip is a term of nearneſs, dearneſs, and affection. In general, Jeſus is the Son of God, or eminently ſo, as he is, ſo far as we know, the perſon in all the world moſt dear to God the Father. To be more particular,

1. Jeſus is the Son of God, upon account of his miraculous conception and birth.

Luke i. 31—35. *An angel appeared to Mary, and ſaid unto her: fear not, Mary. For thou haſt found favour with God.*

[17] Il y a ſimplement dans le Grec, *ſi vous êtes Fils de Dieu*, ſans article. On ne laiſſe pas de l'ajouter. Car le miracle, que le diable exige de J. C. montre, qu'il ne s'agit pas de ſavoir, *ſi Jeſus eſt enfant de Dieu*, mais s'il eſt *le Fils de Dieu*, par excellence, c. a. d. le Meſſie. Lenfant ſur Matt. iv. 3.

And behold, thou ſhalt conceive in thy womb, and ſhalt bring forth a ſon, and thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus. He ſhall be great, and ſhall be called the Son of the Higheſt.... The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, and the power of the Higheſt ſhall overſhadow thee. Therefore alſo that holy thing, which ſhall be born of thee, ſhall be called the Son of God. A like hiſtory of our Saviour's nativity is in the firſt chapter of St. Matthew's goſpel.

2. Jeſus is the Son of God, upon account of the eſpecial commiſſion given him by the Father, and the extraordinary qualifications beſtowed upon him in order to his fulfilling it.

John x. 36. *Say ye of him, whom the Father has ſanctified, and ſent into the world, thou blaſphemeſt, becauſe I ſaid, I am the Son of God?*

When our Lord was baptized, *the ſpirit of God deſcended like a dove, and reſted upon him,* Matt. iii. 16. Mark i. 10. Luke iii. 21, 22. And John i. 32—34. *And John bare record, ſaying: I ſaw the ſpirit deſcending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him... And I ſaw, and bare record, that this is the Son of God.* And ch. iii. 34. ſays John the baptiſt again: *God giveth not the ſpirit by meaſure unto him.* Iſ. xi. 1—3. *And there ſhall come forth a rod out of the ſtem of Jeſſe, and a branch ſhall grow out of his root. And the ſpirit of the Lord ſhall reſt upon him, the ſpirit of wiſdom and underſtanding, the ſpirit of counſel and might, the ſpirit of knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord. And ſhall make him of quick underſtanding in the fear of the Lord...* Comp. Iſ. xlii. 1—4. chap. lxi. 1—3. and Matt. xii. 17. and Luke iv. 18, 19.

By virtue of this moſt plentiful and extraordinary communication of the ſpirit, *without meaſure,* or *the in-dwelling of the Father's fulneſs in him,* as the ſame thing is at other times expreſſed, or his being *in the boſom of the Father,* and acquainted with all his counſels, Jeſus knew the whole will of God concerning the ſalvation of men, and ſpoke the words of God with full authority, and wrought miracles of all kinds whenever he pleaſed, and knew the thoughts and characters of men, and things at a diſtance, and things to come.

3. Jeſus is the Son of God, upon account of his reſurrection from the dead on the third day, to die no more.

Rom. i. 3, 4. *Concerning his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, which was made of the ſeed of David, according to the fleſh: and declared*

declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the ſpirit of holineſs, by the reſurrection from the dead. And Heb. i. 6. *When he bringeth in the firſt begotten into the world, he ſaith: and let all the angels of God worſhip him.* Which ſome have underſtood of our Lord's coming into the world at his nativity. But more generally interpreters have underſtood it of our Lord's entering into his glory, and taking poſſeſſion of his kingdom after his reſurrection. Which brings me to another thing.

4. Jeſus is the Son of God, on account of his exaltation to God's right hand, and being inveſted with authority and dominion over all fleſh, and conſtituted judge of the world, by whom God will paſs ſentence upon all mankind.

John iii. 35. *The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand.* Ch. v. 21, 22. *The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men ſhould honour the Son, even as they honour the Father.* Heb. i. 1, 2. *God... has in theſe laſt days ſpoken unto us by his Son, whom he has appointed heir,* or lord, *of all things.* ch. iii. 5, 6. *Moſes verily was faithful in all his houſe, as a ſervant... But Chriſt as a Son over his own houſe.*

5. Another token of the eſpecial love of the Father for Jeſus Chriſt, as his own Son, is the pouring out of abundance of ſpiritual gifts, though in different degrees, upon his apoſtles, and all who believed in him after his reſurrection.

John i. 32—34. *And John bare record, ſaying: I ſaw the ſpirit deſcending from heaven like a dove. And it abode upon him. And I knew him not. But he that ſent me to baptize with water, the ſame ſaid unto me: upon whom thou ſhalt ſee the ſpirit deſcending, and remaining, the ſame is he, which baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt. And I ſaw, and bare record, that this is the Son of God.* Comp. Matt. iii. 11. Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16.

John vii. 37—39. *In the laſt day, that great day of the feaſt, Jeſus ſtood, and cried, ſaying, if any man thirſt, let him come to me, and drink. He that believeth on me, as the ſcripture hath ſaid, out of his belly ſhall flow rivers of living water. This ſpake he of the ſpirit, which they that believe on him ſhould receive: for the Holy Ghoſt was not yet given, becauſe that Jeſus was not yet glorified.*

Acts xi. 15, 16. *And as I began to ſpeak, the Holy Ghoſt fell on them, as on us at the beginning. Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he ſaid, John indeed baptized with water;*

but ye ſhall be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt. See Acts i. 5. and ii 1—36.

Gal. iv. 6. *And becauſe ye are ſons, God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.*

Eph. iv. 8—11. *When he aſcended up on high, he gave gifts unto men: . . . and he gave ſome apoſtles, and ſome prophets, and ſome evangeliſts, and ſome paſtors and teachers.*

Upon all theſe accounts, and not only upon account of his miraculous conception and birth, is Jeſus *the ſon of God.* The texts alledged under each particular ſufficiently ſhow that they are all juſtly mentioned, and that none of them ought to be omitted.

There are ſome expreſſions in St. Luke's hiſtory of our Lord's nativity of a virgin mother, which ſhow the truth of this obſervation. They likewiſe manifeſtly ſhow, that it is in reſpect to his humanity, and the dignity conferred upon it, that he has the title of *the Son of God.* The expreſſions, which were partly alledged before, are exceedingly remarkable. *And the angel ſaid unto her, fear not, Mary; for thou haſt found favour with God. And behold, thou ſhalt conceive in thy womb, and ſhalt bring forth a ſon; and thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus. He ſhall be great, and ſhall be called the Son of the Higheſt. And the Lord God ſhall give unto him the throne of his father David. And he ſhall reign over the houſe of Jacob for ever. And of his kingdom there ſhall be no end,* Luke i. 33.

Upon all the fore-mentioned accounts, then, and his tranſcendent greatneſs, Jeſus is *the Son of God.* And all theſe things may be ſuppoſed to be comprehended in that expreſſion. Heb. i. 9. *Thou haſt loved righteouſneſs, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladneſs above thy fellows.* The words are a quotation from Pſ. xlv. 7. and ſeem to have been originally intended of Solomon, who by divine choice and deſignation was preferred before his brethren. 1 Chron. xxviii. 5. But they are alſo fitly applied to the Meſſiah; who has been greatly diſtinguiſhed, and highly honoured above his brethren: meaning men, of whoſe nature he partook. Heb. ii. 14—16. or prophets, who had the ſpirit in a due, but leſs meaſure, beſtowed upon them.

All theſe prerogatives has God the Father, in his unſearchable wiſdom, conferred upon Jeſus of Nazareth, whom he choſe and appointed to be the Meſſiah: who is alſo *the ſeed of the woman,* that ſhould bruiſe the head of the ſerpent, Gen. iii. 15.

iii. 15. and *the ſeed of Abraham*, in and through whom all the families or nations of the earth were to be bleſſed, Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. Acts iii. 25. Gal. iii. 8. *The rod out of the ſtem of Jeſſe, and the branch that ſhould grow out of his root, to whom the gentiles would ſeek*, Iſ. ix. 1—10. *Who was to reſtore the preſerved of Iſrael, and was likewiſe given to be a light to the gentiles, that he might be for ſalvation to the ends of the earth*, Iſ. xlix. 6. or, as old Simeon ſaid, *a light to lighten the gentiles, and the glory of God's people Iſrael*, Luke ii. 32. For it is a certain truth, that the grace, which has been manifeſted by the appearing of Jeſus Chriſt, was from early ages purpoſed by the Divine Being, and foretold by his prophets. Rom. i. 1—3. Eph. i. 4. 2 Tim. i. 9, 10. 1 Pet. i. 10—12.

And how agreeable the ſeveral articles of this detail are to the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament, muſt appear from texts already alledged thence. Nevertheleſs I ſhall here put together a few other texts, and ſome of the ſame more largely than hitherto quoted: not tranſcribing them now, but referring to them, and entreating you, if you pleaſe, to read and conſider them at your leiſure.

Pſ. ii. 6, 7, 8, 11, 12.

Pſ. xxii. throughout.

Iſ. xlii. 1. *Behold my ſervant, whom I uphold, my ſervant, in whom my ſoul delighteth.* Almoſt the very words of the voice, that came from heaven at our Lord's baptiſm and transfiguration. *I have put my ſpirit upon him. He ſhall bring forth judgment unto the gentiles*; and what follows to the end of ver. 7.

Iſ. xlix. 1—6. Compare Acts xiii. 47. and xxvi. 23.

We muſt now be able to perceive the true character of our bleſſed Saviour, and the great propriety with which the apoſtles and evangeliſts ſpeak of him.

John i. 45. *Philip findeth Nathanael, and ſaith unto him, we have found him of whom Moſes in the law and the prophets did write, Jeſus of Nazareth, the ſon of Joſeph.* And ſee ver. 46—50. and Acts ii. 22. *Ye men of Iſrael, hear theſe words. Jeſus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, by miracles, and ſigns, and wonders, which God did by him in the midſt of you, as ye yourſelves alſo know.* See alſo ver. 36. ch. iv. 27. *For of a truth, againſt thy holy child* [rather ſon, or ſervant] *Jeſus, whom thou haſt anointed, both Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the gentiles, and the people of Iſrael, were gathered together.* Ch. x. 38. *How God anointed Jeſus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghoſt, and with power. Who went about*

doing good, and healing all that were oppreſſed of the devil. For God was with him. Nor does our dear Redeemer diſdain this title in his ſtate of exaltation. For when he called to Saul out of heaven, and *Saul anſwered,—who art thou, Lord, he ſaid, I am Jeſus of Nazareth, whom thou perſecuteſt,* Acts xxii. 6—8. Comp. ch. ix. 5. See alſo ch. iii. 6. and xxvi. 9.

From all that has been ſaid, it appears that Jeſus is a man, appointed, anointed, beloved, honoured and exalted by God above all other beings.[18]

Obj. 1.

[18] Some now by *the Son of God* underſtand an intelligent being, or emanation, begotten by the Father, or proceeding from him, in an ineffable manner, from all eternity, and of the ſame eſſence or ſubſtance with the Father. Others thereby underſtand a mighty ſpirit, or angel, begotten or formed by the will of the Father, in time, before the creation of the world, and of a different ſubſtance from the Father. Which Son of God, according to them, became incarnate: that is, united himſelf, either to the human nature, conſiſting of ſoul and body, or to an human body, ſo as to ſupply the place of a human ſoul.

But thoſe ſenſes of this phraſe, or title, are not to be found in any of the books of the New Teſtament. 'The Jews had no notion 'that their Meſſiah ſhould be any 'thing more than mere man. See 'Whitby upon Rom. ix. 5.' Dr. Jortin's Diſcourſes concerning the Chriſtian Religion, p. 17. which indeed is well ſhown in the paſſages of ancient authors, alledged by Whitby in the place referred to.

This will lead us to the true meaning of the title, *the Son of God,* in the goſpels; for there many give our Lord that title, who took him to be a man eſpecially favoured by God. This title is given to our Lord, not only by Peter in his confeſſion, Matt. xvi. 16. and the parallel places, and John vi. 69. but alſo by John the baptiſt, John i. 34. iii. 35, 36. by Nathanael, John i. 49. by Martha, xi. 27. and by others, Matt. xiv. 33. Luke iv. 41. Our bleſſed Lord likewiſe often takes it to himſelf, either directly or indirectly. John iii. 17—18. v. 25. ix. 35—37. x. 36. xi. 4.

The caſe ſeems to be this. In the Jewiſh ſtyle, and the language of ſcripture, all good men, and all people, who are in a covenant relation to God, are his ſons, and are entitled to many bleſſings and privileges: but Jeſus, as the Meſſiah, is *the Son of God,* by way of eminence and diſtinction.

Exod. iv. 22, 23. *And thou ſhalt ſay unto Pharaoh, thus ſaith the Lord, Iſrael is my ſon, even my firſt-born. And I ſay unto thee, let my ſon go, that he may ſerve me.* Iſ. xliii. 6. *Bring my ſons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth.* See likewiſe Iſ. xlv. 11, 12. and Jer. xxxi. 9. *For I am a father unto Iſrael, and Ephraim is my firſt-born.* Ver. 20. *Is Ephraim my dear ſon? is he a pleaſant child?* Hoſ. xi. 1. *When Iſrael was a child, then I loved him, and called my ſon out of Egypt.* To which I muſt add Jer. xxxi. 1. *At the ſame time, ſaith the Lord, I will be the God of all the families of Iſrael. And they ſhall be my people.* Comp. ver. 9 and 33. All which is expreſſed by St. Paul after this manner. 2 Cor. vi. 18. *And I will be a father unto them; and they ſhall be*

my

Obj. 1. It may be ſaid. Admitting this notion of our Saviour's perſon, we ſhall loſe that great inſtance of humiliation, and condeſcenſion, which the Arian ſcheme ſets before us. For according to that, the moſt exalted ſpirit, next to God the Father, ſubmits to all the laws of infancy and childhood, and is greatly incommoded by the body during its dwelling on this earth.

To which I anſwer. I would by no means rob you, or any one elſe, of any argument that is really ſuited to engage to humility in particular, or to all virtue in general. But, Papinian, if I am not miſtaken, it appears from what was before ſaid, that this inſtance of humiliation is an imaginary thing. It is impoſſible that ſo exalted a ſpirit ſhould be the ſoul of a human body. If it is not an abſolute contradiction, it is incongruous to the nature of things, and in the higheſt degree improbable.

And if ſo great a being were to inhabit a human body, it would entirely ſwallow it up. That ſpirit would ſtill retain its own knowledge, and power, and would raiſe the body above all pains, weakneſſes, and wants.

Whatever advantages may be fancied in the Arian ſcheme, there are much greater inconveniences attending it. For,

my ſons and daughters, ſaith the Lord Almighty. See there alſo ver. 16 and 17.

Accordingly, in the New Teſtament, the Gentiles, who received Jeſus as the Chriſt, being brought into God's family, and into the number of his people, are called *the ſons of God.* John i. 12. *But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the ſons of God, even to them that believe on his name.* Comp. 1 John iii. 1. and ſee Rom. viii. 14—17. Gal. iv. 4—7. and Heb. ii. 10. and elſewhere.

Matt. xxvii. 54. *Now when the Centurion, and they that were with him, watching Jeſus, ſaw the earthquake, and thoſe things that were done, they feared greatly, ſaying, truly, this was the Son of God.* Comp. Mark xv. 39. And, ſays St. Luke, ch. xxiii. 47. *Now when the Centurion ſaw what was done, he glorified God, ſaying, certainly this was a righteous man.*

All good men and women, then, are God's ſons and daughters. But Jeſus, the Meſſiah, is *the Son of God*, by way of eminence and diſtinction, and has in all things the pre-eminence.

This, as it ſeems to me, is the way of thinking, to which we are led, by comparing many texts of the Old and New Teſtament, where the title, or denomination of *Son of God*, is uſed.

There is therefore no foundation for the interpretations mentioned at the beginning of this note; which, nevertheleſs, have been received by many, and have produced intricate ſchemes and ſyſtems, by which the minds of Chriſtians have been greatly perplexed, and the world itſelf ſometimes thrown into confuſion and diſturbance.

as before hinted, it deprives us of the force of our Saviour's example. We are common men. But he is ſuppoſed to be the moſt perfect ſpirit, next to God. How ſhould any temptation, from the things of this world, affect ſuch a being? How ſhould he be tempted, in all reſpects, as we are? It could not be. It is altogether irrrational.

But there are many and great advantages in ſuppoſing Jeſus Chriſt to be a man, conſiſting of ſoul and body. His example is then juſtly ſet before us in all the ſtrength and beauty, with which it now appears in the goſpels and epiſtles of the New Teſtament.

It is alſo upon the ground of this ſcheme alone, that the expectation of attaining to a glory, like that of Jeſus Chriſt, can be ſupported. For which, however, there is plain encouragement in the doctrine of the goſpel. John xvii. 21—26. Rom. viii. 17. 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. Rev. iii. 21. and elſewhere.

Theſe are the moſt glorious, the moſt animating hopes that can be conceived. They excite to faithfulneſs and zeal beyond expreſſion. We may be made like unto Jeſus Chriſt hereafter, if we will but follow his example, and reſemble him now. But how can we admit the thought of being near to him, in the future ſtate, who beſide the merit of his obedience and ſufferings here, has, in the Arian hypotheſis, the glory of being employed by God in things of a quite different nature, ſuch as creating this viſible world, and all the angels, and inviſible hoſts of heaven?

And is not this one reaſon of our ſlothfulneſs, and other faults? *The truth is not in us: the words of Chriſt do not abide in us.* We ſuffer ourſelves to be deluded, and perverted from the truth and ſimplicity of the goſpel, by the philoſophical ſchemes of ſpeculative men. And ſo, almoſt any man *may take our crown*, Rev. iii. 11.

I believe, Papinian, that you, as well as other ſerious Chriſtians, deſire, with the apoſtle Paul, *to know Chriſt, and the power of his reſurrection*, Philip. iii. 10. But what is there extraordinary in the reſurrection of Chriſt, according to the Arian hypotheſis? Is it any thing extraordinary, that the Logos (in the Arian ſenſe of that word) ſhould raiſe the body, in which he has acted, and ſuffered for a while? He might be ſuppoſed to have an eſpecial regard for that body, and be willing to make it glorious. But I do not ſee, that ſuch a reſurrection can ſo fully aſſure us of our own, as if we ſuppoſe Chriſt

Chriſt to be a man like unto us. For then his reſurrection is a pattern of ours. Which is the doctrine of the New Teſtament. 1 Cor. xv. 20—23. and the glorious argument of St. Paul. Eph. i. 17—23. Hereby we are indeed aſſured of our reſurrection. God the Father, who gave his own Son for us, and raiſed him up from the dead, will, moſt certainly, raiſe up us alſo, as it is expreſſed. 1 Cor. iv. 14. *Knowing, that he, who raiſed up the Lord Jeſus, ſhould raiſe up us alſo by Jeſus, and ſhould preſent us with you.* And ſee Philip. iii. 20, 21. In a word, here is the beſt foundation of unmoveable confidence in God. And the apoſtle expreſsly ſays in the place juſt referred to in the 1 Cor. xv. 21. *Since by man came death, by man came alſo the reſurrection of the dead.*

Obj. 2. Again, it may be objected, that this idea of the perſon of Jeſus does not fully ſuit the ſtrong expreſſions in the New Teſtament, concerning the love of God, in giving his Son for us.

But I think it does. For can there be any greater love, than for that perſon, who is immediately ſent by God, who is his ambaſſador, inveſted with all his power and authority, who is the object of the Father's eſpecial love, and therefore his own Son, who was *holy, harmleſs, and undefiled,* Heb. vii. 16. to live a mean, deſpiſed, reproached life in this world, and then to die a painful and ignominious death for our good, and for the good of mankind in general?

Beſides, this is that love of God, which is ſo much, and ſo juſtly magnified, and extolled in the New Teſtament: that God gave his Son to die for us. *He that ſpared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all; how ſhall he not with him freely give us all things?* And ſee before ch. v. 6—8. and 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. *Who gave himſelf for our ſins, that he might deliver us from this preſent evil world, according to the will of God, even our Father.* Gal. i. 4. See likewiſe 1 Tim. ii. 6. 1 Pet. i. 18—21. 1 John iii. 16. iv. 9, 10. and many other places.

If Chriſt had dwelt in pre-exiſtent glory, and had come from heaven to animate a human body; this alſo would have been plainly, and frequently repreſented to us.

In the way, now mentioned, we go to God directly through Jeſus Chriſt. And the love of the Father is moſt conſpicuous in the ſuppoſition, that God ſent, and appointed the man Jeſus Chriſt, for our ſalvation. Herein, I ſay, the love of God is moſt conſpicuous, much more than in ſuppoſing the pre-

pre-exiſtence of the Son, the covenant of redemption, and the offer of the Son to come into the world, and many other ſuch like things, derogatory to the honour of the Father; becauſe they diminiſh our idea of his free, tranſcendent, and unmerited love and goodneſs. The goſpel-account is ſummed up in theſe words. *And all things are of God, who has reconciled us to himſelf by Jeſus Chriſt. And has given unto us the miniſtry of reconciliation: to wit, that God was in Chriſt reconciling the world unto himſelf, not imputing their treſpaſſes unto them: and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation,* 2 Cor. v. 18, 19. See likewiſe what follows in ver. 20, 21. and Eph. i. 1—10.

Upon the whole, as before ſaid, the true evangelical deſcription of our bleſſed Saviour's perſon and character is that, which we have in St. Peter's words, recorded Acts ii. 22. and 36. and ch. x. 38. and St. Paul's, Acts xvii. 31. and 1 Tim. ii. 5. Col. ii. 3—9. and many other places.

Nor is this a diminiſhing character. It is the greateſt, and the moſt honourable to him, on whom it is beſtowed, and the moſt ſatisfying to us, who are called upon to believe in him, to rely upon him, and follow him in the way of obedience preſcribed to us.

Says God to the people of Iſrael of old, *Behold, I ſend an angel before thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place, which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not. For he will not pardon your tranſgreſſions. For my name is in him,* Ex. xxiii. 20, 21. Upon which place Patrick ſpeaks to this purpoſe. 'For *my name is in him.* He 'acts by my authority and power, and ſuſtains my perſon, 'who am preſent where he is. For the name of God is ſaid 'to be there, where he is preſent after a ſingular and extra-'ordinary manner. 1 Kings viii. 16. 1 Chron. vi. 5, 6. 'Maimonides expounds it, *My word is in him,* that is, ſays he, 'God's will and pleaſure was declared by the angel. In 'which he ſeems to follow the Chaldee, who tranſlates it, *for 'his word is in my name,* that is, what he ſpeaks is by my 'authority.'

Afterwards, when the people had tranſgreſſed in making a golden calf, and God was greatly diſpleaſed; Moſes offered an earneſt prayer, that he would himſelf go with them, and conduct them, Ex. xxxiii. 12, 13. And he received this gracious anſwer, by which he was encouraged. ver. 14, 15. *And he ſaid: my preſence ſhall go with thee; and I will give thee reſt.*

reſt. And he ſaid: if thy preſence go not with us, carry us not hence. [19]

My preſence, that is, I, myſelf, as in the Greek verſion: αυτος προπορευσομαι σοι. In the Hebrew it is, literally, *my face.* Which is the ſame as myſelf. So 2 Sam. xvii. 11. *and that thou go to the battle in thy own perſon.* In the Hebrew it is: *that thy face go to the battle.*

That the preſence of God was with Jeſus, the Meſſiah, our Lord and Saviour, in the moſt ſignal and extraordinary manner, we are aſſured by every book and chapter of the New Teſtament, and particularly by St. John's goſpel, in the introduction, and throughout.

The dignity of Jeſus, as Meſſiah, is very great, far ſuperior to that of angels. We know it from our Lord himſelf, and from things ſaid by him, whilſt dwelling on this earth. Matt. xxiv. 36. *But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels in heaven, but my Father only.* Which is thus expreſſed in Mark xiii. 32. *But of that day, and that hour, knoweth no man, no not the angels, which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.* To which let me add John xiv. 28. *If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, becauſe I ſaid, I go unto the Father. For my Father is greater than I.* Which I ſuppoſe to be ſaid of our Lord, as man.

Nor am I ſingular therein. The ſame is ſaid by Auguſtine, whom I ſhall write out for your uſe. Non recte cogitas, quem locum in rebus habeat humana natura, quæ condita eſt ad imaginem Dei. Majores angeli dici poſſunt homine, quia majores ſunt hominis corpore: majores ſunt et animo, ſed in forma, quam peccati originalis merito corruptibile aggravat corpus. Naturâ vero humanâ, qualem naturam Chriſtus hu-

manæ

[19] 'The queſtion upon this occaſion was, whether God would himſelf go up with the people, who had highly offended him; or whether he ſhould ſend an angel before them, to conduct them. God ſaid to Moſes: *I will ſend an angel before thee.* And added: *For I will not go up in the midſt of thee; for thou art a ſtiffnecked people; leſt I conſume thee in the way*, Ex. xxxiii. 1—3. Upon the prayer and interceſſion of Moſes, God is pleaſed to promiſe, that his preſence ſhould go with him. The promiſe muſt be underſtood neceſſarily, in oppoſition to the foregoing threatening, that God would not go up in the midſt of them, but that he would ſend an angel before them.

'The preſence of God therefore in this place muſt be αυτος ο θεος, ... as the ſeventy juſtly render it: and that in direct oppoſition to an angel in his name and ſtead.' Mr. Moſes Lowman, in his Tracts, p. 38, 39. ſee alſo p. 37.

manæ mentis aſſumpſit, quæ nullo peccato potuit depravari, Deus ſolus eſt major.... Naturâ vero hominis, quæ mente rationali et intellectuali creaturas cæteras antecedit, Deus ſolus eſt major: cui utique injuria facta non eſt, ubi ſcriptum eſt, *Major eſt Deus corde noſtro*, 1 Joh. iii. 20. Filius ergo Dei ſuſceptum hominem levaturus ad Patrem, quando dicebat, *Si diligeretis me, gauderetis utique, quia vado ad Patrem, quia Pater major me eſt*, Joh. xiv. 28. non carni ſuæ ſolum, ſed etiam menti, quam gerebat, humanæ, Deum Patrem utique præferebat. Aug. Contr. Maximin. Arian, l. 2. cap. xxv. Tom. VIII.

Dr. Whitby's paraphraſe of Mark xiii. 32. is thus: 'Neither *the Son*, who has the ſpirit without meaſure, but *the Father only*.'

What I have been arguing for, was the ſentiment of the Nazarene Chriſtians. Nor do I think it can be made appear that any Jews, who were believers, had any other idea of our Saviour: excepting thoſe called Ebionites, or ſome of them, who were extremely miſtaken in ſuppoſing, that Jeſus was the ſon of Joſeph and Mary. [20]

The

[20] Athanaſius ſays, 'That the 'Jews at that time being in an 'error, and thinking that the ex-'pected Meſſiah would be a mere 'man, of the ſeed of David... 'for that reaſon the bleſſed apoſtles 'in great wiſdom firſt inſtructed 'the Jews in the things concerning 'our Saviour's humanity.' De Sentent. Dionyſii. n. 8. p. 248. C. D.

Chryſoſtom, at the beginning of his fourth homily upon St. John's goſpel, ſays: 'The other evan-'geliſts have chiefly inſiſted upon 'our Saviour's humanity, there 'was danger, leſt his eternal gene-'ration ſhould have been neglected 'by ſome: and men might have 'been of the ſame opinion with 'Paul of Samoſata, if John had 'not written.' In Joh. hom. 4. tom. VIII. p. 27. A. B. Bened.

In his firſt homily upon the Acts he expreſſeth himſelf again to this purpoſe: 'In the diſcourſes of the 'apoſtles recorded in this book, 'little is ſaid about Chriſt's divi-'nity. But they diſcourſe chiefly 'of his humanity, and paſſion, and 'reſurrection, and aſcenſion: be-'cauſe his reſurrection and aſcen-'ſion to heaven were the points 'neceſſary to be proved and be-'lieved at that time. In Act. ap. hom. i. T. IX. p. 3. A.

Auguſtine, in one of his ſermons, ſays, 'Peter and the other apoſtles 'have written of our Lord, but it 'is chiefly concerning his huma-'nity.' Again, 'Peter ſays little 'of our Lord's divinity in his 'epiſtles,' but John enlarges upon that ſubject in his goſpel: quoniam Petrus ſcripſit de Domino, ſcripſerunt et alii: ſed ſcriptura eorum magis circa humanitatem Domini eſt occupata.... Sed de divinitate Chriſti in literis Petri aliquid [al. non aliquid]: in Evangelio autem Joannis multum eminet. Serm. 253. cap. iv. T. V. And in his confeſſions he informs us, that for a great while he was of opinion

The notion of an inferior Deity, pre-exiſting, and then incarnate, ſeems to have been brought into the church by ſome of the learned converts from heatheniſm, who had not thoroughly abandoned the principles in which they had been educated. Perhaps likewiſe, they hoped by this means to render the doctrine of Chriſt, more palatable to heathen people, eſpecially their philoſophers. Moreover the Chriſtians of the ſecond century, and afterwards, were too averſe to all Jews in general, and even to the believers from among that people. The apoſtle Paul had ſeen a temper of pride and inſolence ſpringing up in the Gentile Chriſtians, in his own time: or he would not have delivered that caution, which we find in Rom. xi. 17—24. [21]

Thus far I have purſued my own thoughts, without conſulting any other writer at all, or very ſlightly, except in thoſe places, where I have expreſsly ſaid ſo. But I all along intended, before I finiſhed, to obſerve a part of what is ſaid by Dr. Clarke in his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity; which I have

opinion that Jeſus was a moſt wiſe and excellent man, miraculouſly born of a virgin, and ſent by God, with a high commiſſion, to give us an example of ſteadfaſt virtue, amidſt the temptations of this world, and to inſtruct us in the way, how we might obtain everlaſting ſalvation. Ego vero aliud putabam, tantumque ſentiebam de Domino Chriſto meo, quantum de excellentis ſapientiæ viro, cui nullus poſſet æquari: præſertim quia mirabiliter natus ex virgine, ad exemplum contemnendorum temporalium pro adipiſcenda immortalitate, divina pro nobis cura tantam auctoritatem magiſterii meruiſſe videbatur. Conf. l. 7. c. xix. n. 25. Ego autem aliquanto poſterius didiciſſe me fateor . . . quomodo catholica veritas a Photini falſitate dirimatur. Ibid. But upon reading the works of ſome Platonic philoſophers, which were put into his hands, he altered his opinion. Et primo volens oſtendere mihi . . . quod verbum tuum caro factum eſt, et habitavit inter homines, procuraſti mihi per quemdam hominem immaniſſimo typho turgidum, quoſdam Platonicorum libros ex græca lingua in latinam verſos: et ibi legi, non quidem his verbis, ſed hoc idem omnino multis et multiplicibus ſuaderi rationibus, quod in principio erat Verbum, &c. Ibid. cap. ix. n. 13. vid. et cap. xx. n. 26.

[21] I take this breach of communion, correſpondence and communication between the Jewiſh Chriſtians, that fled from Jeruſalem into the Eaſt, and the Gentile Chriſtians, (which breach continued, till the former were totally deſtroyed, or diſſipated:) to have been a great miſmanagement, and the greateſt misfortune, that ever befel the Chriſtian Church. . . . St. Paul laboured with all his might, aim, and ſtudy, to keep up union, communion, and friendſhip, between theſe two bodies of Chriſtians. And he did with great difficulty preſerve it in

I have now done. And I cannot forbear ſaying, that his interpretations of texts are generally falſe, ariſing, as from ſome other cauſes, ſo particularly, from an averſion to Sabellian, or Socinian ſenſes: ſome of which may be abſurd, and unnatural. But I much prefer Grotius's interpretations upon the compariſon, above Dr. Clarke's. So far as I am able to judge, Grotius explains texts better than the profeſſed Socinians. The reaſon may be, that he had more learning, and particularly was better acquainted with the Jewiſh ſtyle. But I am apt to think, that their later writers have borrowed from him, and improved by him.

However, this is ſaid very much in the way of conjecture. For I muſt acknowledge, that I have not been greatly converſant with the writers of that denomination. I have never read Crellius de uno Deo Patre: though I believe it to be a very good book. There is alſo, in our own language, a collection of Unitarian Tracts in two or three quartos. But I am not acquainted with it. Nor can I remember, that I ever looked into it. I have formed my ſentiments upon the ſcriptures, and by reading ſuch Commentators, chiefly, as are in the beſt repute. I may add, that the reading of the ancient writers of the church has been of uſe to confirm me, and to aſſiſt me in clearing up difficulties.

I obſerve then, that many of the texts in Dr. Clarke's P. I. ch. ii. ſect. 3. concerning the higheſt titles given to Chriſt, inſtead of proving his opinion, are inconſiſtent with it, and confirm that, for which I argue. Yea they prove it, and agree with no other: ſuch as, *the Father is in me, and I in him: he that ſeeth me, ſeeth him that ſent me: if ye had known me, ye would have known the Father alſo: I in the Father, and you in*

in ſome good meaſure, as long as he lived. . . . Epiphanius had ſome knowledge of thoſe of the Jewiſh Chriſtians, which remained to his time, that is 370, whom the Gentile Chriſtians then called Nazarenes. And he ſtyles them heretics: for no other reaſon that I can perceive, but that they, together with their Chriſtian faith, continued the uſe of circumciſion, and of the Jewiſh law. Which is a thing, that St. Paul never blamed in a Jewiſh Chriſtian, though in the Gentile Chriſtians he did. Dr. William Wall, in the Preface to his Notes upon the O. T. p. xi. xii.

That is a melancholy obſervation. Let us endeavour to repair the damage here bewailed, by diligently ſtudying, and reſolutely adhering to the doctrine of Chriſt's apoſtles, as contained in the books of the New Teſtament. Wherein, I verily believe, are delivered all the truths of religion, and in ſufficient perſpicuity, if we will but attend.

me,

me, and I in you: he that hateth me, hateth my Father alſo: all things that the Father hath, are mine, &c. &c.

Script. Doct. ch. ii. ſect. 3. numb. 616. p. 114, 115. is a quotation from Juſtin Martyr. 'The Jews,' ſaith he, 'are 'juſtly reproved for imagining that the Father of all things 'ſpake to Moſes, when indeed it was the Son of God, who is 'called the angel and the meſſenger of the Father.' Again, afterwards, from the ſame Juſtin. 'Yet it was not God the 'creator of the univerſe, which then ſaid to Moſes, that he 'was *the God of Abraham, and the God of Iſaac, and the God* '*of Jacob.*'

This appears to me very ſtrange, that the Jews ſhould not know, who was their God, and delivered the law by Moſes. And I cannot help wondering, that any learned men of our times ſhould pay any regard to ſuch obſervations as theſe. Is it not better to ſay, that Juſtin was miſtaken, than that the Jewiſh people were miſtaken, in ſuch a thing as this? For Juſtin was a convert from heatheniſm, and had been a philoſopher, and brought along with him many prejudices, which might hinder his rightly underſtanding the Old Teſtament.

That God, who ſpake to Moſes, and brought the people of Iſrael out of Egypt, is the Creator of the univerſe, is manifeſt. Exod. xx. 1, 2, 3. *And God ſpake all theſe words, ſaying, I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt. Thou ſhalt have no other Gods before me.* Ver. 10. 11, *But the ſeventh day is the ſabbath of Jehovah thy God.... For in ſix days Jehovah made heaven and earth, the ſea, and all that in them is.* Iſ. xl. 27, 28. *Why ſayeſt thou, O Jacob.. My way is hid from the Lord, and my judgment is paſſed over from my God? Haſt thou not known? haſt thou not heard, that the everlaſting God, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, nor is weary?* See alſo ch. xlv. 11, 12. and elſewhere.

Neither our Saviour, nor his apoſtles, had any debate with the Jews upon this head: but plainly ſuppoſe, that they were right, as to the object of worſhip. Therefore our Lord ſays to the woman of Samaria. John iv. 22. *Ye worſhip ye know not what. We know what we worſhip. For ſalvation is of the Jews.* John viii. 54. *It is my Father that honoureth me: of whom ye ſay, that he is your God.* Acts iii. 13. *The God of Abraham, and of Iſaac, and Jacob, the God of our fathers, has glorified his Son Jeſus...* Ver. 30. *The God of our fathers raiſed up Jeſus, whom ye ſlew and hanged on a*

tree. Are not theſe texts clear? However, ſee likewiſe Matt. xi. 25. John xvii. throughout, and xx. 17, 21. Eph. iii. 14. Heb. i. 1, 2. 1 John iv. 14.

Mark xii. 28, 29. *One of the ſcribes came, and aſked him, which is the firſt commandment of all? Jeſus anſwered him: the firſt of all the commandments is: hear, O Iſrael, the Lord our God is one Lord,* Deut. vi. 4. To which the ſcribe aſſented. And Mark xii. 34. *When Jeſus ſaw, that he anſwered diſcreetly, he ſaid unto him: thou art not far from the kingdom of God.* All which ſuppoſeth, that the Jews were not miſtaken about the object of worſhip.

Once more. Our Lord's argument with the ſadduces, in behalf of a reſurrection, taken from Ex. iii. 6. and recorded Matt. xxii. Mark xii. Luke xx. ſuppoſeth *the God of Abraham,* &c. to be the one true God, *who is not the God of the dead, but of the living: for all live unto him.*

In ſhort, if Juſtin Martyr be in the right; it is not ſufficient to ſay, that the Jewiſh people were miſtaken: but we muſt ſay, that the Old and New Teſtament, and the ſacred penmen of them, and all who ſpeak therein by inſpiration are miſtaken.

Unqueſtionably, God may make uſe of the miniſtry of angels, as well as of men. But it is not the meſſenger who is God: but he, from whom he comes, and in whoſe name he ſpeaks.

I may ſhow this by an inſtance or two. Gen. xxii. 15—18. *And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham out of heaven the ſecond time, and ſaid: by myſelf have I ſworn, ſaith the Lord, that becauſe thou haſt done this thing, and haſt not withheld thy ſon, thy only ſon; in bleſſing I will bleſs thee.* Here is mentioned an angel. But he is only God's meſſenger, and God ſpeaks by him. Of this we are fully aſſured by an argument in the epiſtle to the Hebrews. Ch. vi. 13, 14. *For when God made promiſe to Abraham, becauſe he could ſwear by no greater, he ſware by himſelf, ſaying: ſurely, bleſſing I will bleſs thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee.*

For certain therefore, this was the oath of God Almighty, the one living and true God, and the Creator of all things. For there was *no greater than he.* And that this was the one true God, appears, as from many other texts, ſo particularly from Pſ. cv. where the Pſalmiſt gratefully commemorates God's wonderful works, and expreſsly mentions his mind-

fulneſs

fulneſs of *his covenant with Abraham, and his oath unto Iſaac,* ver. 9.

St. Stephen ſpeaks of the Jews having received *the law by the diſpoſition of angels,* Acts vii. 54. that is, by their miniſtration, under God the ſupreme lawgiver, who at that time had the attendance of a numerous hoſt of angels. Deut. xxxiii. 1, 2. Comp. Heb. ii. 2. And, ſays the Pſalmiſt very poetically, Pſ. lxviii. 17. *The chariots of God are twenty thouſand, even thouſands of thouſands. The Lord is among them, in his holy place, as in Sinai.* And ſee Iſ. xxxiii. 22.

I muſt take ſome other things from the above-mentioned learned writer.

Script. Doct. ch. ii. ſect. 3. numb. 576. 'John iii. 13. '*No man hath aſcended up to heaven, but he that came down from* '*heaven, even the ſon of man, which is in heaven.*' The meaning is explained, ch. i. 18. *No man hath ſeen God at any* '*time. The only begotten Son, which is in the boſom of the* '*Father, he has declared him.*' Excellently well in my opinion. That is the whole of Dr. Clarke's note upon that text.

Script. Doct. n. 580. p. 96. John v. 18. *But ſaid alſo, that God was his Father, making himſelf equal with God.* Here Dr. Clarke ſpeaks to this purpoſe. 'Aſſuming to himſelf 'the power, and authority of God. It is the ſame accuſation 'with that other. Ch. x. 33. *We ſtone thee . . . for blaſphemy,* '*and becauſe that thou, being a man, makeſt thyſelf God.* And 'Mark ii. 7. *Why does this man thus ſpeak blaſphemy? Who* '*can forgive ſins but God only?* The Jews, it is evident, did 'not by theſe expreſſions mean to charge Jeſus with affirming 'himſelf to be the ſupreme, ſelf-exiſtent, independent 'Deity: nay, not ſo much as with taking upon himſelf 'to be a Divine Perſon at all: but only with aſſuming 'to himſelf the power and authority of God.' So far is not amiſs in my opinion. What follows there I leave to thoſe who may like it.

Script. Doct. numb. 645. p. 124. Col. ii. 9. *For in him dwelleth all the fulneſs of the godhead bodily.* The note is this. 'Ch. i. 19. *It pleaſed the Father, that in him ſhould all fulneſs* '*dwell.* And John xiv. 10. *The Father that dwelleth in* '*me, he does the works.*' Excellently well, according to my apprehenſion.

This will lead me to proceed ſomewhat farther, and to conſider ſome other texts before I conclude.

Rom. i. 3, 4. *Concerning his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, who was of the ſeed of David according to the fleſh, and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the ſpirit of holineſs, by the reſurrection from the dead.*

Here are two things, firſt, that *Jeſus was made of the ſeed of David:* ſecondly, that he was *declared to be the Son of God by the reſurrection from the dead.* Both which may be illuſtrated by comparing other texts.

How this text is explained by thoſe, who favour the Arian hypotheſis, of the Logos ſupplying the place of a human ſoul in the perſon of Jeſus, may be ſeen in divers writers.[22] I ſhall explain it as I am able, without attempting a particular confutation of any.

Firſt, *who was made of the ſeed of David according to the fleſh.* That phraſe, *according to the fleſh*, is in ſeveral other texts. Some of which may be obſerved. Acts ii. 30. *Therefore being a prophet, and knowing that God had ſworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the fleſh, he would raiſe up Chriſt to ſit on his throne...* Rom. ix. 3. *For I could wiſh, that myſelf were accurſed from Chriſt, for my brethren, my kinſmen according to the fleſh...* ver. 5. *Whoſe are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the fleſh, Chriſt came.* And ſee 2 Cor. v. 16.

Secondly, it is added: *And declared to be the Son of God, with power, according to the ſpirit of holineſs, by the reſurrection from the dead.*

There are ſeveral texts to be obſerved here. Acts ii 32. *This Jeſus hath God raiſed up, whereof we all are witneſſes...* ver. 36. *Therefore let all the houſe of Iſrael know aſſuredly, that God hath made that ſame Jeſus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Chriſt.* Jeſus was, and had been declared to be the Chriſt, the Son of God, whilſt he was here on earth. But this was more fully manifeſted by his reſurrection, and the conſequent effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt upon the apoſtles and others. See Acts xiii. 33. and Heb. v. 5. And our Lord himſelf had mentioned this to the Jews, as *the ſign*, the moſt deciſive, and demonſtrative evidence, that he was indeed the Meſſiah, as he had ſaid. See Matt. xii. 38—40. xvi. 1—5. Luke xi. 29, 30. John ii. 18, 19. iii. 14. viii. 28. xii. 32.

[22] See the Paraphraſes of Mr. Locke, and Dr. Taylor.

Now

Now therefore we may explain, and paraphraſe this text after this manner: 'Concerning his Son Jeſus Chriſt 'our Lord, who, with regard to the external circumſtances 'of his nativity into this world, was of the family and lineage 'of David: from whom God had promiſed the Meſſiah 'ſhould deſcend: and with regard to the *ſpirit of holineſs*, 'or the divine energy and influence, by which he had 'been contrived in the womb, and by which he was ſancti-'fied to his high office, and by which he wrought the 'greateſt miracles, he was the Son of God, and was known 'to be ſo. But was moſt fully and ſolemnly conſtituted, 'and declared to be the Son of God, by that wonderful 'demonſtration of the divine power, his reſurrection from 'the dead.'

Nor is it eaſy to avoid recollecting here, in what terms St. Paul ſpeaks of the power, which God exerted in raiſing Chriſt from the dead, and exalting him to that dominion, which was the conſequence of his reſurrection. Eph. i. 19—23.

I ſhall tranſcribe below [23] a part of Grotius's annotations upon this text, and refer to others. [24]

Eph. iii. 9. *And to make all men ſee, what is the fellowſhip of the myſtery, which from the beginning of the world has been hid in God, who created all things by Jeſus Chriſt.*

Here it may be obſerved, in the firſt place, that thoſe words, *by Jeſus Chriſt*, are by ſome learned men ſuſpected to be an interpolation. [25]

But,

[23] Sed ſenſum difficiliorem efficit curtata locutio, quam evolvere conabimur. Jeſus Filius Dei multis modis dicitur: maxime populariter, ideo quod in regnum a Deo evectus eſt, quo ſenſu verba Pſalmi ii. de Davide dicta, cum ad regnum pervenit, Chriſto aptantur. Act. xiii. 33. et ad Heb. i. 5. v. 5. Hæc autem Filii ſive regia dignitas Jeſu prædeſtinabatur, et præfigurabatur, jam tum cum mortalem agens vitam magna illa ſigna et prodigia ederet . . . Hæc ſigna edebat Jeſus per Spiritum illum ſanctitatis, id, eſt, vim divinam, per quam ab initio conceptionis ſanctificatus fuerat. Luc. i. 35 . . . Oſtenditur ergo Jeſus nobilis ex materna parte, utpote ex Rege terreno ortus, ſed nobilior ex paterna parte, quippe a Deo factus Rex cœleſtis poſt reſurrectionem. Heb. v. 9. Act. ii. 30. et xxvi. p. 23. Grot. Annot ad Rom. i. 4.

[24] Vid. Limborch. Comment. in Rom. i. 3, 4. et Enjedini Explicat. V. et. N. Teſt. p. 258—264.

[25] Δια τȣ ιησȣ χριστȣ] Deeſt in Alexandr. Vulg. Syr. . . . Et quidem, cum vix fieri poſſit, ut exemplaribus antiquiſſimis exciderint, ſcribarum

But, ſecondly, allowing them to be genuine, it is to be obſerved, that many learned men are of opinion that St. Paul is here ſpeaking of the new creation. So ſays Grotius. Omnia Chriſtus fecit nova. 1 Cor. v. 17. Et divinior hæc creatio, quam prior illa. And you very well know Mr. Locke's paraphraſe, which is this: 'Who frames and manages this whole new creation by Jeſus Chriſt.' And he has endeavoured in a long note to ſupport that paraphraſe. This likewiſe is the ſenſe of Calvin. *Qui omnia creavit per Chriſtum.*] Non tam de prima creatione interpretari licet, quam de inſtauratione ſpirituali. Tametſi enim verum eſt illud, Verbo Dei creata eſſe omnia, quemadmodum tot locis habetur: circumſtantia tamen loci poſtulat, ut de renovatione intelligamus, quæ continetur in beneficio redemptionis. Beauſobre likewiſe has a very valuable note upon this text; but being ſomewhat prolix, I only refer you to it.

2 Cor. iv. 4. Chriſt is ſtyled *the image of God.* Ὃς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ. Upon which Whitby's note is to this purpoſe. 'Chriſt ſeems here to be ſtyled the image of God, not in 'the ſenſe of Theodoret, as being *God of God*, but rather, 'as the text inſinuates, with relation to the goſpel, and 'and his mediatory office: in which he has given us many 'glorious demonſtrations of the power, the wiſdom, the 'holineſs, purity and juſtice, the mercy, goodneſs, and 'philanthropy of God. Tit. iii. 4.' Beza's note upon the place is to the like purpoſe. Id eſt, in quo ſeipſum perſpicue conſpiciendum præbet Deus, ut 1 Tim. iii. 16. Neque enim Dei imaginem nunc vocat Paulus Chriſtum alio quam officii ipſius reſpectu: ut, licet vera, tamen ſint ἀπροσδιονυσα, quæ nonnulli ex veteribus hoc loco περὶ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου deſeruerunt. So that I need not here appeal to Grotius.

Col. i. 15. *Who is the image of the inviſible God.* Mr. Peirce's note is in theſe very words. 'The Father alone 'is repreſented in the New Teſtament, as the *inviſible God.* 'See John i. 18. v. 37. vi. 46. 1 Tim. i. 17. vi. 16. Heb. 'xi. 27. 1 John iv. 12, 20. Chriſt is never repreſented as 'inviſible. It might ſeem ſtrange, if he ſhould, ſince he actu-

ſcribarum ſeu fraude, ſive incuriâ, verba tam inſignia, præſertim ante tempora Arii; adjecta hoc loco crediderim, interpretamenti gratiâ, ex illo Apoſtoli. Col. i. 16. Mill. in loc. Vid. et Bez. in loc.

'ally

'ally, took upon him flesh, and appeared, and was seen in 'the world: which are things the nature of the Father 'cannot possibly admit. His being called *the image of God* 'in this place, and 2 Cor. iv. 4. implies his being visible, 'and that the perfections of God do most eminently shine 'forth in him.'

So writes Mr. Peirce. 'And by Christ seems to mean the Logos, or Christ in his pre-existent state, before he came into this world; which appears to me not a little strange. God, the Father, unquestionably, is invisible. So I think, are the Logos, in the Arian sense of that term, and also angels, and the souls of men, and all beings which we call spirits. None of them are visible to our bodily eyes.

Therefore Christ's being *the image of God*, must be understood of his acting in this world. God is invisible in his nature and essence. But he can manifest himself, and make known to us his mind and will, by those whom he sends as his ministers. This appears to me very plain and evident from John xiv. 8—11. *Philip saith unto him, Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us.* What, now, is the answer which our Lord makes to that disciple? Does he reprehend him, as asking an impossibility? No. His answer is this: *Jesus saith unto him, have I been so long time with you,' and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father. And how sayest thou, shew us the Father!* See what follows, and ver. 7.

I think that Irenæus says the same that I have just now done. *Beati mundi corde, quoniam ipsi videbunt Deum.* Sed secundum magnitudinem quidem ejus, et mirabilem gloriam, *nemo videbit Deum, et vivet.* Ex. xxxiii. 20. Incapabilis enim Pater. Secundum autem dilectionem et humanitatem, et quod omnia possit, etiam hoc concedit iis qui se diligunt, id est, videre Deum. . . . Homo etenim a se non videt Deum. Ille autem volens videtur hominibus, quibus vult, et quando vult, et quemadmodum vult. Potens est enim in omnibus Deus: visus quidem tunc per spiritum prophetiæ, visus autem et per Filium adoptive. Videbitur autem et in regno cœlorum paternaliter. Iren. l. 4. cap. 20. al. 37. n. 5. p. 254.[26]

So

[26] I must transcribe Grotius here. *Qui est imago Dei invisibilis*] Dei inaspecti aspectabilis imago. Ita enim Latini loquuntur. Idem sensus 2 Cor. iv. 4. et 1 Tim. iii. 16. Heb. i. 3. Adam imago Dei fuit

So likewiſe when Chriſt is called *the image of God* in 2 Cor. iv. 4. the place before cited, the meaning is, that he was ſo in this world. This I think to be exceeding evident from the context, which ſhall be now recited more at large: *. . . leſt the light of the glorious goſpel of Chriſt, who is the image of God, ſhould ſhine unto them. . . . For God, who commanded the light to ſhine out of darkneſs, hath ſhined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face* or perſon *of Jeſus Chriſt.*

It follows in the ſame Col. i. 15. *Who is the firſt-born of every creature,* or rather, as ſeems to me, *of the whole creation.* πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως: that is, he is the chief, the moſt excellent of the whole creation. Pelagius ſays, it is to be underſtood of Chriſt in regard to his humanity. He is the firſt, not in time, but in dignity. So it is ſaid, *Iſrael is my firſt-born.* Primogenitus ſecundum aſſumpti hominis formam, non tempore, ſed honore, juxta illud: *Filus meus primogenitus Iſrael.* Pelag. in loc. Ap. Hieron. tom. V. p. 1070.

Grotius underſtands it of the new creation. He refers to 2 Cor. v. 17. Rev. xxi. 5. Heb. ii. 5. to which, perhaps, might have been added Heb. xii. 23. *The church of the firſt-born, whoſe names are written in heaven.*[27] He likewiſe ſays, that in the ſacred ſcriptures *the firſt-born* ſometimes denotes the greateſt or higheſt: and refers to Pſ. lxxxix. 27. Jer. xxxi. 9. Primus in creatione, nova ſcilicet, de qua 2 Cor. v. 17. . . . Primogenitum Hebræis dicitur et quod primum, et quod ſummum eſt in quoque genere.

For the explication of what follows: I mean Col. i. 16—20. I beg leave to refer you to Grotius.

Heb. i. 1, 2. *God, who at ſundry times, and in divers manners, ſpake in time paſt unto the Fathers by* or in *the prophets, hath in theſe laſt days ſpoken unto us by* or in *his Son,* the promiſed Meſſiah: . . . εν τοις προφηταις . . . εν υιῳ. *Whom he has appointed heir of all things: by whom alſo he made the worlds.* Grotius thinks that the Greek phraſe may be rendered *for whom*; which is very ſuitable to the coherence, it having been

fuit, ſed valde tenuis. In Chriſto perfectiſſime apparuit, quam Deus eſſet ſapiens, potens, bonus. Sic in aqua ſolem conſpicimus. Aliud imago, aliud umbra, qualis in Lege. Heb. x. 1. Grot. ad Col. i. 15.

[27] 'By Chriſt we are all called 'to be the firſt-born, that is, to be 'all hallowed, and to be called 'God's peculiar, as were the firſt-'born, before the Levites were 'taken in their ſtead.' Dr. Sykes upon Heb. xii. 23.

been before ſaid, that he was *appointed heir*, or lord *of all things*. Videtur δι ὃ hic rectè accipi poſſe pro δι ὃν, *propter quem*. Ideo autem hæc interpretatio hoc loco maxime mihi ſe probat, quia ad Hebræos ſcribens videtur reſpicere ad dictum vetus Hebræorum, propter Meſſiam conditum eſſe mundum.[28]

Ver. 3. *Who being the brightneſs of his glory, and the expreſs image of his perſon.* That expreſſeth the glory of Jeſus Chriſt in this world. He is the refulgence of the Father's glory, which ſhone upon him, and was ſeen in him. In him appeared the wiſdom, the power, the truth, the holineſs, the goodneſs, the mercifulneſs of God. It is much the ſame as *the form of God*, Philip. ii. 6. Says Grotius, Ὃς ων απαυγασμα της δοξης.... Repercuſſus divinæ majeſtatis, qualis eſt ſolis in nube, quæ dicitur παρηλιος.... Majeſtas divina, cum per ſe conſpici nequeat, cernitur in Chriſto, ſicut ſol, quem directe oculi noſtri tueri nequeunt, cernitur in aqua, ſpeculo, nube. Vide 2 Cor. iv. 4. Col. i. 15. Και χαρακτηρ της υποστασεως αυτου.... Υποστασις hic non ita ſumitur, quomodo Platonici, et poſt Origenem ex Platonicis Chriſtiani, ſumpſere, ... Ita potentia, juſtitia, veritas in Deo Chriſti Patre ſunt primario, in Chriſto vero ſecundario, ſed ita ut nobis in Chriſto ea evidenter appareant. Joh. xiv. 9.

The ſame ver. 3. *and upholding all things by the word of his power.* This muſt relate to our Saviour's tranſactions in this world, becauſe it precedes the mention of his death, which follows next. I have looked into Brenius, who ſays the ſame: and I ſhall tranſcribe him, as it is likely you have him not with you. Cumque omnia potenti ſuo juſſu in terris ferret. Φερειν hic, ut interpretes nonnulli rectè annotant, potius ſignificat agere, ſive moderari, et gubernare, quam portare aut ferre: niſi ferendi aut portandi verbum

[28] Moreover it might be obſerved, 'That Dr. Sykes ſays, the 'word αιωνας, which we render 'worlds, does not ſignify *the heavens, and the earth, and all things 'that are in them*: but it means, he 'ſays, properly, *ages*, or *certain 'periods of time*, in which ſuch or 'ſuch things were done. Such 'were the patriarchal, that of the 'law, that of the Meſſiah, that of 'the antediluvians.... Theſe were 'properly αιωνες, ages.' Admit, then, the interpretation of Grotius, δι ὃ, to be *for whom*. And we have a moſt apt and beautiful ſenſe, which is this, '*For whom alſo*, or '*for whoſe ſake alſo*, or in reſpect to 'whom, he diſpoſed and ordered the 'ages, that is, the antediluvian, 'the patriarchal, the legal ages or 'periods, and all the divine diſ'penſations towards the ſons of 'men.'

hoc

hoc ſenſu accipiatur, ut metaphorice deſignet Chriſtum etiam in terris munus ſuum adminiſtrantem, omnia ad regni cœleſtis in terris diſpenſationem pertinentia, velut humeris ſuis portaſſe. Conf. Iſ. ix. 6.

To the ſame purpoſe likewiſe Limborch, whom I ſhall tranſcribe alſo in part. Sic videmus Domini Jeſu potentiæ omnia fuiſſe ſubjecta, ejuſque miracula fuiſſe univerſalia in totam naturam; nullamque fuiſſe creaturam, quin imperium ipſius agnoverit.... Quibus omnibus præconii ſui divinitatem adſtruxit, ſeque a Deo Patre ſuo eſſe miſſum probavit. Quæ omnia ſolo juſſu efficere, vere divinum eſt. Et qui id facit quaſi imago Dei eſt, potentiamque divinam in ſe reſidere oſtendit.

Hereby, then, is repreſented the power reſiding in Jeſus, whereby he wrought the greateſt miracles, whenever he pleaſed, by an effectual all-commanding word, healing diſeaſes, raiſing the dead, rebuking ſtormy winds and waves, and they ſubſided, multiplying proviſions in deſert places, cauſing a fiſh to bring a ſtater for the tribute-money to be paid to the temple, for himſelf and the diſciple at whoſe houſe he was entertained.

It follows in the ſame verſe, *when he had by himſelf purged our ſins, ſat down on the right hand of the majeſty on high.* Which laſt words include our Lord's reſurrection from the dead, and his aſcenſion to heaven, and there ſitting on the right hand of the Father. Upon which the apoſtle farther enlargeth.

Ver. 4, 5. *Being made ſo much better than the angels, as he has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. For unto which of the angels ſaid he at any time, thou-art my ſon, this day have I begotten thee?* See 2 Sam. vii. 14. Pſ. ii. 7. lxxxix. 26, 27.

Ver. 6. *And again, when he bringeth in the firſt-begotten into the world, he ſaith, and let all the angels of God worſhip him.*

Mr. Peirce's paraphraſe of ver. 6. is thus: 'So far is he 'from ſpeaking in ſuch a manner of any of the angels, that 'on the contrary, when he brings again his firſt-begotten 'into the world, raiſing him from the dead, he ſays, and 'let all the angels of God be ſubject to him.' See 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22.... *by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt; who is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God, angels, and authorities, and powers being made ſubject unto him.*

Ver.

Ver. 7. *And of the angels he ſaith, who maketh his angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flame of fire.*

Ver. 8. *But unto the Son he ſaith, thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a ſceptre of righteouſneſs is the ſceptre of thy kingdom.* Ver. 9. *Thou haſt loved righteouſneſs and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, has anointed thee with the oil of gladneſs above thy fellows.*

But unto the Son he ſaith. I think it ſhould be thus rendered: *but of the Son he ſaith;* or *with regard to the Son, he ſaith.* For in the original it is the ſame phraſe, which in the ſeventh verſe we have tranſlated, *of the angels he ſaith.* So, here, *With regard to the Son, he ſaith, thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.* The words are in Pſ. xlv. 6. *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever. The ſceptre of thy kingdom is a right ſceptre.* The writer of this epiſtle to the Hebrews ſays, 'And with regard to the Son, or the Meſſiah, God's throne is for ever and ever:' that is, the kingdom of God, erected by the Meſſiah, is to have no period: and this is expreſſed in the words of the Pſalmiſt here quoted. Comp. Luke i. 33, 34. So likewiſe Dan. ii. 44. And *in the days of theſe kings ſhall the God of heaven ſet up a kingdom, which ſhall never be deſtroyed.* And in Rev. xiv. 6. the doctrine to be preached to all nations is called *the everlaſting goſpel.*

Here I recollect a paſſage in Origen's books againſt Celſus, who informs us he had met with a Jew, eſteemed a very learned man, 'who ſaid that thoſe words, *Thy throne, 'O God, is for ever and ever: the ſceptre of thy kingdom is a right 'ſceptre:* are addreſſed to the God of the univerſe: but the 'following words, *thou loveſt righteouſneſs and hateſt iniquity; 'therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladneſs 'above thy fellows,* are addreſſed to the Meſſiah.' Και μεμνημαι γε πανυ θλιψας τον ιȣδαιον, νομιζομενον σοφον, εκ λεξεως ταυτης. Ος προς αυτην απορων, ειπε τα τῳ εαυτȣ ιȣδαισμῳ ακολουθα· ειπε προς μεν τον των ολων θεον ειρησθαι το, ο θρονος σȣ ο θεος εις τον αιωνα τȣ αιωνος, ραβδος ευθυτατος η ραβδος της βασιλειας σȣ· προς δε τον χριστον το, ηγαπησας δικαιοσυνην, και εμισησας ανομιαν. Δια τȣτο εχρισε σε ο θεος ο θεος σȣ, και τα εξης. Contr. Celſ. l. 1. p. 43. Cant. Tom. i. p. 371. Bened.

Origen did not approve of that interpretation; but to me it appears both very right and very valuable. Nor is it ſo difficult, but that it might have been diſcerned by a Chriſtian, were it not that we are ſtrangely miſled by a great variety of wrong notions which prevail amongſt us.

So again, ver. 10. *And thou, Lord, in the beginning haſt, laid*

laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. Ver. 11. *They ſhall periſh, but thou remaineſt: and they all ſhall wax old like a garment.* Ver. 12. *And as a veſture ſhalt thou fold them up, and they ſhall be changed: but thou art the ſame, and thy years ſhall not fail.* Which words are a quotation from Pſ. cii. 25, 26, 27. Where they are addreſſed to God; and ſo they are here. In order to preſerve the connection, we are to ſupply ſome ſuch words as theſe at the beginning of the quotation. 'And of the Son, or with regard to the Son, or the Meſſiah, the ſcripture ſaith,' *And thou, Lord,* . . . that is, upon account of the diſpenſation by the Meſſiah, which is to laſt for ever, are applicable thoſe words: *And thou, Lord,* and what follows.

The apoſtle, the more effectually to ſecure the ſteadfaſtneſs of the Jewiſh believers, obſerves to them the excellence, the importance, the wide extent and long duration of the divine diſpenſation by the Meſſiah. The diſpenſation by Moſes was limited to one nation, and to a certain period of time. But the diſpenſation of the Meſſiah was to be an univerſal bleſſing, and to ſubſiſt to the end of time. And to the kingdom of God by the Meſſiah are fitly applicable the texts cited in this place from the Old Teſtament.

In a word, hereby are ſhown the dignity and excellence of the evangelical diſpenſation, in that higher expreſſions are uſed concerning it, than can be applied to any other.

I think, I have above ſhown from ſcripture, that Jeſus Chriſt was a man like unto us, or having a human ſoul, as well a human body. Nor have you any reaſon upon that account to ſuſpect me of heterodoxy. I think myſelf therein both a catholic, and a ſcriptural Chriſtian. It has been the general belief of the church of Chriſt in all ages. And the glory of the evangelical diſpenſation depends upon it. In Socrates, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, there is a chapter, where it is aſſerted, that this was the opinion of all the ancients in general, εμψυχον τον ενανθρωπησαντα, of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Apollinarius of Hierapolis, Serapion Biſhop of Antioch, Origen and others. Socrat. l. 3. cap. viii. Conf. Theodoret. H. E. l. 5. cap. ix. et. x.

I can eaſily ſhow it to have been the opinion of ſome later writers, who have always been in great repute for their right faith.

Epiphanius

Epiphanius expreſſeth himſelf upon this ſubject very particularly, and very emphatically. For though our Saviour was not born in the ordinary way of human generation, *απο σπερματος ανδρος ουκ ην*, he ſays, he was perfect man, and was tempted like unto us, but without ſin. *Παντα γαρ τελειως εσχε, τα παντα εχων, σαρκα, και νευρα, και φλεβας, και τα αλλα παντα οσα εστι· ψυχην δε αληθινως, και ὃ δοκησει· νυν δε και τα παντα οσα εστιν εν τη ανθρωπησει, χωρις αμαρτιας, ως γεγραπται*... Heb. iv. 15. Hær. 69. n. xxv. p. 750.

To the like purpoſe Jerom in ſeveral places, more than need to be cited here.

Quod autem infert: *Homo in dolore, et ſciens ferre infirmitatem*, ſive *virum dolorum, et ſcientem infirmitatem*, verum corpus hominis, et veram demonſtrat animam. Hieron in Iſ. cap. liii. tom. III. p. 383.

Quod ſi oppoſuerint nobis hi, qui Chriſtum negant humanam habuiſſe animam, ſed in humano corpore Deum fuiſſe pro anima, audiant in Chriſto ſubſtantiam animæ demonſtrari. Id. in Amos. cap. vi. ib. p. 1427.

Quod autem ſpiritus accipiatur pro anima, manifeſte ſignificat Salvatoris oratio: *Pater, in manus tuas commendo ſpiritum meum.* Neque enim Jeſus aut perverſum ſpiritum, quod cogitare quoque nefas eſt, aut Spiritum Sanctum, qui ipſe Deus eſt, Patri poterat commendare, et non potius animam ſuam, de qua dixerat: *Triſtis eſt anima mea uſque ad mortem.* Matt. xxvi. 38. Id. in. Abac. cap. ii. ib. p. 1618.

I ſhall not tranſcribe here any thing from Auguſtin, but only refer you to one place in him. Contr. ſermon. Arian. cap. ix. tom. VIII. [29]

I ſhall proceed no farther at this time. I need not tell you, that the Unity of God is an important article of natural religion. And after it has been ſo ſtrongly aſſerted in the Jewiſh revelation, and has been as clearly taught in the New Teſtament, [30] it ought not to be given up by Chriſtians.

If, Papinian, you will beſtow a few thoughts upon theſe papers, and ſend me the reſult of them, without compliment, and without reſentment, you will oblige

PHILALETHES.

[29] That paſſage may be ſeen above, p. 87. note 5.

[30] See Mark xii. 29. Matt. viii. 6. 2 Cor. xi. 31. Eph. iv. xix. 17. Mark x. 18. John xvii. 6. 1 Tim. ii. 5. vi. 15, 16. and 3. Rom. xv. 6. xvi. 27. 1 Cor. elſewhere.

THE

THE FIRST POSTSCRIPT,

Containing an Explication of thoſe Words, THE SPIRIT, THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND THE SPIRIT OF GOD, as uſed in the Scriptures.

PHILALETHES, when he wrote the foregoing letter, had no occaſion to proceed any farther than he did. But now he thinks, that if he could rightly explain thoſe words, *the Spirit*, and *the Holy Spirit*, and the like, he ſhould do a real ſervice to religion, and contribute to the underſtanding of the ſcriptures.

This poſtſcript will conſiſt of three ſections. In the firſt ſhall be an argument, ſhowing the ſeveral acceptations of the words, *the Spirit*, and *the Holy Spirit*. In the ſecond ſection ſuch texts will be conſidered, as may be ſuppoſed to afford objections. In the third divers other texts will be explained.

SECT. I.

AN ARGUMENT. IN ſhowing the ſeveral acceptations of theſe words in ſcripture, I begin with a paſſage of Maimonides, generally reckoned as learned and judicious a writer as any of the Jewiſh Rabbins.

'The' word *Spirit*,' ſays he, 'has ſeveral ſenſes. 1. It 'ſignifies *the air*, that is, one of the four elements. *And the 'ſpirit of the Lord moved upon the face of the waters*, Gen. i. 2. 2. 'It

[1] *Ruach* vox eſt homonyma. Significat enim, primo, Aërem, hoc eſt, unum ex quatuor elementis: ut *Veruach*, et *Spiritus Domini incubabat ſuper aquas*. Gen. i. 2. *Deinde*, ſignificat ſpiritum flantem, h. e. ventum. Ut *Veruach, et ſpiritus* (ventus) *orientalis attulit locuſtas*. Ex. x. 13. Item, *Ruach, ſpiritus occidentalis*. ib. ver. 19. Et ſic ſæpiſſime. *Tertio*, ſumitur pro ſpiritu vitali. Ut *Ruach, ſpiritus vitæ*. Gen. vi. 17. *Quarto*, ſumitur de parte illa hominis incorruptibili, quæ ſuperſtes remanet poſt mortem. Ut *Veruach, et ſpiritus hominis redit ad Deum, qui dedit eum*. Ecc. xii. 7. *Quinto*, ſignificat Influentiam Divinam, a Deo prophetis inſtillatam, cujus virtute prophetabant, quemadmodum explicaturi ſumus, quando de prophetiâ agemus: cujus ratio quoque in hoc libro pertractanda. *Et ſeparabo*, min ruach, *de ſpiritu, qui*

2. 'It ſignifies *wind. And the eaſt-wind brought the locuſts,* 'Ex. x. 13. Afterwards, ver. 19. *And the Lord turned a* 'mighty ſtrong weſt-wind, *which took away the locuſts.* And 'in like manner very often.

3. 'It is taken for *the vital breath. He remembered, that* 'they were but fleſh, *a wind,* a ſpirit, *that paſſeth away, and* 'cometh not again, Pſ. lxxviii. 39. And, *all fleſh, wherein* 'is the breath of life, Gen. vi. 17.

4. 'It is taken for *the incorruptible part of man,* which ſur-'vives after death. *And the ſpirit ſhall return to God who* 'gave it, Ecc. xii. 7.

5. 'It ſignifies *the Divine Influence,* inſpiring the prophets, by 'virtue of which they propheſied. *I will take care of the ſpirit,* 'that is in thee, and will put it upon them, Numb. xi. 17. *And* 'the ſpirit reſted upon them, ver. 26. *The ſpirit of the Lord* 'ſpake by me, and his word was in my tongue, 2 Sam. xxiii. 2.

6. 'It alſo ſignifies *deſign, will, purpoſe. A fool uttereth all* 'his mind, literally, ſpirit, Prov. xxix. 11. *And the ſpirit of* 'Egypt ſhall fail in the midſt thereof, and I will deſtroy the coun-'ſel thereof, If. xix. 3. *Who has directed the ſpirit of the Lord,* 'or being his counſellor has taught him? If. xl. 13.

'It is evident therefore,' ſays he, 'that the word *ſpirit,* when 'ſpoken of God, is to be always underſtood, either in the 'fifth, or the ſixth and laſt acceptation of the word, according 'as the coherence and circumſtances of things direct.'

qui eſt in te, et ponam in eis. Num. xi. 17. *Et fuit, cum quieviſſet ſuper eos* haruach *ſpiritus.* ver. 26. Item, Ruach, *ſpiritus loquutus eſt in me.* 2 Sam. xxiii. 2. *Sexto,* ſignificat quoque propoſitum, et voluntatem. Ut Kol rucho, *omnem ſpiritum ſuum profert ſtultus.* Pr. xxix. 11. hoc eſt, omnem intentionem, voluntatem ſuam. Sic, Et *exhaurietur* ruach *ſpiritus Ægypti in medio ejus, et conſilium ejus abſorbebo.* If. xix. 3. i. e. diſſipabitur propoſitum ipſius, et gubernatio ipſius abſcondetur. Sic, *Quis direxit ruach Domini, et quis vir conſilii ejus, ut indicare poſſit eum.* If. xl. 13. hoc eſt, Quis eſt, qui ſciat ordinem voluntatis ejus, aut qui apprehendat et aſſequatur, qua ratione hanc rerum univerſitatem gubernet, et qui eum indicare poſſet. Vides ergo, quod hæc vox, *ruach,* quando Deo attribuitur, ubique ſumatur partim in quinta, partim in ſexta et ultima ſignificatione, quatenus voluntatem ſignificat. Exponatur in quoque loco pro ratione rerum et circumſtantiarum. Rabbi Moſis Maimonidis liber More Nevohim. Part I. cap. xl.

Veritas et quidditas prophetiæ nihil aliud eſt, quam influentia a Deo Opt. Max. mediante intellectu, agens ſuper facultatem rationalem primo, deinde ſuper facultatem imaginariam influens. Id More Nevochim. P. II. cap. 36.

This

This paſſage of Maimonides, which I have here tranſcribed at length, has been taken notice of by divers learned Chriſtian writers. [2]

My deſign leads me to obſerve thoſe texts only of the Old and New Teſtament, where the word ſpirit is ſpoken of God, or ſuch other, as may tend to explain thoſe texts.

And, firſt of all, I think, that in many places *the ſpirit*, or *the ſpirit of God*, or *the Holy Ghoſt*, is equivalent to God himſelf.

The ſpirit of a man is the ſame as *man*. So *the ſpirit of God* muſt be the ſame as *God* himſelf. 1 Cor. ii. 11. *What man knoweth the things of a man, ſave the ſpirit of man, that is in him? Even ſo the things of God knoweth no man,* [or no one] *but the ſpirit of God.*

1 Cor. xvi. 17, 18. *I am glad of the coming of Stephanas, and Fortunatus, and Achaicus ... For they have refreſhed my ſpirit, and yours:* that is, me and you. Or, as Mr. Locke paraphraſeth the place. 'For by the account, which they have 'given me of you, they have quieted my mind, and yours 'too.'

Gal. vi. 18. *The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with your ſpirit:* that is, with you. 2 Tim. iv. 22. *The Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with thy ſpirit,* or with thee.

Pſ. cxxxix. *Whither ſhall I go from thy Spirit?* that is, from Thee. *Or whither ſhall I flee from thy preſence?* In like manner it is ſaid, with regard to Moſes. Pſ. cvi. 33. *becauſe they provoked his ſpirit,* meaning him.

Iſ. lxiii. 10. *But they rebelled, and vexed his Holy Spirit.* Which in other texts is expreſſed in this manner. Numb. xix. 11. *And the Lord ſaid unto Moſes: how long will this people provoke me!* Pſ. lxxviii. 56. *Yet they tempted, and provoked the moſt high God, and kept not his teſtimonies.* Pſ. xcv. *When your fathers tempted me, proved me, and ſaw my work.*

Soul is a word reſembling *ſpirit*, and often ſignifies *man*, or *perſon*. Lev. iv. 2. *If a ſoul ſhall ſin through ignorance ...* Acts. ii. 41. *And the ſame day were added to them three thouſand ſouls,* So likewiſe ch. vii. 14. and in very many other places.

And *my ſoul* is the ſame as *I*, or *myſelf*. Gen. xii. 13. *And my ſoul ſhall live becauſe of thee.* ch. xix. 10. *that my ſoul may bleſs thee, before I die.* 2 Sam. iv. 9. *As the Lord liveth,*

[2] Selden de Synedr. l. 2. c. 4. & iii. iv. S. Baſnag. Exercitationes in Baron. p. 45.

who

who has redeemed my soul out of all adversity. Job x. 1. *My soul is weary of my life.* See also ch. vii. 15 . . . Ps. xxxv. 9. *And my soul shall be joyful in the Lord.* Is. lxi. 10. *I will greatly rejoice in the Lord: my soul shall be joyful in my God.* Matt. xxvi. 38. *My soul is exceeding sorrowful unto death.*

The Divine Being himself sometimes adopts this form of speech. Is. i. 14. *Your new moons, and your appointed feasts, my soul hateth. They are a trouble unto me. I am weary to bear them.* Where, my soul is the same as I, which is in the following clause.

Is. xlii. 1. *My elect, in whom my soul delighteth,* or, in whom I delight. Compare Matt. xii. 18. And see Jer. v. 9. ch. vi. 8. and other places.

Secondly, By *the Spirit of God,* or *the Spirit,* or *the Holy Ghost,* is often meant the power, or wisdom of God, or his will and command.

Ps. xxxiii. 6. *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made: and all the host of them by the breath* or spirit *of his mouth.* Where the word of the Lord, and the breath of his mouth, are all one. All things came into being, and were disposed by his will, at his word and command.

In like manner Job xxvi. 13. *By his spirit he has garnished the heavens: his hand has formed the crooked serpent:* that is, the winding constellation in the heavens, which we call the milky way, or the galaxy. The spirit, or the hand of God, which are both one, has formed all those things.

Micah ii. 7. *O thou that art named the house of Jacob, is the spirit of the Lord straightened?* A part of Mr. Lowth's note upon which words is thus: 'Is God's hand or power short-'ened? Comp. Is. lix. i. *Behold, the Lord's hand is not short-'ened, that it cannot save.*'

Zach. iv. 6. *Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts.* Here Mr. Lowth's note is to this purpose. '*Zerubabel* and *Joshua,* with the Jews under their con-'duct, shall finish the temple, and re-establish the Jewish 'state, not by force of arms, or of human power, but by 'the secret assistance of my providence.'

Luke i. 35. *And the angel answered, and said unto her: the Holy-Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.* The latter words explain the former. And the *Holy Ghost* is said to be the same as *the power of God.* Where likewise it follows: *Therefore also that holy thing, which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.*

Matt. xii. 28. *But if I caſt out dæmons by the ſpirit of God, then is the kingdom of God come unto you.* Luke xi. 20. *But if I with the finger of God caſt out dæmons, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you.*[3]

So that *the finger of God*, or *the ſpirit of God*, is the ſame as the power of God, or God himſelf. As St. Peter ſays, Acts ii. 22. *Ye men of Iſrael hear theſe words: Jeſus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and ſigns, which God did by him, in the midſt of you, as ye yourſelves alſo know.*

To which two texts of St. Matthew and St. Luke, juſt alledged, may be added, as very ſimilar, if not exactly parallel, ſome others. 2 Cor. iii. 3. *Foraſmuch as ye are manifeſtly declared to be the epiſtle of Chriſt, miniſtered by us, written not with ink, but with the ſpirit of the living God: not in tables of ſtone, but in fleſhly tables of the heart.* Undoubtedly alluding to what is ſaid of the two tables containing the ten commandments. Ex. xxxi. 18. and Deut. ix. 10. that *they were written by the finger of God*, or miraculouſly by God himſelf. So alſo Pſ. viii. 3. *When I conſider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the ſtars, which thou haſt ordained.* See Patrick upon Ex. xxxi. 18.

Thirdly, by *the Spirit*, or *the Spirit of God*, or *the Holy Ghoſt*, is oftentimes meant an extraordinary gift from God of power, wiſdom, knowledge and underſtanding.

Sometimes hereby is intended courage, or wiſdom, or ſome one particular advantage only. At other times hereby is intended a plentiful effuſion of a variety of ſpiritual gifts.

For which reaſon it will be needful to alledge, under this article, many texts both from the Old and the New Teſtament.

Ex. xxxi. 1—7. *And the Lord ſpake unto Moſes, ſaying, ſee I have called by name Bezaleel the ſon of Uri, the ſon of Hur, of the tribe of Judah. And I have filled him with the ſpirit of God, in wiſdom and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanſhip,*

[3] 'Again, Matt. xii. 28. *If I caſt out devils by the ſpirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you.* Here *the ſpirit of God* does not ſignify the Holy Ghoſt, or the third perſon of the Holy Trinity, but the power of God: as appears from the parallel paſſage in St. Luke xi. 20. where inſtead of *the ſpirit of God*, we read *the finger of God.* By this power the man Chriſt was enabled to caſt out devils. For he ſpeaks of himſelf here in his human, not in his divine nature, according to the notion, which the phariſees had of him: as is plain from his ſtyling himſelf *the ſon of man*, in the ſequel of his diſcourſe to them.' Abraham Le Moine's Treatiſe on Miracles, p. 50.

to

to deviſe cunning work in gold, and in ſilver, and in braſs.... And behold, I have given with him Aholiab,... and in the hearts of all that are wiſe-hearted, I have put wiſdom, that they may make all that I have commanded thee. See alſo ch. xxxv. 30—35 and xxxiv. 1, 2.

Numb. xi. 16, 17. *And the Lord ſaid unto Moſes, gather to me ſeventy men of the elders of the people:... and I will take of the ſpirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them.* No one underſtands hereby that God intended to take from Moſes a ſpiritual being, or part of a ſpiritual being: but that he determined to beſtow upon thoſe elders qualifications of wiſdom and underſtanding, reſembling thoſe in Moſes, by which he was ſo eminent and diſtinguiſhed.

Afterwards it is ſaid, ver. 25, 26. *And the Lord came down in a cloud, and ſpake unto him, and took of the ſpirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the ſeventy elders. And it came to paſs, that when the ſpirit reſted upon them, they propheſied, and did not ceaſe:* meaning for ſome while. *But there remained two of the men in the camp:... and the ſpirit reſted upon them;... and they propheſied in the camp.*

Deut. xxxiv. 9. *And Joſhua was full of the ſpirit of wiſdom: for Moſes had laid his hands upon him.*

Judges iii. 10. *And the ſpirit of the Lord came upon him,* [Othniel] and *he judged Iſrael, and went out to war.... And his hand prevailed againſt Chuſhan-riſhathaim.*

Judg. vi. 34. *But the ſpirit of the Lord came upon Gideon.* Ch. xi. 29. *Then the ſpirit of the Lord came upon Jepthah.*

... Ch. xiv. 5, 6. *Then went Samſon down, and his father and his mother, to Timnath: and behold a young lion roared againſt him: and the ſpirit of the Lord came mightily upon him: and he rent him as he would have rent a kid: and he had nothing in his hand.* See likewiſe ch. xv. 14.

2 Sam. xxiii. 1—3. *Now theſe be the laſt words of David. David the ſon of Jeſſe ſaid, and the man, who was raiſed up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the ſweet Pſalmiſt of Iſrael ſaid, the ſpirit of the Lord ſpake by me, and his word was in my tongue. The God of Iſrael ſaid, the rock of Iſrael ſpake to me: he that ruleth over men muſt be juſt, ruling in the fear of God.*

2 Chron. xx. 14, 15. *Then upon Jahaziel, the ſon of Zechariah, the ſon of Benaiah,... a Levite of the ſons of Aſaph, came the ſpirit of the Lord, in the midſt of the congregation. And he ſaid: hearken ye all Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jeruſalem...*

Another inſtance of what Maimonides calls divine influence, whereby a man is enabled to propheſy, or give counſel from God in a difficult circumſtance, as that was with the people of Judah.

So Ezek. xi. 4, 5. *Therefore propheſy againſt them,* propheſy, *O ſon of man. And the ſpirit of the Lord fell upon me, and ſaid unto me: ſpeak, thus ſaith the Lord* ... And St. Peter ſays, 2 Ep. i. 20, 21. *Knowing this firſt, that no prophecy of the ſcripture is of any private interpretation,* impulſe or ſuggeſtion. *For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men ſpake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt,* or by the divine influence. As St. Paul alſo ſays, 2 Tim. iii. 16. *All ſcripture is given by inſpiration of God.*

1 Chron. xii. 18. *Then the ſpirit came upon Amaſai, who was chief of the captains, and he ſaid: thine are we, David, and on thy ſide, thou ſon of Jeſſe. Peace be unto thee, and peace be to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee. Then David received them.* Patrick's comment is to this purpoſe: 'The 'ſpirit of power, ſaith the Targum: that is, God powerfully 'moved him with an heroical boldneſs and reſolution, in the 'name of them all to proteſt fidelity to David, in ſuch 'pathetical words, as convinced him they were friends.'

2 Kings ii. 9. *And it came to paſs, when they were gone over* [Jordan] *that Elijah ſaid unto Eliſha: aſk, what I ſhall do for thee, before I be taken away from thee. And Eliſha ſaid: I pray thee, let a double portion of thy ſpirit be upon me.*

By which ſome have ſuppoſed, that Eliſha begged to have as much more of the ſpirit as Elijah had. But as that would be arrogance, the beſt commentators rather think, he only deſired, that he might be as the eldeſt, or firſt-born among his fellow-diſciples: even as the firſt-born in a family had a double portion to that of other children. See thereafter, ver. 15. and Deut. xxi. 17. and Grotius and Patrick upon this text. All muſt be ſenſible, that a gift, not a perſon, is here intended.

Prov. i. 23. *Turn you at my reproof. Behold, I will pour out my ſpirit unto you. I will make known my words unto you.* 'That 'is, I will teach you, and enable you to underſtand the 'rules of virtue and holineſs; which if you follow, you will 'be happy.'

Zach. xii. 10. *And I will pour out upon the houſe of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, the ſpirit of grace and ſupplications.*

supplications. Which cannot imply a promise of pouring out upon them a transcendent being or spirit: but of giving them the temper, the qualification, the disposition of grace and supplication.

There are also in the Old Testament promises of the spirit relating to the Messiah.

Is. xi. 1—3. *And there shall come forth a rod out of a stem of Jesse... And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord. And shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord.*

Is. lxii. 2. *Behold my servant, whom I uphold, my elect, in whom my soul delighteth. I have put my spirit upon him. He shall bring forth judgment to the gentiles.*

And the promises of the spirit, in the times of the Messiah, import also a plentiful effusion of spiritual gifts.

