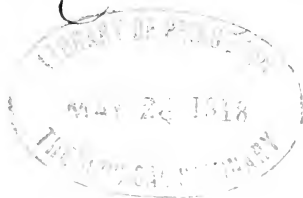




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Woodlote Park



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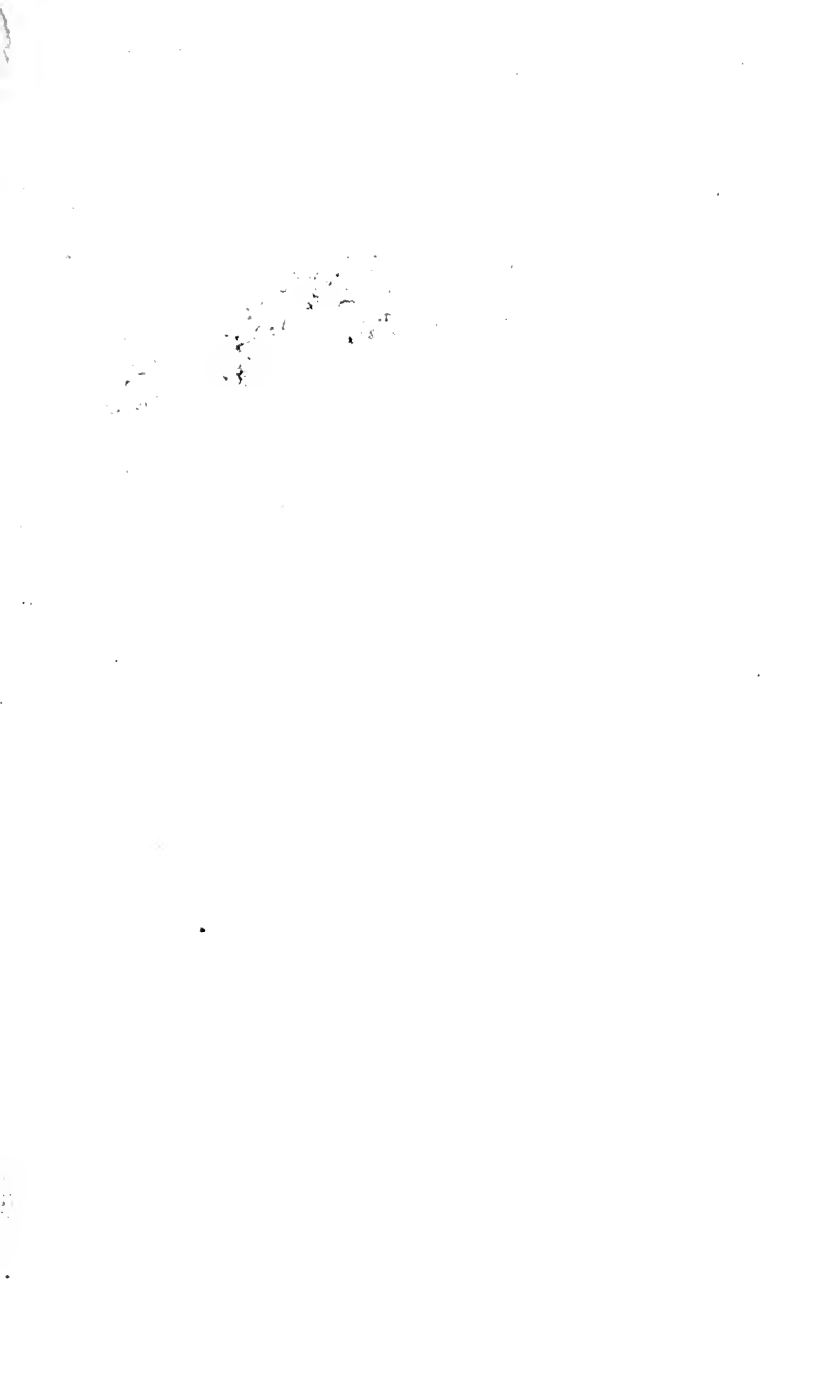
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CHRISTOLOGY.
A
DISCOURSE
CONCERNING
CHRIST:

CONSIDER'D

I. In Himself. II. In his Government: And,
III. In relation to his Subjects and their
Duty to him.

In *Eight* Books.

The Second VOLUME, containing the
Third BOOK.

Being a *New* but *Scriptural Treatise* concerning
CHRIST, consider'd as

LOGANTHROPOS.

In Two PARTS.

To which is added,

A *New* and *Peculiar* DISSERTATION
concerning the *Prior Resurrection*, which is to
commence with the *Millennium*.

By ROBERT FLEMING.

Tert. in Apol. Liceat Veritati ad aures vestras pervenire. —
Unus gestit ne Ignorata Dimittatur.

LONDON; Printed by J. Humfreys, for A. Bell at
the Cross-Keys and Bible in Cornhill. CLO. DCC. VIII.

TO THE MOST

Noble, Illustrious and Excellent

PRINCESS,

Her ROYAL HIGHNESS

SOPHIA,

Electress and Dutches Dowager

OF

*Hannover, Brunswick, Lu-
nenburg, &c.*

May it please Your Highness,

HAVING Presum'd to Ingrave the
August Name of *Her Britannick*
Majesty in the Frontispiece of this
Work; as I had formerly Prefix'd that of

iv *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

His late Majesty, before a small Discourse, which was a kind of *Prodromus* to it : I could not but immediately Conclude, that this *next Part* of my Labours, upon this Greatest of Subjects, was, of Right, Appropriable to no other Person or Interest, than that of *Your Royal Highness* and *Your most Glorious House* ; since Providence seems, this way, so peculiarly to have handed it over to You, as to encourage its Claim, by a sort of Succession, to Your most Illustrious Patronage, as well as Christian Perusal.

And now, that I have mention'd this ; as the Smallest Things do frequently Occasion us to think of the Greatest ; so I can't but Observe here, How much all we *Britains* are oblig'd to Celebrate the Immense Goodness of Heaven to Us and Posterity, upon the Account of the late Glorious *Revolution*, and the later Happy *Settlement* of the *Succession*, as Farther, and, we Hope, Perpetually Lengthen'd out, in the *Protestant Line*. A Blessing so Great, that I can Honestly say ; That I do never think of it, either in a Direct or Reflex View, without some Peculiar Emotions of Pleasure and Satisfaction.

For

For when I look backward, I call to Mind those Pleasant Days, wherein we saw our Religion, Liberty, Laws and Privileges, Rescu'd from the Jaws of a Romish, Arbitrary, Cruel and Tyrannical Party, by a peculiar Providence, as by an Arm stretch'd forth from Heaven; by which Our late Excellent King and Queen were Divinely Incited, Animated, Directed and Rendered Successful, in their Undertaking, Carrying on, Accomplishing and Securing that Great and Glorious Work.

And when, from thence, I proceed to Contemplate our Present Happy Settlement, under the Auspicious Reign of Our Gracious Queen; Methinks I find my self in the Midst of One of the most Pleasant Scenes in the World; where Impartial Justice appears Interwoven with Universal Lenity; and where Wisdom and Virtue Discover themselves equally, in a Mild but Steady Government at Home, and in a Faithful Adherence to, and Careful Assistance of, the General Alliance Abroad.

But as *King William* was never more Honour'd by Heaven, nor more justly Indear'd to us, than by the last Great Act of his Expiring Life; when he did so Happily Begin the Length'ning out the Protestant Succession: So *Her Present Majesty* has justly Merited the Eulogies of all true *Britains*; both, upon the Account of Her Making it High Treason, to be Guilty of any Overt-Act against the same; And upon the Score of Her Obtaining it, to take Place Universally thro' the *Whole Island*: A Work, not only Great in it Self, but Auspicious to us and our Posterity for ever; especially seeing it is so happily Interwoven with the Glorious UNION of these formerly Unfortunately Divided Nations; An UNION so Indissolubly link'd to the *Protestant Succession*, as that they mutually Give and Receive Security, to and from each Other; An UNION so Great, as was, not many Months ago, rather the Object of our Desires, than Expectations; In the Accomplishment whereof, *Her Majesty* may truly Glory, to have Out-done all Her Royal Predecessors; and for which She
may

may Justly expect, the Perpetual Praises of Succeeding Ages.

And here it is Pleasant to Observe, how Wisely and Kindly Almighty God has Connected *Her Majesty's Piety and Safety*, by making the *Latter* the Result and Reward of the *Former*. For, as She has been Concerned to Secure the Succession, the Succession tends to Secure Her : Nothing Human being so Strong a Barrier, as this is, to stave off the Designs of Villanous Assassins against so valuable a Life ; seeing all Men must be supposed to know, that the Protestant Line does not now Expire in Her.

And, as what tends to Her Majesty's Security, must ever be Delightful to all Her Good Subjects : So this must be supposed likewise, in a Great Measure, to have Eas'd their Anxious Minds, as to their Dread of the Consequents of so Dismal a Stroke, as that of Her Majesty's Demise, even tho in a Natural Way, must be supposed to have been. For, besides the inconceivable Loss of so Excellent and Tender a Nursing Mother ;

viii *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

ther ; Mens Thoughts were then perpetually haunted with the Frightful and Ghastly Ideas of Popery and Tyranny, as Returning again, with redoubled Malice, Fury and Revenge ; and as Re-mounting the Throne, in Order to destroy, at once, all our National and Personal Privileges and Liberties, Sacred and Civil. And such must our Apprehensions have continued to be to this Day, were we not so happily freed from them, by the farther Prospect, with which we are now so pleasantly Entertain'd, of Glorious and Flourishing Times, during the Successive Reigns of other Excellent Princes, upon whom God and the People have Intail'd the Crown.

Princes ! Whose Virtues shine with such an Orient Lustre, as no Detraction or Malice can Sully or Obscure. Princes ! Tho' Born abroad, yet truly *British*, both by Law and Nature : Thro' whose Veins the Blood of the Royal *Stewarts*, in Descent from that of the Gallant *Brucian* and Ancient *Fergusian* Families, mix'd with the Noble Blood of the Famous and Brave *Plantagenets* and *Tudors*, must be acknowledg'd to
run.

run. And, if they are likewise descended from the Ancient, Great and Illustrious *Palatine* and *Brunswick* Houses, which the *German Empire* has such just Reason to celebrate and glory in: What Man is there in our *Empire* of *Great Britain*, that either understands the Pedegree of his own Country, or regards its true Interest, but must find himself oblig'd to love and honour them the rather, upon this very Account.

But that which, above all Things, will ever attract the Hearts of good Protestants, of all Denominations, to Esteem and Honour, The most Excellent and Illustrious *Princess Sophia*, The most Serene and Potent *Elect*or, The most Accomplish'd and Hopetul *Electoral Prince*, together with all the Noble and Virtuous *Branches* of the most August and Flourishing Family of *Brunswick-Lunenburg*, of the Great and Glorious *Hanover Line*; is, besides their admirable Personal Endowments, this Reviving Consideration; That, as they are now so Peculiarly Related to these *Fortunate Islands*, so their Interest and ours is intirely the same,

in

x *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

in Opposition to all *Popish* Pretenders and Arbitrary Designs.

And, as for Your Electoral Highness ; when I Consider former Days, and Remember the many and severe Sufferings of the *Royal Palatinate Family*, for the Sake of the Protestant Religion ; and thus call to Mind the Circumstances of Your *Royal Mother* ; and for how many Years the Churches of *Great Britain and Ireland* did constantly, in their Prayers, Ingeminate the Name of the *Afflicted Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia* : I cannot but look upon Your *Highness's* Relation to the *Throne*, as the Answer of Heaven to those Solemn, Frequent and Fervent Addressses. *She* indeed has been advanced, long ago, to an higher Glory, than that of any Earthly Crown ; as being, with *David*, denied the Personal Privilege of Building the Temple. But Her *Posterity* seem now to be plainly Mark'd out by Heaven, as the Glorious and Polish'd Instruments, by whom the Divine Goodness designs to Act, in Order farther to Compleat, Beautifie and Finish, That Great and Glorious Work, which God has already so happily begun,
and

and so far carried on, in these Nations; in Opposition to Papal Idolatry, French Tyranny, and all manner of Arbitrary Encroachments upon our Civil and Religious Rights.