Is. xliv. 3. *And I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground. I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thy offspring.* Comp. John vii. 38, 39. Acts ii. 17, 18. And see Is. lix. 2. Ezek. xi. 19. xxxvi. 27. xxxvii. 14. xxxix. 29.

Joel ii. 28, 29. *And it shall come to pass afterwards, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh. And your sons, and your daughters shall prophesy. Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants, and the handmaids, in those days will I pour out my spirit.* See Acts ii. 17, 18.

In all which texts, as seems very evident, by *the spirit*, and *the spirit of God*, and *the spirit of the Lord*, is meant not a being, or intelligent agent, but a power, a gift, a favour, a blessing.

I proceed to the New Testament, in which likewise many texts are to be taken notice of by us.

Matt. x. 19, 20. *But when they deliver you up, take no thought how, or what ye shall speak. For it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.*

Mark xiii. 11. *But when they shall lead you, and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate. But whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye. For it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.*

Luke xii. 11, 12. *And when they bring you unto the synagogues, and unto magistrates, and powers; take ye no thought, how,*

or what thing ye ſhall anſwer, or what ye ſhall ſay. For the Holy Ghoſt ſhall teach you, in that ſame hour, what ye ought to ſay.

Luke xxi. 14, 15. *Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before, what ye ſhall anſwer. For I will give you a mouth and wiſdom,* or wiſe ſpeech, *which all your adverſaries ſhall not be able to gainſay, or reſiſt.*

How theſe and the like promiſes were afterwards fulfilled, when the apoſtles of Chriſt, and other his diſciples, were brought before the Jewiſh, or other rulers and governors, we ſee in their hiſtory, recorded in the book of the Acts. Of St. Stephen, in particular, it is ſaid, ch. vi. 9, 10. *Then there aroſe certain, diſputing with Stephen. And they were not able to reſiſt the wiſdom, and the ſpirit, by which he ſpake.*

John iii. 34. *For he, whom God hath ſent, ſpeaketh the words of God. For God giveth not the ſpirit by meaſure unto him.* Here by *the ſpirit,* as I ſuppoſe, all underſtand a gift.

John vii. 37—39. *In the laſt day, that great day of the feaſt, Jeſus ſtood, and cried, ſaying: if any man thirſt, let him come to me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the ſcripture hath ſaid, out of his belly ſhall flow rivers of living water. But this ſpake he of the ſpirit, which they that believe on him ſhould receive. For the Holy Ghoſt was not yet given, becauſe that Jeſus was not yet glorified.*

Here alſo, as is very plain, by *the ſpirit,* and *the Holy Ghoſt,* is meant a gift, or a plentiful effuſion of ſpiritual gifts.

John xx. 19—22. *Then the ſame day at evening, being the firſt day of the week: ... came Jeſus, and ſtood in the midſt, and ſaith unto them: Peace be unto you ... As my Father hath ſent me, even ſo ſend I you. And when he had ſaid this, he breathed on them, and ſaith unto them: Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt:* that is, he encouraged them to rely upon him for the fulfilment of the promiſe he had made, that they ſhould receive from above ſufficient qualifications for the diſcharge of their high office. Which actually came to paſs on the day of Pentecoſt next enſuing.

Acts i. 4, 5. *And being aſſembled together with them, he commanded them, that they ſhould not depart from Jeruſalem, but wait for the promiſe of the Father, which, ſaith he, ye have heard of me.* [Luke xxiv. 49.] *For John truly baptized with water: but ye ſhall be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt, not many days hence.* Which cannot be underſtood of a perſon. The meaning therefore is: ye ſhall be favoured with a plentiful effuſion of

of spiritual gifts. As the event likewise shows. See John i. 33. and Acts xi. 16.

Ver. 8. *But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you.*

Acts ii. 1—4. *And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place.... And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the spirit gave them utterance.*

When all men wondered at this strange appearance, and some mocked, ver. 14—18. *Peter*, standing up says, *This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel. And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh. And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream dreams. And on my servants and my handmaidens I will pour out my spirit, and they shall prophesy.*

Ver. 33. *Therefore being by the right hand of God, exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth*, or poured out, *this, which ye now see and hear.*

Ver. 38. *Then Peter said unto them, repent, and be baptized ...in the name of Jesus Christ:... and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.*

Acts iv. 8. *Then Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, ye rulers of the people, and elders of Israel....*

... Ver. 21. *And when they had prayed, the place was shaken where they were assembled together, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost. And they spake the word with boldness.* Ver. 33. *And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. And great grace was upon all.*

Acts vi. 3. *Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business.* Ver. 5. *And the saying pleased the whole multitude. And they chose Stephen, full of the Holy Ghost, and Philip.* Ver. 8. *And Stephen full of faith and power did great wonders and miracles among the people.* Ver. 9. *Then there arose certain,... disputing with Stephen.* Ver. 10. *And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake.*

Acts viii. 14. *Now when the apostles, which were at Jerusalem, heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John.* Ver. 15. *Who when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost: for as yet he was fallen upon none of them. Only they were bap-*

tized in the name of the Lord Jeſus. Ver. 17. *Then laid they their hands on them: and they received the Holy Ghoſt.* Ver. 18. *And when Simon ſaw, that through laying on of the apoſtles' hands the Holy Ghoſt was given, he offered them money.* And what follows.

Acts x. 44. *While Peter yet ſpake theſe words, the Holy Ghoſt fell on all them which heard the word.* Ver. 45. *And they of the circumciſion which believed, were aſtoniſhed, as many as came with Peter, becauſe that on the gentiles were poured out the gift of the Holy Ghoſt.* Ver. 46. *For they heard them ſpeak with tongues, and magnify God.* Ver. 47. *Then anſwered Peter: can any man forbid water, that theſe ſhould not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghoſt as well as we?*

Acts xi. 16, 17. *Foraſmuch then, as God gave them the like gift, as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jeſus; what was I, that I could withſtand God?* Ch. xv. 18. *And God, which knows the hearts, bare them witneſs, giving them the Holy Ghoſt, as he did unto us.*

I have omitted Acts ix. 17. and x. 38. for the ſake of brevity, and as not being neceſſary to be now inſiſted upon. The paragraph in Acts xix. 1—7. will be conſidered hereafter among the texts, that are to be explained.

Rom. v. 5. *And hope maketh not aſhamed, becauſe the love of God is ſhed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghoſt, which is given to us.*

Tit. iii. 5, 6. . . . *according to his mercy he has ſaved us by the waſhing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghoſt, which he ſhed on us,* [has poured out upon us, ου εξεχεεν εφ ημας,] *abundantly, through Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour.*

Heb. ii. 4. *God alſo bearing them witneſs both with ſigns and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, according to his own will.*

And gifts of the Holy Ghoſt. It ſhould be rather rendered, *and diſtributions of the Holy Ghoſt:* και πνευματος αγιου μερισμοις. A remarkable expreſſion, plainly declaring that by the Holy Ghoſt, or the Holy Spirit, was meant thoſe ſpiritual gifts which came down upon men from heaven immediately, or were communicated in great variety, by the laying on of the hands of the apoſtles.

Heb. vi. 4. . . . *thoſe who were once enlightened, and have taſted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghoſt.* —τους απαξ φωτισθεντας, γευσαμενους τε της δωρεας της επουρανιου, και μετοχους γενηθεντας πνευματος αγιου.

Dr.

Dr. Whitby's paraphrase is this: 'and *having tasted of the* 'heavenly gift, *and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost*, sent 'down from heaven, and conferred on them by the imposition 'of hands.

Learned interpreters are not agreed in the meaning of the heavenly gift. To me it seems that by both these expressions, one and the same thing is intended, even the Holy Ghost: and that the writer of this epistle calls it the heavenly gift, in allusion to the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles and their company on the day of Pentecost, as related Acts ii. 1—13.

But though commentators do not agree in their interpretation of the first particular, I suppose, that by the Holy Ghost they generally understand miraculous powers and gifts, of which persons here spoken of had partaken. So Whitby, as just cited. So likewise Grotius. Subjicit etiam *participes fuisse spiritus sancti*, id est, dona consecutos prophetiæ, linguarum, sanationum, quæ non contingebant eo tempore nisi justificatis, id est, purgatis. Grot. in loc. Du saint esprit.] Des dons miraculeux. Le Clerc.

1 Pet. i. 12. *Unto whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the gospel to you, with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven.*

Here I suppose to be a plain reference to the plentiful effusion of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost, as related by St. Luke at the beginning of the book of the Acts. It is probable, that many of the Christians, to whom St. Peter is here writing, were converted by St. Paul, who was not present with the rest on that memorable day. Nevertheless he had received the spirit in a very plentiful measure, and immediately from heaven, without the intervention of any of those who were apostles before him. It is also very likely that St. Peter himself, and some others of the twelve had been in these countries before his writing this epistle. For, not now to mention St. John, who perhaps did not take up his abode at Ephesus, till after the writing this epistle of Peter. I think we have good evidence that [4] Philip, one of the twelve apostles, resided for some time, and died at Hierapolis in Phrygia. And it may be reckoned probable, that he was for a while very useful in preaching the

[4] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 31. l. 5. cap. 24. in. Hieron de V. I. cap. 45. Polycrates.

gospel

goſpel in thoſe parts, and that he wrought miracles among the people there.

By the Holy Ghoſt ſent down from heaven, I ſuppoſe to be meant the inſpiration of the apoſtles, and the miraculous powers and gifts with which they were endowed.

Res illæ magnæ nobis plene explicatæ ſunt per apoſtolos, et eorum adjutores, *cælitus donatos ſpiritu ſancto*, id eſt, donis majoribus, quam ipſi prophetæ habuere, et de quibus ipſi prophetæ ſunt locuti, ut Joel ii. 28. Grot. in loc.

1 John iv. 13. *Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, becauſe he has given us of his ſpirit:* οτι εκ τȣ πνευματος αυτȣ δεδωκεν ημιν. And ſee ch. ii. 20.

In theſe texts the Spirit, or the Holy Ghoſt, is oftentimes ſpoken of as a gift. And there is a variety of expreſſions, ſuch as giving, pouring out, falling upon men, receiving, and being filled with, the Holy Ghoſt; which import a gift, a power, a privilege and bleſſing, rather than a perſon.

To all which may be added, fourthly, that in the epiſtles of the New Teſtament there are at the beginning, and elſewhere, wiſhes of peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but none from the Spirit diſtinctly. Nor are there any doxologies, or aſcriptions of glory to the Spirit diſtinctly, though there are ſeveral ſuch aſcriptions to God and Chriſt, or to God through Chriſt.

Rom. i. 7. *To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be ſaints: grace be to you and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* So alſo 1 Cor. i. 3. 2 Cor. i. 2. Gal. i. 3. Eph. i. 2. and elſewhere. And Eph. vi. 13. *Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith from God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

Some of the doxologies are theſe: Rom. xi. 36. *For of him, and through him, and to him are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.* Ch. xvi. 27. *To God only wiſe be glory through Jeſus Chriſt for ever. Amen.* See Eph. iii. 20, 21. Philip. iv. 8. *Now unto God, even our Father, be glory for ever and ever.* See 1 Tim. i. 17. Heb. xiii. 20, 21. *Now the God of peace... make you perfect,... through Jeſus Chriſt: to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.* 1 Pet. iv. 11. *That God in all things may be glorified through Jeſus Chriſt: to whom be praiſe and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.* 2 Pet. iii. 18. *But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: to him be glory both now and ever. Amen.* And ſee Jude, ver. 24, 25. Rev. i. 5, 6. *Unto him that loved*

us,

us, and redeemed us from our sins by his own blood, and has made us kings and priests unto God, even his Father: to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. See also Rev. iv. 9—11. v. 12, 13. vii. 10.

I quote no other books as of authority, beside the books of scripture commonly received by Christians, as of divine original. Nevertheless I may observe by way of illustration, that the wishes of peace, and the doxologies in the most early Christian writers, are agreeable to those in the epistles of the New Testament, which have been just now alledged.

The epistle of Clement, written in the name of the church of Rome to the church of Corinth, begins in this manner. 'Grace and peace be multiplied unto you from God Almighty through Jesus Christ.'

In this epistle are several doxologies. And they are all ascribed to God, or Christ, or to God through Christ.

The conclusion of the epistle is in these words: 'The 'grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, and with 'all every where, who are called by God through him: 'through whom to him be glory, honour, might, majesty, 'and everlasting dominion, for ever and ever. Amen.'

The epistle of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, which is sent to the Philippians, is inscribed in this manner: 'Polycarp, 'and the presbyters that are with him, to the church of God 'which is at Philippi. Mercy and peace be multiplied unto 'you from God Almighty, and from the Lord Jesus Christ 'our Saviour.'

In the twelfth chapter, or section of that epistle are these expressions. 'Now the God and Father of our Lord 'Jesus Christ, and he himself, who is our everlasting high 'priest, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith 'and truth, meekness and patience.'

A catholic author, supposed to have lived about the year of Christ 220. and writing against heretics, says: 'There 'is, indeed, one God, whom we can know no otherwise, but 'from the holy scriptures.... Whatever therefore the divine 'scriptures declare, that let us embrace: what they teach, let us learn. And as the Father willeth we should believe, 'so let us believe: as he willeth the Son should be honoured, 'so let us honour him: as [5] he willeth the Holy Ghost should 'be given, so let us accept.'

[5] ... και ως θελει πνευμα αγιον δοθηναι, λαβωμεν. Hippolyt. contr. Noet. § ix. p. 12. ap. Fabr. T. II.

Jerom

Jerom ſays, 'that [6] Lactantius in his epiſtles, eſpecially 'thoſe to Demetrian, denies the perſonality of the Holy 'Ghoſt: referring him, and his operations, as the Jews 'alſo erroneouſly do to the Father, or the Son.'

And in another place he ſays, that [7] this was the ſentiment of many Chriſtians in his own time, who did not underſtand the ſcriptures.

The biſhops in the council of Nice, having declared the doctrine concerning God the Father, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, add: 'And in the Holy Ghoſt:' that is: 'And we believe in the Holy Ghoſt.'

It follows in the ſame creed, as it is exhibited in the liturgy of the Church of England: 'The Lord and giver 'of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, 'who with the Father and the Son is worſhipped and glorified, 'who ſpake by the prophets.' But that is not in the creed of the council of Nice, which ſat in the year of our Lord 325, but it is taken from the creed of the council of Conſtantinople, which was convened in the year 381. Or, as it is more accurately expreſſed by Biſhop Burnet at the beginning of his expoſition of the eighth article of the church of England: 'So that the creed, here called the Nice-creed, is indeed 'the Conſtantinopolitan creed, together with the addition of 'Filioque, made by the weſtern church.'

I might add a great deal more from the writers of the firſt three centuries. But this is not a place for enlargement. What has been already ſaid, may be ſufficient to render it probable, that the doctrine of the Trinity, which is now commonly received, and which is ſo much diſliked by many, was not formed all at once, but was the work of ſeveral ages.

[6] Lactantius in epiſtolis, ſuis, et maxime in epiſtolis ad Demetrianum, Spiritus Sancti negat ſubſtantiam, et errore Judaico dicit eum vel ad Patrem referri, vel ad Filium, et ſanctificationem utriuſque perſonæ ſub nomine ejus demonſtrari. Hieron. ad Pamm. et Oc. ep. 41. al. 65. T. IV. p. 345.

[7] Hoc ideo: quia multi per imperitiam ſcripturarum (quod et Firmianus in octavo ad Demetrianum epiſtolarum libro fecit:) aſſerunt, Spiritum ſanctum ſæpe Patrem ſæpe Filium nominari. Et cum perſpicue in Trinitate credamus, tertiam perſonam auferentes, non ſubſtantiam ejus volunt eſſe, ſed nomen. Id. in Galat. cap. iv. ve.. 6. T. IV. P. I. p. 268.

SECT.

SECT. II.

OBJECTIONS. BUT it may be objected, that the Spirit, or the Holy Ghost, is oftentimes spoken of as a person, and especially in St. John's gospel.

John xiv. 16, 17. *And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him. But ye know him. For he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.*

... Ver. 25, 26. *These things have I spoken unto you, being present with you. But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.*

John xvi. 7. *Nevertheless I tell you the truth. It is expedient for you, that I go away. For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you. But if I depart, I will send him unto you....* Ver. 12. *I have yet many things to say unto you. But ye cannot bear them now.* Ver. 13. *Howbeit, when the spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth. For he shall not speak of himself. But whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak. And he will show you things to come.* Ver. 14. *He shall glorify me. For he shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you.* Ver. 15. *All things that the Father hath are mine. Therefore said I, that he shall take of mine: and shall show it unto you.*

In answer to which several things may be said.

1. It is not uncommon, in the language of scripture, to personalize many things, to which we do not ascribe intelligence.

The book of Proverbs, where wisdom is brought in speaking, as a person, is a well-known and remarkable instance. So likewise in the New Testament death reigns. Rom. v. 14, 17. and is an enemy. 1 Cor. xv. 26, 55—57. And sin is spoken of as a lord and master, and pays wages, and that in opposition to God, the most perfect agent. Rom. vi. 12. *Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof.* 14. *For sin shall not have dominion over you.* 17. *Ye were once the servants of sin ...* 23. *For the wages of sin is death. But the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.*

And

And how many things are done by charity, as deſcribed by St. Paul! 1 Cor. xiii. *It ſuffereth long, and is kind, thinketh no evil, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things*, and the like.

I might quote here many other texts. Judg. xxiv. 26, 27. *And Joſhua took a great ſtone, and ſet it up there under an oak.... And Joſhua ſaid unto all the people: Behold, this ſtone ſhall be a witneſs unto us: for it has heard all the words of the Lord, which he ſpake unto us. It ſhall therefore be a witneſs unto you, leſt ye deny your God.*

John xii. 48. *He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, has one that judgeth him. The word that I have ſpoken, the ſame ſhall judge him at the laſt day.*

Let me recite here the words of a pious and learned Engliſh writer.[8] 'To conclude this point, the ſum of our Saviour's 'preaching conſiſts in inculcating this one great and funda-'mental truth of Chriſtianity: that *we are nothing, and God* '*is all in all.* It is his word that enlightens our minds, his 'ſpirit directs our wills, his providence orders our affairs, 'his grace guides us here, and his mercy muſt bring us to 'heaven hereafter.'

Why is God's ſpirit a perſon more than his providence, or his grace, or mercy? We know, that by theſe laſt this writer does not intend perſons, though he aſcribes to them the guidance of us, or other actions. In the Jewiſh language, and among the Jewiſh people, ſpirit would no more ſignify a perſon, than grace or mercy. Nor were they more likely to aſcribe diſtinct perſonality to the ſpirit, than we to the grace, or mercy, or providence of God.

2. There is not in the Acts of the apoſtles, or in any other book of the New Teſtament, any account of the appearance and manifeſtation of a great agent, or perſon, after our Saviour's aſcenſion: therefore no ſuch thing was promiſed or intended by our Saviour, nor expected by the apoſtles, who could not but know his meaning.

3. In other texts of ſcripture, and particularly in St. John's goſpel, by the Spirit, or the Holy Ghoſt, is meant a gift, or a plentiful effuſion of ſpiritual gifts. I intend John iii. 34. vii. 39. xx. 22. which were alledged not long ago.

4. Our Saviour himſelf has explained what he meant by *the Comforter.*

[8] Directions for profitable reading the Holy Scriptures. By William Lowth, p. 100.

So

So it is in one of thoſe texts, upon which this objection is founded. John xiv. 26. *But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghoſt:* or, more literally, *the Comforter, the Holy Ghoſt.* ο δε παρακλητος, το πνευμα το αγιον. But by *the Holy Ghoſt*, in other places of this goſpel, as well as in many other texts of the New Teſtament, is not meant, as we have plainly ſeen, a powerful agent, but the Divine Influence, or the effuſion of ſpiritual gifts. This therefore is what our Lord intended by the Comforter. And this ſenſe is confirmed by the book of the Acts, wherein is recorded the fulfilment of our Saviour's promiſe.

5. Our bleſſed Lord, in ſpeaking of this matter, has made uſe of a variety of expreſſions: by attending to which we may clearly diſcern his true meaning in what he ſays of the Comforter.

Matt. xxviii. 20. *And lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.* In John xiv. 16. lately quoted, he ſays: *I will pray the Father, and he ſhall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever.* One and the ſame thing is intended in both places.

In the texts of St. John's goſpel, upon which this objection is built, our Saviour ſpeaks of the teachings of the ſpirit, whereby the diſciples would be enlightened, and led into a clear diſcernment of his ſcheme of religion. But in John xvi. 25. are theſe expreſſions. *Theſe things have I ſpoken unto you in proverbs. The time cometh, when I ſhall no more ſpeak to you in proverbs,* or parables: *but I ſhall ſhow you plainly of the Father.* Here our Lord ſpeaks of thoſe teachings as his own.

In Matt. x. 20. it is ſaid: *For it is not ye that ſpeak, but the ſpirit of your Father which ſpeaketh in you.* To the like purpoſe in Mark xiii. 11. and Luke xii. 12. But in Luke xxi. 15. our Lord expreſſeth himſelf in this manner. *For I will give you a mouth and wiſdom, which all your adverſaries ſhall not be able to gainſay, nor reſiſt.*

Mark xvi. 19, 20. *So then after the Lord had ſpoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and ſat on the right hand of God. And they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them,* or *the Lord co-operating,* τε κυριε συνεργουντος, *and confirming the word with ſigns following.* Here the miracles of the apoſtles, after his aſcenſion, are aſcribed to our Lord himſelf, or his powerful preſence and influence.

Acts

Acts ix. 17, 18. *And Ananias went his way, and entered into the houſe: and putting his hands upon him, ſaid: Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jeſus, that appeared to thee in the way as thou cameſt, hath ſent me, that thou mighteſt receive thy ſight, and be filled with the Holy Ghoſt. And immediately there fell from his eyes, as it had been ſcales. And he received ſight forthwith, and aroſe, and was baptized.*

Acts ix. 32—34. *And it came to paſs, as Peter paſſed throughout all quarters, he came down alſo to the ſaints, which dwelt at Lydda. And there he found a certain man named Eneas, which had kept his bed eight years, and was ſick of the palſy. And Peter ſaid unto him: Eneas, Jeſus Chriſt maketh thee whole. Ariſe, and make thy bed. And he aroſe immediately.*

I might refer alſo to Acts iii. 6. iv. 10—12. But I forbear.

However, I ſhall add a few other texts from the epiſtles, which I think are to the preſent purpoſe, and may deſerve to be conſidered.

Rom. xii. 3. *For I ſay, through the grace given to me, to every man that is among you... to think ſoberly, according as God has dealt to every man the meaſure of faith.*

Ver. 6. *Having then gifts, differing according to the grace that is given to us.*

Eph. iii. 6, 7. *That the gentiles ſhould be fellow-heirs... and partakers of his promiſe in Chriſt by the goſpel: whereof I was made a miniſter, according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me, by the effectual working of his power.*

Eph. iv. 7. *But unto every one of us is given grace, according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt....* Ver. 11, 12. *And he gave ſome apoſtles, and ſome prophets, and ſome evangeliſts, and ſome paſtors and teachers, for the perfecting the ſaints, for the work of the miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt.*

1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. *As every man hath received the gift, even ſo miniſter the ſame one to another, as good ſtewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man ſpeak, let him ſpeak as the oracles of God: if any man miniſter, let him do it, as of the ability which God giveth: that God in all things may be glorified through Jeſus Chriſt. To whom be praiſe and dominion, for ever and ever. Amen.*

And 1 Cor. xii. 6. St. Paul ſays: *There are diverſities of operations: but it is the ſame God, which worketh all in all.* And at ver. 28. *God hath ſet ſome in the church, firſt apoſtles, ſecondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles...*

All

All which seems to show, that by the spirit is to be understood that special influence, which, in different measures and proportions, God vouchsafes to men through Jesus Christ, for their own comfort and establishment, and for spreading the great truths of religion in the world.

Luke xxiv. 49. *And behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you. But tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.*

This power, this divine influence, this effusion of knowledge, and other spiritual gifts, our Lord calls *the Comforter*, or *the Advocate*, παράκλητος, as thereby their cause would be pleaded with men, and they would be justified in their preaching boldly in the name of Jesus Christ.

This gift, this divine influence, he calls also *the spirit of truth*, because by that wonderful influence on their minds the apostles would be led into the knowledge of all the truths of the gospel, and would be enabled to teach them to others with perspicuity.

And our Lord speaks of the spirit's *bringing to their remembrance* the things, which he had said, and of his *receiving of his, and showing it unto them:* because by this miraculous influence upon their minds, those prejudices would be removed, which had obstructed their clear discernment of what Christ had said unto them, while he was with them.

There are other texts, from which objections may be raised. But they may be as well considered in the next section. And I think, that will be the shortest method.

SECT. III.

TEXTS EXPLAINED. 1. Luke xi. 13. *If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?* Which is parallel with Matt. vii. 11. *If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children: how much more shall your Father, which is in heaven, give good things to them that ask him?* Whereby we may perceive, that by *the Holy Spirit* is meant any good thing, conducive to our real happiness. And we are induced to recollect here what St. James says. i. 5. *If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not. And it shall be given to him.* And see ver. 17.

2. Matt. iv. 1. *Then was Jeſus led up of the Spirit into the wilderneſs, to be tempted of the devil.* Mark i. 12. *And immediately the Spirit driveth him into the wilderneſs.* Luke iv. 1. *And Jeſus being full of the Holy Ghoſt, returned from Jordan, and was led by the Spirit into the wilderneſs.*

The coherence will lead us into the true meaning of theſe words. Our bleſſed Lord had juſt been baptized, and the Holy Ghoſt deſcended from heaven, and abode upon him. At the ſame time he was ſolemnly inaugurated, and publicly declared, to be the Meſſiah. There came a voice from heaven, ſaying: *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.* Now therefore was fulfilled the prophecy in Iſ. xi. 1, 2. *And there ſhall come forth a rod out of the ſtem of Jeſſe... And the Spirit of the Lord ſhall reſt upon him, the ſpirit of wiſdom and underſtanding, the ſpirit of counſel and might....* By that divine and extraordinary wiſdom, our Lord was directed, and influenced, to retire into the wilderneſs. And having been there tempted of Satan, and having vanquiſhed him, as St. Luke ſays, ch. iv. 14, 15. *Jeſus returned in the power of the ſpirit into Galilee,* fully qualified for the diſcharge of his high office, both for teaching his excellent doctrine, and for confirming it by miracles. *And there went out a fame of him through all the regions round about. And he taught in their ſynagogues, being glorified of all.* So our Lord ſaid to his diſciples, as recorded Acts i. 8. *Ye ſhall receive power, after that the Holy Ghoſt is come upon you.* Or, as it is in the margin of ſome of our Bibles: *Ye ſhall receive the power of the Holy Ghoſt coming upon you.*

3. Matt. xii. 31. *Wherefore I ſay unto you: all manner of ſin and blaſphemy ſhall be forgiven unto men. But the blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhall not be forgiven unto men.* And ſee ver. 32. Compare alſo Mark iii. and Luke xii.

Dr. Wall, who upon John xvi. 13. p. 113. aſſerts the perſonality of the Spirit, explains this text of St. Matthew after this manner, p. 15. 'A man that ſees plainly the 'effects of a preſent ſupernatural power, which, he muſt 'be convinced in conſcience, is the finger, or ſpirit, or 'immediate miraculous power of God: (which is that, which 'is here called the Holy Spirit, or Holy Ghoſt:) and yet 'will maliciouſly blaſpheme, or ſpeak blaſphemous words 'againſt it: that it is the devil, or that the devil helps 'the man that does it: ſuch an one blaſphemes God himſelf,

'ſhowing

'showing himself, or his miraculous power at that time from 'heaven.'

'In Luke xi. 20. What is here called *the Holy Ghost*, is 'there called *the finger of God*. And so the Egyptian magici-'ans, when convinced, called it. Ex. viii. 19.'

Afterwards, in the same note, at p. 16. he says: 'In Acts 'ii. 13. there was a miraculous power of God, enabling 'the apostles to speak with tongues. Some, who did not 'conceive it to be any spirit, or miraculous power, mocked 'at it. These were not denounced to be in any unpardonable 'state.'

Nothing more needs to be said for the explication of that text in St. Matthew, and the parallel places in the other gospels.

4. Matt. xxviii. 19. *Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* 'That is, go ye therefore into all the 'world, and teach, or disciple all nations, baptizing them 'into the profession of faith in, and an obligation to obey the 'doctrine taught by Christ, with authority from God the 'Father, and confirmed by the Holy Ghost.' [9]

By the Holy Ghost, as I apprehend, we are here to understand the miracles of our Saviour's ministry, and likewise the miracles wrought by his apostles, and the spiritual gifts bestowed upon the apostles, and other disciples of Jesus, and all believers in general, soon after our Lord's ascension, and all the miraculous attestations of the truth and divine original of the doctrine taught by Jesus Christ.

It is observable, that the baptismal form, which is in St. Matthew, never appears in those very words, either in the book of the Acts, or in any of the Epistles. But men are required to be *baptized in the name of Christ*, or said to have been *baptized into Christ*. That is, they made a profession of faith in Jesus as the Christ, and acknowledged their

[9] 'Baptizing them with water, 'in the name of the Father, and of 'the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: that 'is, receiving them to a profession 'of the belief of, and an obligation 'to the practice of that religion, 'which God the Father has revealed 'and taught by the Son, and con-'firmed and established by the Holy 'Ghost.' Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase. 'The true meaning is, baptizing 'into the profession of that doc-'trine, which is the mind and 'counsel of God the Father, made 'known to mankind by the Son, 'and confirmed by the mighty 'operations of the Holy Ghost.' Mr. Jo. Burroughs's two Discourses on positive Institutions, p. 41.

obligation to obey him, by being baptized. Acts ii. 38. *Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jeſus Chriſt.* Ch. viii. 16. *Only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jeſus.* See likewiſe ver. 35—38. Rom. vi. 3. *Know ye not, that ſo many of us, as were baptized into Jeſus Chriſt, were baptized into his death?* Gal. iii. 27. *For as many of you, as have been baptized into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt.*

But though the form which is in St. Matthew, never appears elſewhere, the thing intended thereby is always implied. Nor could any be brought to make a profeſſion of faith in Jeſus, as the Chriſt, but upon the ſuppoſition, that he had taught in the name and with the authority of God the Father, and had proved his commiſſion by miraculous atteſtations, which could not be denied nor gainſayed.

5. John xvi. 7. *Nevertheleſs I tell you the truth: it is expedient for you that I go away. For if I go not away the Comforter will not come unto you:* which agrees with what our Lord ſays John vii. 37—39. and with the evangeliſt's own remark: *For the Holy Ghoſt was not yet given, becauſe that Jeſus was not yet glorified.*

The fitneſs and wiſdom of deferring the plentiful effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt for illuminating the apoſtles, and removing their prejudices, and enabling them to teach the doctrine of Chriſt with perſpicuity, and to confirm it by wonderful works, muſt be apparent to all who conſider what evidence was thereby afforded to the truth of their teſtimony concerning the reſurrection and aſcenſion of Jeſus.

Ver. 8—11. *And when he is come, he will reprove,* or convince *the world of ſin, and of righteouſneſs, and of judgment: of ſin, becauſe they believe not on me: of righteouſneſs, becauſe I go to the Father, and ye ſee me no more: of judgment, becauſe the prince of this world is judged.*

If we recollect the many texts which have been already alledged, and particularly what our Lord ſays in John vii. 37—39. juſt now taken notice of, we ſhall find no great difficulty in underſtanding this text.

And when he is come. It is not to be hence argued, that the Holy Ghoſt had never come before. But hereby is meant a certain coming, a plentiful effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, foretold by the prophets, and by our Lord.

The ſpirit had in former times come upon Moſes and the prophets. For, as St. Peter ſays, 2 epiſt. i. 21. *Holy men of God ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt.*

And

And after a long withdrawing of the spirit of God, or withholding extraordinary powers and gifts, from the Jewish people, about the time of our Saviour's nativity, we see divers instances of the divine influence and operation in Zechariah, father of John the baptist, and Elizabeth, and Anna, and Simeon, and then on John the baptist; who undoubtedly taught, and preached, and prophesied by the Holy Ghost, though he did no miracles. The Holy Spirit came down also upon our Lord in a glorious manner, and there were visible tokens of it: whereby John knew him to be the Messiah, the great person, who was to come: and he had *the spirit without measure*, John iii. 34. The Holy Ghost must likewise have been given, during the time of our Lord's abode on this earth, in a certain measure, upon several, particularly the twelve apostles, and the seventy other disciples, in order to qualify them for the discharge of the commission, which our Lord gave them for a time, to go over the cities of Judea, and prepare men for him. And of the seventy it is expressly said, *they returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the daemons are subject to us through thy name*, Luke x. 17.

By *the coming of the Holy Ghost*, then, is to be understood, in this place, a general and plentiful effusion of spiritual gifts upon the apostles themselves, and upon other believers in the Lord Jesus, such as that related in the Acts: when the disciples, who had followed the Lord in the time of his ministry, and still continued together, and afterwards many others likewise, were enabled on a sudden to speak in divers languages, which they had never learned, and to perform many great and extraordinary works in the name of Jesus Christ.

Indeed this coming of the comforter, or the Holy Ghost, comprehends in it all manner of spiritual gifts; not only those just mentioned, but also a clear and distinct knowledge of divine things, even the truths of the doctrine of Christ, and the whole scheme of the gospel dispensation: and prophesying, or foretelling things to come, as well as working miracles, and also readiness of speech, and a becoming degree of courage and boldness in the midst of dangers, and in the presence of the greatest personages; qualifications, of which the disciples had been hitherto very destitute.

The several particulars, sin, righteousness and judgment, of which the world would be convinced by the plentiful effusion of the spirit, here spoken of, need not to be dis-

tinctly explained. The ſum is, that hereby the progreſs of the goſpel would be ſecured. This large and general effuſion of ſpiritual gifts would be a perſuaſive and ſatisfactory evidence of the reſurrection and aſcenſion of Jeſus, and that he was the promiſed Meſſiah, through whom all nations of the earth were to be bleſſed. Or, as John the baptiſt expreſſeth it: *And I knew him not: but he that ſent me to baptize with water, the ſame ſaid unto me: upon whom thou ſhalt ſee the ſpirit deſcending, and remaining on him, the ſame is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt. And I ſaw, and bare record, that this is the Son of God,* John i. 33, 34.

And with great force, as well as propriety, do the apoſtles ſay to the Jewiſh council, as recorded, Acts v. 29—32. *Then Peter, and the* [other] *apoſtles ſaid: We ought to obey God rather than men. The God of our fathers raiſed up Jeſus whom ye ſlew, and hanged on a tree. Him hath God exalted with his right hand, to be a prince, and a ſaviour, to give repentance to Iſrael, and forgiveneſs of ſins. And we are his witneſſes of theſe things. And ſo is alſo the Holy Ghoſt, whom God has given to them that obey him:* 'That is, ſay thoſe judicious commentators, Lenfant 'and Beauſobre, [10] the miraculous gifts which Jeſus had be-'ſtowed upon his apoſtles, and which they conferred upon 'believers.'

6. Acts i. 2. . . . *after that he through the Holy Ghoſt had given commandments unto the apoſtles, whom he had choſen.*

Or, as in the Syriac verſion, [11] *after that he had given commandments to the apoſtles, whom he had choſen by the Holy Spirit:* that is, by ſpecial direction from heaven. Which is very agreeable to what St. Luke writes, chap. vi. 12, 13. *And it came to paſs in thoſe days, that he went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God:* or, in an oratory of God. *And when it was day, he called unto him his diſciples. And of them he choſe twelve, whom alſo he named apoſtles.* Indeed a right choice of the apoſtles of Chriſt depended upon no leſs

[10] *Le S. Eſprit.*] Ce ſont les dons miraculeux, dont J. C. avoit revêtus ſes Apôtres, et qu'ils conferoient aux fideles. Act ii. 33. viii. 15, 17.' Note ſur les Actes des Apôtres. Chap. v. ver. 32.

[11] Act. i. 2. Verba, διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου quæ plerique ad ἐντειλαμένος referunt, conſtruxit Syrus cum ἐξελέξατο: *quos* [apoſtolos] *elegerat per Spiritum Sanctum. . . .* Ex mente Syri interpretis hoc dicit Lucas: Chriſtum non ex ſua voluntate apoſtolos legiſſe, ſed ex nutu Patris, qui per Spiritum Sanctum tanto munere dignos candidatos Filio demonſtraverit. J. D. Michaelis Curæ in Verſionem Syriacam Actuum Apoſtolorum, p. 1.

than

than infinite wisdom. And when another was to be added to the eleven, after the apostasy, and *death of Judas, they appointed two, Joseph called Barsabas, and Matthias. And they prayed, and said: Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show, whether of these two thou hast chosen.* Acts i. 23, 24.

7. Acts v. 3, 4. *Then Peter said: Ananias, why has Satan filled thy heart, to lie unto the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land? . . .Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God . . . Then Peter said unto her:* [Sapphira] *How is it that ye have agreed together, to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?*

They *tempted the Spirit of the Lord.* They acted, as if they had doubted of the divine omniscience, like the Israelites in the wilderness, of whom it is said, Psal. lxxviii. 18, 19, 20. *And they tempted God in their heart, by asking meat for their lust. They said: Can God furnish a table in the wilderness? . . . Can he give bread also? Can he provide flesh for his people?* And as the apostles were plainly under an extraordinary divine influence and direction, when Ananias and Sapphira attempted to impose upon them by a false account, they were justly said *to lie to God* himself, and not to men only.

Athanasius, speaking of this matter, says: 'So [12] that he 'who lied to the Holy Spirit, lied unto God, who dwells in 'men by his spirit. For where the spirit of God is, there is 'God. As it is said: *Hereby know we, that God dwelleth in us,* '*because he has given us of his spirit.*" 1 John iv. 33.

8. Acts viii. 18, 19. *And when Simon saw, that through laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying: Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I shall lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost.*

Mr. Le Moine explains this text in his treatise on miracles, p. 189. '*And when he saw, that through laying on of their hands,* '*the Holy Ghost,* or the power of working miracles, *was* '*given, he offered them money,* to have the same power.'

So then the Holy Ghost, which was bestowed upon believers by the apostles, was the power of miracles, or an extraordinary power, by which the believers might perform miraculous works.

9. Acts ix. 31. *Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified. And walking*

[12] Ὡστε ο ψευσαμενος τω αγιω πνευματι, τω θεω εψευσατο τω κατοικουντι εν ἀνθρωποις δια τε πνευματος αυτε. Οπε γαρ εστι το πνευμα θεε, εκει εστιν ο θεος. κ. λ. Athan. De Incarnat. et cont. Arian. n. 13. p. 881. A.

in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghoſt, were multiplied.

What is here ſaid of the churches does in a great meaſure coincide with what we find in chap. ii. 42, 43, and 46, 47.

... and in the comfort of the Holy Ghoſt. εν τη παρακλησει τȣ αγιȣ πνευματος. Which might be rendered the *patronage* or *aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt:* agreeable to what our Lord had promiſed the diſciples, as recorded John xiv. 16.

Theſe words therefore may be now paraphraſed in this manner. 'Then had the churches, in the ſeveral countries here 'mentioned, peace and tranquillity, being freed from the per-'ſecution, with which they had been diſturbed, and were 'more and more confirmed in the faith. And continuing in 'the devout worſhip of God, and in the ſteady and amiable 'practice of virtue, and likewiſe exerciſing the miraculous gifts 'and powers, with which they had been favoured, they were 'greatly increaſed with the addition of numerous converts.'

Accordingly, there follows in the remaining part of the chapter an account of Peter's paſſing throughout divers places, and coming, particularly, to Lydda, where he healed Eneas, who had been long ſick of the palſy. *And all that dwelt at Lydda and Saron ſaw him,* recovered, *and turned unto the Lord.* Afterwards Peter went to Joppa, where he raiſed to life Tabitha, otherwiſe named Dorcas. *And it was known throughout Joppa: and many believed in the Lord.*

10. Acts xiii. 1—4. *Now there were in the church that is at Antioch certain prophets and teachers, as Barnabas, and Simeon that is called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the Tetrarch, and Saul. As they miniſtred to the Lord, and faſted, the Holy Ghoſt ſaid: ſeparate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had faſted, and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they ſent them away. So they being ſent forth by the Holy Ghoſt, departed unto Seleucia, and thence they ſailed to Cyprus.*

'That is, whilſt thoſe prophets and teachers were engaged 'with others in the public worſhip of God, it [13] was revealed 'unto ſome of them, that they ſhould ſet apart Barnabas and 'Saul to a certain work, for which God had deſigned them. 'Which they did with prayer, and faſting, and laying on

[13] ... *dixit Spiritus Sanctus.*] Per prophetas. Grot. in loc.

'of

'of their hands. And being sent forth by that special appoint-
'ment of heaven, they went to Seleucia, and thence they
'sailed to the island of Cyprus.'

This text, compared with others, may cast light upon them, and be illustrated by them.

Acts xx. 22, 23. *And now, behold, I go bound, in the spirit to Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there: save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying, that bonds and afflictions abide me.* That is, God had declared as much by the mouth of Christian prophets, in several cities, through which the apostle had already passed. Which is agreeable to what St. Luke says more particularly in the account of what happened at Cesarea. ch. xxi. 10, 11. *And as we tarried there many days, there came down from Judea a certain prophet, named Agabus. And when he came unto us, he took Paul's girdle, and bound his own hands and feet, and said: thus saith the Holy Ghost: so shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owns this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles.*

St. Paul speaks of Timothy's having been ordained out of a regard to some prophecies concerning him. 1 Tim. i. 18. *This charge I commit unto thee, son Timothy, according to the prophecies which went before concerning thee, that thou by them mightest war a good warfare.* And ch. iv. 14. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.*

There were prophets, who, when under inspiration, had said some things to the advantage of Timothy: by which the apostle had been encouraged to bestow upon him eminent gifts, and to instate him in an important and useful office.

This enables us also to understand what is said Acts xx. 28. *Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, over which the Holy Ghost has made you overseers.* They had been made bishops by some, who were inspired, or who had been directed in their choice by persons speaking with inspiration.

So Barnabas and Saul were sent out from Antioch, according to prophecy, with an important commission. But their designation may have been more express and solemn, than that of the others, just taken notice of by us.

11. Acts xv. 28. *For it seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden, than these necessary things:*

things: that is,[14] 'It has ſeemed good to us, who have the ſpirit of God, or are inſpired.'

12. Acts xix. 1—6. *And it came to paſs, that whilſt Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having paſſed through the upper coaſt, came to Epheſus. And finding certain diſciples, he ſaid unto them: have ye received the Holy Ghoſt, ſince ye believed? And they ſaid unto him: we have not ſo much as heard, whether there be any Holy Ghoſt. And he ſaid unto them: unto what then were ye baptized? And they ſaid: Unto John's baptiſm. Then ſaid Paul: John verily baptized with the baptiſm of repentance, ſaying unto the people, that they ſhould believe on him which ſhould come after him, that is, on Chriſt Jeſus. When they heard that, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jeſus. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghoſt came upon them, and thy ſpake with tongues, and propheſied. And all the men were about twelve.*

In the preceding chapter, ver. 24, 25. we are informed of *a Jew named Apollos, born at Alexandria, an eloquent man, and mighty in the ſcriptures, who came to Epheſus, . . . knowing only the baptiſm of John.* This likewiſe was the caſe of the men here ſpoken of. They were in Judea when John preached, or when he began to preach, and left it before our Lord appeared publicly. Or elſe they had been inſtructed by Apollos, or ſome other ſuch perſon, who was not fully acquainted with the doctrine of Chriſt. And they knew nothing of the preaching of the apoſtles, and other tranſactions at Jeruſalem, and in Judea, after our Lord's aſcenſion.

Dr. Wall's explication of ver. 2. Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 164. is this: '*We have not ſo much as heard,* 'whether there be any ſuch powers of propheſying, ſpeaking 'with tongues, &c. granted to thoſe that believe.'

Which interpretation ſeems to me to be very right. Theſe men did not know, or *had not heard,* that there was then any general pouring out of the Holy Ghoſt, in which they could partake. They might know, that a general effuſion of extraordinary gifts had been foretold by the prophets, as the privilege of the days of the Meſſiah. But they *had not heard,*

[14] *Viſum eſt enim Spiritui Sancto, et nobis.*] Id eſt, nobis per Spiritum Sanctum. ἐν διὰ δυοῖν. Grot. in loc. Adeo ut verborum ſenſus eſſe videatur: nobis qui Spiritu Sancto donati ſumus, viſum eſt. Limborch. in Act. Apoſt. p. 152. fin.

or

or been informed by any, that such a thing was yet vouchsafed to men: so far were they from having received it themselves.

And I should think, it must appear evident to all, that in this paragraph, the Holy Ghost, wherever mentioned, that is, in Paul's question, in the answer made by these men, and the apostle's following action, denotes a power, a blessing, a privilege, and not a person.

Miraculous gifts being then very common, and generally bestowed upon those, who professed faith in Jesus Christ, St. Paul meeting with these men at Ephesus, asks them: *Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him: we have not so much as heard, that there is any Holy Ghost. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came upon them, and they spake with tongues, and prophesied:* that is, when he laid his hands upon them, they received miraculous powers, and immediately spake with tongues, and prophesied.

I shall place below, in the margin, the observations of [15] Grotius, and [16] Witsius upon this text, who speak to the same purpose, or not very differently.

13. Rom. xiv. 17. *For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.*

The last clause, which should now be explained by me, has been differently understood. Whitby, in his annotations, says, 'it signifies an inward joy, arising from the consolations 'of the Holy Ghost.' And Le Clerc, 'The inward satisfac-'tion, which we enjoy, when we live according to the spirit 'of the gospel. Mr. Locke, 'Joy in the gifts and benefits 'of the Holy Ghost under the gospel.'

[15] *Si Spiritum Sanctum accepistis credentes?*] Spiritus Sanctus hic, et in sequentibus, ita ut Johannis vii. 39. sunt dona ista Ecclesiæ Christianæ reservata: quæ Paulus haud dubium quin pluribus vocibus descripserit.

Sed neque si Spiritus Sanctus est, audivimus.] Non audivimus dari nunc talia dona. Grot. ad Act. xix. 2.

[16] Quos interrogat, *ecquid Spiritum Sanctum accepissent, postquam credidérunt.* Illi vero negant, audivisse se, *sitne Spiritus Sanctus.* Respondent ex catechesi majorum, quâ edocti erant, a morte Ezræ, Haggæi, Zachariæ, et Malachiæ, Spiritum Sanctum ab Israelitis esse ablatum. Porro, restitutum esse, negant sibi compertum. Palam est, non de persona Spiritus S. sed de singularibus et visibilibus illius donis utrimque sermonem esse. Witsius De Vita Pauli Sect. viii. p. 107.

But

But Grotius hereby underſtands [17] 'a care and concern to 'exhilarate others, by the gifts of the ſpirit.' And conſiders it as oppoſed to the grieving, offending, provoking our brother, ſpoken of, and cautioned againſt at ver 15.

That this is the apoſtle's intention, appears, I think, from the whole argument in this chapter, and in the beginning of the next, and particularly from the neareſt context, both before and after. Peace is not inward quiet of mind, but peaceableneſs, a love and ſtudy of peace, and doing all in our power to ſecure and promote it. Nor does the apoſtle ſpeak of the joy which we poſſeſs ourſelves, but of that which we ought to give to others. So likewiſe Gal. v. 22. *The fruit of the ſpirit is love, joy, peace, long-ſuffering.* Where joy is joined with other virtues and duties toward our neighbour: and cannot mean the ſatisfaction which we feel ourſelves, but the ſatisfaction which we procure to others.

St. Paul then here ſays, 'The kingdom of God does not 'conſiſt in ſuch things as meat and drink, but in the practice 'of righteouſneſs, in a love and ſtudy of peace, and care to 'pleaſe and edify our brother by a mild and condeſcending be-'haviour, and diſcourſes ſuited to his capacity, according to 'the doctrine of the goſpel, confirmed by mighty works, and 'many miraculous gifts and powers beſtowed upon believers in 'general.' Therefore he offers that earneſt prayer, chap. xv. 5. *Now the God of patience and conſolation grant you to be like-minded according to Chriſt Jeſus.* That is according to the will and command of Chriſt.

14. In the twelfth chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians the apoſtle has a long argument about ſpiritual gifts, or ſpiritual perſons, as ſome underſtand the expreſſion in ver 1. Περι δε των πνευματικων. Here, undoubtedly, are ſome perſonalizing expreſſions. As ver. 11. *But all theſe worketh that one and the ſelf-ſame ſpirit, dividing to every one ſeverally, as he will.* But then there are other expreſſions, by which he ſhows that by the ſpirit he means a bleſſing, a gift, a power.

Ver. 7. *But the manifeſtation of the ſpirit is given to every man to profit withal:* 'That is, but the plentiful effuſion of ſpiri-

[17] Cura exhilarandi alios per dona ſpiritus ſancti, non autem eos irritandi, quod modo dixit λυπειν. Grot. in loc.

Limborch, in his commentary upon the epiſtle to the Romans, largely aſſerts the ſame ſenſe. Beauſobre likewiſe, in a few words, finely illuſtrates the text after this interpretation. I would alſo refer to Mr. Joſeph Morris's ſermons, publiſhed in 1743, particularly his ſermons upon 1 Theſſ. v. 16. *Rejoice evermore.*

'tual

'tual gifts, with which the church of God is now favoured, is 'designed for general good. And every one is to exercise his 'own particular gift in the way most conducive to the advan-'tage of his brethren in Christ.'

And ver. 13. *For by one spirit, are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free. And have been all made to drink into one spirit.* So we translate the words: but I suppose they might be better rendered in this manner. [18] *For we have all been baptized with one* [19] *spirit, that we might be one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and we have been all made to drink into one spirit.* All believers in Jesus Christ, of every nation and people, of every rank and condition, had received the like or self-same spiritual gifts, that they might reckon themselves to be, and behave as one body; being all united together in love and friendship, in communion and worship. Moreover in the same context the apostle says, ver. 6. *And there are diversities of operations: but it is the same God which worketh all in all.* And ver. 28. *And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities of tongues.*

Many interpreters have supposed, that in the phrase, *and have been all made to drink into one spirit*, the apostle alludes to the eucharistical cup. But I do not perceive any good ground for it. I think the apostle carries on the same allusion. Men were baptized with water. Receiving the spirit in a plentiful effusion is called being *baptized with the spirit*: and the spirit is compared to water. John vii. 37—39. and see Is. xliv. 3. Joel ii. 18. and elsewhere. I think the apostle compares the spirit, or the plentiful effusion of spiritual powers and gifts, such as the church of Christ was then favoured with, to a fountain or river. We have all drank at, and been refreshed out of the same fountain.

The Syriac version of the last clause of this verse is: *And we have all drank-in one spirit.* Et omnes nos unum Spiritum imbibimus. The Latin version may be also observed: Et omnes in uno Spiritu potati sumus.

[18] Και γαρ εν ενι πνευματι ημεις παντες εις εν σωμα εβαπτισθημεν . . . και παντες εις εν πνευμα εποτισθημεν.

[19] Matt. iii. 11. *I indeed baptize you with water; . . . but he that cometh after me shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.* Αυτος υμας βαπτισει εν πνευματι αγιω, και πυρι.

15. I may

15. I may take this opportunity, to conſider the difficult words of the third verſe of this chapter. *Wherefore I give you to underſtand, that no man ſpeaking by the ſpirit of God, calleth Jeſus accurſed*, or anathema: *and that no man can ſay, that Jeſus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghoſt.* 'That is, you may 'be aſſured, that man is not inſpired, whatever pretences he 'may make, who pronounces Jeſus accurſed. Nor can any 'man profeſs faith in Jeſus, as the Chriſt and Lord of all, 'under God the Father, and recommend that faith to others, 'unleſs he has been himſelf made partaker of miraculous 'powers and gifts, or ſeen miraculous works performed by 'others in the name of Jeſus.' St. John ſpeaks to the like purpoſe. 1 epiſt. iv. 1—3.

16. 2 Cor. iii. 17, 18. *Now the Lord is that ſpirit. And where the ſpirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. But we all with open face beholding as in a glaſs the glory of the Lord, are changed into the ſame image from glory to glory, even as by the ſpirit of the Lord.* Or, as others chooſe to render it, *by the Lord the ſpirit.* However, in both is the ſame ſenſe.

Dr. Whitby will aſſiſt us in explaining theſe words. For in his Annotations upon ver. 7—11. of this chapter, he ſays: 'The glory of God, or of the Lord, in the Old Teſtament, 'imports a bright light, or flame included in a cloud, ſtyled 'the *cloud of glory.* And becauſe this, whenever it appeared, 'was a ſymbol of God's glorious preſence, it is ſtyled by the 'Jews *Shechinah, the habitation.* See Ex. xvi. 7, 10. ch. xl. '34. This glory, ſaith the author of Coſri, *is the divine light, 'which God vouchſafeth to his people. By the Shechinah*, ſays 'Elias, *we underſtand the Holy Spirit.* As it is evident they do, 'in theſe ſayings: *The Shechinah will not dwell with ſorrowful 'or melancholy men. The Shechinah will only dwell with a 'ſtrong, rich, wiſe, and humble man. The Shechinah dwells 'with the meek.* And the like.'

We ſhould now obſerve the neareſt context, from ver. 12. *Seeing then that we have ſuch hope*, or ſuch confidence, and well-grounded aſſurance, we, the apoſtles of Chriſt, *uſe great plainneſs of ſpeech*, boldly preaching the pure goſpel of Chriſt, without recommending to men the rituals of the law. Ver. 13. *And not as Moſes, who put a vail over his face* ... Ver. 14. *For until this day remaineth the vail untaken away, in the reading of the Old Teſtament. Which vail is done away in Chriſt.* Ver. 15. *But even unto this day, when Moſes is read, the vail is upon their hearts.* Ver. 16. *Nevertheleſs, when it ſhall turn unto the Lord,*

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the vail shall be taken away. Ver. 17: *Now the Lord is that spirit, and where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.*

Here is throughout an allusion to the history of Moses, after his receiving from God, the second time, the two tables of the law in the mount.

Ex. xxxiv. 29—34. *And it came to pass, when Moses came down from mount Sinai . . . that Moses wist not, that the skin of his face shone . . . And when Aaron, and all the children of Israel, saw Moses, behold the skin of his face shone. And they were afraid to come nigh him. And Moses called unto them. And Aaron, and all the rulers of the congregation returned unto him. And Moses talked with them. Afterwards all the children of Israel came nigh. . . . And till Moses had done speaking unto them, he put a vail on his face. But when Moses went before the Lord, to speak with him, he took the vail off until he came out.*

That is what the apostle alludes to, when he says, ver. 16, 17. *Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord,* that is, when the Jews shall come to Christ, and believe in him, *the vail shall be taken away.* For Moses, when he went in, to appear before the Lord, took off the vail. *Now the Lord is that spirit.* The Lord Jesus is the glory of God: and by coming to him, we are as in the divine presence, and converse without a vail. Which is what is meant by those words: *And where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.*

Then it follows in ver. 18. *But we all with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the spirit of the Lord.*

'But it is not now with us, as it was with the Israelites of old, 'who only saw the face of Moses through a vail, and received 'no derivation of his glory upon themselves; the brightness 'of it, having been intercepted by the vail. No, it is not so 'with us. For now, we all, both Jews and Gentiles, who 'are followers of Jesus, and the people of God, under the 'gospel-dispensation, *with open,* or unvailed, *face, beholding* '*as in a mirror the glory of the Lord,* seeing a strong and lively 'impression of the divine glory in the person of Jesus Christ, 'and his gospel: and there being a bright, and clear, and 'strong refulgence of that glory upon us, *we are changed into* '*the same image from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the Lord:* 'we are transformed into the same likeness, which is con-'tinually increasing and improving. And the impression, 'made upon us, is much the same, as if we were in the divine

'presence,

'presence, and saw the glory of God, with as near and full a 'manifestation, as can be admitted in the present state.'

17. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.*

The last clause may imply a wish, that those Christians might continue to partake in miraculous gifts and powers. But we have observed, that sometimes by the Spirit, or Holy Spirit, may be understood any good things, conducive to men's real happiness. Compare Matt. vii. 11. with Luke xi. 13. And see Eph. i. 3. Prov. i. 23. In this place therefore we may suppose to be hereby meant a participation of, and communion in all the blessings of the gospel, and all other needful good things.

18. Eph. ii. 22. *In whom ye also are builded for an habitation of God through the spirit.*

Dr. Jeremiah Hunt shall explain the text for us.[20]

'I think,' says he, 'there is an expression made use of in re-'spect to all believers in the first age. *Ye are the habitation of* '*God through the spirit.* We, Christians, are the habitation of 'God's Shechinah, the people, among whom God dwells. He 'dwelt as a political king with the Jews, by a sensible symbol 'of his presence. He dwelt with Christian societies (when this 'doctrine was first planted) by those extraordinary gifts of 'the spirit. That is spoken of, in such terms, as are made 'use of, to express God's inhabiting among the people of 'Israel. He dwelt with the Jews in the tabernacle, and the 'temple. He dwelt with Christians, in the first establishment 'of this religion, by the extraordinary gifts, which he impart-'ed to the apostles, who were to found his doctrine, and to 'establish it. Thus far, you see, we are free from enthu-'siasm.'

'I would farther observe, Christ promiseth those who be-'lieve in him, and keep his commandments, that he would 'love them, and that his Father would love them, and that 'they would come, and make their abode with them. John 'xiv. 21, 23. These expressions have been used in a wrong 'sense by enthusiasts. But the phrases are scriptural, and easy 'to be understood. *I will come, and dwell with you.* There is 'a reference to the Shechinah, the divine glory. By the spi-

[20] See his Sermon upon Communion with God: on 1 John i. 6, 7. vol. III. p. 426, 427.

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'ritual gifts, which the Father has given me power to confer, 'I will induce you to believe in me. You will then become '*the habitation of my Father.* He will have communion or 'society with you, by those gifts, which he will enable me to 'impart, and by which that doctrine shall be confirmed, and 'established.'

There are divers other texts, where Christians are spoken of as the temple of God through the spirit. And in all of them there is an allusion to the presence of God among the Jewish people, and in the temple at Jerusalem.

1.) 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. *Know ye not, that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy. For the temple of God is holy, which ye are.*

2.) 1 Cor. vi. 19. *What, know ye not, that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which ye have of God!*

3.) 2 Cor. vi. 16. *And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? For ye are the temple of the living God: as God hath said: I will dwell in them, and walk in them: and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.* See Lev. xxvi. 11, 12.

I would observe, that in the second of these three texts the apostle seems to speak of the spirit, as a gift: *Which,* says he, *ye have of God.* Grotius says, that the Holy Ghost here is the same as the Shechinah. I shall place his note below. [21]

And upon the third, the last cited text, *ye are the temple of the living God,* he says: 'Where [22] God dwells, there is a 'temple. 'God dwells in good men by his spirit. They 'therefore are the temple of God. Nor is it without reason

[21] *Spiritus Sanctus* hic idem quod Shekinah [*Numen Divinum*] in templo. Totus homo *templum Dei*, supra iii. 16, 17. Sed *adytum* est mens hominis: animi cæteræ partes *basilica templi:* corpus vero *porticus*, cum subdialibus. Bene hunc locum explicat Tertullianus libro de Cultu Feminarum altero: *Cum omnes templum simus Dei, illato in nos et consecrato Spiritu Sancto, ejus templi æditua et antistita Pudicitia est, quæ nihil immundum ac profanum inferri sinat, ne Deus ille, qui inhabitat, inquinatam sedem offensus derelinquat.*

'Ου εχετε απο θεϑ.] Spiritus ille a Deo est multo magis quam splendor ille, qui apparebat interdum inter Cherubinos. Constructio est Græca, quæ, relativo pronomini dat casum præcedentem. Grot. in loc.

[22] *Vos enim estis templum Dei vivi.*] Templum est, ubi Deus habitat. In piis habitat Deus per Spiritum Sanctum. Sunt igitur templum Dei. Idem sensus 1 Cor. iii. 17. et vi. 19. Nec frustra addidit ζωντος, quia dii gentium erant homines mortui. Grot. in loc.

'added *living*. For the Gods of the heathen were dead 'men.'

19. The commonneſs of ſpiritual gifts, and the ends and uſes of them, appear from many texts.

1.) Eph. i. 13. In whom *ye alſo truſted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the goſpel of your ſalvation: in whom alſo after that ye believed, ye were ſealed with that Holy Spirit of promiſe:* or, with that Holy Spirit, which had been promiſed.

Upon which text Mr. Locke remarks in theſe words: 'The 'Holy Ghoſt was neither promiſed, nor given to the heathens, 'who were apoſtates from God, and enemies, but only to the 'people of God. And therefore the converted Epheſians hav-'ing received it, might be aſſured thereby, that they were 'now the people of God, and might reſt ſatisfied in this 'pledge of it.'

2.) Eph. ii. 18. *For through him we both have acceſs by one ſpirit unto the Father.* 'For through him we are all encou-'raged in our acceſs to the Father, and are perſuaded of our 'acceptance with him: the like miraculous gifts, which can 'come from God only, having been beſtowed equally upon 'Jews and Gentiles.'

3.) Eph. iv. 30. *And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are ſealed unto the day of redemption:* or rather, *wherewith ye were ſealed in the day of redemption.*

The miraculous gifts and powers beſtowed upon the Chriſtian church, in its early days, are enumerated in ſeveral places. Rom. xii. 6—8. 1 Cor. xii. 1—11. 28—30. xiii. 1, 2. xiv. Eph. iv. 11, 12. And ſee Eph. v. 18—20. Col. iii. 16. 1 Theſſ. v. 19—21.

Theſe gifts and powers, beſtowed upon the apoſtles, and others, ſoon after our Lord's aſcenſion, vindicated them, and juſtified their preaching in his name, and enabled them to do it with ſucceſs.

The pouring out of ſuch gifts upon Cornelius, and his company, in an extraordinary manner, immediately from heaven, ſatisfied the apoſtles, that gentiles might be received into the church, as God's people, upon faith in Jeſus Chriſt, without taking upon them the obſervation of the rituals of the law of Moſes. Acts x. 44—48. xi. 15—18.

And gifts of the ſpirit were beſtowed upon many with the impoſition of the hands of the apoſtles. Which afforded great

great comfort to them [23], as it ſatisfied them, that they were received by God, as his people and children. This appears in ſeveral texts. Some more of which ſhall be here alleged.

4.) Rom. i. 11. *For I long to ſee you, that I may impart unto you ſome ſpiritual gift, to the end you may be eſtabliſhed.* Comp. xv. 29.

5.) Rom. v. 5. *And hope maketh not aſhamed, becauſe the love of God is ſhed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghoſt, which is given to us.*

6.) Rom. viii. 15—17. *For ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry: Abba, Father. The Spirit itſelf beareth witneſs with our ſpirits, that we are the children of God. And if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Chriſt.* See alſo ver. 23. And compare Gal. iv. 5—7.

7.) 1 Cor. vi. 11. *And ſuch were ſome of you. But ye are waſhed, but ye are ſanctified, but ye are juſtified, in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by the Spirit of our God.* 'That is, ye 'have been cleanſed, and ſanctified by the doctrine of Chriſt, 'and have been fully aſſured of your acceptance with God, 'by the ſpiritual gifts conferred upon you.'

8.) 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. *Now he which eſtabliſheth us with you, in Chriſt, and has anointed us, is God. Who has alſo ſealed us, and given the earneſt of his Spirit in our hearts.*

9.) 2 Cor. xi. 4. *For, if he that cometh to you, preacheth another Jeſus, whom we have not preached: or, if ye receive another Spirit, which ye have not received: or another goſpel, which ye have not accepted, ye might well bear with him.*

By *another ſpirit* the apoſtle cannot mean another intelligent agent: but muſt mean greater and more excellent ſpiritual gifts, than thoſe which had been imparted to the Corinthians by himſelf. [24] Mr. Locke's paraphraſe is in theſe words: 'Or, if you have received from him (the 'intruder) other, or greater gifts of the Spirit, than thoſe 'you have received from me.' See 1 Cor. xii.

10.) Gal. iii. 2. *This only would I learn of you. Received ye the ſpirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?*

[23] Sic et dona illa Dei, puta prophetiæ, ſanationes, linguæ, ejectiones dæmonum, certos reddebant credentes, de paterna Dei in ſe benevolentia. Grot. in Eph. i. 13.

[24] η πνευμα ετερον λαμβανετε, ο ουκ ελαβετε. Aut ſi is vobis potiora dona Spiritus conferre potuit, quam nos per manuum impoſitionem vobis contulimus. Grot. in loc.

This is paraphraſed by Mr. Locke after this manner. 'This 'one thing I deſire to know of you. Did you receive the 'miraculous gifts of the ſpirit by the works of the law, or by 'the goſpel preached to you?'

11.) Ver. 5. *He therefore that miniſtreth to you the ſpirit, and worketh miracles among you, doth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?* Here again Mr. Locke's paraphraſe is this: 'The gifts of the Holy Ghoſt that have 'been conferred upon you, have they not been conferred upon 'you as Chriſtians, profeſſing faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and not 'as obſervers of the law? And hath not he, who has con-'veyed theſe gifts to you, and done miracles among you, done 'it as a preacher and profeſſor of the goſpel?'

By all which texts we ſee, how common ſpiritual gifts were in the churches of Chriſt. St. Paul, in Eph. i. 13. cited juſt now, uſeth the expreſſion, *that holy ſpirit of promiſe.* Our Lord's own words are: *And behold, I ſend the promiſe of my Father upon you,* Luke xxiv. 49. Again, *He commanded them, that they ſhould not depart from Jeruſalem, but wait for the promiſe of the Father: which, ſaid he, ye have heard of me,* Acts i. 4. And ſee ch. ii. 33.

Indeed the promiſe of the ſpirit was made to all believers in general, and not to apoſtles only: though to them eſpecially, and in a greater meaſure, than to others. The promiſe of the ſpirit is delivered by Jeſus himſelf, by his fore-runner, and by the ancient prophets, as the great bleſſing of the evangelical diſpenſation, or the privilege of the times of the Meſſiah.

Says our Lord's fore-runner, *I baptize you with water... He ſhall baptize with the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire,* Matt. iii. 11. Comp. Acts i. 5. ch. xi. 16. Our Lord ſays, John vii. 38, 39. *He that believeth on me, as the ſcripture hath ſaid, out of his belly ſhall flow rivers of living water...* And, adds the evangeliſt: *This he ſpake of the ſpirit, which they that believe on him ſhould receive.* And Mark xvi. 17, 18. *Theſe ſigns ſhall follow them that believe. In my name ſhall they caſt out dæmons. They ſhall ſpeak with new tongues. They ſhall take up ſerpents. And if they drink any deadly thing, it ſhall not hurt them. They ſhall lay hands on the ſick, and they ſhall recover.* For the promiſes of the Old Teſtament, I need now refer only to Acts ii. 16—18. And St. Peter, directing and comforting thoſe who were much affected with his firſt diſcourſe after Chriſt's aſcenſion, *ſaid unto them: repent, and be baptized every one of you*

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in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins. And ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many, as the Lord our God shall call, ch. ii. 38, 39. Again: *And we are his witnesses of these things. And so also is the Holy Ghost, which God has given to them that obey him,* ver. 32.

20. I shall here put together some of those texts, which contain exhortations to such as were partakers of the Holy Ghost, or had been favoured with spiritual gifts.

1.) Eph. iv. 30. *And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.* Or, *with which ye were sealed in the day of redemption.* This text was quoted before, upon another account.

Here may be a reference to Is. lxiii. 10. *By the spirit of God* the apostle means those powers and gifts, with which those Christians had been sealed: and by which they might be known, both to themselves and others, to be the people of God. See Eph. i. 13, 14. In the preceding and following verses the apostle cautions the Ephesians to avoid every thing, by which God might be offended, and provoked to withhold his gracious influences, or to withdraw from them the gifts, that had been bestowed upon them. *Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth . . . Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice.*

2.) Eph. v. 18, 19. *And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess: but be filled with the spirit, speaking to yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing, and making melody in your heart to the Lord.* 'That is, be careful not 'to be drunk with wine, in which men are too liable 'to exceed. But, when you are disposed to be cheerful, 'gratify and entertain yourselves and others, with a free 'exercise of the spiritual gifts, wherewith God has blessed 'you.' Comp. Col. iv. 16.

3.) 1 Thess. v. 19—22. *Quench not the spirit. Despise not prophesyings. Prove all things. Hold fast that which is good. Abstain from all appearance of evil.*

'Quench not, nor damp the spiritual gifts, with which 'you have been favoured, either by a neglect of any of 'them, or by an irregular exercise of them, or by the 'indulgence of any sin. And especially, do not despise, 'but cherish, and highly esteem the gift of prophesying, or 'speaking by inspiration for the instruction and edification

'of the church. And be ſure, that you take heed to, and 'examine what is propoſed to you in your public aſſemblies. 'Embrace whatever is right and good, and reject every 'thing that is evil.'

The comment of Grotius upon thoſe words, *Quench not the ſpirit,* is to this purpoſe. [25] By *the Spirit* are meant the gifts of healing, and of tongues, which are fitly compared to fire. And therefore may be ſaid to be *ſtirred up*, as in 2 Tim. i. 6. and on the other hand to be extinguiſhed. They are ſtirred up by prayer, giving of thanks, and a continued regular practice of piety. And are extinguiſhed by the contrary. For God, under the evangelical diſpenſation, does not vouchſafe, or at leaſt continue thoſe gifts to any but ſuch as believe, and live piouſly. See Mark xvi. 17.

And Wolfius ſays, that [26] by *the ſpirit*, undoubtedly, are meant gifts of the ſpirit, who is ſometimes compared to fire, as 2 Tim. i. 6.

The apoſtle having delivered that direction, *Quench not the ſpirit*, relating to ſpiritual gifts in general, adds a particular caution, *Deſpiſe not propheſyings*, becauſe, though it was the moſt uſeful, and valuable gift of all, ſome, as it ſeems, were apt to prefer *ſpeaking with tongues*, as a more ſhowy gift. This may be collected from what he writes, 2 Cor. xiv. And ſee particularly ver. 39.

Abſtain from all appearance of evil. Many underſtand this to be a direction, relating to practice in life, agreeably to our verſion: that Chriſtians ſhould not only abſtain from what is really, and manifeſtly evil, but alſo from every thing that has but the appearance of being evil. And

[25] Το πνευμα μη σβεννυτε.] Spiritus hic ſunt dona ſanationum et linguarum, quæ ſicut in ignis formâ data erant, ita igni recte comparantur, ac proinde dicuntur, et *ſuſcitari*. 2 Tim. i. 6. et contra *exſtingui*. *Suſcitantur* precibus, gratiarum actione, ac perpetuo ſtudio pietatis: *exſtinguuntur* per contraria. Nam in Novo Teſtamento, maxime poſt conſtitutas eccleſias, Deus illa dona non vult dare aut ſervare, niſi credentibus, et pie viventibus. Vide Marc. xvi. 17. Grot. in loc.

[26] Quod ad rem ſpectat, το πνευμα omnia ſunt dona ſpiritus S. qui cum igne ſolet comparari, quo ſenſu Paulus 2 Tim. i. 6. αναζωπυρειν το χαρισμα θεϐ jubet. Wolf. Curæ. in 1 Th. v. 19.

ſo Grotius underſtood this clauſe.[27] But to me it ſeems, that this laſt clauſe is to be underſtood in connection with the former part, *prove all things:* and that it is intended to direct the right exerciſe of the judgment. Chriſtians ſhould examine all things propoſed to them, embracing what is right, and rejecting every thing that is wrong. So this exhortation was underſtood by Pelagius.[28] And Grotius himſelf interprets the former expreſſions, *prove all things, and hold faſt that which is good,* in the like manner.[29]

4.) 1 Tim. iv. 14. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the preſbytery.*

5.) 2 Tim. i. 6. *Wherefore I put thee in remembrance, that thou ſtir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands.*

I take no notice of any other texts of this kind. But it is well known, that the twelfth and fourteenth chapters of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians contain many directions for regulating the exerciſe of ſpiritual gifts, with which that church abounded. It is ſufficient for me to refer to them. There are likewiſe in other epiſtles of the New Teſtament divers exhortations to Chriſtians in regard to the gifts, with which they were favoured: as Rom. xii. 3—8. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.

21. 1 Theſſ. i. 5. *For our goſpel came not unto you in word only, but alſo in power, and in the Holy Ghoſt, and in much aſſurance* ... ver. 6. *And ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghoſt.*

The explication of this text ſhall be taken from Dr. Benſon's paraphraſe on the epiſtle. 'In as much as the goſpel, 'preached by us, did not come unto you in word only:

[27] Ἀπὸ παντὸς εἰδους πονηρου ἀπεχεσθε.] Chriſtiani non a rebus malis tantum, ſed ab iis, quæ ſpeciem habent mali, abſtinere debent. Exemplum vide 1 Cor. viii. 10. Grot. in 1 Theſſ. v. 21.

[28] Tantum, ut probetis, ſi Legi non ſunt contraria, quæ dicuntur: ſi quid tale fuerit, refutate. Pelag. in 1 Theſſ. v. 21, 22. Ap. Hieron. Opp. T. V. p. 1082.

[29] Παντα δοκιμαζοντες, το καλον κατεχετε. Hoc pertinet ad διακρισεις πνευματων. 1 Cor. xii. xiv. Sic 1 Joh. iv. 1. Δοκιμαζετε τα πνευματα ... Ergo παντα, omnia, hic reſtringendum ex antecedente ad ea quæ dicuntur ab eis, qui ſe prophetas dictitant. Grot. ad ver. 20.

'but was accompanied alſo with a miraculous power, and 'with our imparting unto you the Holy Spirit, and with 'full and abundant conviction to your minds.'

'And we can bear witneſs to your amiable behaviour. 'For you became imitators of us, and of the Lord Jeſus 'Chriſt: in that you ſteadily adhered to the truth, amidſt 'great difficulties and diſcouragements, after you had re- 'ceived the goſpel, in much affliction, with the joy, which 'ariſeth from your having the Holy Spirit.' The ſame learned writer, in his note upon the fifth verſe, ſays: 'By 'power I underſtand the power of working miracles, exerted 'by the apoſtle, or his aſſiſtants. And by the Holy Ghoſt, 'or Holy Spirit, I underſtand the gift of the ſpirit, as 'imparted to the Theſſalonians.'.

22. Hebr. ix. 14. *How much more ſhall the blood of Chriſt, who through the eternal ſpirit offered himſelf without ſpot to God, purge your conſcience from dead works, to ſerve the living God?*

Dr. Whitby, in his Annotations upon Hebr. v. 5. ſays, that Chriſt was by his death conſecrated to his prieſthood, and dates the commencement of our Lord's prieſthood at his reſurrection. This ſentiment has been much improved by the late Mr. Thomas Moore in his diſcourſe concerning the prieſthood of Chriſt. I may refer to one place particularly, where he ſays, 'The time, when Jeſus was called 'to, and inveſted with the order of prieſthood, was at 'his reſurrection from the dead.' Which he argues from Hebr. v. 10. compared with Acts xiii. 33. See him p. 11, 12, 13.

That may be the key to this text. However, there are ſome other interpreters, who have well explained it, as we ſhall ſee preſently, though they have not ſo diſtinctly ſettled the date of Chriſt's prieſthood.

How much more ſhall the blood of Chriſt, who through the eternal ſpirit offered himſelf without ſpot to God, purge your conſcience ...?

When our Lord offered himſelf to God, or preſented himſelf before God, he was riſen from the dead, and had obtained everlaſting life, *to die no more*, as St. Paul ſays, Rom. vi. 9, 10. And in Pſ. cx. 4. the only place in the Old Teſtament, where Chriſt's prieſthood is ſpoken of, it is ſaid: *The Lord has ſworn, and will not repent: thou art a prieſt for ever, after the order of Melchiſedec.* This the writer of the epiſtle to the Hebrews often obſerves, and inſiſts

insists much upon. As Heb. vii. 21. where the text of that Psalm is quoted, see also ver. 11. And at ver. 24, 25. *But this man, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost, that come unto God by him: seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them.* And ver. 15, 16. of the same chapter: *For that after the similitude of Melchisedec there ariseth another priest, who is made, not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life.* And ch. v. 9. *And being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation to them that obey him.* And ver. 12. of this ch. ix. just before the text, which we are now considering, he speaks of Christ's *having obtained eternal redemption for us.* and ver. 15.... *that they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance.* And in 1 Cor. xv. 45. *the last Adam,* meaning the Lord Jesus, is said to be *a quickening spirit.*

The meaning of this text therefore seems to be this: 'That Christ being now *entered into heaven itself,* ch. ix. 24. 'that is, the true holy of holies, by his own never dying 'spirit, or by *the power of an endless life,* ch. vii. 16. he '*offered himself to God,* or presented himself before God, 'having been innocent, and unspotted in his whole life 'on earth, and being now *made perfect, and higher than* '*the heavens.*' Ch. v. 9. and vii. 26, 28.

Which is very agreeable to the annotations of Grotius upon this verse. [30]

There are some others likewise, who have so pertinently

[30] Oblatio autem Christi hic intelligitur illa, quæ oblationi legali in adyto factæ respondet. Ea autem est non oblatio in altari crucis facta, sed facta in adyto cœlesti. Facta autem ibi est, *per Spiritum æternum,* aut, ut ante dixit vii. 16. *per vim vitæ indissolubilis,* quia spiritus ejus jam non erat vivens tantum, ut in vitâ hac terrenâ, sed in æternum corpus sibi adjunctum, *vivificans.* 1 Cor. xv. 45... Διὰ hic sume, ut supra ver. 12. pro præpositione cum, quomodo et Hebræum ב poni solet. Intelligitur hinc dignitas oblationis, quod eam fecit is, qui jam spiritu et corpore erat immortalis. Sanguini autem purgatio ista tribuitur, quia per sanguinem id est, mortem Christi, secutâ ejus excitatione et evectione, gignitur in nobis fides. Rom. iii. 25....Cum dicit ἀμωμον, respicit legem victimarum Lev. xxii. 20.... In victimis legalibus nullum debebat esse corporis vitium: in Christi vitâ nihil fuit vitiosum. Et ideo spiritu illo æterno statim donatus est. Grot. Annot. in Heb. ix. 14.

criticised

criticiſed upon this text, that I am willing to tranſcribe their remarks below, for the ſake of intelligent readers.[31]

23. Heb. x. 28, 29. *He that deſpiſed Moſes' law, died without mercy, under two or three witneſſes. Of how much ſorer puniſhment, ſuppoſe ye, ſhall he be thought worthy, who has trodden under foot the Son of God, and has counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was ſanctified an unholy thing, and has done deſpite unto the ſpirit of grace?*

The caſe here ſuppoſed is that of apoſtacy from the Chriſtian faith. The perſons intended are ſuch as thoſe ſpoken of ch. vi. 4. *Who had taſted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghoſt.* And one of the aggravations of their apoſtacy is, that *they had done deſpite to the ſpirit of grace:* or rejected, and caſt reproach upon that great evidence of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, the miraculous gifts, which God had moſt graciouſly beſtowed upon themſelves and others. So [32] Grotius. And Limborch expreſſeth himſelf to the like purpoſe.[33]

24. John

[31] Ος διὰ πνευματος αιωνιε.] Qui a mortuis ſuſcitatus, cum ſpirituali et immortali corpore (quod antequam in cœleſte tabernaculum ingrederetur, accepit,) omnis infirmitatis et patibilitatis labe, quæ mortali naturæ inhærent, purgatum ſemetipſum obtulit Deo, ſedens ad dexteram majeſtatis ejus in cœlis. Brenius in loc.

Chriſtum autem, cujus ſanguinem opponit ſanguini taurorum et hircorum, deſcribit, quod *per ſpiritum æternum ſeipſum Deo immaculatum obtulerit.* Chriſto jam e mortuis ſuſcitato tribuit *ſpiritum æternum:* quia poſt reſuſcitationem anima ejus non amplius eſt anima vivens, ſed ſpiritus vivificans. 1 Cor. xv. 45. diciturque habere vitam indiſſolubilem, ſupra, vii. 16. et in æternum manere. ver. 24. Vivit ergo in omnem æternitatem, ut ſit æternus Pontifex. Chriſtus nimirum ſanguinem ſuum, tanquam victima, in cruce effudit, et cum iſto ſanguine, id eſt, virtute illius ſanguinis, jam e mortuis ſuſcitatus, et ſpiritus vivificus ac æternus, ſeipſum in cœlis obtulit Deo, id eſt, coram Deo pro nobis comparuit.

Dicitur autem hic, *ſe obtuliſſe immaculatum,* non tantum reſpectu vitæ ſuæ, quam hic in terris degit, quatenus ſine ulla peccati labe vixit. 1 Pet. ii. 22. 2 Cor. v. 21. ſed et reſpectu ſtatus illius cœleſtis, quo nunc fruitur, ab omni infirmitate, cui hic in terris in ſtatu humiliationis obnoxius fuit, adeo ut nihil in ipſo, ut æternus ſit Pontifex, deſiderari poſſit. Vid. cap. vii. 26. Ph. Limborch in Ep. ad Heb. cap. ix. 14.

[32] Και το πνευμα της χαριτος ενυβρισας: *et ſpiritui gratiæ contumeliam fecerit.*] Spiritum illum, quem ſummo Dei beneficio acceperat, contumeliâ afficiens: nullius pretii æſtimans tantum donum, quo ſe ipſe ait privatum. Grot. in loc.

[33] Tertium. *Et ſpiritum gratiæ contumeliâ affecit. Spiritus gratiæ* eſt ſpiritus

24. John iv. 5—10. *Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth, that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ, not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the spirit that beareth witness, because the spirit is truth. For there are three that bear witness: the spirit, and the water, and the blood. And these three agree in one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God, which he has testified of his Son. He that believeth on the Son of God, hath the witness in himself. He that believeth not God, hath made him a liar, because he believeth not the record, that God gave of his Son.*

I have quoted this passage according to the Alexandrian, and other ancient manuscripts, and the citations in ancient writers, without regarding any modern printed copies: which, indeed, deserve not any regard.

Some have paraphrased the former part of ver. 6. in this manner. 'Now that this Jesus Christ was a real man, and 'died, we have the utmost testimony. For I myself, when 'he expired on the cross, saw his side pierced with a spear, and 'blood and water gush out at the wound: which are two 'determining proofs, that he really died.' Supposing, that here is a reference to what is related in St. John's gospel, xix. 34, 35.

But that is manifestly a weak and arbitrary interpretation.[34] St. John is not here observing the proofs of our Lord's real humanity, but of his being the Son of God, the Messiah.

To me it seems, that the water, an emblem of purity, [Ezek. xxxvi. 25.] denotes the innocence of our Lord's life, which was without spot, and exemplary: and the reasonableness, excellency, and perfection of his doctrine, which, after the strictest examination, and nicest scrutiny, cannot be charged with any error or falshood. The blood denotes our Lord's willing and patient, though painful and igno-

spiritus ille, qui in initio prædicationis evangelii datus fuit credentibus, ad confirmationem divinitatis evangelii: nimirum dona illa extraordinaria spiritus sancti, quæ passim in Actis et epistolis Apostolorum in credentes effusa legimus. Qui vocatur spiritus gratiæ, tum quia ex gratiâ divinâ credentibus datus est: tum quia per illum obsignata fuit divinitas doctrinæ Jesu Christi, in quâ maxima et excellentissima Dei gratia patefacta est. Limb. in Ep. ad Heb. p. 667.

[34] And yet it is followed by the late Mr. Wetstein: Probavit se non phantasma, sed verum hominem esse, qui ex spiritu, sanguine, et aquâ seu humore constaret. Joh. xix. 34, 35. J. J. Wetstein in loc. p. 721.

minious

minious death, the utmoſt teſtimony, that can be given of integrity. The ſpirit intends our Lord's many miraculous works, wrought by the ſpirit, the finger, the power of God, or God himſelf. This teſtimony is truth, that is, exceeding true, ſo that it may be relied upon. For it is unqueſtionable, and cannot be gainſayed. See John v. 32—37. ch. x. 25. Acts ii. 22.

Here are three witneſſes.[35] And *they agree in one.* They are harmonious, all ſaying the ſame thing, and concurring in the ſame teſtimony.

The apoſtle adds, ver. 9. *If we receive the witneſs of men, the witneſs of God is greater:* referring to the appointment in the law of Moſes, that *by the mouth of two or three witneſſes any matter might be eſtabliſhed.* Deut. xvii. 6. and xix. 15. Whatſoever was atteſted by two or three men, was deemed true and certain. In the point before us there are three moſt credible witneſſes, one of whom is God himſelf. Refuſing this teſtimony therefore would be the ſame, as making God a liar, or charging him with giving falſe evidence, and with a deſign to deceive, and impoſe upon his creatures. *He that believeth not God, hath made him a liar, becauſe he believeth not the teſtimony, which God giveth of his Son.*

This interpretation is the ſame as that in Grotius,[36] or not very different.

25. Rev. xxii. 17. *And the ſpirit and the bride ſay: come.* 'That is, ſays[37] Grotius, men who are endowed with ſpi-'ritual gifts.'

Mr. Pyle's paraphraſe is this: 'The whole body of truly 'good Chriſtians, who are the true church and ſpouſe of 'Chriſt.' And in his notes he ſays. '*The ſpirit and the bride,* 'or *the ſpiritual bride,* that is, the true church of Chriſt. 'Thus *grace and truth* is a truth conveying the greateſt 'favour. John i. 17. *Glory and virtue* is glorious virtue or

[35] Οτι τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυρουντες. κ. λ. I ſhall here put down a ſimilar expreſſion of the Sophiſt Ælius Ariſtides, in the ſecond century. Oration T. I. p. 146. edit. Jebb. al. p. 272. Τρεις γαρ εισιν οι μαρτυρησαντες παραχρημα Αθηναιων ειναι την νικην, Αθηναιοι, Λακεδαιμονιοι, Βοιωτοι.

[36] Et in epiſtola 1 Joh. v. 8. *Aqua* eſt puritas vitæ Chriſtianæ, quæ ſimul cum martyrio, et miraculis, teſtimonium reddit veritati dogmatis. Grot. Ann. in Joh. iii. 5.

[37] Id eſt, viri propheticis donis clari. Vide ſupra ver. 6. Eſt abſtractum pro concreto: ſpiritus pro habentibus ſpiritum. Dicunt: Veni. &c. Grot. in loc.

'power.

'power. 1 Pet. i. 3. *kingdom and glory*, a glorious kingdom. '1 Thess. ii. 12. Had the generality of commentators ob-'served this, they would not have had occasion to interpret 'this of the *Holy Spirit of God*, *wishing*, and *praying* for the 'coming of Christ's kingdom, in the same manner, and with 'the same ardency as St. John, and the Christian church here 'does. Which to me seems very incongruous.' So Mr. Pyle, whose interpretation is approved by Mr. Lowman.

Brenius [38] is not very different. Or, as some [39] other interpreters express it: '*The spirit and the bride:* that is, the 'church animated by the spirit, and ardently longing for 'the coming of Christ.'

Every one may perceive, that we have been discoursing of miraculous gifts and powers: which now are, and for a long time have been commonly called extraordinary gifts of the spirit. These are not saving. They who received such gifts after baptism, and profession of faith in Jesus Christ, were thereby satisfied, that the doctrine of Christ was true, and from heaven. And they were assured, that if they acted according to that faith, they might be saved, without observing the peculiarities of the law of Moses. But such gifts alone were not saving, without sincere virtue, and the practice of a good life.

So says St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2. *But covet earnestly the best gifts.* τα χαρισματα τα κρειττονα. *And yet show I unto you a more excellent way. Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge: and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.* The same might be said of the necessity of sobriety, and humility, and meekness, or any other virtue, that is there said of charity or love. And perhaps all social virtue is comprehended by the apostle in the one virtue here mentioned by him. For in another place he says: *Love is the fulfilling of the law,* Rom. xiii. 8—10.

[38] Spiritus qui est in Sponsâ, vel Sposa per spiritum, qui in ipsâ residet, dicit: id est, credentium omnium vota, tum separatim tum conjunctim, hoc idem contendunt. Bren. in loc.

[39] C'est à dire, l'Epouse, qui est l'Eglise animée du S. Esprit, et soupirant ardemment après l'apparition de J. C. Lenf. et Beauf.

And

And that all virtues ought to be joined together, and carefully cultivated by thoſe who make a profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion, is ſhown by St. Peter. *And beſide this*, ſays he, *giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue*, or fortitude, *and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godlineſs, and to godlineſs brotherly kindneſs ... For ſo an entrance ſhall be miniſtred to you abundantly into the everlaſting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*, 2 Pet. i. 5—10.

Conclusion. I have now finiſhed what I propoſed at the beginning of this poſtſcript, having explained, according to my ability, thoſe words, the Spirit, the Holy Spirit, and the Spirit of God, as uſed in the ſcriptures.

Many of the interpretations, which have been given by me, will be readily aſſented to by all. If any others ſhould not be approved of at firſt, I hope no offence needs to be taken. I do not dictate: but with humility and deference recommend theſe thoughts to the conſideration of my brethren in Chriſt Jeſus.

It becomes us all to examine the doctrines, which are propoſed to us. We ſhould not be Chriſtians and Proteſtants upon the ſame grounds, that others are Mahometans and Papiſts: barely becauſe ſuch or ſuch opinions are generally received, and eſtabliſhed in the country where we live.

Our bleſſed Lord and his apoſtles have forewarned us, that *men would ariſe, teaching perverſe things*, that tares would be mingled with the good grain, and error with truth. The event has been accordingly. If there are any notions concerning a Trinity of Divine Perſons, which are not right and juſt: if tranſubſtantiation is not a reaſonable and ſcriptural doctrine: if the worſhip of angels, and departed ſaints, and of their images, is not required, and commanded, but condemned and forbidden in the Old and New Teſtament: it muſt be allowed, that corruptions have been brought into the Chriſtian Church. For ſuch things there are among thoſe, who are called Chriſtians.

What is to be done in this caſe? Are they, who diſcern ſuch corruptions, obliged to acquieſce? Would it be ſin, to ſhow, how unreaſonable and unſcriptural ſuch things are? I do not ſee how this can be ſaid, provided it be done with meekneſs and gentleneſs.

Plato,

Plato, in his Timæus, says, 'That [40] it is very difficult 'to find out the author and parent of the universe, and when 'found, it is impossible to declare him to all.' Cicero, who translated that work of Plato into Latin, renders the last clause, as if Plato had said: 'When [41] you have found him, it is unlawful to declare him to the vulgar.' Perhaps, that was Cicero's own sentiment. Being a statesman, and politician, as well as a philosopher, he might be more concerned for peace than truth. A multitude of deities being the prevailing belief, he was afraid to oppose the prejudices of the people, who might be offended at the doctrine of the divine unity with its consequences. But so it should not be among Christians, who, beside the light of nature, have also the light of revelation.

Says the Psalmist: *In Judah is God known. His name is great in Israel,* Ps. lxxvi. 1. It was their great privilege, and happiness, that God was known among them, and worshipped, and served by them: when heathen people were ignorant of the true God, and worshipped senseless idols. That distinction was owing to the revelation, which God had made of himself to Abraham, and his descendents. Which benefit we also now enjoy, together with the clearer and fuller revelation of God and his will, which has been made by our blessed Saviour, the promised Messiah. See John i. 18. iv. 23, 24. xvii. 25, 26.

Says that most excellent teacher of men in an address to the Father: *And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent,* John xvii. 3.

The right knowledge of God and Christ therefore must be the greatest of blessings, and should be sought after in the first place, and be prized above all things. And wherever the benefit of it is obstructed by wrong notions, it may be the duty of some to give, and of others to receive instruction: that God may be glorified, and men may be edified, and saved.

The scriptures are acknowledged to be the fountain of religious knowledge. Accordingly some there have been among us, and in our own times, who have endeavoured to give a clear account of the scripture-doctrine concerning God and Christ: men of unquestioned piety, and eminent for

[40] Τον μεν ουν ποιητην και πατερα τδε τε παντος ευρειν τε εργον, και ευροντα, εις παντας αδυνατον λεγειν. Platon. Timæus. p. 28. T. III. Serran. et ap. Fabr. p. 336.

[41] —— et cum jam inveneris, indicare in vulgus nefas.

natural

natural and acquired abilities. And though their ſchemes have not been exactly the ſame, and they have not all had equal ſucceſs and acceptance, it muſt be acknowledged, that their writings have been very uſeful. They have kept up, and cheriſhed a ſpirit of inquiry and thoughtfulneſs in things of religion. And they have promoted knowledge, moderation, candour and equity among Chriſtians. And may ſuch excellent diſpoſitions prevail among us yet more and more.

Saith the venerable Dr. Sherlock, Biſhop of London, in the fourth volume [42] of his Diſcourſes, lately publiſhed, p. 321, 322. 'From theſe things laid together it is evident, that the 'apoſtles were witneſſes and teachers of the faith, and had no 'authority to add any thing to the doctrine of Chriſt, or to 'declare new articles of faith.

'Now if the apoſtles, commiſſioned directly by Chriſt 'himſelf, and ſupported by miraculous gifts of the ſpirit, had 'not this power, can any of their ſucceſſors in the govern-'ment of the church, without great impiety, pretend to it? 'Did the biſhops and clergy of the ninth and tenth centuries 'know the articles of the faith better than the apoſtles did? 'Or were they more powerfully aſſiſted by the Holy Spirit? 'No Chriſtian can think it, or ſay it. Whence is it then, 'that the church of Rome has received the power they 'pretend to, of making new articles of faith, and dooming all 'to eternal deſtruction who receive them not? Can any ſober, 'ſerious Chriſtian truſt himſelf to ſuch guides, and not trem-'ble, when he reads the woe denounced by St. Paul: *Though 'we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other goſpel... let him 'be accurſed?* Gal. i. 8.'

Certainly, that is a noble declaration, and well deſerving the regard of all Chriſtians.

His lordſhip here allows, or even aſſerts the rights of private judgment. He ſuppoſes, that common Chriſtians, who have no ſhare in the government of the church, are able to underſtand the doctrine delivered by the apoſtles, and the determinations of biſhops, and to compare them together, and to diſcern wherein they differ. And he allows us to reject new articles, not delivered and taught by Chriſt's apoſtles. And ſtrongly repreſents to us the great hazard of *truſting to ſuch* aſſuming *guides*, as *make* and impoſe *new articles of faith.*

[42] It is the twelfth diſcourſe in that volume. The text is the epiſtle of St. Jude, ver. 3. latter part.

If

If we may judge of articles, taught by the biſhops and clergy of the ninth and tenth centuries; we may for the ſame reaſon judge concerning thoſe decreed by the biſhops and clergy of the fourth and fifth centuries... For neither were they apoſtles, but at the utmoſt no more than ſucceſſors of the apoſtles. And if it ſhould appear, that they taught and recommended any articles, which are no part of *the faith, once delivered to the ſaints* by Chriſt's apoſtles, ſuch articles may be rejected by us.

And ſince it is allowed, that the biſhops and clergy of the ninth and tenth centuries have aſſumed an authority to decide new articles, to which they had no right: ſhould not this put Chriſtians upon their guard, and induce them to examine the doctrine propoſed to them, and conſider, whether it is the *faith once delivered to the ſaints*, or ſomewhat added to it? For what has been done, or attempted, in ſome ages, may have been attempted in others.

His lordſhip blames the church of Rome for making new articles of faith, and dooming all to eternal deſtruction, who receive them not.

We ſhould be impartial. If any others do the like, are not they blameable alſo? It is well known, that there is a creed, in great authority with many, beſide the church of Rome, containing an abſtruſe doctrine, very hard to be believed. And it would be a very difficult undertaking to ſhow, that it adds not any thing to the doctrine of Chriſt, as taught and teſtified by his faithful apoſtles. And yet it is there ſaid: 'This is the catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully he cannot be ſaved.' And 'which faith, except every 'man do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he ſhall 'periſh everlaſtingly.' Can this be juſtified? And does not the biſhop's argument juſt recited, oblige me to add, though unwillingly: may it not deſerve to be conſidered by every ſober and ſerious Chriſtian, who ſolemnly recites that creed: on whom thoſe anathemas may fall, if God ſhould treat men according to ſtrict juſtice!

But I forbear enlarging. For I have been deſirous, if poſſible, not to ſay any thing offenſive. Therefore I do not indulge myſelf in grievous complaints, and ſevere reprehenſions of ſuch things, as by many have been thought to be wrong.

But, if I might be permitted to do it, I would take notice of one thing, becauſe it has a connection with the ſubject of this poſtſcript.

'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy 'Ghoſt: as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be, 'world without end. Amen.'

Doubtleſs this is ſaid by many very frequently, and with great devotion. But can it be ſaid truly? Does not that deſerve conſideration? Is there any ſuch doxology in the New Teſtament? If not, how can it be ſaid, to have been *in the beginning?* Are not the books of the New Teſtament the moſt ancient, and the moſt authentic Chriſtian writings in all the world? It matters not much to inquire when this doxology was firſt uſed, or how long it has been in uſe, if it be not in the New Teſtament. And whether it is there, or not, may be known by thoſe, who are pleaſed to read it with care: as all may, in Proteſtant countries, where the Bible lies open to be ſeen and read by all men.

I would therefore, after many others, recommend the diligent ſtudy of the ſcriptures, and the making uſe of all proper means for gaining the true ſenſe of them. If we had the knowledge of the Chriſtian religion, as contained in the ſcriptures, the advantages would be great and manifold. Jeſus would be unſpeakably amiable: and the goſpel would appear to be a pearl of great price: Chriſtians would be no longer wavering and unſettled, but would be firmly eſtabliſhed in a faith, that is throughout reaſonable and excellent, and well atteſted to be of divine original. As our Lord ſays to the woman of Samaria. John iv. 14. *Whoſoever drinketh of the water that I ſhall give him, ſhall never thirſt.* He will be fully ſatisfied. He will deſire no other inſtruction concerning the right way of worſhipping and ſerving God, or obtaining true happineſs. *But the water that I ſhall give him, ſhall be in him a well of water, ſpringing up into everlaſting life.*

If we would ſincerely ſtudy, heartily embrace, and openly profeſs the Chriſtian doctrine in its purity, and would diligently recommend it to others, upon the ground of that evidence, with which God hath clothed it, we ſhould gain upon deiſts and infidels of all ſorts. For a religion, reaſonable and excellent in all its principles, promulged by a teacher of an unſpotted character, with a commiſſion from heaven, confirmed by many mighty works, which could be performed by God only, has an evidence, which cannot be

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easily withstood and gainsayed. But no authority can recommend falshood and absurdity to rational beings, who think and consider. Every one therefore, who loves the Lord Jesus in sincerity, must be willing to reform abuses and corruptions, which have been introduced into the Christian profession, and are matter of offence to heathens and infidels.

When the religion professed by Christians shall be in all things agreeable to the scriptures, the only standard of religious truth; the advantages just mentioned, are very likely: as also divers others, which may be readily apprehended by every one. For then the papal power and tyranny, which for many ages has been a heavy weight upon Christendom, will sink, and fall to the ground: impositions upon conscience, which undermine religion at the very foundation, and prevail at present to a great degree in almost all Christian countries, will be abolished. The consequence of which will be, that true piety and virtue will be more general in all ranks and orders of men. The great diversity of opinions, and fierce contentions among Christians, which are now so great an offence and scandal to by-standers, will cease: Christians will live in harmony, and will love one another as brethren. And the Church of Christ will be the joy and the praise of the whole earth.

As an unbiassed and disinterested love, and pursuit of truth are of great importance, and would mightily conduce to the good ends and purposes which are so desirable; I cannot but wish, that we did all of us less mind our own things, the things of our own worldly wealth and credit, our own church and party, and more the things of Jesus Christ. To whom be glory and dominion now and ever. Amen.

END OF THE FIRST POSTSCRIPT.

THE

SECOND POSTSCRIPT,

Containing Remarks upon the third Part of the late Biſhop of Clogher's Vindication of the Hiſtories of the Old and New Teſtament.***

LETT. iv. p. 59, or 425.†‡† 'But, my lord, ſuppoſing we 'ſhould allow, that there were more Gods than one concerned 'in the creation of the world, as manifeſtly appears that there 'were from Gen. i. 26, and ch. iii. 22. where it is ſaid: *Let 'us make man in our image.* And, *behold the man is become as 'one of us.*'

Is then creative power a property communicable to many or ſeveral? St. Paul ſpeaks of one Creator only, Rom. i. 25. and blames the heathens, *who worſhipped, and ſerved the creature more than the Creator, who is bleſſed for ever. Amen.* What then would be the conſequences, if Chriſtians ſhould come to believe, that there are more creators than one?

*** When I was preparing theſe remarks in March laſt 1758. We received the tidings of the death of the Right Reverend Dr. Robert Clayton, Lord Biſhop of Clogher, who departed this life the preceding month; which gave me much concern upon divers accounts. In particular, I was in hopes, that theſe remarks, ſuch as they are, might be peruſed by his lordſhip. I could wiſh likewiſe, that Mr. Whiſton were ſtill living. But they are both removed out of this world, as I likewiſe ſhall be in a ſhort time. And certainly, it behoves us all to improve diligently the ſeaſon of life whilſt it laſts, and to ſerve God and man according to the ability which God has given us, and the ſtation in which we have been placed, that we may give up an account of our ſtewardſhip with joy, and not with grief. Though thoſe eminent and uſeful men are now no more in this world, their writings remain. It is with theſe that I am concerned. If I have inadvertently miſrepreſented them, I preſume, they have friends, who are able to vindicate them. And, if my argument does not appear concluſive, I wiſh that they, or ſome others may ſhow wherein it fails. Jan. 25, 1759.

†‡† The author, in compoſing theſe remarks upon the third part of the biſhop's Vindication, made uſe of that edition, which was printed at London in 1758. But another edition of the whole Vindication, with all the three parts, having been publiſhed here on the twenty-third day of this inſtant January, 1759, juſt as theſe ſheets were going to the preſs, he has taken care to add the pages of this new edition to thoſe of the former.

It

It is hard, that we ſhould be put to prove, what is ſo very evident, as that there is one God creator. However, I ſhall here prove it from the Old, and New Teſtament.

Ex. xx. 1. *And God ſpake all theſe words, ſaying....* ver. 3. *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods before me.* Ver. 10, 11. *But the ſeventh day is the ſabbath of the Lord thy God... For in ſix days the Lord made heaven and earth, the ſea, and all that in them is.*

Pſ. cxxxvi. *O, give thanks to the Lord, to him, who alone doth great wonders, to him that by wiſdom made the heavens, to him that ſtretched out the earth above the waters: to him that made great lights, the ſun to rule by day, the moon and ſtars to rule by night,* &c.

Iſ. xlii. 5. *Thus ſaith God the Lord, he that created the heavens and ſtretched them out: he that ſpread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it: he that giveth breath to the people upon it, and ſpirit to them that walk therein.*

Iſ. xl. 28. *Haſt thou not known, haſt thou not heard, that the everlaſting God, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, nor is weary?*

Ch. xliv. 24. *Thus ſaith the Lord, thy Redeemer, and he that formed thee from the womb: I am the Lord, that maketh all things, that ſtretcheth forth the heavens alone, that ſpreadeth abroad the earth by myſelf.* See alſo ch. xlv. 11, 12. ch. li. 12, 13. Jer. x. 12. ch. li. 15. and elſewhere.

Let us now conſider the words of Gen. i. 26. *And God ſaid, let us make man in our image, after our likeneſs.*

Some Chriſtians have ſaid that here is a proof of a trinity of perſons in the unity of the godhead. The learned writer, now before us, argues hence for ſeveral creators, one ſupreme, another, or ſeveral ſubordinate. But it is eaſy to anſwer, that the Jewiſh people never underſtood theſe expreſſions after that manner; for they always believed one God and Creator, and that God to be one perſon. And many learned interpreters among Chriſtians have ſaid, that[1] the ſtyle, common with princes, and other great men, who often ſpeak in the plural number, is here aſcribed to God. Nor needs the conſultation, here repreſented, be ſuppoſed to be between equals. But God may

[1] *Faciamus.*] Mos eſt Hebræis de Deo, ut de Rege loqui. Reges res magnas agunt de conſilio Primorum. 1 Reg. xii. 6. 2 Paral. x. 9. Sic et Deus 1 Reg. xxii. 20. Grot. ad Gen. i. 26.

be rather underſtood to declare his mind to the angels, as his counſellors.

But indeed we need not ſuppoſe any diſcourſe, or conſultation at all. The meaning is no more than this. 'All other 'things being made, God proceeded to the creation of man: 'or, he now propoſed, at the concluſion, to make man.' And it may be reckoned probable, that Moſes introduces God, in this peculiar manner deliberating and conſulting upon the creation of man, to intimate thereby, that he is the chief of the works of God. Or, in other words, according to Patrick, 'God not only reſerved man for the laſt of his works, 'but does, as it were, adviſe, and conſult, and deliberate about 'his production: the better to repreſent the dignity of man, 'and that he was made with admirable wiſdom and prudence.'

We may be confirmed in the reaſonableneſs of this way of thinking by obſerving the ſtyle made uſe of in ſpeaking of all the other parts of the creation, which is to this effect. *God ſaid, let there be light, and there was light. God ſaid, let there be a firmament in the midſt of the waters.... And God ſaid, let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind.*

There is another like inſtance ch. ii. 18. *And the Lord God, Jehovah, Elohim, ſaid, it is not good, that the man ſhould be alone. I will make him an help meet for him.* The deſign of the other expreſſions, as before obſerved, was to intimate the great dignity and ſuperior excellence of man above the other creatures, whoſe formation has been already related. In like manner, when God proceeds to the making of the woman, he is repreſented as conſulting, and reſolving what to do: that the man might be the more ſenſible of the goodneſs of the Creator in providing for him ſo ſuitable a help.

Moreover, though in Gen. i. 26. the words are: *And God ſaid, let us make man in our image, after our likeneſs:* the execution of that purpoſe, as related in ver. 27. is in theſe words: *So God created man in* HIS *own image: in the image of God created* HE *him: male and female created* HE *them.* And when the formation of man is mentioned in other places of ſcripture, no intimation is given that more than one had a hand in his creation. See particularly Matt. xix. 3—6. Mark x. 2—9. where our bleſſed Lord himſelf ſays: *From the beginning of the creation God made them male and female.* And *what God has joined together, let no man put aſunder.* For certain therefore man, as well as the other creatures, was made by God himſelf.

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If more than one being had been concerned in the creation of man, or any other parts of the world, we ought to have been acquainted with it, that due reſpect might be paid to them by us. As ſcripture is here ſilent, no man has a right to aſcribe that to another which the ſcripture aſcribes to God alone. And wherein, as in Pſ. cxlviii. all beings, of every rank, in heaven and on earth, are required to praiſe God for the wonders of their formation. *Praiſe ye the Lord: praiſe him from the heavens: praiſe him all ye his angels: praiſe ye him all his hoſts: praiſe ye him ſun and moon: praiſe him all ye ſtars of light.... Let them praiſe the name of the Lord. For he commanded, and they were created.... Kings of the earth, and all people: princes, and all judges of the earth.... Let them praiſe the name of the Lord; for his name alone is excellent; and his glory is above the earth and heaven.*

Ecc. xii. 1. *Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth.* In the Hebrew the word is plural, *Creatórs.* Nevertheleſs, not only our own, but all other verſions tranſlate, and rightly, *Creator.*

Και μνησθητι τȣ κτισαντος σε εν ημεραις νεοτητος σȣ. Gr.

Memento Creatoris tui in diebus juventutis tuæ. Lat.

Iſ. liv. 5. *For thy maker is thy huſband.* In the Hebrew, literally, *for thy makers are thy huſbands.* Nevertheleſs the words are always underſtood as ſingular. And what follows, ſhows that one perſon is only intended. *the Lord of hoſts is his name.*

Calvin's remark upon Gen. iii. 22. is to this purpoſe: 'Whereas,' ſays he, 'many Chriſtians from this place draw 'the doctrine of a Trinity of perſons in the Deity; I fear 'their argument is not ſolid.' Quod autem eliciunt ex hoc loco chriſtiani doctrinam de tribus in Deo perſonis, vereor ne ſatis firmum ſit argumentum.

But Patrick ſays: 'Thoſe words plainly inſinuate a plurality 'of perſons. And all other interpretations ſeem forced and 'unnatural.' And he particularly rejects what Calvin ſays.

For my part, ſo far as I am able to judge, if thoſe words implied more Divine Perſons than one, or more Creators than one; it would not be worth while to diſpute, whether they are equal, or not.

But, as before intimated, I rather think, that here, and in ſome other like texts, there is a reference to the angelic order of beings, ſuppoſed to be more perfect, and more knowing than man. For though Moſes gives no particular account of

the creation of angels, their exiſtence is ſuppoſed in divers parts of his hiſtory. And they may be conſidered as counſellors only, or witneſſes and attendants.

And I cannot help being of opinion, that thoſe Chriſtians, who endeavour to prove, from the Old Teſtament, a trinity of Divine Perſons, or more Creators than one, whether co-equal or ſubordinate, expoſe themſelves to the unbelieving part of the Jewiſh people, whom they are deſirous to gain. For the Divine Unity is with them a fundamental article of religion. Remarkable are the words of Lord King, in his Critical Hiſtory of the Apoſtles' Creed, upon the firſt article of it, p. 55, 56. 'As for the perſons, who were condemned by this clauſe, it will be readily granted, that they were not the Jews, ſeeing the unity of the Godhead is every where inculcated in the Moſaical law, and the body of that people have been ſo immoveably fixed and confirmed in the belief thereof, that now, throughout their ſixteen hundred years captivity and diſperſion, they have never quitted or deſerted that principle, that God is one: as is evident from their thirteen articles of faith, compoſed by Maimonides, the ſecond whereof is the Unity of the Bleſſed God. Which is there explained to be in ſuch a peculiar and tranſcendent manner, as that nothing like it can be found. And in their liturgy, according to the uſe of the Sepharadim, or the Spaniards, which is read in thoſe parts of the world, in their ſynagogues, in the very firſt hymn, which is an admiring declaration of the excellences of the Divine Nature, the repeated chorus is this: *All creatures, both above and below, teſtify and witneſs, all of them as one, that the Lord is one, and his name one.*

And if we would but read the New Teſtament with care, and then conſider what we have read and ſeen therein; we might know, that one object of worſhip is there recommended by Chriſt and his apoſtles, and that he is the everlaſting God, the Creator of the world, and all things therein, and the ſame who was worſhipped by the Jewiſh people, and their anceſtors.

Our Lord himſelf ſays, that he came in his Father's name, and acted by his authority, even his, who, the Jews ſaid, was their God. And he ſtyles him *Lord of heaven and earth, and the only true God.* And he referred them to their ſcriptures, as teſtifying of him.

The apoſtles of Chriſt after his aſcenſion, preaching to Jews, ſay: *The God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, the God of our fathers has glorified his ſon Jeſus,* Acts iii. 13. *the God of our fathers*

fathers raiſed up Jeſus. chap. v. 3. And requeſting ſpecial aſſiſtance from heaven in their work, and under their many difficulties, *they lift up their voice to God, and ſaid: Lord, thou art God, which haſt made heaven, and earth, and the ſea, and all that in them is. Who by the mouth of thy ſervant David haſt ſaid* . . . chap. iv. 24, 25.

Paul, writing to the Jewiſh believers, ſays: *God, who at ſundry times, and in divers manners, ſpake in time paſt to the fathers by the prophets, has, in theſe laſt days, ſpoken unto us by his Son,* Heb. i. 1, 2. He and Barnabas, teaching Gentiles, ſay: *We preach unto you, that ye ſhould turn from theſe vanities unto the living God, who made heaven and earth, and the ſea, and all things that are therein.* Acts xiv. 15. And at Athens, ſays Paul: *God that made the world, and all things therein, ſeeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands.* chap. xvii. 29.

I think I have now proved, both from the Old and the New Teſtament, that there is one God, creator of man and all things in the world.*

Accordingly, the firſt article in the apoſtles' creed, which ought never to be diminiſhed, or enervated, is this: *I believe in God the Father, almighty, maker of heaven and earth.*

Lett. vii. p. 128, or 479. 'Now upon examination into the 'ſcriptures, it will appear, that this Meſſiah, or Chriſt, was 'the ſame perſon with the great archangel Michael, who was 'the guardian angel of Iſrael.'

For which the learned author alleges, 1 Cor. x. 4 and 9. and Heb. xi. 26. But as none of thoſe texts appear to be at all to the purpoſe, for which they are alleged, I need not ſtay to explain them.

That our bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt is not an angel is evident from many plain texts of ſcripture. Heb. i. 4—6. *Being made ſo much better than the angels, as he has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. For unto which of the angels ſaid he at any time, thou art my ſon, this day have I begotten thee? . . . And again, when he bringeth in the firſt-begotten into the world he ſaith: and let all the angels of God worſhip him.* See alſo ver. 7, and ver. 13, 14. Ch. ii. 5. *But unto the angels hath he not put in ſubjection the world to come, of which we now ſpeak.* Ver. 16. *For verily he did not lay hold of an-*

* More texts to the like purpoſe may be ſeen alleged above at p. 25, note 16.

gels;

gels; but he laid hold of the ſeed of Abraham. See likewiſe the preceding part of that chapter.

And when our bleſſed Saviour is mentioned with angels, he is diſtinguiſhed from them. *I charge thee,* ſays Paul, *before God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the elect angels,* 1 Tim. v. 21. And St. John, *Grace unto you, and peace, from him which is, and which was, and which is to come: and from the ſeven ſpirits which are before the throne: and from Jeſus Chriſt, who is the faithful witneſs,* Rev. i. 4, 5. Not now to mention any other like texts.

Theſe muſt be ſufficient to ſatisfy us that Jeſus Chriſt is not an angel, or one of the angelical order of beings: or we can be aſſured of nothing.

However, I muſt not omit Mal. iii. 1. *Behold, I will ſend my meſſenger, and he ſhall prepare the way before me. And the Lord, whom ye ſeek, ſhall ſuddenly come to his temple, even the meſſenger of the covenant, in whom ye delight.*

Here the Meſſiah is ſpoken of as the meſſenger, or angel of the covenant. Tertullian, referring to this text, or to Iſ. ix. 6. ſays, 'Chriſt is an angel by office, but not by nature.' Dictus eſt quidem magni conſilii angelus, id eſt, nuntius: officii non naturæ vocabulo. Magnum enim cogitatum Patris ſuper hominum reſtitutione annunciaturus ſeculo erat. De Carne Chriſti. cap. 14. p. 370.

And St. Paul writes Heb. iii. 1. *Wherefore, holy brethren,... conſider the apoſtle, and High Prieſt of our profeſſion, Jeſus Chriſt.* Which is paraphraſed by Dr. Sykes in this manner: 'It is 'your duty to conſider him, as a meſſenger ſent by God, and 'as the High Prieſt of our profeſſion.'

Lett. vii. p. 132, or 482. 'And therefore, *in the fulneſs of 'time,* ſaith the apoſtle, *God ſent forth his beloved Son, to be made 'of a woman,* that is, to take human nature upon him.' Gal. iv. 4.

The words of the apoſtle are theſe: *But when the fulneſs of the time was come, God ſent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law.* It is not, *to be made,* but *made of a woman, made under the law.* γενομενον εκ γυναικος, γενομενον υπο νομον, al. νομω: factum ex muliere, factum ſub lege.

And the note of Grotius upon the text ſhould be obſerved. Εξαπεστειλεν . . . *miſit Deus Filium ſuum,* primogenitum, ad quem, abſente patre, cura pertinebat. *Miſit,* id eſt, poteſtatem ei dedit eximiam . . . *factum ex muliere:* non creatum eo modo, quo Adamus creatus erat, ſed natum partu muliebri, quo nobis

nobis eſſet ſimilior: *factum ſub lege*, id eſt, ſubditum Legi, quia ſcilicet natus erat Judæus.

Lett. v. p. 78, or 441. 'And therefore it manifeſtly appears from hence, that there is no contradiction, either to reaſon or revelation, in ſuppoſing that three perſons of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, to be three Gods, provided it be not at the ſame time aſſerted, that theſe three Gods are one God, or that the Son and Holy Spirit are ſelf-exiſtent, or co-eternal, or co-equal with God the Father.'

But is not that an expreſs contradiction to St. Paul, who ſays, *We know that there is no other God but one. For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth (as there are gods many and lords many.) But to us* (Chriſtians) *there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jeſus, by whom are all things, and we by him*, 1 Cor. viii. 4—6.

And Eph. iv. 5, 6. *One Lord, . . . one God and Father of all.* And Philip. ii. 11. . . . *that every tongue ſhould confeſs, that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.*

Many other texts might be mentioned, but I forbear.

Lett. v. p. 83, 84, or 445. 'To which being *anointed*, Acts iv. 27, 28. or appointed of God, he is therefore called the *Meſſiah*, or *Chriſt*, which literally ſignify *the anointed*. And accordingly, at the ſame time that we are informed of the tranſgreſſion of our firſt parents, we are told for our comfort that the ſeed of the woman ſhall bruiſe that ſerpent's head which had occaſioned their fall. Which was accordingly done, when the Meſſiah, whoſe ſpirit was of a ſuperior order to mankind, condeſcended to take human nature upon himſelf, by being born of the virgin Mary, and went through that ſcene of trials and afflictions, to which he was anointed.'

It is not unlikely that ſome others may ſpeak after the ſame manner; but to me it ſeems very improper: for, as a judicious writer ſays, 'That [2] name can denote only a perſon who has received gifts, graces, perfections and a dignity which he did not poſſeſs of himſelf.'

Chryſoſtom, accordingly ſays, 'That Jeſus was called Chriſt from the anointing of the ſpirit, which was poured out upon

[2] C'eſt s'exprimer d'une maniere fort ſuſpecte, d'appeller la Nature Divine de notre ſeigneur du nom de Chriſt. Ce nom ne peut deſigner qu'une perſonne, qui a reçû des graces, des dons, des perfections, une dignité, qu'elle ne poſſédoit par elle même. Beauſ. Hiſt. Man. T. I. p. 115.

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'him, as man.' Και χριστος δε απο τε χρισθηναι λεγεται, ο και αυτο τε σαρκος ην· και ποιῳ, φησιν, ελαιῳ εχρισθη; Ἐλαιῳ μεν ουκ εχρισθη, πνευματι δε. Chr. in ep. ad Rom. hom. i. T. IX. p. 430.

To the like purpoſe Auguſtin.[3] And, certainly very agreeably to the ſcriptures. Therefore it is ſaid: *You know... how God anointed Jeſus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghoſt, and with power; who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppreſſed with the devil. For God was with him.* Acts x. 38.

And ſays Mr. Abraham Le Moine, in his Treatiſe on Miracles, p. 51. 'As to thoſe other paſſages, wherein it is ſaid, 'that *he was full of the Holy Ghoſt.* Luke iv. 1. that *God gave* 'him not the ſpirit by meaſure, John iii. 34. that *God anointed* 'Jeſus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghoſt, and with power, Acts 'x. 38. they viſibly relate to our Saviour's human nature.'

Let. v. p. 85. or 446. 'For if the divine eſſence, or God-'head, did not enter into the womb of the virgin; when was it, 'that that *fulneſs of the Godhead which dwelt in him bodily*, Col. ii. '9. did enter into him?'

Here I muſt take the liberty to ſay, that I do not approve of curious inquiries in things of religion: and that I am afraid to attempt to anſwer ſuch inquiries particularly, leſt I ſhould advance what cannot be clearly made out by the authority of ſcripture.

However, in general I anſwer, in the firſt place, that the text in Col. ii. 9. does not ſpeak of *a ſuperior order to mankind*, as the author ſaid juſt now, or, as he expreſſeth it elſewhere, p. 66, or 430, *a ſeparate ſpirit from the Father, and inferior to him.* St. Paul's expreſſion is *the fulneſs of the Deity.* And there is but one Deity, or God, even the Father. Thereby therefore muſt be meant the Father's fulneſs. So it is ſaid in Euſebius's Commentary upon Pſal. xliv. otherwiſe xlv.[4] 'All 'the Father's grace was poured out upon the beloved; for it 'was the Father that ſpake in him.'

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Secondly, I ſuppoſe, that this fulneſs of the Deity is the ſame with what is ſaid of our Saviour in other expreſſions, in many texts of ſcripture.

As St. John ſays at the beginning of his goſpel, the word, the wiſdom, the power of God dwelt in him, and he was *full of grace and truth.* And, as John the baptiſt ſaid: *God giveth not the ſpirit by meaſure unto him.* And, as St. Peter ſaid juſt now, *God anointed Jeſus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghoſt, and with power.* All ſpeaking agreeably to what is foretold. Iſ. xi. 2, 3. *And the ſpirit of the Lord ſhall reſt upon him, the ſpirit of wiſdom and underſtanding, the ſpirit of counſel and might, the ſpirit of knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord,* and what follows.

And this method of interpretation is much confirmed by the excellent paſſages of divers ancient writers juſt quoted.

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[6] Τω δε πνευματι της πατρικης θεοτητος κεχρισμενον, και δια τουτο χριστον ανηγορευμενον. In Pſ. xcv. p. 634. E.

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Saviour

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Saviour was *filled with all the fulneſs of the godhead.* I obſerve a few things only.

It was foretold of John the baptiſt, that *he ſhould be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, even from his mother's womb,* Luke i. 15. Which may have been true of our Lord likewiſe. However St. Luke obſerves in his hiſtory, after Joſeph had returned to Nazareth in Galilee, ch. ii. 40. *And the child grew, and waxed ſtrong in ſpirit, filled with wiſdom. And the grace of God was upon him.* Afterwards, giving an account of the journey of Joſeph and Mary to Jeruſalem at a paſſover, when Jeſus was twelve years of age, he ſays, *the child Jeſus tarried behind them in Jeruſalem,* and ſeeking him, *they found him in the temple, ſitting in the midſt of the doctors, both hearing them, and aſking them queſtions. And all that heard him, were aſtoniſhed at his underſtanding and anſwers,* ver. 41—47. It is added afterwards at ver. 52. *And Jeſus increaſed in wiſdom and ſtature, and in favour with God and man.*

Moreover all the firſt three evangeliſts, in their hiſtory of our Lord's baptiſm, ſay, that *the heavens were opened, and the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon him,* Matt. iii. 16. *And Jeſus, when he was baptized, went up ſtraightway out of the water. And lo the heavens were opened unto him, and he ſaw the ſpirit of God deſcending from heaven, and lighting upon him.* See likewiſe Mark i. 10, 11. Luke iii. 21, 22. And Luke iv. 1. preſently after his baptiſm. *And Jeſus being full of the Holy Ghoſt, was led by the ſpirit into the wilderneſs.* And again, when the temptation was over, the evangeliſt ſays, ver. 14. *And Jeſus returned in the power of the ſpirit into Galilee.* And in St. John's goſpel, ch. i. ver. 32, 33. *And John bare record, ſaying: I ſaw the ſpirit deſcending from heaven like a dove. And it abode upon him.* And what follows.

I cloſe up theſe obſervations in the words of biſhop Pearſon upon the ſecond article of the creed, p. 99. 'So our Jeſus, 'the ſon of David was firſt ſanctified, and anointed with the Holy 'Ghoſt at his conception, and thereby received a right unto, 'and was prepared for all thoſe offices which belonged to 'the Redeemer of the world. But when he was to enter upon 'the actual and full performance of all thoſe functions which 'belonged to him; then does the ſame ſpirit, which had 'ſanctified him at his conception, viſibly deſcend upon him at 'his inauguration.'

And afterwards, at p. 104. ſumming up what had been before largely ſaid: '*I believe in Jeſus Chriſt.* That is, I 'do

'do aſſent to this, as a certain truth, that there was a 'man promiſed by God, and foretold by the prophets, to be 'the Meſſiah, the Redeemer of Iſrael, and the expectation 'of the nations. I am fully aſſured by all thoſe predictions, 'that the Meſſiah ſo promiſed is already come. I am as 'certainly perſuaded, that the man born in the days of Herod 'of the virgin Mary, by an angel from heaven called Jeſus, is 'the true Meſſiah, ſo long, and ſo often promiſed: that, 'as the Meſſiah, he was anointed to three ſpecial offices 'belonging to him, as the mediator between God and 'man: prophet.... prieſt... and king. I believe this unc-'tion, by which he became the true Meſſiah, was not 'performed by any material oil, but by the ſpirit of God, 'which he received as the head, and conveys to his members.'

Lett. vii. p. 135, or 484. 'And now, my lord, let any 'one judge whether this temptation of Jeſus in the wilderneſs, 'looks, as if Satan thought the divine ſpirit that was intimately 'united to the humanity of Jeſus, was that of the ſupreme 'God? And can any one think, that a being, endowed with 'ſo much power, [ſhould it not be knowledge?] as Satan ma-'nifeſtly was, did not know whether Jeſus was the ſupreme 'God or not?'

This is brought in with an air of much triumph. But may I not aſk? Did not Satan know that Jeſus Chriſt was his creator, under God the Father? For this learned writer argues, p. 78, 79, or 441, 442. that all things were made by Chriſt, and conſequently Satan himſelf: however, I chooſe not to multiply words in expoſing this obſervation, as founded in the author's wrong ſcheme.

The truth of the caſe is this. Jeſus had been baptized by John. At which time he was publicly declared to be the expected Meſſiah. He alſo received abundant qualifications for diſcharging the high office into which he was inaugurated. Soon after which Satan attempted to ſurpriſe him by divers temptations. *When he had faſted forty days and forty nights, he was afterwards an hungred. And when the tempter came to him, he ſaid: if thou be the Son of God,* that is, if indeed thou art the Chriſt, *command that theſe ſtones be made bread.* Afterwards, *taking him into the holy city, he ſetteth him on a pinnacle of the temple, and ſaith unto him: if thou be the Son of God,* that is, if indeed thou art the Meſſiah, *caſt thyſelf down: for it is written, he ſhall give his angels charge concerning thee, and in their hands they ſhall bear thee up, leſt at any time thou daſh thy*

thy foot againſt a ſtone. And what follows. Matt. ch. iv. And are not all theſe inſidious propoſals made to our Saviour, as man?

The learned author having taken notice of the tranſaction in the garden, goes on. Lett vii. p. 136, 137, or 485, 486.

'Here then we poor mortals are at a ſtand, being at a loſs 'to know, how it is poſſible for one ſpirit ſo to torment ano-'ther, as to put Jeſus into ſuch an agony as is above tran-'ſcribed, from the very apprehenſions of what he was to under-'go. If he were to ſuffer NOTHING BUT WHAT IS WRITTEN 'concerning his ſcoffs, and ſcourgings, and crucifixion, and 'we may add all the ſufferings and tortures which his human 'nature could poſſibly undergo; theſe ſurely could never have 'moved him in ſo high a degree; being only ſuch ſufferings 'as the prophets of old underwent, not only without dread, 'but with pleaſure in their countenance. Heb. xi. 35, 36.

'Whoever therefore can ſuppoſe Jeſus to have been terri-'fied at theſe things, which could only affect his human 'part, muſt ſuppoſe him to be leſs than a man. Whereas, IF 'WE SUPPOSE SATAN LET LOOSE UPON HIM, by the permiſſion 'of God, and empowered to attack him in his nobler 'part, in his angelic nature, while his divine ſpirit, being 'encumbered with the load of fleſh and blood, and fettered 'and confined within the compaſs of an human tabernacle, 'was diſabled from exerting its full powers; well might he 'dread the conflict on ſuch unequal terms.

'And IF NOTHING IS DESCRIBED TO US IN THE SCRIP-'TURES, BUT HIS SUFFERINGS IN THE FLESH, this we ought 'to conclude was done in condeſcenſion to our underſtandings, 'which are unable to comprehend, or have any notion of his in-'ward ſufferings: and for the ſame reaſon it was, that any outward 'ſufferings were inflicted on him at all. Which being in 'their own nature inſignificant and trifling, could not poſſibly be 'any trial of his obedience: but were inflicted on him by God 'for us, and for our ſake. Who in compaſſion to our igno-'rance, and infirmities, was pleaſed to appoint ſome of his 'ſufferings to be ſuch, as were within the reach of our capa-'cities to comprehend.'

Does not all this ſhow the great inconvenience, and vaſt diſadvantage of that opinion, which ſuppoſes, that a ſpirit of a ſuperior order to the human ſoul animated our Saviour's body?

I think, that the incongruity of this has been fully ſhown in the preceding letter: and that if ſuch a thing were practicable, that

that exalted ſpirit would ſwallow up the body, and ſuſtain it above all pains, wants, and infirmities. But it is manifeſt from the goſpels, and every book of the New Teſtament, that our Saviour had all the innocent infirmities of the human nature. Therefore the before-mentioned doctrine is not true.

This author is not quite a Docete, or does not profeſs to be ſo. Nevertheleſs he does little leſs than admit the force of the argument juſt referred to. He calls all the ſufferings inflicted on our Saviour by men, and all the ſufferings recorded concerning him, 'trifling and inſignificant,' and ſays, 'they could not poſſibly be any trial of his obedience.'

He thinks, Jeſus Chriſt ſuffered: but it muſt have been owing to the buffetings of Satan. Of which however, there is not, as himſelf owns, any diſtinct account given in the ſcriptures. Is not this to be wiſe above and beyond what is written? It is manifeſtly ſo. But does that become a Chriſtian? And they who are wiſe above, or beyond what is written, will generally contradict what is written.

This ſeems to be the caſe here. The 'ſcourgings, ſcoffs, 'crucifixion, and all the outward ſufferings inflicted on 'Jeſus were inſignificant and trifling, and could not 'poſſibly be any trial of his obedience.' Nevertheleſs theſe are things, much inſiſted upon, diſtinctly related, and frequently repeated in the ſacred writings of the New Teſtament. And the writers of the New Teſtament, the apoſtles and evangeliſts repreſent them to Chriſtians, as very great and affecting, and a trial of the obedience of our great Lord and Maſter. And his patience under them is ſet before us as a moving, and encouraging example to his followers. And for theſe ſufferings, and his patience, reſignation, and meekneſs under them, he is repreſented to have been highly rewarded by God the Father, ſupreme Lord and diſpoſer of all things.

So St. Paul, Heb. xii. 1—3. *Let us run with patience the race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus, the author and finiſher of our faith: who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down on the right hand of the throne of God. For conſider him that endured ſuch contradiction of ſinners againſt himſelf, leſt ye be wearied, and faint in your minds.*

So likewiſe St. Peter, 1 Epiſt. ii. 21—24. *For even hereunto were ye called: becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps. Who did no*

ſin, neither was guile found in his mouth. Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again: when he ſuffered, he threatened not: but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly. Who his ownſelf bare our ſins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to ſin, ſhould live unto righteouſneſs. By whoſe ſtripes ye were healed.

See Philip. ii. 1—11. and many other places, and all the goſpels, wherein are recorded our Lord's ſufferings, and eſpecially his laſt.

All theſe things are thus inſiſted upon as very conſiderable, and of great importance to Chriſtians. So that it ſeems very ſtrange, that they ſhould be reckoned by any 'trifling and inſignificant, and no trial of obedience.'

There is, I think, plainly a difference between this great Author, and our apoſtles and evangeliſts. Whence ſhould this come to paſs? Is it not, that he preacheth another Jeſus? According to them, Jeſus is a man [9] like unto us, and ſuffers ſuch evils, as men in this world are liable to, in the ſteady practice of virtue: and he has ſet before us a moſt amiable, moſt animating, and encouraging example, under a great variety of contradictions and ſufferings. For all which he has been highly rewarded by God the Father Almighty, who alone is perfectly wiſe, and perfectly good.

But according to this author, Jeſus is an imbodied angel, or archangel, and not capable of being much, if at all, affected by 'all the ſufferings, and tortures, which human 'nature could poſſibly undergo. Theſe, ſurely,' he ſays, 'could never have moved him in ſo high a degree,' p. 136, 137, or 486.

Indeed this writer pleads, that if the buffetings of Satan, or ſuch ſufferings, as he contends for, are not 'deſcribed to 'us in the ſcriptures, but his ſufferings in the fleſh; this we 'ought to conclude was done in condeſcenſion to our under-'ſtandings, which are unable to comprehend, or have 'any notion of his inward ſufferings,' p. 137, or 486.

For certain, all men, who advance a doctrine, without expreſs authority from ſcripture, will endeavour to find out ſome reaſon for the ſilence of ſcripture about it. But no good reaſon can be aſſigned for the omiſſion, here ſuppoſed

[9] So likewiſe ſays the prophet. *A man of ſorrows, and acquainted with grief.* If. liii.

and

and granted. 'His outward ſufferings,' the writer ſays, 'were inſignificant and trifling, and could not poſſibly 'be any trial of his obedience.'——If they were not, ſhould not ſome others have been recorded? The not doing it, ſurely, muſt be reckoned an inexcuſable omiſſion, and neglect in the ſacred pen-men.

However, it is certain, they have recorded ſuch ſufferings, as they ſuppoſed to be a trial of our Lord's obedience: and his patience under them, as an example and pattern to us.

Our great author would have us ſuppoſe, 'Satan let looſe 'upon our Lord, by the permiſſion of God, and empowered 'to attack him in his nobler part, his angelic nature,' p. 137, or 486. And ſpeaks of 'the buffetings of Satan,' p. 138, or 487.—'and the inſults of Satan,' p. 133, or 483. But why ſhould ſuch things be ſuppoſed, when all the writers of the New Teſtament are ſilent about them? If any will invent, and deſcribe ſuch ſufferings, it muſt be altogether unſcriptural, and could be no better than a philoſophical, or theological romance.

And may I not aſk, what good purpoſes can be anſwered by this ſcheme? For we are neither angels, nor imbodied angels, but men, placed here in a ſtate of trial. And our trial ariſes from the good and evil things of this world, by which our hopes and our fears are much influenced.

To me then the contrivance of our great author appears both unſcriptural, and unprofitable. Nor can I forbear joining in with the apoſtle, and ſaying: *But we preach Chriſt crucified, unto the Jews a ſtumbling-block, and unto the Greeks fooliſhneſs: but unto them which are called both Jews and Greeks, Chriſt the power of God, and the wiſdom of God: becauſe the fooliſhneſs of God is wiſer than men: and the weakneſs of God is ſtronger than men*, 1 Cor. i. 23—25.

However, at p. 138, or 487, it is argued after this manner. 'And therefore, when he was betrayed, and ſeized 'by the officers, that were ſent to apprehend him, our 'Saviour ſaid unto them: *This is your hour, and the power of 'darkneſs*, Luke xxii. 53. Giving them thereby to under-'ſtand, and us through them, that it was not only the hour 'of men's wrath, but *the hour of the power of darkneſs*, that 'he ſo much dreaded, when he prayed to God the Father, 'to *ſave him from that hour*. At which time he had not 'only the contradiction of wicked men to ſtrive with, but

'knew that this was the time allotted by God for Satan, the 'prince of darkneſs, to exerciſe, and employ his whole 'power in afflicting him.'

But really no ſuch concluſion can be drawn from thoſe words; where one and the ſame thing is expreſſed in a two-fold manner, the more emphatically to repreſent the greatneſs of the trouble then coming upon our Saviour. As if he had ſaid, 'But this is your hour: and indeed it is a very dark and afflictive ſeaſon.'

Dr. Clarke's paraphraſe is in theſe terms.

'But this is the time, wherein the infinite wiſdom of 'God has appointed me to ſuffer. And Providence has 'now given you power over me, permitting you to execute 'your malice and cruelty upon me, that the ſcripture may 'be fulfilled, and the eternal counſels of the divine wiſ-'dom for the ſalvation of men fully accompliſhed.' To the like purpoſe Grotius upon John xiv. 30.[10]

And that this is the meaning of the words, may be argued from our Lord's manner of expreſſion elſewhere, ſpeaking of the ſame thing. So in John xvi. 32, 33. *Behold, the hour cometh, yea is now come,——that ye ſhall leave me alone. And yet I am not alone, becauſe the Father is with me. Theſe things I have ſpoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye ſhall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.* And therefore, when he mentions Satan, it is in the character of *the prince of this world.* John xiv. 30. *Hereafter I will not talk much with you: for the prince of this world cometh; and hath nothing in me:* which is thus paraphraſed by Dr. Whitby. '*The prince of this world cometh* 'by his miniſters, Judas, and the rulers of the Jews, *and* '*findeth nothing in me:* he himſelf having no power to inflict 'death upon me, in whom is no ſin, and they finding no-'thing in me *worthy of death*, Acts xiii. 28. Though there-'fore I am to ſuffer death, I do not ſuffer for any fault that 'can deſerve it, or on account of any power he or his mini-'ſters have over me to inflict it. But I give up myſelf to 'death in compliance with my Father's will, and what 'follows.'

[10] Venit autem per homines ſui plenos, quorum vis erat ἐξουσία τῶν ἡκότων. Grot. in Joh. xiv. 30.

THE END OF A LETTER ON THE LOGOS.

A DIS-

A

DISSERTATION

UPON THE TWO EPISTLES ASCRIBED TO CLEMENT OF ROME,

LATELY PUBLISHED BY MR. WETSTEIN.

With large Extracts out of them, and an Argument ſhowing them not to be genuine.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLIII.]

I. *Extracts out of theſe Epiſtles, for ſhowing the Author's Teſtimony to the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament.* II. *External Evidence againſt the genuineneſs of theſe Epiſtles.* III. *Internal Evidence to the ſame Purpoſe, and their Time.* IV. *The Author anonymous.* V. *The Importance and Uſe of theſe Epiſtles.* VI. *The Concluſion.*

EXTRACTS. I. My extracts from theſe two epiſtles will relate chiefly to the books of ſcripture quoted therein.

1. In theſe epiſtles ſeveral books of the Old Teſtament are quoted: the book of Geneſis ſeveral times: Exodus: the Judges, and ſeveral of the following hiſtorical books: the book of the Proverbs, often: the book of Eccleſiaſtes once: Iſaiah once, and alſo the ſtory of Suſanna.

2. Out of the New Teſtament are taken ſeveral paſſages of Matthew, one [a] of Luke, ſeveral of John's goſpel. The Acts of the Apoſtles may be ſuppoſed [b] to be referred to. I cannot tell, whether [c] there be a reference to Acts xxvi. 25. in ſome words, which I place below that others may judge. There are alſo paſſages out of the apoſtle Paul's epiſtle to the Romans, both the epiſtles to the Corinthians, the epiſtles to the Galatians, the Epheſians, the Philippians, the Coloſſians, the firſt and ſecond to the Theſſalonians, the firſt and ſecond to Timothy, the epiſtle to the Hebrews, two or three quotations, which will be taken notice of preſently, and many paſſages out of the epiſtle of James.

[a] Domino Jeſu Chriſto miniſtrarunt mulieres e poſſeſſionibus ſuis. Ep. 2. n. 15. Vid. Luc. viii. 3.

[b] Porro Paulus, et Barnabas, et Timotheus, cum cæteris, quorum nomina ſcripta ſunt in libro vitæ. Ep. i. c. 6. Conf. Philipp. iv. 3.

[c] ... et loquimur cum illis verba exhortationis et honeſtatis. Ep. 2. cap. 1.

But I have not clearly diſcerned any paſſages out of the epiſtle of Paul to Titus, or Philemon: nor out of the epiſtles of Peter, or John, or Jude, or the book of the Revelation.

3. I ſay, there are paſſages out of the ſeveral books of ſcripture before-mentioned. But there occurs not the name of any one book or writer, either of the Old or the New Teſtament: except in general, in the goſpel, the apoſtle, meaning Paul, and the like.

4. The paſſages of the epiſtle to the Hebrews are theſe: 'But [d] brethren, we are perſuaded of you, that you will 'think of theſe things, which are neceſſary to your ſal-'vation. But we thus ſpeak of them, becauſe," and what follows. Where the author muſt have had an eye to Heb. vi. 9.

5. I ſuppoſe likewiſe, that there may be a reference to Heb. vi. 15—19. as well as to Iſaiah lvi. in a paſſage which [e] I tranſcribe below.

6. Again: 'For [f] he ſaid: *Honour your elders, and when 'you ſee their converſations, and their manners, imitate their 'faith.*' Which muſt be allowed to be a reference to, or quotation of Heb. xiii. 7.

7. The forms of quotation are ſuch as theſe: For he ſaid,' in the place juſt quoted. 'They [g] who are truly virgins, for God's ſake, hear him, who ſaid.' Where he quotes divers paſſages from the book of the Proverbs. 'Such [h] virginity the Lord calls fooliſh, as he ſays in 'the goſpel.' See Matt. xxv. 'Therefore [i] he ſaid rightly 'to that generation.' 'And [k] of ſuch ſervants it is ſaid.' 'As [l] it is written.' 'And [m] they hear not him, who ſays.'

[d] Confidimus autem de vobis, fratres, vos cogitaturos ea, quæ neceſſaria ſunt ſaluti veſtræ. Sed ita loquimur de iis, quæ loquimur, propter famam et rumorem malum, &c. Ep. i. c. 10.

[e] . . . ſed deſiderat ſpem promiſſam et præparatam et poſitam in cœlis Deo, qui promiſit ore, et non mentitur: qui major eſt filiis et filiabus, et dabit virginibus locum celebrem in domo Dei. . . . Ep. i. c. 4.

[f] Dixit enim: Seniores veſtros honorate, et quando videtis converſationes eorum, et mores eorum, imitamini eorum fidem. Ep. i. c. 7.

[g] Qui autem vere ſunt virgines propter Deum, audiunt eum qui dixit. Ep. i. c. 2.

[h] Dominus enim virginitatem talem ſtultam vocat, ſicut ait in Evangelio. Ep. i. c. 3.

[i] Propterea recte dicit generationi tali. Ep. i. 8.

[k] Et dictum eſt de talibus ſervis. i. 9.

[l] Sicut ſcriptum eſt. i. 10.

[m] Et non audiunt dicentem. i. 11.

Quoting

Quoting the epiſtle of James. 'And [n] again he ſays.' 'Have [o] you not read of Amnon and Thamar, children 'of David?' In the next chapter. 'Have [p] you not read 'of the family of Solomon?' 'They [q] did not remember 'that ſaying.' 'Behold [r] we find what is written of Moſes 'and Aaron.' 'For [s] ſo the holy ſcriptures ſpeak in theſe 'very words.' 'As [t] the apoſtle ſaid.' See 2 Cor. xi. 12. 'Whom [u] the divine apoſtle rejects.' 'Widows [x] whom 'the divine apoſtle refuſeth.' 'Let [y] us be mindful of 'the word, which ſays.' See Eccleſ. vii. 26. 'As [z] we 'have learned from the law, the prophets, and the Lord 'Jeſus Chriſt.' 'Let [a] us inquire and ſearch from the Law 'to the New Teſtament.'

8. Farther he ſeems in ſeveral places to refer to a practice then in uſe of reading the ſcriptures in private houſes, and at viſits.

For [b] he blames ſome, whom he calls idle, 'who went 'about to the houſes of brethren, and ſiſters, virgins, under 'a pretence of viſiting them, or reading the ſcriptures to 'them, or exorciſing them, or teaching them.' Repreſenting his own and other good people's way of travelling, whoſe conduct is ſet forth to be an example, he ſays: 'When '[c] we come to a place, where there is no man, but all 'are faithful women and virgins, when we have gathered 'them all together, and find they live in peace, we ſpeak

[n] Et iterum dicit. i. 11.

[o] Nonne legiſti de Amnone et Thamare, liberis Davidis? ii. c. 11.

[p] Nonne legiſti de familia Salomonis, &c? ii. 12.

[q] Non enim recordati ſunt dicti illius, &c. ii. 13.

[r] Ecce reperimus quod ſcriptum eſt de Moſe et Aarone. ii. 14.

[s] Sic enim ſcripturæ ſacræ teſtantur ad verbum. ii. 14.

[t] Sicut dixit apoſtolus. i. 12.

[u] Quos averſatur apoſtolus divinus. i. 10.

[x] ... aut cum viduis, quas fugit divinus apoſtolus. ii. 14.

[y] ... ſed ſimus memores verbi dicentis de muliere. ii. 10.

[z] Sicut didicimus de Lege, et Prophetis, et Domino Jeſu Chriſto. i. 12.

[a] Inquiramus et ſcrutemur a Lege ad Novum Teſtamentum. ii. 7.

[b] Alii autem circumeuntes per domos virginum fratrum et ſororum, prætextu viſitandi eos, aut legendi Scripturas, aut exercitandi eos, aut docendi eos, quia ſunt otioſi. i. 10.

[c] Si autem contingat, ut nos recipiamus in locum, ubi vir non eſt: ſed omnes ſunt mulieres et virgines, cogantque nos pernoctare in illo loco: vocamus omnes illos in unum locum, ad latus dextrum.... et quando congregatæ veniunt omnes, et videmus, quomodo in pace ſunt, loquimur cum illis verba caſtitatis in timore Dei, et legimus illis Scripturas in verecundia, &c. ii. 4.

'to them in all purity, and read to them the ſcriptures.' Afterwards in the next chapter: 'If [d] we come to a place, 'and there be one faithful woman only alone, and no body 'elſe; we do not ſtay there, nor pray there, nor read 'the ſcriptures there, but we flee away as from the face of a 'ſerpent, and from a dangerous ſnare.' And in another place. 'We do not ſing pſalms, nor read the ſcriptures to gentiles.' [d d]

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE. II. Having made theſe extracts, it will be proper to conſider the age and authority of the epiſtles, from whence they are taken. When it was firſt reported among us, that Mr. Wetſtein of Amſterdam had received out of the Eaſt a Syriac tranſlation of two new epiſtles of Clement biſhop of Rome, I ſaid, it was a miſtake. It was more probable, that he had received a Syriac tranſlation of the epiſtle of Clement to the Corinthians, and of the other epiſtle often aſcribed to him. And if that was the caſe, the tranſlation might be very valuable, and of great uſe, becauſe we have not the epiſtle to the Corinthians entire, and of the other epiſtle a fragment only. And undoubtedly thoſe two epiſtles, if entire, though in a tranſlation only, would have been an acceptable preſent to the learned world. But I was miſtaken in my conjecture. The report firſt made has been confirmed by the event. The two epiſtles received by Mr. Wetſtein, and publiſhed by him, have been hitherto [e] unknown. It muſt therefore be very fit, that we examine their title to this high original, before we receive them as genuine. In the firſt place I will conſider the external, then the internal evidence.

In examining theſe epiſtles by external evidence we are led to recollect what ancient writers have ſaid of Clement, and his works.

1. Says Irenæus, biſhop of Lyons in Gaul, who flouriſhed about the year 178, in his books againſt hereſies:

[d] Si autem recipiamus nos in locum, et inveniamus ibi unicam mulierem fidelem ſolam, nec quiſquam alius ibi ſit, niſi illa ſola, non ſtamus ibi, neque oramus ibi, neque legimus ibi Scripturas, ſed fugimus ſicut coram facie ſerpentis, et tanquam coram laqueo peccati. ii. 5.

[d d] Propterea non pſallimus gentibus, neque legimus illis ſcripturas. ii. 7.

[e] Præcipuum vero, ut tandem ad rem ipſam veniam, manuſcripti hujus ornamentum ſunt duæ Clementis Romani Epiſtolæ, hactenus non ineditæ ſolum, verum noſtri temporis eruditis plane incognitæ. Wetſt. Proleg. p. v.

'When

'When [f] the bleſſed apoſtles Peter and Paul had founded 'and eſtabliſhed the church, (at Rome) they delivered the 'office of the biſhopric in it to Linus. . . . to him ſucceeded 'Anencletus. Next to whom, in the third place after 'the apoſtles, Clement obtained the biſhopric, who 'had ſeen the bleſſed apoſtles, and converſed with them. '. . . In the time therefore of this Clement, when there 'was no ſmall diſſenſion among the brethren at Co-'rinth, the Church of Rome ſent a moſt excellent letter 'to the Corinthians, exhorting them to peace among them-'ſelves, and reminding them of the doctrine lately re-'ceived from the apoſtles, which declares, that there is 'one God Almighty, maker of the heavens and the earth, 'who brought in the flood, and called Abraham; who 'brought the people out of Egypt, who ſpake with Moſes, 'who ordained the law, and ſent the prophets.'

This is the only writing of Clement, which is taken notice of by Irenæus. If he had known of any other, why ſhould he not have quoted it, the more effectually to confute and ſilence the unreaſonable men, againſt whom he was arguing?

2. Dionyſius, biſhop of Corinth, flouriſhed about the year 170. Euſebius mentions an epiſtle of his to Soter, then biſhop of Rome, 'In [g] which letter, ſays the eccleſiaſtical 'hiſtorian, he makes mention alſo of the epiſtle of Clement 'to the Corinthians, teſtifying, that it had been wont to be 'read in the church from ancient time, ſaying, To day we 'have kept the holy Lord's day in which we read your 'epiſtle. Which we ſhall alſo read frequently for our 'inſtruction, as [h] well as the former, written to us by Cle-'ment.'

This, as it ſeems to me, affords an irrefragable argument, that there was but one epiſtle of the Church of Rome, written by Clement to the Corinthians.

3. We are alſo aſſured by Euſebius, that Hegeſippus, who flouriſhed about the year 173, made [i] mention of the epiſtle of Clement to the Corinthians.

[f] Iren. contr. Hær. l. 3. c. 3. p. 176. ed. Maſſuet. Et Conf. Euſeb. H. E. l. 3. c. 15. et 16. et l. 5. c. 6.

[g] Euſeb. H. E. l. 4. c. 3. p. 145. B. C.

[h] . . . ως και την προτεραν ημιν δια κλημεντος γραφεισαν. Ibid.

[i] Ακμασαι γε τοι παρεστι μετα τινα περι της κλημεντος προς κορινθιους επιστολης αυτω ειρημενα. H. E. l. 4. c. 22. in. Vid. et l. 3. c. 16.

4. Clement

4. Clement of Rome is ſeveral times quoted by his name-ſake of Alexandria, about the year 194. But he quotes only the epiſtle of [k] Clement, or [l] of the Romans, to the Corinthians.

5. Origen, about 230, has ſome paſſages out of Clement's epiſtle to the Corinthians in [m] his books of Principles, and in [n] his Commentary upon St. John's Goſpel. He elſewhere [o] quotes a work called Circuits, aſcribed to Clement.

6. We come now to Euſebius of Cæſarea about the year 315, who having mentioned the order of the ſucceſſion of the firſt biſhops of Rome to Clement, whom he reckons the third after the apoſtles, adds: 'Of [p] this Clement there is 'one epiſtle acknowledged by all, a great and admirable 'epiſtle, which as from the church of Rome he wrote to the 'church of the Corinthians, upon occaſion of a diſſenſion, 'which there was then at Corinth. And we know, that this 'epiſtle has been formerly, and is ſtill publicly read in many 'churches.'

In another place [q] he ſpeaks of 'the epiſtle of Clement 'acknowledged by all, which he wrote to the Corinthians, 'in the name of the church of Rome.' Afterwards, in the ſame chapter: 'It ought to be obſerved, that there is 'another epiſtle ſaid to be Clement's. But this is not ſo 'generally received as the former. Nor do we know the 'ancients to have quoted it. There have been publiſhed 'alſo not long ſince other large and prolix writings in his 'name, containing Dialogues of Peter and Appion, of 'which there is not the leaſt mention made by the ancients. 'Nor have they the pure apoſtolical doctrine.'

So writes Euſebius, who had ſo good opportunities for acquainting himſelf with the writings of Chriſtians before his time: and, ſo far as we are able to judge, diligently improved thoſe opportunities.

[k] Αυτικα ο κλημης εν τη τρος κορινθιυς επιστολη κατα λεξιν φησι. Str. l. i. p. 289. A. Pariſ. 1629. Vid. et Str. 4. p. 516. A. Str. 6. p. 647. A. B.

[l] Αλλα καν τη τρος κορινθιυς ρωμαιων επιστολη. Str. l. 5. p. 586. B.

[m] De Princip. l. 2. p. 82. et 83. Edit. Bened. T. i.

[n] Comm. in Jo. c. i. v. 29. T. 2. p. 143. Huet.

[o] Philoc. cap. 23. p. 81. Cant.

[p] H. E. l. 3. c. 15. et 16.

[q] L. 3. c. 3. p. 110.

7. Cyril

7. Cyril of Jeruſalem, about the year 348, quotes,[r] or refers to a paſſage of Clement, which is in his epiſtle to the Corinthians.

8. Jerom in his Catalogue, written in 392, in the article of Clement of Rome expreſſeth himſelf in this manner: 'He wrote in the name of the church of Rome to the 'church of Corinth a very uſeful epiſtle, which alſo is pub-'licly read in ſome places.... There is likewiſe a ſecond 'epiſtle, which goes under his name, but it is rejected by 'the ancients. And a prolix diſputation of Peter and 'Appion, which is cenſured by Euſebius in the third book 'of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.'

Upon this chapter we are led to make ſome remarks. 1. There was but one epiſtle of Clement univerſally acknowledged: which alſo was publicly read in ſome churches. 2. There was another epiſtle received as Clement's by ſome in Jerom's time. But he ſays, it was rejected by the ancients, that is, was not quoted by them as Clement's. 3. Jerom does not expreſsly ſay, that this ſecond epiſtle was ſuppoſed by any to have been written to the Corinthians. But, poſſibly, ſome of thoſe who received it, reckoned it to have been ſent to the ſame church, to which the former epiſtle was ſent. 4. Jerom was quite ignorant of any other epiſtles aſcribed to Clement. Having mentioned thoſe two epiſtles, he proceeds to the long diſputation, which Euſebius had cenſured: and doubtleſs ought to be underſtood to confirm that cenſure with his own approbation.

Clement is mentioned in ſome other works of Jerom: particularly, in[s] his Commentary upon the prophecy of Iſaiah: where he expreſsly quotes the epiſtle of Clement biſhop of Rome to the Corinthians. And much after the ſame manner twice[u] in his Commentary upon the epiſtle to the

[r] Cateeh. 18. n. viii. p. 288. edit. Bened.

[s] Clemens, de quo Apoſtolus ad Philippenſes,... ſcripſit ex perſona Romanæ eccleſiæ ad eccleſiam Corinthiorum valde utilem epiſtolam, quæ et in nonnullis locis publice legitur.... Fertur et ſecunda ejus nomine epiſtola, quæ a veteribus reprobatur. Et diſputatio Petri et Appionis longo ſermone conſcripta, quam Euſebius in tertio Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ volumine coarguit. De V. I. cap. 15.

[t] De quo et Clemens, vir apoſtolicus, qui poſt Petrum Romanam rexit eccleſiam, mittit ad Corinthios. In Iſ. cap. 52. T. III. p. 382.

[u] De quibus et Clemens in epiſtola ſua ſcribit. In ep. ad Eph. cap.

the Epheſians. Clement is alſo mentioned by Jerom in the fifth chapter of the book of Illuſtrious Men, where is the article of St. Paul, in ſpeaking of the epiſtle to the Hebrews. He is alſo mentioned [x] elſewhere.

There is yet one paſſage more of Jerom, of which particular notice muſt be taken. It is in his firſt book againſt Jovinian: who, as Jerom aſſures us, beſide other things, ſaid, 'that[y] virgins have no more merit than widows and 'married women, unleſs their works diſtinguiſh them in 'other reſpects: and likewiſe, that there is no difference 'of merit between abſtaining from ſome meats and uſing 'them with thankſgiving.' Our author having quoted Mat. xix. 12. ſays, 'To[z] ſuch [eunuchs] Clement alſo 'ſucceſſor of the apoſtle Peter, of whom the apoſtle Paul 'makes mention, Philip. iv. 3. writes epiſtles and almoſt 'throughout diſcourſeth of the purity of virginity. And 'in like manner, [or and afterwards] many apoſtolical men, 'and martyrs, and others, illuſtrious for their piety and 'eloquence, as may be eaſily ſeen in their own writings.'

Mr. Wetſtein, whoſe[a] words I tranſcribe below, ſays that here Jerom refers to the two epiſtles publiſhed by him. But

1. Jerom

cap. ii. v. 2. T. IV. P. I. p. 338.

Cujus rei et Clemens ad Corinthios teſtis eſt. In Eph. cap. iv. v. 1. ib. p. 359.

[x] Et ſi Clemens, aut ille Apoſtolorum diſcipulus, aut ille Alexandrinæ eccleſiæ, et ipſius magiſter Origenis, tale aliquid dixerunt. Adv. Rufin. l. 2. p. 406. T. IV. P. 2.

[y] Dicit, virgines, viduas, et maritatas, quæ ſemel in Chriſto lotæ ſunt, ſi non diſcrepent cæteris operibus ejuſdem eſſe meriti.... Tertium proponit, inter abſtinentiam ciborum, et cum gratiarum actione perceptionem eorum, nullam eſſe diſtantiam. Adv. Jovin. l. 2. T. IV. p. 146.

[z] Ad hos [*eunuchos*] et Clemens ſucceſſor Apoſtoli Petri, cujus Paulus Apoſtolus meminit, ſcribit epiſtolas, omnemque pene ſermonem ſuum de virginitatis puritate contexuit: et deinceps multi Apoſtolici, et Martyres, et illuſtres tam ſanctitate quam eloquentia viri, quos ex propriis ſcriptis noſſe perfacile eſt. Id. ibid. p. 156. m.

[a] ... quarum γνησιοτητα et utilitatem nunc indicare atque demonſtrare conabor. Proferam primo duo externa teſtimonia Hieronymi atque Epiphanii, quorum ille c. Jovinianum l. 1. *Hi*, inquit, *ſunt eunuchi, quos caſtravit non neceſſitas, ſed voluntas propter regnum cœlorum. ... Ad hos et Clemens ſucceſſor Apoſtoli Petri, cujus Paulus Apoſtolus meminit* Philip. iv. 3. *ſcribit epiſtolas, omnemque pene ſermonem ſuum de virginitatis puritate contexuit: et deinceps multi apoſtolici et martyres, et illuſtres tam ſanctitate quam eloquentia viri, quos ex propriis ſcriptis noſſe perfacile eſt.* Hic vero Hær. xxx. Ebionitarum n. 15. Αυτος καλημης.... Hæc tamen teſtimonia de noſtris

epiſtolis,

1. Jerom muſt be underſtood to mean the two well known epiſtles of Clement, of which he had ſpoken in his catalogue: which are plainly the ſame, and no other than thoſe ſpoken of by Euſebius of Cæſarea in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, to which he refers, and indeed tranſcribes. It is the more reaſonable, and even expedient, ſo to underſtand him, becauſe the books againſt Jovinian were written about the ſame time with the catalogue: from which it appears, that he had then no knowledge of any other epiſtles of Clement. If he had, he would not have omitted there to take notice of them. And in his other works, as we have ſeen, he quotes no epiſtle of Clement, but his well known, and univerſally received epiſtle to the Corinthians. Here he ſpeaks of two, it having been then not uncommon to aſcribe to Clement another epiſtle, beſide that which was univerſally received by the ancients, as we ſaw him acknowledge in the catalogue. 2. Jerom here ſpeaks hyperbolically, a ſtyle very frequent with him, as all know, and eſpecially in his books againſt Jovinian: where he ſo exalted virginity, and depreciated marriage, as to give general offence, though at that time virginity was in great eſteem. In thoſe epiſtles, ſays Jerom, 'Clement diſcourſeth almoſt throughout of the purity of virginity.' The meaning of which, really, is no more, than that there are in his epiſtles ſome things favourable to virginity. Jerom may be ſuppoſed to refer to ſome things in ch. 21, 29, 30, 35, 38, 48, and 58, of the epiſtle to the Corinthians: particularly to ſuch places as theſe, where Clement ſays: 'Let [b] our [or your] 'children partake of the diſcipline of Chriſt.... Let them 'know, how much a chaſte love avails with God, how great 'and excellent his fear is, ſaving all who ſerve him in holi-'neſs with a pure mind. We [c] being the portion of the holy 'one, let us do all things that pertain unto holineſs, ſhunning 'impure and unchaſte embraces.' Among the bleſſed and wonderful gifts of God Clement reckons [d] 'continence, [or

epiſtolis, quæ nemo non videt eſſe clariſſima, et a Petavio et Martianæo, Epiphanii et Hieronymi editoribus, et ab omnibus, quotquot illa epiſtolis Clementis ad Corinthios præfixa legerunt, et a ſcriptoribus eccleſiaſticæ hiſtoriæ, qui de Clemente egerunt, neglecta, id eſt, non intellecta, aut perperam de duabus iſtis ad Corinthios epiſtolis, in quibus tamen nec Sampſonis, nec prolixus de virginitate ſermo reperitur, intellecta fuere. Wetſt. Prolegom. p. v.

[b] ... τι αγαπη αγνη παρα τω θεω δυναται.... κ. λ. Ep. ad Corinth. cap. 21.

[c] Ibid. cap. 30.

[d] ... εγκρατεια εν αγιασμω. c. 35.

chaſtity

chaſtity] in holineſs.' Again: 'Let[e] therefore our whole body be ſaved in Jeſus Chriſt.' Afterwards, in the ſame chapter: 'Let[f] not him that is chaſte [or pure] in the fleſh, 'grow proud, knowing that it is from another he received the 'gift of continence.' And near the end he prays, 'That[g] 'God may give them patience, long-ſuffering, continence, 'chaſtity, and ſobriety.' To theſe and other things in the epiſtle to the Corinthians Jerom[h] may be ſuppoſed to refer. And he may intend a large part of that which is called Clement's ſecond epiſtle: in which are recommended chaſtity, ſelf-denial, and mortification to the delights of this world. Jerom might have a regard to that epiſtle from chap. 4, to chap. 12, that is, the end, ſo far as we have it. Where are ſuch expreſſions as theſe: 'keeping[i] the fleſh chaſte.' 'We[k] 'ought therefore to keep our fleſh as the temple of God.' 'Serving[l] God with a pure heart.' And the like. That ſuch expreſſions as theſe may be the foundation of what he ſays, is manifeſt from what immediately precedes the paſſage, which we are conſidering. 'It[m] is,' ſays he, 'an act of eminent 'faith, and eminent virtue, to be a holy temple of God, to '*offer ourſelves a whole burnt-offering to the Lord*, Rom. xii. 1. 'And, according to the ſame apoſtle, to be *holy both in 'body and ſpirit*, 1 Cor. vii. 34. Theſe are eunuchs, who 'in Iſaiah call themſelves a dry tree.... To theſe 'eunuchs Clement writes.'... The hyperbolical ſtyle appears likewiſe in what follows: 'In like manner many apoſ-'tolical men, and martyrs, and others illuſtrious for their piety 'and eloquence, as may be eaſily ſeen in their own writings.' It is true, that many, beſide Clement, have diſcourſed of

[e] Σωζεσθω το ημων ολον σωμα εν χριστω ιησυ. c. 38.

[f] Ὁ αγνος εν τη σαρκι μη αλαζονευεσθω, γινωσκων, οτι ετερος εστιν ο επιχορηγων αυτω την εγκρατειαν. Ibid.

[g] ... μακροθυμιαν, εγκρατειαν, αγνειαν, και σωφροσυνην. cap. 58.

[h] Et poſteriora quidem loca de continentia virginali aperte loquuntur, priora vero licet caſtitatem in genere, ipſamque conjugalem, concernant, ab Hieronymo tamen in diſputationis fervore aliorſum trahi potuerunt. Grabe Spic. T. I. p. 263.

[i] ... και την σαρκα αγνην τηρησατες. Ep. 2. cap. 8.

[k] Δει ουν ημας ως ναον θεου φυλασσειν την σαρκα. cap. 9.

[l] Ἡμεις ουν εν καθαρα καρδια δουλευσωμεν τω θεω. Ib. c. xi.

[m] Grandis fidei eſt, grandiſque virtutis; Dei templum eſſe puriſſimum, totum ſe holocauſtum offerre Domino, et juxta eundem Apoſtolum, eſſe ſanctum et corpore et ſpiritu. Hi ſunt eunuchi, qui ſe lignum aridum ob ſterilitatem putantes, audiunt per Iſaiam, &c.

chaſtity,

chaſtity, and of purity in ſoul and body. But who are they, of whom it can be ſaid, without an hyberbole, that they had written books, diſcourſing almoſt throughout of the purity of virginity? And where are their writings to be found? Dr. Cave[n] underſtood Jerom exactly after this manner. As did[o] Grabe likewiſe. Whoſe remarks upon this paſſage of Jerom are ſo clear and full, and, as ſeems to me, ſatisfactory; that I think it great pity, Mr. Wetſtein did not obſerve and well conſider them. If he had ſo done, it might have prevented thoſe ſcornful reflections upon Dr. Cave, and biſhop Beveridge, and the two learned editors of Epiphanius and Jerom, which are at p. v. of the Prolegomena. Godfrey Wendelin, as cited by Mr. Wetſtein Prolegom. p. vi. ſuppoſed, that Jerom had an eye to the latter part of the ſecond epiſtle, which is now wanting. And to the like purpoſe Cotelerius[p] in his note at the end of that fragment. And indeed it has ſeemed to me not improbable, that Jerom reckoned, he had an advantage to his cauſe from the ſecond epiſtle aſcribed to Clement. And therefore here writing againſt Jovinian, when his mind was heated with his argument, he ſpeaks of two epiſtles of Clement: though in his catalogue, where he writes as a critic, and an hiſtorian, he ſpeaks as if he thought one only to be genuine: nor has he quoted any other in his commentaries. Nevertheleſs I am of opinion, that we have enough remaining of theſe two epiſtles, and particularly of that laſt mentioned, to juſtify our interpretation of Jerom: eſpecially with that qualifying expreſſion *almoſt*; which no man can

[n] Cæterum haud ſatis conſtat, quid ſibi velit Hieronymus, cum de epiſtolis a Clemente ad Corinthios ſcriptis verba faciens, *omnem pene ſermonem ſuum de virginitatis puritate Clementem contexuiſſe*, ſcribat. Neque enim alias ab hiſce quæ nunc exſtant epiſtolas ad Corinthios dediſſe Clementem credi poteſt, nec in his utramque faciunt paginam virginitatis laudes. Id potius dicendum videtur, Hieronymum nimio virginitatis ſtudio abreptum, hyperbolica dictione uſum eſſe, cumque Clemens pauculas periodos animi corporiſque puritati docendæ impendat, totum ſermonem virginitatis encomio dicatum eſſe voluiſſe. H. L. T. i. p. 20. De Clemente.

[o] Hieronymus vero acriter diſputans contra errorem Joviniani, eandem conjugii ac virginitatis dignitatem coram Deo ſtatuentis, hyperbolice ait, *Clementem omnem pene ſermonem ſuum de virginitatis puritate contexuiſſe*. Quales hyperbolicæ locutiones in ipſius ſcriptis, inque ipſo illo contra Jovinianum, haud infrequentes occurrunt. Spic. T. i. p. 264.

[p] Veriſimile ſit ex Epiphanio H. 30. cap. 15. et Hieronymo i. adverſus Jovinianum 7. Apoſtolicum noſtrum in iis quæ deſiderantur iſtius epiſtolæ, de virginitate diſſeruiſſe non paucis. Cot. ap. Patr. Ap. p. 188.

think

think to be a mere expletive. 3. I obſerve farther. If Jerom had intended the two epiſtles publiſhed by Mr. Wetſtein, he would have ſaid: to theſe eunuchs Clement wrote two whole epiſtles in praiſe of virginity, and teaching how it may be kept pure and incorrupt. And the remaining part of the ſentence, relating to other apoſtolical men, and other eminent writers, would likewiſe have been different. 4. If Jerom had had theſe two epiſtles before him, and had ſuppoſed them to be written by Clement of Rome, he would not have failed to make great uſe of them in his books againſt Jovinian, and in his apology for them. Moreover they would alſo have been often quoted in his other writings, where he recommends virginity, and gives directions about preſerving it.

9. Epiphanius, who flouriſhed about A. D. 368. and afterwards, in his article of the hereſy of the Carpocratians, ſpeaking of the firſt biſhops of Rome, quotes Clement thus. 'For [q] he ſays in one of his epiſtles.' The paſſage there quoted is in the 54. chapter of the epiſtle to the Corinthians, which we have. Hereby we perceive, that Epiphanius acknowledged more than one epiſtle of Clement. And we have learned from Jerom, that about that time it was not uncommon to ſpeak of two epiſtles, as written by Clement.

In another place, the hereſy of the Ebionites, ſays Epiphanius: 'There are other books uſed by them, as the circuits of Peter, written by Clement: [probably meaning the recognitions] in which they have made many interpolations. 'But [r] Clement himſelf confutes them in the circular letters 'written by him, which are read in the holy churches.... He 'teaches virginity, which they reject. He commends Elias, 'and David, and Sampſon, and all the prophets, whom 'they abuſe.'

Mr. Wetſtein [s] thinks, that Epiphanius here intends the epiſtles publiſhed by him. But to me it appears plain, that Epiphanius intends the two epiſtles ſpoken of by Euſebius, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and by Jerom in his Catalogue, and

[q] Λεγει γαρ εν μια των επιστολων αυτε. κ. λ. H. 27. n. 6. p. 107.

[r] ... ως αυτος κλημης αυτες κατα παντα ελεγχει, αφ ων εγραψεν επιστολων εγκυκλιων των εν ταις αγιαις εκκλησιαις αναγινωσκομενων ... Αυτος γαρ παρθενιαν διδασκει, καιαυτοι ε δεχονται. Αυτος γαρ εγκωμιαζει ηλιαν και δαβιδ και σαμψων, και παυλας τες προφητας, ες αυτοι βδελυτλονται. H. 30. n. xv. p. 139.