And Oh! how charming a Prospect, and how ravishing an Expectation, are our Minds, from hence, Entertain'd with? Where the Growing Glory of your most *Illustrious House*, the Increasing Happiness of *Great Britain*, the Farther Security of the *Liberty of Europe*, and the Renewed Success of the *Reformed Religion*, and consequently the more Universal Promotion and Inlargement of *Christianity*, and the Peace and Happiness of *Mankind*; Are represented to our admiring and elevated Thoughts, as in a curiously and delightfully Variegated *Map*, as equally Certain, and as reciprocally Supporting one another.

Permit me therefore, Madam, tho One of the least Considerable of those, who have solemnly *Sworn* inviolable Loyalty to *her Majesty*, and true Fidelity to *Her Protestant*
Suc-

xii *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

Successors, to put this small Piece into your *Highness's* Hands, as the Best Testimony I am, at present, capable of giving, both of my Sincerity and Heartiness in taking that Sacred *Oath*, and of that profound Respect and Value, which I have for your *Highness's* Person and Family: That, as it is, in its Subject and Scope, Calculated for the Farther Increase of Christian Knowledge and Practice, and consequently for the real and lasting Advantage of Men, particularly of my Fellow-Subjects and Countrymen of this *Great Island* and *Empire*; so it may be allowed, to be so peculiarly appropriated to your self and most Illustrious Relatives, as to obtain your and their Protection, and favourable Acceptance and Perusal.

Now may God continue, still more and more, to bless your *Electoral Highness*, with all temporal and spiritual Blessings here; to be exchanged at last (but late) for Eternal Felicity and Glory. May your Valuable Life be so lengthen'd out, and so dispos'd of, both for your Own and the Common Good, that Old Age may never be otherwise,

The Epistle Dedicatory. xiii

wife discernable in you, than, as it is at present, by a Ripen'd Sagacity and Prudence, a Diffusive Virtue and Generosity, an Attractive Goodness and Complaisance, and an Universal Fame and Renown. May your *August* and *Flourishing House* ever continue, and ever grow. May the United Virtues of the most Celebrated Princes of former Times, shine forth resplendently in your most *Noble and Illustrious Progeny*; that late Posterity may still have New, Bright, and Endless Matter, from their Lives and Actions, for History and Annals. May they be Honour'd of God, to do more for the Benefit of *Mankind*, of *Europe*, of *Britain*, and of the *Reformed Religion*; than ever *David* did for *Israel*, *Cyrus* for the *Temple*, *Augustus* for the *Roman Empire*, or *Constantine* for *Christians*. And may thus every Age and Generation to come be blest with renewed and endless Occasions of Celebrating You and Them, as the Favourites of Heaven, and Darlings of Men; as being the Great Patrons of Religion, the Kind Protectors of Virtue, the Just Defenders of Equity, the Eminent Promoters of Industry,

xiv *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

dustry, the Illustrious Encouragers of Arts,
the Generous Benefactors of Learning, and
the Universal Guardians of Liberty. So
Prayeth,

Great M A D A M,

*Jan. 1. 1707. being
New-Year's-Day,
Old Stile.*

Your Highness's

Most Humbly Devoted, and

Most Obedient Servant,

ROBERT FLEMING.

T O T H E

R E A D E R.

I Have said so much in relation to the Subjects treated of, both in the *Book following*, and the *annexed Dissertation*, that I have nothing to say here, that does *directly* relate to any of them ; especially seeing all the Sheets of both Treatises, are now wrought off the Press.

But however, seeing some things have lately occur'd to me, that seem to bear some relation, tho' more *obliquely*, to some parts of my ensuing Discourses, I thought it might not be improper or unuseful to advertise my Reader of them, in this Place.

And, (1.) Whereas I have lately understood, that the Learned Dr. *Allix* has publish'd a Latin Dissertation, *De Jesu Christi Domini Nostri Anno & Mense Natali* ; I am sorry that I did not know of this till now. For, tho' I find, that what I have said upon this Subject, in the 4th Chapter, was printed off long before his Book appeared, yet the Deference I pay to that Great Scholar would have oblig'd me to have compar'd his Notions, this way, with my own, and to have given my Opinion accordingly, in some brief *Advertisement* or *Appendix*, to have been added, either to the one Treatise or the other. But as want of Health has confined me, for the most part at home, during the time that this Work has been in the Press, and consequently depriv'd me of the Opportunity of inquiring, as formerly, after later Publish'd Works of Learned Men : So I consider'd, that the Subject
of

of that Differtation of Dr. *Allin* is of no material Consequence to Religion ; and that therefore it is no great Matter with me, whether he or I have come nearest to Truth. We both, by Printing, appeal to the World to judge of our several Performances : And therefore let the inquisitive Reader determine for himself, as to both.

(2.) It was, upon the same account, that I knew nothing of Mr. *Whiston's* *Essay upon the Revelation*, until the Time that I was about sending the first Sheets of the *annexed* *Differtation* to the Press: which oblig'd me therefore, not only to write that part of it, which relates more immediately to his *Scheme*, as concisely as I could ; but also to write, as it were, in a hurry. If therefore any Word or Sentence has drop'd from me (in the haste I was then in) that may seem to be harder than it ought to have been ; I retract it. For, as I never lov'd to use any thing of this kind, to any Man whatsoever : So I have ever declar'd, upon all occasions, a particular Respect for the eminent Learning and Worth of the *Bishop of Worcester* ; as well as for the Profoundly Learned Dr. *Whitby*, the Reverend Mr. *Staynoe*, and the Diffusively Learned Mr. *Whiston*. But yet, I must be allowed to add, that, if what I have said, in Opposition to the *Schemes* of some of these Learned Persons, be closely and fully considered, it will be found, that I could hardly avoid to write as I did. For every one knows, that the very Refutation of weak Arguments (especially when they carry an Air of Confidence along with them) cannot possibly be so manag'd, but it must appear, in some respects, to be grating, especially at first view, but more especially to those who are the *Authors* or *Patronizers* of such *Schemes* and *Treatises*.

(3.) I have this further to advertise the Reader of, that having heard that Mr. *Whiston* had preach'd upon the Head of Prophecy, at Mr. *Boyle's* *Lecture*, for the Year 1707, and that his Sermons were in the Press, and almost finish'd ; I was willing to stop so long, as to see them

them, that in case he had said any thing material, either as to his *Apocryphical Scheme*, or as to the *three Grand Prophecies* of the *Old Testament*, treated of by me in *Chap. 4.* I might have considered them. But having now got a sight of his Book, I find that he has touch'd upon none of these Subjects, excepting that of *Jacob*, *Gen. 49. 10.* And, as to this, having no time now to consider what he has said upon it, without delaying the Press: I must say the same thing here again, which I said before, in reference to the Treatise of *Dr. Allix*, *viz.* that I leave the Reader to compare, both what *Mr. Whiston* and what I have said on that Prophecy, and to judge of both Performances as he pleaseth.

(4.) But one thing I was glad to see in *Mr. Whiston's* new Book, *viz.* his annexed *Dissertation*. For the sight thereof made me recollect my Omission of not putting in the Substance of my Thoughts on the same Subject, which I deliver'd several Years ago, to a Publick Auditory, upon a Sacramental Occasion; especially seeing this would have come in naturally, in *Chap. 5. Page 508.* either as one of the *rationaly Conjectural Suppositions* mention'd there, or as a *Marginal Note*, in reference to these Words [the *Paradiseical Hades*] which are to be found in *Line 21.* of that *508th Page*. However I have rather Reason to wonder, that I have omitted so few things in the following Work, than that I have forgot this one; especially considering my Circumstances, when that Chapter was written and sent to the Press. But seeing upon the Sight of this Title of the *Dissertation* of *Mr. Whiston*, I call'd to mind, that I had formerly presented my Hearers with some singular Thoughts upon the same Subject, I made a Search amongst my *Manuscripts* for the Notes of that Sermon: Which at length I recovered. And seeing I find, that *Mr. Whiston's* Thoughts and mine, are, in some things the same, and in other Respects, very different, nay opposite too; I thought it might not be improper, instead of controverting the Point directly (which was likely to cost me more Time and Pains, than was well consistent with the forwarding the Publication of

this Work) to give the Sum of what I preach'd formerly upon this Subject ; leaving him and every Man else, to fall in with either Account, as he shall judge the one or the other most rational.— Now the Sum of my Account is this.—“ And here, while I
 “ talk of Christ's Solemn Ascension to Heaven, at
 “ the Expiration of the 40 Days of his Continuance
 “ here below ; allow me humbly to suggest something
 “ in relation to this Point ; which I hope none will
 “ be offended at ; especially seeing I propose it only,
 “ as that which I look upon as highly probable. I say,
 “ then, That I think it is no way unreasonable to sup-
 “ pose, that Christ did *ascend* before this, to his Fa-
 “ ther, not long after his *Resurrection*, and before he
 “ appeared to any of the *Apostles*. And surely, it cannot
 “ be look'd upon to be any way unreasonable to think,
 “ That Christ would pay his *First Visit*, if I may say so,
 “ to his *Heavenly Father*, in order to be openly appro-
 “ ved by him, in the Presence of Glorified Spirits, and
 “ thus to receive his Allowance and Commission to do
 “ such things below for 40 Days, which were to be done
 “ before his *Last Ascension* ? And I think it not improba-
 “ ble, but that this is hinted by Christ himself, when, after
 “ he had told *Mary*, *John* 20.17. that she was *not to touch*
 “ *him* yet, he adds, *for I am not yet ascended to my Father*.
 “ Now as this Word *Ascended* is general ; so, if it be ex-
 “ pounded in reference to his *last* and *publick* *Ascension*, no
 “ other Sense can be given of it, than that which I gave
 “ formerly. But I see not why this may not also denote
 “ a *Prior Ascension*, especially seeing Christ immedi-
 “ ly adds ; *But go to my Brethren, and say unto them, I*
 “ *ascend unto my Father and your Father ; unto my God and*
 “ *your God*. For I think the natural Sense of these
 “ Words, as connected with the former, is this : *Do*
 “ *not detain me now, no, not so much, as by touching me,*
 “ *for as there is no occasion for this, as yet, seeing I shall*
 “ *converse with my Disciples frequently afterwards, before*
 “ *my last Ascension ; so it is fit, that I should ascend to my*
 “ *Father now, in order to converse with him, in the first*
 “ *place, before I converse either with you or them : And*
 “ there-

therefore, instead of laying hold upon me, or detaining me,
 at this time, I give you this Message to carry to my Bre-
 thren, that the Reason why I did not let you touch me
 now, and the Reason why I do not yet appear to them, is
 this; that I am obliged, in the first place, to make my Ap-
 pearance before my Father; for which Reason I now ascend
 to him. And indeed I think it highly probable, that
 Christ did Ascend frequently to Heaven, and Descend
 from thence again, during the 40 Days that inter-
 ven'd between his Resurrection and Last Solemn Ascen-
 tion. But as it was proper that Christ should have Wit-
 nesses of his last Ascension; so it was proper also, that
 he should not be seen by any, when he Ascended ei-
 ther the First Time, or at any other time. Therefore,
 as he neither would discover himself to Mary at first,
 nor yet to Peter or John, as we see, *John* 20. 1, 2, — 6,
 — 11, &c. nor so much as suffer the two Angels to
 give an Answer to her Question this way, *ver.* 13.
 So when she first saw Jesus, it was in some such man-
 ner, as he appeared in to the two Disciples going to
Emaus; for she neither knew his Features, *ver.* 14.
 nor his Voice, *ver.* 15. And when her affectionate
 Prayers and Tears, did, as it were, extort Christ's
 making himself known to her, it was only to send
 her away immediately to the Apostles, with the
 Message which I have already taken notice of.
 For Christ could allow of no Human Witnesses of his
 first Ascension, out of Decorum to the Majesty of his
 Father; with whom he was to converse in the first
 place. And therefore, if he appeared visibly, as Man,
 to the Angels, as well as to Mary, before his first
 Ascension; yet I am apt to think he reserv'd his first
 Solemn Appearance and Conversation as Man, to God
 himself. I say Solemn, and as Man, because it is
 certain he was ever perfectly seen by the Most High
 Lord his Father. However hence it is plain, That
 Mary Magdalen was the First Person, as *Murk* says,
Chap. 16. 9. and indeed the only Person also to whom
 he appeared, before his First Ascension. And it seems
 equally certain, that, immediately after that Mary was

“ gone with her Message, Christ wing'd for Heaven ;
 “ and that therefore it was in the *Morning* of the *First*
 “ *Day* of the *Week*, viz. of the *same Day*, wherein he
 “ rose from the *Dead*, that he *Ascended* to *Heaven*. But
 “ how swiftly he *Ascended first*, and *Descended again*, is
 “ apparent from hence, that I find our Saviour (a) ap-
 “ peared thrice the *same Day* ; 1. To the *Women* :
 “ 2. To the *two Disciples* going to *Emaus*, to whom he
 “ made himself known ; and that about *Noon*, as I
 “ think, seeing this is said to have been as they were
 “ *breaking Bread* ; 3. To the *eleven Apostles*, while
 “ the former *two Disciples* were informing them of what
 “ had happened to them, in their *Journey*, *Mark* 16.
 “ 14. And *John* tells us, *Ch.* 20. 19. that his *Third Ap-*
 “ *pearance*, was the *same Day*, at *Evening*, being the *first*
 “ *Day* of the *Week*. — But now, when Christ (after
 “ his other *Appearances* mentioned before) was about
 “ to leave this *World*, it was altogether proper, and
 “ even necessary that he should ascend solemnly and
 “ visibly, in the *Presence* of his *Disciples*, seeing it
 “ was essential both to their *Office*, to be *Eye-witnesses*
 “ of this his *Ascension*, and to our *Faith* to be assured
 “ of it. And therefore it is, that *this Ascension* is on-
 “ ly insisted upon by them, and that it is spoken of in
 “ the *singular Number* ; other *Ascensions* having been kept
 “ secret from them ; at least so far, as not to have been
 “ seen by them. Of this *last Ascension*, *Luke* gives us
 “ a *twofold Account*. The *1st* is a more *brief* and *gene-*
 “ *ral one*, in the *last Verses* of his *Gospel*, *Chap.* 24. 50,
 “ 51, 52, 53. And the *2d* is a more *distinct* and *par-*
 “ *ticular Account* thereof, in the *first Chapter* of the
 “ *Acts*. For, that these two *Accounts* relate to
 “ one and the same *Event*, is, I think, too plain ever
 “ to be call'd in question by any, meerly because some
 “ more particular *Circumstances* are added in the *latter*
 “ than the *former Relation* ; which I suppose *Luke* might
 “ not be so fully inform'd of, when he wrote his *first*
 “ *Treatise* : For every one knows, that he was not an

(a) Compare what I have said in Chap. 5. pag. 501, &c.

“ *Eye-witness of Christ’s Ascension* ; for he himself tells
 “ us so much, in the Preface to his Gospel, *Chap. 1.*
 “ *v. 2, 3.* Nor can I think of any *Objection*, that
 “ can be form’d against this, *that both these Accounts*
 “ *relate to the same Event* ; unless this should be alledged
 “ to be one, *viz.* that, whereas *Luke* says, *Chap. 24.*
 “ of his Gospel, *v. 50 51.* that *Christ ascended to Hea-*
 “ *ven from Bethany*, which was 15 Furlongs from *Jeru-*
 “ *salem* ; he seems to say, *Acts 1. 12.* that he *ascended*
 “ *to Heaven from the Mount called Olivet.* And I read-
 “ ily own, that this has given Rise to a *Vulgar Error*,
 “ that *Christ’s last Ascension* was from that *Mount.* But
 “ indeed *Luke* says no such thing. He asserts, I confess,
 “ in *Chap. 24. v. 50.* of his Gospel, that *Christ ascen-*
 “ *ded at, or near Bethany* : But, as he adds, *ver. 52, 53.*
 “ That *the Apostles worship’d him*, after his *Ascension*,
 “ *and returned to Jerusalem with great Joy, and were con-*
 “ *tinually in the Temple, praising and blessing God* ; All
 “ that he says, *Acts 1. 10, 11, 12.* amounts to no more,
 “ as I conceive, than this, that, after the *Angels* had put
 “ the *Apostles* out of their *Amaze*, and their *gazing Po-*
 “ *sture* ; the *Apostles* went forwards towards *Jerusalem* ;
 “ and as it would seem, stop’d a while at *Mount Olivet*,
 “ (which, according to the best *Maps* and *Descriptions*,
 “ they were oblig’d to touch at in their way to *Jeru-*
 “ *salem*, in case they went upon the straight Road, as
 “ they were commanded to do ;) where, if they wor-
 “ ship’d *Christ*, from a remembrance of his *Agonies*
 “ there, as well as many other memorable *Occurren-*
 “ *ces*, between their *Master* and them, which had hap-
 “ pened in that place, there is, I think, no reason, of
 “ *Wonder* ; as I suppose, there is no need to be sur-
 “ priz’d, if, in that place, and upon such an occasion,
 “ they were fill’d, and that eminently, with *Joy* in the
 “ remaining part of their *Journey to Jerusalem.* Now
 “ *Luke* does not say, *Acts 1. 12.* that *Jesus Ascended from*
 “ *Mount Olivet*, but that *the Apostles returned from thence*
 “ *to Jerusalem*, i. e. (as I understand him) after their
 “ solemn *Worshipping of him*, by the way, of which
 “ he speaks, *Chap. 24.* of his Gospel, *ver. 52.* Which,

“ in all reason, must be supposed to have been, after
 “ the Angels, *Acts* I. 10, 11, 12. had obliged the Apo-
 “ stles to enter upon their Journey back to *Jerusalem*.
 “ And I cannot think of any Supposition more reason-
 “ able than this; that, after they had walk'd about
 “ ten Furlongs, and come to *Mount Olivet*, where they
 “ had so often convers'd with their dear Master, and
 “ which was about five or seven Furlongs from *Jerusalem*,
 “ (for the nearest part of that Mount might be five
 “ Furlongs from the City, and the remotest Part seven
 “ Furlongs) they would choose to halt a while, (from a
 “ fresh Remembrance of their Dear Lord) especially
 “ seeing Christ's *Ascension-Day* was in the most *vernant*
 “ *Season* of the Year, at least in *Judæa*, as being (b) the
 “ 5th Day of *April*. But I am willing to say no more on
 “ this Head now. Only, in case it should be objected,
 “ that such a *swift Ascent to Heaven*, and *Descent* from
 “ thence, as I describe *Christ's First* to have been, does
 “ not seem to be consistent either with *Physiological*
 “ or *Astronomical Principles and Rules*; I answer, That
 “ these are nothing to me, when brought in Competi-
 “ tion with undeniable and certain *Matters of Fact*. And
 “ therefore, instead of saying more now, I shall only
 “ desire the Reader to consider the Length or rather Bre-
 “ vity of *Daniel's Prayer*, *Chap. 9.* and to consider at the
 “ same time, the Angel *Gabriel's Words*, *v. 23.* and to
 “ compare them with *ver. 20.* For hence it will ap-
 “ pear to be little less, than a *Demonstration*, that *Ga-*
 “ *briel* came from *Heaven to Earth*, in little more than
 “ an hour, if indeed the time was so long. And I
 “ hope, that if this Angel came so soon from Heaven
 “ to Earth, the same Privilege will not be denied, by
 “ Christians, to our Glorified Saviour, who is the Head
 “ of Angels——So far runs my Manuscript, as to
 “ the *Theory* of this Point. And I am not willing now
 “ to add any thing to it.

(5.) However, I cannot forbear to say, that I do easily foresee that my *Apocalyptical Dissertation* will be

(b) See Chap. 4. Pag. 400.

very ungrateful both to those that are called *the Inspired*, or the *New Prophets*, and to those well-meaning, but mistaken Persons, that admire them; seeing I find that Mr. *Whiston's Essay on the Revelation* is extremely pleasing to that Set of Men. For, besides what I have understood from some, of their admiring his Grand Notion, viz. *That Antichrist will fall, and that the Kingdom of God will eminently take place about the Year, 1716*; the Reader may observe how much his Book is priz'd by Mr. *Lacy*. For he tells us, in his *Preface to his Cry from the Desert*, P. 4. *That he had read the late Essay of the Reverend Mr. Whiston upon the Revelation of St. John, &c. And that he therefore took it for a Truth without Controversy, that there is to be a State of the Church on Earth, more resplendent than was ever yet, (wherein I readily agree both with him and Mr. Whiston) and that he did hence conceive it agreeable to the Methods of Divine Wisdom and Compassion, left us upon Sacred Record, that some farther previous Discoveries will be made of its Commencement, &c. And then, Page 5. He says, That the Writings of such sort of Commentators, (viz. such as Mr. Whiston is) who declare that Great Day to be approaching, ought be receiv'd by their Brethren of the Clergy, that the Flock of Christ may be duly alarmed and warned, by their Pastors and Watchmen, to provide for it, &c. And to this Essay, and some former Writings of the like nature, the Apologist for these new Prophets, in his Circular Letter, (sent to all Members of Parliament and other eminent Persons) refers his Readers, Page 1. Col. 2. towards the Close; where, after he had spoken of his Expectations of the sudden Coming of the Great Day of the Lord, &c. he adds; *These things are promised, and not yet fulfilled: Therefore; Why not now at the Door?* (If he will read my following Dissertation, he will have an Answer to his Query) which, if so, as the Writer apprehends, and several learned Divines, of all Sorts, in this Age, have asserted, &c. And indeed, seeing this Set of Men assert, as Mr. *Lacy* tells us, in the 21st Page of his *Preface*, *That the Grand Jubilee, &c. is now even at the Door, and to be manifest over the whole Earth, within the short Term of 3 Years;**

it is easie to reconcile the *Bishop of Worcester's* and *Mr. Whiston's Scheme*, with theirs, by supposing the Year, 1716. to be mark'd out as a further and more illustrious Period of the *same Dispensation*, which they date the *Commencement* of (to use *Mr. Lacy's* Word, p. 4. l. 32.) from the 9th Day of *June*, 1710. for about that Time, at farthest, must this Great Event happen, according to them; seeing *Mr. Lacy* dates his Preface, as finish'd, *June* the 9th, 1707. after he had told us before, p. 20, 21; That it was foretold, by 4 or 500 *Prophetick Warnings*, given under *Extacy* at *London*, that the *Grand Jubilee*, &c. was to be manifest over the whole *World*, within 3 Years. So that there are but 6 Years at most, between their *Grand Period*, and that of the *Bishop of Worcester* and *Mr. Whiston*. I take Notice of this the rather, because I am perswaded, that no Man shall attentively read my following *Dissertation*, and judiciously consider the *Scheme*, which is presented therein to the *World*; but must see, how ill-grounded both these Expectations are. So that I would fain hope, that my Publication of this may be seasonable, at this Time, if it were only to induce Men to be cautious of joyning themselves with such Men, who pretend to such strange things, without any Ground from Scripture.