[s] See before note a, p. 204.

which

which we have had publiſhed now above a century by Patrick Young, from whence ſeveral other editions have been ſince made. For the epiſtles here ſpoken of by Epiphanius were circular, and read in the churches. So were ours. Indeed Euſebius and Jerom ſpeak of but one only publicly read in chriſtian aſſemblies. But the other might be ſo read likewiſe. There is reaſon to think, that both were read in ſome churches. For the eighty fifth apoſtolical canon, as it is called, reckons two epiſtles of Clement among the books of the New [t] Teſtament. And our two epiſtles were at the end of the Alexandrian manuſcript, after the books of ſcripture generally received. Which affords an argument, that both theſe epiſtles were publicly read in the place where it was written. And it ſhould be taken notice of by us, that here we have two new witneſſes to the number of Clement's epiſtles, as two only. If Jerom could ſay of our epiſtles, (as we have ſeen he might) that Clement almoſt throughout diſcourſeth of the purity of virginity, Epiphanius might ſay, he teacheth it. He alſo ſays, that Clement commends Elias, David, Sampſon, and all the prophets. Which is the proper character of Clement's epiſtle to the Corinthians, though not the whole of it, and particularly inſiſted on by that early writer Irenæus: in which, ſays he, 'Clement exhorts the Corin-'thians to peace among themſelves, and reminds them of the 'doctrine lately received from the apoſtles: which declares, 'that there is one God Almighty, maker of the heavens and 'the earth, who called Abraham, who ſpake to Moſes, and 'ſent the prophets.' All which perfectly ſuits the epiſtle to the Corinthians, which we ſtill have in our hands, and in the name of Clement, as may appear to any upon conſulting ch. 17, 18, 19, 20, 43. and other places. Mr. Wetſtein objects, that Sampſon is not named in the epiſtle juſt mentioned, whereas he is in his. But though we do not now find Sampſon's name in what remains of that epiſtle, he may have been there. And as we have it not entire, I think it would be preſumption to ſay, he was not there named.

10. Photius, patriarch of Conſtantinople in the ninth century, has two articles for Clement biſhop of Rome. In

[t] Κλημεντ@ επιστολαι δυο.

the firſt he ſays, 'That [u] Clement wrote a valuable epiſtle 'to the Corinthians, which is ſo eſteemed by many, as 'to be read publicly. But that which is called the ſecond 'to the ſame is rejected as ſpurious.'

In the other article he ſpeaks [x] of two epiſtles of Clement to the Corinthians, bound together in one book or volume. And he diſtinctly gives the character of each, with regard to their ſtyle and doctrine; but ſays nothing particularly about the genuineneſs of either.

11. Nicephorus Calliſti, in the fourteenth century, ſo agrees with Euſebius of Cæſarea, that I need not take any particular notice of him.

12. Mr. Wetſtein [y] ſeems to ſuppoſe, that Dionyſius Barſalibi, biſhop of Amida near the end of the twelfth century, of whom there is an account in Dr. Aſſeman's Bibliotheca Orientalis, ſpeaks of another letter of Clement written againſt thoſe who rejected marriage. 'Barſalibi,' ſays [z] Aſſeman, 'beſide Ephrem, Chryſoſtom, and other 'authors, cites an epiſtle of Clement againſt thoſe who 'rejected marriage.' Upon which I obſerve, 1. It does not certainly appear, what Clement is here ſpoken of. 2. If Clement of Rome be intended, Barſalibi muſt mean one of the two epiſtles ſpoken of by Euſebius, Jerom, Epiphanius, and Photius, provided he deſerves any regard. For there never were any other epiſtles aſcribed to him by learned Chriſtians in former times. And it may be reckoned very likely, that Barſalibi cited the firſt epiſtle of Clement to the Corinthians, particularly ch. 1. or 21. So, on account of ſome things in that epiſtle Epiphanius might ſay, that Clement teaches virginity, and Jerom, that almoſt throughout he diſcourſeth of the purity of virginity. And with regard to ſome other paſſages Barſalibi might ſay, that he wrote againſt thoſe who rejected marriage. In like manner a learned writer might ſay, that St. Paul

[u] Αυτος και επιστολην αξιολογον προς κορινθιους γραφει, ητις παρα πολλοις αποδοχης ηξιωθη, ως και δημοσια αναγινωσκεσθαι. Ἡ δε λεγομενη δευτερα προς αυτους ως νοθ& αποδοκιμαζεται. Cod. 113. p. 289.

[x] Ανεγνωσθη βιβλιδαριον, εν ω κλημεντ& επιστολαι προς κορινθιους δυο αναφερονται. Cod. 126. p. 305.

[y] Prolegom. p. vii. m.

[z] Præter Ephræmum vero, Chryſoſtomum, . . . quibus Barſalibæum uſum fuiſſe, ſupra dixi, auctores hi ab ipſo citantur videlicet: Dionyſius epiſt. ad Timotheum: Clemens adverſus eos qui matrimonium rejiciunt. Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. II. p. 158.

in

in his epiſtles recommends virginity; and another, ſuitably to the argument, of which he is treating, may ſay, he vindicates marriage. And both thoſe authors would be underſtood to mean the ſame epiſtles. Yea they might both cite, or refer to one and the ſame epiſtle, for their ſeveral ends and purpoſes, particularly, the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians. Not now to inſtance in any other.

13. Mr. Wetſtein ſays farther, 'That [a] probably theſe 'two epiſtles were ſuppreſſed, or laid aſide, becauſe of the 'ſtrictneſs of the rules of piety contained therein.' Which to me appears a falſe and injurious reflection upon the Chriſtians of the early ages. There always were, eſpecially in the firſt five centuries, paſtors, and other eminent men, who approved of, and were themſelves able to give right inſtructions for a good life. Nor can it be denied, that they were ſufficiently zealous for virginity. They have preſerved and handed down to us the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament, than which no writings whatever have delivered better directions for the practice of ſtrict virtue. And why ſhould any man think, that the primitive Chriſtians would deſignedly ſuppreſs any writings of Clement of Rome, who was highly eſteemed by all catholics in general, and by ſome others likewiſe? Inſomuch that there were works forged in his name, and aſcribed to him, which had not the apoſtolical doctrine. We are well aſſured, that his epiſtle to the Corinthians was read in many churches, and the other likewiſe in ſome. If there had been any other epiſtles of Clement, they would have been eſteemed, and often quoted, and not ſuppreſſed, or laid aſide in obſcurity. And how comes Mr. Wetſtein now to ſpeak of his epiſtles as obſcure, when before he ſuppoſed them to be the ſame that had been quoted by Jerom, in his books againſt Jovinian, and the ſame, which Epiphanius ſaid were read in the holy churches? Are theſe things conſiſtent?

14. Upon the whole it appears to me very clear, that there never were more than two epiſtles of Clement biſhop of Rome, received by Chriſtians in former times. Thoſe two I ſuppoſe to be the ſame, which are at the end of

[a] Tantum vero abeſt ut mirer, auſteram Clementis diſciplinam in epiſtolis iſtis traditam non placere, ut potius propter hanc ipſam cauſam eas et dudum ſepoſitas eſſe, et per tot ſecula in tenebris latuiſſe exiſtimem. Proleg. p. vii. fin.

the Alexandrian manuſcript, and now are, and for more than a century have been well known to the learned. Suppoſe a man ſhould ſay, that he had found two epiſtles of the apoſtle Paul, or the apoſtle Peter, which for many ages paſt have been unknown: would he deſerve to be credited? It is almoſt as ſtrange and ſurpriſing, for any man to ſay the like of Clement of Rome, a man ſo highly eſteemed in all antiquity, and ſo much taken notice of by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Euſebius, Jerom, Photius, and others. The epiſtles therefore, which have been publiſhed by Mr. Wetſtein, are not Clement's. They cannot be his. There is no need to open the packet. Thus much may be certainly known without looking into it.

III. INTERNAL EVIDENCE. However, as we have already taken a view of theſe epiſtles, and have made ſome extracts out of them, we will now examine them more diſtinctly. And however good and pious they may be, it is likely, there will ſtill offer more reaſons for confirming the perſuaſion, that they were not written by Clement.

1. And in the firſt place I obſerve, that the quotations of ſcripture, and forms of quoting the ſcriptures, in theſe epiſtles, are different from thoſe in the univerſally acknowledged epiſtle to the Corinthians. For that is the epiſtle, to which I ſhall have an eye: it being, in my opinion [a] the only genuine writing of that apoſtolical man, Clement of

[a] I am not ſingular in that opinion, which is much confirmed, as any may perceive, by the teſtimonies of ancient writers largely alleged here in the article of external evidence. H. Grotius declared himſelf to the like purpoſe in the year 1634, in his judgment upon theſe epiſtles, the year after their publication by P. Young. Alteram epiſtolam, cujus fragmentum additum eſt, quamquam Clementis et ipſa in libris nonnullis nomen prætulit, non eſſe tamen ei tribuendam, etiam veteres judicârunt. Quorum auctoritati accedit characteris diverſitas. H. Gr. ep. 347. Grabe, who has ſince carefully examined the early writings of Chriſtianity, is clearly of the ſame opinion, induced thereto chiefly by the letter of Dionyſius Biſhop of Corinth, and the ſilence of ancient writers before Euſebius, concerning any ſecond epiſtle of Clement.... pluraque ſunt, quæ pene demonſtrare mihi videntur, epiſtolam ſecundam Clementis ad Corinthios ſuppoſititiam eſſe. Et primo quidem maxime conſiderandum eſt teſtimonium Dionyſii, Epiſcopi Corinthiorum, proxime poſt Clementem ſeculo florentis.... Spic. p. 265. Secundum argumentum contra ſecundam Clementi adſcriptam epiſtolam ſuppeditat ſilentium omnium antiquorum Patrum, apud quos nullam ejus vel citationem invenit Euſebius.... Ibid. p. 267. And indeed, it ſeems ſtrange to me, that any learned men ſhould ſtill quote the ſecond epiſtle as Clement's.

Rome.

Rome. 1. The author of theſe epiſtles uſeth ſome phraſes and expreſſions concerning the ſcriptures not found in Clement, nor in any of the apoſtolical fathers, that I remember. As we have learned from the law, and the prophets, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: the law and the New Teſtament: the divine apoſtle. 2. In theſe epiſtles many more [b] books of the New Teſtament are quoted, than in the acknowledged epiſtle of Clement. 3. This writer's forms of quotation of the Old Teſtament are different from thoſe of Clement. What are this writer's forms may be ſeen in the extracts at the beginning of this diſſertation. In Clement's epiſtle to the Corinthians the forms of quotation are ſuch as theſe. 'The [b] miniſters of the grace of God 'have ſpoken of repentance by the Holy Spirit. And 'himſelf the Lord of all has ſpoken of repentance with 'an oath.' See Ezek. xxxiii. 'And [c] let us do that which 'is written. For the Holy Spirit ſays.' And in the ſame chapter or ſection. 'For [d] the holy word ſays.' And in another chapter. 'For [e] himſelf beſpeaketh us by the Holy 'Spirit.' 'Look [f] into the holy ſcriptures, which are the 'true ſayings of the Holy Spirit.' Which forms of citation do not occur in the epiſtles publiſhed by Mr. Wetſtein. I omit thoſe common forms, in the ſame epiſtle to the Corinthians, 'It [g] is written, and [h] the ſcripture ſays, and the like.' 4. Clement's quotations of texts of ſcripture, eſpecially of the Old Teſtament, which are large and numerous, are neat and diſtinct. But the writer of theſe two epiſtles jumbles texts and books together, and quotes in a very confuſed manner. How Clement quotes may be ſeen by any, who look into his epiſtle. Having quoted

[b] What books of the New Teſtament are quoted or alluded to by Clement, may be ſeen in his epiſtle, and in the large extracts made out of it in the firſt volume of this work, ch. ii. And at the concluſion of ch. iii. where are extracts out of the fragment of the ſecond epiſtle aſcribed to Clement, it was obſerved, that therein the goſpels are ſeveral times quoted more expreſsly, than in Clement's epiſtle to the Corinthians. This was there taken notice of as an internal character, confirming the ſuppoſition, that it had not the ſame author with the epiſtle to the Corinthians, and that it is of a later date.

[b] Ep. ad Corinth. c. 8.

[c] Ib. cap. 13.

[d] Ibid.

[e] Cap. 22.

[f] Cap. 45.

[g] Γεγραπται γαρ. cap. iv.

[h] Λεγει γαρ η γραφη. cap. xxxi. et paſſim.

a paſſage of ſcripture, when he proceeds to take another paſſage out of another book, or out of the ſame book, he uſually ſays: 'And [i] in another place,' or the like. I do not deny, that [k] the writer of theſe epiſtles does alſo ſometimes make uſe of like forms of tranſition. But oftentimes his quotations are exceedingly jumbled and confuſed. For inſtance: 'Therefore [l] he rightly ſaid to ſuch a generation: '*My ſpirit ſhall not always dwell with man, becauſe they are* '*fleſh. Every one therefore in whom is not the ſpirit of Chriſt, he* '*is not his.* As it is written: *The ſpirit of the Lord departed* '*from Saul, and an evil ſpirit from the Lord troubled him.*' See Gen. vi. 3. Rom. viii. 9. 1 Sam. xvi. 14.

2. Mr. Wetſtein as an inſtance of agreement between the epiſtle of Clement, and the epiſtles publiſhed by him, ſays, that there is a doxology [m] in the middle of one of them. I ſuppoſe, that Mr. W—— may refer to the ſixth chapter of his ſecond epiſtle, at the end of which there is an Amen. But I ſee not there, nor any where elſe in theſe epiſtles, neither in the middle, nor at the endings of them, one doxology. Which therefore leads me to obſerve another difference between theſe epiſtles, and the generally received epiſtle of Clement to the Corinthians. For in that epiſtle, as has been often obſerved by learned men, there are at leaſt ſeven or eight doxologies.

3. THE TIME OF THESE EPISTLES. There are ſeveral things in theſe epiſtles, which will directly lead us to the time and occaſion of writing them, and aſſure us of their late age.

A paſſage above cited ſhows, that when theſe epiſtles were written, Gentiliſm was not extinct in the Roman empire. For I allow, that they were not firſt written in Syriac, but in Greek, as Mr. Wetſtein well argues. When therefore this author ſaid, as above; 'we do not read the ſcriptures to Gentiles:' I reckon it a proof, that Gentiliſm ſtill ſubſiſted in the country where he lived. Which indeed I imagine to have been ſomewhere in the eaſtern part of the Roman empire.

Farther, theſe epiſtles were not written until after ſome eccleſiaſtics had begun to have with them what were called

[i] Και εν ετερῳ τοπῳ λεγει. cap. viii. Και παλιν εν ετερῳ τοπῳ λεγει, cap. 46. et paſſim.

[k] Ep. i. cap. 11.

[l] Ep. i. cap. 8.

[m] Stylus, δοξολογια in media epiſtola. Proleg. p. vi. med.

ſubintroduced

ſubintroduced women: nor till after it had been taken notice of and cenſured. Upon this ſubject the late learned Mr. Henry Dodwell[n] has a curious diſſertation. Bingham[o] likewiſe may be conſulted. And ſome notice has been already taken of it in this work[p] particularly in the hiſtory of Paul of Samoſata.

There were ſome unmarried clergymen, who, for the ſake of domeſtic affairs, had women to live with them. Dodwell[q] ſays, they were virgins conſecrated to God. Bingham ſays, 'They[r] were commonly ſome of the virgins 'belonging to the church, whom they that entertained, 'pretended only to love as ſiſters with a chaſte love.' It appears from St. Cyprian, that[s] they dwelled together in the ſame houſe, and ſometimes lodged in the ſame room, and in the ſame bed. To the like purpoſe[t] ſpeaks Jerom. Nevertheleſs they made ſolemn declarations of their innocence, and gave ſuch aſſurances of being unpolluted by carnal commerce, as were ſatisfactory. So ſays Mr. Dodwell[u] upon the authority of a paſſage of St. Cyprian: which however ſtill declares the practice to be unreputable and offenſive. Leontius the Arian biſhop of Antioch is cenſured

[n] Diſſ. Cypr. iii. De flagitio mulierum cum Clericis concumbentium, &c.

[o] Antiquities of the church. B. 6. ch. 2. § 13. vol. II. p. 329—332.

[p] Vol. III. p. 81, 82.

[q] Ubi ſupr. n. i. ii.

[r] As before, p. 331.

[s] Legimus literas tuas, frater cariſſime, . . . poſtulans et deſiderans, ut tibi reſcriberemus, quid nobis de iis virginibus videatur, quæ cum in ſtatu ſuo eſſe, et continentiam firmiter tenere decreverant, detectæ ſint poſtea in eodem lecto pariter manſiſſe cum maſculis: ex quibus unum eſſe Diaconum dicis: plane eaſdem quæ ſe cum viris dormiſſe confeſſæ ſint, aſſeverare ſe integras eſſe. . . . Primo igitur in loco, . . . elaborandum eſt . . . nec pati virgines cum maſculis habitare, non dico ſimul dormire, ſed nec ſimul vivere. Cyprian. ep. 4. al. 62.

[t] Unde in eccleſias Agapetarum peſtis introiit! Unde ſine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum! . . . Eadem domo, uno cubiculo, ſæpe uno tenentur et lectulo, et ſuſpicioſos nos vocant, ſi aliquid exiſtimamus. Ad. Euſtoch. ep. 18. al. 22. T. IV. p. 33.

[u] Quid deinde illud . . . quod cum ſummo animi noſtri gemitu et dolore cognovimus, non deeſſe qui Dei templa et poſt confeſſionem ſanctificata et illuſtrata membra turpi et infami concubitu ſuo plus maculent, cubilia ſua cum feminis promiſcua jungentes, quando etſi ſtuprum conſcientiæ eorum deſit, hoc ipſo grande crimen eſt, quod illorum ſcandalo in aliorum ruinas exempla naſcuntur. [Cyprian. ep. 6. al. 7. al. 13.] Conſtat itaque, qui ita cum mulieribus concumberent, carnis tamen integritatem ſervaſſe illibatam. Dodwell ubi ſupra. n. i.

by Athanaſius[x] for cohabiting with a virgin. And he may be reckoned to be one of thoſe, who gave proof of his freedom from carnal commerce.

We cannot diſpute the truth of what St. Cyprian ſays, that in Africa ſome of theſe eccleſiaſtics and their virgins lay in the ſame room, and in the ſame bed. Nevertheleſs perhaps there were very few inſtances of this ſort. St. Chryſoſtom has two homilies or orations upon this ſubject. One is 'againſt thoſe who had with them ſubintroduced virgins.' The other, 'that canonical women ought not to dwell [or cohabit] with men.' It may be allowed, that he treats thoſe whom he reproves with a good deal of politeneſs and tenderneſs. Nevertheleſs his argument is very cogent. Nor can any imagine, that John Chryſoſtom would extenuate the guilt of thoſe whom he blamed, or diſſemble any part of their fault. And yet I do not perceive, that he had received any intelligence of thoſe laſt mentioned aggravating circumſtances. He ſpeaks of their dwelling under the ſame roof, of[z] their cohabiting together, eating at the ſame table, ſitting together, and diſcourſing freely and pleaſantly in the day-time. But they did not lie[a] together. He plainly ſuppoſeth, that[b] they had different apartments, and that there were others, particularly women-ſervants, in the houſe with them. In that way of acting it may be reckoned, that their virtue would not be in any immediate danger. However, undoubtedly, notwithſtanding ſuch precautions, ſome would be ſuſpicious; which was enough to render this practice offenſive. And therefore the fathers of the council of Nice ordained in one of their canons, 'that no biſhop, preſbyter, or deacon, or any other 'of the clergy, ſhould have an introduced woman, unleſs 'ſhe be a mother, or ſiſter, or aunt, or however a perſon

x Ὁ μεν γαρ λεοντι διαβαλλομενος, μετα γυναικος τινος νεωτερας, λεγομενης ευσολιᾳ, και κωλυομενος συνοικειν αυτῃ, δι αυτην εαυτον απεκοψεν, ιν' επ' αδειας εχῃ διατριβειν μετ' αυτης. Apol. de fuga ſua. p. 335. E. Vid. et Hiſt. Arian. ad Monach. p. 360. B.

y ... της ομοσκηνιας ταυτης. Contr. eos. &c. T. I. p. 229. B. ... ομοσκηνιας ταυτης. Ib. p. 233. B. ... της συνοικησεως ταυτης. Ib. D.

z ... νεος ... κορη συνοικων παρθενῳ, και συγκαθημενος, και συνδειπνων και συνδιαλεγομενος δι ημερας· των γαρ αλλων ουδεν προσιθημι ... Ib. p. 231. B. ... αλλ' οτι την αυτην εχων οικιαν, και τραπεζης, και λογων κοινωνων, και μετα παρρησιας πολλης. Ib. C.

a Ubi ſupra. p. 241. D. E. p. 254. fin.

b p. 264.

'liable

'liable to no ſuſpicion.' But I need not enlarge further by way of introduction to my argument.

That this practice is referred to, and cenſured in theſe epiſtles, is manifeſt from ſome paſſages to be now produced. 'We[c] are perſuaded, ſays the writer, that you will mind 'theſe things, which are neceſſary to your ſalvation. But 'we ſpeak as we do, becauſe of the evil fame and report 'concerning impudent men, who dwell with virgins under 'a pretence of piety, and put their ſouls in danger. . . It is 'altogether unfit, that they who are Chriſtians, and fear 'God, ſhould act thus.'

Setting forth his own conduct, and that of others, whom he repreſents as exemplary, he ſays; 'We[d] do not dwell 'with virgins, nor have we any concern with them. We 'do not eat and drink, where a virgin is. Nor do we lie '[ſleep] where a virgin lies. Nor do women waſh our feet, 'or anoint us. We never lie [or ſleep] where a virgin is, 'who is unmarried, and fit for marriage. Though ſhe be 'alone, and in another place, [or part of the houſe,] we do 'not ſpend the night there.'

In another chapter. 'We[e] that are holy, do not eat and 'drink with women. Nor do women or virgins, miniſter 'to us, or waſh our feet, or anoint us. Nor do we lie '[ſleep] where women lie, that we may be in all things 'without offence.'

Afterwards in another chapter, 'Even[f] after the Lord 'was riſen from the dead, when Mary came running to the 'ſepulchre,

[c] . . . ſed ita loquimur de iis quæ loquimur, propter famam et rumorem malam de hominibus impudentibus, qui habitant cum virginibus prætextu pietatis, et conjiciunt animam ſuam in periculum . . . Prorſus non decet Chriſtianos et timentes Deum ita converſari. Alii autem edunt et bibunt cum virginibus, &c. Ep. i. c. 10. Wetſtein.

[d] Cum virginibus non habitamus, et inter illas nihil habemus negotii. Et cum virginibus nec edimus, nec bibimus. Nec lavant mulieres pedes noſtros, nec ungunt nos. Et prorſus ubi dormit virgo, quæ viri non eſt, aut filia nubilis, non dormimus: etiamſi ſit in alio loco ſola, non pernoctamus ibi. Ep. 2. c. 1. W.

[e] Nos ſancti cum mulieribus, nec edimus, nec bibimus, nec miniſtrant nobis mulieres vel virgines. Et mulieres non lavant nobis pedes, nec ungunt nos, et non conveniunt nobis mulieres, neque dormimus, ubi dormiunt mulieres, ut ſimus ſine reprehenſione, &c. Ep. 2. c. 3. W.

[f] Nec hoc ſolum, ſed etiam poſtquam ſurrexit Dominus a mortuis, et veniret Maria ad ſepulchrum currens, et ſedens ad pedes Domini, et adorans eum, et quærens eum apprehendere, ipſe dixit ei: *Noli me tangere. Nondum enim adſcendi ad*

'ſepulchre, and falling down at his feet, and worſhipping 'him, ſought to touch him, he ſaid unto her; *Touch me not*; '*for I am not yet aſcended to my Father.* John xx. 17. Is it 'not then wonderful, that the Lord permitted not that 'bleſſed woman Mary to touch his feet! And you dwell 'with them, and women and virgins miniſter to you, and 'you lie where they lie: and women waſh your feet, and 'anoint you. . . Many holy women have miniſtred to the 'ſaints out of their ſubſtance, as the Shunamite woman mi-'niſtred to Eliſhah. But ſhe did not dwell with him; for 'the prophet dwelt in a houſe by himſelf, 2 Kings iv. 8—'10. Women miniſtred to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt out of their 'ſubſtance, Luke viii. 3, but they did not dwell with him. 'We alſo find that women miniſtred to the other apoſtles, 'and to Paul; but they did not dwell with them.'

I need not tranſcribe any more; here is enough, to ſhow the occaſion and deſign of theſe epiſtles. However, there is ſtill one thing more to be taken notice of, which will fully determine the point. The people complained of by St. Cyprian, and others, were eccleſiaſtics, and women, who made profeſſion of virginity. So it is here. Both theſe letters are addreſſed to virgins. And it is implied, that they were pure in body, or free from carnal pollutions. 'Who-'ever,' ſays[g] the author, 'profeſſeth before the Lord, that 'he will keep his chaſtity, ought to be clothed with every 'virtue; and if he has truly crucified his body for the ſake 'of piety, he deprecates that ſaying, *increaſe and multiply*, 'and all concupiſcence, and all the delights of this world,

ad Patrem meum. Nonne igitur mirabile eſt de Domino, quod non permiſit Mariæ mulieri beatæ, ut tangeret pedes ejus; tu autem habitas cum illis, et tibi miniſtrant mulieres et virgines: et dormis, ubi illæ dormiunt: et lavant tibi pedes, et ungunt te mulieres? . . . Mulieres autem multæ ſanctæ miniſtrarunt ſanctis e poſſeſſionibus ſuis, ſicut miniſtravit Sulamitis Eliſæ, ſed cum eo non habitavit, et ipſe Propheta in domo ſeorſim habitavit . . . Domino Jeſu Chriſto miniſtrarunt mulieres e poſſeſſionibus ſuis, ſed cum illo non habitârunt. Etiam apoſtolis, etiam Paulo reperimus miniſtraſſe mulieres, ſed cum illis non habitarunt. Ep. 2. c. 15. W.

[g] Quicumque enim profitetur coram Domino, ſe ſervaturum caſtitatem, debet cingi omni virtute ſancta Dei, et ſi vere in timore crucifixit corpus ſuum propter pietatem, deprecatur verbum, dicens, *Creſcite et multiplicamini*, et totam mentem et cogitationem, et concupiſcentiam mundi hujus, et delicias, et ebrietatem, et omnem amorem ejus, et otium ejus . . . et exinanitus eſt ab omni converſatione mundi hujus, et ex laqueis et retibus et impedimentis ejus. Ep. i. c. 3. W.

'and

'and ſhuns all thoſe ſnares, by which he might be endan-
'gered.'

And preſently afterwards, in the next chapter. 'For[h] this 'cauſe he ſeparates himſelf from the deſires of the body, and 'not only deprecates that, *increaſe and multiply*, but deſires 'the promiſed hope, prepared and laid up in heaven, even 'a better place [or recompence] than that of thoſe who have 'been holy in the ſtate of marriage.'

Nor does this author any where charge thoſe to whom he writes with any acts of uncleanneſs: but he adviſes them to[i] keep more out of the way of temptation, and[k] alſo to ſhow a greater regard for the opinion of men, and avoid whatever might be an occaſion of offence and ſcandal.

This being the caſe, we now ſee the reaſon of ſome things, which otherwiſe would not be eaſily accounted for. Firſt, We ſee the reaſon of the addreſs of theſe epiſtles, which at firſt ſeems odd and whimſical. They are addreſſed[l] to 'virgins, and virgins.' So in the firſt chapter, and twice in the ſecond, and frequently throughout the epiſtles. Which Mr. Wetſtein, and rightly, as I ſuppoſe, renders 'virgins,' brethren, 'and virgins,' ſiſters. Chryſoſtom pronounced two orations for the ſake of theſe people: one 'againſt thoſe who had with them ſubintroduced virgins:' the other, 'that canonical women ought not to dwell with men.' But this writer applies to both together, and calls them virgins. Secondly, we now alſo ſee the reaſon, why

[h] Propterea ſeparat ſe ab omnibus concupiſcentiis corporis, et non ſolum deprecatur illud, *fructificate et multiplicate*, ſed deſiderat ſpem promiſſam et præparatam et poſitam in cælis Deo, qui promiſit ore, et non mentitur . . . locum celebrem in domo Dei, excellentiorem filiis et filiabus, et excellentiorem illis, qui conjuges fuerunt in ſanctitate. Ibid. c. 4.

[i] . . . et exinanitus eſt ab omni converſatione mundi hujus, et ex laqueis et retibus et impedimentis ejus. Ep. i. cap. 3. f.

. . . et conjiciunt animam ſuam in periculum, et eunt cum illis in ſemita et in deſerto ſoli viam plenam periculis, et plenam offendiculis et laqueis et foveis. Ibid. c. 10.

[k] . . . ut ſimus ſine reprehenſione in omnibus, ne quis in nobis offendatur, &c. Ep. ii. c. 3.

. . . et ne demus occaſionem illis, qui volunt, ut teneant occaſionem poſt nos, et loquantur de nobis mala, et ut nemini ſimus offendiculo, &c. Ib. cap. 5.

[l] Virginibus *(fratribus)* beatis, qui conſtituerunt ſervare virginitatem propter regnum cœlorum, et virginibus *(ſororibus)* ſanctis in Deo, ſalutem. cap. 1. Unicuique virginum *(fratrum)* et virginum *(ſororum)*. . . . Qui autem vere ſunt virgines *(fratres)* et virgines *(ſorores)* audiunt eum qui dixit. . . . cap. 2.

the

the [m] good conduct of the preachers of the goſpel is ſo much inſiſted upon in theſe epiſtles. They were clergymen who offended in this point, and therefore needed to be admoniſhed to take more care both of their virtue, and their reputation, and not to give offence to other people. Thirdly, that expreſſion, relating to this matter, which we ſaw juſt now, 'men, who dwell with virgins under a pretence of piety,' appears remarkable, and leads to the following obſervation. The eccleſiaſtics, now complained of, were generally, or for the moſt part, men of religion and virtue. Being deſirous to have the attendance and aſſiſtance of a woman in their domeſtic affairs, they pitched upon ſuch as were virgins by profeſſion, whom they judged to be the moſt unexceptionable of any, and leaſt liable to ſuſpicion. Determined to keep themſelves pure, they ſuppoſed, that if notwithſtanding all their care an evil thought or deſire ſhould ariſe in them, ſuch perſons would not encourage, but check and controul it. So 'they dwelled with virgins under a pretence of piety,' as this writer ſays. It has often ſeemed ſtrange to me, that theſe 'ſubintroduced women,' mentioned by ancient writers, were continually ſpoken of as virgins, and devoted to Chriſt, and the like. We here ſee the reaſon, why ſuch were choſen and preferred to others. This obſervation firſt came into my mind upon reading theſe epiſtles; and it is referred to the conſideration of the learned.

The time therefore of theſe epiſtles is to be collected from that of this practice. When it was firſt introduced, and when it ceaſed, may not be eaſily decided. It was taken notice of and cenſured by Cyprian about the middle of the third century. And not long after that time Paul of Samoſata, biſhop of Antioch, and divers of the clergy of that dioceſe were charged with it. And if Chryſoſtom's orations upon occaſion of it, were not compoſed till after the commencement of his epiſcopate, as the [n] Benedictine editors think, it ſubſiſted to the end of the fourth century. And doubtleſs there were inſtances of it in the following century. Chryſoſtom ſpeaks of it [o] as a new thing, that had ariſen in that age; but the expreſſions of orators may be underſtood with latitude. How-

[m] Vid. ep. i. c. 11. 12. et ep. ii. paſſim.

[n] Vide Monitum. T. i. p. 227.

[o] . . . επι δε της γενεας ημετερας και τριτ@- επενοηθη τροπ@- καινος τις και παραδοξ@-. T. i. p. 228. A. B.

ever,

ever, it is very probable, that it did not appear in the early days of Chriſtianity, nor till after the death of all the apoſtles, and their diſciples, called apoſtolical men: conſequently, not in the time of Clement, biſhop of Rome. And if the writer of theſe epiſtles refers to it, as I think he plainly does, he is not Clement diſciple of the apoſtle Paul.

4. I obſerve, in the fourth place, that this writer exceeds in his praiſes of virginity, and in his recommendations of it. Mr. Wetſtein is ſenſible, that [p] what he ſays is not agreeable to the Proteſtant doctrine. Nevertheleſs he thinks it is not unreaſonable, nor unſcriptural. If I am not miſtaken, I could eaſily ſhow, that a great deal ſaid upon this head by the writer of theſe epiſtles is deſtitute of ſupport and countenance from the doctrine of the New Teſtament. But inſtead of doing that at preſent, I would obſerve, that he differs from Clement, who in the firſt chapter of his epiſtle to the Corinthians ſays: 'You were ſubject to your rulers, giving becoming reſpect 'to elders. Young men you taught to be modeſt. The 'women you exhorted to do all things unblameably ... lov-'ing their huſbands, as is fit, ... and managing the affairs of 'the houſe with propriety and modeſty.' And in the 21ſt chapter: 'Let us reſpect our rulers, and honour the elders: 'young men let us inſtruct in the diſcipline and fear of God: 'our wives let us direct to that which is good, that they may 'ſhow forth the agreeable behaviour of chaſtity.... And let 'our children be bred up in the diſcipline of Chriſt.' So Clement. Whether he was married, or ſingle, I know not. But this apoſtolical man, to render his exhortations more forcible, joins himſelf with men in the marriage-ſtate. Nothing of this kind is to be found in the writer of theſe two epiſtles. He ſcorns to touch upon theſe points. The virtues of the marriage-ſtate are below his regard.

He differs likewiſe from St. Cyprian, who [q] in treating on this ſubject, adviſeth rather that theſe virgins ſhould marry, if they are not able to perſevere in the purpoſe of purity.

[p] Erunt fortaſſe, quibus harum epiſtolarum ſcriptor videbitur et matrimonio eſſe iniquior, cœlibatum vero nimium extollere.... Aliterq; fateor, de cœlibatu et matrimonio ſenſit Clemens, quam M. Lutherus. At nondum probatum eſt, illum male ſenſiſſe. Wetſt. Prolegom. p. vii.

[q] Quodſi ex fide ſe Chriſto dicaverunt, pudicæ et caſtæ ſine ulla fabula perſeverent, et ita fortes et ſtabiles præmium virginitatis exſpectent. Si autem perſeverare nolunt, vel non poſſunt, melius eſt ut nubant, quam in ignem delictis ſuis cadant. Certe nullum fratribus et ſororibus ſcandalum faciant. Cypr. ad Pompon. ep. 4. al. 62.

He

He differs alſo from St. Chryſoſtom, who in the ſecond of his orations before-mentioned, ſays to thoſe virgins: 'If [r] you 'deſire to have men to cohabit with you, you ſhould not have 'choſen virginity, but ſhould have married; for it would be 'better to marry, than to act thus in a ſtate of virginity. 'God does not condemn marriage, nor do men diſparage it. 'For it is honourable, offending none, injuring none. But 'virginity, in the company of men, is worſe and more offen-'ſive to all, than fornication itſelf.' Afterwards in the ſame oration he ſays, 'it [s] would be better for theſe virgins to 'marry twice, than to act as they did, and be the occaſion 'of ſo much ſcandal.' I refer [t] to ſome other like places in theſe homilies of Chryſoſtom. But nothing of this kind appears in theſe epiſtles.

He who ſhould read what this [u] writer ſays in praiſe of virginity: how glorious, and how arduous it is, the grea. examples, by which it is encouraged, and what peculiar rewards it is entitled to: muſt, I apprehend, think it ſtrange, that for preventing ill conſequences, and that men might not be led into a ſnare, he did not reckon himſelf obliged to add ſomething concerning the lawfulneſs and purity of marriage, and the expediency of it for moſt men: which are ſo often intimated, and expreſsly aſſerted in the New Teſtament, and may be eaſily diſcerned by the reaſon, and obſervation and experience of mankind.

It is very likely, that before this practice obtained, the marriage of the clergy lay under ſome reſtraints. They who doubt of it, may read the notes of Gothofred upon a law of Honorius and Theodoſius the younger, relating to this very matter. I tranſcribe from him a few lines only [x] below. The marriage of the clergy was not forbidden by any canon of the church, or law of the ſtate. But it lay under diſcourage-

[r] Ει γαρ ανδρας επιθυμεις εχειν συνοικουντας, ουκ εδει παρθενιαν ελεσθαι, αλλ' επι τον γαμον ελθειν· πολλω γαρ βελτιον γαμειν εκεινως, η παρθενευειν ουτως· κ. λ. Ubi ſupra. p. 253. E. 254. A.

[s] Πολλω γαρ βελτιον ενι, και δευτερω συναπτεσθαι γαμω, η τοιαυτα ασχημονειν. κ. λ. Ib. p. 265. D.

[t] Vid. p. 234. D. 236. D. E.

[u] Vid. ep. i. cap. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.

[x] Extraneas, inquam, mulieres vetantur clerici ſibi adſciſcere. Nempe ex quo cœlibatus clericalis mos paulatim inoleſcere cœpit, atque hâc etiam ratione clerici probabilem ſeculo diſciplinam agere, ſeque ſeculo de cœlibatus ſeu continentiæ voto commendare inſtituerunt, clam tamen atque alia ratione voluptates ſuas explere alicubi rerum experimentis viſi ſunt, κρυφη πορνευοντες, &c. In Cod. Theod. lib. 16, cap. 2. l. 44.

ments,

ments, and was reſtrained by the prevailing opinion of men. Celibacy was more reputable; and many clergymen coveted the honour of it, who found it burdenſome. And virginity likewiſe being much applauded, many women were induced to make a profeſſion of it: who afterwards knew not how to perform their engagements, nor to get rid of them. Gradually the celibacy of the clergy, and virginity of women, grew more and more in vogue. And the high notions, which the writer of theſe epiſtles has of virginity, without ſaying any thing in favour of marriage, make me think, that he did not write ſoon, but rather not till a good while after the riſe of the practice of which we have been ſpeaking.

IV. THE AUTHOR ANONYMOUS. Who the author was, cannot be determined. Probably he was a biſhop. It was moſt becoming a man in that high ſtation, to write letters with exhortations to Chriſtian people, eſpecially to ſuch as made profeſſion of celibacy and virginity. Moreover it may be argued from the authoritative manner in which the ſecond epiſtle concludes.

I do by no means charge the writer with impoſture; I do not believe he had the leaſt thought of ſuch a thing. It ſhould be obſerved, that there is not at the beginnings or endings of theſe epiſtles any diſtinguiſhing inſcription. There is no name of the writer, nor any hint of his character and ſtation. Nor is there any intimation of the city or country where they lived, to whom the epiſtles are addreſſed. There is only a title prefixed to theſe epiſtles, to this purpoſe: the [y] firſt, or the ſecond epiſtle of the bleſſed Clement diſciple of the apoſtle Peter. And at the end is that common phraſe.—Here ends the firſt, or the ſecond epiſtle of Clement diſciple of Peter. Theſe titles, or inſcriptions, as I imagine, were placed there by ſome late editor, who did not know who was writer of the epiſtles. It might be done by him ignorantly, or deſignedly; which of the two, we cannot determine. He might, I ſay, herein act honeſtly. Poſſibly he really ſuppoſed them to be the epiſtles of Clement; though, if he did, he was much miſtaken. Or he might do it deſignedly, with a view to procure the more regard for the epiſtles, which he was publiſhing.

As there is nothing in the epiſtles to diſtinguiſh the author, or the people, to whom he wrote, I have ſuſpected, that he

[y] Porro epiſtola prior beati Clementis diſcipuli Petri Apoſtoli.

[z] Explicit Epiſtola ſecunda Clementis diſcipuli Petri.

was

was anonymous, and that he deſigned to be ſo. When he formed the intention to write upon this ſubject, he determined to conceal himſelf. He hoped, that his exhortations might in that way have the greater effect. Having thus fixed his reſolution, he wrote, in the form of epiſtles, upon the ſubject, which at that time was much diſcourſed of, and addreſſed himſelf to thoſe who were chiefly concerned, ſending them admonitions and directions according to the beſt of his judgment. However, this is only conjecture. For when theſe epiſtles were firſt publiſhed, the writer might be well known, though afterwards his name and character were forgotten.

V. IMPORTANCE OF THESE EPISTLES. From the extracts, placed at the beginning of this Diſſertation, we learn, that the epiſtle to the Hebrews was received by the writer of theſe epiſtles. And from the numerous quotations out of the Old and the New Teſtament, we perceive the great regard which Chriſtians had for the ſacred ſcriptures. Of which we have ſeen many proofs in the collections that have been made from the ancient writers of the church.

We likewiſe diſcern, that at the time of writing theſe epiſtles virginity was in great eſteem.

But if a true account has been now given of the time and occaſion of theſe epiſtles, we cannot from them learn the date of any of the books of the New Teſtament. Mr. Wetſtein, ſuppoſing, that theſe epiſtles were written by Clement of Rome, thinks, that [a] from the quotations here made of St. John's goſpel, it may be proved, that St. John wrote earlier than many have imagined, or about the thirty ſecond year after our Lord's aſcenſion. I do not now concern myſelf about the time of publiſhing St. John's goſpel. But if theſe epiſtles were not written before the middle of the third century, no argument for the early age of that goſpel can be drawn from the quotations of it by this writer. And though the writer were Clement, Mr. Wetſtein's argument would not be concluſive, becauſe the exact time of Clement's epiſcopate is not certainly known. At leaſt there are different opinions about it: ſome placing it in the year of Chriſt 61, and onwards, others in 69 or 70. And others ſay, he was not biſhop before the

[a] Hinc etiam conſequitur, Evangelium Joannis non ab eo jam decrepito et fere centenario, et poſt mortem Clementis, ſed diu antea eſſe editum, adeoque inſcriptionem codicum Græcorum, qui illud Evangelium anno 32. poſt aſcenſionem Chriſti . . . ſcriptum fuiſſe teſtantur, ad verum proprius accedere. Proleg. p. ix.

year

year 91, or 93. Many years ago, when I made my extracts out of Clement's epiſtle to the Corinthians, written in the name of the Church of Rome, it ſeemed to me moſt probable, that [b] it was written about the year 96. And the late learned Dr. Waterland, whoſe good judgment in ſuch things is allowed, readily declared [c] his acquieſcence in the reaſons there alleged. Theſe epiſtles therefore might be Clement's, and yet not written much before the end of the firſt century. Conſequently, the quotations therein made of St. John's goſpel will not prove it to have been written before the year of our Lord 70.

VI. CONCLUSION. I have now made a fair examination of theſe two epiſtles. I hope I have given no offence to Mr. Wetſtein, or his friends. That learned man knows very well, that the pretenſions of writings, which bear the names of eminent ancients, ought to be carefully weighed, before they are admitted. And I perſuade myſelf, that upon farther conſideration Mr. Wetſtein will be convinced he has too haſtily publiſhed theſe epiſtles as Clement's biſhop of Rome. And I am apt to think, that he and other learned men will diſcern in them more marks of a later age, than have been taken notice of by me.

When tidings were firſt brought hither, that Mr. Wetſtein had received two new epiſtles of Clement out of the Eaſt, ſeveral of my friends and readers ſignified their deſire, that when they ſhould be publiſhed, I would obſerve the teſtimony therein afforded to the books of the New Teſtament. Which ſervice I have now performed, according to my ability. They ſuppoſed it to be a neceſſary part of the work, in which I have been long employed. Which is not barely a bibliotheque of eccleſiaſtical authors, or memoirs of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, but was begun, and has been carried on with a view of ſhowing the truth of the chriſtian religion, particularly, the truth and credibility of the evangelical hiſtory, and the antiquity, genuineneſs, and authority of the books of the New Teſtament, the original records of the doctrine and miracles of our Saviour and his apoſtles. And all along great care has been taken, to diſtinguiſh genuine and ſuppoſitious writings. Which I now reflect upon with much ſatisfaction. In this method witneſſes, when produced, appear in their true time and character. And every one is able to judge of the value of their teſtimony.

[b] See vol. II. p. 28.

[c] See Dr. Waterland's Review of the Doctrine of the Euchariſt, p. 33. Cambridge 1737.

END OF THE DISSERTATION.

AN ESSAY

ON THE MOSAIC ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLIII.]

THERE are not a few difficulties in the account, which Moſes has given of the creation of the world, and of the formation, and temptation, and fall of our firſt parents. Some by the ſix days of the creation have underſtood as many years. Whilſt others have thought the creation of the world inſtantaneous: and that the number of days mentioned by Moſes is only intended to aſſiſt our conception, who are beſt able to think of things in order of ſucceſſion.

No one part of this account is fuller of difficulties than that which relates to man. And ſome learned Jews, as well as Origen, and others among Chriſtians, have ſuppoſed the account before us, not to be a hiſtory, but an allegory. The preſent prevailing opinion is, that what relates to man is fact. And it is argued, that, as the true character of Moſes is that of an hiſtorian; it would be unbecoming his judgment and exactneſs, to inſert an allegory in the midſt of hiſtorical facts, without giving any intimation of it.

I ſhall take the account in the literal ſenſe, and ſhall go over it under theſe ſeveral heads or diviſions. 1. The formation of man. 2. The trial upon which he was put in paradiſe. 3. The temptation he met with. 4. His tranſgreſſion. 5. The conſequences of that, with the ſentence paſſed by God upon the tempter, and upon the tranſgreſſors, our firſt parents.

1. The firſt thing in order is the creation of man. For with that I begin, not intending to ſurvey the other works of God, before made.

Gen. i. 26. *And God ſaid, let us make man, in our image, after our likeneſs. And let them have dominion over the fiſh of the ſea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over*

all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. Ver. 27. *So God created man in his own image: in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them.*

This may be reckoned a ſummary account of the creation of man, which is more largely and particularly related again in the next chapter.

And God ſaid: let us make man, in our image, after our likeneſs.

It is common for Chriſtians to ſay, that here is a proof of a trinity of perſons in the unity of the Godhead. To which others anſwer, that the Jews never underſtood theſe expreſſions after this manner, who always believed one God, and that God to be one perſon only, except when they fell into groſs idolatry, after the manner of their heathen neighbours. And many learned Chriſtians are clearly of opinion, that the doctrine of the trinity was not revealed in the Old Teſtament.

Theſe interpreters therefore ſuppoſe, that the ſtyle common to princes and great men, who often ſpeak in the plural number, is here aſcribed to God. Nor need the conſultation, here repreſented, be ſuppoſed to be between equals. But God may be rather ſuppoſed to declare his mind to his angels, as counſellors. Nor will it be an invincible objection, that in this hiſtory there is no notice taken of the creation of angels. For there follow expreſſions, which may be reckoned to imply their exiſtence and their dignity, and that they were not unknown to man.

But indeed we need not to ſuppoſe any real diſcourſe or conſultation at all. The meaning is no more than this: 'All other 'things being made, God proceeded to the creation of man; 'or, he purpoſed now, at the concluſion, to make man.' And it may be reckoned probable, that Moſes introduces God in this peculiar manner, deliberating and conſulting upon the creation of man, to intimate thereby, that he is the chief of the works of God, which are here deſcribed. Or, in other words, according to Patrick upon ver. 26. 'God not 'only reſerved man for the laſt of his works, but does, as it 'were, adviſe and conſult, or deliberate about his produc-'tion: the better to repreſent the dignity of man, and that 'he was made with admirable wiſdom and prudence.'

It is here alſo worthy to be obſerved, that according to the account of Moſes, a different method was taken in forming man, from that in which other animals were formed. Ver. 20. *And God ſaid: let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving*

moving creature that hath life. And afterwards, ver. 24. *And God ſaid: let the earth bring forth the living creature after its kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beaſt of the earth.* They were produced by the Divine power, and command. But God is repreſented, as making man himſelf, immediately, to denote his dignity, and ſuperior prerogative above the reſt of the creatures.

Still at ver. 26. *And God ſaid, let us make man in our image, after our likeneſs.* By which two-fold expreſſion, it is likely, one and the ſame thing is intended. For when the reſult or execution of this deliberation and purpoſe is deſcribed and related, it is in this manner: ver. 27. *So God created man in his own image: in the image of God created he him.*

What is the *image*, or likeneſs of God, intended by Moſes, is not clear, becauſe he has not diſtinctly expreſſed it: and we may now conjecture things, which were not in the mind of the writer. Nevertheleſs I think the coherence leads us to underſtand hereby, as ſomewhat ſuitable to the mind of Moſes, *dominion over the reſt of the creatures of this earth*, together with that reaſon and underſtanding, which is a main part of the ſuperiority of the human nature above brute creatures, and qualifies man to rule over them, and ſubdue them, and make them ſubſervient to his own uſe and benefit. So are the words of this twenty-ſixth verſe: *And God ſaid, let us make man in our image, after our likeneſs. And let them have dominion over the fiſh of the ſea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth on the earth.* And the eminence of man is thus deſcribed, Job xxxv. ii. *He teacheth us more than the beaſts of the earth, and maketh us wiſer than the fowls of heaven.*

Ver. 27. *So God created man in his own image: in the image of God created he him: male and female created he them.* What we are firſt led to obſerve here, as connected with what was juſt ſaid, is that the woman was made after the image of God, as well as the man.

And from inſerting, in this ſummary account of man's creation, on the ſixth day, this particular, that *God created man male and female*, it may be concluded, that the woman too was made on that day; which, I reckon, is the general opinion of interpreters: though there are ſome things in the next chapter, containing a more particular account of the formation of man, that might occaſion ſome doubt about it. Patrick, in particular, ſays, 'God made woman the ſame day

'he made man: as he did both ſexes of other creatures, and 'as he made herbs and plants with ſeeds in them, to propa-'gate their ſpecies.'

It is always ſuppoſed, that God made man in maturity of body and underſtanding. And ſome have been ſo curious as to inquire at what age: or what was the age he appeared to have. And in conformity to the great length of the lives of the antediluvians, they have ſuppoſed, he might have the appearance of a man of fifty or ſixty years of age according to that time.

Ver. 28. *And God bleſſed them, and God ſaid unto them: be fruitful and multiply, and repleniſh the earth.* The Jewiſh writers are generally diſpoſed to underſtand that expreſſion, *be fruitful and multiply*, as implying a precept univerſally binding. But the coherence rather leads us to underſtand it of a bleſſing or power: the like to which was beſtowed upon the brute creatures, at ver. 22. which are not the ſubjects of a precept.

And here the privilege of dominion over the creatures is again expreſſed, denoting it to be common to both ſexes, and deſigned to appertain to their poſterity. *Be fruitful and multiply, and repleniſh the earth, and ſubdue it. And have dominion over the fiſh of the ſea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.*

It follows in ver. 29, and 30. *And God ſaid: behold, I have given you every herb bearing ſeed, which is upon the face of the earth, and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree, yielding ſeed. To you it ſhall be for meat. And to every beaſt of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth on the earth wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat. And it was ſo.* Hence it is argued by many, that meat, or food of animal fleſh, was not uſed before the flood. But that does not ſeem certain. It may be allowed, that for a good while, fleſh was forborn. As animals were made by pairs only, it was not convenient that any ſhould be ſlain till they were increaſed. It may be allowed alſo, that vegetables were very much the diet of thoſe who lived before the flood: when, probably, all things were in greater vigour and perfection than afterwards. But here is no prohibition of animal food. And it is obſervable, that Abel and Seth, and all who were of the family of God were keepers of cattle. And, if they were not allowed to make uſe of them for food, it would be difficult to ſhow, how keeping cattle, not fit for draught

draught or burden, especially in any large number, could turn to a good account. If it be said, they might use their milk; I answer, that is more than is clearly expressed in the grant. Moreover, sacrifices of living creatures were in use very early. It is not reasonable to think, they were all whole burnt offerings. It may be reckoned probable, that they who brought to God sacrifices and offerings of living creatures, did partake of their offerings: which, certainly, was the custom in after times.

The first chapter of Genesis concludes thus: *And God saw every thing that he had made: and behold, it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.* Every thing was now formed according to the will, and purpose, and command of God. And every part of each day's creation, man in particular, was good, and such as God approved and designed.

Thus we have surveyed the summary account of man's creation, which is in the first chapter of the book of Genesis. At the beginning of the second chapter is introduced an account of the sabbath, and a description of Paradise, which I forbear to insist on: but I would observe what is farther said of the formation of the first pair.

Ch. ii. 7. *And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. And man became a living soul.* Man is made of the *dust of the ground.* But thereby is supposed to be meant moist earth. And whereas it is said, *God breathed into him the breath of life*, which is not said of any other animals: it is hence argued, that the soul of man is different from the body, and that it is a more excellent spirit than that of brute creatures.

Ver. 18. *And the Lord God said: it is not good that the man should be alone, I will make him an help-meet for him.* Here, I apprehend, we are led to the same observation that was mentioned before, upon occasion of those words, which represented God as consulting about the creation of man. The design of those expressions was to intimate the great dignity, and superior excellence of man above brute creatures, whose creation was before related. In like manner, when God proceeds to the making of the woman, he is represented as consulting, and resolving what to do: that the man might be the more sensible of the goodness of the Creator in providing for him so suitable a help.

Ver. 19. *And out of the ground God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them to Adam, to*

ſee what he would call them. And whatſoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. Ver. 20. *And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beaſt of the field. But for Adam there was not found an help-meet for him.* This bringing the living creatures to Adam, and his giving them names, is a proof of his dominion over them.

This repreſentation of things would lead us to ſuppoſe, that Eve was not formed on the ſixth day, but ſome time after, becauſe her formation is here related after the living creatures had been ſhown to Adam. Nevertheleſs, as before hinted, that argument is not concluſive. Here we have only a more diſtinct account of what was before related in general. This may be ſtrongly argued from the ſeventh verſe of this chapter before taken notice of, concerning the formation of Adam, who, certainly, was created on the ſixth day.

It follows at ver. 21. *And the Lord God cauſed a deep ſleep to fall upon Adam, and he ſlept. And he took one of his ribs, and cloſed up the fleſh inſtead thereof.* By this *ſleep*, as is ſuppoſed, all pain was prevented. It is needleſs to multiply words here, or nicely to weigh objections. It ſeems moſt probable, that in the firſt formation there was ſomewhat ſuperfluous in Adam. It has been ſuppoſed, that he had a ſuperfluous rib on each ſide, and that God took away one pair, with the muſcular parts adhering to them, and out of them made Eve.

Ver. 22. *And the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man.* Ver. 23. *And Adam ſaid: this is now bone of my bones, and fleſh of my fleſh. She ſhall be called woman, becauſe ſhe was taken out of man.*

It has been thought not improbable, that Adam had an ecſtaſy, during the time of his deep ſleep, ſhowing him what was done upon him: which enabled him to ſpeak ſo properly, when Eve was brought to him.

Ver. 24. *Therefore ſhall a man leave father and mother, and cleave to his wife. And they ſhall be one fleſh.*

This is ſometimes called Adam's prophecy. For certain, if theſe are the words of Adam, he muſt have been inſpired. For he could not at this time, in an ordinary way, have diſtinct ideas of the relations of father and mother. But many good interpreters think, that theſe ſhould rather be underſtood as words of Moſes, who by divine direction here inſerted this law.

Ver.

Ver. 25. *And they were both naked, the man and his wife. And they were not aſhamed.* This, certainly, muſt have been the caſe in a ſtate of innocence. And therefore was proper to be mentioned.

And thus concludes the account of the formation of the firſt pair.

2. The next point in order is the trial, upon which Adam was put in Paradiſe.

Ch. ii. 9. *And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree, that is pleaſant to the ſight, and good for food: the tree of life alſo in the midſt of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.*

Of what kind, or for what uſe *the tree of life* was, we cannot certainly ſay: though the name of it might lead us to think, it would have been of uſe upon occaſion of eating any thing noxious, or for reſtoring decays, and preſerving the vigour of life.

And the tree of knowledge of good and evil. It is doubted, why this tree was ſo called: whether it received its denomination from the event: or whether it was at firſt ſo called from the deſign, for which it was made and inſtituted, that it might be a trial of man's virtue.

In the 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 verſes is the deſcription of Paradiſe, which I paſs over.

Ver. 15. *And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden, to dreſs it, and to keep it.* Not that he was made out of Paradiſe, and then brought into it. But, when made, he was placed therein, to keep it in good order.

Ver. 16. *And the Lord God commanded the man, ſaying: of every tree in the garden thou mayeſt freely eat.* Ver. 17. *But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou ſhalt not eat of it. For in the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die.*

Adam, as a rational creature, was ſubject to the law and will of God. He was neceſſarily bound by all moral laws and rules, and thereby obliged to love, honour, worſhip his Creator, and to love every creature of the ſame ſpecies or kind with himſelf, and to be merciful and tender of inferior beings, in ſubjection to him. But God was pleaſed to try him alſo by a poſitive law. And this would be likewiſe a trial of his virtue. For there can be no doubt but he was obliged to reſpect this law and reſtraint of his bountiful maker. And if he ſhould diſobey this law, it muſt be owing to ſome defect or failure of virtue. There cannot be conceived any reaſon, why he

he ſhould tranſgreſs this command, unleſs ſome wrong temper, or evil thought, or irregularity and exorbitance of deſire, (which, certainly, is immoral and ſinful) firſt aroſe in him.

In the day thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die. Literally, in the original, *dying thou ſhalt die.* Which our tranſlators have well expreſſed, *thou ſhalt ſurely die.*

Hereby ſome expoſitors have underſtood death ſpiritual, natural and eternal. But I do not ſee any good reaſon they have for it. We ſeem rather to be juſtified in taking it in the ſenſe of natural death only, or the diſſolution of this frame, the ſeparation of ſoul and body. We are led to this by the words of the ſentence pronounced after the tranſgreſſion: *Duſt thou art, and unto duſt ſhalt thou return.*

In the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die. By which may be meant, that very day thou ſhalt become mortal, and be liable to pains and diſeaſes, which will iſſue in death. Or, that very day thou ſhalt actually die. Which laſt ſenſe may be as probable as the other.

That is the trial, upon which man was put in Paradiſe, and in his ſtate of innocence.

3. The next point, the third in order, is the temptation which he met with: the account of which is at the beginning of the third chapter of the book of Geneſis. How long it was after the creation of Adam and Eve, before this happened, is not ſaid. But it is likely, that ſome days had paſſed. The ſerpent found Eve alone, and attempted her in the abſence of the man. Nor would his inſinuations have been received, we may ſuppoſe, if he had ſuggeſted diſobedience to a command, that was but juſt then given.

Chap. iii. 1. *Now the ſerpent was more ſubtle than any beaſt of the field, which God had made.* It is generally allowed, that here was the contrivance and agency of Satan. But Moſes ſpeaks only of the outward appearance: and therein, as I apprehend, refers to, or intends the winding, inſinuating motion of ſerpents. *And he ſaid unto the woman: yea has God ſaid, ye ſhall not eat of every tree of the garden?* This is ſomewhat abrupt, and, poſſibly, ſome other diſcourſe had preceded. However, it is very artful: not denying what was moſt true and certain: but inſinuating, that it was very ſtrange, if ſuch a prohibition had been delivered to them. And, poſſibly, Eve concluded, that ſhe was now addreſſed to by ſome angel, who wiſhed them well.

Ver.

Ver. 2. *And the woman ſaid unto the ſerpent: we may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden.* Ver. 3. *But of the fruit of the tree, which is in the midſt of the garden, God hath ſaid, ye ſhall not eat of it: neither ſhall ye touch it, leſt ye die.* By which we perceive, that the woman was well apprized of the command, and the ſtrictneſs of it. And, probably, ſhe was by, when it was delivered: though Adam only be particularly mentioned.

Ver. 4. *And the ſerpent ſaid unto the woman: ye ſhall not ſurely die.* Ver. 5. *For God does know, that in the day you eat thereof, then your eyes ſhall be opened, and ye ſhall be as gods, knowing good and evil.* Which laſt words may be thought to imply, that Eve was not without an apprehenſion of other intelligent beings, diſtinct from God the creator and man, and of an intermediate order between both.

In this diſcourſe the ſerpent inſinuates a wrong and diſadvantageous opinion of the Deity, as envious of the high happineſs and dignity, which they might attain to. And Eve was much to blame, for admitting ſuſpicions of the benevolence of him that made them.

4. I proceed immediately to our firſt parents' tranſgreſſion, the accounts of that and the temptation being cloſely connected.

Ver. 6. *And when the woman ſaw, that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleaſant to the eyes, and a tree to be deſired to make one wiſe, ſhe took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave alſo to her huſband with her, and he did eat.* This is indeed ſtrange. But from the ſerpent's inſinuations ſhe had admitted a diſhonourable and diſreſpectful thought of the Deity, and then ſoon loſt a juſt regard to the command he had given. She views this dangerous and deadly fruit with complacence. She looked upon this prohibited fruit, till ſhe had an appetite to it, conceived of it as good food, and was taken with its beautiful colour, and poſſeſſed with a perſuaſion, that her curioſity would be gratified with an increaſe of knowledge. And according to the Moſaic account, which is conciſe, when Adam came up, and Eve preſented him with ſome of the ſame forbidden fruit, he took it at her hand, and did eat of it. The account, I ſay, is conciſe. But it was needleſs to be more particular, after the clear account before given of the ſtrict prohibition. Which ſets Adam's fault in a conſpicuous view. Poſſibly, the woman gave Adam an account of what the ſerpent had ſaid to her, and repreſented

it

it to him, with tokens of her approbation. He could have no temptation beyond what had been preſented to the woman, beſide the addition of her offer of it. Which, as it ſeems, was no ſmall inducement to compliance, and to do as ſhe had done, and whatever ſhould be the event to ſhare as ſhe did.

Ver. 7. *And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked: and they ſewed* or twiſted *fig-leaves together, and made themſelves aprons.* Upon reflection, their eyes were opened in a different ſenſe from what the ſerpent had ſaid, and they were filled with ſhame, not knowing what to think of themſelves, or how to act. But they ſoon contrived a ſlight garment as for a covering.

Ver. 8. *And they heard the voice of the Lord walking in the garden, in the cool of the day.* They perceived a briſk motion of the air coming towards them, with an increaſing ſound, that was awful to them. Or, in the words of Biſhop Patrick: 'They heard the ſound of the majeſtic preſence, 'or the glory of the Lord, approaching nearer and nearer 'to the place where they were.' *And Adam and his wife hid themſelves from the preſence of the Lord God among the trees of the garden.* They who before had had converſe with God, which was delightful, now retire into the cloſeſt, and moſt ſhady coverts, to avoid the Divine appearance.

Ver. 9. *And the Lord God called unto Adam, and ſaid unto him: where art thou?* God ſummoned Adam to appear before him, and to attend to what he ſhould ſay. Ver. 10. *And he ſaid, I heard thy voice in the midſt of the garden. And I was afraid, becauſe I was naked. And I hid myſelf.* Ver. 11. *And he ſaid: who told thee that thou waſt naked? Haſt thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee that thou ſhouldeſt not eat?* Intimating, that doubtleſs that was the occaſion of all this confuſion and diſorder of mind, and of his ſhyneſs of the Divine preſence.

Ver. 12. *And the man ſaid, the woman, whom thou gaveſt to be with me, ſhe gave me of the tree, and I did eat.* He cannot deny his guilt; but he puts it off, as much as he can, upon the woman. And the more to excuſe himſelf to God, he ſays, *the woman, whom thou gaveſt to be with me....*

Ver. 13. *And the Lord God ſaid unto the woman, what is this thou haſt done? And the woman ſaid, the ſerpent beguiled me, and I did eat.* She too endeavours to caſt the blame upon another. And though it was not a full vindication (far from it)

it) yet it was an alleviation of the fault. It would have been much worſe, if ſhe had eaten of her own accord, without a tempter.

Ver. 14. *And the Lord God ſaid unto the ſerpent, becauſe thou haſt done this, thou art curſed above all cattle, and above every beaſt of the field. Upon thy belly ſhalt thou go, and duſt ſhalt thou eat all the days of thy life.* Ver. 15. *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy ſeed and her ſeed: it ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel.*

It is an obſervation of an ancient chriſtian writer, in Patrick upon ver. 14. 'That though God inflicted puniſhments 'upon Adam and Eve, yet he did not curſe them, as he did 'the ſerpent, they ſtanding fair for a reſtitution to his favour.' Undoubtedly, it muſt have been comfortable to Adam and Eve, to ſee the diſpleaſure of God againſt the ſerpent that had ſeduced them. Nor were they preſently cut off, as the threatening, annexed to diſobedience, ſeemed to import. Yea God ſpeaks of the woman's ſeed. Therefore they were not to die immediately, but were to have a poſterity: meaning by her ſeed men in general, or the Meſſiah, and good men, who ſhould prevail againſt the tempter and adverſary, though they would ſuffer ſome injuries through his means: and calling it the *woman's ſeed*, as ſome expoſitors think, to mollify Adam, and prevent his diſpleaſure againſt her, who had led him into wrong conduct.

Ver. 16. *Unto the woman he ſaid, I will greatly multiply thy ſorrow, and thy conception: in ſorrow ſhalt thou bring forth thy children:* that is, I will add to the pain and ſorrow of child-bearing. *And thy deſire ſhall be to thy huſband, and he ſhall rule over thee.* Thy will ſhall be ſubject to thy huſband's. So it was before: but now his authority might be more rigorous and ſevere than otherwiſe it would have been. The puniſhment inflicted on Eve is ſuitable to the condition of her ſex.

Ver. 17. *Unto Adam he ſaid, becauſe thou haſt hearkened unto the voice of thy wife* (where we ſee what was his chief temptation, and what was the neareſt and moſt immediate inducement to him to tranſgreſs:) *and haſt eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, ſaying, thou ſhalt not eat of it, curſed is the ground for thy ſake. In ſorrow ſhalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life.* Ver. 18. *Thorns alſo and thiſtles ſhall it bring forth to thee, and thou ſhalt eat of the herb of the field.* Ver. 19. *In the ſweat of thy face ſhalt thou eat bread, till thou return to the ground;*

ground; for out of it waſt thou taken. For duſt thou art, and unto duſt ſhalt thou return.

This part of the ſentence, *returning to the duſt*, or dying, muſt be ſuppoſed common to both the man and the woman. And ſo far the firſt ſentence takes place. They did not die immediately. But an irreverſible ſentence of death paſſes upon them, which would take place in a term of years, when God ſaw fit.

The reſt of the ſentence or puniſhment inflicted on Adam, is ſuitable to the condition of his ſex, as the woman's was to her's, whoſe province, as the apoſtle excellently deſcribes it, 1 Tim. v. 14. is to *bear children, and guide the houſe:* whilſt the man has the charge of providing for himſelf and the family by his care, labour and induſtry. The puniſhment therefore laid upon Adam is, that his care, and toil, and labour, ſhould now for the future be increaſed beyond what it would have been otherwiſe.

But here ariſe objections, relating to the execution of the ſeveral ſentences pronounced upon the ſerpent, the tempter, and the two tranſgreſſors. The ſentence upon the ſerpent was, *Becauſe thou haſt done this, thou art curſed above all cattle, and above every beaſt of the field: upon thy belly ſhalt thou go, and duſt ſhalt thou eat all the days of thy life.*

This is thought a difficulty. And it is aſked: did not ſerpents go upon the belly before? Was not that their ordinary motion always? How elſe ſhould they be ſerpents, if they wanted that which is their proper nature? With regard then to this, and the two other ſentences of puniſhment pronounced upon Eve, and upon Adam, I would obſerve. It ſeems to me probable, that God foreſaw the event; and that though Adam was made innocent and upright, yet he would fall. This being foreſeen, there were diſpoſitions made in the original formation of things, which would be ſuitable to what happened. Therefore the alterations to be made upon the tranſgreſſion of the firſt pair, were not very great and extraordinary. That is, there needed not any great alteration in the form of ſerpents, nor in the woman's make and conſtitution, nor in the temper of the ground to accompliſh what is mentioned as a puniſhment upon each.

Serpents there were before the fall, as is manifeſt. And their winding, inſinuating motion is referred to. Nor did God now, after the fall, create any new ſpecies of plants, as *thorns and thiſtles*, to exerciſe Adam's patience. There were already

already formed plants and herbs, that were not immediately useful for food, and would occasion an increase of labour and toil. And doubtless there were also lions, and tigers, and other like creatures: all originally made within the compass of the six day's creation, and all good and wisely designed, as a restaint upon man, according as his temper and circumstances should prove: to humble him, and to render him sensible of his weakness in himself, and his dependence upon God: and to make him thankful for all his distinctions, that he might be induced to give the praise of all his prerogatives and pre-eminences to him from whom they came: who had made him to differ, with advantage, from the rest of the living creatures of this earth: but had also shown, in a proper measure, his wisdom and power in them, as well as in him, and indeed, is wise and holy, great and admirable in all his works.

Nor does it appear that the whole earth though fitted for great fertility, was made paradisaical. For, according to Moses, paradise was a garden, a spot of ground which God planted, a certain district or territory, designed for the accommodation of man, and the living creatures with him, in a state of innocence. When Adam therefore was turned out of paradise, he would find a difference.

It follows at ver. 20. *And Adam called his wife's name Eve, because she was the mother of all living.*

When this was done, is not absolutely certain. Moses does not say when. And as he seems not always to keep the order of time, it may be questioned whether this was done very soon after the sentence had been pronounced upon them; or not till after the woman had brought forth, and was the mother of a living child.

Ver. 21. *Unto Adam also, and to his wife, did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them.*

It is very likely that this is not mentioned in the order of time. For it precedes the account of expelling Adam and Eve out of paradise: whereas it cannot be easily supposed that it was done so soon. It must be reckoned probable, that immediately after the transgression of our first parents, and pronouncing sentence upon them, they were driven out of paradise. But coats of skins could not be had till some time after the fall: for as all the brute creatures were made by pairs, some time must have been allowed for their increase, before any could be slain in the way of sacrifice, or otherwise.

Some

Some of the Jewiſh writers indeed have underſtood this literally: *that unto Adam and his wife God did make coats of ſkins and clothed them:* that is, he *created* for them ſuch garments. Then, there would be no occaſion to take from any of the beaſts. But the more likely meaning is, that by Divine inſtruction and direction they made to themſelves coats of ſkins: and it may be ſuppoſed, that they were but rough and unpoliſhed.

Underſtand theſe words, as we generally do, that by Divine inſtruction, and with the Divine approbation, Adam and Eve clothed themſelves with the ſkins of ſlain beaſts, of ſheep, or goats, or other living creatures: I ſhould be much inclined to think that Moſes inſerted this particular, as evidence, that God himſelf approved of clothing the body with proper and ſufficient covering, as a ground and foundation of that decency, which is neceſſary to be obſerved by ſo ſociable a creature as man, and in his preſent circumſtances. And if the rough ſkins of beaſts were uſed then, a more agreeable, and more ornamental clothing would not be unlawful or ſinful hereafter: when farther improvements in arts and ſciences ſhould be made by the wit and induſtry of man: provided it were but ſuitable to the ability and condition of perſons. And, for certain, a great variety of circumſtances was very likely to ariſe in a numerous race of beings.

I ſay, if this be the meaning of the words, as they are generally underſtood, I ſhould be much diſpoſed to think, that Moſes inſerted this particular, to prevent all ſcruples upon this head. For though a thing be in itſelf reaſonable, and highly expedient; yet there is nothing, that ſo effectually puts objections to ſilence, as a divine precept or precedent.

However, there is a very learned and diligent expoſitor of ſcripture,* who explains this text in a different manner. He does not deny, that the original word is uſed for coat, or clothing: but yet he thinks the word rendered coats ſignifies tents or tabernacles: which would be more needful than clothing in that warm climate near paradiſe. Nor would the firſt pair, he thinks, need there ſo thick and heavy a clothing as that of the ſkins of beaſts. Nevertheleſs, I do but juſt mention this ſenſe. For that of our

* Vid. J. Cleric. Comm. in Gen. iii. 7. et 21.

tranſlation

tranſlation is generally approved of both by Jewiſh and Chriſtian interpreters.

Ver. 22. *And the Lord God ſaid: behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil.*

Calvin's remark upon this verſe is exactly to this purpoſe: 'Whereas,† ſays he, many Chriſtians from this place draw 'the doctrine of a trinity of perſons in the Deity, I fear, 'the argument is not ſolid.' So that great man. And indeed, though Moſes gives no particular account of the creation of angels, yet their exiſtence is ſuppoſed in ſeveral parts of this hiſtory. And what reaſon could there be for ſaying, upon this occaſion, that man was become like one of the Divine perſons? It may therefore be reckoned very likely, that here is a reference to the angelical order of beings, ſuppoſed to be more perfect, and more knowing, than man.

Still ver. 22. *And now leſt he put forth his hand, and take alſo of the tree of life, and live for ever.*

The expreſſion is elliptical. Somewhat is to be ſupplied, and to this effect. 'Now care muſt be had, that he take not of the tree of life, and live for ever.' This ſeems to imply, what was formerly hinted, that the tree of life was ſalutary, and healing and might be uſeful, in caſe of hurts, and injuries, and decays. But man having tranſgreſſed in eating of the fruit forbidden him, and having incurred the threatened ſentence; (which too had been pronounced upon him:) it was by no means fit, he ſhould eat of the tree of life: the fruit of which might have rendered him immortal, or however prolonged his days to a period, that was not ſuited to the circumſtances into which he had brought himſelf by wilful tranſgreſſion. There is an alluſion to this deſign, or this virtue of the tree of life in Rev. xxii. 2. *And in the midſt of the ſtreet of it, and on either ſide the river was there the tree of life.... And the leaves of the tree were for healing the nations.*

Ver. 23, 24. *Therefore the Lord God ſent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground, from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man. And he placed at the eaſt of the garden*

† Quod autem eliciunt ex hoc loco Chriſtiani doctrinam de tribus in Deo perſonis, vereor ne ſatis firmum ſit argumentum. Comm. in Gen. iii. 22.

of Eden cherubims, and a flaming ſword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.

The deſign of all which ſeems to be to intimate, that the ſentence of death, pronounced upon man, was peremptory and irreverſible. He was by no means to attain to immortality in this world, but ſuffer the change of death, or the diſſolution of ſoul and body, and return to the duſt, out of which he was taken.

The text ſpeaks expreſsly of *man* only. But all allow, that the *woman* is included, and muſt be underſtood. And are we not alſo to conclude, that the living creatures were all to follow Adam, and leave paradiſe. There was no need to mention them. They accompanied him, who had dominion over them.

Man is ſent forth *to till the ground*, in doing which he would have more labour, than he would have had in paradiſe. His employment is deſcribed by tilling the ground. For that would be his main work, as his diet, for ſome while at leaſt, would be chiefly vegetable. At the entrance into Eden, by which Adam was driven out, were placed cherubim, or angels, with a bright appearance, more than ordinary, which rendered it awful.

It would be too curious, I apprehend, to inquire what became of that delightful garden, or ſpot of ground, in which Adam and Eve were firſt placed by their bountiful Maker. If it ſubſiſted for a while, it may be ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed by the flood, and poſſibly before.

I have now ſurveyed the account of the creation and fall of man. And though I have not made uſe of the notion of its being allegorical, which uſually leaves too much room for fancy, and for a variety of imaginations, many of which, if not all, would be conjectural; yet, poſſibly, all is not exact hiſtory, nor every thing put in the order of time.

One inſtance of this, I think, we have plainly ſeen in the latter part of this chapter: where God's making coats for Adam and Eve is mentioned before their expulſion from paradiſe: whereas it is very probable it was after it.

Another thing ſeems to be tranſpoſed in the Moſaic account. The living creatures are repreſented to be brought to Adam, to ſee how he would call them, before Eve was made. But it is not eaſy to conceive, how that ſhould be done on the very ſixth day of the creation, when Eve was made. It might be rather done ſome time after it. But

Moſes

Moſes places that tranſaction, as he has done, the more to ſhow the importance of the woman's creation, though it might in time ſucceed it.

And there might be ſome other things inſtanced in, which need not to be literally taken, as here related in the utmoſt ſtrictneſs of interpretation.

In this account of Moſes we have the origin of things. It is what ſpeculative minds, in all ages, and in almoſt all parts of the world, have been employed about. God is good. But how to account, then, for evil, is a difficulty, which has greatly engaged and perplexed mankind.

In this relation of Moſes is ſet before us the origin of moral and penal evil, of ſin, and diſeaſes, and death, of the uncommon pains of child-bearing women, and of the great pains and labour which man takes for the providing the neceſſaries of life.

And though, as has been owned, the Moſaic account is not free from difficulties, there never was a better given by any. And conſider Moſes only as a philoſopher, or law-giver, ſeparate from the character of an inſpired writer, his account of the creation, and of the primitive ſtate of man, and his fall, is worthy of reſpect. And we have reaſon to be thankful for it.

I ſhall now mention ſome obſervations in the way of corollary.

I. All things were originally, as they came out of the hand of God, good, and were made by him in great wiſdom.

After the hiſtory of the ſix days' creation, and of man in particular, it is added by Moſes, at the end of the firſt chapter of this book: *And God ſaw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the ſixth day.* And Solomon having with great diligence employed his active and capacious mind in ſurveying the affairs of this world, and having obſerved many inſtances of vanity and vexation therein, and particularly the great degeneracy of mankind, ſays: *This have I found*, of this I ſee reaſon to be fully ſatisfied, *that God made man upright: but they have ſought out many inventions*, Ecc. vii. 29.

II. We are here led to obſerve the dignity of the human nature, which is ſo ſet before us, that it might not be overlooked, but might be regarded, and taken notice of by evey one.

Gen. i. 26. *And God ſaid: let us make man in our image, after our likeneſs.* Every word ſhows the dignity of the human nature. God is repreſented as proceeding to the formation of man with deliberation and conſultation. He makes him himſelf. He does not ſay: *Let the earth now bring forth man.* But, *Let us make man.* And ſtill farther: *in our image, after our likeneſs.* His dignity is alſo ſignified in what follows. *And let them have dominion over the fiſh of the ſea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth.* This thought, of man's having dominion over all things in this earth, and being lord of all the creatures therein, ſeldom occurs, as I apprehend, in heathen writings, but it is a great and juſt notion, and is a privilege, which man ſtill enjoys in great meaſure.

This notion of the dignity of the human nature leads us to two reflections: firſt, man, who has been made ſo excellent, and has dominion over other creatures, ſhould act according to his dignity, as reaſonable, and ſuperior to other creatures on this earth, and ſhould ſcorn every thing that is mean, baſe, impure, and cruel.

Another thought, which the dignity of the human nature leads us to, is this: that we can thence argue with great probability, if not with abſolute certainty, that God will not loſe this creature man, or ſuffer him to be for ever and totally loſt. If man periſh and be loſt, to what purpoſe was this earth formed? And of what uſe are all things therein, if man, to whom dominion over them was given, be taken away? and if he live not to take pleaſure in, admire, uſe, and improve, the rich and coſtly furniture, with which this earth is adorned? It is moreover highly probable; that his time on this earth is not the whole period of his exiſtence. So we may argue from the conſideration of the ſuperior dignity of the human nature. And we may ſee hereafter, that the argument is not inconcluſive but rightly framed.

III. All mankind have proceeded from one pair.

Of this we could not be now abſolutely ſure, without ſome good authority, or well atteſted tradition. But it is the account of Moſes, the greateſt law-giver that ever was, and an inſpired prophet of God. The great reſemblance of mankind in the ſeveral parts of the world might be ſome ground of this ſuppoſition. But it would not be full proof. For many pairs, reſembling each other, might have been formed

formed by God, the Creator, at once, in ſeveral, and remote countries; that the earth might be ſoon peopled thereby. But the account of Moſes, I ſuppoſe, may be relied upon. Nor ought difference of complexion, and ſome other leſſer things, to be reckoned a valid objection. For difference of climates, with the varieties of air, earth, water, and the leſſer or greater degrees of the ſun's heat, will make ſenſible alterations and differences in one and the ſame ſpecies. St. Paul obſerves to the Athenians, that *God had made of one blood, all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth*, Acts xvii. 26. And though, as before ſaid, the great reſemblance of the human frame and powers in the ſeveral parts of the world may not be a demonſtrative argument to us, that all came from one pair: yet this account of Moſes is much confirmed by the great agreement between the ſeveral nations of the earth in bodily frame, and intellectual powers, like deſires, and paſſions, and diſeaſes, and in univerſal liableneſs to death.

This leads us to two reflections. One is, the remarkable effect of the Divine bleſſing, beſtowing ſuch fruitfulneſs, that by one pair the vaſt circumference of this earth ſhould be gradually peopled, manured, and improved.

The ſecond is, that all men ought to love one another as brethren. For they are all deſcended from the ſame parents, and cannot but have like powers, and weakneſſes, and wants. Solomon ſays, Prov. xxvii. 19. *As in water*, or any other mirror, *face anſwers to face, ſo the heart of man to man.* By conſidering ourſelves we may know others: what they want, how we may relieve and comfort them. And this thought ſhould abate exorbitant pride. For, notwithſtanding ſome differences of outward condition, we have all the ſame nature, and are brethren.

IV. The Moſaic account teaches the only right order of marriage, that is, of one man and one woman.

When the phariſees came to our Lord with a queſtion about divorce, they being then accuſtomed to polygamy, and to frequent and eaſy divorces, he immediately anſwers them, and puts them to ſilence, by referring them to the Moſaic account of the creation of the firſt pair, and the Divine inſtitution of marriage. Careful obſervations upon the increaſe of mankind have ſhown us, that the number of males and females born into the world is near equal. Conſequently, great inconveniences would enſue from a per-

verſion of the right order of marriage. Nevertheleſs, nothing can be ſo effectual, to put, and keep things in a right courſe, as Divine authority, like that in the Moſaic account of the creation.

V. Another thing taught in this account of the origin of things is the lawfulneſs, purity, and innocence of the married ſtate.

For God made man male and female, and marriage was inſtituted in the primitive ſtate of innocence. Chap. i. 27, 28. *And God created man in his own image: in the image of God created he him: male and female created he them. And God bleſſed them, and God ſaid unto them: be fruitful, and multiply, and repleniſh the earth, and ſubdue it.* Not now to recite again the farther account of the formation of the woman in the ſecond chapter. Doubtleſs this account of Moſes has been of great ſervice in all ages, to remove, or prevent ſcruples, and to reſtrain thoſe, who from miſtaken notions, or wrong views, have been diſpoſed to prohibit, or to diſcourage marriage.

But though all are at liberty to marry, if they pleaſe, yet our Saviour,* as well as St. Paul,† ſeems to intimate the commendableneſs of the ſingle life in ſome: if they are maſters of their own purpoſe, and if they prefer it, that they may ſerve God with leſs diſtraction, and greater freedom from the cares of this life: if they chooſe to deny themſelves, and to give themſelves wholly up to the ſervice of others in ſpreading the principles of religion, or promoting the intereſt of civil ſociety, in any caſes of emergency: provided alſo, that they herein act without oſtentation, and do not over value themſelves on this account, nor at all deſpiſe others; then there may be ſome commendableneſs in the ſingle life. Nevertheleſs, after all, it may be reckoned probable, that there are not, and cannot be, many inſtances of the ſingle life with all the above-mentioned qualifications.

VI. The Moſaic account of the origin of things teaches the duty of the ſexes to each other in the married ſtate.

This account teaches this, and is deſigned ſo to do. The deſign is ſo apparent, that it may, poſſibly, lead ſome to queſtion, whether there is not ſome ſtudied contrivance in the narration. And if all is hiſtory, and things were ſo

* Matt. xix. † 1 Cor. vii.

performed,

performed, in the order here related, it may be eſteemed unqueſtionable, that things were ſo done, particularly, that God created the man, and the woman in this manner, and in this order, on purpoſe to convey theſe inſtructions. So therefore argues St. Paul. 1 Cor. xi. 7, 8, 9. *For the man is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man.* And in another place. 1 Tim. ii. 12, 13, 14. *But I ſuffer not a woman to teach, or to uſurp authority over the man, but to be in ſilence. For Adam was firſt formed, then Eve.* Here he adds alſo: *And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the tranſgreſſion.*

Indeed all nations by their own reaſon and obſervation have diſcerned the ſame, and have allotted to men the cabinet of princes, the ſenate, and courts of judicature, as well as the command of navies and armies. But there are two ways of teaching one and the ſame thing. One is by reaſon, the other is by facts related in a certain order, and clothed with certain circumſtances. And this latter method may be leaſt offenſive, and as effectual as the other. For compariſons between equals, or nearly ſo, are odious and diſagreeable. Few or none can bear to inſiſt upon majeſty of countenance, bulk and ſtrength of body, compaſs of knowledge, and ſolidity of judgment, as grounds of ſuperiority and pre-eminence: when too there may be on the other ſide advantages of a different kind, that will bring the balance very nigh, if not quite, to an equilibre. The Moſaic narration affords a better, as it is a ſofter, argument. Ch. ii. 7. *And the Lord God formed man of the duſt of the ground, and breathed into his noſtrils the breath of life. And man became a living ſoul.* Afterwards ver. 18. *And the Lord God ſaid, it is not good that man ſhould be alone. I will make him an help-meet for him.* Ver. 21, 22. *And he took one of his ribs.... And the rib which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man.* All which affords excellent inſtruction. And if this account teaches yielding of will and deſire on the one hand, it does as ſtrongly enforce protection, love and tenderneſs on the other: the performance of which, ſuitably, on each ſide, it is likely, will ſecure mutual comfort and happineſs.

VII. Man was put upon a fair and equitable trial, and fell from his primitive ſtate of happineſs by his own fault.

Ch. ii. 16, 17. *And the Lord God commanded the man, ſaying, of every tree of the garden thou mayeſt freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou ſhalt not eat. For in the day that thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt ſurely die.*

Divines of all denominations, I think, are agreed that Adam had freedom of will, power to chooſe and to refuſe. Good and evil were ſet before him. Nor was it a difficult thing to avoid the prohibited fruit; and yet he was induced to eat of it.