(6.) I design'd once to have given my Thoughts pretty particularly, as to the Pretences of these Men. But, seeing they themselves tell us, by the Pen of their *Apologist*, P. 2. Col. 2. Line 24. *That they wish, that the World would cease for a little time, at least, to censure these high Gifts (or Pretensions) by uncharitable Distinctions*; I shall say little now; and the rather, because I am neither willing to swell this *Prefatory Epistle* too much, nor to delay the Publication of this Work too long. And besides, I think, that this Author has given us a considerable Reason, this way, in the *same Page* and *Column*, Line 10, viz. *That, as there are publick Declarations and Appeals to God for his Decision: So (says that Author) I have lately heard from their (i. e. the Prophets) Mouths, under Extacy, that if, within a few Months,*
(he

(he dates this, December, 1707.) a fuller Attestation of their Commissions and Message be not manifested and confirmed, by miraculous Signs and Powers from Heaven, and by working such Miracles as were done by our Saviour, even to the raising of the Dead; that then they will own themselves deluded. But, tho I have excus'd my self, at present, to some Friends, that have urg'd me to publish something on this odd *Phænomenon* of the present Time; yet I cannot, in Conscience, dispense with my self, without saying two Things. 1. That my earnest Request is to all Men, to be cautious of encouraging such vain Promises, by which these Men are deluded, and are so industrious to delude others by. For I am seized with an Awe and Fear of the Consequents of this, from a rational Prospect; that (unless God be pleased mercifully to interpose) the *odd Scene*, that these Persons act now, will end in the Stumbling of some, and the Laughter of others, as well as in their own Shame and Contempt; and that Satan is too likely, this way, to gain his End, in a great Measure, by the Increase of Infidelity, Scepticism, Atheism, Prophaneness, and the Contempt of all serious Religion. Therefore, 2. I am oblig'd to desire my Fellow-Christians to think, whether the Ostentative Miracles of *Clariss*, mention'd so often, and magnified so much, in *the Cry from the Desert*, p. 49, 50, &c. do look like the Miracles of the New Testament, wrought by Christ and his Apostles: And whether it was like God's own Acting, to command Mr. *Marion's* Brother *Anthony*, p. 93. *To strike his Breast with a sharp Knife?* And, as for the Story of *Campan*, p. 52. I leave the Reader to judge, whether the same Spirit that inspir'd the Pen-men of Scripture, and calls us to search for the Marks of Grace there, (as the only Gospel-way, to attain to Assurance of Salvation;) could ever act that Piece of odd (and I fear Satanical) Legerdemain mention'd there. But I shall content my self here to insist upon one Passage only; which I desire all Men to consider a little closely. It is to be found in the Declaration of *Joan Castinette*, Page 22. Line 12. of the same Book.

The Words are these : *At another of those Meetings, several falling into the Inspiration, began to speak all at once ; whereupon one of them said to the rest, IN THE NAME OF GOD BE SILENT.* Then the others held their Peace, but afterwards they spake one after the other. Now, in order to consider this the more closely, let us premise two of the *Maxims* of the pretended Prophets. The 1st *Maxim* is this, That the Spirit that throws them into their Fits, and Extasies, and then speaks out of them, is, (as their Apologist words it, Page 2. Col. 1. towards the Close) no less than the Supreme Lord of all, seeing this Spirit assumes this Stile, *I am Jehovah, I am the Lord thy God, who made the Heavens and the Earth, and will create all Things new.* Upon which Stile, I think that Author makes a just Observation, when he says, *That no Instance, like this, can be found in the Sacred History.* Their 2d *Maxim* (which indeed is as unscriptural a one as the other) is this, That the Inspir'd are no better than a Pipe or Tube, thro' which the Spirit speaks, when they are in their Fits. This is fully, emphatically and awefully declar'd, by Mr. *John Cavalier*, Page 44. Line 8, &c. of the above-cited Book, in these Words. *And I here declare, solemnly, without any Equivocation whatsoever, by this publick Act, upon the Oath I make of it before God, that I am in no wise the Framer of those bodily Agitations I suffer in my Extasies. I do not move my own self, but am moved by a Power independant, that over-rules me. And for the Words that proceed from my Mouth, I protest, with the same awful Solemnity, they are formed without my Intention, and glide forth of my Lips, without my Direction : My Mind, (N. B.) no ways bearing any Part in that marvelous Operation, by preceding Fore-thought, or any attending Will, to deliver what I do at that Instant.* So also says *Durand Fage*, p. 71, 72. as fully, tho more concisely, affirming it to be not only so with himself, but also with all the Inspired. And so likewise, says Mr. *Elias Marion*, p. 85.

— Having thus premised these *Maxims*, I humbly beg the Favour to be assisted to have some consistent

Idea

Idea of the Story preceding. I hope therefore, that, if there be so many inspired, the Spirit by which they speak, will (in case it be what it pretends to be) suffer them to defend its own Favourites, by letting us know; whether it was *Jehovah*, or the *Eternal Spirit*, that spoke these Words, or allowed them to be spoken: In the mean time, by all the Ideas I have of things, both from Scripture and Reason, I cannot reason or think otherwise of this *Matter of Fact* than thus.

(1.) The Spirit, that inspired him that uttered these Words, *In the Name of God, be silent*, could not be God himself; 1. Because he speaks and commands, in God's Name, and so distinguishes himself from him, as an inferior Agent; 2. Because he suffer'd the others to run on equally with himself in Confusion for a Time; 3. Because he speaks, as if it were with a Passion and Heat, that even a good and wise Man would hardly allow himself in, excepting upon urgent Occasions, and that too with some greater *Pathos* of Veneration to that august Name, than seems to be breathed here.

(2.) It could not be the Person inspired. For besides, that the same Consequences will follow, upon this, as well as the former Supposition; such an Assertion flatly contradicts their second Maxim; nay, and carries this farther Absurdity with it, that a mere Man could, and did over-rule and command the Eternal Spirit, speaking then in several inspir'd Persons.

(3.) But whatever the Spirit was that commanded the other Spirits to be silent, either immediately or mediately; it is inconceivable and absurd to say, that the Spirits, who were silenc'd immediately, were the same with that Spirit that commanded Silence. For their ready Obedience was an owning, 1. Of their Inferiority to the other; and, 2. Of their being in an Error before, when they spoke together with him. And yet according to the *first Maxim, the Spirits commanded*, as well as he *commanding*, must be one and the same Eternal Spirit; and therefore could not be created ones. (4.) But in case the pretendedly Inspired, should find themselves reduc'd to this Shift, that, in
this

this Instance, they should be forc'd to own, that the Spirits, at least, the commanded ones, were Angels only; the former Absurdities will still haunt them. For, if they were heavenly Angels, they must be supposed, at least to be so conducted by the infallible Spirit, as not to run into Confusion, and that openly too, to the Dishonouring of their supreme Ruler, as well as of themselves. (5.) I must therefore desire the new Prophets, and their Disciples and Friends, to pause a little, and think, whether in case this was not a meer Juggle, it might not be possible, that some *Infernal Spirits*, transformed as *Angels of Light*, might act this Farce, God over-ruling things so, as to let them give us a Discovery of themselves, by shewing their Cloven Feet (as the vulgar Saying is) even then when they were Personating God; by an undue Treatment of poor crazed or deluded Creatures. I assert nothing here; but shall be glad to have a Satisfactory Answer. And, in the mean time, I shall say no more, at present, on this Head.

But, to conclude, Let me tell the Reader, that if, when he comes towards the Conclusion of the 5th Chapter of the following Book of *Christology*, he find himself in the Dark, as to the *Hint* given towards the End of Page 527: I desire him to consider, that tho' I must refer the full Explication of my Meaning, until I come, (if it may so please God) to the proper Place, to which that Explication belongs; yet, that I have now deliver'd *in Part*, tho' not *in Whole*, what I refer'd unto, in that Page, by adding the *Dissertation* that follows that Book; which I had no Thoughts of publishing, when I was writing that 5th Chapter.

Now, that the Spirit of Truth may lead all my Readers into all Truth, and bless the great Truths deliver'd in the Whole, both of the *preceding Books* of *Christology*; and in the immediately following One, and the *annexed Dissertation*; is the sincere Desire of their humble Servant, who, under God (the Doner of all Good) may honestly call himself the Author of this considerable Work. Jan. 10th, 1707.

Hym-

Hymnus Prænobilis

ROBERTI BODII, a Trochoregia,

Ab ipso

Hecatombe Christiana

Olim Appellatus;

Cum sit POEMA Paucis Notum :

Proinde hic iterum Imprimendum, & Honori

Τῷ Λογανδρώπῳ,

Unà cum hoc

CHRISTOLOGIÆ

Opere & Volumine,

Dedicandum, Consecrandum, censuit, voluit

Robertus Flaminius.

¹ **C**hriste, Sanctorum caput atq; custos,
Cujus exundans fluvio perenni,
Fons inexhaustæ bonitatis, imos
Manat ad artus;

- 2 *Da, tuum digno decus ut capeſſam
Cordis impulſu melos, & quod acrem
Temporis limam ferat, & malignæ
Verbera lingua.*
- 3 *Lucis aſſurgens radio ſupernæ,
Quâ tui circum ſolii coruſcat
Limbus, inviſa mihi nunc jacenti
Mortis in umbrâ,*
- 4 *Pelle peccati tenebras, prementum
Quò gravi nexu ſclerum ſolutus,
In tuas puro ferar accinendas
Pectore laudes.*
- 5 *Nam tuas caſto decet Alme cultu
Chriſte virtutes recoli; prophano
Abſit impuri temerentur unquam
Pectoris auſu.*
- 6 *Nuncius præpes mihi Labra ſummo
Tangat è Cœlo volitans, reatu
Tangat infectas gemino, micanti
Forcipe, fibras.*
- 7 *Tunc, tuæ fruſtum Crucis, ad beatam
Quæ pios vitam documenta ducunt,
Perdius, pernox, animo revolvam
Sancta Sereno.*
- 8 *Te canam, lucis jubar ut reſurget,
Te, breves quando jacentur umbræ,
Teque, quum præceps teget ora mundi
Lucida Lampas.*
- 9 *Patris æterni ſoboles coæva,
Par patri ſummo, ſimul ejus implens
Pectus immenſum, ſimul alma proles
Virginis almæ:*
- 10 *De Deo verus Deus, increatæ
Lucis æternum jubar, ora vivus
Patris ad vivum referens character,
Alter & Idem.*
- 11 *Scala, quæ Cœli ſubiens cacumen,
Ad ſoli centrum penetravit, imis,*

- More mortalem superante captum,*
Summa coaptans :
- 12 *Te salus rerum, profugis Receptus,*
Naufragis Portus, miseris Medela,
Lumen extinctis, onerum Levamen,
Meta laborum :
- 13 *Te, fatiscentum Requies, peracti*
Palma conflictus, pugilum Corona,
Premium cursus, Operumq; nulli
Debita Merces :
- 14 *Fœderis mundum reparantis obses*
Arcus, undarum potior periculis
Arca, Pax terræ, Tremor inferorum,
Gloria Cœli :
- 15 *Gentium Lumen, Decus Israelis,*
Patribus voti modus atq; summa,
Scandali Rupes atheo, fideli
Petra Salutis :
- 16 *Arbor O vitæ senio carentis*
Qua Dei vernat Paradisus, uno
Fonte diffusâ riguus quaterni
Fluminis undâ :
- 17 *Legis & Vatum Scopus, involucro*
Mosis abducto faciem revelans,
Corpus umbrarum, simul Agnus insons,
Ara, Sacerdos :
- 18 *Agnus à mundi jugulatus ortu,*
Ara primævæ luis expiatrix,
Inviu solus penetrans Olympi
Templa Sacerdos :
- 19 *Te canam, lapsi generis Redemptor,*
Teq; lapsuri Stator & Retentor,
Qui manu magnâ Mediator unus
Cuncta coerces.
- 20 *Qui supernatam subitam, caducæ*
Stirpis adscitu, reparas ruinam,
Et choris terrâ genitos beatæ
Inferis Aula.

- 21 *Te quid exciret referam, relicto
Patris æterni folio, latentem
Veste sub serui Dominum, rebelles
Visere terras :*
- 22 *Carnis & crassâ velut Obvolutum
Nube, divinos operire vultus,
Et crucis diras, gelidique cippum
Ferre Sepulchri.*
- 23 *Nempe nec Mundus redimi, nec ira
Patris extingui, nec acerba Legis
Pœna persolvi, nec Imago nobis
Prisca refundi;*
- 24 *Nec Polus pandi, nec avara cunctos
Parca pervadens perimi, resurgens
Præda nec busti cariosa vernum
Sumere vultum;*
- 25 *Nec triumphatæ stoliis Gehennæ
Agmen augeri superum, nec olim
Plumbeum tolli super astra pondus
Carnis opacæ,*
- 26 *Absq; te solo potuisset; Imos
Per gradus Pœnæ capitalis actum
Summa quem sedes beat, & supremi
Culmen honoris.*
- 27 *Hinc labor nullum patiens levamen,
Gentis & lapsæ tibi luctus exspes,
Fœta materno liquefecit urgens
Viscera motu,*
- 28 *Sortis ut nostræ miscram subires
Aleam, nostri pudor ut reatus
Ora confundens tua, nos perenni
Luce repletet.*
- 29 *Nam tuæ nobis tenebræ decorem,
Gaudium luctus, requiem labores,
Inferi Cœlos peperere, lætum
Lucta triumphum.*
- 30 *O Salutarem Sophiam, Sagaces
Jure quæ mundi fugiens magistros*

Hujus inflat æ vitreum fefellit

Mentis acumen !

- 31 *O vices rerum, faciesq; miras !*
More quas miscens tua tam decenti
Dextra dispensat, paribusq; librans
Lancibus æquat.
- 32 *Nos tui mœstos hilarant pavores,*
Ora lugentum lachrymæ serenant,
Sanat afflictos dolor, ipsa vinclos
Vincula solvunt.
- 33 *Languor infirmos reficit, fluentem*
Vulnus admotum cobibet cruorem,
Nuditas nudos tegit, indigentes
Ditat egestas.
- 34 *Sanguinis grume facie cadentes*
A tuâ nostras radiis coronant ;
Mundat attractam cruor è parentum
Semine lepram.
- 35 *Mortis exhorrens calicem propinque,*
Tela securos facis ad supremæ,
Noxios tu nos reus innocentum
Cœtibus inferis.
- 36 *Deferit quum te patrius parumper*
Vultus, extorres tua nos co-optat
Cura, susceptos gremio nec unquam
Ejicis almo.
- 37 *Quid moror multis? Erebum subintrans,*
Tollis in cœlos, maledicta quondam
Furca, nunc arbor hominum beatrix
Fitq; boni fons.
- 38 *Quum triumphati speciem pudendam*
Pendulus præfers, oculosq; poenâ
Pascis hostiles, odioq; turgens
Pectus acerbo ;
- 39 *Squalidus, nudus, lacer, ora pallens,*
Obrutus probris, co-opertus iræ
Fluctibus, clavis miseranda fixus
Membra quaternis ;

- 40 *Inter infestas acies, latronum
Inter infaustos fremitus, remandans
Spiritus Patri, geminumq; fundens
Corde fluentem:*
- 41 *Tunc triumphali crucis in quadrigâ
Vestus, immanes agis ante temet
Hostium turmas, manibus retrorsum
Fune revinctis.*
- 42 *Fune constrictos agis indecoro
Principes Mundi, Stygiiq; portas
Carceris, fauces trucis & Sepulchri
Victor inermis.*
- 43 *Victor, exutas Erebi phalanges,
Labis humana caput, architectos
Fraudis & falsi, scelerumque terras
Quicquid inundat.*
- 44 *Exhibes pulchrum superis Theatrum,
Noctis æternæ laqueo superbas
Fracta cervices, pudefacta furvos
Agmina vultus.*
- 45 *Mortis hinc sævæ stimulus bicuspis,
Legis hinc iram parientis, anceps
Volvitur canthos dica subter, unco
Fixa trabali.*
- 46 *Ipsè cum-primis jacet Orcus ingens
Ense confossus proprio, dolosam
Dum crucis victu nimium furenti,
Devorat offam.*
- 47 *Finditur Monstrum furiale, raptâ
Præda fit raptor Lupus, unde vitam
Retur absorptant tenuisse, capit
Inde teneri.*
- 48 *Gentis humanæ miserator, Hydro
Conterens tetro caput execrandum,
Cordis. O constans amor, O voluptas
Pura paterni!*
- 49 *Pacis & vitæ via sola; magnâ
Promiss: arcani patrio latentis*

In sinu; veræ pietatis idem

Auctor & Index.

- 50 *Perditis, cheu! Quid in omne nobis
Tempus, O vindex hominum, fuisset,
Absq; te solo, soboliq; nostræ,
Dulcis Jesu!*
- 51 *Claustra perrumpens tumuli, supernam
Qui domum scandis redi vivus, & nos
Convehens tecum, tua membra, nigro
Surrripis Orco.*
- 52 *Surrripis flammæ furiis, nocentes
Quæ manet, mundi senium sub excors,
Jamq; nos vitæ venientis amplâ
Instruis Arbâ;*
- 53 *Pacis obsignans & amoris almo
Spiritu, qui nos tibi, quiq; membris
Unit, æterno tua quotquot implet
Gratia nexu.*
- 54 *Ille nos mundi, laqueosq; contra
Carnis & fraudes, furiasq; nigrâ
Nocte summissas, mediâq; pestes
Luce volantes,*
- 55 *Gratiæ salvos ope septiformis
Præstat, ac tandem super astra tollit,
Nec spei fluxæ fidei ve fultos
Præpete penna.*
- 56 *Ille divini lateris gemello
Tertius rivo comes, efficaci
Voce contestans, pia firmat ingens
Pectora pignus.*
- 57 *Ille prostratis aditum tribunal
Patris ad summi referat, medullis
Ille mox, Abba pater, æstuantum
Format in imis.*
- 58 *Ille singultu tacito, canoræ
Nulla quem vocis tuba, nec venustus
Æquet accentus, feriet paternas
Protinus aures.*

- 59 *Ille sinceris oculos revelat,
Legis ut sensus penetrent profunda;
Spernit elatos, humilesq; sanctis
Motibus afflat.*
- 60 *Ille torpentes acuit, labantum
Firmat incessus, revocatq; lapsos,
Ille divinis moribunda mulcet
Viscera flammis.*
- 61 *Ille præfractos refugosq; leni
Ducitiles reddit, facileq; tractu,
Null: quem auri pudefecit unquam
Peioris incus.*
- 62 *Quin tuum, currant agiles, cupito
Sponte cervices, oneriq; subdant,
Suavè fragrantem simul atq; nomen
Sparsit odorem:*
- 63 *Nomen effusum quod ubiq; castas
Haud secus fibras ferit, imbecillos
Atq; languentum pretiosa pulsant
Unguina sensus.*
- 64 *Hujus, O vitæ dator, & viæ dux,
Imber irrorans olei, salutis
Arduum gressu ducit irretorto
Carpere clivum.*
- 65 *Nosq; Deserti per inhospitalis
Tæsquæ palantes lachrymosa, sipsas
Dira quæ terret, sitis & re'osto
Squallid: rictu;*
- 66 *Ducat optatus Comes, ad supernos
Lactis & mellis fluvios, tuorum
Semper & plausu pia, Christe, lato
Cœpta secundet:*
- 67 *Orbis à summo tua dum coruscans
Axæ Majestas inopina, longum
Temporis fluxum seriemq; puncto
Sistat in uno.*
- 68 *Tunc suam rectâ repetent parentem
Annum cursus, ubi tempus ævi*

- Condet aternâ caput, unde primùm
 Fluxit, abisso :
- 69 Luce, quæ cæli rapidum volumen,
 Luce, quæ rerum refluos tumultus,
 Luce, quæ mortis rigidiq; solvet
 Sceptra Sepulchri.
- 70 O dies nulla vice summovenda
 Noctis à tergo subeuntis! O nox
 Nulla quam lucis premet invalescens
 Aura diurnæ!
- 71 Lucis O lætæ seges! O triumphus
 Perpes integris animi! Vicissim
 Consciis O Crux inimica vitæ
 Turpiter actæ!
- 72 Quæ pios luctu lachrymisq; solvet;
 Impiis clangens eadem catervis
 Rumpet infaussto tuba tristis altum
 Fine veturnum.
- 73 Nam tuam clangor faciem præibit,
 Orbis O vasti Moderator, omnes
 Qui simul rerum feriens tremendo
 Murmure metas,
- 74 Ad tuum sistet solium, superna
 Quosq; tunc auræ vegetabit haustus
 Quosq; nunc servat cineres profundi
 Urna sepulchri.
- 75 Illius nemo fugiet severum
 Lucis examen, patefacit alma
 Cardio quem vitæ, vel adhuc ab agrâ
 Matre rubentem.
- 76 Quum vorax flamma violentis ardor,
 Qua tui circum solii crepido
 Candet, igniti super altus atras
 Turbinis alas,
- 77 Cuncta laxabit liquefacta magna
 Membra compagis, quatiens reposto
 A soli centro fugitiva summi
 Mœnia mundi.

- Dentium stridor viget, atq; tetri
Sulphuris ardor.*
- 88 *Quantus extemplo premet angor, exspes
Obruet quam non tolerandus horror,
Lingua quæ fando referet, quis acri
Mente prebendat?*
- 89 *Me sed in tali trepidum periclo,
Præstet, O clemens hominum, Redemptor,
Sanguis immunem tuus, inq; dextrâ
Sorte reponat;*
- 90 *Sorte Sanctorum, tua quos beatos
Reddit aspectu facies propinquo,
Summa tu præsens quibus es perennis
Causa triumphæ;*
- 91 *Quæ tui vestes tumuli refregit,
Nexibus junctum tibi sempiternis,
Christe, depositum repetat rigenti
Vita sepulchro;*
- 92 *Tollat & Cœli radiantis ultra
Fornices, tecum fruam ut repostis
Læta quæis aulæ dapibus redundat
Mensa supernæ,*
- 93 *Gaudiis, quæ non oculi, nec impar
Auris admisit modulus caducæ,
Crassa nec finxit sibimet profundo
Fibra recessu;*
- 94 *Summa sed summus Pater ad supremum
Culmen erectis cumulūq; servat
Se penes; fiet quibus unus omnes
Omnia complens.*
- 95 *Vita jam victrix ubi mortis atrum
Virus absorpsit, speciesq; fallax
Transiit, vultu novus & nitebit
Mundus amœno;*
- 96 *Huc ferar tecum citus, O piorum
Portus & Præses, bonitatis Umbo,
Quos tuæ tutos facit à futuræ
Fluctibus iræ;*

- 97 *Noctis Ofulgens Polus, inter umbras,
Vultus, ut Magnes, tuus, hac potenti
Semper obtutu trahat incitatum
Cordis acumen.*
- 98 *Huc ferar, quo nil penetrat malignum,
Nulla fit voto mora, nil timendum
Restat, hac sanctas mihi firvor alas,
Christe, ministret:*
- 99 *Ut eanam Rerum Domino Tri-Uni,
Mentibus, laudes meritas, beatis
Mistus, Humano potiusq; pangam
Pectore Carmen.*
- 100 *Christe, sic fiat, precor, Alme, tandem
Sancta sic letus mihi vota firmet
Finis, ut faustam pia jam prebendunt
Carmina metam.*

A M E N.

THE

THE
First Resurrection :
OR, A
DISSERTATION,
WHEREIN

The *Prior and Special Resurrection and Reward* of the *most Eminent Christian Witnesses*, during the *Rage of Paganism and Antichristianism*, is considered,

In Two Grand Inquiries:

I. Concerning the Certainty and Genuine
IDEA of this Truth.

Where Dr. *Whitby's* Arguments are Answer'd, and
Mr. *Staynoe's* Notion Refuted.

II. Concerning the *Epocha of this Truth*, and
of the *Millennium*.

Where the *Apocryphical Scheme* of the *Bishop of Worcester*,
and Mr. *Whiston*, as publish'd by the latter, is proved
to be a very Precarious one.