VIII. If Adam, who was made upright, was overcome by temptation, we ought to be upon our guard.

This is a duty inculcated upon all of us by our excellent Lord and Maſter. Eſpecially ought we to guard againſt diſadvantageous and diſhonourable thoughts of the Deity. By this means, as much as any, the ſubtle ſerpent prevailed upon and deceived Eve. Ch. iii. 1. *Yea has God ſaid, ye ſhall not eat of every tree of the garden?* ... Ver. 5. *For God does know, that in the day ye eat thereof your eyes ſhall be opened, and ye ſhall be as Gods, knowing good and evil.* All diſhonourable ſentiments of God, as unmerciful, illiberal, rigid, and inexorable, except upon terms of ſtrict juſtice, are as falſe as thoſe here ſuggeſted by the ſerpent, or rather by Satan: and if hearkened to, will have a bad influence upon us, and lead us aſtray from him who is the ſource of our happineſs.

IX. The fall of our firſt parents is not only an argument to watch ourſelves, but alſo to watch over others. Says St. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 2, 3. *I am jealous over you with a godly jealouſy.... For I fear, leſt by any means, as the ſerpent beguiled Eve through his ſubtlety, ſo your minds ſhould be corrupted from the ſimplicity that is in Chriſt.*

X. The ſentence pronounced by God upon our firſt parents for their tranſgreſſion was mild and equitable: or, it was a juſt ſentence tempered with mercy.

The whole proceſs of the judgment ſhows this, as related by Moſes. Firſt, Adam is ſummoned. He could not deny that he had eaten the forbidden fruit: but he has an excuſe; not a very good one, yet an excuſe it is. *The woman whom thou gaveſt to be with me, ſhe gave me of the tree, and I did eat.* The woman too had taſted of the forbidden fruit, and had firſt taſted. She likewiſe has an excuſe and apology; and though not ſufficient, yet of ſome moment. *And the woman ſaid, the ſerpent beguiled me, and I did eat.* Still farther, God begins with pronouncing ſentence upon the

the ſerpent, which muſt have been exceeding comfortable to our firſt parents. And an intimation is given, that the *ſeed of the woman* ſhould prevail againſt the ſerpent: or, that the cauſe of truth and innocence, religion and virtue, and the true intereſt and happineſs of man, ſhould prevail and take place in the end.

And though afterwards there are diſtinct and ſeveral ſentences pronounced upon each, even upon Adam and Eve; and the ſentence of death, as common to both: yet they are not immediately deſtroyed, but have time afforded for repentance.

We cannot forbear therefore to obſerve the juſtice and equity of the Divine Being. Man muſt die, but not immediately. And he would meet with arguments to eſtabliſh his reſolutions for obedience to the will of God, and for performing the duties of his preſent condition. The angels that fell appear not to have had any mercy ſhown them. They, it is likely, had no tempter. Herein, then, there is a difference between man and them. God in his great goodneſs and equity conſiders this, and treats man accordingly. This, as well as other things, ſhould induce us to acknowledge the goodneſs of God, and to guard againſt all thoſe ſentiments that impeach it. God is the fountain of goodneſs. God therefore is the moſt merciful and moſt equitable being in the univerſe.

XI. The Moſaic account may lead us to think, that ſome magnify the conſequences of the fall of our firſt parents.

The ſin of Adam was the introduction of death, and of the miſeries of this life. And ſo far his ſin is imputed to his deſcendants, that they all become liable to the ſentence of natural death. As St. Paul ſays, Rom. v. 12. *By one man ſin entered into the world, and death by ſin. And ſo death,* a ſentence of death, *paſſed upon all men.* This is not to be denied. Nor is it any impeachment of the Divine juſtice or goodneſs. For God might have made man at firſt mortal, only ſuppoſing a future ſtate: and that all things here, comforts and ſorrows, be deſigned and ordered, as preparatory and diſciplinary for another and better ſtate.

But beſide this, ſome aſſert, that the deſcendants of Adam derive from him a vitiated and corrupted nature, unable and averſe to good, and inclined to evil. But where is this taught, either in this origin of things now before us,

us, or in any other part of ſcripture? And would not this be, in reality, to make God the author of ſin? Is not this imitating guilty Adam, who ſaid: *The woman whom thou gaveſt to be with me, ſhe gave me, and I did eat.* But if men could allege a vitiated nature, it would be a better apology than that of Adam. The bad conduct, and the ſolicitations of the woman, could be no more at the utmoſt than a temptation from without. But nature is inborn, and the man himſelf. If a bad nature be derived to him without his own fault, the evil is paſt remedy, and quite out of his power. And if bad actions flow from a bad nature, he is ſcarce accountable for them. They muſt be put to the account of nature, and the author of it.

Beſides, what reaſon is there to apprehend ſo great an alteration made in the nature and powers of man by Adam's tranſgreſſion? Is there an immenſe difference between Adam and his poſterity? Adam was made innocent: but his virtue was not confirmed. How eaſily were Adam and Eve miſled and drawn into tranſgreſſion! Is it not very ſtrange that, in their circumſtances, they ſhould not be ſatisfied without taſting of the tree of the kowledge of good and evil: when the prohibition was ſo expreſs and ſtrict, and they enjoyed great plenty of other things? The poſitive law, delivered to Adam, forbidding him to touch the fruit of that one tree, was a proper trial of his virtue. For it cannot be doubted, that he was obliged to reſpect this law of his Creator. And if he ſhould diſobey it, that muſt be owing to ſome defect or failure of moral virtue, as before obſerved.

Let us, then, not be unwilling to conſider, whether the conſequences of the fall of our firſt parents be not aggravated by ſome: and let us be careful, not to admit any ſchemes, which are derogatory to God's honour, and which countenance or juſtify men in their allowed weakneſſes, or wilful tranſgreſſions.

XII. Finally, from the Moſaic account of the origin of things, and the explication which has been now given of it, we may be enabled to perceive, that the permiſſion of the fall of our firſt parents, with the conſequences of it, is no reflection upon the wiſdom of the Divine government.

For rational creatures muſt be put upon trial. They cannot be without freedom of will, which may be abuſed. And as our firſt parents did not ſin without a tempter, or of their

their own motion, as many of the angels ſeem to have done, God in his treatment of them has joined mercy with juſtice. Hence will ariſe glory to God, and good to men. God by his long ſuffering and patience, and the inſtructions afforded to them, and other methods of his Providence, the reſult of his unſearchable wiſdom and goodneſs, will bring many of the ſons of Adam to repentance, true holineſs, eminent virtue, and heavenly glory and happineſs, exceeding what could have been enjoyed on this earth, even in paradiſe itſelf.

The virtue of true penitents is ſometimes very great. They gain an eſtabliſhment in the love and fear of God, and a full reſolution for all goodneſs. The ſteady virtue of men amidſt the temptations of this world will exceed the virtue of Adam in paradiſe. It is true, they are not innocent as he was. But they are upright, and fully reſolved; and they overcome ſtrong temptations. And the moment of their virtue, according to equitable conſtruction, (and ſuch is that of the Divine judgment) may equal, and even ſurpaſs the virtue of an angel, who has not ſo great temptations. I am the more led to this, conſidering the great recompenſes, which God in the goſpel has propoſed to the faithful, the ſteady and victorious in this ſtate of trial. And if we may attain to ſuch excellence here, and ſuch glory hereafter, we are greatly to blame, and much wanting to ourſelves, if we do not *ſtrive againſt ſin*, Heb. xii. 4. to the utmoſt, and reſolutely, though humbly, and without oſtentation, maintain our integrity amidſt all the ſolicitations of this world.

END OF THE MOSAIC ACCOUNT.

A LETTER

A

LETTER

TO JONAS HANWAY, ESQ.

In which ſome Reaſons are aſſigned, why HOUSES for the Reception of PENITENT WOMEN, who have been diſorderly in their Lives, ought not to be called MAGDALEN HOUSES.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLVIII.]

SIR,

YOUR generous concern to promote good deſigns occaſions you this trouble. There is now, and has been for ſome while, much diſcourſe about erecting a houſe, or houſes, for the reception of penitent women, who have been diſorderly in their lives: a deſign, formerly unknown, and unheard of among us. It has been propoſed by ſome, that they ſhould be called Magdalen Houſes. And there is already eſtabliſhed a houſe of this kind in Goodman's-fields, which is called a Magdalen Houſe for penitent proſtitutes.

As that denomination is diſliked by others, beſide myſelf, I have taken the liberty to addreſs you upon this ſubject.

I preſume, it may be owing to a ſuppoſition, that the fine ſtory, recorded in the ſeventh chapter of St. Luke's goſpel, of the gracious reception which our Lord gave to a woman, there called *a ſinner*, relates to Mary Magdalene. And you, Sir, if I do not miſunderſtand you, in your Letter to Robert Dingley, Eſq. at p. 22. ſpeak of Mary Magdalene as a harlot.*

And that ſhe is the woman, there ſpoken of, muſt have been at ſome times a prevailing opinion. For the ſummary of part of that chapter, in our Engliſh Bibles, is to this purpoſe. 'Our Lord ſhoweth by occaſion of Mary Magdalene, how 'he is a friend to ſinners, not to maintain them in ſins, 'but to forgive their ſins upon faith and repentance.'†

Nevertheleſs

* The words, to which I refer, are theſe: 'What judgment did 'the Saviour of the world paſs 'on a harlot? What was the caſe 'of Mary Magdalene?'

† The contents, or ſummaries, prefixed to the chapters in our Bibles, ſeem to have been annexed to the Engliſh tranſlation now in uſe, which was made in the time of

Nevertheleſs I cannot think, that Mary Magdalene is there meant.

One reaſon here offers from the hiſtory itſelf, at ver. 27. where ſhe is ſaid to be *a woman in the city*, in which our Lord then was. Which, according to moſt harmonizers of the goſpels, was either Capernaum or Naim: whereas there can be no reaſon to believe, that Mary Magdalene reſided at either of thoſe places. Says Mr. James Macknight, Harm. § xliii. p. 134. 'Η μαγδαληνη, the Magdalene or Magdalite, probably 'from Magdala, the place of her nativity, a town ſituated 'ſomewhere beſide the lake, and mentioned Matt. xv. 29.'

A paſſage at the beginning of the next chapter of St. Luke's goſpel deſerves particular attention. Which therefore ſhall be here recited. *And it came to paſs afterwards, that he went throughout every city and village, preaching, and ſhowing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God. And the twelve were with him, and certain women, which had been healed of evil ſpirits, and infirmities: Mary, called Magdalene, out of whom went ſeven devils, and Joanna, wife of Chuza Herod's ſteward, and Suſannah, and many others. Which miniſtred to him of their ſubſtance*, ch. viii. 1, 2, 3.

This text affords divers reaſons for thinking, that Mary Magdalene is not the woman intended in the preceding chapter.

In the firſt place, it hence appears, that Mary Magdalene was a woman of quality. But it is very uncommon for ſuch to deſerve the character given, ch. vii. 37. *a woman in the city which was a ſinner.* And the phariſee, at whoſe houſe our Lord was then entertained, *ſpake within himſelf, ſaying: this*

of king James the firſt. For in all editions of that tranſlation, ſo far as I have obſerved, they are the ſame, where there are any contents at all. But it is not to be ſuppoſed, that they repreſent the ſenſe of all learned men in general. For in an Engliſh Bible in the quarto form, printed in the reign of queen Elizabeth in 1599, by the deputies of Chriſtopher Barker, the ſummary of that paragraph in Luke vii. is this: 'The ſinful woman waſheth Jeſus' feet.' In Pool's Engliſh Annotations it is this: 'Eating at Simon's houſe a woman waſheth his feet with tears,' &c. And in Dr. Clarke's Paraphraſe, the ſame paragraph is briefly expreſſed in this manner: 'Jeſus 'ſhows by the ſimilitude of a for-'given debtor, that repenting 'ſinners often exceed other men in 'zeal and piety.' I might refer to others. But theſe inſtances are ſufficient to ſhow, that not a few learned men have declined naming the woman there ſpoken of, and that they have not been ſatisfied, ſhe was the ſame with Mary Magdalene.

man,

man, if he were a prophet, would have known who, and what manner of woman this is that toucheth him. For ſhe is a ſinner.

Mr. Macknight, again, argues to the like purpoſe, p. 134. 'Mary Magdalene ſeems rather to have been a woman of 'high ſtation and opulent fortune, being mentioned by 'St. Luke even before Joanna, the wife of ſo great a man as 'Herod's ſteward. Beſides, the other evangeliſts, when they 'have occaſion to ſpeak of our Lord's female friends, com-'monly aſſign the firſt place to Mary Magdalene.' As Matt. xxvii. 56, 61. xxviii. 1. Mark xv. 40, 47. And ſee Luke xxiv. 10. But John xix. 25. affords an exception.

Grotius, in his Annotations upon Matt. xxviii. 1. ſpeaks to the like purpoſe.† He likewiſe thinks, it was at her expence, chiefly, that the ſpices were prepared for embalming the body of Jeſus.

To which I would add, that the precedence, juſt taken notice of, may have been, partly, owing to her age.

Secondly, In the text, which we are now conſidering, Mary Magdalene is mentioned with other women, *who had been healed of evil ſpirits and infirmities.* And of her is ſaid, *out of whom went ſeven devils.* Which is alſo obſerved by another evangeliſt, Mark xvi. 9. She therefore was one of thoſe, who are ſometimes called dæmoniacs, and had been poſſeſſed, as we generally ſay, by evil ſpirits.‖

Accordingly, Dr. Lardner, in his caſe of the dæmoniacs, mentioned in the New Teſtament, has ſeveral times taken notice of Mary Magdalene. At p. 104, 105, he ſays: 'What 'was Mary's caſe, appears in general by St. Luke's account. 'ch. viii. 1, 2. . . Here Mary is reckoned among thoſe, whom 'our Lord had healed of infirmities, and ſuch infirmities, as 'were aſcribed to evil ſpirits.'

'But I do not think, we can with certainty conclude from 'thoſe words, what was her particular affliction, becauſe the 'Jews in thoſe times imputed a great variety of diſtempers 'to the influence of dæmons. But though we dare not ſay 'poſitively, what was her caſe, whether a diſtempered frame

† *Maria Magdalene.*] Quam ut ducem agminis Matthæus nominat. Et credo ab eâ factos præcipue ſumptus. Sane cæteris nobilior fuiſſe videtur, quia nomen ejus aliis præponi ſolet. Grot. in Matt. xxviii. 1.

‖ Dr. Clarke's Paraphraſe of Luke viii. 2. is thus: 'particu-'larly, Mary Magdalene, whom 'he had miraculouſly delivered from 'evil ſpirits, that had poſſeſſed 'her.'

of

'of mind, or epilepsy, or somewhat else: it appears to me 'very evident, that some natural, not moral distemper, is 'hereby intended, and that by seven dæmons is meant many: 'a certain number being put for an uncertain. It was sup- 'posed, as in the case of the man, who called himself legion, 'that more than one dæmon, or unclean spirit, was concerned 'in inflicting, or aggravating the infirmity, which she had 'been afflicted with, and which our blessed Lord graciously 'removed.'

Thirdly, In this text Mary Magdalene is mentioned with divers other honourable women, who attended our Lord in his journies, and ministred to him of their substance. ‡

But it may be justly questioned, whether our Lord would have allowed of that, if Mary's conduct had been unreputable in the former part of her life. For though he received such an one as a penitent, and assured her of the forgiveness of her sins; it would not be easily reconciled with the rules of prudence to admit such a person to a stated attendance.

This argument has affected the minds of many learned men. ††

Nor can it be imagined, that any women of distinction and good credit would admit into their company one who had been under the reproach of a disorderly life. By St. Luke they are here enumerated after this manner. *Mary called Magdalene, Joanna the wife of Chuza Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others.* In St. Matthew xxvii. 55, 56. *And many women were there, beholding afar off, which followed Jesus from Galilee, ministring unto him: among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children.* Compare Mark xv. 40, 47. xvi. 1.

‡ Of that attendance Grotius speaks in this manner. 'More Judaico, ut recte notat Hieronymus, mulieres, viduæ præsertim, solebant Magistris necessaria suppeditare. Quod secuti sunt Apostoli inter Judæos, Paulus inter Gentes omisit, ne sinisterioris sermonis ansam præberet. Maluit autem Christus admittere hoc beneficium, quam cum Apostolorum comitatu gravis esse ignotis, ad quos adventabat. Grot. ad Luc. viii. 1.

†† Sed et de vita Magdalenæ ante acta nihil plane constat, nisi quod abludere a majestate Domini videatur, quod in comitatu suo mulierem ob impuritates suas infamem voluerit circumducere. . . . Neque consulit huic difficultati Nat. Alexander, quoad ansa omni scandalo per illustrem atque inter Judæos notam pœnitentiam præcisa fuerit. Nimis enim efferata erat Judæorum malitia, quam ut eapropter a conviciis cessaturi essent. Lampe in Joann. Evang. cap. xix. T. III. p. 608. Vid. et Basnag. Ann. 31. num. xlii.

Luke

Luke xxiv. 10. John xix. 25. All theſe muſt have been women of an unblemiſhed character. And ſo far was there from being any exception to Mary Magdalene, that ſhe is ſeveral times mentioned as the moſt honourable, and placed firſt of all.

Among them, whether ſhe be expreſsly named or not, was our Lord's mother. And undoubtedly an exact decorum was obſerved, according to the Jewiſh cuſtom.

Nor were they idle.* As Jerom ſays, they provided for our Lord's accommodation in his food and garments.* And, poſſibly, Mary Magdalene preſided in the direction of the affairs which were under their care.††

When they accompanied our Lord in any of his Journies, they may have followed at a diſtance, and in a ſeparate band. And, as may be well ſuppoſed, they had ſome female ſervants of their own.

The woman called *a ſinner*, was abſolutely excluded from having any part in that company. When ſhe came into the room where our Lord was, and gave proofs of repentance, he graciouſly and openly received her as a penitent. Having delivered the ſimilitude of two forgiven debtors, he addreſſed the phariſee, at whoſe houſe he was, in theſe words: *Wherefore, I ſay unto thee, her ſins, which are many, are forgiven*, Luke vii. 47. Afterwards, at ver 48. *And he ſaid unto her, thy ſins are forgiven.* Finally, at ver. 50. *And he ſaid to the woman, thy faith hath ſaved thee. Go in peace.* Nor could any unprejudiced men diſallow our Lord's ability to diſcern her real temper, and to pronounce a right ſentence, after he had ſhown to the phariſee himſelf, that he knew his inmoſt thoughts.

In all this our bleſſed Lord acted agreeably to his great deſign, which was to bring ſinful men to repentance. And he faithfully diſcharged the important commiſſion that had been given him, which was *to ſeek, and to ſave that which was loſt*, Matt. xviii. 11. Luke xix. 10.

* „... ſecutæ ſunt Jeſum non otioſæ, ſed facientes quæ mandebantur ab eo, et delectabant eum. Miniſtrantes enim ſequebantur eum. Ong. in Matt. Item. 35. num. 141. p. 929. T. III. ed. Bened.

* Conſuetudinis Judaicæ fuit, nec ducebatur in culpam, more gentis antiquo, ut mulieres de ſubſtantia ſua victum atque veſtitum præceptoribus miniſtrarent, &c. Hieron. in Matt. xxvii. tom. IV. p. 140. Bened.

†† Ουτω και αυτη αρχηγος των μαθητριων γενομενη. κ. λ. Modeſt. ap. Phot. Cod. 275. p. 1526.

But it cannot be reasonably supposed, that he would admit such a person into the number of his stated attendants. And I believe, that they who attentively observe our Lord's history, as recorded in the gospels, may perceive his life to have been an example of admirable wisdom and prudence, as well as of the strictest virtue, and the most generous goodness and compassion.

Let us now sum up the evidence, so far as we have gone. Mary of Magdala was a woman of distinction, and very easy in her worldly circumstances. For a while she had laboured under some bodily indisposition, which our Lord miraculously healed. For which benefit she was ever after very thankful. So far as we know, her conduct was always regular, and free from censure. And we may reasonably believe, that after her acquaintance with our Saviour it was edifying and exemplary. I conceive of her, as a woman of a fine understanding, and known virtue and discretion, with a dignity of behaviour becoming her age, her wisdom, and her high station. By all which she was a credit to him, whom she followed as her Master and benefactor. She showed our Lord great respect in his life, at his death, and after it. And she was one of those, to whom he first showed himself after his resurrection. As appears from Matt. xxviii. 1—10. Mark xvi. 9. and John xx. 1—18.

I am very unwilling to trouble you with the intricacies of criticism. But I fear, my argument will not be reckoned conclusive by all, unless I proceed a little farther, and take notice of some other things. For by some it has been supposed, that Mary, sister of Lazarus, was the same as Mary Magdalene. And by some it has been thought, that Mary, sister of Lazarus, is the same as the woman called *a sinner*.

First, Some have supposed, that Mary sister of Martha and Lazarus, was the same as Mary Magdalene. This is an assertion of Baronius,* who was confuted by Isaac Casaubon,† G. J. Vossius,‡ and others. Grotius‖ likewise has well argued against that opinion.

Indeed

* In primis dicimus, attestatione Joannis Evangelistæ, immo Christi, apertissime constare, unam eandemque personam fuisse Mariam Lazari et Marthæ sororem cum Maria Magdalena. Baron. Ann. 32. num. xix.

† Exercit. Antibar. xix. num. xi.

‡ Longius vero a janua, quod dicitur, videntur mihi aberrasse, qui arbitrantur, Mariam, a qua Dominus, priusquam pateretur, inunctus fuit, Mariam fuisse Magdalenam. . . . Hæc enim non eâ notâ ab aliis

Indeed I think it very manifeſt, that they are different perſons. For 1. Mary Magdalene was ſo called from a place ſituated in Galilee. Lazarus and his ſiſters were inhabitants of Bethany near Jeruſalem in Judea, properly ſo called. John xi. 1. and elſewhere. 2. Mary Magdalene is frequently named with other women, who attended our Lord in his journies, and came up with him from Galilee to Jeruſalem, at the times of the great feaſts as we have ſeen. But Lazarus and his ſiſters reſided at Bethany. Nor do we read of any attendance, which either of thoſe ſiſters gave our Lord, except at the place of their ordinary reſidence. St. Luke has recorded a viſit, which our Lord made there not improbably, as he was going up to the feaſt of the dedication, mentioned John x. 22. *And it came to paſs*, ſays St. Luke, *as they went, that he entered into a certain village. And a certain woman named Martha received him into her houſe. And ſhe had a ſiſter named Mary, which alſo ſat at Jeſus' feet, and heard his word.* And what there follows. Luke x. 38, 39. And St. John, ch. xi. giving an account of the ſickneſs, and death, and reſurrection of Lazarus, aſſures us, that both his ſiſters were at home at Bethany. Here likewiſe it was, that Mary anointed our Lord with precious ointment a ſhort time before his laſt ſufferings, as related John xii. at the beginning. 3. Mary Magdalene is particularly mentioned with others, whom our Lord had miraculouſly healed of infirmities: and out of her, as is ſaid, went ſeven dæmons. But nothing of this kind is ever ſaid, or hinted of Mary ſiſter of Lazarus.

Secondly, Some have ſuppoſed, Mary ſiſter of Martha and Lazarus, to be the ſame with the woman called *a ſinner*, of whom St. Luke ſpeaks in ch. vii.

For St. John writes, ch. xi. 1, 2. *Now a certain man was ſick named Lazarus of Bethany, the town of Mary and her ſiſter Martha.* * *It was that Mary which anointed the Lord with ointment, whoſe brother Lazarus was ſick.*

Here therefore we muſt again recollect what St. Luke ſays, ch. vii. 37, 38. *And behold, a woman in the city which was a ſinner, when ſhe knew that Jeſus ſat at meat in the phariſee's houſe, brought an alabaſter box of ointment, and ſtood at his feet behind him weeping. And ſhe began to waſh his feet with tears, and did*

aliis diſtinguitur Mariis, quod invenerit Dominum, ſed quod Dominus ex eâ ſeptem ejecerit dæmonia. G. J. Voſſ. Harm. Ev. l. 1. c. 3. § vii.

* Vid. Grot. in Matt. xxvi. 6.

wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment.

Hence, then, it may be argued, that St. John has told us the name of the woman that was *a sinner*, though St. Luke omitted it. She is Mary sister of Lazarus.

To which I would answer. 1. Mary, sister of Lazarus, was a woman of good character, without any note of infamy. St. Chrysostom, in a homily upon the beginning of the eleventh chapter of St. John's gospel, says: 'Some have put 'the question, whether this be the same with her that is called '*a sinner*. But without reason, he says, for* this was a 'virtuous woman of good credit.' And in a homily upon Matt. xxvi. 6, &c. he calls the sister of Lazarus, 'an‡ admirable woman.' 2. The anointing, mentioned by St. Luke, was done at Naim or Capernaum, or some other place in Galilee. But Mary, sister of Lazarus, as was before shown, dwelt at Bethany. 3. St. John here intends that anointing of our Lord, of which himself has given a particular relation in ch. xii. 1—8. Which therefore we must now observe. *Then Jesus six days before the passover came to Bethany, where Lazarus was, which had been dead. There they made him a supper, and Martha served. But Lazarus was one of them that sat at table. Then took Mary a pound of ointment of spikenard, very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair. And the house was filled with the odour of the ointment. Then said one of his disciples, Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, which should betray him: why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor? ... Then said Jesus: let her alone: against the day of my burying has she kept this. For the poor always ye have with you: but me ye have not always.*

That this is a different anointing from that mentioned by St. Luke, is manifest from divers particulars. They differ in the circumstances of time and place as just shown. Again, in the former it was Simon the pharisee, who took offence at our Lord's suffering himself to be touched by a woman that was a sinner. Here it is Judas, one of the disciples, who murmurs at the expence. And our Lord's vindications are quite different. To which might be added, that the woman, of whom

* Αυτη δε και σεμνη και σπεδαια. In Joan. hom. 62. al. 61. T. VIII. p. 368.

‡ Αλλ' ετερα τις θαυμασι, η τε λαζαρε αδελφη. In Matt. hom. 80. al. 81. T. VII. p. 765.

St.

St. Luke writes, ſtood behind our Lord *weeping, and waſhing his feet with tears.* But † St. John has not a word of Mary's ſhedding any tears, though he has twice ſaid, that *ſhe wiped his feet with her hair.* See ch. xi. 2. and xii. 3.

In Matt. xxvi. 6—13. and Mark xiv. 3—9. as is well known, is an account of our Saviour's being anointed by a certain woman a ſhort time before the paſſover. Some * learned interpreters think, that theſe are different hiſtories, and that our Lord was twice anointed in Bethany, in the ſpace of a few days: once by Mary ſiſter of Lazarus, as related by St. John, and a ſecond time by another woman not named, as related by thoſe two evangeliſts. Others ** think, that theſe three evangeliſts ſpeak of one and the ſame anointing. Which to me appears very right. But it is not needful, that I ſhould now ſtay to reconcile thoſe accounts.

I have aimed to ſhow, that Mary Magdalene is not the woman called *a ſinner*, of whom St. Luke writes, ch. vii. And I ſuppoſe, that moſt Proteſtant divines are of the ſame opinion. The learned Romaniſts have been divided. The grounds and reaſons of the controverſy among them may be ſeen in ſeveral.‡

Nevertheleſs the learned Benedictin editor of St. Chryſoſtom's works has expreſſed himſelf very freely concerning this point, in a note upon one of the homilies above cited. 'It is 'a difficult queſtion,' ſays he, 'whether the woman that was a 'ſinner, who waſhed Chriſt's feet, be the ſame as Mary, ſiſter

† Et quæ ſecundum Lucam eſt, plorat, et multum lachrymat, ut pedes Jeſu lachrymis lavet. Quæ autem ſecundum Joannem eſt Maria, neque peccatrix, neque lachrymans introducitur. Orig. in Matt. hom. 35. num. 77. p. 892. Vid. et Hieron. in Matt. xxvi. 7. T. IV. p. 125.

* Cleric. Harm. Evang. cap. lii. p. 350. 351. et cap. lix. p. 404, 405. See alſo Mr. Macknight's Harm. §. 109. p. 97, 98. and §. 124. p. 146.

** G. J. Voſſ. Harm. Ev. l. i. cap. 3. §. 7. Calvin in Joan. Ev. xii. 1. Lampe Comm. in Jo. T. II. p. 822. Bynæus de Morte Chriſti. l. i. cap. 3. num. v. &c. Lenfant ſur. Matt. xxvi. 6. et Jean. xii. 2. 3. Doddridge's Family Expoſitor. vol. II. p. 283. note (a). Hammond upon Luke vii. 37. Vid et Hieron. in Matt. xxvi. T. IV. p. 125. fin.

‡ See in Bayle's Dictionary J. Fevre, d' Etaples, or Faber Stapulenſis, particularly Note (E). They who have leiſure might alſo conſult Tillemont's chapter of S. Marie Madelaine, Mem. Tom. II. and the notes upon it, which are long, and contain a great deal of learning, relating to this ſubject.

'of Lazarus. But that Mary Magdalene is different from 'them, is now denied by very few.'†

Tillemont begins his article of Mary Magdalene with these words: 'It is an ancient question in the church, and upon 'which all are not yet entirely agreed, whether Mary Mag-'dalene be the same as Mary sister of Lazarus, and the woman 'that is said to be a sinner, or whether they are three different 'persons. The most illustrious churches of France, and 'almost all the learned men of our times, have declared 'for the distinction of these three persons. And it has been 'proved by reasons, which seem fully to decide the difficulty, if 'we will judge without prejudice.'

Du Pin, referring to Luke vii. says: 'It * is commonly 'thought, that this woman was Mary Magdalene. Never-'theless the evangelist, who relates this history, does not 'name her. All he says, is, that she was a woman in 'that city, known for her disorderly life. It is not at all 'probable, that she was Mary Magdalene, or Mary sister 'of Lazarus, who were women of quality, and good con-'dition.'

After this long argument, and so many good authorities, I may leave you to consider, whether they have not some good reason for their judgment, who dislike the denomination or inscription, taken notice of at the beginning of this letter. *A Magdalen house for penitent pr . . . tes.*

It appears to me a great abuse of the name of a truly honourable, and I think truly excellent woman. If Mary's shame had been manifest, and upon record, she could not have been worse stigmatized: whereas the disadvantageous opinion concerning the former part of her life is founded only in an uncertain and conjectural deduction. And if the notion, that she was the woman in Luke vii. be no more than a

† Grandis Quæstio, utrum Peccatrix illa, quæ Christi pedes abluit, eadem ipsa sit, quæ soror Lazari: quam tractare præsentis non est instituti. Mariam autem Magdalenam ab his diversam esse, pauci jam negant. Ap. Chryst. T. VII. p. 765.

* On croit communement, que cette femme étoit Marie Magdeleine. Cependant l' Evangeliste S. Luc, qui rapporte cette histoire, ne la nomme point. C' étoit une femme connuë dans la ville pour une femme de mauvaise vie. Il n' y a pas d' apparence, que ce fût ni Marie Magdeleine, ni Marie Soeur du Lazare, dont nous parlerons, qui étoient des femmes de qualité, et de bonne condition. Du Pin Histoire de l' Eglise en Abregé. Vol. i. p. 451.

vulgar

vulgar error, it ought to be abandoned by wiſe men, and not propagated, and perpetuated.* *

Beſides, are there no bad conſequences of a moral kind to be apprehended from this miſtaken, or at beſt very doubtful opinion? Some, perhaps, many, will be admitted into theſe houſes, who have lived very diſſolute lives, and have been very abandoned creatures. And the proofs of the repentance of ſome may be very ambiguous. Nevertheleſs all who get into houſes, called Magdalen houſes, will reckon themſelves Magdalens. If they have been firſt taught to impute to her their own vices, they will ſoon learn to aſcribe to themſelves her virtues, whether with reaſon or without. At the loweſt, they will be encouraged to magnify themſelves beyond what might be wiſhed; where humility, as we may think, ſhould be one requiſite qualification. And indeed I imagine, it

, Since writing what is above, and indeed the whole of this Letter, I have met with a book, entitled Thoughts on the Plan for a Magdalen Houſe for Repentant Proſtitutes, addreſſed to the promoters of this charity. Where, at p. 23. is this paragraph. 'Give me leave 'to take notice of the name of your 'charity. It does not appear to 'me, that Mary Magdalene was 'deficient in point of chaſtity, as 'is vulgarly underſtood. I rather 'imagine ſhe was not. It is cer'tain, ſhe was a lady of diſtinction, 'and of a great and noble mind. 'Her gratitude for the miraculous 'cure performed upon her was ſo 'remarkable, that her ſtory is re'lated with the greateſt honour. 'And ſhe will ever ſtand fair in the 'records of fame. Your charity 'requires a zeal like hers. You 'are her diſciples. And the dedi'cation of your inſtitution to her 'memory is entirely conſiſtent with 'the honour due to her character. 'And in this light no name more 'proper could be given to it.' Any one may be ſenſible, that the juſtice done to Mary Magdalene in the former part of this paragraph, is very pleaſing to me. But I do not perceive, how the title, pleaded for, can be conſiſtent with the honour due to her character. For it carries in it an implication, that ſhe once laboured under the like bad habits with the women placed under the roof of the houſes dedicated to her. Which houſes, with this title, will uphold the popular opinion againſt the beſt arguments. And Mary Magdalene rather than any other, muſt ſtill be the patroneſs of penitents, becauſe ſhe is ſuppoſed to have been for ſome while a great ſinner. An underſtanding man, like the author of theſe thoughts, may now and then declare in converſation, and in writing, that Mary Magdalene was not deficient in point of chaſtity: but to little or no purpoſe. Theſe houſes, ſo named, will be new monuments erected, in a proteſtant country, to the diſhonour of a virtuous woman, added to all others of the like kind, which there are already in popiſh countries. In which, eſpecially ſome of them, ignorance and ſuperſtition prevail to a great degree. And may they never ſo prevail, and be ſo general among us!

would be beſt, that theſe houſes ſhould not have the denomination of any ſaint at all.

It is not my intention to diſparage your inſtitution. I hope that many of your patients may be recovered to wiſdom and virtue: though I cannot ſee the reaſon why they ſhould be called Magdalens.

It may not be proper for me to recommend another inſcription: but I apprehend that a variety might be thought of, all of them decent and inoffenſive. I ſhall propoſe one, which is very plain: *A charity houſe for penitent women:* which, I think, ſufficiently indicates their fault; and yet is, at the ſame time, expreſſive of tenderneſs, by avoiding a word of offenſive ſound and meaning, denoting the loweſt diſgrace that human nature can fall into, and which few modeſt men and women can think of without pain and uneaſineſs. Or, if that title is not reckoned diſtinct and particular enough, with a ſmall alteration, it may be made, for penitent harlots.

Perhaps you will ſay, that this letter has been brought to you too late; and I could now almoſt wiſh you had had it ſooner, provided it contains any thing deſerving your regard: for theſe thoughts, or moſt of them, did early ariſe in my mind upon the firſt intelligence concerning this new deſign; but I declined the labour of putting them together. And I was alſo in hopes, that the point would be conſidered by ſome pious clergyman, or other learned man, apprehenſive of conſequences, and concerned for the honour of our Saviour, and his friends, as well as deſirous to promote the good of his neighbours, and other fellow-creatures of his own time.

Your humble Servant,

October 2, 1758.

A. B.

END OF THE LETTER TO HANWAY.

A LETTER

A

LETTER

UPON THE PERSONALITY OF THE SPIRIT,

Written in the Year 1762, to the Rev. Mr. CALEB FLEMING.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLXXVI.]

SIR,

You refer me to John xvi. 13. as a difficult text relating to the perſonality of the ſpirit. I muſt refer you to the letter written in 1730, p. 141, 145, and p. 148, 150.—At p. 141. that, and other texts are propoſed; and in the ſame place follow explications of thoſe texts ſufficient to remove all difficulties.

Chriſt's promiſe of the ſpirit, and all his expreſſions made uſe of about it, as recorded in St. John's goſpel, are explained in the Acts; where is the hiſtory of the accompliſhment of all theſe promiſes. The fulfilment plainly ſhows, that by the ſpirit, to be ſent, is meant an effuſion of ſpiritual gifts of power, knowledge and underſtanding.

Our Lord himſelf has explained it thus, John vii. 38. *He that believeth on me, out of his belly ſhall flow rivers of living water.* There is the plentiful effuſion of knowledge, &c. It follows, ver. 39. *But this he ſpake of the ſpirit, which they that believe on him ſhould receive: for the Holy Ghoſt was not yet* given, *becauſe Jeſus was not yet glorified.* Miraculous gifts are the ſpirit. That is what Chriſt promiſed when he ſpoke of the ſpirit. So Mark xvi. 17, 18. *And theſe ſigns ſhall follow them that believe. In my name ſhall they caſt out dæmons: they ſhall ſpeak with tongues: they ſhall take up ſerpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it ſhall not hurt them: they ſhall lay hands on the ſick, and they ſhall recover.* Theſe are the *living waters* promiſed John vii. 38. which at ver. 39. are ſaid to be the ſpirit.

Acts v. 32. is a remarkable text, and is explained in the above letter, p. 150. *And we are his witneſſes of theſe things; and ſo is alſo the Holy Ghoſt, whom God hath given to them that obey him:* that is, theſe are the miraculous gifts, which God has beſtowed upon us, and upon others, who believe in Jeſus, &c. Theſe miraculous

miraculous gifts, beſtowed upon believers, are the promiſed ſpirit; of which Chriſt told John xv. 26. *He ſhall teſtify of me.* John xvi. 12. *I have many things to ſay unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.* However, be eaſy, in a ſhort time you ſhall be ſo illuminated from above, as to know all thoſe things diſtinctly.

Ver. 13. *Howbeit, when the ſpirit of truth is come,* or when the divine miraculous powers and gifts, which are to teſtify to the truth of my miſſion and doctrine, are poured out upon you, *He will guide you into all truth.* You will be enabled to underſtand every thing relating to the inſtitution which God is ſetting up by me, &c. So we find, that gradually the apoſtles were able to ſpeak properly to Jews and Gentiles, as they were inſtructed in the right manner of receiving the Gentiles, of which they had no notion, whilſt Chriſt was with them, nor till after they were illuminated from above, after his aſcenſion.

It is certain, that the Holy Ghoſt is often mentioned as a gift, or power, plainly. Theſe texts may enable us to underſtand others, if we will exerciſe our reaſon. Dr. Ward ſays, p. 159, that the term, the *Holy Ghoſt*, often denotes a power, cannot be queſtioned; as where the apoſtles and other Chriſtians at that time, are ſaid to be filled with the Holy Ghoſt.

There are no wiſhes of peace from the ſpirit at the beginning or ending of the apoſtolical epiſtles; nor any where aſcriptions of glory to the ſpirit.

There are alſo other texts, leading us to think, that the apoſtles knew not of any divine perſon under the name ſpirit. If they had, he would have been mentioned by them. 1 Tim. v. 21. *I charge thee, before God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the elect angels.* Rev. i. 4, 5. *Grace from him, which is—— and from the ſeven ſpirits before the throne, and from Jeſus Chriſt.* Our Lord will *come in the glory of the Father, with the holy angels.* How could the holy ſpirit be omitted in all theſe places, if Jeſus and his apoſtles knew there was a divine ſpirit equal to the Father, or nearly ſo?

November 13, 1762.

Shall I add a few more thoughts upon the ſame ſubject?

By the Holy Ghoſt is plainly meant, in divers places, a power, a gift, an effuſion of ſpiritual gifts. John vii. 39. *For the Holy Ghoſt was not yet given.* So we tranſlate, ſupplying

plying the ſenſe. But the Greek is, *for the Holy Ghoſt was not yet:* and ſo the Latin vulgate, & Beza, *nondum erat ſpiritus ſanctus.* In Dr. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, vol. I. p. 420, are ſome curious obſervations upon that text. If by the Holy Ghoſt is to be underſtood a divine perſon, St. John would not ſay, that *he did not exiſt yet.* Read alſo Acts xix. 1—19. There are twelve Jewiſh people who know not that there *was any Holy Ghoſt.* The meaning is, they did not know that there was an effuſion of ſpiritual gifts, in which they could partake. St. Paul laid his hands upon them, and the *Holy Ghoſt came on them, and they ſpake with tongues and propheſied.* Compare Acts x. 45. and xi. 15—17.

Our Lord has told us what he meant by the *Comforter,* John xiv. 26. *but the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghoſt,* meaning the miraculous knowledge and underſtanding which they ſhould receive by inſpiration.

The blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt is blaſpheming the miraculous works which Chriſt did, or profeſſed to do, by the power or finger, or ſpirit of God. To aſcribe thoſe works to dæmons, or to Satan himſelf, was that blaſphemy.

John xvi. 14. *He ſhall receive of mine, and ſhall ſhow it unto you.* This relates to ſome things of which Chriſt had ſpoken but not fully, and which the diſciples did not yet underſtand; particularly the calling of the gentiles, and the manner of receiving them. Says Chriſt, John x. 16. *And other ſheep I have which are not of this fold, them alſo I muſt bring.* And he ſeveral times ſaid, that many ſhould come from the eaſt and the weſt—and the children of the kingdom be caſt out. Theſe things were explained afterwards to the diſciples by divers miraculous manifeſtations, as we ſee in the Acts, chap. x. and elſewhere. And gradually, by ſuch means, the diſciples were led into *all truth,* that is, every thing relating to the goſpel inſtitution.

November 22, 1762.

END OF THE LETTER TO C. FLEMING.

REMARKS

REMARKS

UPON THE LATE DR. WARD'S DISSERTATIONS UPON SEVERAL PASSAGES OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES.

Wherein are ſhown, beſide other things, that St. John computed the hours of the day after the Jewiſh manner: who are the Greeks, John xii. who the Grecians, Acts vi. The deſign of the apoſtolic decree, Acts xv. That there was but one ſort of Jewiſh proſelytes: wherein lay the fault of St. Peter, and how St. Paul may be vindicated.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLXII.]

INTRODUCTION.

DR. WARD'S intimate acquaintance with antiquity, and his uncommon ſkill in all parts of literature are well known. His ſincere piety and reſpect for the ſacred ſcriptures were as conſpicuous. And his diſſertations, though poſthumous, have been well received by the public. Nevertheleſs among many curious criticiſms, and juſt obſervations, there are ſome things, which appear to deſerve farther conſideration. I hope therefore, that my making remarks upon ſome places, where I heſitate, will not be reckoned inconſiſtent with the reſpect, which I long had, and ſtill have for the learned and pious author.

And I may take this opportunity to enlarge upon ſome articles, beyond what the deſign of making remarks would require.

CHAP. I.

Page 73. diſſ. xxi. 'The caſe of the dæmoniac, who reſided among the tombs on the coaſt of Gadara.'

As my remarks are to be made in the order of the diſſertations, I begin with this. Upon which I have received ſome obſervations in a letter from my much eſteemed friend, Mr. Thomas Mole, which I ſhall here tranſcribe.

'I have read the Diſſertations of Dr. Ward. Among 'which I find one upon the caſe of the dæmoniac, who reſided 'among the tombs on the coaſt of Gadara.

'This

'This affair of the poſſeſſions is an embarraſſment, which 'one would be glad fairly to get rid of. The interpretation, 'which repreſents them as mad, or otherwiſe grievouſly 'diſeaſed, ſeems to be the only method effectually to remove 'it. A great deal has been written to ſhow the probability of 'this explanation, and principally by yourſelf. Our late 'friend ſeems to have been very tenacious of the other ſenſe, 'and treats them as real poſſeſſions. He juſtly obſerves 'the impropriety of calling devils what in the evangeliſts 'is called dæmons; but does not, I think, ſo fairly, as one 'would deſire, argue in ſupport of their being poſſeſſions.

'The man,' he ſays, p. 75. 'is here deſcribed, as wholly un-'converſable, ſo fierce that no one dared come near him. 'This muſt have been at times only. For it is ſaid Mark 'v. 4. that *he had been often bound with fetters, and chains, and 'the chains had been plucked aſunder by him, and the fetters 'broken in pieces.* So that it is going farther than the text 'allows, to ſay of him, that none dared to come near him, 'during all the time, ſince he was firſt ſeized: as he evidently, 'I think, means. For he adds immediately: he had lived a 'long time in that condition.

'When it is added by St. Mark, ver. 4. *neither could any 'man tame him*, it ſeems to me, that there had been many 'trials of cure undertaken, and various methods uſed for that 'purpoſe, though without ſucceſs, eſpecially, if he was a man 'of any note in that [a] city. For εκ πολεως, *out of the city*, in St.

[a] *Eſpecially, if he was a man of note in that city.*] That appears to me a curious thought, and a valuable hint: which may lead us to conſider, whether there are not in this hiſtory ſome things, which may induce us to ſuppoſe, that the dæmoniac, to whom St. Mark and St. Luke confine their narration, was a man of ſome ſubſtance. And I think, there are ſeveral ſuch things. In St. Mark, v. 19. our Lord ſays: *Go home to thy friends.* Υπαγε εις τον οικον σε προς τους σους. Literally, *go to thy houſe, to thy own people*, meaning family, or friends. In Luke viii. 39. *return to thy own houſe.* Υποστρεφε εις τον οικον σε. Care had been taken of him, and there had been, as is manifeſt, divers attempts made to cure his diſorder, or to relieve and reſtrain him under it. And when the multitude from the city, and from the country round about, came to Jeſus, they ſaw the man ſitting, and clothed. Clothing therefore had been brought to him, and, probably, from his own houſe, in the adjacent city, and from his family. They knew where he was, though he had eſcaped from them; and upon the firſt intelligence concerning what had happened, they recollected the diſtreſs he muſt be in, for want of clothing: they therefore immediately ſent him apparel. And that they were his own garments, which he had

'St. Luke, muſt, I think, refer to the place of his habitation, 'while he was ſane, rather than when thus diſordered, and 'from which he came, when he met Jeſus. And the word, 'δαμαζω, here uſed, and in St. James iii. 7. of *taming wild beaſts*, 'and the *tongues of men*, ſeems not improperly to expreſs the 'cure of madneſs, and perhaps more properly than the diſ-'poſſeſſion of dæmons. It might deſerve our inquiry, whe-'ther it is never ſo uſed by the ancients in treating of mania-'cal caſes.

'It appears farther probable to me, that this man had his 'madneſs by fits, or at certain ſeaſons, with intervals of ſanity 'between them: and that when his fits were obſerved to be 'coming on, he was bound by his friends (with whom he 'might poſſibly have lived in thoſe intervals) to prevent his 'doing harm to himſelf, or others, and have him more under 'command. Does not St. Luke ſay, or mean this? viii. 29. '*For oftentimes*, πολλοις χρονοις, *it had caught him, and he was kept* 'φυλασσομενος, *bound with chains and fetters. And he brake the* '*bands, and was driven of the devil into the wilderneſs.* St. 'Mark ſays, he had been *often bound*, πολλάκις. St. Matthew 'viii. 28. aſcribes to him this exceeding fierceneſs only, when 'coming out of the tombs to them.

'Hence I would farther obſerve, that we are under no ne-'ceſſity of allowing what we find aſſerted, that he had lived 'a long time in this condition; and therefore was neither 'capable, nor had any opportunity of knowing any thing 'concerning Chriſt, or his character. For though he had 'been ever ſo long a time diſordered: if there had been any 'intervals (and the longer had been the time, it is likely there 'had been the more:) might he not in ſome one or other of 'thoſe intervals, have acquired ſome knowledge of the cha-'racter, and even of the perſon of Chriſt? And hence, in 'his fits, eſpecially, when Chriſt appeared in his ſight, diſ-

had been uſed to wear when compoſed, or at leaſt ſuch, in which he could make a decent appearance, may be collected from his requeſt to be with Jeſus, and accompany him. This circumſtance may be one reaſon, why St. Mark and St. Luke give an account of this one dæmoniac only, though there were two, as St. Matthew ſays. Finally, his being a perſon of good condition in the city where he dwelt, might render him better qualified to ſpeak of this great work. Any man, however mean, deſerved to be attended to, when he ſpoke of a miracle wrought upon himſelf, of which divers others were witneſſes: but a man of ſubſtance, and a reputable inhabitant of the place, might do it to better advantage.

'courſe

'courſe and behave to him as he did: only allowing for what 'his diſorder made him mingle therewith.

'What is farther ſaid p. 76. concerning the inhabitants of 'the neighbouring town, that they do not ſeem to have known 'more of Chriſt, than this man, is with me alike void of 'probability. For Chriſt had been teaching the doctrine of 'the kingdom, and working miracles a conſiderable time, 'and had taken up his reſidence at Capernaum: in which, 'and in the neighbourhood thereof, he lived a good while. 'Is it credible, that all this could have been, and St. Matthew 'iv. 24. (as is by our late friend obſerved, p. 78.) had ſaid 'before, *that his fame went throughout all Syria?* And yet the 'people of this town, not above perhaps ſeven or eight miles 'diſtant, and to which a boat might paſs in a night's time 'from Capernaum, had never heard and knew nothing of 'him? What! ſpread over all Syria, and never reached a 'place within a few miles of him? I allow, it is a general 'expreſſion, and muſt admit of limitation. But I can ſee no 'other ground for excepting this place, than the ſerving an 'hypotheſis.

'Nor does the inſtance adduced, p. 79. from Mark i. 21. '&c. prove any thing, as I think, to the purpoſe, for which 'it is brought. For though that was ſomething earlier in the 'miniſtry of Chriſt than this, and he might be then leſs 'known; yet he had been long enough known there for that 'perſon to have heard of him. For Mark i. 15. he had begun 'to preach the goſpel of the kingdom of God, ſaying, *The 'time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, 'and believe the goſpel:* and walking by the ſea of Galilee, he 'had called firſt Simon and Andrew, and afterwards James, 'and John his brother, ver. 16—20. and I ſuppoſe, had 'wrought ſome miracles. It is not impoſſible, but the perſon 'who was cured in the ſynagogue of Capernaum, being left 'at his liberty, and allowed to enter there, might have heard 'of what Chriſt had done in his way thither: and heard, or 'heard of, what he had preached after he came thither. And 'in St. Luke iv. 31—37. it ſhould ſeem, that this perſon 'was cured, not upon Chriſt's firſt coming to Capernaum. 'Which enlargeth the time, that this man had to come to the 'knowledge of him.

'There is no neceſſity therefore to ſuppoſe, that theſe 'perſons could have no knowledge of Chriſt, and that it muſt 'not be they, but the devils only in them, who knew him.

'The

'The arguing, p. 82, from the mention made of *caſting out 'devils*, after raiſing the dead, in the commiſſion given by 'Chriſt to his diſciples, Matt. x. 8. when he ſent them forth, 'is, I think, of no force. For there may be no neceſſity of 'ſuppoſing the expreſſion to riſe higher than the other, from 'its being placed after it; as appears from other texts. 'Luke ix. 1, 2. *Then he called his twelve diſciples together, and 'gave them power and authority over all devils, and to cure 'diſeaſes. And he ſent them to preach the kingdom of God, and to 'heal the ſick.* And Matt. x. 1. *And when he had called unto 'him the twelve diſciples, he gave them power againſt unclean 'ſpirits, to caſt them out, and to heal all manner of ſickneſs, and 'all manner of diſeaſe.* See alſo Matt. iv. 24. It may likewiſe 'be obſerved, that if the expreſſion of *caſting out devils* be 'ſuppoſed to refer to real poſſeſſions; it is not an expreſſion of 'greater power, than that of raiſing the dead. Nor does 'the fact carry in it a greater degree of evidence and con-'viction: becauſe there is not equal evidence to be had 'that a perſon is really poſſeſſed, as there is of a perſon's 'being really dead. And therefore it may be as well placed 'after the raiſing the dead, if it be interpreted of perſons mad, 'as if it be underſtood of perſons poſſeſſed.

'May not the term σωφρονουντα Mark v. 15. Luke viii. 35. '*in his right mind*, by which this perſon is repreſented after his 'cure, as it is uſed both by ſacred and profane writers in 'oppoſition to madneſs, afford ſome countenance to this 'interpretation?'

So far my good friend.

One of my arguments againſt real poſſeſſions [b] was taken 'from the manner, in which the perſons, ſaid to have *unclean 'ſpirits*, ſpeak of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

'For ſuch perſons did often bear an honourable teſtimony 'to our Lord. So Mark i. 24. Luke iv. 41. But it is in-'credible, that Satan, or any other evil ſpirits, under his in-'fluence and direction, ſhould freely and cheerfully bear wit-'neſs to our Lord, as the Chriſt.

'Indeed, this appears to me a very forcible argument. I 'have been ſometimes apt to think, that this conſideration 'has been overlooked by learned and pious men, who have 'ſo readily admitted real poſſeſſions.'

[b] See vol. I. p. 463.

So I ſaid. But Dr. Ward is not at all moved by that conſideration. He even thinks the teſtimony of dæmons to our Lord, to have been of ſome value, and of uſe, eſpecially for encouraging the diſciples.

Diſſ. p. 81. 'And as to the caſe of theſe dæmoniacs among 'the Gergeſenes, there ſeems to have been the greateſt pro-'priety at that time, not only for his permitting the devils to 'confeſs him to be the Son of God, but likewiſe to worſhip 'him. For it does not appear, that any other perſons were 'then preſent, but Chriſt himſelf, and his diſciples, except the 'dæmoniacs. And this was not long before he ſent forth his 'diſciples both to preach, and alſo *to heal the ſick, . . to raiſe 'the dead, and caſt out devils*, Mat. x. 7, 8. Therefore what 'could be more proper, or give them higher encouragement 'to hope for ſucceſs in their work, than to ſee the devils thus 'ſubject to their maſter, and paying homage to him.'

But, firſt, it is not at all likely, that our Lord ſhould accept the teſtimony of dæmons in private, if he did not receive it in public. How he checked, and diſallowed the confeſſions of perſons under theſe diſorders, may be ſeen Mark i. 23—26. and Luke iv. 33—35. Dr. W. ſuppoſeth that there was great propriety in permitting ſuch confeſſions, when few were preſent. But I am not able to diſcern that propriety.

Secondly, there were others then preſent with our Lord, beſide the diſciples, and the dæmoniacs. For St. Matthew ſays viii. 28. *And when he was come to the other ſide into the country of the Gergeſenes, there met him two poſſeſſed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce.* St. Mark v. 1, 2. *And they came over unto the other ſide of the ſea. . . And when he was come out of the ſhip, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean ſpirit.* Luke viii. 27. *And when he went forth to land, there met him out of the city a certain man, which had devils long time, and wore no clothes.*

The place of the preſent abode of theſe dæmoniacs was on the ſea coaſt. When they ſaw our Saviour and the diſciples come on ſhore, they immediately came toward them. Nor can there be any doubt made, that the ſailors alſo, in whoſe ſhip our Saviour and his diſciples had arrived, came aſhore with them, or preſently after. The appearance of ſuch objects could not but excite their curioſity. Moreover, in the voyage from the other ſide there had happened a great ſtorm, which our Lord compoſed by his word. And the men of the ſhip, as well as the diſciples, *marvelled greatly*, or were exceedingly ſurpriſed,

ſurpriſed, *ſaying: what manner of man is this, that even the winds and the ſea obey him!* Matt. viii. 27. Nor were theſe men now firſt acquainted with our Lord. Before this they had heard him preach, and might have ſeen ſome other miracles done by him. Beſides, as we are aſſured by St. Mark, upon our Lord's ſaying in the evening, *Let us paſs over to the other ſide*, he not only ſet out himſelf in the ſhip, where he had been preaching: but *there were alſo ſeveral other little ſhips*, filled, it is likely with men, who had attended on his diſcourſes in the day-time. Theſe knew, he was going to *the other ſide* of the lake: and would be there, as ſoon as he, or before. In ſhort, our Lord was now, as it were, in the height of his miniſtry. And we know from the evangeliſts, that before this time, he was followed with uncommon zeal by multitudes wherever he went, even into deſert places. As is ſhown Mark i. 45. and Luke iv. 42, 43. So that before this man, or theſe men, worſhipped our Lord, or acknowledged him to be the Son of God, many people muſt have been gathered together.

P. 75. For proving, that this unhappy perſon was not barely diſtracted, our author ſays: 'Beſides, it is plain, that he could 'not be appriſed of his coming at that time, for the ſhip 'ſailed over from the other ſide in the night. And ſo ſoon as 'Chriſt came aſhore, and the man ſaw him at a diſtance, he ran 'to him, and worſhipped him.'

But there is not ſufficient preciſion in that propoſition. Two things are joined together, which ought to be ſeparated. When our Lord, and his diſciples, (let me now add) and other people, landed, he came toward them. And from the reſpect ſhown to our Lord by the diſciples, and by all the company, he diſcerned him to be the principal perſon. But he did not worſhip our Lord, nor confeſs him to be the Chriſt, until after ſome diſcourſe, as appears from the hiſtory.

Matt. viii. 28, 29. already cited. *And when he was come to the other ſide, into the country of the Gergeſenes, there met him two poſſeſſed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce... And, behold, they cried out, ſaying: what have we to do with thee, Jeſus, thou Son of God?*

But let us compare the other evangeliſts. Mark v. 2. *And when he was come out of the ſhip, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean ſpirit....* Ver. 6—8. *But when he ſaw Jeſus afar off, he ran, and worſhipped him. And cried with a loud voice, and ſaid: what have I to do with thee, Jeſus, thou Son of God? I adjure thee, that thou torment*

me not. For he had ſaid unto him: come out of him thou unclean ſpirit.

And Luke viii. 27—29. *And when he went forth to land, there met him out of the city a certain man which had devils long time. . . . When he ſaw Jeſus, he cried out, and fell down before him, and with a loud voice ſaid, what have I to do with thee, Jeſus, thou Son of God Moſt High. I beſeech thee, torment me not. For he had commanded the unclean ſpirit to come out of the man,*

According to all the evangeliſts therefore, this dæmoniac, or theſe two dæmoniacs, acknowledged Jeſus to be the Son of God. But from St. Mark and St. Luke it appears, that this was not done until after our Lord had ſome diſcourſe with him. From this diſcourſe, and from the general intelligence which he had before received concerning Jeſus, in the intervals of his diſorder, he was enabled and diſpoſed to ſpeak of him as he did.

St. Mark alone expreſsly ſays, that the man, of whom he ſpeaks, *worſhipped* Chriſt. But the ſame thing is ſaid by St. Luke in another phraſe, *he fell down before him.* And it is implied in what is atteſted by all the evangeliſts, that he acknowledged Jeſus to be the Son of God. So, in the hiſtory of the man born blind, whom our Lord had healed. John ix. 35—38. *Jeſus heard that they had caſt him out. And when he had found him, he ſaid, doſt thou believe on the Son of God? He anſwered, and ſaid, who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him? And Jeſus ſaid unto him, thou haſt both ſeen him, and it is he that talketh with thee. And he ſaid, Lord, I believe. And he worſhipped him.* So, likewiſe, after our Lord's aſcenſion. Matt. xxviii. 17. *And when they ſaw him, they worſhipped him.*

I have no intention to add any new arguments concerning the caſe of the dæmoniacs, mentioned in the New Teſtament. I rely upon thoſe which were formerly alleged. And let every one judge as he ſees beſt. But I would take this opportunity to propoſe ſome obſervations upon the hiſtory of the cure of the two unhappy men in the country of the Gadarenes, which have not been yet mentioned.

In accounting for the loſs of the ſwine ſeveral things are ſaid at p. 474, vol. I. The diſtraction, under which the man called Legion had laboured, was very grievous. He was a hideous form, and his action was very violent. When he had conceived the thought of gratifying the evil ſpirits, by which he imagined himſelf to be poſſeſſed, with the deſtruction of the

the ſwine, he would without much difficulty drive them off the precipice. If ſome few of them were put in motion, the whole herd would follow.

I would now ſay more diſtinctly, that the loſs of the ſwine was occaſioned by a fright. When our bleſſed Lord ſaid, *go*, as in St. Matthew: or *he gave them leave*, or *he ſuffered them*, as in the other evangeliſts: I think, that one or both the dæmoniacs went haſtily toward the ſwine; and by ſome noiſe, or action, a few of them were affrighted; which fright was immediately communicated to the reſt, whereupon the whole herd went off with great violence: and the way being ſteep, and leading to the lake, they all periſhed in the water. This is eaſy to be apprehended.

There are very few who have not been witneſſes to ſomething like this in the horſe; who takes fright at very ſlight things, one knows not what ſometimes: though at other times from manifeſt cauſes. Whenever it happens, he runs away, with great violence, to his own perdition, and the great hazard, and oftentimes to the great detriment of others:[c] and, if there are ſeveral together, the whole ſet, or team, becomes ungovernable. This is certain, and well known to almoſt every body.

I have alſo obſerved in our fields near London, where have been many horſes grazing, if one is frightened, all the reſt are alarmed. The ſame is ſeen in our fields, where are large herds of horned cattle. If one is diſturbed by the barking of a dog, or the ſport of idle boys, or any other odd occurrence; all the reſt, to the utmoſt bounds of the encloſure, are alarmed and put in motion. The ſame is likewiſe well known of flocks of ſheep, and flocks of geeſe, and ſparrows. If one of the flock take fright, all the reſt haſten away in the ſame direction. I believe this to be true of all animals that are gregarious; as were theſe ſwine, a large herd, feeding by each other. If one or two of them took fright, and tended

[c] 'On Monday [May 7.] as J— H— Eſq. was coming to town from his houſe at Carſhalton in Surrey, in his poſt-chaiſe, the horſes took fright, juſt by Newington church, and ran with ſuch violence againſt a waggon, paſſing through the turnpike, that one of the horſes was killed on the ſpot, and the other ſo much bruiſed, that he died in an hour afterwards, and the chaiſe was almoſt torn to pieces, But happily the gentleman received no hurt, and the driver was but ſlightly bruiſed.' The General Evening Poſt. Thurſday May 10, 1759.

toward the lake; all the reſt, without exception, would go off the ſame way with the utmoſt precipitation.

By all the three evangeliſts we are aſſured, that after the loſs of the ſwine, and the cure of the dæmoniacs, the Gadarenes beſought our Lord *that he would depart out of their coaſts.* This I have twice, that is, at p. 438, and p. 443, vol. I. aſcribed to the carnal temper of theſe people: that being apprehenſive of ſuffering in their worldly intereſts, inſtead of entreating Jeſus to ſtay with them, a while at leaſt, they joined together with much unanimity, in beſeeching him to depart out of their coaſts.

Nor do I now ſay, that a ſenſual temper of mind had no influence on them, for producing that requeſt. Nevertheleſs, perhaps, that alone was not the whole cauſe. I therefore would add as follows.

It is obſervable from divers inſtances in the Old Teſtament, that ſpecial and extraordinary manifeſtations of the Divine Preſence were generally awful and affecting to the men, to whom they were made, though the meſſage was gracious. I refer not only to Ex. xx. 19. but alſo to ch. xxxiv. 30. and Judg. vi. 22. and xiii. 22. See likewiſe Ex. xxxiii. 20.

There are like inſtances in the New Teſtament. How comfortable the tidings! Luke ii. 8—15. Yet it is ſaid of the ſhepherds, ver. 9. *and they were ſore afraid.* And Luke v. 8—10. *When Simon Peter ſaw it, he fell down at Jeſus' knees, ſaying, depart from me, for I am a ſinful man, O Lord. For he was aſtoniſhed, and all that were with him, at the draught of the fiſhes, which they had taken. And ſo were alſo James and John, the ſons of Zebedee.... And Jeſus ſaid unto Simon: fear not, henceforth thou ſhalt catch men.* Upon another occaſion, Mark iv. 41. *And they feared exceedingly, and ſaid one to another: what manner of man is this, that even the wind and the ſea obey him!* Compare Luke viii. 25. And on the mount. Matt. xvii. 6, 7. *And when the diſciples heard it they fell on their face, and were ſore afraid.* Compare Mark ix. 6. and Luke ix. 34.

Let us now obſerve what is ſaid of the Gadarenes. Mark, v. 15. *And they* (meaning the people of the neighbouring town and country) *come to Jeſus, and ſee him that was poſſeſſed with the devil, and had the legion, ſitting and clothed, and in his right mind: and they were afraid.* To the like purpoſe exactly in Luke viii. 35. And at ver. 37. it is ſaid: *Then the whole multi-*

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tude of the country of the Gadarenes round about beſought him to depart from them; for they were taken with great fear.

If Peter deſired our Lord *to depart from him, becauſe he was a ſinful man:* if he, and the reſt, were at other times ſo aſtoniſhed that they knew not what to ſay, nor what to think of themſelves: though all the great works, which they had ſeen performed by him, were healing and beneficial: well might the people of this country be ſtruck with awe at the ſight of the man called legion, *ſitting, and clothed, and in his right mind.* For it was a work of Divine Power, and a token of the Divine Preſence. And, very probably, they thought themſelves unqualified for the reſidence of ſo great and holy a perſon among them.

At their requeſt our Lord departed, and took ſhip, and returned to the place whence he had come: well knowing, that many there were in earneſt expectation of him.

But though our Lord himſelf ſtaid no longer with the Gadarenes, he left there the man, whom he had cured. *He prayed, that he might be with him. However Jeſus ſuffered him not. But ſaith unto him: go home to thy friends, and tell them, how great things the Lord hath done for thee. And he departed, and began to publiſh in Decapolis, how great things Jeſus had done for him. And all men did marvel.* And it is not an unreaſonable, nor an improbable ſuppoſition, that ſome of that country did afterwards come over into Galilee or Judea, to ſee Jeſus, that they might receive benefit from his great wiſdom, or great power.

CHAP. II.

Page 106. Diſſ. xxviii. 'Who thoſe Greeks were, who deſired to ſee Jeſus? And whether they were admitted?' John xii. 20, 21.

Dr. Ward well obſerves at p. 107. 'The greater part 'of Syria was in our Saviour's time called Greece by the Jews. 'Hence, when he was in the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and 'a woman beſought him to caſt the evil ſpirit out of her 'daughter, ſhe is called *a Greek, a Syrophenitian by nation,* 'Mark vii. 26. And theſe Greeks, who were deſirous to ſee 'Jeſus, were, probably, of the ſame nation, and known to 'Philip, who is here ſaid to have been of Bethſaida of Galilee.'

The ſame obſervation is in Grotius [a] upon this text. And I had occaſion ſome while ago, in conſidering another text, to ſay: 'It [b] was common with all authors about that time, 'to call the people, who inhabited the cities of Aſia, and 'Syria, Greeks.'

Our author ſays, p. 107. 'They ſeem to have been 'proſelytes, as they are reckoned among thoſe, *who came up to* '*Jeruſalem to worſhip at the feaſts.*'

Which expreſſion is ambiguous. For, as many learned men of our time ſay, there were two ſorts of proſelytes, ſome called proſelytes of the gate, others proſelytes of righteouſneſs; Dr. W... may mean the former, as do Whitby and Hammond. I know nothing of that ſort of half-proſelytes. I think, [c] there were not any ſuch men in any part of the world, in the times of our Saviour and his apoſtles.

That theſe men were not proſelytes, or men circumciſed after the manner of the Jews, appears to me very probable. For all proſelytes were entitled to the ſame religious privileges with native Jews, or the deſcendants of Abraham and Jacob. Such therefore, as it ſeems, might have had free acceſs to Chriſt at the temple. The modeſty of theſe perſons may make us think of the centurion, who, when he entreated our Lord to heal his ſick ſervant, that was dear to him, and our Lord was going toward his houſe with ſome elders of the Jews, who alſo joined in the ſame requeſt; *he ſent friends unto him, ſaying*, not only, *that he was not worthy that Jeſus ſhould enter under his roof:* but likewiſe, *that neither thought he himſelf worthy to come unto him*, Luke vii. 1—8. Moreover Philip himſelf ſeems to have heſitated about the propriety of the requeſt of theſe perſons. For he alſo conſulted Andrew, before he made the propoſal to our Lord. So is the hiſtory. *And there were certain Greeks among them, who came up to worſhip at the feaſt. The ſame came to Philip, who was of Bethſaida in Galilee, and deſired him, ſaying: Sir, we would ſee Jeſus. Philip cometh, and telleth Andrew. And again, Andrew and Philip told Jeſus.*

[a] Videntur autem hi Gentiles fuiſſe Syrophœnices. Nam alibi notavimus, Marci vii. 26. Ελληνιδα vocari, quæ aliis eſt Syrophœniſta. Et his ob vicinitatem facilior notitia cum Galilæis Bethſaidenſibus, quod illi forte in partes Tyri et Sidonis excurrebant. Grot. ad Joh. xii. 20.

[b] See vol. VI. ch. xi. § 7. note ††.

[c] Ib. ch. xviii. § 11.

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Their requeſt to ſee Jeſus, I imagine, implied a deſire to have acceſs to his perſon, and to have ſome converſation with him. Which requeſt, I think, was granted. Suppoſing theſe men to have been uncircumciſed gentiles, it was a favour, and a condeſcenſion, according to the Jewiſh maxims. But the woman, who was of the ſame country, and is alſo called a Greek, came near to our Lord, and ſpoke to him ſeveral times, and he to her, and at length very comfortably, and healed her daughter. Matt. xv. 21—28. Mark vii. If our Lord yielded ſo far to the importunity of that woman, why might he not alſo grant the requeſt of theſe Greeks, though gentiles. It is manifeſt, that ſhe was no better. For our Lord ſaid to her: *Let the children firſt be filled. It is not meet to take the children's bread, and caſt it unto the dogs.*

The ſequel of the hiſtory confirms this ſuppoſition. In the hearing of theſe perſons, or ſoon after they were gone, our Lord made uſe of theſe expreſſions. Ver. 23. *And Jeſus anſwered them, ſaying: the hour is come, that the ſon of man ſhall be glorified*, that is, by the faith of the gentiles, though many of the Jewiſh people rejected him. And afterwards, as ver. 32. *And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.* The coming of theſe perſons therefore was very acceptable to our Lord. And he thereupon pleaſeth himſelf with the proſpect of the ſpeedy and extenſive progreſs of his doctrine. So after the profeſſion made by the forementioned centurion, of faith in our Lord's power to heal his ſervant at a diſtance, *He ſaid to them that followed: I have not found ſo great faith, no not in Iſrael. And I ſay unto you, that many ſhall come from the eaſt and weſt, and ſit down with Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven*, and what there follows. Matt. viii. 10—12.

That the Greeks here ſpoken of were gentiles, was the opinion of the ancient writers of the church, as [d] Epiphanius, [e] Chryſoſtom, [f] Theophylact, [g] Theodore of Mopſueſtia, [h] Jerom and others: who never were perplexed with the notion of two ſorts of proſelytes, which has gained ſo much credit among learned Chriſtians of late times.

[d] Haer. 30. num. xxvii.
[e] In Joh. hom. 66. al. 65. n. 3. p. 390. tom. VIII.
[f] In loc.
[g] Apud Cotelerii Caten. Patr. in Jo. p. 309.
[h] Ad Ruſin. T. II. p. 217. al. ep. 131.

And

And we are likewiſe aſſured by Joſephus, that [1] gentiles, or ſuch as were aliens, were wont to come to Jeruſalem, to worſhip there at the time of the Jewiſh feſtivals. Though uncircumciſed men might not eat the paſſover, nor offer ſacrifices at the temple, they might pray there. And when our Lord cleanſed the temple, and drove the buyers and ſellers, with their merchandiſe, from the outer court, he reminded them that it was *written, that God's houſe ſhould be called an houſe of prayer for all people.* Iſ. lvi. 7. Matt. xxi. 13. Mark xi. 17. Luke xix. 46.

CHAP. III.

PAGE 125. Diſſ. xxxii. 'How to reconcile St. John's account 'concerning the time of our Saviour's crucifixion with that of 'the three other evangeliſts.'

St. John writes, ch. xix. 13, 14. *When Pilate therefore heard that ſaying, he brought Jeſus forth, and ſat in the judgment-ſeat.... And it was the preparation of the paſſover, and about the ſixth hour. And he ſaith unto the Jews: behold your King.* St. Mark ſays, xv. 25. *And it was the third hour, and they crucified him.*

For reconciling theſe accounts our learned author ſays, p. 127, 128. 'And about ſix in the morning Pilate brought 'him forth to the Jews, and ſaid: *Behold your king.* This is 'the time which John refers to, and calls the *ſixth hour*, that 'is, of the civil day. The three following hours were em-'ployed in preparing for his crucifixion, and that of the two 'robbers, and carrying them to the place without the city. 'At the concluſion of thoſe three hours he was crucified. 'Which Mark calls the *third hour*, that is, of the natural day. 'And by the ſame reckoning muſt be underſtood the *ſixth* '*hour*, at which the darkneſs commenced: and alſo the *ninth* '*hour*, when he expired: as related by all the evangeliſts, 'except John: who has uſed the Roman way of reckoning in 'ſome other places alſo, as ch. i. 39. iv. 6, and xx. 19. And 'it is not improbable, that he writing ſo late might chooſe that 'way of reckoning the hours of the day, which was cuſtomary

[1] αλλ' ωδε τοις αλλοφυλοις, οσοι κατα θρησκειαν παρησαν. De B. J. l. 6. cap. ix. 3.

'among

'among the Romans: as the others had followed that, which 'was practiſed by the Jews.'

To me it ſeems, that St. John reckons the hours of the day as the other evangeliſts do, according to the cuſtom of the Jews. Nor do I comprehend, how any hiſtorian could write intelligibly of tranſactions in Judea, without obſerving the Jewiſh cuſtom, unleſs he gives particular notice of it.

In the hiſtory of the nobleman of Capernaum, who came to Jeſus, *beſeeching him to come down, and heal his ſon*, it is ſaid, John iv. 51, 52. *And as he was now going down, his ſervants met him, and told him, ſaying, thy ſon liveth. Then inquired he of them the hour when he began to amend: and they ſaid unto him, yeſterday, about the ſeventh hour the fever left him.* Theſe perſons muſt be ſuppoſed to ſpeak according to the ordinary cuſtom of the country in which they lived. And by the *ſeventh hour* muſt be meant about one of the clock afternoon, according to our computation.

And in ch. xi. 9. our Saviour himſelf ſays, very agreeably to the Jewiſh manner, *Are there not twelve hours in the day?* But I do not inſiſt upon this as deciſive, becauſe the Romans, and others, might expreſs themſelves in the like manner, meaning the natural day.

John iv. 5, 6. *Then cometh Jeſus unto a city called Sychar: ... now Jacob's well was there: Jeſus therefore being wearied with his journey ſat thus on the well. And it was about the ſixth hour*, that is, ſays Whitby, 'about noon.' So it is generally [a] underſtood, and very rightly, as I apprehend.

So ſays [b] Cyril of Alexandria, not very far below the beginning of the fifth century, in his comment upon this text; whom I tranſcribe in the margin. And in like manner Iſaac, ſurnamed the Great, who flouriſhed about the middle of the ſame century. Among his works Dr. Aſſeman reckons five ſermons concerning the Samaritan woman. The firſt of which

[a] Vid. ſupr. cap. i. 39. Cauſam ſitis oſtendit, quia et multum itineris fecerat, et jam erat meridies. Grot. in ver 6.

Quia, inquit, laſſus erat de via, et inſtabat meridies, maximus videlicet diei æſtus. Bez. in loc.

[b] Ευαφορμως επι τη πηγη καταλυοντα δεικνυει τον Ιησουν. Ηλιω γαρ ακμαιοτατην απο μεσων αψιδων τοις επι της γης την ακτινα καταχεοντος, και ακρατοις τα σωματα καταφλεγοντος βολαις, το μεν ετι προσω βαδιζειν ουκ αξημιουν. κ. λ. Cyr. H. in Joan T. IV. p. 179.

begins

begins in this manner:[c] 'At the ſixth hour, when the day was grown hot, our Saviour came to the well.'

I think this muſt be right. For I do not ſee how thoſe ancient writers, who lived not very remote from Judea, could be miſtaken.

Joſephus dwelt at Rome, and wrote after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. Nevertheleſs he alſo computes the hours in the ſame way. Giving an account of an aſſembly at Taricheas in Galilee, in a proſeucha, or oratory; he ſays, 'There[d] certainly would have been a great diſturbance, if 'the aſſembly had not been diſſolved by the approach of the 'ſixth hour, at which time we are wont to go to dinner on 'the ſabbaths.' And he aſſures us, 'That[e] the prieſts at the 'temple were employed in killing paſchal lambs from the 'ninth hour to the eleventh.'

John i. 35—39. *Again, the next day after John ſtood, and two of his diſciples. And looking upon Jeſus, as he walked, he ſaith, Behold the lamb of God. And the two diſciples heard him ſpeak, and they followed Jeſus.... And they ſaid to him: Rabbi, where dwelleſt thou? He ſaith unto them: come and ſee. They came and ſaw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day: for it was about the tenth hour.* Or, as it is ſaid in the margin of ſome of our bibles, 'two hours before night.' Which explication is very reaſonable, and obvious. The connexion leads us to think, that the day was declining, when theſe diſciples went to the houſe where Jeſus dwelt. Nor is there any conſideration that ſhould induce us to think of our ten in the forenoon. For inquiſitive, attentive, and well-diſpoſed men, as theſe were, might learn a great deal in the ſpace of two hours' converſation with ſo excellent a maſter as they now applied to.

There ſtill remains one text more to be conſidered. John xx. 19. *Then the ſame day at evening, being the firſt day of the week, when the doors were ſhut, where the diſciples were aſſembled, for fear of the Jews, came Jeſus, and ſtood in the midſt, and ſaith unto them: peace be unto you.*

[c] Primus ſic incipit. Horâ ſextâ, quum dies incaluiſſet, venit ad puteum Dominus. Ap. Aſſem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 232. p. 79.

[d] Και παντως αν εις στασιν εχωρησαν, ει μη την συνοδον διελυσεν επελθουσα εκτη ωρα, καθ' ην τοις σαββασιν αριστοποιεισθαι νομιμον εστιν ημιν. Joſ. Vit. § 54. p. 26.

[e] . . . καθ' ην θυουσι μεν απο ενατης ωρας; μεχρι ενδεκατης. De B. J. l. 6. ix. 3.

As

As our author here particularly refers to Dr. Benſon, I muſt obſerve what he ſays: '[f] We have yet a more evident proof, that St. John followed the Roman method of reckoning the hours of the day. For ſpeaking of that very day, on which our bleſſed Lord aroſe from the dead, he firſt mentions his appearing to Mary Magdalene. And then intimates, that he appeared to other of his diſciples, that ſame day. But his words are very remarkable. *The ſame day, when it was evening, being the firſt day of the week:* and the diſciples had bolted the doors for fear of the Jews: *Then came Jeſus, and ſtood in the midſt of them*, &c. Now, no Jew would have uſed that language. No! When *the evening was come*, they would have called it *the ſecond day of the week.* St. John therefore, in this place, hath, in effect, (though not in expreſs words) told his attentive readers, that he has followed the Roman computation of the hours of the day. For, according to that, it was ſtill the firſt day of the week, and the ſame day on which our Lord aroſe: notwithſtanding the ſun was ſet, and the *evening come.* And the Jews would, unqueſtionably, have reckoned it *the ſecond day of the week.*'

This whole argument, as every one ſees, depends upon the ſuppoſition, that this appearance of our Lord to his diſciples was after ſun-ſet, and perhaps late in the night: as [g] Grotius, and ſome others have thought. But other learned men are rather of opinion, that [h] our Lord ſhowed himſelf to his diſciples by day-light. Nor is it ſaid, that the doors had been ſhut by the diſciples, becauſe it was night, but *for fear of the Jews.*

This appearance of our Lord was not made, until after the return of the two that had been at Emmaus. And it will be of great uſe to us to attend to that hiſtory, as it ſtands in St. Luke's Goſpel, ch. xxiv. 13—36.

And behold two of them went that ſame day to a village, called Emmaus, which was from Jeruſalem about threeſcore furlongs. And they talked together of all theſe things, which had happened.

[f] See the Hiſtory of the firſt planting the Chriſtian Religion. ſecond edit. App. n. iv. p. 52, 53.

[g] Jam multâ nocte. Grot. in Jo. xx. 19.

[h] Exiſtente veſperâ, et quidem ſatis ſerâ, januis clauſis. Quod licet a pleriſque conſideretur, ut ſignum provectæ noctis, nobis tamen minime ita videtur. Circumſtantiis enim omnibus rite perpenſis, videtur concludendum eſſe, quod adhuc ante ſextam veſpertinam hæc apparitio diſcipulis contigerit. Lampe in Joh. loc. T. III. p. 685. Et conſer. Wolf. in loc.

Whilſt

Whilſt they communed together, and reaſoned, Jeſus drew near, and went with them. . . . And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they were going. And he made, as though he would have gone farther. But they conſtrained him, ſaying: abide with us. For it is toward evening, and the day is far ſpent. And he went in to tarry with them. And it came to paſs, as he ſat at meat with them: [or as he was ſitting down to table with them:] *he took bread, and bleſſed it, and brake unto them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him, and he vaniſhed out of their ſight:* that is, he retired, and went away. *And they roſe up the ſame hour, and returned to Jeruſalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them. . . . And they told what things were done in the way, and how he was known unto them in breaking of bread . . . And as they thus ſpake, Jeſus himſelf ſtood in the midſt of them, and ſaith unto them: peace be unto you.*

When they entreated Jeſus to *abide with them*, they ſaid: *It is toward evening, and the day is far ſpent*, or has already begun to decline, ὁτι πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐστι, καὶ κεκλικεν ἡ ἡμερα. It was paſt noon, and might be near our three afternoon. As they were ſitting down to eat, looking more directly at Jeſus, than they had yet done, they knew him. Our Lord thereupon retired, and they haſtened to the diſciples. Emmaus was about a two hours walk from Jeruſalem. They might get thither more than an hour before ſun-ſet. Soon after our Lord came in. He might have been there before them: but he was willing that the diſciples, and they that were with them, ſhould be prepared for his appearing among them by the teſtimony of theſe two, added to the teſtimonies of Peter, and the women, who had already ſeen him.

All this may be confirmed by the hiſtory of the miracle of the five loaves and five thouſand. Matt. xiv. 15 *And when it was evening, his diſciples came unto him, ſaying; this is a deſert place, and the time is now paſt.* Mark vi. 35. *And when the day was now far ſpent, his diſciples came unto him, and ſaid: this is a deſert place, and now the time is far paſſed.* Says Mr. Macknight [1] in his inſtructive and edifying account of this miracle, 'The five thouſand men, beſide women 'and children, were all fed with ſuch expedition, that 'though the thing was not ſo much as propoſed to the 'diſciples, till about three, all was over by five of the clock 'in the afternoon.'

[1] See his Harmony of the Goſpels. Sect. 60. p. 173.

I have

I have endeavoured to ſhow, that St. John followed the Jewiſh computation of the hours of the day. I am not now concerned to reconcile him with the other evangeliſts. Solutions of this difficulty may be found in [k] editors, and commentators. Some think, that St. John's original number was *the third hour*, as in St. Mark: and that his number has been ſince altered. Others propoſe different ſolutions. But ſo far as I am able to judge, a ſolution, depending upon the ſuppoſition, that St. John followed the Roman computation of the hours of the day, is not likely to be right.

The learned men, with whom I have been arguing, think, that St. John wrote his goſpel very late, not before the year of our Lord ninety-ſeven, a little before his own death. But that is ſaid without ground. It is more probable, that [l] St. John wrote his goſpel, before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, about the year of Chriſt ſixty-eight: though not till after the other three evangeliſts, and after having read their goſpels, as all the ancients teſtify. However, if he had written after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; it could not but be very proper to obſerve the Jewiſh computation in ſpeaking of things done among the Jews, in their own country, and before that event.

CHAP. IV.

PAGE 141. Diſſ. xxxv. 'The manner of embalming dead 'bodies among the Jews, and particularly that of our 'Saviour.

Here it is ſaid, p. 149, 150. 'The other evangeliſts 'indeed take notice, that the women afterwards carried 'ſpices to the ſepulchre. For, as Joſeph and Nicodemus 'doubtleſs embalmed the body privately, after it was car-'ried from the croſs; the women, as they were not preſent, 'might know nothing of it. And conſidering the ſhortneſs 'of the time, they might imagine, that nothing had been

[k] Vid. Mill. et Wetſtein. Bengel. in Criſ. et Gnomon. ad Jo. xix. 20. Vid. et Grot. et Wolf. et Lampe in loc. et Bez. ad Marc xv. 29. Baſnag. ann. 33. n. vii.

[l] See vol. VI. ch. ix. § 9, 10.

'done:

'done: and therefore were willing to do what they could 'themſelves.'

This is ſaid by our learned author, for removing a difficulty, ariſing from what is ſaid by St. John, and the other evangeliſts. St. John ſays, ch. xix. 38—40. not only, that *Joſeph of Arimathea*, who is alſo mentioned by [a] the other evangeliſts, *beſought Pilate, that he might take the body of Jeſus, and that Pilate gave him leave:* but adds, *there came alſo Nicodemus, which at the firſt came to Jeſus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight:* including, as I imagine, the bandages, as well as the ſpices. *Then took they the body of Jeſus, and wound it in linen clothes, with the ſpices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury*, meaning ſuch perſons, as were of eminence and diſtinction.

Nevertheleſs St. Mark ſays, xvi. 1, 2. *And when the ſabbath was paſt, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought ſweet ſpices, that they might anoint him. And very early in the morning, the firſt day of the week, they came unto the ſepulchre, at the riſing of the ſun.* See alſo Luke xxiii. 55, 56. and ch. xxiv. 1, 2.

As our Lord's female friends prepared ſpices, and brought them to the ſepulchre; our author concludes, that they knew nothing of what had been done by Joſeph and Nicodemus.