Being a *NEW KEY*,

By which further Light is brought, not only into
the *Text and Context* insisted upon; but also into
many other memorable Passages of Scripture.

Together with a *Practical Improvement* of the Whole.

By *ROBERT FLEMING*.

John 16. 12, 13. *I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye are not Able to bear them now, &c.*

Rev. 1. 1, 3. *The Revelation of Jesus Christ, &c.*

Din. 9. 2. *I Daniel understood by Books the Number of the Years, &c.*

LONDON; Printed by *J. Humphreys* for *Andrew Bell* at the Cross-keys and Bible in *Cornhill*. 1708.



TO THE
Honourable, much Esteemed, and
Worthy
GENTLEMEN, MERCHANTS,
and Others,

Who Manage, Promote, and Encourage
the *Tuesday*-LECTURE at
SALTERS-HALL.

Much Honoured and Worthy Friends ;

THE Second Part of the preceding Book, being too small to bear a due Proportion to the First ; at the same time that Both are too Bulky to be brought into the Compass of one fizable Octavo Volume: I was oblig'd to think of adding some suitable Discourse, by which both Parts might be so far adjusted, as to keep some Decorum, in Point of Proportion.

And, seeing my Thoughts have been so deeply taken up of late, upon the Subject here treated of ; and see-

ing also, I have deliver'd the Result of them to you, in my last Turns of Preaching : I could not so much as dispute with my self ; either as to the Discourse most proper to be added, in this Place ; or, as to the Persons, to whom the Appropriation thereof was most peculiarly due.

I confess, it was my Purpose formerly, to have let this Piece lie by me, until I had proceeded so far in this Work of Christology, as to come to have finish'd the Fifth Book, viz. that which is to treat of Christocracy ; where, it is certain, it would have come in more properly than here. But when I consider'd the Uncertainty of Life, and upon how slender a Thread mine has hung for above a Year past, I was willing to lay hold of this Opportunity of printing it now ; and the rather, because, not only of its being publish'd already in the way of Preaching, but, of its being, as I understand, mistaken, and mis-represented by some. And besides, I consider'd, that, as it is a common thing to joyn together several Tracts of very different Sorts in the same Volume ; so that the Subject of this Dissertation doth not only belong to Christology in general ; but has some peculiar Congruity with, and Relation unto, somethings treated of in the preceding Book ; particularly as to some Thoughts in the Fourth and Fifth Chapters ; to which I refer the Reader, in the Discourse it self, as I go along.

It has always been my Practise to preach upon the most weighty and necessary Truths of Christianity, without insisting upon little and minute Things. And therefore, tho I have studied the darker Prophecies, as well as other more obscure and remote Points of Revelation, and even printed some Speculations

lations of this kind : Yet I never preach'd designedly, upon any thing of that Sort ; tho sometimes I could not avoid, to touch upon a Hint of that kind, when it came naturally in my way. And this was the Reason, why I confin'd myself to a short Abbreviation only of what I have said in this Treatise more largely ; for you may remember, that I spoke directly to the Subject of the special Resurrection, at the Beginning of the Millennium, in no more than a Part of one Sermon, upon Philip. 3. 11. whereas I insisted pretty largely upon the more practical Verses of the Context. Nor had I given you even so much of this Sort of Speculation as I did, from the Pulpit, had it been possible to avoid it, so as to have made Sense of the Apostle's Discourse.

You will not wonder therefore, either that I insisted so much upon Practice, and so little on Theory, when I preach'd to you from the 3d Chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians ; or that I have now enlarg'd so much on Theory in this Publication of my Thoughts, and confin'd my self to such short Hints, as to Practical Matters. For you cannot but know, that such Speculations, as might not be so proper to insist upon to a popular Auditory, even upon a Week-Day ; may yet be very reasonably enlarg'd upon in Print, for the Benefit of inquisitive, thoughtful, and serious Persons : And you may easily see, that had I equally enlarg'd upon the Practical Points here, as upon the Theoretical ones ; this Discourse had not been capable either to have been brought in here, or indeed to have come easily within one Octavo Volume, if printed apart. And yet I am mistaken, if I have omitted any one Material Practical Head, that I spoke of, from the Pulpit ; tho I was indispensibly oblig'd,
from

from the Reasons assigned, to abstain from the Inlargements and Amplifications which I then used.

But if some Men would have you to continue perpetually in the Rudiments of Christianity, so as never to venter to look beyond them, from the fallacious Method of crying out against Speculations not absolutely necessary to Salvation; I hope I may be allowed to imitate that Great and Good Man, whose Reasoning, as well as Authority, weighs much more with me. I mean the Great Apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, (for I can prove that it is his) who after he had spoken several curious and speculative Things concerning Melchisedeck, in Chap. 5. (without the Knowledge of which I do humbly suppose a Man might yet be capable of getting to Heaven;) takes occasion from thence, with a peculiar Concern and Warraunt, to press Christians, not to rest satisfied with the Knowledge of Fundamental Truths; but to study to be acquainted likewise, as far as they can, with remoter Speculations, and indeed with whatever comes within the Compass of the Bible and Revealed Religion. And, for this end, after he had said, Chap. 5. v. 11, &c. Of whom (i. e. of Melchisedeck,) we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered; seeing ye are dull of hearing. For when, by the time, ye ought to be Teachers, ye have need that one teach you again, which be the first Principles of the Oracles of God; and are such as have need of Milk, and not of strong Meat. For every one that useth Milk is unskilful in the Word of Righteousness: For he is a Babe. But strong Meat belongeth to them, who are of full Age, even those, who, by reason of Use, have their Senses exercis'd to discern both

Good

Good and Evil : I say, after this, he proceeds immediately to exhort us to go on from Contemplating the more Essential Truths of Religion, to the Study also of remoter Truths ; which he does after this manner, Chap. 6. 1, 2, 3. Therefore, leaving the Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, Let us go on unto Perfection : Not laying again the Foundation of Repentance from Dead Works ; and of Faith towards God ; of the Doctrine of Baptisms ; and of Laying on of Hands ; and of the Resurrection of the Dead ; and of Eternal Judgment. And this will we do, if God permit.

As therefore I cannot think that any thing can be below us to study, which Christ did not think was below him to reveal to Men in his Word : So I find my self oblig'd not only as a Christian, but as a Scholar and Minister, to dive as deep as I can, into whatever my Blessed Master has, by his Spirit, laid before me as a Lesson. And, when I have learn'd it my self, I cannot but think I am likewise oblig'd, to impart the Knowledge of it, especially if very weighty and useful, to my Fellow-Christians ; as not daring either to counter-act the Dictates of Conscience, or transgress the Commands of Scripture ; by hiding my Light under a Busbel, or burying my Talent in the Earth.

As therefore I have been directed in what I have said in the preceding Book, to give such a Scriptural View of what relates to Christ, as, I think, was never publish'd before : So I hope you will find that I have been likewise assisted, thro' the good Hand of my God upon me, to bring in new Light to the Subject-Matter treated of here ; and, by that, to abundance of Scriptural Passages, which have never hitherto
been

been fully cleared up ; our best Divines and Criticks having miss'd their Way in these, as in a Labyrinth, by Reason of their Want of this Scriptural Clue, with which I do now present You and the World.

But, not to detain you here in the Threshold, let me only beg you to accept of this Address in good Part, so as to keep it for my sake, and to peruse it for your own. And, whether you believe the special Resurrection, which I treat of here, or not : Yet, I am sure, it can do you no hurt, to act so, as if it were altogether uncontroverted ; that thus each of you may be incited, as far as is possible, to emulate even the Excellent Apostle Paul, in his noble Ambition, to be the first Scholar of Christ's School, the bravest Soldier for his Cause, the most faithful Subject to his Government, the most dutiful Child of his Family, the most diligent Servant in his Work, and the most zealous Messenger to run his Errands ; having your Eye thus fixed, as he had his, upon the glorious Prize of the high Calling of God in Christ Jesus.

Now, that both You and I may attain thus to act, in order to be thus also rewarded at last, is and shall be the sincere Endeavour and fervent Prayer of,

Honoured and Dear Friends,

Your Obliged, Cordial

and Obedient Servant,

in the Bonds of the Gospel,

ROBERT FLEMING.

A
DISSERTATION,
CONCERNING
The Prior and Special
RESURRECTION
OF THE
Most Eminent Christians,
During the Reign and Rage of *Paganism*
and *Popery*.

I Have propos'd, my Friends, to entertain your Thoughts with, and to direct your Practise by some weighty and useful Considerations, which the great Apostle *Paul* lays before Christians in these Verses (*a*) which I have read unto you. But, seeing I foresee, that some Truths, which I apprehend the Apostle insists on, may surprize most, if not all my Hearers, it will be proper to present you with the

(*a*) Viz. *Phil.* Chap. 3. ver. 1, 2, 3, &c. ver. 7, 8, 9, &c. especially ver. 11, 12, &c.

Scope and Connection of *Paul*, in this Discourse, at least so much of it as bears a Relation to what we have read from the 7th Verse. And seeing what the Apostle speaks of, in this Chapter, is wholly of a different Nature from what he runs upon either in the preceding Chapters, or in the following one; we have no Reason to run beyond the Limits of this Chapter, in order to understand his Design.

And here, in the first Place, let me tell you, that those that divided the Bible into Chapters, (and I suppose you know, that the Division of the Bible into Chapters and Verses, is but a Human Invention, and indeed a late one, tho' very useful in the Main, and honestly and well design'd,) were not so considerate, as they should have been, when they begin this Chapter, with this Sentence; *Finally, my Brethren, rejoice in the Lord*: Which, no doubt the Apostle design'd to dismiss the former Part of his Discourse with, as the conclusory Words thereof. And having done so, it is plain, he does, as it were, pause a while, and then, after some Consideration, whither he should write upon the Subject treated of, in this Chapter, or not, he comes to resolve on the Affirmative, mov'd by this Reason; that it was the safer Side to do so, least such important Truths, as these were, tho' fully insisted upon by him, in his Sermons and Discourses to those *Philippians*, to whom he writes, might come, at last, to be lost in Oblivion. And he considers, at the same time, that it was no great matter of Pains, to write down the Sum of that important Doctrine, that, it is plain, these Words suppose him to have insisted on, for some time, at *Philippi*.