But it is manifeſt from all the evangeliſts, that the women, who attended our Lord's crucifixion, attended alſo his interment. St. John himſelf ſays, ch. xix. 25. *Now there ſtood by the croſs of Jeſus his mother, and his mother's ſiſter, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.* And St. Matthew, ch. xxvii. 55—61. *And many women were there, beholding afar off... Among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary, the mother of James and Joſes, and the mother of Zebedee's children:.. Joſeph of Arimathea... went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jeſus... And when Joſeph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great ſtone to the door of the ſepulchre, and departed. And there was Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, ſitting over againſt the ſepulchre.* And St. Mark expreſsly ſays, xv. 47. *And Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of Joſes, beheld where he was laid.* See likewiſe ch. xvi. 1—3. From which two evangeliſts, and alſo from

[a] Matt. xxvii. 57—60. Mark xv. 42—46. Luke xxiii. 50—53.

Luke

Luke xxiv. 1, 2. it appears, that the women knew every thing concerning our Saviour's interment, to the placing of the ſtone at the door of the ſepulchre. But they knew nothing of the watch, or guard of ſoldiers, ſet there afterwards, as related, Matt. xxvii. 62—66. And St. Luke ſays, ch. xxiii. 52—56, *that Joſeph having begged the body of Jeſus, took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a ſepulchre that was hewn in ſtone, wherein never man was laid.... And the women alſo, which came with him from Galilee followed after, and beheld the ſepulchre, and how the body was laid.* Or, as in Dr. Clarke's paraphraſe. 'And the women of Galilee, 'who had ſtood at a diſtance, ſeeing the crucifixion, fol-'lowed the body of their Lord, when it was taken away, 'and obſerved where Joſeph laid it.'

To imagine therefore, that theſe women knew nothing of what had been done by Joſeph and Nicodemus, is to ſuppoſe them extremely negligent about an object that engaged all their attention. I am not for obviating, or removing difficulties, by denying any parts of a hiſtory, that are manifeſt. Nor do I recollect one commentator, who has been of opinion, that theſe good women were unacquainted with the embalming of our Lord's body, ſo far as it had been done, before he was laid in the ſepulchre.

We may conceive of the caſe in this manner. When Pilate, at the requeſt of the Jews, had given leave, *that the legs of the two malefactors might be broken*, for haſtening their death, and *that they might be taken away:* and when, at the requeſt of Joſeph of Arimathea, Pilate had alſo given leave *for taking away the body of Jeſus*; the crucifixion was over, and the crowd would diſperſe. And the women, who before had ſtood at ſome diſtance, would come nearer. They muſt have been exceedingly ſolicitous about the diſpoſal of the body of their beloved Lord, as no preparations had been made for his burial. And the coming of Joſeph and Nicodemus, with their attendants, bringing a fine linen cloth, and rollers or bandages, and myrrh and aloes, muſt have afforded them much ſatisfaction. When the body was taken down from the croſs, they would follow thoſe who carried it away. Nor would they loſe ſight of the body, or at leaſt of thoſe who took care of it. They were not now agents, but ſpectators, or ſtanders-by. But they would be as near to thoſe, who were employed in embalming the body, or in ſwathing it with rollers, as they could

be, without interrupting them. And it may be well ſuppoſed, that Joſeph and Nicodemus, and their attendants, whether their own ſervants, or perfumers and apothecaries, would be civil to them, and not be at all offended at the reſpect which they ſhowed to Jeſus.

Where the precious body was waſhed from the blood of the wounds, and embalmed, and wrapped up in the rollers, may not be eaſy for us to ſay: whether in a ſhed, or lodge of the garden, or in the ſepulchre itſelf, or before the door, at the entrance of it. But this laſt ſeems to me as likely as any. Wherever it was done, the women were near the place, and ſaw, or at leaſt knew what was done. *They ſat over againſt the ſepulchre, and ſaw where, and how the body was laid*: and that a great ſtone was rolled at the door of it.

After which they went away: and when the ſabbath was over, they bought ſpices, and came with them to the ſepulchre early on the firſt day of the week. The reaſon of their ſo doing is differently aſſigned by learned commentators.

Grotius [b] and Beza [c] were of opinion, that our Lord's body was not anointed or embalmed: that is, Nicodemus, and Joſeph of Arimathea, did not make uſe of the ſpices, but laid them by in the ſepulchre, intending to come again to complete the embalming. Lampe [d] does not approve of that account. Nevertheleſs he is obliged to own, that [e] what was now performed, was done in haſte. As Lucas Brugenſis is not in many hands, I ſhall tranſcribe a part of what he ſays, for ſhowing what theſe good women

[b] *Cum aromatibus.*] Non unxerunt, ob temporis anguſtias, ſed aromata appoſuerunt, uncturi primo commodo tempore. Grot. in Jo. xix. 40.

[c] Non eſt tamen pollinctum Chriſti cadaver, mulieribus alioqui non acceſſuris poſt alterum diem ad illud ungendum. Sed tumultuarie fuit, propter inſtantem, et quaſi jam præſentem paraſceven, in illo monumento proximo civitati poſitum, cum aromatibus a Nicodemo allatis, dilatâ in alterum a ſepulto diem integrâ funeris pollincturâ. Bez. in loc.

[d] Leviora ſane ſunt, quibus perſuadere vult, Dominici corporis unctionem quidem ſuſceptam eſſe, ſed non datam exſecutioni. Lampe in Jo. T. III. p. 644.

[e] Prius nullius eſt momenti, quia raptim et feſtinanter Jeſum eſſe unctum, facile concedimus. Id. ib.

aimed

aimed at by their kind [f] offices. And I ſhall refer to Theophylact, [g] who ſpeaks to the like purpoſe.

What theſe women intended to do, we cannot ſay particularly. Nor can it be reaſonably expected, that we ſhould be able to determine: becauſe it cannot be ſuppoſed, that any now are fully acquainted with the various methods of embalming among the Jews, or the whole proceſs of their embalming. But that there was ſomewhat wanting, ſomewhat left to be done by reſpectful and affectionate friends, may be argued from the ſhortneſs of time, and great haſte, in which our Lord was embalmed and buried: and likewiſe from the concurring concern of ſeveral women, who may be juſtly ſuppoſed to have been as attentive, and as diſcreet, and underſtanding, as any of their ſex. And it has ſeemed to me, that our Lord foreſaw, that, for want of opportunity, there would happen a defect in that reſpect, which might otherwiſe have been ſhown him at his death.

Of the woman, that anointed Jeſus at Bethany with precious ointment, he ſaid to thoſe who were uneaſy at the expence: Matt. xxvi. 12. *For in that ſhe has poured this ointment upon my body, ſhe did it for my burial.* προς το ενταφιασαι με. Mark xiv. 8. *She has done what ſhe could. She is come beforehand, to anoint my body to the burial.* εις τον ενταφιασμον. John xii. 7. *Let her alone.. Againſt the day of my burying has ſhe kept this.* εις την ημεραν τε ενταφιασμε με.

But learned interpreters ſay, that [h] the original word, made uſe of by all the evangeliſts, does not ſo properly denote

[f] *Emerunt* a pharmacopolis *aromata*, vi exſiccandi et fragrantiam addendi prædita . . . ut *ungerent* Jeſum mortuum. . . . Neque vero ignorabant, corpus Jeſu a Nicodemo non parce unctum fuiſſe, centum inquam libris myrrhæ et aloes, quæ præſentes adfuerant, cum ungeretur, quamquam forte ſuis oculis non viderant. Sed habebat conſuetudo, ut cariſſima capita, et quæ plurimi fierent cadavera, non ſemel tantum ungerentur, ſed ſæpius, pluribuſque continuis diebus, donec exſiccato, et abſorpto vi aromatum omni reliquo humore, immo tabefactâ carne arida, et quaſi ænea reddita, diu ſervari poſſent integra, et immunia a putrefactione, &c. Vid. Gen. L. 23. Luc. Brug. in Marc. xvi.

[g] Theoph. in Marc. xvi. 1.

[h] *Ad funerandum me: προς το ενταφιασαι με.* Vulg. et Eraſmus, *ad me ſepeliendum*, male. Nam aliud eſt θαπτειν, quam ενταφιαζειν: ut Latinis ſepelire eſt ſepulchro condere: funerare vero pollincire, cadaver ſepulchro, mandandum prius curare, &c. Bez. ad Matt. xxvi. 12. . . . Habet me jam quaſi pro mortuo, atque officium illud ſolemne modico tantum tempore antevertit. Hunc ſenſum apertiſſime ſignificat Marcus

denote burial, as the preparations made for burial, and particularly, the coſtly preparations made for perſons of diſtinction.

The meaning therefore is: *In that ſhe has poured this ointment upon my body, ſhe has done it,* as it were, *for my embalming*, or to embalm me. And this part of our Lord's apology for that pious woman may be paraphraſed in this manner, as indeed it was [i] formerly: 'You may conſider 'this anointing as an embalming of me. And it may ſo 'happen, that neither ſhe, nor any others, ſhall have an 'opportunity to lay out all the rich ſpices and ointments 'upon me, when dead, which they may be diſpoſed to 'make uſe of.'

CHAP. V.

Page 155. Diſſ. xxxvii. 'Whom are we to underſtand by the Grecians and Hebrews mentioned,' Acts vi. 1.

It will be worth the while to put down here the words of the text at length. *And in thoſe days, when the number of the diſciples was multiplied, there aroſe a murmuring of the Grecians againſt the Hebrews, becauſe their widows were neglected in the daily miniſtration.*

I am of opinion, that by Hebrews are meant native Jews, deſcendants of Abraham and Iſrael, and that by Grecians are meant proſelytes to the Jewiſh religion. This I ſhall endeavour to make out by an induction of particulars, and by numerous quotations from the Old Teſtament.

Ebrew, or Hebrew. It is a very honourable, and the moſt ancient denomination of the Jewiſh people. Abraham himſelf is called *a Hebrew*, or *the Hebrew*, Gen. xiv. 13. as is Joſeph in Egypt. Gen. xxxix. 14, 17. chap. xli. 12. The Hebrews are mentioned more than once in his hiſtory. Gen. xl. 15. and xliii. 32. In particular, the country

Marcus voce προελαβε. Hic το ενταφιασαι, pollincire, interpretandum eſt per ελλειψιν voculæ, ωσει. tanquam: *fecit quaſi ad me pollinciendum.* Quam voculam prudenter hic, ut et in hac apud Marcum hiſtoria, addidit Syrus interpres. Et Johanni ημερα ενταφιασμυ eſt dies quaſi pollincturæ. Grot. in Matt. xxvi. 12.

[i] See vol. X. p. 447.

inhabited

inhabited by Jacob and his family, whence Joſeph was brought, is called *the land of the Hebrews*, Gen. xl. 15. God himſelf, when he ſent Moſes to deliver the children of Iſrael from Egyptian bondage, took upon himſelf this title and character, *the Lord God of the Hebrews*, Ex. iii. 18. Which character is often mentioned in the accounts of Moſes's appearances before Pharaoh. Ex. v. 3. vii. 16. ix. 1. x. 3.

I do not now inquire into the origin of this name, though the diſquiſition might be curious. I had rather, for the ſake of brevity, refer to [a] others. Whatever was the origin of the name, it was early known, and ſeems to have been peculiar to Abraham and his deſcendants, by Iſaac and Jacob, when Moſes was ſent to conduct the people of Iſrael out of the land of Egypt. And *the Lord God of the Hebrews*, and *the God of Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob*, are uſed as equivalent. Ex. iii. 6, 15, 16, 18. iv. 5.

It was a common denomination of the children of Iſrael, when they dwelt in Egypt: And *the king of Egypt ſpake to the Hebrew midwives*... And he *ſaid: when ye do the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, if it be a ſon, ye ſhall kill him*... *And the midwives ſaid unto Pharaoh*... *becauſe the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women*, Ex. i. 15, 16, 19. When Pharaoh's daughter found Moſes, ſhe ſaid: *This is one of the Hebrew's children. Then ſaid his ſiſter unto Pharaoh's daughter: ſhall I go, and call thee a nurſe of the Hebrew women?* Ex. ii. 6, 7. Afterwards, *when Moſes was grown, he went out unto his brethren, and eſpied an Egyptian ſmiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren*... And *when he went out the ſecond day, behold two men of the Hebrews ſtrove together*, ver. 11—13.

Hebrew, or Hebrews, is often uſed in the firſt book of Samuel, as equivalent to Iſraelites, or the people of Iſrael. 1 Sam. iv. 6, 9. xiii. 3. and elſewhere.

When the mariners in the ſhip ſaid to Jonah, i. 8, 9. *What is thy occupation? and whence cameſt thou? What is thy country? and of what people art thou? He ſaid unto them: I am an Hebrew. And I fear the Lord God of heaven, which made the ſea and the dry land.*

This denomination is ſeldom found in the later books of the Old Teſtament. However, it is in Jeremiah, ch.

[a] Vid. Bochart. Geo. S. P. i. l. 2. c. 14. Scalig. Not. in Græca Euſebii. p. 410. Voſſ. de Orig. Idol. l. 3. c. 44. p. 356. Br. Walton Proleg. iii. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. iv. cap. 13. Jo. Cleric. Comm. in Gen. x. 21. xiv. 13. et Diſſerta. de Ling. Hebr.

xxxiv. The place is remarkable, and will be of uſe to us in the preſent inquiry. *This is the word, that came unto Jeremiah from the Lord... That every man ſhould let his man-ſervant, and every man his maid-ſervent, being a Hebrew or Hebreweſs go free: that none ſhould ſerve himſelf of them, to wit, of a Jew his brother... Then they obeyed, and let them go. Afterwards they cauſed them to return, and brought them into ſubjection for ſervants, and for handmaids... Therefore the word of the Lord came unto Jeremiah, ſaying: thus ſaith the God of Iſrael: I made a covenant with your fathers, ſaying: at the end of ſeven years, let ye go every man his brother, an Hebrew, which has been ſold unto thee....*

Let us therefore obſerve the laws, which are here referred to. Ex. xxi. 2. *If thou buy a Hebrew ſervant, ſix years he ſhall ſerve thee: and in the ſeventh he ſhall go out free for nothing.* Deut. xv. 12. *If thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be ſold unto thee, and ſerve thee ſix years; then in the ſeventh year thou ſhalt let him go free from thee.* Lev. xxv. 44—46. *Both thy bond-men, and thy bond-maids, which thou ſhalt have, ſhall be of the heathen,* [or the nations] *that are round about thee. Of them ſhall ye buy bond-men, and bond-maids. Moreover of the children of the ſtrangers that do ſojourn among you, of them ſhall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they beget in your land: and they ſhall be your poſſeſſion. And ye ſhall take them for an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a poſſeſſion. They ſhall be your bond-men for ever. But over your brethren, the children of Iſrael, you ſhall not rule one over another with rigour.*

By ſtrangers ſojourning among them, I underſtand proſelytes, men circumciſed after the manner of the Moſaic law. We here therefore ſee the great difference between the children of Iſrael, or native Jews and ſtrangers, or proſelytes. And in ſpeaking of this matter, for preventing ambiguity, the words Hebrew and Hebreweſs are uſed by Jeremiah, as certainly denoting the deſcendants of Abraham and the other patriarchs.

In the laws, juſt tranſcribed from the books of Moſes, there are clearly mentioned three ſorts of perſons: *Hebrews,* or *Children of Iſrael,* that is, native Jews: then *ſtrangers ſojourning among them,* or proſelytes: laſtly, *heathens,* that is, the nations, or gentiles. The prophet demands liberty after ſix years ſervitude for the firſt only, not for any of the others. The law of Moſes did not empower him to do

more

more. And the command of God, by the prophet, certainly, is agreeable to his own laws, firſt delivered by the hand of Moſes.

I ſhall juſt obſerve, as we go along, that Joſephus ſays of himſelf, he [b] was a Hebrew by birth. And Euſebius ſays of Moſes, that [c] he was a great divine, and a Hebrew of Hebrews. He alſo obſerves the antiquity of this name, and ſays, that [d] Joſeph was a Hebrew of Hebrews, but there were yet no Jews. Which is very true. For the people of Iſrael were not called Jews, till [e] about the time of the Babyloniſh captivity. After that, a man of any nation, who embraced the religion of the Jews, and was circumciſed after the manner of Moſes, became a Jew. But he never could be a Hebrew, that denomination being peculiar to the deſcendants of the ancient patriarchs.

There are three places in the New Teſtament where this title is found. One is that of the text under conſideration. Another is 2 Cor. xi. 22. *Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Iſraelites? So am I. Are they the ſeed of Abraham? So am I.* The third is Philip. iii. 5. *Circumciſed the eighth day, of the ſtock of Iſrael, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews.* He was circumciſed the eighth day; which is a proof, he was born of parents, who were themſelves Jews, and punctually obeyed the law of Moſes. However this might have been, and he have been no more than the child of a proſelyte: He therefore proceeds, and ſays, he was of *the ſtock of Iſrael*, or the ſeed of Jacob: and particularly, *of the tribe of Benjamin*, an honoured tribe, upon divers accounts, particularly, as Benjamin was one of the ſons of Jacob by Rachel, his wife, as ſhe [f] is ſtyled in the catalogue of Jacob's family, which went into Egypt: but eſpecially as this tribe had, in a great meaſure, preſerved itſelf from idolatry. *An Hebrew of the Hebrews*, or rather, *an Hebrew of Hebrews:* meaning, that he was himſelf a Hebrew, and deſcended from Hebrews.

[b] . . . γενει εβραιος. De. B. J. l. i. p. 1.

[c] Ὁ τοινυν μεγας θεολογος Μωσης, Ἑβραιος ων εξ Ἑβραιων, ει και τις αλλος. κ. λ. Pr. Ev. l. 7. c. 7. p. 305.

[d] Πλην αλλα και ητος Ἑβραιος εξ Ἑβραιων, ουχι δε Ιουδαιος, οτι μηδε ην πω τα Ιουδαιων. Ib. cap. 8. p. 312.

[e] Joſephus dates the origin of this name after their return from the Babyloniſh captivity. Ant. l. 11. v. 7.

[f] *The ſons of Rachel, Jacob's wife: Joſeph and Benjamin*, Gen. xlvi. 19.

As Paul was a Hebrew, though born out of Judea, at Tarſus in Cilicia, where the Greek tongue was uſed, we are fully aſſured, that by the Grecians, cannot be meant Jews, who uſed the Greek language.

From all theſe texts therefore, now alleged from the Old and New Teſtament, it appears, that the denomination, or character, of Hebrew, is the privilege of birth, not of choice, or acquiſition, or accidental circumſtance. All deſcendants of Abraham the Hebrew, by Iſaac and Jacob, wherever they are born, and whatever language they uſe, are Hebrews. Nor can any other men be Hebrews, but only they who are deſcended from Abraham.

This, then, is the firſt conſideration, tending to determine who theſe Grecians were. To whom we now proceed.

Grecians, or Helleniſts, as in the original. The word Grecians occurs thrice in our Engliſh verſion of the New Teſtament: here, and ch. ix. 29. and xi. 20. But it is well known to the learned, that in the ſecond of theſe places the Alexandrian mſs. has Greeks: which alſo is the reading in the third text, not only in the Alexandrian manuſcript, but likewiſe in the Latin Vulgate, and ſeveral other verſions. Whatever are the readings, it is apparent, that the ſame perſons are not intended in the third and laſt text, as in the two former.

Various [g] have been the ſentiments of learned men concerning the Grecians, mentioned here, and in ch. ix. 29. The moſt prevailing opinions are theſe two. Some hereby underſtand Jews born out of Judea, who ſpake Greek, and uſed the Greek verſion of the Old Teſtament in their ſynagogues. The other opinion is, that theſe Grecians were proſelytes, or men of other nations, who had embraced the Jewiſh religion.

That the former are not here intended, has been, as I apprehend, ſufficiently ſhown already. I therefore go on to ſupport farther the opinion, that theſe Grecians were proſelytes.

Which, I think, may be argued from the neglect they had met with. There aroſe a murmuring of the Grecians

[g] Seven different opinions have been taken notice of by ſome learned writers. Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. c. vi. T. III. p. 226. et Lux Evangelii. cap. iv. p. 59, 60. et Wolf Curæ ad Act. vi. 1.

againſt

againſt the Hebrews, becauſe their widows were neglected, παρεθεωρουντο, were overlooked, paſſed by, omitted,[h] in the daily miniſtration. There was no regard had to them. There were no allowances or diſtributions made to them.

This may have been owing to two reaſons, becauſe they were few in number, and becauſe they were deſpiſed. There may be ſome reaſon to think it was chiefly owing to this laſt.

The Jews of this time knew very well how to pay reſpect to proſelytes of diſtinction, as they did to Helena, queen of the Adiabenes, and her ſon Izates. But for the moſt part native Jews, deſcendants of Abraham and the patriarchs, muſt have been preferred to proſelytes. I cannot conceive any reaſon why any Jews ſhould have been neglected, barely becauſe they were born out of Judea, and uſed the Greek language. But proſelytes might be overlooked becauſe they were reckoned much inferior to Iſraelites. Proſelytes were [i] admitted to eat the paſſover, and to communion with Iſraelites in all religious privileges. But they were far from enjoying equal civil privileges with the children of Iſrael. This muſt be apparent from what was before alleged from the thirty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah, and parallel places.

I beg leave to take notice of ſome other things relating to them from the Old Teſtament. When the Gibeonites had beguiled Joſhua, and the elders, and their deceit was known, *all the congregation murmured againſt the princes:* however, as they had *made a league with them, to let them live, and the princes of the congregation had ſworn to them,* they would not falſify their oath. They gave them their lives, but took from them their lands, and made them ſlaves, or little better. As it is ſaid Joſh. ix. 26, 27. *Joſhua delivered them out of the hand of the children of Iſrael, that they ſlew them not. And he made them hewers of wood, and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of the Lord.*

And we are told, *that Saul ſought to ſlay them,* or endeavoured to extirpate them, in *his zeal to the Children of Iſrael and Judah,* 2 Sam. xxi. 2. Which ſhows, that they were not beloved, and that this zeal of Saul was popular. But it was reſented in the time of David.

[h] Παρεθεωρουντο.] *deſpicerentur,* id eſt, negligerentur, et contemnerentur. Joach. Camer. in loc.

[i] See Ex. xii. 48, 49. Numb ix. 14. and other places.

This

This ſort of men were employed in the laborious works for building the temple. 1 Chr. xxi. 2. *And David commanded to gather together the ſtrangers that were in the land of Iſrael. And he ſet maſons to hew wrought ſtones to build the houſe of God.* And 2 Chr. ii. 17, 18. *And Solomon*[k] *numbered all the ſtrangers that were in the land of Iſrael, after the numbering, wherewith David his father had numbered them. And they were found an hundred and fifty thouſand, and three thouſand, and ſix hundred. And he ſet threeſcore and ten thouſand of them to be bearers of burdens, and fourſcore thouſand to be hewers in the mountains, and three thouſand and ſix hundred overſeers, to ſet the people to work.*

The overſeers I ſuppoſe to have been Iſraelites, the reſt ſtrangers or proſelytes; as they are called in the Greek verſion of the ſeventy, and in St. Jerom's Latin verſion. Many of theſe ſtrangers may have been remains of the Gibeonites; but I preſume there were others beſides.

Nethinims are mentioned, 1 Chr. ix. 2. *Now the firſt inhabitants that dwelt in their poſſeſſions, in their cities, were the Iſraelites, the Prieſts, the Levites, and the Nethinims.* They, and Solomon's ſervants, are often mentioned in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. In the catalogue of the people that returned from Babylon it is ſaid, Ezr. ii. 58. *All the Nethinims, and the children of Solomon's ſervants, were three hundred ninety and two.* So alſo Neh. vii. 60. and Ezr. viii. 20. *Alſo the Nethinims, whom David and the princes had appointed for the ſervice of the Levites, two hundred and twenty.*

Theſe Nethinims had been given the Levites, to ſerve them. Afterwards Solomon appointed more for the like ſervice. Theſe muſt have been ſtrangers or proſelytes. It is not to be thought that David, or Solomon, or any king of Iſrael, with the elders, had power to give Iſraelites to the ſervice of the Levites. As ſome Jews ſaid to our Lord: *We be Abraham's ſeed, and never were in bondage to any man,* John viii. 33. No, they were free-born, and high-born, in compariſon of other men; though they were little concerned for the freedom of which our Lord was ſpeaking. Says Patrick upon 2 Chr. ix. 2. 'Ezra gives a good account of 'the Nethinims, ch. viii. 20. where he informs us, they

[k] Και συνηγαγε Σαλωμων παντας τους ανδρας τους προσηλυτους, τους εν γη Ισραηλ. κ. λ. LXX. Numeravit igitur Salomon omnes viros proſelytos, qui erant in terra Iſrael. Hieron.

'were

'were given by David to the Levites (which is the original 'of their name:) as the Levites were given by God to help 'the prieſts: and therefore in all places they are mentioned 'with holy perſons.'

I do not know whether theſe men may be called inferior clergy. They ſeem rather to have been ſervants to them. But however mean their original, or low and laborious their employment may have been; the people of Iſrael were indebted to them for their zeal for the houſe of God. Many of them readily returned from Babylon to Judea, and performed their part for upholding the worſhip of God at his temple.

As all the land of Canaan was given to the twelve tribes, the children of Iſrael, and many of the regulations in the law of Moſes were in their favour; it was foreſeen, that ſtrangers, who joined themſelves to them, and came to ſojourn among them, would lie under ſome diſadvantages. God therefore, who wiſely made thoſe appointments of the law of Moſes, regarding the deſcendants of Jacob, in his great goodneſs, made proviſions likewiſe for ſtrangers, that they might not be abuſed.

The people of Iſrael, to whom the laws of Moſes were delivered, are charged in this manner. Ex. xxii. 20. *Thou ſhalt neither vex a ſtranger, nor oppreſs him; for ye were ſtrangers in the land of Egypt.* Comp. Lev. xix. 33, 34. and Ex. xxiii. 12. *Six days ſhalt thou do thy work, and on the ſeventh day thou ſhalt reſt: that thy ox and thy aſs may reſt, and the ſon of thy handmaid, and the ſtranger may be refreſhed:* ſee there ver. 9. Lev. xix. 9, 10. *And when ye reap the harveſt of your land... thou ſhalt not gather the gleaning of thy harveſt. And thou ſhalt not glean thy vineyard. Thou ſhalt leave them for the poor, and the ſtranger. I am the Lord your God.* See alſo Lev. xxv. 5, 6. and 38. and Deut. xvi. 13, 14. *Thou ſhalt obſerve the feaſt of tabernacles ſeven days, after that thou haſt gathered in thy corn and thy wine. And thou ſhalt rejoice in thy feaſt, thou, and thy ſon, and thy daughter, and thy man-ſervant, and thy maid-ſervant, and the Levite, the ſtranger, and the fatherleſs, and the widow that are in thy gates.* And again, very particularly, Deut. xxvi. 11—13. *And thou ſhalt rejoice in every good thing, which the Lord thy God hath given unto thee, and unto thy houſe, thou, and the Levite, and the ſtranger that is among you. When thou haſt made an end of tithing all the tithes of thy increaſe... and haſt given it unto the Levite, and the ſtranger,*

ſtranger, the fatherleſs and the widow, that they may eat within thy gates, and be filled. Then thou ſhalt ſay before the Lord thy God: I have brought away the hallowed things out of my houſe, and alſo have given them unto the Levite, and unto the ſtranger, and the fatherleſs, and the widow, according to thy commandment. Theſe inſtances of kindneſs are ſtrongly enforced, Deut. x. 17—19.

I ſhall add a text or two, ſomewhat different, though ſtill to the like purpoſe. Deut. xii. 12. *And ye ſhall rejoice before the Lord your God, ye, and your ſons, and your daughters, and your men-ſervants, and your maid-ſervants, and the Levite that is within your gates. Foraſmuch as he has no part, nor inheritance with you.* And ver. 18. *Thou muſt eat them before the Lord thy God, in the place which the Lord thy God ſhall chooſe, thou, and thy ſon, and thy daughter, and thy man-ſervant, and thy maid-ſervant, and the Levite that is within thy gates.* See alſo Deut. x. 9.

By *ſtranger*, and *ſtranger within thy gates, and the ſtranger that ſojourneth with thee*, or *in thy land*, I always underſtand proſelytes, men circumciſed according to the law of Moſes: or, as they are now often called, *proſelytes of the covenant*, or *of righteouſneſs*. If the Levites are ſaid *to have no inheritance*, and are ſtyled *Levites within thy gates*, as they are in ſome texts juſt cited, though there were allotted to them cities, with their ſuburbs, out of the inheritance of the other tribes, as is manifeſt from Numb. xxxv. 1—8. and Joſh. xiv. 1—5. all ſtrangers, though circumciſed, and admitted to full communion in all religious ordinances, may well be called *ſojourners, and the ſtrangers within thy gates.*

Once more. As God, in his laws, delivered to the Children of Iſrael, was not unmindful of the ſtranger: ſo likewiſe does David remember them in his devotions. Pſ. cxv. 9—13. *O Iſrael, truſt thou in the Lord. O houſe of Iſrael, truſt thou in the Lord. Ye that fear the Lord, truſt in the Lord. The Lord will bleſs the houſe of Iſrael: he will bleſs the Houſe of Aaron. He will bleſs them that fear the Lord, both ſmall and great.* cxviii. 2—4. *Let Iſrael now ſay, that his mercy endureth for ever. Let the houſe of Aaron now ſay, that his mercy endureth for ever. Let them that fear the Lord ſay, that his mercy endureth for ever.* Pſ. cxxxv. 19, 20. *Bleſs the Lord, O houſe of Iſrael. Bleſs the Lord, O houſe of Aaron. Bleſs the Lord, O houſe of Levi. Ye that fear the Lord, bleſs the Lord.*

Theſe

Theſe men, who fear the Lord, mentioned after all the diviſions of the people of Iſrael, I ſuppoſe to have been ſtrangers, or proſelytes. Hereby we are led to underſtand St. Paul's addreſs in the ſynagogue at Antioch in Piſidia. Acts xiii. 16. *Men of Iſrael, and ye that fear God, give audience.* And ver. 26. *Men and brethren, children of the ſtock of Abraham, and whoever among you feareth God, to you is the word of this ſalvation ſent.* Here, by them that feared God, muſt be meant proſelytes. For that none were preſent, but ſuch as were Jews, either by birth or religion, appears from ver. 42. and what there follows.

Proſelytes are mentioned among the hearers of St. Peter's firſt ſermon, preached at Jeruſalem, after our Lord's aſcenſion. Acts ii. 10. I ſuppoſe, proſelytes to be meant by Grecians here, ch. vi. 1. and ix. 29.

Who they were, we cannot ſay exactly. But there might be many ſuch men in Judea, and in other countries all over the world, where the Jewiſh people reſided. Some of them may have been deſcendants of ſuch as had joined themſelves to the people of Iſrael in former times: and others may have been new converts to the Jewiſh religion.

I have imagined, that proſelytes now living in Judea, who were poor, may have been chiefly, or for the moſt part, ſervants of the Roman governors, or of their officers: who having come into Judea with their maſters, were converted to the Jewiſh religion: and, when their maſters returned home, got leave to ſtay behind. Having renounced gentiliſm, they could not expect very agreeable treatment from their friends and relatives at home. And though they had not the proſpect of any conſiderable advantage in Judea, yet they might hope for civilities among thoſe, whoſe religion they had embraced. Beſides, new converts have a great deal of zeal. Some of them might conceive a particular affection for the land of Iſrael, and the city of Jeruſalem, where was the temple.

Beſide theſe ſervants of Roman officers, who had reſided in Judea, probably, there were others, who had ſerved Jews out of Judea: who, having for ſome reaſons left their maſters, choſe to come, and ſeek ſubſiſtence in Judea, not being willing to ſerve heathens.

There might be alſo divers other perſons of different ſtations, who being converted to Judaiſm, preferred Jeruſalem to all other places.

Nicolas,

Nicolas, choſen to be one of the ſeven, a proſelyte of Antioch, now at Jeruſalem, was, very probably, a man of good ſubſtance. And it is obſervable, that Helena, queen of the Adiabenes, not long after her converſion went to [l] Jeruſalem. And ſhe muſt have often viſited that city, or reſided there very much. For ſhe was there, when her ſon Izates [m] died. And ſeveral of the brothers and ſons of Izates [n] were ſhut in at the laſt ſiege of Jeruſalem.

That therefore is my third and laſt argument, that theſe Grecians were proſelytes: foraſmuch as upon their complaints a proſelyte was choſen to be one of the ſeven, to preſide in the daily miniſtration, even Nicholas of Antioch. The reſt, I preſume, were Hebrews, that is, Jews by birth, deſcendants of the patriarchs. Some of whom may have been born in Judea, others of them out of it, but were now at Jeruſalem.

It is no ſufficient reaſon to believe that any of the reſt were proſelytes, or that all the reſt were Jews, who were born in other countries, becauſe their names are Greek. For ſeveral of our Saviour's diſciples had Greek names, though they were all men of Galilee: as Philip, and Andrew, and Thomas called Didymus, and Simon, called alſo Cephas, and Peter, by which laſt name, he was generally called, and beſt known.

That Stephen was a Jew by birth, is highly probable from the whole of his ſpeech before the council, and particularly from the beginning of it. Acts vii. 2. *Men, brethren, and fathers, hearken. The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham, when he was in Meſopotamia.*

Philip, the ſecond of the ſeven, was a perſon of great eminence, who firſt preached the goſpel in Samaria, and wrought there many miracles. Acts viii. 1—5. Who alſo converted the chamberlain, and treaſurer of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians. There cannot be any reaſon to make a doubt, whether Philip, ſo eminent an evangeliſt, of an order next in authority and dignity to Chriſt's apoſtles, was of the ſeed of Iſrael. It would be altogether abſurd to ſuppoſe, that one ſo early employed in ſuch ſignal ſervices for promoting the goſpel, was only a proſelyte.

When the Eunuch had been baptized, *the ſpirit of the Lord caught away Philip, that the Eunuch ſaw him no more. But Philip was found at Azotus; and paſſing through, he preached*

[l] Joſ. Ant. l. 20. ii. 6. [m] Ib. iii. 3. [n] De B. J. l. 6. vi. 4.

in

in all the cities, till he came to Cæsarea, ver. 39, 40. There he seems to have settled. For there he was, when St. Paul came to Jerusalem in the year fifty-eight, as we learn from Acts xxi. 8—10. *And the next day we came to Cæsarea. And we entered into the house of Philip, the evangelist, which was one of the seven, and abode there.*

Stephen suffered martyrdom soon after he was chosen. Philip likewise, as we perceive, not long after removed from Jerusalem. Indeed, the seven seem to have been appointed upon occasion of a particular emergency. However, the other five, or some of them, may have stayed at Jerusalem, and may have continued to officiate in the service, to which they had been appointed. And moreover, others may have been chosen in the room of Stephen, who died, and of Philip, who removed.

Dr. Whitby upon Acts vi. 1. objects against our opinion from ch. ix. 29. where it is said, *That Paul disputed against the Grecians: but they went about to slay him.* 'Which, as he 'argues, shows they must be Jews by birth, and not only 'strangers of other nations come hither. For how dared 'they to kill a Jew among the Jews, without bringing him 'to their tribunals?'

Which is an argument of no moment. For I presume, that neither had a Jew by birth a right to assassinate a man without any trial. And, generally, such things must have been disliked. But a proselyte might attempt it as well as another. And considering, how unpopular a person Paul now was, the killing him might be passed by, and overlooked, or even approved of, by whomsoever it was done. Proselytes were as likely, as any men, to be bigoted in their sentiments, and to practise violence against those who differed from them. What sort of men most of the proselytes of that time were, may be concluded from what our Lord said to the pharisees without reserve. Matt. xxiii. 15. But there were some of a better temper, who believed in Jesus after his resurrection, and joined themselves to his apostles, when the profession of his name must have exposed them to difficulties.

To me it seems, that there is great propriety in St. Luke's style, calling the Jews, who were of the seed of Israel, Hebrews, and proselytes, Hellenists, Grecians, or, perhaps Hellenes, Greeks, from their origin. For I have sometimes been much inclined to think that to be the true reading

reading in this text, as well as in the reſt. And Dr. Ward ſays, p. 155. 'That the word Ελληνισαι, Helleniſts, is uſed 'only by St. Luke in this book, and is not perhaps to 'be found in any other writer ſo ancient.' Indeed, I believe, it is not to be found in Joſephus. And the uncommonneſs of the word may cauſe a ſuſpicion, that it is the invention of ſome Chriſtian; though it is ancient. For, in this text, it is in the Alexandrian manuſcript. And the word may be ſeen in [o] Chryſoſtom.

Any, who are pleaſed to conſider all that was before ſaid, concerning the word Hebrew, are able to judge, whether there is not ſome ſpecial propriety in St. Luke's ſtyle, according to this interpretation. A Hebrew, denoting a Jew by ancient deſcent, muſt be fitly oppoſed to Grecians, or Greeks, thereby underſtanding proſelytes, who were Jews by religion only, and not by birth.

The opinion, for which I argue, has been eſpouſed by many learned men, as [p] Beza, [q] Baſnage, and [r] Pearſon. Which laſt has aſſerted it with great ſtrength, and neatneſs, in a few words. Inſomuch, that it may be thought ſomewhat ſtrange, that this opinion has not been generally received, without farther diſpute. I have enlarged, being deſirous to eſtabliſh and illuſtrate it to the beſt of my power.

CHAP. VI.

Page 159. Diſſ. xxxviii. 'The term Holy Ghoſt, in the New Teſtament, denotes both a perſon and a power.'

P. 159. 'That it often denotes a power, cannot be queſ-'tioned, as where the apoſtles and other Chriſtians at that

[o] In Act. Ap. hom. 14. p. 111. tom. IX.

[p] In Act. 1.

[q] Ann. 35. p. vii.

[r] Hic autem Ελληνισαι opponuntur Εβραιοις . . . Neque enim Hebræi, neque Judæi erant, hoc eſt, genere: non Hebræi ex Hebræis... Sed Judæi tantum religione, id eſt, proſelyti. Hi igitur proſelyti, cum antequam circumciderentur, Ελληνες, ſive Gentiles fuerint, etſi jam religione facti Judæi, et totius legis impletionem in ſe ſuſcipientes, tamen a Judæis ſeu Hebræis, ſtirpe et genere ab Abrahamo deducto ſuperbientibus, inferiori loco habebantur. Unde neglectus viduarum, et ex eo neglectu murmur, ſeu γογγυσμος των Ελληνιστων. Pearſon Lect. 3. in Act. Apoſt. num. v.

'time,

'time, are ſaid to be filled with the Holy Ghoſt. But that 'it ſignifies alſo a perſon, ſeems evident from the following 'paſſages among others.'

That Diſſertation concludes in this manner, p. 161. 'We 'meet with χαρισμα Θεϑ, *the gift of God*, Rom. vi. 23. and 'χαρισμα χριϛϑ, the *gift of Chriſt*, 2 Tim. i. 6. according to 'ſome copies: though others have it Θεϑ, *the gift of God*, as 'it is in our verſion. And agreeably to all analogy χαρισματα 'Αγιϑ Πνευματος muſt ſignify *the gifts of the Holy Spirit*, in a 'perſonal ſenſe: ſince that word is never uſed otherwiſe, 'but of perſons in the New Teſtament, where the donor is 'mentioned.'

But for this laſt our author refers not to any text, as he does for the two former: becauſe, I ſuppoſe, he found not any ſuch text in the New Teſtament. Nor do I know of any.

This obſervation therefore is unſupported by proper authority, and is what one would not have expected in ſo accurate a writer as Dr. Ward. I think we ought here to recollect, that theſe Diſſertations are poſthumous.

But I have no intention to enter into an argument upon this ſubject. There[a] was an anonymous tract publiſhed not long ago, where it is treated more diſtinctly, to which I refer.

CHAP. VII.

Page 174, Diſſ. xlii. 'To whom the apoſtolic decree Acts xv. was directed. And whether it was perpetual.'

As this chapter will be of conſiderable length, I ſhall divide it into the following ſections.

I. An introduction.

II. The Noachic precepts, with obſervations upon them.

III. To whom the apoſtolic decree was directed: and that there was but one ſort of Jewiſh proſelytes.

IV. General obſervations, ſhowing the occaſion, and deſign of the apoſtolic decree.

V. The ſeveral articles of the decree explained.

VI. Obſervations, in the manner of corollaries.

[a] See the firſt poſtſcript to a letter written in 1730, p. 116.

I. INTRODUCTION. Before I make any remarks upon this article, I would obſerve, that a good while ago, in the chapter of St. Cyprian,[a] I carefully conſidered the various readings of this decree, as it ſtands in the book of the Acts of the apoſtles, ch. xv. 20, 29, and xxi. 25. The reſult of which was, that the readings in our preſent copies of it, in the New Teſtament, are right. It was a long diſcuſſion. But I do not repent the labour of it. It has formerly, and does ſtill afford ſatisfaction.

Says our learned author, p. 174. 'The decree is directed τοις αδελφοις εξ εθνων, that is, as ſeems moſt probable, to all the Heathen converts in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, who were not proſelytes of the gate, before they embraced chriſtianity. For the Jewiſh proſelytes were always obliged to regard the things therein mentioned, as they were all contained in the precepts given to Noah. And therefore we do not find in Acts x, that Peter laid any ſuch injunctions upon Cornelius, and his company.'

Dr. Ward, as ſeems to me, uſeth thoſe words, *proſelytes of the gate, and Jewiſh proſelytes,* very improperly. But of that more hereafter.

It may be proper to obſerve here, that the author of Miſcellanea Sacra has advanced an opinion, not known before, that[b] the decree of the council of Jeruſalem was directed to ſuch converts to chriſtianity only, as were *proſelytes of the gate,* and were, before their converſion to chriſtianity, obliged to obſerve the ſeveral regulations contained in this decree. Which opinion has been embraced by ſeveral.

Dr. Ward does not differ much from them. He thinks, that[c] ſuch things, as were before required of *proſelytes of the gate,* were in the decree, enjoined upon all converts to chriſtianity, in the countries above-mentioned. But, he ſays, there was no need of giving ſuch injunctions to Cornelius, he having before obſerved the like things, as a *proſelyte of the gate,* living in Judea.

Upon this ſcheme I now make no remarks. I put down theſe things here at preſent, only by way of explication of our author's ſentiment.

II. THE NOACHIC PRECEPTS. Dr. W . . . in the words juſt cited ſpeaks of the precepts given to Noah. And at p. 177.

[a] Vol. III. p. 151—164.

[b] See Miſcell. Sacra. Eſſay iv. However, ſee alſo Hammond upon Acts xv. 29.

[c] See Hammond as before referred to.

ſays,

ſays, 'That the ſeveral things contained in the apoſtolic decree, are all included in the Noachic precepts.'

I therefore ſhall now ſhow, what are called the ſeven precepts of Noah, or the ſons of Noah, taking my account from Ainſworth, where I believe they are rightly repreſented. Which is more than can be ſaid of ſome others, who talk much of them.

Says that exact and diligent writer, in his Annotations upon Gen. ix. 4. *But fleſh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, ſhall ye not eat.* 'The Hebrew doctors make this the 'ſeventh commandment given to the ſons of Noah, which all 'nations were bound to kéep, as there had been ſix from 'Adam's time. The firſt againſt idolatry, the worſhip of ſtars, 'images, &c. the ſecond againſt blaſpheming the name of 'God; the third againſt ſhedding of blood: the fourth againſt 'unjuſt carnal copulations, whereof they made ſix ſorts: 1. with 'a man's own mother. 2. or with a father's wife. 3. or with 'his neighbour's wife. 4. or with his ſiſter by the mother's 'ſide. 5. or with mankind. 6. or with beaſts. The fifth 'precept was againſt rapine, or robbery. The ſixth to have 'judgment, or puniſhment for malefactors. And unto Noah 'was added the ſeventh, which is here mentioned. Which they 'underſtand to forbid the eating of any member, or of the fleſh 'of a beaſt, taken from it alive. Whoſoever in the world 'tranſgreſſed any of theſe ſeven commandments wilfully, the 'Jews held, he was to be killed with the ſword. But the 'Heathen, who would yield to obey theſe ſeven precepts, 'though they received not circumciſion, nor obſerved the 'other ordinances given afterwards to Iſrael, they were 'ſuffered to dwell as ſtrangers among the Iſraelites, and to 'dwell in their land.'

Upon all which I beg leave to make the ſeveral following obſervations.

Firſt. Fornication is not mentioned among the ſeveral kinds of unjuſt carnal copulation. This omiſſion has been obſerved by [b] Grotius. The reaſon of it, I do not ſtay to inquire.

Secondly. Every thing, here mentioned, is of a moral nature, even the ſeventh precept, as well as the reſt. For it condemns cruelty. It is not, to forbear eating blood, but to

[b] Inter præcepta Adamo et Noæ data Judæi non ponunt interdictum ſcortandi. Grot. in Act. xv. 20.

eat the member, or the fleſh of a beaſt taken from it alive. Which is great cruelty, and even barbarity.

Thirdly. This whole article, as ſeems to me, is a Jewiſh way of repreſenting the law of nature, by which all men are obliged. For ſons of Adam, and ſons of Noah, comprehend the whole world. By the law of nature all are obliged. Jews and Chriſtians, who are under a particular law of revelation, are not exempted from this law, and its ſeveral obligations: but are as much ſubject to it as other men.

Fourthly. As this ſcheme is the ſcheme of Jewiſh maſters only, it need not to be received without examination. Rabbinical and Thalmudical writers may be of uſe. But they are not infallible. Indeed, I had rather learn Jewiſh antiquities from the ſcriptures, and ſuch other Jewiſh writers, as lived before our Saviour's coming, or were contemporary with Chriſt and his apoſtles, than from later Jewiſh authors.

Fifthly. Theſe precepts deliver a wrong interpretation of Gen. ix. 4. the command given to Noah, relating to food. They repreſent it to forbid the eating of any member, or of any fleſh of a beaſt taken from it alive: which is a wrong account, as muſt be apparent to all. The words are: *But fleſh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, ſhall ye not eat.* Or, as in Lev. xvii. 14. *Ye ſhall eat the blood of no manner of fleſh. For the life of all fleſh is the blood thereof.* And ſee Deut. xii. 23. And this law, as delivered to Noah, was underſtood by Joſephus[c] to forbid the eating of blood. Which muſt induce us to believe, that this is a falſe, and late interpretation: and that this whole ſcheme of Noachical precepts is a modern thing. Several learned men have argued in the like manner.

Sixthly. If the Jewiſh doctors ſay, (as undoubtedly many chriſtian commentators now do:) that any people, who obeyed theſe ſeven precepts, though they received not circumciſion,

[c] *Excepto quod carnem cum ſanguine non comedetis.*] Hebræi recentiores, et, ut credo, Chriſtianorum odio, ſentiunt vetari hic eſum membri rapti de animali vivo. . . . At certe vetuſtiores Hebræorum non ita interpretatos ſatis docet Joſephus, qui ait, χωρις αιματος· εν τουτω γαρ εστιν η ψυχη. Quem ſenſum iiſdem prope verbis hic expreſſit Rabbi Sardias, et quidem ſequuntur non ignobiles Hebræorum magiſtri. Gro. ad Gen. ix. 4. . . . Ita interpretatur et Joſephus. Ant. l. i. cap. 3.

. . . At poſteriores Rabbini inter præcepta Noacho data, quæ ad totum genus humanum pertinere ab iis putantur, hoc recenſent, ſenſumque eſſe volunt, *membrum animalis viventis non eſſe comedendum* . . . Sed hæc poſterioris ævi commenta exigui ſunt ad expoſitionem horum librorum, uſus. Cleric. in Gen. ix. 4.

might

might dwell among the Iſraelites, and ſojourn in their land; I preſume, they are miſtaken.

This I argue, 1. From the ſixth of theſe precepts, to have judgment, or puniſhment for malefactors. Or, in other words, magiſtracy, for reſtraining exceſſes, inconſiſtent with the peace of ſociety, and for puniſhing delinquents. How can any learned Chriſtians ſuppoſe, that uncircumciſed gentiles were required, or allowed to have magiſtracy in the land of Iſrael? Nay, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that proſelytes, or men circumciſed after the law of Moſes, living in the land of Iſrael, had magiſtrates of their own. Whilſt the Jewiſh people were ſui juris, their own maſters, all civil privileges, in their country, were appropriated to the deſcendants of Jacob. The caſe was quite different afterwards when they were ſubject to the Romans, and eſpecially, when they were reduced to the ſtate of a Roman province: as they were after the removal of Archelaus, not many years after our Saviour's nativity.

Indeed, God was the law-giver, and the king of the Jewiſh people. He governed them after the death of Moſes, firſt by judges, then by kings, of his own appointment: who were to govern the people committed to their charge, according to the laws, which himſelf had delivered by the hand of Moſes.

2. It ſeems to me to be probable, that according to the law of Moſes, no uncircumciſed men could reſide, or be ſtated inhabitants in the land of Iſrael. Or, as I expreſſed it ſome while[d] ago. 'It ſeems to me, that none but proſelytes, or 'circumciſed men, had the privilege of a ſettled abode, or 'reſidence there, that is, to ſojourn in the land. However, I 'think, there muſt have been an exception for travellers paſſing 'through the country, even though they were idolaters, and 'alſo for ſome, whoſe traffick was needful, and therefore 'allowed. As Patrick ſays upon Deut. xiv. 21. There were 'ſome, called Nocherim, which we tranſlate aliens: who were 'mere gentiles, and not ſuffered to have an habitation among 'them, but only to come and go in their traffick among 'them.'

I ſhall now argue this point more diſtinctly from divers conſiderations.

In the firſt place, I argue it from the law of circumciſion, as delivered to Abraham. For, as our Saviour himſelf ſaid to the Jews of his time, *circumciſion is not of Moſes, but of the fathers.*

[d] See vol. VI. ch. xviii. § 11.

John vii. 22. The original law is in Gen. xvii. 11—14. *And ye ſhall circumciſe the fleſh of your foreſkin. And it ſhall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and thee. And he that is eight days old, ſhall be circumciſed among you. Every man-child in your generations, he that is born in the houſe, or bought with money, muſt needs be circumciſed. And my covenant ſhall be in your fleſh for an everlaſting covenant: and the uncircumciſed man-child, whoſe fleſh of his foreſkin is not circumciſed, that ſoul ſhall be cut off from his people. He has broken my covenant.* Afterwards ver. 23. *And Abraham took Iſhmael his ſon, and all that were born in his houſe, and all that were bought with his money, every male among the men of Abraham's houſe: and circumciſed the fleſh of their foreſkin, in the ſelf-ſame day, as God had commanded him.* And ſee what follows to the end of ver. 27.

That is the law, which God gave to Abraham, and Moſes afterwards delivered to the children of Iſrael, when they were multiplied, and were become a nation.

And the inſtitution of the paſſover is to this purpoſe. Ex. xii. 43, 44. *This is the ordinance of the paſſover. There ſhall no ſtranger eat thereof.* In the Heb. *Every ſon of the ſtranger ſhall not eat thereof.* Gr. πας αλλογενης. *But every man's ſervant that is bought with money, when thou haſt circumciſed him, then ſhall he eat thereof.* And ver. 48. *When a ſtranger ſhall ſojourn with thee, and will keep the paſſover to the Lord, let all his males be circumciſed. And then let him come near, and keep it.*

Such laws muſt have made circumciſion very general in that country.

When the oppreſſion, which the Jewiſh people had laboured under, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, was abated, and Mattathias had come out of his retirement [e] and had got a number of men about him; it is ſaid, 1 Macc. ii. 45, 46. *Then Mattathias, and his friends, went round about, and pulled down the altars. And what children ſoever they found within the coaſt of Iſrael uncircumciſed, thoſe they circumciſed valiantly:* that is, reſolutely, ſtrenuouſly, without ſcruple, being perſuaded, that they had a right ſo to do.

Hyrcanus having conquered the Idumeans, in [f] the year before Chriſt, one hundred and twenty-nine, as [g] Joſephus ſays, 'He permitted them to remain in the country, if they

[e] See Prideaux Conn. year before Chriſt 165. vol. II. p. 182.

[f] Prid. as before, p. 307.

[g] Antiq. l. 13. c. ix. § 1.

'conſented

'conſented to be circumciſed, and to obſerve the Jewiſh laws;
'which they engaged to do, rather than leave their country:
'and from that time they became Jews.'

Afterwards, in [h] the year before Chriſt, one hundred and ſix. 'Ariſtobulus, as we alſo learn from [i] Joſephus, having 'ſubdued the Itureans, added a large part of their country 'to Judea, and obliged the inhabitants, if they would ſtay 'in that country, to be circumciſed, and to live according 'to the laws of the Jews.'

I ſuppoſe, that this was done, becauſe thoſe countries were reckoned to be part of the land, which God had given to the children of Iſrael.

Seventhly. What has been juſt ſaid under the foregoing particular, muſt needs render it probable, that by *the ſtranger, the ſtranger within thy gates, the ſtranger that ſojourneth with thee,* ſo often mentioned in the law of Moſes, and other books of the Old Teſtament, are meant proſelytes, men circumciſed after the law of Moſes.

Nevertheleſs I ſhall here farther add ſome other proof, which may be reckoned more particular and poſitive. The argument, which I now aim at is this. The ſame religious ordinances are given to the children of Iſrael, and to the ſtrangers ſojourning among them, and under the ſame penalties.

Lev. xvii. 8—10. *And thou ſhalt ſay unto them: whatſoever man there be of the houſe of Iſrael, or of the ſtrangers that ſojourn among you, that offereth a burnt offering, or a ſacrifice: and bringeth it not to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer it unto the Lord, even that man ſhall be cut off from among his people. And whatever man there ſhall be of the houſe of Iſrael, or of the ſtrangers that ſojourn among you, that eateth any manner of blood, I will even ſet my face againſt that ſoul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people.* Ver. 13. *And whatſoever man there be of the children of Iſrael, or of the ſtrangers that ſojourn among you, which hunteth, and catcheth any beaſt, or fowl, that may be eaten, he ſhall even pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with duſt.* Ver. 15, 16. *And every ſoul that eateth that which died of itſelf, or that which was torn with beaſts, whether he be one of your own country, or a ſtranger, he ſhall both waſh his clothes, and bathe himſelf in water, and be unclean until the even. Then ſhall he be clean.*

[h] Prid. p. 370. [i] Antiq. l. 13. cap. xi. 3.

But if he waſh not himſelf, nor bathe his fleſh, then he ſhall bear his iniquity.

I might add other texts. But theſe appear to be ſufficient. Theſe prohibitions are delivered equally to the children of Iſrael, and to ſtrangers that ſojourned with them. And the penalty of tranſgreſſion is that of being *cut off from his people.* Therefore this ſojourning ſtranger was one, who had joined himſelf to the houſe of Iſrael, or the Jewiſh people, by circumciſion. Otherwiſe he could not have been cut off from them. I do not now quote any more places at length. But I would refer to Numb. xv. 13—16, and 25—31.

Eighthly. If obſerving the above-mentioned precepts of the ſons of Noah qualified men to reſide in the land of Iſrael: I preſume, it muſt have been lawful for Jews to converſe with them: and that they might do ſo, without contracting any legal impurity.

Nevertheleſs St. Peter was ſhy of converſing with Cornelius of Ceſarea. When he came to his houſe, he told him, and his company, *they knew, how it was an unlawful thing, for a man that is a Jew, to keep company, or come unto one of another nation.* Acts x. 28. And when St. Peter was come back to Jeruſalem, *they that were of the circumciſion contended with him, ſaying: thou wenteſt in to men uncircumciſed, and didſt eat with them,* ch. xi. 2, 3.

Of that centurion it is ſaid, *that he feared God, with all his houſe, that he gave much alms to the people, and that he prayed to God always.* Cornelius therefore was not a tranſgreſſor of any of the precepts of the ſons of Noah. He was not an idolater, nor a blaſphemer, nor unjuſt and rapacious: nor did he indulge himſelf in the practice of abominable filthineſs. And yet, we ſee, from authentic evidence, that it was not lawful for a Jew to converſe with him. Indeed, he lived at Cæſarea, a part of the land of Iſrael. But ſo did many idolaters, at that time, under the Romans. It was not then in the power of the Jews to exclude any men, who were admitted by their maſters.

Once more, ninthly, the ſeven precepts of Noah, or the ſons of Noah, can afford no help for explaining the regulations of the council at Jeruſalem. For there is no reſemblance between them. Nor have they any relation to each other. The Noachic precepts are all of the moral kind, as was ſhown juſt now: thoſe of the apoſtles and elders at Jeruſalem are, all of them, things indifferent, as will be ſhown hereafter.

And

And, if the ſeven precepts of Noah are an invention of modern Jews: as ſome learned men of the beſt underſtanding [k] have argued: it is great pity, that ſo much regard has been ſhown to them by Chriſtians, who profeſs a zeal for truth, and are deſirous to know the right interpretation of the ſcriptures. Though they are pompouſly called precepts of Adam and Noah, as if they had been delivered to the firſt man that lived on this earth, and to him who eſcaped the deluge, from whom all who have ſince lived on this earth are deſcended: they are, in this ſyſtem and collection, a modern invention, and were unknown to Chriſt's apoſtles. We might as well attempt to explain the ſcriptures by the decrees of the council of Trent, or the ſynod of Dort, as the apoſtolic decree by theſe ſeven precepts.

III. THAT THERE WAS BUT ONE SORT OF JEWISH PROSELYTES. I have ſpoken my mind concerning the Noachic precepts. I ſhould now proceed to conſider the firſt queſtion, propoſed by our Author at the head of this Diſſertation. To whom the apoſtolic decree was directed.

But this queſtion I have anſwered [l] formerly. It was directed to all Gentile converts whatever. The letter is inſcribed Acts xv. 23. *to the brethren, which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia.* To them the epiſtle was inſcribed, to them it was ſent, and to them it was delivered by the meſſengers, who carried it from Jeruſalem. And afterwards. Acts xvi. 1—4. When Paul and Silas left Antioch, *they came to Derbe, and Lyſtra . . . And as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees to keep, that were ordained by the apoſtles and elders, which were at Jeruſalem.* And that

[k] I deſire the reader to look back to p 85, note. *(c)* I add here the judgments of others.

Mihi dubiæ ſubleſtæque fidei videtur quicquid Judæi de his Noachidarum præceptis, eorumque antiquitate et origine tradant.... Nam ſi Adamo in paradiſo, vel Noachi filiis fuerunt mandata; cur de iis in ſacris literis, et Joſephi ſcriptis, eſt ſilentium? D. Salom. Deyling. Obſervation. Sacrar. P. ſecund. &c. Obſer. 38. § ix. p. 465. &c.

. . . *peregrinus tuus, qui in portis tuis.*] LXX. Int. ο προσηλυτος ο παροικων εν σοι. Notum quidem eſt, quid Rabbini de proſelytis ſentiant, quidve olim ab Hebræis veteribus ex iis poſtulatum fuiſſe, exiſtiment. Sed cum multa aut prorſus fingunt, aut ex ſui ævi moribus judicent, tutum non eſt iis omnia credere. Cleric. in Ex. xx. 10.

'And indeed the modern Rab'bins are of ſmall authority in all 'ſuch matters of remote antiqui'ty.' Whiſton note *(f)* upon Joſephus, of the Jewiſh War, B. VI. ch. v. 3.

[l] See vol. VI. ch. xviii.

the

the decree was deſigned for all Gentiles, appears from the words of St. James, who propoſed it. ver. 19. *Wherefore my ſentence is, that we trouble not them, which from among the Gentiles are turned to God.* And long after this, when St. Paul was come again to Jeruſalem, the ſame James, the reſiding apoſtle in that city, ſays to him. ch. xxi. 25. *As touching the Gentiles, which believe, we have written, and concluded.*

And from the beginning, all Chriſtians every where, for a good while, ſuppoſed themſelves to be bound by them, and did obſerve them, as we know from many ancient authors ſtill extant. But ſince the fourth century, they have been little regarded by thoſe Chriſtians, who [m] uſed the Latin tongue.

Moreover, I did formerly [n] allege a paſſage of Mr. Hallett, arguing very clearly, and ſtrongly to the like purpoſe.

I did likewiſe at that time argue, that [o] there never were, in ancient times, among the Jews, two ſorts of proſelytes: and that all thoſe men, who, in the Old Teſtament, are called proſelytes, or ſtrangers, or ſtrangers within thy gates, were men circumciſed. I have here added more arguments to the ſame purpoſe in the obſervations upon the Noachic precepts.

I muſt therefore entreat thoſe learned men, who ſay, the regulations of the apoſtles and elders at Jeruſalem were ſent to uncircumciſed gentiles, whom they call proſelytes of the gate, to give ſome better proof, that there were ſuch men, than they have yet done. Otherwiſe, I muſt ſtill think their ſcheme chimerical, and without foundation.

They are the more obliged to do this, becauſe upon many other occaſions, they bring in thoſe half-proſelytes, in their explications of the ſcriptures.

To call any uncircumciſed men Jewiſh proſelytes, as our learned author does here, though ſuch men are never called proſelytes in the New Teſtament: nor, as I think, in the Old: is unwarrantable, and unbecoming men, who profeſs to be inquirers after truth.††

[m] See the chapter of St. Cyprian, before referred to, vol. III.

[n] See vol. VI. ch. xviii.

[o] The ſame.

†† Dr. Ward is not alone in this way of ſpeaking. Dr. Hammond's paraphraſe of Acts x. 2. in Le Clerc's Latin verſion is thus: Hic Cornelius erat Judaicæ religionis proſelytus . . . licet circumciſus non eſſet. I do not ſee, how any men of judgment and candour can approve of this. For a paraphraſt ought not to add to the original. See by all means Dr. Doddridge's note *(b)* upon that text.

An

An uncircumciſed proſelyte appears to me to be as truly an impropriety, and contradiction, as an uncircumciſed Jew. For a proſelyte is a Jew by religion, though not by birth.

I am arguing with my late learned friend whoſe Diſſertations are before me. But I ought to be underſtood to argue with all others, who have adopted the ſame ſentiment.

It is not to be expected, that I ſhould repeat here what I ſaid[p] formerly. But, if I could contribute any thing farther toward clearing up this point, I ſhould willingly add a few more obſervations.

I then[q] ſaid. 'I did not believe, that the notion of two 'ſorts of Jewiſh proſelytes can be found in any chriſtian writer, 'before the fourteenth century, or later.'

I ſhall now add. I cannot at preſent ſay certainly, which is the moſt ancient commentator, in whom I have met with it: whether Cardinal Cajetan, or Alphonſus Toſtatus, or another. For I cannot now refer to the place. I either made no written extract, or have loſt it. But I well remember to have read in ſome commentator about their times, this obſervation. Some ſay, there were two ſorts of Jewiſh proſelytes; but it is a miſtake. There was but one. That is proof, that the notion of two ſorts of proſelytes was then embraced by ſome.

But though I cannot now ſay, where I met with that obſervation; I have by me divers extracts made from Alphonſus Toſtatus, who[r] flouriſhed in the fifteenth century, and died in the year 1454. From which extracts it appears, that himſelf acknowledged but one ſort of Jewiſh proſelytes, and that by *ſtrangers within their gates, and ſojourners*, he underſtood men circumciſed, who had embraced the Jewiſh religion.

Upon Exodus ch. xii. he ſays, 'A[s] native is he, who was 'born in the Hebrew religion, having a Hebrew father. A 'ſojourner is one, who comes from Gentiliſm into the Jewiſh 'religion.'

Upon Exodus xx. explaining the fourth commandment, he ſays, 'That* by *ſtrangers within thy gates* are meant converts

[p] See vol. VI. ch. xviii.

[q] The ſame.

[r] See Du Pin, and Morery.

[s] Indigena dicitur, qui in Hebræorum ritu natus eſt, quia patrem Hebræum habebat. Colonus dicitur, qui ad colendum verum Deum tranſit ad ritum Judaicum veniens de Gentilitate. In Ex. cap. xii. Qu. lviii. T. II. p. 160. E. Colon. Agrip. 1613.

* *Advena, qui eſt intra portas tuas.*] Id eſt, etiam obſervabunt diem Sabbati advenæ de Gentilitate converſi ad Judaiſmum. Et iſti ſunt intra portas tuas, id eſt, intra portas civitatum tuarum. In Ex. xx. Qu. xiv.

'from

'from Gentiliſm to Judaiſm. They alſo muſt obſerve the 'ſabbath. They dwell within thy gates, that is, within the 'gates of thy cities.'

Upon Matt. xxiii. 15. he ſays. 'Proſelyte † denotes a man 'converted to Judaiſm. The Jewiſh people conſiſted of two 'parts. Some were Jews by ancient deſcent, and were called 'children of Iſrael: others were converted from among the 'nations to Judaiſm. And theſe were called by three names, 'ſojourners, ſtrangers, and proſelytes. Thoſe two diviſions 'are very common in the books of Moſes: *the children of Iſrael, 'and the ſtrangers that ſojourn among you:* particularly in the 'ſeventeenth chapter of Leviticus: that is, ſuch as were Jews 'by birth, or ſuch as were converted to Judaiſm. So alſo 'Ezek. xiv. 1. *Every one of the houſe of Iſrael, or of the ſtranger 'that ſojourneth in Iſrael, which ſeparateth himſelf from me, and 'ſetteth up his idols in his heart.* It is evident, that by the 'ſtranger is meant a proſelyte, who had been converted to 'God. Otherwiſe he could not be ſeparated from him.'

I have tranſcribed but a ſmall part of his notes upon Matt. xxiii. 15. which are large, and well deſerve to be read by ſuch as have opportunity. So far as I am able to judge, he always ſpeaks agreeably to the true tenour of the Moſaic law, and is altogether unbiaſſed by modern Rabbinical interpretations.

I cannot ſay, whether Eraſmus was acquainted with the notion of two ſorts of proſelytes, or not. He ſpeaks very judiciouſly in his comment upon Matt. xxiii. 15. Where he ſays: 'Proſelyte[t] is a Greek word, equivalent to ſtranger. 'For ſo the Hebrews called thoſe, whom they received from 'other nations into communion with them.'

Philip Melanćthon alſo was a learned man. He was born in 1497, and died in 1560. I think, we may be poſitive, that

† Dicendum eſt, quod proſelytus denotat hominem converſum ad Judaiſmum. Judæi autem diſtinguebantur in duo, quia quidam ex origine prima erant Judæi, et iſti vocabantur filii Iſrael. Alii erant converſi de Gentibus ad Judaiſmum. Et iſti vocabantur tribus nominibus, ſc. advenæ, peregrini, et proſelyti. Et iſta duo nomina ſunt multum uſitata in libris Moyſi: ſc. homo de filiis Iſraels et de advenis, qui peregrinantur inter vos. Lev. xvii. id eſt, ſive ſit de Judæis ex genere, ſive de illis qui converſi fuerunt ad Judaiſmum. Ezech. xiv. Homo de domo Iſrael, et de proſelytis, quicunque advena fuerit in Iſrael, ſi alienatus fuerit a me, et poſuerit idola ſua in corde ſuo. Ex quo apparet, quod erat jam converſus ad Deum, qui proſelytus eſt, quia alias non potuit a Deo alienari, &c. In Matt. cap. xxiii. Qu. 87. p. 325.

[t] Proſelytus Græca vox eſt, προσηλυτος, nobis *advena*. Sic enim dicebatur Hebræis, quem ex aliena natione in ſuæ legis conſortium receperant. Eraſm. he

he knew nothing of any proſelytes, but ſuch as were circumciſed, and thereby obliged to obſerve all the ritual ordinances of the law of Moſes. His comment upon Matt. xxiii. 15. is very obſervable. And I ſhall tranſcribe [t] it.

'Here you may learn, that God had a church at all times, 'even among the gentiles. And in the times of the kingdom 'of Iſrael and Judah there were three ſtates of men, who were 'members of the church.

'The firſt ſtate were the ſeed of Abraham. Thoſe were to 'be circumciſed, and to keep the ceremonies according to the 'law of Moſes.

'The ſecond ſtate was that of the proſelytes, that is, ſtrang-'ers, who were not of the ſeed of Abraham, but yet were 'willing to be a part of that people, and were willing to be 'circumciſed. Theſe, becauſe they were willing to be cir-'cumciſed, were bound to obſerve all the other ceremonies. 'Of this number was Urias.

'The third ſtate are ſuch as in the Acts are called religious 'men, that is, Heathens, as Naaman the Syrian, Nabucho-'donoſor, Cyrus, Cornelius, and many others, who learned 'the promiſes concerning the coming of the Meſſiah, and the 'doctrine concerning the true God, and concerning good 'works, agreeably to the decalogue. Theſe were not circum-'ciſed, nor did they obſerve the Moſaic ceremonies.'

So writes Melancthon, and, as I think, according to the ſenſe of all chriſtian writers of the firſt twelve centuries, and later.

I ſhall not proceed any lower in the inquiry, when that opinion, which now prevails ſo much, had its firſt riſe among Chriſtians.

But I ſhall proceed in my argument.

[t] Hic diſcatis, quod Deus omni tempore ſibi colligit eccleſiam, etiam ex gentibus. Ac tempore regni Iſrael et Juda, erant tres ſtatus hominum, qui erant membra eccleſiæ.

Primus ſtatus erat ſemen Abrahæ. Hic oportuit circumcidi, et ſervare ceremonias juxta legem Moſi.

Secundus ſtatus erat proſelytorum, id eſt, advenarum, qui non erant nati ex ſemine Abrahæ, ſed tamen volebant eſſe pars hujus populi, et volebant circumcidi. Hi, quia volebant circumcidi, debebant etiam ſervare alias ceremonias, ut Urias.

Tertius ſtatus erat, qui in Actis vocantur, viri religioſi, id eſt, Ethnici, ut Nahaman Syrus, Nabocodonoſor, Cyrus, Cornelius, et alii multi. Qui diſcebant promiſſiones de venturo Meſſia, et doctrinam de vero Deo, et de bonis operibus, juxta Decalogum. Et tamen nec circumciſi erant, nec ſervabant ceremonias Moſaicas. Melancthon. in Matt. T. III. p. 545. Witteb. 1563.

The

The word, proſelyte, occurs four time in the books of the New Teſtament. [u] Matt. xxiii. 15. Acts ii. 10. ch. vi. 5. and ch. xiii. 43. I ſuppoſe it to be univerſally allowed by learned men, that in the firſt three texts by proſelyte is intended a man circumciſed after the manner of Moſes. Nor do I know, that there is any doubt about the fourth and laſt text. And the place was ſo underſtood by [x] ancient chriſtian writers. And among the moderns Grotius is very clear, that [y] hereby are intended proſelytes, or as he calls them, after the now prevailing cuſtom, and to prevent miſtake, proſelytes of righteouſneſs.

However, as this text is ſomewhat particular, I ſhall conſider it diſtinctly. *Now when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews, and religious proſelytes, followed Paul and Barnabas, who ſpeaking to them, perſuaded them to continue in the grace of God.* των σεβομενων προσηλυτων. I know, that by σεβομενοι, in this place, Dr. Ward did not underſtand a religious diſtinction or denomination, but a perſonal character, Œcumenius ſpeaks to the like purpoſe. He ſays, 'Theſe [z] perſons 'were ſo called, becauſe they were ſincere and fervent in their 'religion.' It is uſed in the ſame ſenſe by Joſephus, when he ſays, that [a] Alexandra, widow of Alexander Jannæus, was a religious woman, or religious toward God.

Afterwards Œcumenius ſeems to give another interpretation, ſaying; 'Or otherwiſe, [b] he calls the proſelytes worſhippers,

[u] The note of Lucas Brugenſis upon Matt. xxiii. 15. is ſo neat, and pertinent, that I ſhall put it down here. *Proſelytum.*] Græca vox eſt, Latine ſonans *advenam*, quem Hebræi efferunt Ger. qua ſignificant eum, quem ex aliena natione in ſuæ legis conſortium adduxerint: qui a Gentilitate ad Judaiſmum adductus eſt, non natione Judæus, ſed adoptione factus, ac in Legis Moſaicæ fœdera acceptus: quaſi dicas adventitium ad religionem, quod opponitur Judæo nato. Luc. Brug.

[x] *Secuti ſunt multi Judæorum, et colentium advenarum.*] . . . Significat eos, qui naturâ gentiles erant, ſed religione Judæi, quos Græci proſelytos vocant. Bed. in loc. Vid. et Œcum. in loc. p. 115, 116.

[y] *Colentium advenarum.*] Non Græcorum, ſed eorum, qui legi Moſis ſe ſubdiderant, advenæ juſtitiæ. Grot. in Act. xiii. 43.

[z] Σεβομενους ενταυθα τε και προτερον τους περι το οικειον σεβας θερμους και διαπυρους και ζηλωτας των αλλων μαλλον καλει. Œcum. in Act. Ap. p. 115.

[a] . . . σεβομενη περι το θειον. De B. J. l. 1. v. 2. And ſee vol. I.

[b] . . . η σεβομενους ιδιως προσηλυτας καλει. Και δημηγορων εμπροσθεν, και λεγων. Ἀνδρες Ισραηλιται, και οι εν υμιν φοβεμενοι τον Θεον, φοβεμενους τον Θεον τους προσηλυτους εκαλει, τους μεν απο τε γενους σεμνυνων, και Ισραηλιτας εξονομαζων, τους δε, οτι μη τουτο ειχεν ειπειν, απο θρησκειας ισαζων. Ib. p. 116.

'properly.

'properly. He addreſſeth himſelf to them before, ſaying, '*Men of Iſrael, and ye that fear God.* [Comp. ver. 16. and 26.] 'calling the proſelytes *men that feared God.* Thus he gives to 'the former, the honour of their birth, calling them *men of* '*Iſrael.* And though he could not ſay that of the other, he 'makes them equal for their religion.' The place is ſomewhat obſcure. But I think, he intends to ſay, that St. Luke, by calling thoſe men worſhippers, makes them equal to the Iſraelites, in point of religion, becauſe the word worſhipper does properly denote one who is proſelyted to the Jewiſh religion: whereas fearing God might be aſcribed to other men, who were not ſo united to the Jewiſh people.

There is one place in Joſephus, where this word is uſed, which appears to be very remarkable. It is in his account of the plundering the temple at Jeruſalem, by Craſſus, in the year before Chriſt 54. 'Nor ought it to be thought ſtrange, 'ſays Joſephus, that there ſhould be ſuch riches in our temple, 'when all the Jews and worſhippers of God from every part of 'the world, from Europe and Aſia, had been ſending preſents 'thither for ſeveral ages.'

By worſhippers in this place, I think, muſt be meant proſelytes. And worſhippers here is a ſort of technical word, like that of proſelytes, denoting men that had joined themſelves to the Jewiſh people, and were, by religion, though not by birth, Jews. I do not deny, that ſome men, who were not proſelytes, but downright heathens, and idolaters, did ſometimes, of their own accord, and freely, ſend preſents to the Jewiſh temple. But here Joſephus ſays, that all worſhippers, as well as Jews, ſent preſents to the temple. We are thereby led to underſtand proſelytes, who were as much obliged to pay reſpect to the temple, as Jews by deſcent.

This word is found ſeveral times in the Acts, and, as ſeems to me, in its proper ſenſe. I ſhall conſider all thoſe texts.

Acts xiii. 50. *But the*[d] *Jews ſtirred up the devout,* [rather, the worſhipping] *and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raiſed perſecution againſt Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coaſts.*

Theſe, might be called, not improperly, proſelytes: though never initiated by any particular rite. Later Jews may ſay,

[c] ... παντων των κατα την οικουμενην Ιουδαιων, και σεβομενων τον Θεον. Antiq. l. 14. vii. 2.

[d] Οι δε Ιουδαιοι παρωτρυναν τας σεβομενας γυναικας, και τας ευσχημονας, και τους πρωτους της πολεως.

that

that [e] women were initiated by baptiſm. But there is no ground for it in the law of Moſes. I think, that women were firſt ſo honoured, and diſtinguiſhed under the goſpel diſpenſation. Therefore St. Paul ſays, that *there is neither male, nor female;... for ye are all one in Chriſt Jeſus,* Gal. iii. 28. And we are aſſured, that when the people of Samaria *believed Philip, preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jeſus Chriſt, they were baptized both men and women,* Acts viii. 12. And Lydia and her houſhold were baptized, Acts xvi. 15.

I pay no regard to what the later Jewiſh Rabbins ſay of the method of initiating proſelytes, by circumciſion, baptiſm, and ſacrifice: who have made void not only the moral, (with which our Lord often chargeth them, as Matt. xv. 1—9. Mark vii. 1—13. and other places,) but alſo the ritual part of the law of God. Indeed, they had corrupted the Moſaic ritual, by numberleſs additions, before the coming of our Saviour. As appears from the text of St. Mark, juſt referred to. Nor have they ceaſed to do the like ſince.

I think, as before ſaid, that women were firſt baptized under the evangelical diſpenſation. I am alſo of opinion, that our bleſſed Lord's forerunner firſt made uſe of baptiſm, as an initiating ordinance. And therefore he was called the baptiſt. Ὁ Βαπτιστης Matt. iii. 1. and in many other places. Nor am I ſingular in this opinion.

Joſephus [f] who makes ſo long a ſtory about circumciſing Izates, does not ſay, that Helena, his mother, was initiated by any external rite: though ſhe likewiſe embraced the Jewiſh religion.

The worſhipping women, above-mentioned, whom [g] Grotius calls proſelytes, were unqueſtionably, reckoned to be of the Jewiſh religion. Joſephus, ſpeaking of affairs in the year of Chriſt ſixty-ſix, ſays, 'The [h] men of Damaſcus formed 'a deſign to make away with all the Jews of that place. 'But they concealed their deſign from their wives, who, 'excepting a few only, were all devoted to the Jewiſh religion.'

[e] The Rabbinical accounts of initiating proſelytes may be ſeen in Reland. Antiq. Hebr. P. II. cap. 7. p. 246. and Moſes Maimon. Tract. de Proſelytis. cap. 1. p. 113, 114, ex. ed. H. Prid. Oxon. 1679.

[f] Antiq. l. 20. cap. ii.

[g] Τας σεβομενας γυναικας, *mulieres religioſas.*] Proſelytas. Nam erant et proſelyti in ea urbe, ut audivimus ſupra, ver. 43. Grot. in loc.

[h] απασας πλην ολιγων υπηγμενας τη Ιουδαικη θρησκεια. De B. J. l. 2. xx. 2. And ſee vol. I. p. 118.

Acts

Acts xvi. 13, 14. At Philippi in Macedonia. *And on the ſabbath we went out of the city by a river ſide, where prayer was wont to be made* [or, where an oratory was appointed to be.] *And we ſat down, and ſpake unto the women, which reſorted thither. And a certain woman, named Lydia, a ſeller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, which worſhipped God, heard us.* σεβομενη τον Θεον.

Acts xvii. 1—4. *And they came to Theſſalonica, where was a ſynagogue of the Jews. And Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them. And three ſabbath days,* ſucceſſively, *reaſoned with them out of the ſcriptures. And ſome of them,* that is, of the Jews, who were ſo by birth, or Iſraelites, *believed, and conſorted with Paul and Silas: and of the devout,* worſhipping, *Greeks, a great multitude, and of the chief women, not a few.* των τε σεβομενων ελληνων πολυ πληθος.

Theſe worſhipping Greeks muſt have been proſelytes. For they frequented the ſynagogue, and were admitted there without ſcruple. They were among the ordinary, ſtated attendants on the worſhip there.

It is true, when at Antioch, in Piſidia, it is ſaid, Acts xiii. 42, 44. *And when the Jews were gone out of the ſynagogue, the Gentiles beſought, that theſe words might be preached unto them the next ſabbath. . . . And the next ſabbath day came almoſt the whole city to hear the word of God.*

But this was an extraordinary caſe. And under *almoſt the whole city* muſt be comprehended many heathens and idolaters of the place. And from this very context it appears, that none, beſide Jews and proſelytes, frequented the ſynagogue. For it is here ſaid, *when the Jews were gone out . . . the Gentiles beſought that theſe words might be preached to them.* Therefore they were not preſent at St. Paul's firſt diſcourſe. It was owing to ſome general rumour only, that their curioſity had been raiſed.

St. Luke, in the place juſt cited from Acts xvii. at the beginning, does not mention St. Paul's preaching at Theſſalonica to any beſides Jews, and worſhipping Greeks. Nevertheleſs the apoſtle, in his firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, ch. i. 9. writes to them, as *having turned to God from idols, to ſerve the living God.* St. Paul therefore, whilſt at Theſſalonica, either between the ſabbaths above-mentioned, or afterwards, muſt have preached to, and converted a

conſiderable number of gentiles. And there[i] ſeems good reaſon to think, that the apoſtle and his fellow-labourers ſtayed longer at Theſſalonica, than three weeks. For, whilſt he was there, the Philippians *ſent once and again to his neceſſity*, Philip. iv. 16. He alſo reminds the Theſſalonians, that whilſt he was with them, he and his companions *laboured night and day, that they might not be chargeable to any of them.*

Acts xvii. 17. At Athens. *Therefore diſputed he in the ſynagogue with the Jews, and with the devout perſons, and in the market daily with them that met him.* Διελεγετο μεν ουν εν τη συναγωγη τοις Ιουδαιοις, και τοις σεβομενοις. It ſhould have been rendered, *with the Jews, and the worſhippers*, agreeably to the[k] Latin Vulgate, here, and elſewhere, *et colentibus*, not *religioſis*, as in Beza.

Theſe were proſelytes. For they frequented the ſynagogue equally with the Jews. And Paul applied himſelf equally to them. This, as we learned from the paſſage of Joſephus, before quoted, was the proper diſtinction and denomination of thoſe, who by proſelytiſm joined themſelves to the people of Iſrael. They were not of the ſtock of Iſrael. But they worſhipped with them, in ſynagogues, and at the temple. They paid tribute to the temple, as other Jews did. They might offer ſacrifices there, and they kept the paſſover. In other words, they were in full communion with the people of Iſrael in religious ordinances. They partook with them in all their religious privileges, and joined with them in all their ſolemnities. They were therefore very properly called worſhippers.

Acts xviii. 1—7. *After theſe things Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth . . . And he reaſoned in the ſynagogue every ſabbath, and perſuaded the Jews and the Greeks. And when Silas and Timothy were come from Macedonia, Paul was preſſed in ſpirit, and teſtified to the Jews, that Jeſus was the Chriſt. And when they oppoſed themſelves, and blaſphemed; he ſhook his raiment, and ſaid unto them: your blood be upon your own heads. I am clean. Henceforth I will go unto the gentiles. And he departed thence, and entered into a certain man's houſe, named Juſtus, one that worſhipped God, whoſe houſe joined hard to the ſynagogue.*

[i] See Dr. Benſon's Hiſtory of the firſt planting the Chriſtian Religion, B. 3. ch. v. ſect. 5. p. 99.

[k] Diſputabat igitur in ſynagoga cum Judæis, et colentibus, et in foro, per omnes dies, ad eos qui aderant. Verſ. Lat.

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Who worſhipped God, σεβομενε τον Θεον. Juſtus was a proſelyte. He was one of thoſe Greeks, whom Paul perſuaded, together with the Jews, in the ſynagogue. And Juſtus was convinced by what Paul ſaid, and became a Chriſtian. That Paul, whilſt in the ſynagogue, preached to Jews only, that is, to men circumciſed, Jews by birth, or by religion, is apparent from the hiſtory, ver. 4, 5. *And he reaſoned in the ſynagogue every ſabbath, and perſuaded the Jews and the Greeks. And when Silas and Timothy were come from Macedonia, Paul was preſſed in ſpirit,* and teſtified to the Jews, *that Jeſus was the Chriſt:* 'That is, upon the coming of thoſe two, 'his fellow-labourers, he was encouraged: and alſo ani-'mated with the greateſt ardour: and once more, and 'finally, *teſtified to the Jews,* that Jeſus was the expected, 'and promiſed Meſſiah.' *But when they oppoſed themſelves, and blaſphemed; he ſhook his raiment, and ſaid unto them: your blood be upon your own heads. I am clean. Henceforth I will go unto the gentiles.*

Let this ſuffice for explaining the word σεβομενος, *worſhipper.*

I now intend to take notice of ſome other Greek words, which in our tranſlation are rendered *devout.*

Acts x. 1, 2. *There was a certain man in Ceſarea, called Cornelius . . . a devout man, and one that feared God, with all his houſe.* ευσεβης. It ſhould be rendered *pious.*

Ver. 7. *And when the angel, which ſpake unto Cornelius was departed, he called two of his houſhold ſervants, and a devout ſoldier, of them that waited upon him continually.* στρατιωτην ευσεβη.

Here again is the ſame Greek word, which ſhould be tranſlated *pious.* It denotes not any religious diſtinction or denomination: but is a perſonal character. Cornelius is never called a proſelyte, nor σεβομενος, a worſhipper. And that he, and his family, and all the company at his houſe, were gentiles, and uncircumciſed, is manifeſt, as from other places, ſo particularly from ch. xi. 1—3.

I ſhall obſerve likewiſe upon another Greek word rendered by us *devout,* in ſome places.

Luke ii. 25. *And behold, there was a man in Jeruſalem, whoſe name was Simeon. And the ſame man was juſt and devout, waiting for the conſolation of Iſrael.* Και ο ανθρωπος ουτος δικαιος, και ευλαβης. I ſhould be diſpoſed to render it thus: *And he was a righteous, and underſtanding man.* Simeon was righteous, or religious, and alſo knowing and diſcreet.