So that the Chapter ought to have begun with these Words: *To write the same Things to you, (viz. which I delivered to you, formerly, by Word of Mouth) to me indeed is not οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύω grievous, (or what I am loath to be brought to) For (I consider that) to you it is ἀσφαλὲς safe.* Now, from hence, let me transiently observe, 1. How careful *Paul* was to guard against the Evils,

Evils, that Truth might sustain, by *Oral Tradition*, if not secur'd, by its being committed to writing. And indeed he had fatal Experience of this in the *Corinthian Church*, where tho he had preached and taught for two Years, *Acts* 19. 10. and no doubt frequently celebrated the Eucharist among them (it being the Custom of the Apostles to celebrate the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper, at least once a Week, *viz.* (a) every Lord's Day,) yet he had not been long absent from that Church, until the manner of the Celebration of it was quite perverted, and the Apostle obliged to write to them upon this Head, and to set down the exact Form and Manner of its true Administration, as we see, *1 Cor.* 11. *ver.* 17, &c. & *ver.* 23, &c. And, upon the same Reason, the Apostle *Peter* speaks after this manner to the Churches, to whom he writes; *2 Ep.* Chap. 1. *ver.* 15. *Moreover, I will endeavour that you may be able, after my Decease, to have these things always in Remembrance.* And indeed this has ever been a prevailing Reason with my self, to commit to Writing such Truths, as I thought might be of general Use to Men, and especially such of them, as might be most liable to be misrepresented, together with the Preacher of such things; if only to be learn'd from the frail Memories and imperfect Accounts of them that heard them; and much more, if only to be known from those that heard it at second, or third, or fourth Hand, *i. e.* from some Body who said, that he learn'd from one, that said he was acquainted with a Man, that heard *Paul* or *Peter* say so or so. And, 2. I observe hence likewise, that the Reason of the Obscurity of some Truths insinuated here, particularly in *ver.* 11, 12, &c. is this; That the Apostle contents himself with summing up the main Heads, that he had largely insisted upon, and cleared up to the *Philippians*, by Word of Mouth. For, ha-

(a) *Acts* 20. 7, 11. & *Chap.* 2. 42, 46. *Chap.* 27. 57. See *Just. Martyr.* *Apol.* 2. p. 98, 99. & *Plin. Epist. Lib.* 10. *Ep.* 97.

ving done this, he knew that he needed only just to hint things to them, seeing they were fully instructed in his Meaning before. But we being left, now, to find out his Sense, by a close and strict Inquiry into these brief Hints, and by a comparing them with the like Insinuations elsewhere to be found, must be supposed to be at a mighty Loss, in Comparison of the Christians then at *Philippi*, who were fully acquainted with the Apostle's Thoughts on all the Subjects, which he rather hints than explains to us. So that none of our Commentators or Criticks ought to be blam'd, tho they have all, as I humbly conceiv'd, fallen short of finding out the Apostle's main Scope and Meaning: For if Men do their best, they ought to be praised, instead of being reflected upon. For, if a thoughtful and learned Man should have a peculiar Notion, which he looks upon to be of great Importance and general Use; and should, as such, communicate it, with his Reasons for it, to a Company of select Friends, many of which should be convinced, and be of his Mind, whilst others remained of a different Sentiment, or at least continued in some Suspence and Doubt this way; and if this learned Man should afterward think fit to write a joynt Letter to those to whom he communicated his Opinion, giving them some Hints thereof, and shewing that he was of the same Mind still; but modestly insinuating, that he did not look upon his Opinion as absolutely necessary to Salvation, and that therefore he hop'd, that those that differ'd from him in this particular, would bear with him, as he did with them, and agree to mind the same things, wherein they and he were of one Mind: Now, I say, if, some Ages after the Death of this Man and his Friends, this Letter of his were publish'd to the World: It must needs be very puzzling to those that were solicitous to know what this important Opinion was, from which, notwithstanding some of his best Friends did dissent, tho they were fully instructed in the Matter, from so great a Man. Now, that this is plainly the State of
 this

of Christians.

this Affair, in relation to the *Philippians* of old, and *us* now, will be plain beyond Controversy, by what I have to say in the sequel of this Discourse. And then I shall leave it to your selves to judge, whether I have not, (thro' the Goodness of God inlightning me, and blessing my Inquiries this way) found out the *true Key*, to unlock the Apostle's Meaning; which I humbly conceive no Commentator or Expositor ever did before me. Therefore to proceed;

The Apostle, after his resolving to recapitulate the Sum of what he had preached to the *Philippian* Church, *ver. 1.* goes on with this Work from *ver. 2.* to the end of this *3^d* Chapter. Now to trace this Discourse and its Design, I shall not disjoint the Apostle's Words, (after the old logical Method of many Divines) by casting the Words into a dry and arbitrary *Analytical* Scheme: But I shall trace the natural Epistolary Way of the Apostle, by which he insensibly slides from one Point to another, jointing or grafting one thing into another. And by this Method, I hope to let in your Thoughts to see, as it were, the very Springs and Movements of the Apostle's Soul, in laying before the *Philippians* his Sentiments and Practice, as far as the Words can be trac'd by me, as to their Meaning and Design.

And, in the *first* Place, he exhorts them to be upon their Guard, against the carnal and imbitter'd Jews, who were at that time the worst Enemies, that Christianity had in the World. *Beware*, says he, *of Dogs, beware of Evil-Workers, beware of the Circision.* He calls them *Dogs*, because of their bitter Reflections and Blasphemies against the Truth, comparing them thus to bitter and spiteful *barking Dogs*. He calls them *Evil-workers*, as well as *Evil-speakers*, because of their violent Attempts against Christians. He calls them and their Religion, by the Sarcastical Title of *the Circision*, instead of the Circumcision; because they cut off themselves from Christ, by preaching up Circumcision, as absolutely necessary to Justification and Salvation; which was diametrically opposite to *Paul's* Doctrine, as we see, *Gal.*

5. 2, 3. Now, as a Reason, why he call'd the Jews by that irritating and contemptuous Word *the Circumcision*; he adds, *ver. 3. For we are the Circumcision (i. e. in the true spiritual Sense) who worship God in the Spirit, and rejoice in Jesus Christ, and have no confidence in the Flesh*; (as if bare Externals could save us.)

And here the Apostle takes occasion to shew, that, seeing the Jews valued themselves so much upon their external Jewish Privileges, he was equal with any of them all, this way. Therefore he says, *ver. 4, 5, 6. That if these things were to be relied upon, I might also have Confidence in the Flesh. For, says he, If any other Man thinketh, that he hath whereof to trust in the Flesh; I have more Reason to do so than many others. For I was circumcised the eighth Day, of the Stock of Israel (my Parents and Ancestors being all true Israelites, without any Gentile Mixture) of the Tribe of Benjamin (honoured above all the Tribes, excepting Judah only, for adhering to David's Family and the true Worship of God, against Jeroboam and his Idolatry, and for its being returned intire, together with Judah, to their own Land,) an Hebrew of the Hebrews (both by Nation and Language;) concerning Zeal, persecuting the Church, (in the Days of my Ignorance, even as they, but more wilfully and knowingly, do now, considering the further and more Publick Evidence given now to Religion;) touching the Righteousness, which is in the Law, blameless, (as being a Pharisee, and consequently of the strictest Sect of the Jews, both as to Principles, and a nice Observance of the Ceremonies and Customs of the Jews.)*

But, says he, *ver. 7. What things were Gain to me, (and might have raised me to the highest Dignity, Authority, Power, Esteem, and been the means of enriching me among the Jews,) those I accounted loss for Christ; (as soon as I came to be acquainted with him and his Truths.)* And thus the Apostle shews the vastly different Estimate, he now had of *Judaism* and *Christianity*, now what he had before, and how despicable the first was,

was, and indeed all things in this World besides, in Comparison of the *latter*.

The Apostle prosecutes the same thing, and enlarges upon it, *ver.* 8. wherein there are five Particulars observable; 1. The Universality of this Contempt of terrene things, of whatever sort, in comparison of Christianity; *Yea — and I count all things but Loss, &c.* 2. The Reason of this Contempt, or the thing, in comparison whereof, he had so contemptible an Opinion of all other things; specified in these Words; *for the Excellency of Christ Jesus.* 3. The principal Idea that *Paul* fixes upon, as to Christ, which render'd the Knowledge of him so very excellent above all things besides; express'd in these Words: *Christ Jesus my Lord.* For as *Christ* denotes him to be the Promised Messiah, and as the superadding the Name *Jesus* denotes the end of his Office, as such, *viz.* that he was to save his People from their *Sins*, both as to the *Guilt, Prevalence, Corruption,* and the *Consequents* and *Effects* thereof: So *Paul's* peculiar Appropriation of this Saviour to himself, when he could *thus* say, *my Lord,* did eminently endear Christ and Christianity to him. 4. The Proof, which he gives of the Verity of this his Estimate; which is *twofold,* *viz. Verbal, yea doubtless, &c.* and *Real,* taken from uncontested matter of Fact; which he relates in these words: *For whom I have suffered the Loss of all things, and do count them but Dung;* as if he had said, and now that I have lost all these things, I cannot say I have lost any thing (so low is their Estimate with me) unless the Loss of what I esteem to be no better than Dung be accounted a Loss. 5. The Scope and End, or Ends, that the Apostle has in View and Prospect, both in this his Estimate, and in his Acting and Suffering accordingly, *viz. that I may win Christ, and that I may be found in him, &c.* But the *latter* of these Expressions belonging to the *9th* Verse, and what is contained therein; I take the *former* only to be that General, that includes his Scope, as he design'd to express it in the General; and that the following Verses contain a particular Explication

tion thereof, and Enlargement thereupon. *To win Christ* therefore, I take to be a General Expression, of a vast Extent, which denotes the utmost acquisition of him, and the being the most universally enrich'd by him, from the time of our first believing in him, to that of our enjoying him for Eternity : For thus the Apostle, when he says, *μα χερσὶν ἀποβάσω*, that I may be enrich'd by acquiring Christ, opposes him to all other things, which he lost for him, and reckon'd but loss, in comparison of him ; and by this he represents himself, as the wise Merchant was represented by Christ, *Matth. 13. 45, 46.* (upon which Parable Paul's Words are a just Comment) who, after he had long traded in seeking after imaginary Pearls, tho' he then reckon'd them goodly ones ; having at last found the true Pearl of Price, *i. e.* known wherein Man's real Good did stand, did readily part with all his formerly admired good Things, in order to be truly possess'd of the true felicitating Good.

But now, the Apostle having given a general Hint of his great *Scope* and *End*, proceeds to explain his Meaning, by shewing what the things were, which were wrap'd up in this short but substantial Hint. And this he does, by branching forth the meaning of this Expression, *to win Christ*, in a Gradation of three things. The *1st* of which denotes his Concern to lay a sure Foundation, *ver. 9.* The *2^d* denotes a gradual Progress, in raising a proper Superstructure upon that Foundation, when once laid, *ver. 10.* And the *3^d* denotes the End of both, *viz.* the actual Attainment of that Happiness, that he propos'd to himself, upon the happy finishing of both these, *ver. 11.* So that we have here compleat Happiness represented to us as begun in the *1st*, carried on in the *2^d*, and compleated in the *3^d* and last. And it is my Design to treat of all these here before you ; so as succinctly to explain the *two first*, in order to enlarge upon the *last*, as being the *Key*, when understood, of unriddling the Apostle's meaning perfectly, in what he runs upon in this Chapter,

ter, and particularly in that part of it that follows the 11th Verse.

The 1st Thing, which the Apostle aims at, in order to be truly happy, is the beginning well, or the founding securely upon the true Gospel-Foundation. Thus the Apostle was concerned, *ver. 9. To be found in Christ, not having (says he) my own Righteousness, which is of the Law, but that which is thro' the Faith of Christ, the Righteousness which is of God by Faith.*

And here, seeing this Expression has been so often quoted and explain'd by those, that either did not or would not understand its meaning, it is but just, that I should set it in its proper light; and the rather that I have heard it my self so frequently quoted amiss, as to the very words, as if *Paul* had opposed the *imputed Righteousness of Christ*, (whereas we neither read the Word *Imputed* here, nor yet the Phrase, *the Righteousness of Christ*) to his former *Righteousness* which he trusted in; which has been explained so, as if by his *own Righteousness, which was according to the Law*, he meant not the *Jewish Religion and Righteousness which stood in a Conformity to the Law of Moses*, (tho he himself tells us, in the preceding Verses, that he meant this and this only) but the *antiquated Law of perfect Innocence* made with our first Parents before the Fall; as if *Paul*, when a Jew and Pharisee by Profession, had ever dream'd to be saved by the *Merit of a sinless Conformity to the Law of Perfection*, which is commonly, tho unscripturally, called the *Covenant of Works*; when it is plain, that he only thought to be sav'd by a strict Conformity to the *Mosaic or Jewish Religion and Law*, without any regard to *Christianity*, nay and in opposition to it: Whereas upon his being illuminated to know *Christ and Christianity*, (which he own'd now to be the Completion of the *Jewish Religion*) he disclaim'd the *Jewish Religion and legal Righteousness* as imperfect, and betook himself intirely to *Christ and Christianity*, and the *Righteousness* reveal'd in the Gospel. See Dr.