Acts ii. 5. *And there were dwelling at Jeruſalem, Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven.* ανδρες ευλαβεις. The ſame word again, and to be underſtood in the like manner: denoting, that there were then at Jeruſalem Jews from all parts, who were the moſt eminent men of the nation, and moſt diſtinguiſhed for their zeal, their underſtanding, and their outward circumſtances and condition.

Ch. viii. 2. *And devout men carried Stephen to his burial.* Συνεκομισαν δε τον Στεφανον ανδρες ευλαβεις. I ſhould like to tranſlate the word in this place *diſcreet. And diſcreet men carried forth Stephen, and made great lamentation for him.* Such men were the beſt fitted for the kind office here ſpoken of. Wiſdom, or diſcretion, and circumſpection, appear to be included in the verb, as uſed in Acts xxiii. 10. and Heb. xi. 7. And obſerve likewiſe the noun ſubſtantive in Heb. v. 7.

IV. THE OCCASION AND DESIGN OF THE DECREE. The other queſtion concerning the apoſtolic decree, at the head of this Diſſertation, is, whether it was perpetual.

I now therefore intend to conſider the occaſion of it, and then to explain it. Wherein will be contained a ſufficient anſwer to the queſtion propoſed above.

I begin with laying down theſe ſeveral following propoſitions.

1. This epiſtle, or decree, was deſigned for the uſe and direction of all the gentile converts to chriſtianity at that time. This was ſhown before; and needs no enlargement here.

2. The ſeveral regulations of the council at Jeruſalem relate to things in their own nature indifferent.

1.) The point in controverſy relates to things in their own nature indifferent. Therefore it is likely, that the determination of the queſtion ſhould be of the like kind. The riſe of the controverſy, and all the debates upon the occaſion, lead us to think, that the regulations of the council ſhould concern things indifferent, ritual, and ceremonial. There never was a queſtion, whether believers from among the gentiles ſhould obey the moral precepts of righteouſneſs and true holineſs. But the diſpute was, whether they ſhould be circumciſed, and obſerve the ritual ordinances of the law of Moſes, as the Jews did.

They who have any doubt about this, ſhould do well to attend to the hiſtory of this council, and particularly the occaſion of it, at the beginning of the fifteenth chapter

of

of the book of the Acts, and throughout. However, I ſhall tranſcribe below the ſentiments of divers learned and judicious commentators [1] who ſpeak to the like purpoſe. To whom, poſſibly, ſome others may be added in the proceſs of this argument.

2.) The apoſtles and elders call what they recommend in their epiſtle, a burden. Βαρος. Ver. 28. *It ſeemed good unto the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden, than theſe neceſſary things.*

Which word may lead us to think, they intend not ſuch things as are in themſelves reaſonable, and always obligatory.

'Burden, ſay Beauſobre and Lenfant, in their note upon 'this place, is the ſame with *yoke*, mentioned ver. 10. Theſe 'expreſſions ſhow, that the diſcourſe is about ceremonial 'obſervances, which are conſidered as a yoke and burden, 'in oppoſition to moral precepts, which ought not to be 'reckoned burdenſome: ſince the reaſon and conſciences of 'men teach them, that they are obligatory in themſelves.'

Rev. ii. 24, 25. . . . *I will put upon you no other burden:* Βαρος. *But that which ye have already, hold faſt till I come.* Where, I think, our exalted Lord refers to this decree of the apoſtles. And he graciouſly declares, that this burden ſhould not always lie upon his people; but ſhould be taken off from them, when his religion had made greater progreſs in the world.

Our Lord inviting men to receive his inſtructions, as the rule of life, in order to their obtaining everlaſting ſalvation, ſays, Matt. xi. 30. *My yoke is eaſy, and my burden* [το φορτιον μου] *is light.* But he therein intends to ſay, as I apprehend, that his requirements are not burdenſome at all, and that obſerving them will afford great pleaſure and delight.

So St. John ſays, 1 John v. 3. *And his commandments are not grievous.* They are not grievous, or burdenſome, be-

[1] Non cenſet, monendos pios ex Gentibus de iis, quæ ſatis didicerant: Deum colendum, unum verum, non falſos: ei omnem exhibendam reverentiam: abſtinendum a cædibus, a rapinis, injuriis, adulteriis, et inceſtis jure Gentium cognitis: jus cuique reddendum. Sed de iis monet, quæ diſputationem recipere videbantur, et quæ Judæos poterant offendere, et impedire, quo minus pii ex Gentibus cum piis Hebræis in unam eccleſiam coaleſcerent. Grot. in Act. xv. 20. ſub in.

Hæc ille [Tertullianus] a ſcopo aberrans, cum nulla hic ſit niſi rerum ſuapte naturâ mediarum mentio. Bez. annot. in Act. xv. 20.

cauſe they are in themſelves reaſonable, and approve themſelves to the judgment and underſtanding of all men.

As the things recommended in this epiſtle, are ſo diſtinctly ſpoken of, as a burden; it is likely they were not then underſtood to be in themſelves reaſonable.

3.) Another character of theſe regulations of the council is, that they are neceſſary things. By which I think ought to be underſtood ſuch things [m] as are expedient.

Undoubtedly, moral virtues are of all things the moſt neceſſary, according to the general uſe of the word among us. Both reaſon and revelation aſſure us of their abſolute neceſſity. To promote real holineſs is the great deſign of all true religion. Nor is any inſtitution ſo well ſuited to make men truly and eminently virtuous and holy, as the Chriſtian. Nevertheleſs in the language of the New Teſtament, moral virtues are not uſually called neceſſary things, nor holineſs, ſaid to be of neceſſity. I am not aware of more than one text, in which any moral virtue is recommended under that character. It is Rom. xiii. 5. *Wherefore* [n] *ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake.* In other places the meaning of the word is expedient, fit, proper, convenient, in certain ſeaſons and circumſtances. Says St. Paul to the Corinthians: *Therefore* [o] *I thought it neceſſary to exhort the brethren to go before unto you, to make up beforehand your bounty, whereof ye had notice before,* 2 Cor. ix. 8.

To the Philippians: *Yet* [p] *I ſuppoſed it neceſſary to ſend unto you Epaphroditus, my brother,* ch. ii. 25. And, *nevertheleſs to abide in the fleſh* [q] *is more needful for you,* ch. i. 24. In the epiſtle to the Hebrews: *It* [r] *was therefore neceſſary that the patterns of the things in the heavens ſhould be purified with theſe,* ch. ix. 23. St. Luke in the Acts: *Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and ſaid, it* [s] *was neceſſary that the word of God ſhould firſt have been ſpoken unto you,* Acts xiii. 46. In all which places, as ſeems to me, this expreſſion denotes what

[m] Neceſſaria autem hic intellige ad pacem Eccleſiæ, quæ tum erat, per tolerantiam infirmorum: non autem neceſſaria per ſe, et ſimpliciter, exceptâ ſcortatione. Piſcator in Act. xv. 28.

[n] Διο αναγκη. κ. λ.

[o] Αναγκαιον ουν ηγησαμην.

[p] Αναγκαιον δε ηγησαμην . . .

[q] . . . αναγκαιοτερον δι υμας.

[r] Αναγκη ουν τα μεν υποδειγματα των εν τοις ουρανοις, τουτοις καθαριζεσθαι.

[s] Υμιν ην αναγκαιον πρωτον λαληθηναι τον λογον του Θεου.

is

is expedient, highly proper and convenient, conſidering the circumſtances of things and perſons. And ſo the phraſe is underſtood here by ſome [t] very judicious commentators.

I would however obſerve, that the [u] original phraſe in this place is ſomewhat particular. And, inſtead of theſe neceſſary things, ſome [x] rather underſtand ſuch things as it was needful for the apoſtles to impoſe. But this, as I apprehend, makes little difference: whether theſe things were ſuch as the circumſtances of things obliged the council to require, or the gentile chriſtians to obſerve.

4.) None of the Chriſtian converts needed to be informed, that they ought to keep themſelves from the practice of ſuch things as are immoral, and in their own nature evil, and unreaſonable.

Take things ſacrificed to idols for idolatry, blood for homicide, and fornication for uncleanneſs, or any ſins contrary to moral purity; and there was not a gentile convert to the Chriſtian religion, whether converted by Paul, or Barnabas, or any other Jewiſh preacher of the goſpel, but knew his duty in all thoſe reſpects. Men may need to be exhorted to the practice of what they know to be their duty, and to be diſſuaded from things, which they know to be evil. But men do not need to be informed of what they know already.

5.) If the apoſtles, and elders, and brethren, preſent in this council, had intended to forbid in their epiſtle things contrary to morality; they would have added divers other things, beſide thoſe here mentioned.

They would, in that caſe, expreſsly have forbidden lying, perjury, wrath, evil-ſpeaking, theft, robbery, adultery, and and all uncleanneſs. I might add, that if it had been the

[t] *Neceſſaires.*] Il s'agit ici d'une neceſſitè relative aux circonſtances des temps, des perſonnes, et de lieux, pour degager les gentils de toute participation à l' idolatrie, et pour marquer aux Juifs autant d' egards qu'l ſe pouvoient, ſans bleſſer la liberté Chrêtienne. Lenf. et Beauſ. ſur Actes xv. 28.

[u] πλην των επαναγκες τατων.

[x] Non imponeremus hæc, niſi neceſſe eſſet ea imponere. Non dicunt: imponimus hæc neceſſaria, ſed imponimus hæc, quæ neceſſe eſt, ſcilicet, imponere. Comment. Practicus. Caſpar Streſon. in Act. Ap. p. 568. Amſt. 1658.

The Latin Vulgate is *hæc neceſſaria*. Beza tranſlates, *præter neceſſaria iſta*. But in his annotations ſays, Id eſt, ad quæ nos adigit præſens neceſſitas, nempe quod aliter non poſſint Judæi lucrifieri, non quod iſta per ſe ad ſalutem requirerentur. Bez. in xv. 48.

deſign of this aſſembly, to remind the converts, to whom they write, of their duties and obligations, as Chriſtians; they would have exhorted them, particularly, to perſevere in the faith of Chriſt, and would have recommended to them the duty of bearing the croſs, or of patience and fortitude under afflictions and perſecutions for his name's ſake.

6.) All the ſeveral particulars of the decree muſt be underſtood to be of the like kind.

They ought to be all moral, or all indifferent. At leaſt, it appears to me to have a good deal of probability, that the writers of the epiſtle would not put together things of a different nature, without denoting their difference, or making a diſtinction between them. That all theſe things are not moral, or reaſonable in themſelves, and in their own nature obligatory upon all men, in all times, is apparent. Therefore none are ſo.

Theſe ſeveral conſiderations, as ſeems to me, amount to convincing and ſatisfactory proof, that nothing in this decree is of a moral nature.

V. THE DECREE EXPLAINED. Here ſome may ſay. How then do you underſtand them? To which I anſwer, that I am not obliged to explain any of them. Things neceſſary, or expedient, in ſome places, at certain ſeaſons, and upon account of the circumſtances of things and perſons, need not to be underſtood by all in all times, or by thoſe, who are under no obligation to obſerve them. It may be ſuppoſed, that they, to whom the epiſtle was ſent, underſtood it. And it is unqueſtionable, that if any articles were obſcure, or ambiguous; they who delivered the epiſtle, were able to explain them. And ſo long as theſe regulations were neceſſary, or expedient, to be kept, and obſerved; it is likely, that the right ſenſe and deſign of them were generally underſtood. But, as that expedience ceaſed, or abated, the exact meaning of theſe regulations might be gradually loſt, or not diſtinctly retained by all.

However, I am not unwilling to ſhow the probable meaning of theſe ſeveral articles, according to the beſt of my ability.

The whole decree conſiſts of four articles. Which, as they are recited three times, are reckoned up in a different order, and in ſome ſmall variety of expreſſion.

Acts xv. 20. St. James propoſeth them in the council, after this manner: *That we write unto them, that* [y] *they abſtain from*

from pollutions of idols,[y] *and from fornication, and from things ſtrangled, and from blood.* At ver. 29. in the epiſtle itſelf: *That*[z] *ye abſtain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things ſtrangled, and from fornication.* Afterwards, St. James in his diſcourſe with the apoſtle Paul at Jeruſalem, ch. xxi. 25. *Save*[a] *only, that they keep themſelves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from ſtrangled, and from fornication.* Which is the ſame order with that in the epiſtle, and ſhall be followed by me.

1. Pollutions of idols, or things offered to idols.

The obvious ſenſe of this regulation is, that gentile Chriſtians ſhould abſtain from eating meats, which had been offered to idols by heathen people: I mean, in ſome circumſtances. Several things in St. Paul's epiſtles confirm this interpretation, and may enable us to diſcern the deſign of this prohibition. As 1 Cor. ch. viii. throughout, and x. 14—23.

But this regulation is now obſolete, there being no longer any heathen idols among us. All the idolatry of ancient heatheniſm, once ſo general, and ſo much delighted in by princes and people, is aboliſhed in this part of the world. By the progreſs of the goſpel God hath wonderfully accompliſhed what he long before ſaid he would perform. Zeph. ii. 11. *The Lord will be terrible unto them; for he will famiſh all the gods of the earth. And men ſhall worſhip him, every one from his place, even all the iſles of the heathen.*

2. And from blood.

This I take to be a prohibition to drink or eat the blood of brute animals alone, or mixed with other things, raw, or dreſſed and prepared.

It may be of uſe to us to obſerve here ſome of thoſe places in the Old Teſtament, where the eating of blood is prohibited.

Gen. ix. 3, 4. *Every moving thing that liveth ſhall be meat for you: even as the green herb have I given you all things. But fleſh, with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, ſhall ye not eat.*

Lev. xvii. 10—14. *And whatſoever man there is of the houſe of Iſrael, or of the ſtrangers that ſojourn among you, that eateth*

[y] Τῶ απεχεσθαι απο των αλισγημα-των των ειδωλων. ver. 20.

[z] απεχεσθαι ειδωλοθυτων. ver. 29.

[a] . . . ει μη φυλασσεσθαι αυτας το, τε ειδωλοθυτον.

any

any manner of blood; I will ſet my face againſt that man that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people. For the life of the fleſh is in the blood. And I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your ſouls. For it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the ſoul: therefore I ſaid unto the children of Iſrael, no ſoul of you ſhall eat blood; neither ſhall any ſtranger that ſojourneth among you eat blood. And whatever man there is of the children of Iſrael, or of the ſtrangers that ſojourn among you, who hunteth and catcheth any beaſt or fowl that may be eaten: he ſhall even pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with duſt: for it is the life of all fleſh. The blood of it is for the life thereof. Therefore I ſaid unto the children of Iſrael, ye ſhall eat the blood of no manner of fleſh. For the life of all fleſh is the blood thereof. Whoſoever eateth it, ſhall be cut off.

That law in Leviticus, and the like elſewhere, are given to the houſe of Iſrael, and likewiſe to the ſtrangers that joined themſelves to them: for no others could offer ſacrifices; nor could any others be cut off for tranſgreſſing theſe laws, but ſuch as were of that people. The reaſon here aſſigned, that the blood was appointed to make atonement upon the altar, can affect none but Jews, and other men circumciſed after the manner of Moſes.

Eating blood cannot be reckoned an immorality. And, if it is not, this prohibition, in the decree, cannot be binding upon all men in all times; but only at ſome ſeaſons, when the circumſtances of things render the forbearing it expedient.

All wholeſome food is lawful in itſelf, and under the goſpel diſpenſation. As St. Paul ſays, Rom. xiv. 14, 15. *I know, and am perſuaded by the Lord Jeſus, that there is nothing unclean of itſelf: but to him that eſteemeth any thing to be unclean to him it is unclean. But if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkeſt thou not charitably. Deſtroy not him with thy meat, for whom Chriſt died.* And ver. 19. *Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another.* See alſo what there follows, and 1 Cor. viii. 11—13.

However, I muſt add, that blood appears to me very unwholeſome. Indeed I eſteem it filthy, and highly diſagreeable; ſo that I cannot bear the thought of eating it. If it ever comes to me in food, it is more than I know. And I ſuppoſe it is never brought, neither alone nor mixed with other things, to the tables of polite people.

There

There ſeem to me to be two reaſons for this prohibition, even in the law of Moſes. One reaſon is that above-mentioned, that it was to make atonement for them, that is, for offences againſt the law. The other reaſon is thus expreſſed: *It is the life of all fleſh. The blood of it is for the life thereof.* That is, it is the nouriſhment of the animal, and not fit for your nouriſhment. And becauſe it was not fit for food, and was uſeleſs and offenſive; therefore it was to be poured out upon the earth, or covered with duſt, that is, buried in the earth: which order is frequently repeated. So in ver. 13. of the forecited ſeventeenth chapter of Leviticus, and Deut. xii. 16. *Only ye ſhall not eat the blood. Ye ſhall pour it upon the earth as water.* And again ver. 24. and ch. ch. xv. 23.

The prohibition of blood was like the prohibition of fat. Lev. iii. 15—17. *And the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them . . . it ſhall be take away. And the prieſt ſhall burn them upon the altar. It is the food of the offering made by fire, for a ſweet ſavour. All the fat is the Lord's. It ſhall be a perpetual ſtatute for your generations throughout all your dwellings, that ye eat neither fat nor blood.* And ch. vii. 25. *For whoſoever eateth the fat of the beaſt, of which men offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord, ſhall be cut off from his people.* That is the reaſon which is expreſſed, and for which the penalty is ſo great. But another reaſon may be implied, which is, that the fat, cleaving to the kidneys of animals is not [b] wholeſome.

Thoſe ordinances anſwered two ends and purpoſes. They kept the Jewiſh people ſeparate from other nations, and alſo promoted their bodily health and vigour. And for all their labour and ſelf-denial, they had a preſent reward.

In the frequent waſhings and purifications appointed the Jewiſh people, I ſuppoſe their health was conſulted: as it was likewiſe in the directions concerning creatures clean and unclean.

Lev. xi. 3. *Whatſoever parteth the hoof, and is cloven-footed, and cheweth the cud, among the beaſts, that ſhall ye eat.* See alſo Deut. 4—8. And it muſt be allowed, that ſuch

[b] And when they killed any of theſe, or other clean creatures for their food at home, ſtill they were to forbear to eat the ſuet; partly out of reverence to God, whoſe portion it was at the altar; and partly, becauſe it was heavy, and too ſtrong a food, as Maimonides takes it. Patrick upon Levit. iii. 16.

beaſts

beaſts as have both thoſe properties, are preferable for food to others: as the ox, the ſheep, the goat, and the deer of every kind. And though we do eat ſome animals which have but one of thoſe properties, as the coney, the hare, the ſwine; we never eat thoſe which have neither of thoſe properties; that is, which neither chew the cud, nor divide the hoof. Nor do we uſe for food any of the birds, or fowls, forbidden in that long liſt, Lev. xi. 13—20. and Deut. xiv. 12—20.

In ancient times there were among all people two ſorts of creatures, clean and unclean. This diſtinction obtained and was general before the flood. Noah, therefore, *was commanded to take with him into the ark of every clean beaſt by ſevens, the male and the female: and of the beaſts that are not clean, by two, the male and the female,* Gen. vii. 1—3.

This diſtinction related as much to food as to ſacrifice. For the worſhipper, as well as the prieſt, partook of the altar, excepting in the caſe of whole burnt-offerings. Every living creature therefore, which was clean for ſacrifice, was alſo clean for food.

This article was inſerted in the epiſtle, out of regard to the Jewiſh believers; that the Gentile converts might not give them offence. As there are now no Jewiſh believers, to take offence at our eating of blood, we may do as we ſee good. We may avoid it, if we pleaſe, for the ſake of health; but are not obliged to forbear it upon a religious account, which would be no better than ſuperſtition.

3. And from things ſtrangled, that is, from the fleſh of animals, that have not been fairly killed, ſo as that the blood might be all drained out of them whilſt warm.

Upon this our learned author ſays, p. 175. 'This is 'omitted by many of the ancient fathers, and therefore by 'ſome eſteemed a gloſs.' But that is ſaid rather too haſtily, and without good ground; as may appear by what was ſaid [c] formerly. This article is as genuine and authentic as the reſt. It is in all Greek manuſcripts in general, and is quoted by the moſt ancient writers of the church. But near the end of the fourth century, and afterwards the Latin Chriſtians paid little regard to thoſe regulations. And for that reaſon the apoſtolic decree is not always quoted exactly by writers in that language.

[c] See vol. III. p. 152—159.

This

This regulation, like the preceding, muſt be underſtood to have been inſerted, that the Gentile converts might not offend the Jewiſh believers. We, now, are at liberty to act as we ſee fit. We are under no obligation to forbear *things ſtrangled* upon a religious account.

4. And from fornication.

I ſuppoſe it to have been already ſhown by general, but unanſwerable reaſons, that this epiſtle is not concerned about things of a moral nature: conſequently, what we now generally mean by this word is not here intended: that being an immorality, and in itſelf unreaſonable. But the true meaning is not certain: nor ought it to be thought ſtrange, that it is not.

Beza's interpretation may be ſeen in his Annotations upon Acts xv. 20. He is clear, that things of a moral nature have no part in theſe regulations, but only ſuch things as are in themſelves indifferent, recommended for peace-ſake, and out of regard to weak brethren. Therefore this word is not here to be underſtood in its common acceptation. He applies it to ſome things mentioned by St. Paul in the eighth and tenth chapters of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, particularly, *ſitting at meat in an idol's temple*, 1 Cor. viii. 9.

But I apprehend, that what St. Paul there ſpeaks of muſt rather relate to the firſt prohibition in this epiſtle, *the pollution of idols*, or *things offered to idols*.

To me it appears probable, that hereby are forbidden ſome alliances with heathens: which, though not abſolutely unlawful, had better be avoided by Chriſtians, leſt they ſhould prove dangerous temptations to apoſtaſy. So the apoſtle writes, Heb. xii. 16. *Leſt there be any fornicator, or profane perſon, as Eſau, who for one morſel of meat ſold his birthright.* I ſuppoſe, that both theſe characters are given of Eſau. He was not a lewd profligate or fornicator, in our ſenſe of the word; but he married Canaanitiſh women, *which were a grief of mind to Iſaac and Rebekah*, Gen. xxvi. 34, 35. Which Jacob carefully avoided, ch. xxviii. 6—9. Theodoret mentions the interpretation which I have given of that text. I am indebted to Beauſobre [c] for the reference.

[d] Μη τις πορνος, η βεβηλος, ως ησαυ.] Περιειαν τε ησαυ την γαστριμαργιαν εκαλεσε —— Ουκ αν δε τις αμαρτοι, πορνειαν αυτα καλεσας και τον παρονομον γαμον· αλλοφυλας γαρ γυναικας ηγαγετο. Theod. in Heb. xii. 16. T. III. p. 456.

[c] See him on Heb. xii. 16.

I am confirmed in this interpretation by obſerving the earneſtneſs, with which St. Paul diſſuades Chriſtians from marrying with heathens, though ſuch marriages were not unlawful. 1 Cor. vii. 39. *The wife is bound by the law, as long as her huſband liveth: but if her huſband be dead, ſhe is at liberty to be married to whom ſhe will, only in the Lord.* 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15. *Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers. For what fellowſhip has righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? and what communion has light with darkneſs? and what concord hath Chriſt with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?*

The Jews were forbidden by the law of Moſes to marry with idolaters. Deut. vii. 3, 4. And ſee Malachi ii. 11. Ezra obliged many, who had married ſuch women, to put them away, though they had children by them, ch. ix. and x. Nehemiah ſeverely reproves ſuch perſons, and gives a reaſon againſt ſuch marriages, which would be of ſome weight in the early times of the goſpel, ch. xiii. 23—27. Remarkable are the words of Ex. xxxiv. 15, 16. *Leſt thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a whoring after their gods, and do ſacrifice unto their gods: and one call thee, and thou eat of his ſacrifice: and thou take of their daughters unto thy ſons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and they make thy ſons go a whoring after their gods.*

St. Paul has wiſely determined the point: that Chriſtians ſhould not marry with idolaters, as before ſeen. Nor ſhould a perſon converted to Chriſtianity diſſolve by ſeparation a marriage, contracted whilſt he was an idolater, and before his converſion to Chriſtianity. But, if the unbelieving relative went off, then the Chriſtian would be at liberty. So I underſtand what he ſays. 1 Cor. vii. 12—16. *If any brother has a wife, that believeth not, and ſhe be pleaſed to dwell with him, let him not put her away. And the woman which has an huſband that believeth not, and if he be pleaſed to dwell with her, let her not leave him——But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother, or a ſiſter, is not under bondage in ſuch caſes. But God has called us to peace.* That is, if the unbelieving relative depart, the marriage muſt be diſſolved. But the believing relative is not to be the firſt mover in diſſolving the contract of marriage. Such things were done under the law. But a more friendly and peaceable behaviour is required of us. *For*, as he goes on, *what knoweſt thou, O wife, whether thou ſhalt ſave thy huſband? Or, how knoweſt*

knoweſt thou, O man, whether thou ſhalt ſave thy wife? that is, by bringing off in time ſuch relatives, reſpectively, from idolatry to chriſtianity.

The danger of idolatry might ſtill be great: but not ſo great under the goſpel, as under the law. And the goſpel of Chriſt was leſs burdenſome, and more reaſonable and inviting, than the law of Moſes.

Marriages with idolaters were not to be diſſolved: but yet ſhould not be contracted. Though ſuch a marriage would not be unlawful, yet it was a point of prudence, and a matter of expedience, to avoid it. This is what I underſtand by fornication in this epiſtle. And as there are not now, and have not been for a good while in this part of the world, any heathen idolaters: this article, like the reſt, is become obſolete. And as all the directions, here given, relate to things expedient in the circumſtances of thoſe times; it is not to be at all wondered at, that the meaning of ſeveral of them is now obſcure and doubtful.

VI. OBSERVATIONS, IN THE MANNER OF COROLLARY. I have now ſhown, that this epiſtle was deſigned for the uſe of all believers from among the gentiles: that the regulations, contained in it, are not of a moral nature, but relate to ſuch things as are in their own nature indifferent. I have alſo endeavoured to ſhow the meaning of each particular.

I am in great danger of being eſteemed prolix. Nevertheleſs, as the ſubject is before me, I ſhall go on to put down ſome other obſervations, chiefly in the way of corollaries.

1. This decree is not to be underſtood as a precept, or commandment, but as delivering advice and counſel concerning ſome matters of prudence and expedience, conſidering the circumſtances of things and perſons at that time.

When Paul and Barnabas had returned to Antioch from a peregrination in ſeveral cities and countries, where they had preached the goſpel, *they gathered the church together, and rehearſed all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the gentiles. And there they abode long time with the diſciples*, Acts xiv. 27, 28.

Whilſt they were there, *certain men, which came down from Judea, taught the brethren, and ſaid: except ye be circumciſed after the manner of Moſes, ye cannot be ſaved. When therefore Paul and Barnabas, had no ſmall diſſenſion and diſputation with them,*

they

they determined, that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, ſhould go up to Jeruſalem unto the apoſtles and elders about this queſtion. When they were come to Jeruſalem, they were received by the church, and by the apoſtles and elders; and they declared all that God had done with them: but there had riſen up certain of the ſect of the phariſees which believed, who ſaid, that it was needful to circumciſe them, and to command them to keep the law of Moſes. And the apoſtles and elders came together to conſider of this matter. And when there had been much diſputing, Peter roſe up, and ſpoke.... After that Barnabas and Paul were heard, *who declared what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the gentiles by them.* After which James riſeth up, and reaſons upon the point. And then concludes: *Wherefore my ſentence is,* Διο εγω κρινω, I judge, I determine, *that we trouble not them, which from among the gentiles are turned to God: but that we write to them,* επιστειλαι αυτοις, that they *abſtain from pollutions of idols... Then* [f] *pleaſed it the apoſtles,* or it ſeemed good *to the apoſtles and elders, with the whole church, to ſend choſen men of their own company to Antioch... And they wrote letters by them after this manner... It* [g] *has ſeemed good unto the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden, than theſe neceſſary things... From which, if ye keep yourſelves, ye ſhall do well:* 'You will do 'what is acceptable, and agreeable, and will be well taken 'by us, and by all the brethren of the circumciſion.' So Cornelius ſays to St. Peter, ch. x. 33. *Immediately therefore I ſent to thee. And thou haſt well done, that thou art come.* Philip. iv. 14. *You have well done, that you have communicated with me in my affliction.* 3 John, ver. 6. *Whom, if thou bring forward in their journey, after a godly ſort, thou wilt do* [h] *well.*

Afterwards ch. xvi. 4. It is ſaid of Paul and Barnabas, *that as they went through the cities,* [i] *they delivered them the decrees to keep, that were ordained,* determined, *by the apoſtles and elders at Jeruſalem.* The meaning of the Greek word here rendered *decrees* is equivalent to *placita,* reſolutions, deciſions, upon a queſtion, and particularly, upon that queſtion, which had been brought from Antioch to the apoſtles at Jeruſalem.

[f] τοτε εδοξε τοις αποστολοις.

[g] Εδοξε γαρ τω αγιω πνευματι, και ημιν.

[h] Vid. Grot. in Act. x. 33. et xv. 29.

[i] Παρεδιδουν αυτοις φυλασσειν τα δογματα τα κεκριμμενα υπο των αποστολων. κ. λ.

For

For certain, if we have given a right interpretation of the words, theſe regulations are not a part of the goſpel of Chriſt, which is everlaſting; but wiſe deciſions and determinations, ſuited to the circumſtances of things, in the chriſtian church at that time.

2. Theſe regulations are the reſult of that wiſdom, with which the apoſtles of Chriſt were inſpired, for deciding the queſtion, whether gentile converts ſhould keep the law; and for directing their conduct, in the uſe of that liberty, which they had a right to, and was now ſecured to them.

It has ſeemed good unto the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, that is, it has ſeemed good unto us, [k] under the divine influence and direction, *to lay upon you no other burden, than theſe neceſſary things:* which we have judged expedient to be obſerved by you in the preſent circumſtances.

I ſay theſe regulations are the reſult of that wiſdom, with which the apoſtles were inſpired upon this occaſion. For it does not appear, that any ſuch regulations had obtained before. If they had, ſome notice would have been taken of it. And the reminding men of it would have tended to reconcile thoſe, to whom theſe directions were ſent, to comply with them, and pay a regard to them. Nor can I diſcern either in Joſephus, or in the books of the Old, or the New Teſtament, any hints or traces of them, before this council at Jeruſalem.

I may hereafter enlarge farther upon the wiſdom beſtowed upon the apoſtles for conducting the affairs of the chriſtian church. All that I intended to ſay here, is no more than this: that the four articles in this decree are not taken from any Noachic precepts, nor from any other Jewiſh traditions: but were now firſt thought of, and firſt propoſed and recommended by the apoſtles, upon occaſion of the preſent emergency.

3. The ſeveral regulations of this decree were expedient and uſeful (as has been already hinted [l] ſeveral times) on one or both theſe accounts. 1. To prevent offence in the believing Jews, and facilitate civil converſe, and religious communion between believing Jews and Gentiles. And 2. To ſecure the gentile converts themſelves, the more effectually from apoſtaſy, or a return to idolatry, by keeping them out of the way of ſome dangerous ſnares and temptations.

[k] *Viſum eſt Spiritui Sancto, et nobis.*] Id eſt, viſum eſt nobis ex exſtinctu, ſive ſuggeſtione Spiritus Sancti. ἐν διὰ δυο. Piſcator in Act. xv. 28.

[l] See particularly, p. 423, note [t].

That the former was one ground and reaſon of theſe regulations, may be reckoned evident from the hiſtory in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, and from many things in St. Paul's epiſtles: where he ſhows the expediency of forbearing ſome meats, when there was any hazard of offending a chriſtian brother. As Rom. xiv. and xv. at the beginning, and 1 Cor. chap. viii. and x. 25—33. That the latter was another ground and reaſon of the counſels here given, may be alſo argued to be very probable from St. Paul's exhortations to avoid dangerous temptations to idolatry, which are likewiſe in the ſame context. See particularly, 1 Cor. x. 1—22. and 2 Cor. vi. 13—18.

4. There was a happy agreement in the council, and the regulations, now determined, were carried with great unanimity; as appears from the hiſtory in the fifteenth chapter of the book of the Acts.

St. Luke intimates, that for a while there was *much diſputing*. It is very likely, that they who were for impoſing the law upon the gentiles, and now appeared before the council, laboured to maintain their cauſe, and carry their point. And, poſſibly, their arguments at firſt appeared ſpecious and plauſible to ſome others, who were not engaged with them. But, that the reſolutions, finally determined, were carried with a general conſent, is manifeſt. We have the ſpeech of the apoſtle Peter, who openly declares againſt impoſing a law upon the gentiles, as neceſſary to ſalvation. James afterwards ſpeaks to the like purpoſe, ſums up the arguments that had been alleged, and concludes the debates. The epiſtle itſelf is written in clear and ſtrong terms. And the judgment upon the point is delivered with the joint authority of all the members of the council. *Then pleaſed it the apoſtles and elders, with the whole church, to ſend choſen men of their own company to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas: namely, Judas, ſurnamed Barſabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren. And wrote letters by them after this manner. The apoſtles, and elders, and brethren, ſend greeting unto the brethren, which are of the gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia.* Then they paſs a cenſure upon thoſe, who had occaſioned the diſturbance at Antioch, and ſay: *Foraſmuch as we have heard, that certain, which went out from among us, have troubled you with words, ſubverting your ſouls, ſaying, ye muſt be circumciſed, and keep the law: to whom we gave no ſuch commandment.* They proceed. *It ſeemed good unto us, being aſſembled with one accord, to ſend choſen men unto*

you,

you, with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. We have ſent therefore unto you Judas and Silas, who ſhall tell you the ſame things by mouth. How affectionate and reſpectful is all this! *For it has ſeemed good unto the Holy Ghoſt, and to us,* that is, to us, under divine influence and direction, *to lay upon you no greater burden than theſe neceſſary things. . . . So when they were diſmiſſed, they came to Antioch. And when they had gathered the multitude together, they delivered the epiſtle. Which when they had read, they rejoiced for the conſolation. And Judas and Silas being prophets alſo themſelves, exhorted the brethren, and confirmed them.*

Every part of this whole affair ſhows great unanimity, good temper, and admirable candour and diſcretion. When the meſſengers from the church at Antioch came to Jeruſalem, and propoſed the queſtion; *the apoſtles and elders came together to conſider of the matter.* Having carefully weighed it, they all agree in one judgment. And when they ſend the decree away, they make the moſt honourable mention of Barnabas and Paul, who had preached the goſpel in Syria, and other parts. With them they ſend Judas and Silas, who were ſome of the moſt eminent men of the church of Jeruſalem, and alſo prophets themſelves: next in knowledge and underſtanding, and in ſpiritual gifts, to apoſtles. Who, when they came to Antioch, *gathered together the multitude,* or the whole church, and delivered to them the epiſtle: adding alſo obſervations of their own, tending to reconcile them to the regulations contained in it. And the Chriſtians at Antioch were well ſatisfied, and rejoiced for the conſolation afforded them, and for the regard that had been ſhown to them, in aſſerting and ſecuring their freedom from the yoke of the ceremonial appointments of the law of Moſes.

This harmony continued: as appears from the diſcourſes of James and the elders at Jeruſalem, when Paul came thither again ſeveral years afterwards. *As touching the gentiles which believe,* ſay they, *we have written, and concluded, that they obſerve no ſuch thing:* which ſhows, that this was ſtill the judgment of James himſelf, and of the elders, and of the church at Jeruſalem. Some exceptions there might be: but the determinations of the council were what the church at Jeruſalem generally agreed to, and heartily approved of. They did not exact of the gentile believers an entire conformity to the law of Moſes, as neceſſary to ſalvation.

Paul readily received theſe regulations, as prudent counſels, or matters of expedience at that time. And the other apoſtles intended no more by them.

Paul and Barnabas, Judas and Silas, are the perſons, who by name are charged with the epiſtle by the council. They carry it to Antioch, and deliver it to the church there. And Judas and Silas, moreover, recommend the obſervation of the things therein ordained: and doubtleſs with the approbation of Paul, who was then at Antioch, and continued there ſome time. When he left Antioch he choſe Silas to accompany him. And St. Luke has aſſured us, that *as they went through the cities, they delivered to them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apoſtles and elders at Jeruſalem. And ſo were the churches eſtabliſhed in the faith, and increaſed in number daily*, ch. xvi. 4, 5. And, ſeveral years after this, as before obſerved, when Paul came again to Jeruſalem, and the elders there, with James, remind him of the ſeveral articles of the epiſtle, they mention them as things with which Paul was well ſatisfied. Nor does he ſhow any diſlike. His accepting of theſe deciſions is alſo manifeſt from his epiſtles above quoted.

Once more, for ſhowing the general conſent with which theſe determinations were made, it ought to be obſerved, that all the apoſtles of Chriſt, or moſt of them, were preſent in the council of Jeruſalem. For, as formerly ſhown [m] at large, there is good reaſon to think, that none of the twelve apoſtles left Judea to go and teach either Jews or Gentiles in other countries, until after the council. It is likely therefore, that they were all at the council where the controverſy was fully determined; which was a great advantage. By that means the manner of receiving gentiles into the church of God was fixed and ſettled beyond diſpute, and beyond oppoſition. Or, if any oppoſition ſhould be made afterwards, it could not be ſucceſsful, nor very troubleſome. And we may be aſſured, that all the apoſtles, and their diſciples, would be harmonious, and preach the ſame doctrine to Jews and and Gentiles whereſoever they went.

5. We may hence perceive the wiſdom with which the apoſtles of Chriſt were furniſhed, for behaving in caſes of difficulty that came before them; ſo as might be for the peace

[m] See vol. VI. ch. vi.

of

of the church, the edification of believers of every rank and capacity, and the preſervation of the purity of the chriſtian doctrine.

I think the regulations of the council at Jeruſalem, as juſt repreſented, and explained, are a proof of this. The firſt and principal thing to be regarded by the apoſtles of Chriſt was the preſervation of the purity of the doctrine which they had received from him. The Gentiles were by no means to be brought into ſubjection to the law of Moſes, as neceſſary to ſalvation. It behoved the apoſtles of Chriſt to aſſert their freedom from an obligation to obſerve the peculiarities of the Moſaic diſpenſation. This is ſtrongly done by Peter, and the others, in the debates at the council. And the rights of the Gentiles are well ſecured in the epiſtle written by them.

Nevertheleſs ſome regard was due to the Jewiſh believers... And the Gentiles were to be directed to avoid ſuch things as might be offenſive to their brethren of the circumciſion: and likewiſe to decline ſuch things as might prove dangerous temptations to themſelves, and be a means of enſnaring them, and leading them into apoſtaſy.

In a word, one exerciſe of wiſe and good men in this world ariſes from different ſentiments, eſpecially in things of religion. We can evidently diſcern, that there were ſome differences of opinion, and ſome controverſies among the followers of Jeſus Chriſt, even in the apoſtolic age. Some thought, that the obſervation of the law of Moſes was neceſſary for men's ſalvation, and were for impoſing it, as ſuch, upon the believing Gentiles.

Others of the Jewiſh believers, thought, that the law was obligatory upon themſelves and their poſterity, as a diſtinct nation and people, to whom that law had been delivered: whilſt they hoped to be juſtified in the ſight of God, and to be eternally ſaved, by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and ſincere obedience to his precepts. Theſe did not expect the Gentiles ſhould come under the law of Moſes, as neceſſary to ſalvation. Nevertheleſs they ſtill had ſcruples about meats and drinks, and about converſing with them, who obſerved no ſuch diſtinctions. Others there were, as it ſeems, among the Jews, who thought that the obligation of the law of Moſes, as to its peculiarities, had ceaſed. And they judged no wholeſome meat to be unclean; which was the opinion of the gentile believers in general.

Hence there aroſe an obligation to a different conduct. And theſe laſt mentioned, whom we reckon the more know-

ing, and ſtrong, were to practiſe prudence, condeſcenſion, forbearance, compliance. They were to do what lay in their power, as they had opportunity to enlarge the minds of men. In the mean time they were *to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to pleaſe themſelves*, Rom. xv. 1.

But others, who were rigid, and would impoſe indifferent things, as neceſſary to ſalvation, were to be blamed, and reproved, as they are by this council. And every one knows, how they were withſtood by the apoſtle Paul. And all who are attentive in reading the New Teſtament, may perceive, that the epiſtle of the council at Jeruſalem exactly correſponds with the doctrine of Paul in his epiſtles, and that the temper of both is one and the ſame.

Some regard was due to the Jewiſh nation in general, even to the unbelievers among them, whilſt they behaved with decency and civility. For a long time they had been favoured with many religious privileges above other men. As is acknowledged in Rom. ix. 4, 5. And it is the apoſtle's direction. 1 Cor. x. 32. *Give no offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God:* by the two former plainly meaning ſuch as were unbelievers. And it is ſaid, Acts xvi. 2, 3. that when Paul determined to have Timothy with him, who was *the ſon of a woman that was a Jeweſs, and believed; he took him, and circumciſed him, becauſe of the Jews who were in thoſe quarters; for they all knew, that his father was a Greek.* I think, thoſe Jews were unbelievers. Paul would not offend them; and he might hope to gain ſome of them. See 1 Cor. ix. 19, 20.

But they were not the men, who occaſioned the council of Jeruſalem, or the deciſions of it. *The men, who came to Antioch, and taught the brethren there, except ye be circumciſed after the manner of Moſes, ye cannot be ſaved, were phariſees who believed*, Acts xv. 1. They were men, *who went out from the church at Jeruſalem*, ver. 24. Theſe are now reproved. But whilſt the freedom of the Gentiles is aſſerted from a ſubjection to the law of Moſes, and its appointments, ſome things are recommended to them as expedient for the time. Which might facilitate converſe and communion with all the Jewiſh believers, who were tractable, and would be alſo uſeful for preſerving themſelves from ſome temptations to apoſtaſy in thoſe times.

6. We may hence perceive the reaſon, why thoſe of the Jewiſh believers, who were for impoſing the law upon the Gentiles,

Gentiles, are ſo ſeverely reproved, and condemned by St. Paul.

They were for impoſing the law, and its obſervances, upon the Gentiles, as neceſſary to ſalvation. Which ſhould be always attended by us, when we read St. Paul's epiſtles, and obſerve the tartneſs of his expreſſions. So ſays St. Luke very clearly. Ch. xv. 1. *Certain men which came down from Judea, taught the brethren: except ye be circumciſed after the manner of Moſes, ye cannot be ſaved.* See alſo ver. 5. And are not theſe men tartly reproved by the apoſtles and elders in their epiſtle, ver. 24? *Foraſmuch as we have heard*, ſay they, *that certain, which went out from us, have troubled you with words, ſubverting your ſouls, ſaying, ye muſt be circumciſed, and keep the law.*

And juſtly does St. Paul ſay of Peter, and the reſt, who ſeparated themſelves from the gentile Chriſtians at Antioch, that *they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the goſpel*, Gal. ii. 14. And as juſtly does he exhort, and argue, Gal. v. 1—4. *Stand faſt therefore in the liberty, wherewith Chriſt has made us free. And be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage. Behold, I Paul ſay unto you, that if ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing. For I teſtify again to every man that is circumciſed*, eſteeming it neceſſary to ſalvation, *he is a debtor to the whole law. Chriſt is become of no effect unto you, whoſoever of you are juſtified by the law. Ye are fallen from grace.* Which now muſt be all clear. It can need no farther explication.

7. We may now diſcern, wherein lay the fault of the apoſtle Peter, and others, who complied too far with the rigid part of the Jewiſh believers.

The only place of ſcripture, where this is mentioned, is Gal. ii. 11—16. *But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withſtood him to the face, becauſe he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles. But when they were come, he withdrew, and ſeparated himſelf, fearing them which were of the circumciſion. And the other Jews likewiſe diſſembled with him: inſomuch that Barnabas alſo was carried away with their diſſimulation. But when I ſaw, that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the goſpel, I ſaid unto Peter before them all: if thou being a Jew, liveſt after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews; why compelleſt thou the Gentiles to live, as do the Jews? We who are Jews by nature, and not ſinners of the Gentiles, knowing that a man is*

not juſtified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, even we have believed in Jeſus Chriſt, that we might be juſtified by the faith of Chriſt, and not by the works of the law. For by the works of the law ſhall no fleſh be juſtified.

The fault of Peter lay in this, that his conduct implied the neceſſity of the Gentiles being circumciſed, and keeping the ordinances of the Moſaic law, in order to their being ſaved. *Why* [n] *compelleſt thou the Gentiles to judaize!* that is, to [o] become Jews, and live according to the law of Moſes, and that, in order to ſalvation. This was the meaning of his behaviour. The Gentiles at Antioch had believed in Jeſus Chriſt, and heartily embraced his doctrine. Nevertheleſs Peter now behaved toward them, as if they were unworthy of converſe, or communion with himſelf, or other Jewiſh believers. They were not yet of the church and people of God: but muſt, if they would be ſaved, be circumciſed, and obey the law of Moſes, as the Jewiſh people did.

This is what Paul blames Peter for. It is apparent from St. Paul's whole argument in this place. It follows next after the words juſt cited. *We who are Jews by nature, and not ſinners of the Gentiles, knowing, that a man is not juſtified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, even we have believed in Jeſus Chriſt, that we might be juſtified by the faith of Chriſt, and not by the works of the law.* Which plainly ſhows, that St. Paul is ſpeaking of impoſing the law, as neceſſary to acceptance with God: or, in other words, that he is ſpeaking of juſtification, and ſalvation. And St. Peter ſays the ſame thing at the council, in almoſt the ſame words. Acts xv. 10, 11. *Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the diſciples, which neither our fathers, nor we, were able to bear? For we believe, that through the grace of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we ſhall be ſaved, even as they.*

We ſee therefore, that Peter was now guilty of diſſimulation. He acted contrary to his own judgment. And did what implied the neceſſity of the Gentiles receiving the law of Moſes, in order to ſalvation. Thus he acted, *fearing them of the circumciſion.* I tranſcribe Auguſtin below [p] who ſpeaks exactly to the ſame purpoſe.

[n] Τι τα εθνη αναγκαζεις ιουδαιζειν;

[o] The word is explained at large in vol. VI. ch. xii.

[p] Quapropter non ideo Petrum emendavit, quod paternas traditiones obſervaret: quod ſi facere vellet, nec mendaciter, nec incongrue faceret. Quamvis enim jam ſuperflua, tamen ſolita non nocerent. Sed quoniam Gentes coge-

Some

Some have been unwilling to think, that the apoſtle Peter ſhould have expoſed himſelf to this cenſure after the council of Jeruſalem: though the order of St. Paul's narration, in the chapter juſt cited, implies as much. But the difference is not great. Peter's guilt may be aggravated thereby. But whether before, or after that council, he was now guilty of diſſimulation. For he did *eat*, and converſe for a while *with the Gentiles* at Antioch: and afterwards *ſeparated himſelf* from them, *fearing them of the circumciſion*. And a part of Paul's argument is to this purpoſe: *If thou, being a Jew, liveſt after the manner of the Gentiles*, that is, ſometimes, as he had lately done, and probably at ſome other times likewiſe, *and not as do the Jews; why compelleſt thou the Gentiles to judaize?* Or, as Mr. Locke: 'If thou, being a Jew, takeſt the liberty ſometimes to live after the manner of the Gentiles, not keeping to thoſe rules, which the Jews obſerve; why doeſt thou conſtrain the Gentiles to conform themſelves to the rites, and manner of living of the Jews?'

Moreover, we know, that long before the council of Jeruſalem, Peter had been at the houſe of Cornelius at Ceſarea, and received him, and his company, though Gentiles, into the church by baptiſm. And, when he returned to Jeruſalem, and there were ſome, *who contended with him, becauſe he had gone to men uncircumciſed, and did eat with them*; he having rehearſed the whole matter to them, they were ſatisfied, *and glorified God, ſaying: then hath God alſo to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life*, Acts x. and xi. 1—8. Of which St. Peter takes particular notice in his ſpeech at the council, Acts xv. 7—9.

This action of Peter therefore was hypocriſy, or diſſimulation, as St. Paul juſtly calls it, a mean compliance, contrary to judgment, through fear of the diſpleaſure of unreaſonable men. And this was the fault of all the reſt, who joined him in that behaviour. *And the other Jews*, ſays St. Paul, *diſſembled with him: inſomuch that Barnabas alſo was carried away with their diſſimulation.*

bat judaizare: quod nullo modo poſſet, niſi ea ſic ageret, tanquam adhuc etiam poſt Domini adventum neceſſaria ſaluti forent: quod vehementer per apoſtolatum Pauli veritas diſſuaſit. Nec apoſtolus Petrus hoc ignorabat. Sed id faciebat, timens eos qui ex circumciſione erant. Itaque et ipſe vere correctus eſt, et Paulus vera narravit. Auguſtin. ad Hieron. ap. Hieron. Ep. 67. T. IV. P. II. p. 605.

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The apoſtle Peter, as is manifeſt, ſubmitted, and acquieſced. And we may reaſonably believe, that he never after ſhowed the like unſteadineſs, but was firm againſt the like temptation. The ſame may be well ſuppoſed of Barnabas, and moſt of the other Jews, who were now faithfully and openly reproved by St. Paul.

8. We may now be able to vindicate the conduct of the apoſtle Paul in complying, as he did at Jeruſalem, with the advice of James, and the elders there. As related Acts xxi. 17—30.

I do not know, that we are bound to juſtify the conduct of any man, not even of an apoſtle, in all things. Nay, we cannot but acknowledge, that ſome of the moſt eminent of that order failed in ſome inſtances. We have juſt now been obſerving upon a faulty conduct of Peter. And it is likely, that in the contention between Paul and Barnabas, there was on each ſide a ſharpneſs not to be juſtified. Acts xv. 36—41. Paul might be too much offended with Mark, *who departed from them from Pamphylia.* And he might be too much exaſperated at Barnabas, who had diſſembled with Peter, when he ſeparated himſelf from thoſe, with whom he had before lived familiarly. But Paul was reconciled to both afterwards, and makes honourable mention of them in his epiſtles. Paul likewiſe ſeems to have been too much moved by the indignity offered him by the high-prieſt, Ananias, Acts xxiii. 1—5.

But we cannot willingly allow of many inſtances of miſconduct in apoſtles. And we may be diſpoſed to vindicate any men, ſo far as we reaſonably can, eſpecially men of eminence and extenſive uſefulneſs, whoſe uſual conduct entitles them to eſteem and reverence.

And, excepting the inſtances juſt mentioned, St. Paul's conduct, ſo far as we know, was free from cenſure. Indeed, I think, that his doctrine and his conduct, as a chriſtian and an apoſtle, were always uniform, and harmonious; and that he never practiſed any compliances, but ſuch as were agreeable to his avowed principles.

However, it is fit, that we ſhould particularly conſider what we find related in Acts xxi. 17—30.

This relation, as ſeems to me, is brought in to inform us, how, and in what manner, Paul was apprehended: that we might know the occaſion of that impriſonment of the apoſtle, which was of ſo long continuance, and was attended with many

many incidents of importance. And as the apoſtle's impriſonment was a neceſſary part of his hiſtory, the occaſion of it could not be omitted by a faithful and judicious hiſtorian, as St. Luke certainly is.

And there appear ſo many tokens of candour and good temper, wiſdom and diſcretion in James and the elders of the church at Jeruſalem, that, as one would think, men of ingenuity ſhould be little diſpoſed to ſurmiſe, that any thing was now propoſed to Paul, or complied with by him, which was at all diſhonourable to him, or derogatory to the true principles of religion, or to the intereſts, either of believing Jews or Gentiles.

But it is not to be expected, that all ſhould be contented with ſuch general obſervations. We will therefore obſerve every paragraph of this narration.

Ver. 17. *And when we were come to Jeruſalem, the brethren,* meaning the church in general, *received us gladly.* The preſence of Paul was acceptable to them, and in a friendly and affectionate manner they congratulated him upon his ſafe arrival among them.

Ver. 18, 19. *And the day following Paul went in with us unto James: and all the elders were preſent. And when he had ſaluted them, he declared particularly, what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his miniſtry.*

The original phraſe, καθ' εν εκαστον, imports the exactneſs, and particularity of the accounts which Paul gave of his ſucceſſes in the ſeveral cities and countries in which he had been, ſince he was laſt at Jeruſalem. And here we cannot forbear to obſerve the frankneſs and openneſs, and alſo the humility of the apoſtle, in giving ſo full an account of himſelf: where he had been, and what he had done, and what tokens of divine approbation had been afforded to him, and to his endeavours. This reſembles the account which Paul and Barnabas gave to the church of Antioch, upon their return thither, after they had fulfilled the work to which they had been appointed in an eſpecial manner, Acts xiv. 26, 27. and compare ch. xiii. 1—4. The main difference is, that there *they gathered the church together, and rehearſed all that God had done with them.* Here Paul ſpeaks to James and the elders only of the church at Jeruſalem.

Ver. 20. *And when they heard it they glorified the Lord.* A proof of the truly chriſtian and charitable diſpoſition of the chief men at Jeruſalem. They rejoiced and were thankful to God

God for the progreſs of the goſpel among the gentile people, as preached to them by Paul.

And ſaid unto him: thou ſeeſt, brother, how many thouſand Jews there are, which believe. And they are all zealous of the law: thinking it ſtill obligatory upon themſelves, and their poſterity, who are of the Jewiſh nation. However, they afterwards add at ver. 25. agreeably to the determination of the council: *As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written, and concluded, that they obſerve no ſuch thing:* that is, that they need not, are under no obligation to obſerve the law, or its cuſtoms: but may be juſtified without obſerving them. Conſequently, neither did the believing Jews expect to be juſtified by the law. And their zeal for it conſiſted only in a deſire to keep it, as obligatory upon themſelves, to whom it was delivered as a nation and people. They muſt generally (for we need not be unwilling to allow of exceptions for ſome individuals:) have aſſented to what St. Peter ſays in the council, chap. xv. 11. *We believe, that through the grace of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we* Jews *ſhall be ſaved, even as they,* the Gentiles. Which is alſo agreeable to what St. Paul ſays to St. Peter himſelf, and as a thing well known, and allowed by ſuch as believed in Chriſt, Gal. ii. 15, 16. *We who are Jews by nature, and not ſinners of the Gentiles, knowing, that a man is not juſtified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, even we have believed in Jeſus Chriſt, that we might be juſtified by the faith of Chriſt, and not by the works of the law.*

They are all zealous of the law, in the ſenſe juſt mentioned. But, poſſibly, even that was more than was approved of by James, and the elders, or the moſt knowing and underſtanding men in the church at Jeruſalem.

Ver. 21. *And they are informed of thee, that thou teacheſt all the Jews which are among the Gentiles, to forſake the law, ſaying that they ought not to circumciſe their children, neither to walk after the cuſtoms.*

That they ought not, that is, that it was unlawful for them ſo to do. Which was a calumny upon the apoſtle. He never ſaid ſo. He may have ſaid, that they needed not to practiſe circumciſion: or that they were at liberty to quit the obſervances of the law. As he is underſtood by ſome to ſay, Rom. vii. 1—6. But, he never ſaid that it was unlawful, or ſinful for the Jews to circumciſe their children, and keep the law. And though this had been reported among the Jews at Jeruſalem, it is evident that James, and the elders did not give credit to it.

it. By their manner of ſpeaking they ſhow, that they were perſuaded, and knew it to be a falſhood.

Ver. 22, 23, 24. *What is it therefore? The multitude muſt needs come together. For they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this, that we ſay unto thee. We have four men, which have a vow on them. Them take, and purify thyſelf with them, that they may ſhave their heads, and all may know that theſe things, whereof they are informed concerning thee, are nothing: but that thou thyſelf walkeſt orderly,* or regularly, *and keepeſt the law.*

They recommend ſomething to be done by Paul, as likely to be more ſatisfying, and convincing, than any verbal declaration could be. And he complies. Which ſhowed, that he did not think it unlawful for a Jew to obſerve their cuſtoms. And that is all.

However, this compliance of the apoſtle muſt have been very agreeable to them, by whom the propoſal was made. And though by the violence of the people of the city, and of others aſſembled there upon occaſion of the feaſt, he was prevented from *accompliſhing the days of the purification*, and performing all the preſcribed rites; there can be no queſtion made, but that his deſign was well taken by the whole church at Jeruſalem. He may have received many civilities from them, whilſt he was kept in cuſtody in Judea. And he was better qualified to write to them, at the end of his impriſonment, that excellent epiſtle, called to the Hebrews: and they, and other Jewiſh believers elſewhere, may have been better diſpoſed to receive from him that word of exhortation, which was ſo well ſuited to their circumſtances.

Though I have now gone over that hiſtory, perhaps it will not be diſagreeable to ſome, if I add a word or two more by way of remarks upon it.

1.) St. Paul's complying with the propoſal made to him by James, and the elders, did not at all weaken the freedom of the Gentiles from the law of Moſes. Nor could it be underſtood by any ſo to do. This is manifeſt from the clear and open declaration here made by them, that *as touching the Gentiles, which believe, it had been concluded, that they obſerve no ſuch thing.*

2.) What St. Paul did now, was not contrary, but agreeable to his own declarations at other times, and to his conduct upon other occaſions, and to the directions, which he gave to others.

Firſt,

Firſt, What St. Paul now did was agreeable to his declarations at other times: and therefore, as we may be aſſured, was conformable to his ſettled judgment and perſuaſion, and not an artful, or hypocritical compliance, proceeding from fear, or calculated to ſubſerve ſome private and ſelfiſh views.

He was a Jew. The rites preſcribed by the law of Moſes were in their own nature indifferent. He [q] practiſed them now, as ſuch, not as things neceſſary to his own, or any other men's ſalvation. This his conduct therefore is agreeable to his declarations at other times. Thus it follows after the words before quoted from the beginning of the fifth chapter of the epiſtle to the Galatians; where he ſo earneſtly diſſuades them from taking upon them the yoke of the law, as neceſſary to juſtification and ſalvation. *For*, ſays he ver. 5, 6. *we, through the ſpirit, wait for the hope of righteouſneſs through faith. For in Chriſt Jeſus*, or according to the tenour of the Chriſtian diſpenſation, *neither circumciſion availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion: but faith, which worketh by love.* And afterwards, in the ſame epiſtle, ch. vi. 15, 16. *For in Chriſt Jeſus neither circumciſion availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion, but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be upon them, and upon the whole Iſrael of God.* So he writes in an epiſtle, where he ſtrongly aſſerts his own integrity, and earneſtly exhorts thoſe, to whom he is writing, *to ſtand faſt in the liberty with which Chriſt has made us free.* He might therefore very reaſonably practiſe indifferent things, as lawful, when not inſiſted upon, as neceſſary to ſalvation.

Farther, the compliance, related in the place, which we are conſidering, was alſo agreeable to his avowed conduct upon other occaſions.

[q] *Factus ſum Judæis tanquam Judæus, ut Judæos lucrifacerem*, .. compaſſione miſericordiæ, non ſimulatione fallaciæ... Nam utique Judæus erat. Chriſtianus autem factus, non Judæorum ſacramenta reliquerat, quæ convenienter ille populus et legitimo tempore quo oportebat, acceperat. Sed ideo ſuſcéperat ea celebranda, quum jam Chriſti eſſet diſcipulus, ut doceret non eſſe pernicioſa his qui vellent, ſicut a parentibus per legem acceperant, cuſtodire, etiam quum in Chriſto credidiſſent: non tamen in eis jam conſtituerent ſpem ſalutis, quoniam per Dominum Jeſum ſalus ipſa, quæ ipſis ſacramentis ſignificabatur, advenerat. Ideoque Gentibus, quod inſuetos a fide revocarent onere gravi, et non neceſſario, nullo modo imponenda eſſe cenſebat.. Aug. ad Hieron. ap. Hieron. ep. 67. T. IV. p. 605. And ſee Remarques de Beauſobre ſur le N. T. T. I. p. 444. at the end of the ſecond ep. to the Corinthians.

So

So 1 Cor. ix. 20—22. *And unto the Jews became I as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews: to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law: to them that are without law, as without law, ... that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak. I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means ſave ſome.*

Here, in the hiſtory under conſideration, we have an inſtance of that compliance and condeſcenſion, which in the juſt cited text from the firſt to the Corinthians, he openly declares to have been his frequent practice: and which he eſteemed to be his duty, in order to gain and ſave men of every rank, and denomination. And what was now done by him, was done by the advice and recommendation of men of great candour, and great wiſdom and underſtanding: friends to Paul who knew him well, favourable to the Gentiles and guardians of the church at Jeruſalem.

This do, ſay they, *that all may know, that thoſe things whereof they were informed concerning thee are nothing:* that is, that all may be ſatisfied that *thou doſt not teach the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forſake Moſes:* nor ſay, *that it is unlawful for them to circumciſe their children, and to walk after the cuſtoms: foraſmuch as thou thyſelf alſo walkeſt orderly, and keepeſt the law.* The meaning is not that he did always and conſtantly keep the law in all its appointments; but[r] that ſometimes, or often, upon many occaſions, he did not ſcruple ſo doing: and that he did not judge it ſinful, or contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt, ſo to do: for, when Paul ſaid to Peter, Gal. ii. 14. *If thou, being a Jew, liveſt after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews:* the meaning, certainly, is not that Peter always, and in all things, lived after the manner of the Gentiles, but only ſometimes. Take the words in that ſenſe, which it ſeems moſt reaſonable to do: and Paul's argument with the apoſtle Peter is ſufficiently cogent.

And that Paul did ſometimes *become to the Jews as a Jew*, he ſays himſelf in the place juſt cited from the firſt epiſtle to

[r] Ipſum vero Paulum non ad hoc id egiſſe, quod vel Timotheum circumcidit, vel Cenchreis votum perſolvit vel Jeroſolymis a Jacobo admonitus, cum eis qui voverant, legitima illa celebranda ſuſcepit, ut putari videretur per ea ſacramenta etiam Chriſtianam ſalutem dari: ſed ne illa quæ prioribus, ut congruebant temporibus, in umbris rerum futurarum Deus fieri juſſerat, tanquam idololatriam Gentilium damnare crederetur, &c. Aug. ad Hieron. ep. 76. ib. p. 631, 632.

the

the Corinthians. And ſome inſtances of his ſo acting are particularly recorded by St. Luke, beſide that of which we are ſpeaking. So, as before obſerved, *he took, and circumciſed Timothy, the ſon of a Jeweſs, becauſe of the Jews in thoſe quarters.* For his father being a Greek by nation and religion, all ſuppoſed that Timothy was as yet uncircumciſed. Acts xvi. 1—3.

And afterwards, ch. xviii. 18—22. at Corinth. *Paul tarried there yet a good while; and then took his leave of the brethren, and ſailed thence into Syria, having ſhorn his head in Cenchrea. For he had a vow. And he came to Epheſus... When they deſired him to tarry longer time there, he conſented not; but bid them farewel, ſaying, I muſt by all means keep this feaſt that cometh in Jeruſalem: but I will return unto you again, if God will.*[1]

This is an action much reſembling that which was propoſed to him by James, and the elders at Jeruſalem. And ſo far as we are able to diſcern, it was performed by him, of his own accord, freely and voluntarily, without any compulſion, and without the advice and recommendation of any. And, I think, it muſt be reckoned full proof, that he did, upon ſome occaſions, *walk orderly and keep the law.*

Once more, finally, the complying conduct of Paul at Jeruſalem was agreeable to the directions which he gave to others upon the like occaſions.

We all know, that in his epiſtles he oftentimes earneſtly exhorts the gentile Chriſtians, the ſtrong among them in particular, not always to aſſert to the utmoſt their chriſtian liberty: but to forbear it, when there was danger, leſt any weaker brethren ſhould be ſo offended as to fall. *I know,* ſays he in his epiſtle to the Romans, ch. xiv. 14—20. *and am perſuaded by the Lord Jeſus, that there is nothing unclean of itſelf; but to him that eſteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean. But if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, then walkeſt thou not charitably. Deſtroy not him with thy meat, for whom Chriſt died. Let not then your good be evil ſpoken of. For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteouſneſs, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt. For he that in theſe things ſerveth Chriſt, is acceptable to God, and approved of men. Let us therefore follow the things that make for peace, and things wherewith one may*

[1] Of Paul's vow at Cenchrea there is a particular account in vol. I. p. 208, &c.

edify

edify another. For meat deſtroy not the work of God. All things indeed are pure; but it is evil for that man who eateth with offence. It is good neither to eat fleſh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother ſtumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak. Haſt thou faith? have it to thyſelf before God. See likewiſe what follows at the beginning of the next chapter.

Now therefore, at Jeruſalem, Paul only put in practice the rules and directions which he had given unto others. He was a Jew, and he might perform ſuch acts, as were in themſelves indifferent, without ſin. If he was not under the law of Moſes, he was under the law of charity, by which all Chriſtians were bound. And, as in reſpect to that obligation, he had exhorted gentile believers, not unſeaſonably to aſſert their liberty, he was in like manner obliged to condeſcend himſelf. Here was ſuch a caſe. If ever there could be ſuch a caſe, it muſt be here, at Jeruſalem. And, if he had not complied, as he did, he muſt have run the hazard of offending a great number of the Jewiſh believers, his brethren, ſo as to cauſe them to fall, and fill their minds with prejudices againſt the diſpenſation of the goſpel. According to the rules, juſt ſeen by us, as given to the Romans; he was obliged to act now as he did. If he had not, he would not have *followed the things that make for peace, and wherewith one may edify another.* If he never practiſed condeſcenſion, compliance, yielding to the infirmities of the weak; how could he propoſe himſelf as an example to others; as he does, after a long exhortation at the end of the tenth chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians? not now to refer to other texts: *Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God. Give no offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God: even as I pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking my own profit, but the profit of many, that they might be ſaved.*

I hope, I have now vindicated St. Paul. But there ſtill remains one obſervation more, which may be not improperly mentioned here.

9. From the explication, which has been given of the apoſtolic decree, and from all that has been now largely obſerved upon it, we may be able to diſcern the reaſon, why the epiſtle of the council of Jeruſalem is never particularly mentioned by Paul, nor James, nor Peter, nor John, nor Jude, in their epiſtles.

There was no neceſſity of ſo doing, partly, becauſe it may be ſuppoſed, that all Chriſtians in general were already ac-

quainted with it: and partly, becauſe the regulations, therein contained, are not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, any part of the chriſtian religion, or everlaſting goſpel, which is to be in force to the end of time: but only prudential rules and directions, ſuited to the circumſtances of the chriſtian church at that time. However, I think, there is a reference to it in Rev. ii. 24.

Another reaſon, why Paul, and other apoſtles do not expreſsly mention that epiſtle, or the decree in it, though they recommend like rules, or deliver cautions very ſuitable to it (as St. Paul certainly does, and very often) may be, that, by virtue of their apoſtolic commiſſion, they were each one of them qualified to deliver prudential rules and directions.

Which obſervation may be of uſe for enabling us to underſtand ſome expreſſions of St. Paul, in the ſeventh chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, and perhaps elſewhere. *To the reſt ſpeak I, not the Lord*, ver. 12. and, *I have no commandment of the Lord. Yet I give my judgment*, or opinion, γνωμην, *as one that has obtained mercy to be faithful*, ver. 25. and, *after my judgment*, or according to my opinion, κατα την εμην γνωμην. *And I think alſo. that I have the ſpirit of God*, ver. 40. That is, he knew, and thought it could not be reaſonably called in queſtion by any Chriſtians, that, beſide authority to declare the goſpel of Chriſt, he was alſo endowed with wiſdom and power, to deliver prudential counſels, ſuited to the ſtate of things. And, when he delivers them, he uſes ſuch expreſſions, as ſhow, they were not properly a part of the chriſtian doctrine, but only directions and counſels, adapted to the exigence of things at that time. *I ſuppoſe therefore, that this is good for the preſent diſtreſs*, ver. 26. neceſſity, or exigence, whilſt the profeſſion of the faith is expoſed to ſo many difficulties. *And this I ſpeak for your profit: not that I might caſt a ſnare upon you*, ver. 35. that is, 'I ſpeak this with a ſincere view to your 'good: not intending, however, any thing above your 'ability to perform: of which you muſt be the beſt judges, 'after ſeriouſly weighing the caſe.'

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

PAGE 201. Diff. L. 'Whether St. Paul did really blame St. Peter for his conduct, mentioned Gal. ii?'

That St. Peter was culpable, is allowed by our author. Wherein his fault conſiſted, was ſhown [a] formerly, and again in [b] theſe Remarks.

Page 202. 'The only difficulty ſeems to be,' ſays our learned author, 'with regard to Peter's motive for this 'conduct, which poſſibly might be this. He had been 'charged before at Jeruſalem, on account of his eating with 'uncircumciſed Gentiles, and vindicated himſelf to the 'ſatisfaction of the aſſembly. Acts xi. But he had done 'that in a more private manner, which rendered him 'leſs obnoxious to the zealous Jews.'

There is no reaſon to ſay, that was done in a more private manner. It was very public, as appears from the hiſtory in the tenth and eleventh chapters of the Acts of the apoſtles. Nothing could be done more publicly among Chriſtians at that time. When Peter, by divine direction, went from Joppa to Cornelius at Ceſarea, he took with him ſix brethren, who were witneſſes to all that was done at the houſe of Cornelius. There Peter tarried ſeveral days. Before he returned to Jeruſalem, *the apoſtles and brethren that were in Judea*, by whom muſt be meant the whole church at Jeruſalem, or a large part of it, *heard, that the Gentiles alſo had received the word. And when Peter came to Jeruſalem, they that were of the circumciſion contended with him, ſaying, thou wenteſt in to men uncircumciſed, and didſt eat with them. But Peter rehearſed the matter from the beginning, and expounded it by order to them.* His diſcourſe there follows at length. And in the council St. Peter ſpeaks of this tranſaction openly, and as a thing well known to all. Acts xv. 7. *And when there had been much diſputing, Peter roſe up, and ſaid unto them: men and brethren, ye know, how that God a good while ago made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth ſhould hear the word of the goſpel, and believe.*

[a] In vol. VI. ch. xviii. § 3. [b] P. 343, &c.

There is no reaſon therefore, to inſinuate, that this was done in a more private manner. But learned men, when engaged in an argument, are too apt to advance ſome things to ſerve a preſent purpoſe. Which ſhould be carefully avoided by ſincere inquirers after truth.

Page 203. 'Afterwards, when Paul and Barnabas went up 'to Jeruſalem about the diſpute raiſed at Antioch concern-'ing the gentile converts, and Paul took Titus with him; 'he would not conſent that Titus ſhould be circumciſed, 'though ſome pretended Jewiſh converts, who probably 'crept into the aſſembly, when that matter was debated, 'inſiſted upon it. Theſe ſeem to have been different perſons 'from the believing phariſees, who are mentioned as being 'at that aſſembly. But, as they are ſaid to have believed, 'he would not, one would think, have here called them '*falſe brethren*, though they joined likewiſe in inſiſting upon 'the circumciſion of Titus.'

By *the falſe brethren, unawares brought in, who came in privily to ſpy out our liberty, which we have in Chriſt Jeſus, that they might bring us into bondage*, Gal. ii. 4. Paul means no others, than [c] thoſe who began the diſturbance at Antioch, of whom it is ſaid, Acts xv. 1 . . . *Certain men came down from Judea, who taught the brethren, and ſaid: except ye be circumciſed after the manner of Moſes, ye cannot be ſaved:* who at ver. 5. are ſaid to be *phariſees that believed.*

Nor can I ſee, why St. Paul ſhould make any ſcruple to call them *falſe brethren*, who are ſo cenſured by the apoſtles and elders, and the whole council at Jeruſalem, who ſay of them: *Foraſmuch as we have heard, that certain men, which went out from us, have troubled you with words, ſubverting your ſouls . . . to whom we gave no ſuch commandment.*

Nor does it appear, that there was any diſpute about Titus, in particular, either at Antioch, or at Jeruſalem. But Paul, to ſatisfy the Galatians of his inviolable ſteadineſs upon all occaſions, inſerts this fact in his narration: that

[c] 'And that, becauſe of falſe bre-'thren, who came down to Anti-'och, Acts xv. 1. *unawares brought* '*in*, inſinuating themſelves into the 'church at Antioch. *Who came in* '*privily to ſpy out our liberty*, from 'the obſervance of the Jewiſh law, '*which we have in Chriſt Jeſus, that* '*they might bring us into bondage* to 'it: they pleading for the neceſſity 'of circumciſing the Gentiles, and 'commanding them to keep the 'law, Acts xv. 5.' Whitby upon Gal. ii. 4. See alſo Doddridge upon the ſame place.

he

he took Titus with him to Jeruſalem, and brought him thence again, uncircumciſed.

P. 203, 204. 'But after this, when Paul and Barnabas 'returned to Antioch, Peter coming thither, for ſome time 'did eat with the gentile converts. This conduct of Peter 'could not but make much noiſe, and give offence to the 'converted Jews, who were yet zealous for their law. Which 'being heard at Jeruſalem, might occaſion much uneaſineſs 'there among that ſort of perſons. And this might occa-'ſion James to ſend ſome perſons to Antioch, to acquaint 'Peter with it: who, to avoid the ill conſequences, which 'he apprehended would follow from thence, might think 'proper to alter his conduct, and alſo to induce Barnabas, 'and other Jews, to do the like.'

In my opinion, all this is abundantly too conjectural. Many things are here ſaid without ground. Why ſhould Peter's eating with Gentiles at Antioch preſently make much noiſe? It was doing no more than might be reaſonably expected of him, eſpecially after the deciſions of the council at Jeruſalem, as Dr. W... allows this to have been, p. 202. Nor is there any reaſon to believe, that tidings of Peter's eating with Gentiles at Antioch had been brought to Jeruſalem. Peter, as it ſeems, ſtayed now but a ſhort time only in that city. And the Jews mentioned, Gal. ii. 12. may have come to Antioch upon buſineſs, or purely to gratify their curioſity. There is no reaſon at all to bring in James, and make him either a cauſe, or an occaſion of the alteration of Peter's behaviour. *Before that certain came from James.* The meaning of thoſe words is no more than 'when certain men came down from Jeruſalem, where Jame was.' As [d] is allowed by the beſt interpreters.

Peter was culpable, as is evident. And he was juſtly and openly reproved by Paul. And Peter acquieſced. But we will not acquieſce. And rather than not make out an apology for him, we attempt to bring in another apoſtle to be partner in guilt with him: though the hiſtory affords not any ground or reaſon for ſo doing.

[d] *Quam venirent quidam a Jacobo.*] Id eſt, ab Hieroſolymis, cui eccleſiæ tum præſidebat Jacobus. A Jacobo, id eſt, ab eo loco ubi erat Jacobus, &c. Grot. ad Gal. ii. 12. a Jacobo.] id eſt, Hieroſolymis, ubi pedem fixerat Jacobus. Bez. in loc.

Without any curious reſearches, and groundleſs conjectures, Peter's alteration of conduct is eaſily accounted for from the well known zeal of the Jewiſh people, in general, and of too many of the Jewiſh believers. As formerly [c] ſaid: 'I imagine, that he now firſt of all went abroad out of 'Judea into gentile countries. It is probable, that he was 'deſirous to ſee the chriſtian people at Antioch. But 'hitherto he had not been much uſed to converſe with Gen-'tiles. And when ſome zealous Jewiſh believers came to 'Antioch from Jeruſalem, he was alarmed: recollecting, 'it is likely, how ſome at Jeruſalem had contended with 'him after he was come from Ceſarea, becauſe *he had eaten* '*with men uncircumciſed,* Acts xi. 1—3. and very well know-'ing, from long and frequent experience, the prevailing 'temper of the people of his country.'

CHAP. IX.

Page 208. Diſſ. li. 'What is the meaning of Paul's ex-'preſſion. You ſee how large a letter I have written unto 'you with my own hand,' Gal. vi. 11.

This queſtion has been conſidered by many interpreters, and other learned men. I likewiſe have had occaſion to ſpeak to [a] it. And I think, I have ſaid what is ſufficient to ſhow, that our Engliſh verſion is very right.

[c] Vol. VI. chap. xviii. § 3.

[a] See vol. VI. chap. xii. § 3.

OBSERVA-

OBSERVATIONS

Upon DR. MACKNIGHT'S HARMONY of the FOUR GOSPELS:

SO FAR AS RELATES TO THE HISTORY OF OUR SAVIOUR'S RESURRECTION.

IN A LETTER TO THE AUTHOR.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN MDCCLXIV.]

REVEREND SIR,

I INTEND to ſend you ſome obſervations upon your Harmony of the four Goſpels, relating to the hiſtory of our Saviour's reſurrection. They will regard theſe ſeveral ſections of your work, § 149—156. If my thoughts are ſomewhat different from yours, I do not know, that you have any good reaſon to be offended. You have made a *New Harmony of the Goſpels*, after many others, and very different from them in many reſpects. Another therefore may have a right after you, and may think himſelf obliged to repreſent the ſenſe of the evangeliſts as it appears to him.

My obſervations will relate to the ſeveral following articles. 1. The burial of our Saviour. 2. The requeſt of the chief prieſts and phariſees, to Pilate the governor, to afford them a guard for the ſecurity of the ſepulchre. 3. A viſit to the ſepulchre, which you ſuppoſe to have been intended, and attempted by the women from Galilee, but not performed by them. 4. The preparing the ſpices by thoſe women to anoint the body of the Lord Jeſus. 5. Their journey to the ſepulchre, and the appearances of our Lord to them, and others, after his reſurrection.

I. *Of the burial of our Saviour*, which is related by all the evangeliſts, but by St. John more particularly than by any of the reſt. Matt. xxvii. 57—61. Mark xv. 42—47. Luke xxiii. 50—56. John xix. 38—42.

But here I do not ſtay, not intending to make any remarks upon this beſide what may offer occaſionally, in conſidering the other articles.

II. *The requeſt of the chief prieſts and phariſees to Pilate the governor, to afford them a guard for the ſecurity of the ſepulchre.* Which is related by St. Matthew only, ch. xxvii. 62—66.

His words are theſe. *Now the next day that followed the day of the preparation, the chief prieſts and phariſees came together unto Pilate, ſaying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver ſaid, while he was yet alive, after three days I will riſe again: command therefore, that the ſepulchre be made ſure until the third day, leſt his diſciples come by night, and ſteal him away, and ſay unto the people, he is riſen from the dead. So the laſt error ſhall be worſe than the firſt. Pilate ſaid unto them. Ye have a watch. Go your way, and make it as ſure as you can. So they went, and made the ſepulchre ſure, ſcaling the ſtone, and ſetting a watch.*

Upon this you ſay, p. 618. "Τη δε επαυριον, ητις εστι μετα την παρασκευην, *the next day that followed the preparation*, that is, 'after the ſun was ſet. For the Jewiſh day began then. 'They took this meaſure therefore, not *on the morrow*, 'in our ſenſe of the word, but in the evening, after 'ſun-ſetting, when the Jewiſh ſabbath was begun, and 'when they underſtood the body was buried. To have 'delayed it to ſun-riſing, would have been prepoſterous, as 'the diſciples might have ſtolen the body away, during the 'preceding night.'

This you ſay, contrary, as I ſuppoſe, to all interpreters and commentators whatever. Says Whitby: '*Now the next 'day that followed the preparation*, viz. the ſabbath day in the 'morning.' And in like manner other interpreters. But the thing is ſo plain, as ſcarcely to need any paraphraſe or explication, and therefore is ſeldom found in commentators. But that the meaning of the original word is *the next day*, according to our uſual manner of ſpeaking, is manifeſt from many texts, where it is found. So Acts xxv. 22, 23. *Then Agrippa ſaid unto Feſtus: I would alſo hear the man myſelf. To morrow*, αυριον, *ſaid he, thou ſhalt hear him. On the morrow*, τη εν επαυριον, *when Agrippa was come, and Bernice, with great pomp, and was entered into the place of hearing, with the chief captains, and principal men of the city, at Feſtus' commandment Paul was brought forth.* I preſume, that by *to-morrow*, or *on the morrow*, is not meant the dark evening, or night, after ſun-ſetting, but *the next day*, when it was light, the only proper ſeaſon for ſuch an aſſembly, and the important deſign of it.

Acts

Acts iv. 5. *And it came to paſs, that on the morrow,* εγενετο δε επι την αυριον, *their elders, and rulers, and ſcribes,—were gathered together.* The context ſhows, that hereby is not meant the night-ſeaſon, after ſun-ſetting, but the next day, when it would be light. For it is ſaid at ver. 3, *And they laid hands on them, and put them in hold until the next day,* εις την αυριον. *For it was now even-tide.*

Acts x. 23, 24, *Then called he them in, and lodged them. And on the morrow,* τη δε επαυριον, *Peter went away with them, and certain brethren from Joppa accompanied him. And on the morrow after,* τη δε επαυριον, *they entered into Ceſarea.* I do not ſee, how the word can be here underſtood of any thing, but the morning of the next day, after the riſing of the ſun. Nor do I think, that it ever was underſtood otherwiſe. See alſo ver. 9, and chap. xx. 7, xxii. 30, and other like places, which may eaſily be found by yourſelf, or any other, that wants farther ſatisfaction.

It ſeems to me ſomewhat ſtrange, that you ſhould miſunderſtand a phraſe, which has in ſo many places, invariably, the ſame meaning, and has always been ſo underſtood. If the evangeliſt had intended the time mentioned by you, he would have expreſſed it, in ſome one of the phraſes, not unuſual in the goſpels. He would have ſaid. *And when the evening was now come,* or *when the ſun was now ſet,* of which examples may be ſeen Mat. xiv. 23. οψιας δε γενομενης. John vi. 16. ως δε οψια εγενετο. Mark i. 32. οψιας δε γενομενης, οτε εδυ ο ηλιος. Luke iv. 40. δυνοντος δε τυ ηλιυ.

And why do you affix this unheard of meaning to the word in Matt. xxvii. 62? Let us attend. 'To have 'delayed it to ſun-riſing would have been prepoſterous, as 'the diſciples might have ſtolen the body away during the 'preceding night.' But, Sir, ſuch reaſonings are of no avail againſt the clear and expreſs aſſertion of the evangeliſt, that the prieſts and phariſees did not go to Pilate, till the next day, or the morrow after our Saviour's crucifixion and burial.

And there are obvious reaſons for ſuch delay. The day, in which our Lord was crucified, had been a day of full employment, and great perplexity to Pilate. And the Jewiſh prieſts and phariſees might not judge it convenient to diſturb him in the evening of it. Poſſibly this thought of a guard, to watch the ſepulchre, came not into the minds of any of them that evening. Whenever the thought

thought aroſe in the minds of one, or two, or ſome few of them; it would require time, to propoſe it to others, and gather them together, to go with the requeſt to Pilate. And the morning of the next day was ſoon enough. For they could none of them ſuſpect the diſciples to be ſo horribly profane and deſperate, as to attempt to remove a dead body on the ſabbath! They therefore made proviſion againſt the night that followed after the ſabbath. Which was all that could be reckoned needful in the opinion of the moſt ſuſpicious. Indeed, it is not eaſily ſuppoſable, that any of thoſe Jews did really ſuſpect the diſciples of a deſign to ſteal the body. But they were willing to caſt upon them the ſcandal of ſuch a ſuppoſition, the more to bring them under popular reſentment. But the contrivance turned out to their own diſadvantage.

I ſeem to myſelf to have now made good the common interpretation of this text. I have advanced nothing new. On the next day, after the crucifixion of Jeſus, and probably, in the morning of that day, ſome of the prieſts and phariſees went to Pilate, requeſting a guard at the ſepulchre, and he granted their requeſt.

This paragraph of St. Matthew is ſo plain and eaſy, that I have found few notes upon it in commentators: ſcarcely any, excepting to ſhow, that by *the day that followed the day of the preparation*, is to be underſtood the Jewiſh ſabbath. However Grotius has a note, that may be proper to be obſerved. It is to this purpoſe: 'The [a] council could not 'ſit on that day. But after a private conſultation ſome 'of the prieſts and ſenators of the ſect of the phariſees went 'to Pilate, as if they had ſomewhat to ſay to him of 'the utmoſt importance. Nor had they much difficulty to 'obtain what they requeſted.'

III. I now proceed to the next article of my inquiry, concerning *a viſit to the ſepulchre, which you ſuppoſe to have been intended, and attempted by ſome of the women from Galilee, but not performed by them.*

This is a viſit, or journey to the ſepulchre, which I do not ſee in other commentators. Nor can I diſcern it in

[a] Non potuit eo die Synedrium haberi. Sed privato conſilio Sacerdotum principes quidam et ſenatores aliqui, phariſaicæ factionis, Pilatum conveniunt, tanquam acturi de negotio ad ſummam rempublicam pertinente. Nec difficulter ab eo impetrarunt rem, in quâ ille nihil ſitum exiſtimabat. Gr. in Matt. xxvii. 62.

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the goſpels, after all that you have ſaid in favour of it. A part of the title or contents of your 149th ſection, p. 619, is this: 'Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, go out to ſee the ſepulchre: but are terrified by an earthquake.'

P. 620. 'Matt. xxviii. 1. *In the end of the ſabbath, as it began to dawn toward the firſt day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to ſee the ſepulchre,* θεωρησαι, to ſee, if the ſtone was ſtill at the door, becauſe by that they could know, whether the body was within. For from John xix. 42. it would appear, that the friends of Jeſus intended to carry him ſomewhere elſe.... The women knowing this, had reaſon to think, that Joſeph would remove the body, as ſoon as the ſabbath was ended. Accordingly, having bought the ſpices, they judged it proper to ſend two of their number, to ſee, if Jeſus was ſtill in the ſepulchre: and, if he was not, to inquire of the gardener where he was laid: that when the ſpices were prepared,... they might go directly to the place, and embalm him.'

All fiction, ſurely! Nor do I, as before ſaid, find this in any commentators, with whom I am acquainted. However, let us ſee what this ingenious author ſays to ſupport it.

P. 620, 621. 'This journey to the ſepulchre, by the two Marys, is generally ſuppoſed to have been undertaken in the morning, according to our ſenſe of the word, that is to ſay, ſome time after midnight. But this opinion, though univerſally received, may be juſtly called in queſtion. For, firſt of all, what reaſon can be aſſigned for the women not going to ſee the ſepulchre, as ſoon as the Jewiſh ſabbath was ended, that is, on Saturday, immediately after ſun-ſetting, when they had more than an hour's twilight to carry them thither?'

To which I anſwer, that they could not go then, becauſe the ſpices were not yet prepared. For I ſhall ſhow preſently, that they were not bought, till after the Jewiſh ſabbath was ended.

You go on: 'In the ſecond place, ſince they delayed it at all, why did they go at two or three in the morning, rather than at ſome more ſeaſonable time?' You ſhould not ſay, at *two or three in the morning.* For that is not the time intended by the expoſitors, with whom you are arguing. You ſhould ſay, *four or five in the morning.* So the evangeliſt tells us, the women ſet out early, *at the dawning of*

of the day, that is, between four and five in the morning, according to our way of computation. They could not go ſooner with decency. And, if the body was to be embalmed, it was proper to take the firſt opportunity, and perform it as ſoon as could be conveniently done after deceaſe. This, I think, accounts for the women's going to the ſepulchre, early in the morning, at the time ſuppoſed by all commentators in general. They would have anointed the body ſooner, if they had not been prevented by the coming in of the Jewiſh ſabbath. That being over, and the ſpices prepared, they embrace the earlieſt ſeaſon for going to the ſepulchre.

Still you ſay, p. 621. 'The reader will be pleaſed to 'take notice, that the time here fixed for the women's firſt 'viſit to the ſepulchre, is capable of direct proof likewiſe 'from the words of the text. Matt. xxviii. 1. *In the end 'of the ſabbath, as it began to dawn toward the firſt day of the 'week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to ſee the 'ſepulchre.* According to the Jewiſh form of the day, the 'ſabbath ended, and the firſt day of the week began at ſun-'ſetting, Lev. xxiii. 32. If ſo, Matthew's deſcription of 'the time, when the women ſet out for the ſepulchre, fixeth 'it expreſsly to the evening, notwithſtanding the word *dawn*, 'in our tranſlation, falſly protracts it to ſome hour after 'midnight, being very improperly uſed in this paſſage. The 'word in the original is επιφωσκουσῃ. Which applied to the 'Jewiſh day, ſignifies ſimply, that *the day began*, without 'conveying any idea of light at all. Contrary, I own, to 'its primary meaning, which doubtleſs includes the notion 'of light, gradually increaſing, in conformity to the com-'mencement of the day among the Greeks, who formed 'the word, ſo as to denote their own idea. But, however 'contrary to the analogy of the Greek language, this ſig-'nification of the word, επιφωσκουσῃ, may ſeem, it could have 'no other in the mouth of a Jew, whoſe days all began at 'ſun-ſetting. Beſides, it has this meaning, without diſ-'pute, Luke xxiii. 54. where, in the hiſtory of our Lord's 'burial, it is ſaid: *And that day was the day of the prepara-'tion, and the ſabbath dawned*, επεφωσκε, that is, was about to 'begin: or, as it is well rendered in our verſion, *drew on*. 'For no body ever fancied, that Joſeph of Arimathea and 'Nicodemus laid Jeſus in the ſepulchre, when the Jewiſh 'ſabbath *dawned*, in the ſenſe of its becoming light. But

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'the meaning which this Greek word has in Luke, it may 'have in Matthew, or rather muſt have: as it cannot be 'imagined, that an hiſtorian, capable of common accuracy, 'much leſs an inſpired writer, would ſay, *It dawned toward 'the firſt day of the week*, nine or ten hours after the firſt day 'of the week began.'

I have made this long quotation, that I might ſet your argument in its full light, and that you might not complain, that juſtice had not been done to it. In anſwer to all which, I ſay. All know very well, that the Jewiſh civil day, or νυχθημερον, began at the ſetting of the ſun. But that day was divided into two parts, *night and day*, by *day* meaning the natural day, or that part of the civil day, which is light. This ſenſe of the word *day* is very common in ſcripture. Pſ. lxxiv. 16. *The day is thine, the night alſo is thine.* John xi. 9, 10. *Jeſus anſwered: are there not twelve hours in the day? If any walk in the day, he ſtumbleth not, becauſe he ſeeth the light of the world. But if he walk in the night, he ſtumbleth, becauſe there is no light in him.* In Matt. xx. 1—16. is the parable of the labourers hired to work in a vineyard *for a penny a day:* meaning a day of twelve hours, whilſt it is light, and a proper ſeaſon for labour. Luke iv. 42. *And when it was day,* γενομενης δε ημερας, *he departed, and went into a deſert place.* Acts xii. 18. *Now, as ſoon as it was day,* γενομενης δε ημερας, *there was no ſmall ſtir among the ſoldiers.* Where, *as ſoon as it was day,* cannot mean the Jewiſh civil day, but *day-light.* All which is agreeable to that ancient and original determination of the Deity himſelf. Gen. i. 5. *And God called the light day, and the darkneſs he called night.*

Need I add any more examples? They are eaſily had. Luke vi. 13. *And when it was day,* και οτε εγενετο ημερα, *he called unto him his diſciples.* Acts xxvii. 29. *They caſt four anchors out of the ſhip, and wiſhed for the day.* νυχτον ημεραν γενεσθαι. ver. 33. *And while the day was coming on,* αχρι δε ου εμελλεν ημερα γενεσθαι, *Paul beſought them all to take meat.* I add no other texts, but that of 2 Peter i. 19. *Until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts.* εως ου ημερα διαυγαση, και φωσφορος ανατειλη εν καρδιαις υμων.

That muſt be the meaning of the text in Matt. xxviii. 1. *In the end of the ſabbath, as it began to dawn toward the firſt day of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to ſee the ſepulchre.* With which I ſuppoſe to be parallel, Mark xvi. 1, 2. *And when the ſabbath was paſt, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought ſweet ſpices,*

spices, that they might come, and anoint him. And very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun.

I beg leave to refer you to Grotius. And I intend to transcribe below the observations of [b] Keuchenius, which appear to me to be very material.

I allow your interpretation of Luke xxiii. 54. to be right. But there the word, επεφωσκε, is used figuratively, and improperly, though elegantly, and significantly enough. I say improperly, for you yourself say, p. 621. 'That according to 'its primary meaning, doubtless, the word includes the no-'tion of light gradually increasing.'

However, after all, you say, that this journey, of which you are here speaking, though undertaken, was not performed.

You proceed therefore at p. 622, 623. 'For these rea-'sons I think it probable, that the two Marys attempted 'to visit the sepulchre, in the end of the Jewish sabbath, 'or about the setting of the sun, on our Saturday evening. 'I say, attempted to visit the sepulchre, because it does not 'appear that they actually went thither. While they were 'going, there was a great earthquake. This earthquake, 'I suppose, frightened the women to such a degree, that 'they immediately turned back. Or, their return may 'have been rendered necessary by a storm, if this earthquake 'was attended with a storm.... The guards, it is true, 'remained at the sepulchre all the while. But there was a 'great difference between the tempers of the persons....'

That these women did not go, you argue in this manner, in the notes, at p. 624. 'It is true,' Matthew says, 'that the

[b] Matt. xxviii. 1. τη επιφωσκουσῃ εις μιαν σαββατων, &c. Bene monuit vir illustris H. Grotius, phrasim hanc passim de solis luce usurpari. Ad quam sententiam adstruendam non possum non producere insignem locum, qui occurrit Neh. viii. 3. ubi Esras in libro legis fertur legisse a *luce usque ad medium diei*. Quod 70 Senes hoc modo vertunt: Και ανεγνω εν αυτω απο της ωρας του διαφωτισαι τον ηλιον εως ημισους της ημερας. Unde liquet, Interpretes hos per *lucem*, non nisi *solis lucem* vel *ortum* intellexisse. Conf. LXX. ad Job xxxi. 16. Et sane non *diluculum*, sed *solis* potius *ortum*, hac locutione designari, ex re ipsa manifestum est. Dicitur enim Esras coram populo legisse, *a luce*. Quod non tam facile a prima lucis apparitione, quam a solis ortu factum fuisse, percipi potest. Quapropter arbitror, phrasim hanc idem fere significare, quod apud Marcum cap. xvi. 2. λιαν πρωι, της μιας σαββατων, ανατειλαντος του ηλιου. Pet. Keuchen. in N. T. p. 157.

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'women *came to ſee the ſepulchre.* But the word ηλθε, which 'he makes uſe of, does not imply, that they arrived at the 'ſepulchre. All, who underſtand the Greek, know that 'ερχεσθαι ſignifies *to go*, as well as *to come.* See Mark vii. 31. 'Luke ii. 44. in the original.'

Well, let us look into Mark vii. 31. *And again, departing from the coaſts of Tyre and Sidon, he came unto the ſea of Galilee, through the midſt of the coaſts of Decapolis.* But how is this to your purpoſe? Tranſlate *he went*, inſtead of *he came:* ſtill, he actually arrived at the place here ſpoken of, the *ſea of Galilee.* He did not attempt only, but he went.

Again Luke ii. 44. *But they, ſuppoſing him to have been in the company, went,* ηλθον, *a day's journey.* Allowing that to be the right reading, ſtill Joſeph and Mary did actually *go a day's journey*, and not attempt it only.

So it muſt be here alſo. *At the end of the ſabbath, as it began to dawn toward the firſt day of the week, came*, or went, *Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to ſee the ſepulchre.* They did go. Conſequently, the journey *attempted, but not performed*, at the ſetting of the ſun, is a fiction, without any foundation. For St. Matthew ſpeaks of a journey, or viſit to the ſepulchre, which theſe women actually made, early in the morning. Which viſit ſhall be obſerved by and by, as related by the evangeliſts.

For the preſent, I ſtay a while, to make ſome reflections. For, ſir, I cannot forbear to complain of you, and expoſtulate with you. Is this to do honour to the ſacred hiſtory? In ſupport of this fictitious journey, *attempted, but not performed*, you have made many ſuppoſitions, without any authority from the evangeliſts. I ſhall obſerve ſome of them as diſtinctly as I can, in ſo perplexed an argument as yours is.

Supp. 1. You ſay, 'From John xix. 42. it would appear, 'that the friends of Jeſus intended to carry him ſomewhere 'elſe.' p. 620.

Supp. 2. You ſuppoſe, that the women knew this. Your words, in the ſame page, are: 'the women knowing this, 'had reaſon to think that Joſeph would remove the body 'as ſoon as the ſabbath was ended.'

Where is your authority for theſe ſuppoſitions? If the friends of Jeſus intended to carry him ſomewhere elſe, and the women knew this; that intention would have manifeſted itſelf, when the women came to the ſepulchre, and miſſed

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the body: or when John and Peter came thither and likewiſe found not the body. If they had before known, that ſuch a removal was intended by any of their own number, or by Joſeph, they would not have been in ſuch ſurpriſe at not finding the body, as they were. Some of them would preſently have ſaid: *The body indeed is gone. But we need not be very uneaſy about it. Undoubtedly, Joſeph has removed it to ſome other place, and taken good care of it. Let us therefore go to him, and inquire.* But no ſuch ſpeeches as theſe drop from any of them. When Mary Magdalene had been at the ſepulchre, and ſaw the ſtone to be taken away, and the body not within: *ſhe runneth, and cometh to Simon Peter, and the other diſciple, whom Jeſus loved, and ſaith unto them: they have taken away the Lord out of the ſepulchre. And we know not, where they have laid him*, John xx. 1, 2. She did not ſuppoſe that to have been done by friends, but by ſtrangers, whom ſhe knew nothing of. And Peter, as related by St. Luke xxiv. 12. *ran to the ſepulchre, and ſtooping down he beheld the linen clothes laid by themſelves, and departed, wondering in himſelf at that which was come to paſs.*

Nevertheleſs this notion of the intention of Joſeph, or the diſciples, to remove the body elſewhere, has taken ſuch poſſeſſion of your mind, that in your argument to ſupport the early attempted journey, you impute to the women an apprehenſion, that the body had been removed, even during the ſabbath, and before it ended. For you ſay, p. 621. 'It is much more probable, that by appointment of the reſt, 'and in conformity to their own inclinations, the two ſet 'out for the ſepulchre, on Saturday evening, according 'to our form of the day, perhaps, at about ſix or ſeven 'at night.' And p. 620. 'Accordingly, having bought 'the ſpices, they judged it proper to ſend two of their 'number, to ſee, if Jeſus was ſtill in the ſepulchre, and, if 'not, to inquire of the gardener where he was * laid.' And at the the top of p. 621. you aſk, 'What reaſon can be 'aſſigned for the women's not going to ſee the ſepulchre, as 'ſoon as the Jewiſh ſabbath was ended, that is, on Saturday 'immediately after ſun-ſetting, when they had more than an 'hour's twilight to carry them thither?' And at the bottom

* And juſt before, at the top of p. 620. you ſay, 'The women 'went to *ſee the ſepulchre*, (θεωρησαι) 'to ſee, if the ſtone was ſtill at the 'door, becauſe by that they could 'know, whether the body was 'within.'

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of p. 622. you ſuppoſe, this viſit was attempted, 'In the 'end of the Jewiſh ſabbath, or about the ſetting of the ſun, 'on our Saturday evening.'

Therefore, before their ſetting out, which, according to you, was, *as ſoon as the Jewiſh ſabbath was ended, immediately after ſun-ſetting, or about the ſetting of the ſun*, they had a ſuſpicion that Joſeph had already removed the body, and were in great doubt about it. But, if at that time, they had any ſuſpicion, or doubt, whether the body was *ſtill in the ſepulchre*, they muſt have had a ſuſpicion, that it had been removed by Joſeph, before the ſabbath was over. But I apprehend, that none could admit in their minds any ſuſpicion, that a pious Jew (as Joſeph certainly was) would remove a dead body on the ſabbath day!

Supp. 3. p. 623. 'While they were going, there was a great earthquake.' For this you have no authority from the goſpels. The women, as you ſay, ſet out for the ſepulchre at *about ſix or ſeven in the evening, immediately after ſun-ſetting*. But there is no reaſon to think from St. Matthew, or any other evangeliſt, that there was an earthquake at Jeruſalem at that time. The earthquake, of which you ſpeak, muſt have happened ſoon after the women ſet out, near Jeruſalem, and early in the evening, which ſeems not to be the time of the earthquake mentioned by St. Matthew.

Supp. 4. You ſay, p. 624. 'This earthquake, I ſup-'poſe, terrified the women to ſuch a degree, that they 'immediately turned back.' 'Yet the guards remained at 'the ſepulchre all the while.' Suppoſitions, for which there is no ground. For there is no intimation in the goſpels, that any of the women followers of Jeſus, were affrighted by an earthquake: nor that the Roman ſoldiers ſtayed near the ſepulchre, after the earthquake mentioned by St. Matthew, which is the only earthquake ſpoken of at all about this ſeaſon. Nor is it ſaid, that the ſoldiers were ſeen by the women, or by the diſciples, who came to the ſepulchre, early in the morning.

Supp. 5. You ſay, at p. 625. 'That the angel's 'appearance was uſhered in with a great earthquake, and a 'ſtorm, which laſted ſeveral hours.' I do not ſee any intimation of this long ſtorm in the goſpels. It is a contrivance of yours, to ſupport your fictitious journey, begun and attempted, but not finiſhed, early in the evening, ſoon after ſun-ſetting. The earthquake, mentioned by

St. Matthew, was ſudden, and inſtantaneous, or however, of no long duration, immediately preceding, or accompanying the appearance of the [c] angel.

Supp. 6. In arguing for this imaginary journey, you ſuppoſe, that for a while the weather was cloudy and rainy. Your words at p. 621. are, 'To conclude, it cannot be 'ſaid, that this journey was too great to be undertaken 'in the evening. For the ſepulchre was nigh to the city. 'John xix. 20. It may be ſaid indeed, that it was always 'full moon at the paſſover: and therefore that the middle 'of the night was as proper a ſeaſon for their viſit as any. 'It would not, however, be a proper ſeaſon, if the weather was either rainy or cloudy then, as it ſeems actually 'to have been. This I gather from John xx. 1. where 'we are told, that in the morning, when Mary Magdalene 'came to the ſepulchre, it was dark.'

But thoſe words *early* [or *in the morning*] *when it was yet dark*, πρωὶ σκοτιας ετι ουσης, denote no more, than that it was not yet full day-light, or that the ſun was not riſen, or, according to Dr. Clarke's paraphraſe: 'Very early, before it was yet day-light.' To the ſame purpoſe are the two Latin verſions of Beza and the Vulgate, which here agree exactly. Maria Magdalene venit mane, cum adhuc tenebræ eſſent. Thoſe words do not denote the temperature of the air, but the time of the day.

However of the bad weather at that time, you ſpeak alſo in ſome other places, particularly, p. 643. 'The ſtorm, the 'earthquake, and the viſion that accompanied this aſtoniſhing 'event, had driven the ſoldiers away from the ſepulchre. 'Impelled therefore by their fears, and the weather, they 'would take ſhelter in the firſt houſe they could find. And 'as they fled away about the time that Jeſus aroſe, they 'would, probably, ſleep till morning. Or, though the 'terror they were in, hindered them from ſleeping, they 'would ſtay nevertheleſs, having no inclination to go out, in 'ſuch a ſtormy night.'

So you are pleaſed to write. Nevertheleſs I diſcern not any intimations in the evangeliſts, what the weather was at that time. And if the evangeliſts have ſaid nothing about it, we can form no determinations concerning it. And for aught that is ſaid by them, during the period of our Lord's lying in the grave, it may have been all calm and ſerene, till

[c] *Terræ motus factus eſt magnus*] Motus hic ſignum fuit ſecuturæ οπτασίας, ſatis notum Judaico populo. Pſ. lxviii. 8, 9. xcix. 1. civ. 6, 7. Grot. ad Matt. xxviii. 2.

the

the time appointed for his riſing out of it. When, on a ſudden, there was a forcible concuſſion of the earth, and air, preceding, or accompanying the preſence of the angel, who deſcended from heaven, and came, and rolled back the ſtone from the door of the ſepulchre. After which alſo, ſo far as we know, the air was calm and ſerene. For the women, and ſome of the diſciples, came early out of the city to the ſepulchre, without any difficulties ariſing from bad weather, ſo far as we can obſerve.

The ſeveral ſuppoſitions, above mentioned, appear to me to be made by you altogether without any ground or foundation from the evangeliſts. And therefore they are unjuſtifiable, and muſt be of bad conſequence. What hiſtory can ſtand before ſuch treatment? It muſt be perverted. It will be altered, and made ſomewhat very different from what it really is. Heedleſs and inattentive readers (of which there are too many) are amuſed, and entertained, and not carefully conſulting the original, they admit ſuch ſuppoſitions, as parts of the hiſtory, though they are not mentioned, nor implied in it.

IV. I now proceed to my fourth inquiry, which relates to *the preparing the ſpices by the women from Galilee to anoint the body of Jeſus.*

The accounts, which we have of this, are in two evangeliſts only. St. Mark having at the end of ch. xv. ſaid: *And Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of Joſes, beheld where he was laid,* begins the xvi. chapter in this manner. *And when the ſabbath was paſt, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought* [or bought] *ſweet ſpices, that they might come and anoint him.* St. Luke xxiii. 55, 56. xxiv. 1. *And the women alſo, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the ſepulchre, and how the body was laid. And they returned, and prepared ſpices, and ointments, and reſted the ſabbath day, according to the commandment. Now upon the firſt day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the ſepulchre, bringing the ſpices, which they had prepared, and certain others with them.*

I underſtand that narrative in this manner. When the crucifixion was over, and the women here ſpoken of, had ſeen our Lord laid in the ſepulchre, they returned to Jeruſalem, to their apartment there, and reſted on the ſabbath day, which was now coming on, if not already begun. And when the ſabbath was over, in the evening they bought ſweet ſpices,

and early in the morning, on the firſt day of the week, they went to the ſepulchre, carrying the ſpices with them, in order to anoint the body, according to their intention.

Your way of reconciling theſe two accounts is this. P. 617. 'This is not inconſiſtent with Mark xvi. 1. where we are told, 'that they bought ſpices, after the ſabbath was ended. It 'ſeems, the quantity, which, according to Luke had been 'provided and prepared on the night of the crucifixion was too 'ſmall: or, the ſabbath coming on, they had not time to 'procure all the ingredients that were neceſſary. For which 'reaſon they went the firſt day of the week, and bought more.'

I rather think, that all the ſpices, which they wanted, were bought at once, and in the evening, after the ſabbath was ended, as St. Mark ſays. Nor need St. Luke to be otherwiſe underſtood. You can help us out here. For you ſay, Prelim. Obſer. iii. p. 14. 'Matthew and Luke giving the hiſtory of 'our Lord's public entry into Jeruſalem, connect the purging 'the temple therewith, as if both happened in one day. 'Nevertheleſs, from the more particular account, which Mark 'gives of theſe affairs, it appears, that on the day of his 'public entry, Jeſus did not go into the temple till the 'evening, when the market, uſually kept in the court of 'the Gentiles, which he intended to prohibit, was over, and 'that he did not reform this abuſe till the next day.'

So it is here. Nor is St. Luke to be underſtood to ſay, that they prepared any ſpices that day. He is to be underſtood in this manner. 'And they returned, and prepared 'ſpices and ointments. Nevertheleſs they reſted the ſabbath 'day, according to the commandment. And deferred pre-'paring them till that was over.'

In your Chronological Diſſertations, p. 88. You ſay: 'Luke alſo inſinuates, that Jeſus was crucified on the pre-'paration of the paſſover. For he tells us, ch. xxiii. 56. that 'when the women had viewed our Lord's ſepulchre, and how 'his body was laid, *they returned, and reſted according to the* '*commandment.* It ſeems, the ſabbath began about the time 'they were at the ſepulchre.'

Which indeed, I take to be the truth of the caſe. By the time the funeral rites were finiſhed, and whilſt they were yet at the ſepulchre, the day cloſed, the ſun ſet, and the ſabbath came on. After which the women, and the other company there preſent, might without any ſcruple of their own, and without offence to others, walk thence to their apartments, or

or their habitations, at Jeruſalem. But after that, no work could be done, until after the ſabbath was over.

Nor do I ſee, how it could be otherwiſe. For our Lord did not expire, as all allow, till the *ninth hour of the day*, or our three afternoon. And, ſays St. Matt. xxvii. 57, 58. *When the even was come*, that is three afternoon, *there came a rich man of Arimathea, named Joſeph, who alſo himſelf was Jeſus' diſciple. He went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jeſus: then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered.* Compare Mark xv. 42—45. and Luke xxiii. 50—53. and John xix. 38. But we are told by St. Mark, in the place juſt referred to, that when Joſeph preſented that requeſt, *Pilate marvelled, if he were already dead: and calling for the centurion, he aſked him, whether he had been any while dead. And when he knew it, he gave the body to Joſeph.* That would take up ſome time. For the centurion, undoubtedly, was at the place of execution, attending the bodies. Nor could he remove from that place, without ſpecial order from the governor himſelf. Whether by *calling for the centurion*, be intended, that Pilate commanded him to come to him, that he might himſelf ſpeak to him: or, whether thereby be only meant, that Pilate ſent a meſſenger to the centurion, and received an anſwer from him by that meſſenger, I do not determine: either way ſome time was required to give Pilate ſatisfaction upon this head.

Nevertheleſs, I will ſuppoſe that much time was not loſt by that means. For Joſeph and Nicodemus might take it for granted, that the body would not be refuſed, but would be delivered to them at their requeſt: and [a] immediately after the Lord Jeſus had expired, they might begin to make preparations for his burial. However, the performing the funeral rites, as related by St. John, might fully occupy the ſpace of time that followed, till ſun-ſetting. Nor is it conceivable, that the women could get back to Jeruſalem before the ſabbath was begun, or very near beginning, at the ſooneſt, that is, the time of ſun-ſetting, or our ſix afternoon.

At p. 620, you ſpeak of the women *pounding* and *mixing* the ſpices. 'Accordingly, having bought the ſpices, they 'judged it proper to ſend two of their number to ſee if Jeſus 'was ſtill in the ſepulchre . . . that when the ſpices were pre-

[a] Apparemment que Joſeph fit ſes appareils, et aſſembla les gens dont il avoit beſoin pour la ſepulture de Jeſus Chriſt, des qu' il le vit crucifié. Le Clerc ſur Marc xv. 42.

'pared, that is, pounded, mixed and melted into an ointment, 'they might go directly to the place and embalm him.'

I cannot believe that there was any occaſion for this. Theſe women were not inhabitants of Jeruſalem, but had come up thither with our Lord, as attendants upon him, at the time of the paſſover. I ſee not how they ſhould be furniſhed with peſtles and mortars, and other veſſels for pounding, mixing and melting ſpices. I rather think they bought ſpices already mixed into an ointment, prepared and fitted for the uſe intended by them. In countries where embalming was in uſe, and where they buried ſoon after men had expired, and eſpecially in great cities, and near them, ſuch as Jeruſalem, there muſt have been ſhops, or warehouſes of apothecaries, or embalmers, or confectioners: where ſpices of all ſorts, proper for funeral rites, and alſo bandages and rollers might be had, and upon the ſhorteſt notice, for all ſorts of perſons, according to their ſeveral circumſtances. We have an inſtance of this in the burial of our Saviour. His crucifixion and death were unlooked for by his friends. Nevertheleſs, as ſoon as he had expired, Joſeph of Arimathea and Nicodemus came to the place, *bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. And they took the body of Jeſus, and wound it in linen clothes*, or bandages, *with the ſpices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury* . . . εδησαν αυτο οθονιοις.

And that the Jews of that time buried ſoon after deceaſe, we ſee in the inſtances of Ananias and Sapphira, Acts v. 1—10. It alſo appears in the hiſtory of Lazarus. John xi. 39. *Jeſus ſaid, take away the ſtone. Martha, the ſiſter of him who was dead, ſaith unto him: Lord, by this time he ſmelleth: for he has been dead four days.* Τεταρταιος γαρ εστι. You, Sir, are pleaſed to ſay in your Harmony, § c. p. 418. 'When Jeſus and his 'diſciples were come nigh to Bethany, they heard from ſome 'of the inhabitants that Lazarus was four days buried. 'Wherefore, as a day or two muſt have been ſpent in making 'preparations for the burial, he could not well be leſs than 'five days dead when Jeſus arrived.'

Your computation is wrong. Lazarus was buried on the day, in which he died. John xi. 17. *Then, when Jeſus came, he found that he had lain in the grave four days already.* But thoſe days are not to be reckoned complete. It was the fourth day ſince he was buried, on which alſo he had died. You know very well how the ſacred writers compute days.

Matt.

Matt. xii. 4. *For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly: ſo ſhall the ſon of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.* You do not thereby underſtand three complete days and nights. If Lazarus had been dead more than four days Martha would have ſaid ſo. For corruption of bodies does not commence merely from the time of burial, but from the time of death. And, ſays Cyril of Alexandria [e] 'Jeſus brought Lazarus out of the grave, now dead, and ſtinking, on the fourth day after his death.' So ſays Cyril, who, as I think, muſt have underſtood Greek as well as any modern critics. This is the ſame computation of the time of Lazarus's death, which was made long ago in a tract [f] which you juſt now quoted with approbation.

Theſe good women of Galilee, then, as I ſuppoſe, bought the ſpices they wanted, ready prepared, and mixed into an ointment, in the evening, after the ſabbath was over. And, when they had ſo done, as I apprehend, they went to reſt, truſting in God, as other good men and women do: that they might be compoſed, and the better fitted for the intended ſervice of the enſuing day. This is to be underſtood, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the greatneſs of their concern for what had lately happened to their much reſpected Lord and Maſter.

What theſe women deſigned, we cannot ſay exactly. But I dare ſay, it was not what you ſuppoſe, p. 617. 'That they 'might embalm their dead Lord by anointing and ſwathing 'him in a proper manner.' For I think, he was properly ſwathed, or rolled, before. And any alteration of the rollers, or bandages, would have been inconſiſtent with that reſpect, which was due to the body of Jeſus. What they aimed at, I ſay, I do not know. But, poſſibly they intended to rub ointment on the outſide of the bandages, to fill up the ſpaces, or interſtices, which there might be, and to add to the fragrancy of the ſpices, which had been already made uſe of.

After all, I do not think it was any great matter, which was intended by them. And to me it ſeems, that you ſpeak too ſlightly of what had been done by Joſeph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus. Your words at p. 617 are theſe. "The Galile-'an women, who had waited on Jeſus in his laſt moments, 'and accompanied him to the ſepulchre, obſerving, that his 'funeral rites were performed in a hurry, (the body being

[e] Τον δυσωδη νεκρον μετα τεταρτην της τελευτης ημεραν, εκ θηκης εξηγαγεν. Cyril in Jo. xi. 44. T. IV. p. 689. [f] See p. 17.

'rolled in nothing but a mixture of myrrhe and aloes, which 'Nicodemus brought) agreed among themſelves to come when 'the ſabbath was paſſed, and embalm their dead Lord, by 'anointing and ſwathing him in a proper manner. Accord-'ingly, when he was laid in the ſepulchre, they returned to 'the city, and bought what other ſpices were neceſſary for that 'purpoſe: Nicodemus having furniſhed a mixture only of 'myrrh and aloes.'

I muſt take the liberty to ſay, this manner of ſpeaking is unjuſtifiable, after the accounts which we have of our Lord's interment by all the evangeliſts, before referred to, and particularly by St. John, ch. xix. 38—40. *After this Joſeph of Arimathea . . . took the body of Jeſus. And there came alſo Nicodemus, . . . and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pounds weight. Then took they the body of Jeſus, and wound it in linen cloths, with the ſpices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.* Ελαβον ουν το σωμα τυ Ιησυ, και εδησαν αυτο οθονιοις μετα των αρωματων, καθως εθος εστι τοις Ιυδαιοις ενταφιαζειν.

The funeral rites were performed with expedition, but not, properly ſpeaking, in a hurry. And when St. John ſays that the *body was wound up in linen cloths, with the ſpices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury:* I think he means as they uſe to bury perſons of diſtinction. For to ſuch only ſpices and aromatic gums belong. I think, that to be implied alſo in the original word, ενταφιαζειν. Nor was Lazarus, the friend of Jeſus, buried in that manner. His body was bound or ſwathed in rollers. But there was no mixture of ſpices. For he was ſuppoſed to ſmell after he had been dead not more than four days. And whereas you uſe the expreſſion, *rolled in nothing but a mixture of myrrh and aloes*, and again, *a mixture only of myrrh and aloes:* I think there can be no reaſon to doubt that they were ſuch ſpices, as were moſt proper for the purpoſe. So [g] ſays Grotius. And all was done, as may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, after the beſt manner, by the hands of an apothecary, or confectioner, or perfumer, ſkilful in performing funeral rites. There muſt have been many ſuch in Jeruſalem. And thoſe two great and rich men, Joſeph and Nicodemus, would procure one of the beſt and moſt proper for the ſervice intended by them. Such men as theſe ſeem to be meant in Eccluſ. xxxviii. 4, 7, 8. *The Lord has created me-*

g . . . μιγμα σμυρνης και αλοης. Quæ aromata ad hunc uſum optima habebantur. Grot. ad Joan. xix. 39.

dicines

dicines out of the earth . . . with ſuch does the phyſician heal men, and take away their pains. Of ſuch does the apothecary make a confection, or mixture, μιγμα, the word uſed by St. John. *And of his works there is no end.* See Grotius upon the place. There muſt have been at Jeruſalem ſeveral of this profeſſion, *Unguentarii*, who were able to perform funeral rites in a proper manner, in the ſpace of three hours. And Nicodemus and Joſeph, would, beſides, have the attendance of ſuch of their ſervants as could be of any uſe upon this occaſion. A repreſentation of our Saviour's body, embalmed, and ſwathed and brought to the door of the ſepulchre, may be ſeen in Chifflet. And I ſuppoſe, that the juſtneſs of the repreſentation is allowed by antiquarians.

V. I come now to the fifth and laſt article of my inquiry, and the moſt important of all: *the journey of theſe women to the ſepulchre, and the appearances of our Lord to them, and to others, after his reſurrection.*

Here I cannot forbear ſaying, that your harmony of this part of the evangelical hiſtory is very perplexed, and intricate. Your words at p. 634. are theſe. 'It may ſeem ſtrange, that 'in the accounts, which the evangeliſts have given of our 'Lord's reſurrection, there is not the leaſt mention made of 'the diſciples meeting one another in the way, although they 'went ſeveral times backward and forward, in ſeparate com-'panies, between their lodgings in the city and the ſepulchre. 'On the contrary, the circumſtances of the hiſtory, oblige us 'to ſuppoſe, that they did not meet one another. But there 'is nothing improbable in all this. For, as Jeruſalem was 'a great city, the apoſtles' lodging might be at the diſtance 'of a mile or two from that extremity of it, which was neareſt 'to the ſepulchre. And therefore from their lodging to the 'ſepulchre there might be ſeveral different ways through the 'city, all equally convenient. Farther, Calvary, where our 'Lord was crucified, is ſaid to have been *nigh unto the city*, 'John xix. 20. But it would be nigh, though it was at the 'diſtance of half a mile. Suppoſe it however to have been 'only a little more than a quarter of a mile. In this place, 'or nigh to it, [εν τοπω] was the garden, where our Lord was 'buried, John xix. 41. Yet the garden might be on the ſide 'of Calvary, which was fartheſt from Jeruſalem. Wherefore, 'as it was a ſpacious garden, the ſepulchre could not well be 'nearer the city than half a mile. It may however have been 'at the diſtance of a whole mile, conſiſtently enough with the 'deſcription,

'deſcription, which John has given of its ſituation. On either 'ſuppoſition, there may have been different roads from Joſeph's 'villa and garden to the city. Beſides, as Jeruſalem was 'walled round, the apoſtles' lodging might be ſo ſituated, that 'perſons going from thence to Joſeph's garden, could come 'out of the city by different gates. To conclude, the garden, 'where the ſepulchre was, might have more doors than one, 'and ſeveral ſhady walks in it, leading to the ſepulchre. On 'theſe ſuppoſitions, it is eaſy to imagine, that the diſciples 'and the women, who went to and from the ſepulchre, may 'have miſſed each other by taking their rout through different 'ſtreets of the city, or different roads in the field: or they 'may have been hid from one another by the ſhady walks 'of the garden, in which the ſepulchre ſtood.'

So you write. But ſhould you not have been led to ſuſpect a ſcheme, which needs ſo many ſuppoſitions to ſupport it? If the women and the diſciples never met each other, in paſſing to and from the ſepulchre, may it not afford reaſon to believe, that they did not make ſo many journeys ſeparately, as you have ſuppoſed? How many of thoſe journeys you have found in the evangeliſts, or ingeniouſly contrived for them; I ſhould not be able to ſay diſtinctly, were it not for a note, which you have placed at the bottom of p. 657, 658. where you ſay: 'if the reader deſires a more compendious 'view of the ſeveral journeys to the ſepulchre, and of the rela-'tion, which they bear to one another, he may take it as fol-'lows.' Where you reckon twelve in number, the laſt of which is this. '12. In the evening, the diſciples arrive from 'Emmaus, and while they are telling their ſtory, Jeſus him-'ſelf appears.'

There are, undoubtedly, ſome real, or ſeeming difficulties in this part of the evangelical hiſtory. Which, as ſeems to me, have been of late increaſed and multiplied by annotators, and other writers, and not at all diminiſhed by yourſelf. This being the caſe, I have found myſelf to be under a diſability to unfold it by my own ſkill only. I have therefore, upon this occaſion, had recourſe to a learned and judicious friend: who, I before knew, had ſome uncommon obſervations upon this ſubject. The anſwer, with which he has favoured me, is to this purpoſe.

'I never could bring my mind to think, that Chriſt appeared 'firſt to Mary Magdalene ſeparately, but that his firſt appear-

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'ance was to the watch: who, I think, ſaw the angel, and the 'rolling away of the ſtone, as well as felt the σεισμον μεγαν, at- 'tending the preſence and action of the angel, for fear of whom 'the keepers did ſhake, and became ωσει νεκροι *as dead men.* Some 'of whom, as the ſame evangeliſt ſays, τινες της κυστωδιας, *came into* '*the city, and ſhowed unto the chief prieſts all the things that were* '*done.* The appearance to Mary Magdalene, I think, was in 'common to her and to the other women, who went all toge- 'ther to the ſepulchre, and once only, not twice, as is gene- 'rally ſuppoſed, and ſaw our Saviour, and were coming back 'to the city, with the account of what they had ſeen and heard 'to the apoſtles, at the ſame time, that ſome of the watch 'came to relate all that was done, to the chief prieſts. And 'they did make their report to the apoſtles, before the two 'went from the reſt of the company to Emmaus. No notice is 'indeed mentioned by the two in diſcourſe with Chriſt of the 'women's having related their interview with Jeſus, becauſe it 'ſhould ſeem none of the company believed a word of what the 'women ſaid, Mark xvi. 11. Luke xxiv. 11. And none of the 'evangeliſts pretend to give an exact detail of all circumſtances.'

This, I apprehend, to be the truth, or nearly ſo. And it will be the key to this hiſtory. And I now intend to digeſt the ſeveral particulars of it, in their proper order, as well as I can. If I ſhould at all differ from my friend, it will be in ſuch points only, as are not very material. And ſtill I muſt acknowledge myſelf indebted to him for a clear inſight into this hiſtory.

But before I enter upon the rehearſal of the ſeveral parts of this hiſtory, I muſt premiſe a few obſervations.

Firſt of all, I reckon, I have ſhowed, that your ſuppoſed journey of ſome of the women to the ſepulchre, deſigned, and begun, but not performed and finiſhed by them, about ſix or ſeven o'clock in the evening of ſaturday, preſently after the ſabbath was over, is fictitious, and without foundation.

Secondly, You ſpeak of a journey to the ſepulchre made by ſome of the company of the apoſtles, who ſet out after Peter and John were gone. This you call at p. 639. a ſecond deputation from the apoſtles. You ſpeak of it likewiſe at p. 633, 656, 657. I beg leave to ſay, that I cannot but conſider this as a fiction, without any foundation. And perhaps I may take no farther notice of it hereafter.

Thirdly, You ſuppoſe, St. Peter to have made a ſecond viſit to the ſepulchre, alone, different from that mentioned,

John

John xx. 3—10. This you argue from Luke xxiv. 12. at p. 646, 647. But I think it to be the ſame viſit, which is mentioned by St. John: when *Peter, and that other diſciple*, went together. So this alſo is underſtood by Le Clerc, and all other interpreters and commentators in general, ſo far as I know. Therefore my friend ſays in his letter to me. 'St. 'Luke xxiv. 12. mentions only Peter running to the ſepul-'chre. But we do not conclude from thence, that he ran 'thither twice, once by himſelf, and at another time along 'with John.' However, it is your opinion, that two viſits are here ſpoken of. And indeed this is agreeable to the uſual method of your harmony: in which you make two ſtories of one, and account ſuch paſſages of the goſpels to be different, which are really parallel. Whereby, in my opinion, and ſo far as I am able to judge, you have oftentimes perverted the true order of things related by the evangeliſts.

I now proceed to rehearſe the ſeveral parts of this hiſtory, and to digeſt them in order as well as I can.

Says St. John xx. 1. *The firſt day of the week, cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the ſepulchre, and ſeeth the ſtone taken away from the ſepulchre.*

But though Mary Magdalene only be here mentioned, I ſuppoſe, ſhe was not alone. It is agreeable to what you ſay alſo, p. 626. 'In the morning of the firſt day of the 'week, according to our form of the day, all the women went 'out together very early, carrying the ſpices which they 'had prepared to the ſepulchre, at which they arrived about 'the riſing of the ſun.' See Matt. xxviii. 1. Mark xvi. 1, 2. Luke xxiv. 10. And at p. 627. you obſerve, 'The women, 'ſaid to have made this journey, are in all the evangeliſts the 'ſame.... Mary Magdalene therefore, Joanna, and Mary the 'mother of James, are the women, who made the viſit with the 'ſpices early in the morning. John indeed ſpeaks of none of 'the women, who made this viſit to the ſepulchre, but Mary 'Magdalene. Yet becauſe he mentions none but her, it does 'not follow, that there was no body with her. In the goſpels 'there are many ſuch omiſſions.... Wherefore, ſince it is the 'manner of the ſacred hiſtorians in other inſtances, John may 'be ſuppoſed to have mentioned Mary Magdalene ſingly in 'this part of his hiſtory, notwithſtanding he knew that others 'had been with her at the ſepulchre, and the rather, becauſe 'his intention was to relate only what things happened in 'conſequence

'consequence of her information, and not to speak of the 'transactions of the rest, which his brethren historians had 'handled at large.'

You say very well. We therefore proceed in considering St. John's narrative, which follows, ver. 2. *Then she runneth, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple, whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them: they have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.*

I do not believe, that Mary Magdalene was now alone. All the women might be with her. If some only, the rest stayed in the garden, expecting her return. For they knew that she went to tell Peter and John what she and the rest had seen, and to invite them to come to the sepulchre, and see how things were there.

It follows, ver. 3—10. *Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre. So they ran both together. And the other disciple did out-run Peter, and came first to the sepulchre. And he stooping down, saw the linen cloths lying. Yet went he not in. Then cometh Simon Peter, following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the linen cloths lie; and the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen cloths, but wrapped together in a place by itself. Then went in also that other disciple, which came first to the sepulchre, and he saw and believed. For as yet they knew not the scriptures, that he must rise again from the dead. Then the disciples went away again unto their own home.*

Here you say upon ver. 8. p. 636. *Then went in also that other disciple, which came first to the sepulchre. And he saw and believed.* 'Finding nothing in the sepulchre but the cloths, 'he believed the body was taken away, as Mary Magdalene 'had told him. This, as I take it, is all that John means, when 'he tells us, that Peter and he, after searching the sepulchre, '*saw and believed.* Mary Magdalene, it would appear, had 'told them not only, that the body was taken away, but that 'the cloths were left behind, a circumstance which filled 'them with wonder. They saw them, however, with their 'own eyes, and believed her report.... For that they had not 'the least suspicion of Christ's resurrection, is evident from the 'apology, which John himself makes for the stupidity of the 'disciples in this matter. Ver. 9. *For as yet they knew not the 'scriptures, that he must rise from the dead....* Nor had she 'herself the least notion of it, even when Jesus appeared to 'her: as is plain from what she says, ver. 13. and 15.' You say

ſay very right, in my opinion. And Grotius has ſpoken to the like purpoſe in his annotations [h] upon theſe verſes.

St. Luke ſays, ch. xxiv. 12. *Then aroſe Peter, and ran unto the ſepulchre, and ſtooping down, he beheld the linen clothes laid by themſelves, and departed, wondering in himſelf at that which had come to paſs.* This I take not to be another, or a ſecond viſit of Peter, or different from that mentioned by St. John, but the ſame. And as this is the general opinion of interpreters, I need not ſay any thing to prove it.

St. John goes on ver. 11—18. *But Mary ſtood without at the ſepulchre weeping. And as ſhe wept, ſhe ſtooped down, and looked into the ſepulchre. And ſeeth two angels in white, ſitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jeſus had lain. And they ſay unto her: woman, why weepeſt thou? She ſaith unto them: becauſe they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. And when ſhe had thus ſaid, ſhe turned herſelf back, and ſaw Jeſus ſtanding. And knew not that it was Jeſus. Jeſus ſaith unto her: woman, why weepeſt thou? Whom ſeekeſt thou? She ſuppoſing him to be the gardener, ſaith unto him: Sir, if thou haſt born him hence, tell me, where thou haſt laid him. And I will take him away. Jeſus ſaith unto her: Mary. She turned herſelf, and ſaith unto him: Rabboni, which is to ſay, Maſter. Jeſus ſaith unto her: touch me not. For I am not yet aſcended to my Father. But go to my brethren, and ſay unto them, I aſcend unto my Father, and your Father, and my God, and your God. Mary Magdalene came, and told the diſciples that ſhe had ſeen the Lord, and that he had ſpoken theſe things unto her.*

This I ſuppoſe to be what is related by St. Mark xvi. 9. *Now when Jeſus was riſen, early the firſt day of the week, he appeared firſt to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had caſt ſeven dæmons.* And I can ſuppoſe, that Mary Magdalene was now alone, or only one of the other women with her, and ſhe, perhaps, not one of the moſt honourable: which, I think,

[h] *Et vidit, et credidit, ver.* 8.] Credidit certo abeſſe corpus, quod Mariæ referenti non crediderat, et de quo conſpectis faſciis dubitaverat. Gr. ad Joh. xx. 8.

Ver. 9. *Nondum enim ſciebant ſcripturam.*] quaſi dicat, Corpus illud vitæ redditum nondum credebat Joannes. Nam et ille et diſcipuli alii nondum ſatis perceperant id quod ſcriptura prædixerat de ejus reſurrectione. Sæpe quidem audiverant Dominum id pollicentem. Sed rei magnitudo et ingenii tarditas obſtabant, quo minus hoc in animum admitterent. Lucæ xxiv. 12. Gr. ad Jo. xx. 9.

is the opinion of ſome learned interpreter, though I do not now recollect his * name.

Our Lord having ſhown himſelf to Mary Magdalene, and diſcourſed with her, as related by St. John, I think, he withdrew to a ſmall diſtance, out of ſight. Mary, then, immediately went to the other women, who were not far off, and told them, that ſhe had *ſeen the Lord*, and that he had ſpoken unto her. They aſſented to what ſhe ſaid, and were willing to go down with her preſently to the apoſtles, and acquaint them with the glad-tidings, that the Lord was riſen. Whilſt they were going, and not yet got out of the garden, Jeſus came to them, and ſhowed himſelf to them all. Which is what is related by St. Matthew xxviii. 5—9. *And the angel anſwered and ſaid unto the women: fear ye not. For I know that ye ſeek Jeſus, who was crucified. He is not here. For he is riſen, as he ſaid: come, ſee the place where the Lord lay. And go quickly, and tell his diſciples, that he is riſen from the dead. And, behold, he goes before you into Galilee. There ſhall ye ſee him. Lo, I have told you. And they departed quickly from the ſepulchre, with fear, and joy, and did run*, that is, they were ſetting out, *to bring his diſciples word. And as they went*, or were going *to tell his diſciples, behold Jeſus met them, ſaying, all hail*, or, a good day to you. *And they came, and held him by the feet, and worſhipped* † *him.* And now, undoubtedly, Mary Magdalene likewiſe was admitted to embrace our Lord's feet, if ſhe did it not before. For the words, *touch me not*, need not to be underſtood of an abſolute prohibition, not to touch him at all, but only, that ſhe was not to expect, to be indulged in a long converſation. And now, they were all fully ſatisfied, that it was Jeſus himſelf, who was alive again. He had given them all the evidences which they could deſire. They ſaw him, they heard his voice, they handled him. *Then* [ver. 10] *ſaid Jeſus unto them: be not afraid: go, tell my brethren, that they go into Galilee: and there ſhall they ſee me.*

Now all the women, together, had a joint appearance of Jeſus, reſembling that made to the eleven diſciples, in the

* Grotius has in one place intimated, that Mary Magdalene had a maid-ſervant with her . . . niſi dicere malumus, quod credibile eſt, ancillam Magdalene adfuiſſe. Gr. in Matt. xxviii. 9.

† *Amplexæ ſunt*, εκρατησαν.] Vulg. tenuerunt. Sic prehenſis videlicet ejus pedibus, quaſi eum illic retenturæ, quo ſpectat Chriſti reſponſum. Mihi propterea magis placuit amplectendi, quam prehendendi verbum. Bez. in loc.

evening

evening of the ſame day. And, perhaps, there was ſome peculiar fitneſs in our Lord ſhowing himſelf firſt to Mary Magdalene, either alone, or when one more only was with her, and then to the reſt all together. So, before he ſhowed himſelf to the eleven, he appeared to the two going to Emmaus, and to Peter, much about the ſame time: though we cannot exactly ſay, when, or [i] where.

This appearance to Mary Magdalene, and the other women with her, may be conſidered as one and the ſame appearance. It is ſo conſidered by Lightfoot. Harmony of the N. T. vol. I. p. 269, 270.

It follows, that we now conſider their meſſage to the apoſtles. John, as before, ver. 18. ſays: *Mary Magdalene came, and told the diſciples, that ſhe had ſeen the Lord. And that he had ſaid theſe things unto her.* Matt. xxviii. 9, 10. before tranſcribed. And Mark xvi. 10, 11. *And ſhe went, and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept. And they, when they heard that he was alive, and had been ſeen of her, believed not.* St. Luke xxiv. 9—11. is more particular. *And returned from the ſepulchre, and told all theſe things unto the eleven, and to all the reſt. It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with him, who told theſe things unto the apoſtles. And their words ſeemed to them, as idle tales, and they believed them not.*

Thus is the meſſage, or teſtimony of the women, related by ſeveral evangeliſts. But the diſciples did not believe them.

Nor do I diſcern in the goſpels any more journies of the women, or of the apoſtles, to the ſepulchre, and back again, than theſe already mentioned. The firſt journey of the women to the ſepulchre was early in the morning: when they ſaw that the ſtone was rolled away from the ſepulchre, and miſſed the body of Jeſus. Mary Magdalene, then, with ſome other of the women, came down to the apoſtles, and informed them of what they had ſeen with great ſurpriſe. Whereupon Peter and John went to the ſepulchre, and then returned to their own home. Mary Magdalene, and the others, who had come down to the apoſtles, followed Peter and John to the ſepulchre. And when thoſe two apoſtles returned back to Jeruſalem, Mary and her companions ſtayed yet a while near the

[i] Poſtea etiam Jeſus ſe conſpiciendum præbuit Petro, quamvis rei circumſtantiæ ad poſteros tranſmiſſæ non ſunt. Cleric. Harmon. p. 487.

ſepulchre.

ſepulchre. And, whilſt they were there attending, Jeſus came, and ſhowed himſelf to them. Whereupon Mary and all the women came down to Jeruſalem, and went to the apoſtles, aſſuring them, that they had ſeen Jeſus; and went no more to the ſepulchre. For which indeed there could be no reaſon, when they were perſuaded that Jeſus had left it, and was alive again. As Lightfoot ſays, in the place before referred to, p. 270. 'Here Matthew ſpeaks ſhort. For he mentioneth but 'one journey of the women, to the grave, and back, and ſaith, 'that as they came back, Jeſus met them. Whereas Mary 'Magdalene had two journies. As ſhe returned, now the 'watchmen are come into the city, and bribed to deny that 'he was riſen. And ſo the chief prieſts and elders gave money 'to hire the nation into unbelief.'

The next appearance of our Lord is to the two diſciples, going to Emmaus. Of this I underſtand St. Mark to ſpeak briefly, ch. xvi. 12, 13. *After that, he appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked, and went into the country. And they went and told it unto the reſidue. Neither believed they them.* *After that*, meaning after the appearance of Jeſus to the women before related, ver. 9, 10. and after that they had delivered their meſſage and teſtimony to the eleven.

Of thoſe two diſciples St. Luke ſpeaks more particularly and at large, ch. xxiv. 13—35. *And behold, two of them went that ſame day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jeruſalem about threeſcore furlongs. And they talked together of all theſe things which had happened. And it came to paſs, that whilſt they communed together, and reaſoned, Jeſus himſelf drew near, and went with them. But their eyes were held, that they ſhould not know him. And he ſaid unto them: what manner of communications are theſe, that ye have one to another, as ye walk, and are ſad? And the one of them, whoſe name was Cleophas, anſwering, ſaid unto him: art thou only a ſtranger in Jeruſalem, and haſt not known the things which are come to paſs there in theſe days? And he ſaid unto them: what things? And they ſaid unto him: concerning Jeſus of Nazareth, who was a prophet, mighty in deed and word before God, and all the people: and how the chief prieſts and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death, and have crucified him. But we truſted, that it had been he, who ſhould have redeemed Iſrael. And beſide all this, to day is the third day, ſince theſe things were done. Yea, and certain women alſo of our company made us aſtoniſhed, who were earl, at the ſepulchre. And when they found not his body, they came*

saying, that they had seen a vision of angels, which said, he was risen. And certain of them which were with us, went to the sepulchre, and found it even as they said. But him they saw not. Then he said unto them: O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken. Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself. And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they went. And he made, as if he would have gone farther. And they constrained him, saying, abide with us. For it is toward evening. And the day is far spent. And he went in, to tarry with them. And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, [or as he was sitting down to table with them:] *he took bread, and blessed it, and brake unto them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him. And he vanished out of their sight:* that is, he retired, and went away. *And they said one to another: did not our hearts burn within us, whilst he talked with us in the way? and whilst he opened to us the scriptures? And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, saying, the Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared unto Simon. And they told them what things were done in the way, and how he was known unto them in breaking of bread.*

Here ariseth a question, whether these two disciples did set out for Emmaus, before the disciples knew of Mary Magdalene's having herself seen Jesus. You say, p. 648, 'It seems 'that these two had left the city before any of the women came 'with the news of Christ's personal appearance.' And presently afterwards you say, p. 648, 649, 'The smallest attention will 'show, that Cleophas and his companions do not here speak 'of Mary Magdalene's second information.' Le Clerc likewise says, 'That[k] these two disciples set out for Emmaus, before Jesus had shown himself to Mary Magdalene.' I believe this may be the opinion of many. I also may have said the same myself. But my honoured friend above-mentioned thinks otherwise as we have seen. 'They did,' as he says, 'make their report to the apostles, before the two went from 'the rest of the company to Emmaus. No notice is mention-'ed by the two in discourse with Christ of the women's having

[k] Cum vero duo ex discipulis Jesu, mane ejusdem diei, antequam se Mariæ Magdalenæ stitisset Jesus, profecti essent Jerosolymâ Emmaun-tem. Cleric Harm. p. 487.

'related

'related their interview with Jeſus, becauſe it ſhould ſeem, 'none of the company believed a word of what the women 'ſaid,' Mark xvi. 11. Luke xxiv. 11. 'And none of the evan-'geliſts pretend to give an exact detail of all circumſtances.'

Let us now go over the particulars of ver. 21—24. *And beſide all this, to day is the third day ſince theſe things were done. Yea, and certain women alſo of our company made us aſtoniſhed, who were early at the ſepulchre. And when they found not his body, they came, ſaying, that they had alſo ſeen a viſion of angels, who ſaid that he was alive.* It follows in the ſame diſcourſe of the two diſciples, ver. 24. *And certain of them which were with us went to the ſepulchre, and found it even as the women had ſaid. But him they ſaw not* Referring to what St. John writes of Peter and John viſiting the ſepulchre, chap. xx. 3—10: and to what St. Luke writes of Peter, chap. xxiv. 12.

It might be expected, that now, after this, theſe two diſciples ſhould alſo diſtinctly mention the ſecond report of Mary Magdalene, related by St. John xx. 11—18. provided that report had been made to the apoſtles, before the two ſet out for Emmaus. This omiſſion is accounted for by my friend in the manner above mentioned: they take no notice of this, becauſe they paid little regard to it. And does not this appear alſo in what the eleven ſay to theſe two, when they came to them, and told them, what they had ſeen? Luke xxiv. 34. *they ſaid to them: the Lord is riſen indeed, and hath appeared unto Simon.* They ſay nothing of Mary Magdalene, though ſhe certainly had been with them before that time, and had made her ſecond report to them, *that ſhe had ſeen the Lord, and that he had ſaid theſe things unto her*, John xx. 18.

Let me now cite ſome obſervations of your own; p. 652. 'As ſoon as Jeſus departed, the two diſciples made all the 'haſte they could to Jeruſalem, that they might have the 'pleaſure of acquainting them with the agreeable news. 'But they were in ſome meaſure prevented. For imme-'diately on their arrival, the eleven, with the women, 'accoſted them, giving them the news of their maſter's 'reſurrection. *And they roſe up the ſame hour, and returned to 'Jeruſalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that 'were with them, ſaying: the Lord is riſen indeed, and hath 'appeared unto Simon.* The apoſtles had given little credit 'to the reports of the women, ſuppoſing, they were occa-'ſioned more by imagination than reality. But when a

'perſon of Simon's capacity and gravity declared, that he 'had ſeen the Lord, they began to think that he was riſen 'indeed. Their belief therefore was not a little confirmed 'by the arrival of theſe two diſciples, who declared, that 'the Lord had appeared to them alſo. Ver. 35. *And they 'told what things were done in the way, and how he was known 'unto them in breaking of bread,* that is, by his prayer before 'meat. Mark however repreſents the reception, which their 'report met with, ſomewhat differently: ch. xvi. 12. *After 'that he appeared in another form,* εν ετερα μορφη. i. e. in another 'dreſs, the dreſs of a traveller, *unto two of them, as they 'walked and went into the country.* Ver. 13. *And they went, 'and told it unto the reſidue: neither believed they them.* But 'there is no inconſiſtency between the evangeliſts. For 'though the greateſt part of the apoſtles believed that Jeſus 'was riſen, as Luke affirms; ſome who had not given credit 'either to the women, or to Simon, continued obſtinately 'to diſbelieve, in ſpite of all that theſe two diſciples, or 'the reſt could ſay.'

I ſhall add ſomewhat farther from your Preliminary Obſervations, p. 39. where you ſay, 'The male diſciples being 'the witneſſes, upon whoſe teſtimony the world was to 'believe, that our Lord aroſe from the dead, it concerned 'mankind more to be informed of his appearances to them, 'than to be made acquainted with his appearances to the 'women. Luke knew this. And therefore, while he has 'related the appearances to the male diſciples, he has 'omitted the appearances to the women altogether. It 'ſeems, the brevity, which he ſtudied, did not permit, that 'both ſhould be told. In like manner the apoſtle Paul, 'ſumming up the evidence of our Lord's reſurrection, 'takes no notice of his appearances to the women, becauſe 'they were not to be the witneſſes of this matter to the 'world.' 1 Cor. xv. 1—9.

And here, from your obſervations juſt mentioned, ariſeth another conſideration. For you ſay, that 'St. Luke has omitted Chriſt's appearances to the women altogether.' If that be ſo, we are not to expect, that theſe two ſhould take any notice of Mary Magdalene's ſecond report, though it had been made to the apoſtles, before they ſet out from Jeruſalem. St. Luke's words are theſe: ch. xxiv. 1—11. *Now upon the firſt day of the week, very early in the morning, they* [that is, the women who had come with Jeſus from Galilee.

ch.

ch. xxiii. 55.] *came unto the ſepulchre, bringing the ſpices, which they had prepared, and certain others with them. And they found the ſtone rolled away from the ſepulchre. And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jeſus. And it came to paſs, as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold, two men ſtood by them in ſhining garments. And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, they ſaid unto them: why ſeek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is riſen. Remember, how he ſpake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee, ſaying: the ſon of man muſt be delivered into the hands of ſinful men, and be crucified, and the third day riſe again. And they remembered his words. And returned from the ſepulchre, and told all theſe things to the eleven, and to all the reſt. It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, who told theſe things unto the apoſtles. And their words ſeemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not.* That is the account, which St. Luke has given of the teſtimony of the women to the reſurrection of Jeſus. And it is very obſervable. I make no queſtion, that herein is included Mary Magdalene's ſecond report to the apoſtles, mentioned by St. John xx. 18. And it confirms the ſuppoſition, before mentioned, that Mary Magdalene was not then alone, but that all the other women were then with her, though they are not mentioned by St. John.

Theſe obſervations are ſufficient to account for the two diſciples not mentioning diſtinctly the report of Mary Magdalene, though they did not ſet out from Jeruſalem until after it had been made to the apoſtles.

But there are other conſiderations, which may ſupport the ſame perſuaſion. It is confirmed by the order of narration in St. Mark's goſpel. ch. xvi. 9. *Now when Jeſus was riſen early, the firſt day of the week, he appeared firſt to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had caſt ſeven dæmons.* Ver. 10. *And ſhe went, and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept.* This is what St. John ſays, ch. xx. 18. *Mary Magdalene came, and told the diſciples, that ſhe had ſeen the Lord, and that he had ſpoken theſe things unto her.* It follows in Mark xvi. 11. *And they, when they had heard that he was alive, and had been ſeen of her, believed not.* Then, at ver. 12. *After* † *that he appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked,*

† Μετα δε ταυτα δυσιν εξ αυτων περιπατουσιν εφανερωθη εν ετερα μορφη, πορευομενοις εις αγρον.

and went into the country. This is full proof, that theſe two did not ſet out for Emmaus, till after that Mary Magdalene had told the diſciples, *ſhe had ſeen the Lord.*

And, I pray, what is the meaning of his appearing to them in another form? You ſay, in another dreſs, that of a traveller. Which I think does not give the true meaning of the phraſe. Grotius [1] ſays, 'in another dreſs, that is, different from what had been uſed by him.' And Dr. Doddridge, to the ſame purpoſe: 'in a different habit from what he ordinarily wore.' But neither does that, as I apprehend, fully repreſent the deſign and meaning of the evangeliſt's expreſſion. I think, he refers to ſome appearance of Chriſt, which had been made before that now made to theſe two. What can that be, but *the appearance to Mary Magdalene*, mentioned by himſelf, ver. 9, 10? This ſeems to me to be the plain and evident meaning of St. Mark. And it fully ſhows, that Mary's ſecond report to the apoſtles had been made, before theſe two ſet out from Jeruſalem to go to Emmaus.

There is ſtill another argument of great force, which offers to our conſideration. Theſe two diſciples did not ſet out till eleven or twelve o'clock according to our computation. Emmaus was little more than two hours walk, if at all. They arrived at the village about three in the afternoon, or ſooner, Luke xxiv. 29. As they were engaged in diſcourſe, during a great part of the journey; we will ſuppoſe, that they made three hours of it. Conſequently, they ſet out at twelve, or not much ſooner. But before that, Mary had made her ſecond report to the diſciples, that *ſhe had ſeen the Lord.* And theſe two were with the diſciples, when that report was made. Mary and the other women went early to the ſepulchre. They got to the ſepulchre by the riſing of the ſun. When Mary came firſt to the apoſtles, as is related, John xx. 1, 2. it could not be more than ſix o'clock, or thereabout. After which Peter and John went in great haſte to the ſepulchre, and Mary with them, or after them, as faſt as ſhe could. Peter and John did not ſtay long at the ſepulchre. But having taken a view of the ſtate of things there, *they went away again to their own home*, John xx. 10. Soon after theſe two apoſtles were gone

[1] Ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ, in alia effigie.] Habitu alio, quam quo uti ſolebat. Ideo παροικον habitantem in proxi-mo, putabant. Grot in Marc. xvi. 12.

away,

away, the Lord appeared to Mary Magdalene, and preſently after that, to all the other women, who had gone up early in the morning with the ſpices. Then Mary and the reſt came down to the apoſtles, and let them know that they *had ſeen the Lord*, and they delivered to them the meſſage, with which they had been entruſted, together with all the circumſtances of his appearing to them. It could not be then more than ſeven or eight or nine in the forenoon. This is much confirmed by the circumſtance obſerved by my friend from Matt. xxviii. 11. *Now when they* [the women] *were going, behold, ſome of the watch came into the city, and ſhowed unto the chief prieſts all the things that were done.* It may be well ſuppoſed, that this part of the watch, or guard, came to the prieſts as ſoon as they could have acceſs unto them in a body, when met together. Which may be reckoned between ſeven and eight, or at the fartheſt, between eight and nine in the morning. At that time Mary Magdalene, and the women with her, came down to the diſciples, and made their report to them, that *they had ſeen the Lord.*

There can then no longer be any queſtion made, but that the two diſciples were acquainted with that report of Mary Magdalene, and the reſt of the women, before they ſet out for Emmaus.

St. Luke ſays, ch. xxiv. 33—36. *And they roſe up the ſame hour, and returned to Jeruſalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them. Saying, the Lord is riſen indeed, and hath appeared unto Simon. And they told what things were done in the way, and how he was known of them in breaking of bread. And as they thus ſpake, Jeſus himſelf ſtood in the midſt of them, and ſaith unto them: peace be unto you.*

We ſhould now obſerve the time, when theſe two diſciples arrived at Jeruſalem, and returned to the company of the diſciples, whom they had left to go to Emmaus.

When they arrived at that village, and entreated Jeſus *to abide with them, they ſaid: it is toward evening, and the day is far ſpent*, or has already begun to decline: οτι προς εσπεραν εστι, και κεκλικεν ημερα. ver. 29. It was paſt noon, and might be near our three afternoon. As they were ſitting down to eat, looking more directly at Jeſus, than they had yet done, they knew him. Our Lord thereupon retired, and they haſtened to Jeruſalem. Emmaus was about a two hours walk from Jeruſalem. They might get thither about five afternoon,

more than an hour before ſun-ſet. And, probably, did ſo. Soon after our Lord came in. He might have been there before them. But he was willing, that the diſciples, and they that were with them, ſhould be prepared for his appearing among them, by the teſtimony of theſe two, added to the teſtimonies of Peter, and the women, who had already ſeen him.

We proceed in Luke xxiv. 36. *And as they thus ſpake, Jeſus himſelf ſtood in the midſt, and ſaith: peace be unto you.* Ver. 37. *But they were terrified and affrighted, and ſuppoſed, that they had ſeen a ſpirit.* [Which ſhows, that there were ſtill ſeveral, who did not believe him to be riſen from the dead.] Ver. 38. *And he ſaid unto them: why are ye troubled? And why do thoughts ariſe in your hearts?* Ver. 39. *Behold my hands, and my feet, that it is I myſelf. Handle me, and ſee. For a ſpirit hath not fleſh and bones, as ye ſee me have.* Ver. 40. *And when he had thus ſpoken, he ſhowed them his hands and his feet.* Ver. 41. *And while they yet believed not for joy, and wondered; he ſaid unto them: have ye here any meat?* Ver. 42. *And they gave him a piece of a broiled fiſh, and of an honey-comb.* Ver. 43. *And he took it, and did eat before them.*

The words, laſt quoted, *have ye here any meat, &c.* deſerve notice. They ſhould be compared with Mark xvi. 14. *Afterwards he appeared to the eleven, as they ſat at meat.* Υστερον, ανακειμενοις αυτοις τοις ενδεκα εφανερωθη. The eleven were yet at table, or were not yet riſen up from their places. There is no improbability in this, conſidering the tranſactions of the day, and the great concern they had been in for their Lord, and their apprehenſions from the Jews. It might well happen, that they had not dined before five afternoon. Coming in, then, at that time, when their repaſt was juſt over, and finiſhed, or almoſt finiſhed, he might well put that queſtion: *Have ye here any meat? And they gave him a piece of a broiled fiſh, and of an honeycomb.*

Upon this you ſay, p. 654. 'He tarried ſo long with them, 'that they had time to make ready ſome fiſh for ſupper, 'which he took a ſhare of.' But the other way of accounting for that queſtion, appears to me preferable. *Have ye here any meat?* Εχετι τι βρωσιμον ενθαδε, is properly ſaid to perſons now riſen, or juſt riſing from table. And they gave it him preſently. He does not deſire them to prepare, or make ready for him. But he aſks, if they had any meat at hand, or any thing left. Beza diſputes this interpretation

tion of the word.[m] But he acknowledgeth that it is the rendering both of the Vulgate, and of Eraſmus. To me it appears very right. And Beza's objections againſt it are frivolous and ill grounded.

We proceed. Luke xxiv. 44. *And he ſaid unto them, theſe are the words which I ſpake unto you, while I was with you, that all things muſt be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moſes, and in the prophets, and in the pſalms concerning me.* Ver. 45. *Then opened he their underſtanding, that they might underſtand the ſcriptures.* Ver. 46. *And ſaid unto them, thus it is written, and thus it behoved Chriſt to ſuffer, and to riſe from the dead the third day.* Ver. 47. *And that repentance and remiſſion of ſins ſhould be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jeruſalem.* Ver. 48. *And ye are witneſſes of theſe things.* Ver. 49. *And behold I ſend the promiſe of my Father upon you. But tarry ye in the city of Jeruſalem, till ye be endowed with power from on high.*

Of this appearance of our Lord to the diſciples, St. John writes to this purpoſe, ch. xx. 19—23. *Then the ſame day, at evening, being the firſt day of the week, when the doors were ſhut, where the diſciples were aſſembled, for fear of the Jews, came Jeſus, and ſtood in the midſt, and ſaith unto them, peace be unto you. And when he had ſo ſaid, he ſhowed them his hands and his ſide. Then were the diſciples glad when they ſaw the Lord. Then ſaid Jeſus unto them again, peace be unto you. As my Father hath ſent me, ſo ſend I you. And when he had ſaid this, he breathed upon them, and ſaith unto them, receive ye the Holy Ghoſt. Whoſe ſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted unto them: and whoſe ſoever ſins ye retain, they are retained.*

Thus concluded the firſt day of the week, the day on which Jeſus roſe from the dead. Says St. John, *Then, the ſame day at evening, being the firſt day of the week—came Jeſus, and ſtood in the midſt.* The firſt evening, according to Jewiſh computation, began at three afternoon, and ended at ſix afternoon, or ſun-ſetting. Of this uſe of the word, we have divers examples in the New Teſtament. In the hiſtory of the miracle of the five thouſand fed with five loaves, St. Matthew ſays, ch. xiv. 15. *And when it was evening, his diſciples came to him, ſaying, this is a deſert place, and the time*

[m] *Poſtremo vero una ſedentibus ipſis undecim.* [recumbentibus ipſis undecim. Vulg.] id eſt, cum una domi eſſent. Vulg. et Eraſmus de accubitu interpretantur, &c. Bez. ad Marc. xvi. 14.

is

is now paſt. It was then about three afternoon. So likewiſe Matt. xxvii. 57. *When the even was come, there came a rich man of Arimathea, named Joſeph, who alſo himſelf was a diſciple.* Every one knows that Jeſus expired at three afternoon. At that time, called here the evening, came Joſeph to take care of the body of Jeſus. And when St. John in this text ſays, *the ſame day at evening, being the firſt day of the week, came Jeſus:* he muſt be underſtood to ſay that Jeſus came to the diſciples, in that ſpace of time, between three afternoon and ſun-ſetting, or ſix afternoon. And from the hiſtory of the two diſciples who had been at Emmaus [as related Luke xxiv.] who had arrived juſt before Jeſus came in, we have argued, that Jeſus came in at five afternoon, or poſſibly ſomewhat ſooner, when there was yet an hour's day-light. And I believe, that upon due conſideration, it will be thought to be a ſtrange conceit, which has been admitted by ſome chriſtian commentators, that Jeſus did not now appear to the diſciples till after ſun-ſetting, when it was night, and even late in the night: which is, really, to expoſe this hiſtory to the ſcoffs of infidels. St. John ſays, *the doors were ſhut*, but he does not ſay that they were ſhut becauſe it was dark: but *for fear of the Jews:* which they may have been all that day.*

I have ſtill one obſervation more to mention; which is intended farther to confirm the ſuppoſition, that the two did not leave the other diſciples, nor ſet out for Emmaus, till after the report made by Mary Magdalene, and the other women with her, *that they had ſeen the Lord*: and alſo to explain more diſtinctly thoſe words of the two diſciples to Jeſus. Luke xxiv. 22, 23. *Yea, and certain women alſo of our company made us aſtoniſhed, which were early at the ſepulchre. And when they found not his body, they came, ſaying, that they had alſo ſeen a viſion of angels, which ſaid, that he was alive.*

I think that theſe words refer to, and include the ſecond report of Mary Magdalene, and the women with her, which is recorded in John xx. 18. *Mary Magdalene came and told the diſciples that ſhe had ſeen the Lord, and that he had ſpoken theſe things unto her.*

* What is above ſaid, is very ſimilar to ſome obſervations of the author of the Remarks upon Dr. Ward's Diſſertations, p. 286, &c. to whom therefore I refer you: for there the ſame point is handled more at large.

What

What I would now propoſe to conſideration, is this: neither Mary Magdalene, nor any other of the women, ſaw any angel when they firſt went up to the ſepulchre. They did not ſee any angel till ſome time afterwards, that is, not till after they had been down with the apoſtles, and returned back to the ſepulchre. Nor did John and Peter ſee any angel when they went up to verify the truth of what the women had ſaid to them. The appearance of the angels was not till after Mary Magdalene was returned to the ſepulchre from the apoſtles: therefore the two diſciples, in the words above quoted from Luke xxiv. 22, 23. refer to the ſecond report or teſtimony of Mary Magdalene, and the women with her.

Let us obſerve the hiſtory, as it lies in St. John's goſpel, xx. 1, 2. *The firſt day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the ſepulchre, and ſeeth the ſtone taken away from the ſepulchre. Then ſhe runneth, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other diſciple, whom Jeſus loved, and ſaith unto them: they have taken away the Lord out of the ſepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.* She ſays not a word of the appearance of angels, or any information received from them. Therefore no ſuch thing had happened.

It follows, ver. 3—10. *Peter therefore went forth, and that other diſciple, and came to the ſepulchre. So they ran both together, and the other diſciple did outrun Peter, and came firſt to the ſepulchre. And he ſtooping down, and looking in, ſaw the linen cloths lying. Yet went he not in. Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the ſepulchre, and ſeeth the linen cloths lie, and the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen cloths, but wrapped together in a place by itſelf. Then went in alſo that other diſciple, which came firſt to the ſepulchre, and he ſaw, and believed,* [that is, finding nothing in the ſepulchre but the cloths, he believed that the body was taken away as Mary Magdalene had ſaid:] *For as yet they knew not the ſcripture: that he muſt riſe again from the dead. Then the diſciples went away again to their own home.* Therefore neither did theſe apoſtles ſee any angels at the ſepulchre, or near it. For no ſuch thing is here mentioned or hinted. It is alſo confirmed by St. Luke's account of the ſame viſit, or journey to the ſepulchre, ch. xxiv. 12. *Then aroſe Peter, and came unto the ſepulchre, and ſtooping down, he beheld the linen cloths laid by themſelves. and departed, wondering in himſelf at that which was come to paſs.* He ſeeth not any angels.

Nor

Nor does he receive any information from angels. He only ſees, and views the ſepulchre, and obſerves, that the body was gone, and the cloths were left lying by themſelves. Nor could he forbear to wonder greatly.

We are next to attend to what follows the quotation before made from John xx. where at ver. 11, 12. *But Mary ſtood without at the ſepulchre, weeping. And as ſhe wept, ſhe ſtooped down, and looked into the ſepulchre, and ſeeth two angels in white, ſitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jeſus had lain.*

When the two diſciples, John and Peter, returned to their home in Jeruſalem, Mary ſtill ſtayed behind. *But Mary ſtood without at the ſepulchre, weeping.* And well ſhe might, conſidering how ignominiouſly her Lord had been put to death a few days ago: and now the body was miſſing and gone: and, as ſhe thought, removed and carried away, but whither and by whom, ſhe could not tell. In this diſtreſs, and now firſt upon this occaſion, there is an appearance of angels.

But Mary ſtood without weeping. And as ſhe wept, ſhe ſtooped down, and looked into the ſepulchre: and ſeeth two angels in white ſitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jeſus had lain. No ſuch beings had been ſeen there before by any of the women, or the diſciples, who had looked into the ſepulchre, and been in it, and ſearched it, once and again. *And they ſay unto her: woman, why weepeſt thou? She ſaith unto them, becauſe they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. And when ſhe had thus ſaid, ſhe turned herſelf back, and ſaw Jeſus ſtanding, and knew not that it was Jeſus. Jeſus ſaith unto her: woman, why weepeſt thou? Whom ſeekeſt thou? She ſuppoſing him to be the gardener, ſaith unto him, Sir, if thou haſt borne him hence, tell me where thou haſt laid him, and I will take him away. Jeſus ſaith unto her: Mary. She turneth herſelf, and ſaith: Rabboni, which is to ſay, Maſter. Jeſus ſaith unto her: touch me not: for I am not yet aſcended to my Father. But go to my brethren, and ſay unto them: I aſcend to my Father, and your Father, and to my God, and your God. Mary Magdalene came, and told the diſciples, that ſhe had ſeen the Lord, and that he had ſaid theſe things unto her.*

Since therefore there was no appearance of angels to the women, when they firſt came to the ſepulchre, thoſe words, Luke xxiv. 23, *And certain women, when they found not his body, came, ſaying that they alſo had ſeen a viſion of angels, which ſaid*

said, that he was alive. These words, I say, must relate to the second report of Mary Magdalene, and the other women, recorded by St. John, in the verse just cited, ch. xx. 18.

I am not aware, that any considerable difficulties can be raised against this account. I think, we may safely follow the order of things related by St. John, who had seen and read the other gospels.

St. Luke xxiv. 1—11. puts together the whole testimony of the women. But we know from St. John, that their testimony consisted of two reports; brought down to the apostles at different times, and at a considerable distance of time from each other, one made, before John and Peter went to the sepulchre, the second report afterwards, as we have seen.

When St. Luke says xxiv. 12. *Then arose Peter, and ran unto the sepulchre,* he does not intend to say, that happened not till after all was done, which is related in the former eleven verses. Our version, indeed is, *then arose Peter,* seeming to intimate, that he did not go to the sepulchre till after the message delivered by the women to the apostles, by the direction of the angels. But there is nothing of that kind in the original. The words are: Ὁ δε Πετρος αναστας εδραμεν επι το μνημειον: that is, *And Peter arising, went to the sepulchre.* Or, 'moreover, beside the report and testimony of the women, *Peter also arose, and ran unto the sepulchre,* &c.'

I shall now make a paraphrase of those words of the two disciples to Jesus in the way to Emmaus. Luke xxiv. 22, 23, 24. '*Yea, and certain women also of our company made us astonished,* '*which were early at the sepulchre. And when they found not his* '*body they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels.* '[And they said they also had seen the Lord themselves. ‡] 'But in a matter of so great importance, and so very un-'likely, we all thought it best to pay little regard to their

‡ I think, I have rightly inserted that in my paraphrase of that place. Dr. Doddridge seems to have been aware, that so much was implied. Therefore, in his notes upon ver. 23. he says: 'and what is added 'in the next verse, with relation 'to Peter and John, who are the 'men there spoken of, *(but him 'they did not see)* may perhaps im-'ply, that the women pretended 'also to have seen Jesus himself.' And in his paraphrase of ver. 24. he says: '*but him they did not see:* 'though the women apprehended, 'he had actually appeared to them 'himself, and declared, that he 'was risen, and would show him-'self to his disciples.'

testimony.

'teſtimony. *And certain of them which were with us, went to* '*the ſepulchre, and found it even ſo as the women had ſaid. But* '*him they ſaw not.* However it muſt be acknowledged, that 'beſide the women, two of the diſciples, and thoſe of the 'beſt underſtanding, and the moſt eminent among us, have 'alſo been at the ſepulchre. The occaſion of it was this. 'Some of the women, who were very early at the ſepulchre, 'came down to us in great haſte, ſaying, *They have taken* '*the Lord out of the ſepulchre, and we know not where they have* '*laid him,* John xx. 2. Whereupon two, and thoſe the moſt 'eminent of the diſciples, went themſelves to the ſepulchre, 'and found it even as the women had ſaid, that is, that the 'body was gone, and nothing left beſide the cloths, in 'which it had been covered. But him they ſaw not: [as 'the women have ſince ſaid, that they have ſeen him.']

'Whereupon, our Lord, as if out of patience at their 'ſtupidity and inconſideration, *ſays to them: O fools, and ſlow of* '*heart, to believe all that the prophets have ſpoken,* &c.' ver. 25.

Theſe two do not mention the viſit made to the ſepulchre by Peter and John, laſt, becauſe it was not made till after the women had ſeen *a viſion of angels,* but, as the more conſiderable thing. The women's teſtimony they ſlighted. *Their words ſeemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not,* Luke xxiv. 11. For theſe two diſciples they had ſome regard, but not ſo much as they ſhould. And therefore our Lord ſays to them: *O fools, and ſlow of heart,* and what there follows.

From all which it appears to me evident, that the two diſciples did not ſet out for Emmaus, till after the report made to the apoſtles by Mary Magdalene, *that ſhe had ſeen the Lord, and that he had ſpoken theſe things unto her:* as related John xx. 18.

This obſervation I have deferred till now, that I might not diſturb and interrupt the preceding argument.

I have now performed all that I intended. For I never propoſed to go any farther, than the appearances of our Lord to the diſciples, and others, on the day of his reſurrection.

Shall I now recollect, and ſum up what has been ſaid under this fifth and laſt article of our inquiry?

Early on the firſt day of the week, Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, and other women, who had come up with our Lord to Jeruſalem from Galilee, and had often attended upon him, went up to the ſepulchre,

ſepulchre, bringing the ſpices, which they had prepared. As they were going, they ſaid among themſelves, *Who ſhall roll us away the ſtone from the door of the ſepulchre? For it was very great.* But, when they came nigh to the ſepulchre, they perceived that the ſtone was rolled away. That obſtacle therefore to their performing the intended office of reſpect, in embalming the body, of which they had been apprehenſive, was removed. Which afforded them, for the preſent, a good deal of ſatisfaction. But when they had entered in, they found not the body of the Lord Jeſus. This filled them with the utmoſt ſurpriſe and concern. Whereupon, with the conſent and approbation of all the reſt of the women, Mary Magdalene, and ſome others of them, ran down immediately, in all haſte to the apoſtles at Jeruſalem, telling them, that they had been at the ſepulchre, that they found the ſtone rolled away from the door of it: they therefore entered in, but found not the body of Jeſus: *They have taken away the Lord out of the ſepulchre,* ſaid they, *and we know not where they have laid him.* Peter and John therefore ran to the ſepulchre, entered into it, and found every thing exactly agreeing to the report of the women. The body of Jeſus was gone, but the cloths, with which he had been covered, remained, every part of them, and lying in great order. So that they could not but wonder greatly at what had happened. But, as it was not ſafe or prudent for them to ſtay there, they ſoon went away again to their own home. But Mary Magdalene, and the other women, who had come back to the ſepulchre from the apoſtles, ſtayed behind. And ſoon after thoſe diſciples were gone away, there appeared to them two angels, and one of them ſaid to them, *Fear not. Ye ſeek Jeſus, who was crucified. He is not here. He is riſen, as he ſaid. Come, ſee the place where the Lord lay. And go quickly, and tell his diſciples that he is riſen from the dead. And they departed quickly from the ſepulchre, with fear and great joy, and did run to bring the diſciples word. As they were going to tell his diſciples, behold Jeſus met them, ſaying, all hail. And they came, and held him by the feet, and worſhipped him. Then ſaid Jeſus unto them: be not afraid. Go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee. And there ſhall they ſee me. Now when they were going, behold ſome of the watch came into the city, and ſhowed unto the chief prieſts all the things that were done.* So in Matt. xxviii. 5—11. or, as in John xx. 18. *Mary Magdalene came, and told the diſciples, that ſhe had ſeen the Lord, and that he had ſpoken theſe things*

unto her. When ſhe, and the reſt of the women, now came down to the apoſtles, it might be about ſeven or eight, at the lateſt about eight or nine in the forenoon. Nor did the women, nor any of the diſciples, go up to the ſepulchre any more after this. Theſe juſt mentioned, are all the journies to the ſepulchre which are recorded by the evangeliſts. Some while after the return of theſe women, and after they had reported their teſtimony to the apoſtles, two of their company went to the village, called Emmaus; where Jeſus appeared to them alſo, and was known to them, about three of the clock in the afternoon, or ſooner. And about the ſame time the Lord appeared alſo to Peter, though we cannot exactly ſay the place. Jeſus having clearly made known himſelf to the two at Emmaus, as they were ſitting down to table, he afterwards withdrew, when it was about three afternoon. *They then roſe up the ſame hour, and returned to Jeruſalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them.* They arrived there about five afternoon, or ſooner. Immediately after which *Jeſus* alſo *came, and ſtood in the midſt*, and graciouſly manifeſted himſelf to them, giving them full aſſurance that it was he himſelf.

According to different computations, Jeſus ſhowed himſelf to his diſciples and followers four or five times on the day in which he roſe from the dead. Firſt to Mary Magdalene, and the women with her at the ſepulchre: next to the two, who went to Emmaus, then to Peter, and at length to the eleven at Jeruſalem, who were aſſembled together, about five of the clock in the afternoon. If we compute the appearance to Mary Magdalene, to be diſtinct from that to the women, there are five appearances, otherwiſe, they are four only.

Thus I have digeſted the hiſtory of our Saviour's reſurrection, and his firſt appearances to the diſciples. I pleaſe myſelf with the perſuaſion, that I have done it in a plainer manner, than it has been done of late by ſome others. Theſe thoughts therefore are now referred to your conſideration. And I remain, with true eſteem,

SIR,

Your friend and well-wiſher,

E. F.

END OF THE OBSERVATIONS UPON DR. MACKNIGHT'S HARMONY.

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THE END.