Dr. *Whitby* in his Note upon this place, and what he says upon *Rom. i. 17.*

But, in order to our clearer understanding this Place, I shall not grudge a little pains in explaining these *four things*, which are all that the Apostle's Words run upon and contain; *viz.* 1. The Import of the Expression, *to be found in Christ.* 2. The two sorts of Righteousness which he distinguishes one from another, and which he opposeth one to another, under these Characteristical Designations, *viz. his own Righteousness, and the Righteousness which is of God.* 3. The Description which he gives of both these; when he calls the *first*, that Righteousness *which is ἐν νόμῳ of the Law*, or which ariseth from the Law, and stands in a Conformity to it, and which he opposeth to the *second* Righteousness, *viz. the Righteousness which is of God*; which he describes so, as to tell us, that it is *thro' the Faith of Christ, and is of God, and that by Faith*; which *three Characters* are connected together so, as to make up *one* only in the General, tho each of them has a peculiar Force in it, as we shall soon see. 4. The different Estimate which the Apostle has of these, and the different respect he has to them; seeing he disclaimeth the *first*, when he says, *not having, &c.* and is solicitous to be thoroughly possessed of the *other*, when he adds, *but that which is, &c.*

Now, as to the *1st* of these, *viz. to be found in Christ.* It may not unjustly be supposed to denote, in a General Sense, the same thing as the former, *viz. to win Christ.* But yet, even upon this Supposition, there is this Difference; that, whereas the Phrase, *to win Christ*, does respect the *End*; this Phrase *to be found in Christ*, bears a reference to the *Means* which tend to the attainment of that End. Now whereas there are *two Phrases* made use of in the New Testament, *viz. Our being in Christ, and Christ's being in us*: It is proper that I should say this of them; that they are equivalent Phrases, and of the same importance, in the main; the one of them ever denoting, or supposing the other. For, 1. We are said *to be in Christ*; when, having been so

so assisted by Grace, in our devoting our selves to God and Christ, as to be truly united to him by Faith and Love, we act likewise so, as to bring forth Fruit to his Praise, walking thus, in the main, as he also walked. And, 2. Christ is said to be in us, when, as *Paul* says, *Phil. 2. 5. The same mind is in us, which was in Christ Jesus, i. e.* When Religion becomes the internal governing Principle of our Hearts, and when we act, by the Gospel-Rule, and for the same Ends which he acted for. So that for the Apostle to desire and endeavour, in order to win Christ, to act so, as to be found in Christ, is the same thing as to desire, to be so thoroughly united to Christ in Principle and Design, and to be so enabled to walk as to adorn the Gospel, and thus to be useful to the best of Interests, as to attain at length to the full Reward of a faithful Servant, in the compleat and perpetual Enjoyment of his Lord and Master.

As for the 2d thing; it is plain from the whole of the Context, (1.) That by his *own Righeousness* he must mean, in the first place, the very same *Righteousness*, which he had told us before, he was so fond of, when a Jew and Pharisee; being then, as he says, *ver. 6. Blameless as to the Law of Moses.* But, in a secondary or consequential Sense, we may justly say, that any sort of imperfect Righteousness, which is short of Gospel-Righteousness, if trusted to, is disclaimed here, by this Expression; such as Knowledge, Learning, Orthodoxy, Justice, Charitableness, &c. For every such Righteousness may be said to be of the Law, according to the Letter; tho' it reach not the full Design thereof, as to its spiritual import and meaning, which is to be found on Christ; the Law of *Moses* being that to Men, during the Minority of the Church of the Old Testament, that παιδαγωγός, a Pedagogue, or Preceptor, or Tutor, is to young Lads that go to a Grammar School, viz. to fit them for the higher Academy of Christianity and Christ the chief Doctor thereof; as the Apostle tells us, *Gal. 3. 24.* ——— To this home-spun *Righteousness*

ness of his own; therefore, (2.) Paul opposes the Righteousness of the Gospel, which, by way of Eminence, he justly calls the Righteousness of God; as having God for its Author, its Injutor, its Purchaser, its Rule, and its ultimate End.

3dly. As for the Description which he gives of these two sorts of Righteousness; (1.) The Account given of the first is this; That it is a Righteousness, which is of (or from, or according to) the Law. And what that Law is, we have already said. But they that desire to know more, may consult Rom. 3. 20. Gal. 3. 10, &c. with many other places. (2.) And as for the other sort of Righteousness, I need but cite Rom. 3. 21, 22. in order to clear it up. Where the Apostle says, *But now the Righteousness of God, without the Law, is manifest, being witnessed by the Law and the Prophets, even the Righteousness of God, which is by the Faith of Jesus Christ unto all, and upon all that believe, for there is no difference.* For this one place unfolds all the force of the threefold Character of this Righteousness; viz. 1. That it is, more eminently, than any sort of Religion or Righteousness, that ever was before, the Righteousness of God; 2. That this Righteousness is manifest in, or thro' the Gospel, or the Christian Faith, or as the Apostle here words it in the Epistle to the Philippians, thro' the Faith of Christ; which, as it is in the Citation mentioned, is said to be witnessed unto by the Law and the Prophets, to be the Righteousness of God without the Law of Moses, and therefore the Gospel-Righteousness: For lest any Doubt, this way, should remain, it is immediately added, that it is the Righteousness of God, which is by the Faith of Jesus Christ, unto all and upon all, whether Jews or Gentiles. But then, 3. It is also said to be upon all them that believe; which answers to the third part of the Character of this Righteousness in our Text, viz. That it is by Faith: For, as it is revealed by Faith, or by the Gospel, so it is to be received by Faith also. And thus the Apostle says, Rom. 1. 17. That the Righteousness of God is revealed by Faith to Faith: which,

which, according to the *Greek*, runs thus; *the Righteousness of God, which is by Faith* (or stands in Faith) *is revealed to beget Faith in Men*, (or is revealed in order to be received by Faith.) And therefore it is added in the same Place; *The Just shall live by his Faith*, i. e. in Christ and his Promises, so as to have this Faith to be a Principle to him of Righteousness and Obedience.

And now, as to the 4th Particular, it is easie to see, why the Apostle disclaimeth the *first* sort of Righteousness, and why he is so concerned to have the *latter*. For, (1.) as to his own Righteousness, he could not but disclaim that, which was now become inconsistent with the Gospel; as *Judaism* was then, in his Eyes, with *Christianity*; and, upon the Account whereof, he had lamented the Case of his Country-men the *Jews*, in the same Epistle to the *Romans*, in almost the same Words as here; as we see, *Rom. 10. 1, 2, 3, 4.* *Brethren, my Heart's Desire and Prayer to God, for Israel, is, that they might be saved. For I bear them Record, that they have a Zeal for God, (as he himself had before his being acquainted with Christianity,) but not according to Knowledge. For they, being ignorant of the Righteousness of God (revealed in the Gospel) and going about to establish their own Righteousness, (viz. Judaical Righteousness, which stood in a Conformity to the Law of Moses,) have not submitted themselves to the Righteousness of God: for Christ is the end of the Law for Righteousness, to every one that believeth.* Now here are the very Phrases of our Text again, *viz. the Jews own Righteousness, and the Righteousness of God, &c.* But not a Syllable is there of *Christ's Righteousness*, nor of *Imputation* in all this. Which, I say, not to reflect upon good Men, or their Notions this way, but only to caution them not to censure those that adhere more closely to the Scripture Phraseology than they do, and consequently may be supposed to understand its Sense better, as well as to judge of its Truths more impartially. For I have always observ'd, in all Parties, without so much as one Exception; that the most ignorant

selfish,

selfish, and greatest Party-Men, make the most Noise, and run on the fastest, and the most furiously, in censuring, and even damning those that differ from them; tho' this be commonly only upon the Account of the Modes of speaking. But, to return. As the Apostle renounced his *own Judaical Righteousness*: So (2.) He evidenceth his Concern, *to be found in Christ, having the Righteousness of God*, i. e. he is concerned to attain to the New Testament-Righteousness, or to be saved in the Gospel-way. For Christ's *Active and Passive Obedience*, by which he has merited Salvation for all that will accept of it upon Gospel-Terms, is that only, *for the sake of which* those that believe are saved. For, as by the Offence of one, Judgment came upon all Men to Condemnation; even so, by the Righteousness of one, the free Gift (*viz.* the Gospel-Revelation, Offer and Promise) came upon all Men (in case they believe) unto Justification of Life, &c. Rom. 5. 18, 19. Now, I think, all good Men, of all Sides and Parties, do agree, that Christ's Merits are the only meritorious Cause of our Justification and Salvation; and that we are justified, consequently, by the Righteousness of Christ, or the Righteousness of God, and by no human Righteousness whatsoever: And if this be call'd, *Christ's Righteousness imputed*, I do as readily own the thing as any Man, disowning and disclaiming all Self-Righteousness, in the same manner as Paul did, when he says, Rom. 11. 16. that we are saved by Grace; and that *if it be by Grace, then it is no more of Works, otherwise Grace is no more Grace, &c.* tho' I pretend not to understand, that *Christ's Merits*, or *Christ's Righteousness*, can thus be transferred to another, so as to be *imputed* to him, either in a *scriptural Sense*, or indeed in *common Sense*. For, if by being *imputed*, we mean *reputed*, i. e. judged by God, that we were the Persons that obeyed, suffered and merited; it is equally *blasphemous* and *nonsensical*. And, if by *imputed*, we mean no more than this, that we receive the Benefit of *Christ's Merits and Righteousness*, when we believe, as
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really as if we had acted, suffered and merited our selves; it is certainly true: But then, it must be said, that the Word *Imputation* is used very improperly, in this Sense: Nay, I will say likewise, (b) that it is never used, in this Sense, in Scripture. But, as I shall never quarrel about Words, tho' improperly used, where Truth is secur'd, so if it please God that I live I shall have occasion to discuss this Matter further in its proper Place. To return therefore, I say this, that the Sum of all I have said upon this Verse, amounts to this *Proposition*, when drawn *ab Hypothesi ad Thesin*, from Paul's State, to that of all Christians, *viz.* "That whosoever is heartily and thorowly concerned "to win him, and is therefore desirous to get to be acquitted, approved and saved, in the great Day of "Christ's Appearance; must not be contented with, "nor trust in a bare external *Righteousness of his own*, "tho' never so exactly agreeable to the Law of God; "but must make it his Business to be found in Christ, having the *Righteousness, which is thro' the Faith of Christ*, "even the *Righteousness, which is of God, by Faith*. The Sense of which Phrases can, I think, be obscure to none, that have consider'd what I have said. So that I hope, I may go on safely now to the next Head.

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(b) I desire that the Reader, who may perhaps wonder at my saying so, would be pleas'd to consider, the proper Meaning of the Original Greek Word, λογίζεσθαι, and the Scope and Sense of this Word, in all those Places where it is translated to impute in our Version, as also the Equivalent Hebrew Word, which is likewise so rendred by our Translators, *viz.* Lev. 7. 18. Chap. 17. 14. 1 Sam. 22. 15. 2 Sam. 19. 19. Psal. 32. 2. Hab. 1. 11. But seeing all the Stress of the Controversy relates to the Sense of those Places, where this Word is rendred either to impute, (which I think are these only, *viz.* Rom. 4. 6, 8, 11, 22, 23, 24. Chap. 5. 13. 2 Cor. 5. 19. Jam. 2. 23.) or otherwise, where it is rendred by Words of an Equivalent Sense and Meaning to that of Imputation: For thus we find, that the same Word, that is rendred to impute in the Places mention'd, and, I think, in no other, is translated, Rom.

The II. Thing which the Apostle aim'd at, in order to reach his End, and as consequential upon the former, was to *proceed well*, after he had once *set out well* on his heavenly Journey. And this he expresseth in these Words, *ver. 10. That I may know him, and the Power of his Resurrection, and the Fellowship of his Sufferings, being made conformable unto his Death.* Where we have two things to consider.

I. The *General Account* which he gives of this, *viz. τὸ γινῶσθαι αὐτὸν*, *that I may know him, i. e. so as to be further and better acquainted with him.* By which,

4. 3. counted unto, *ver. 4. reckoned, ver. 5. counted for, ver. 9. reckoned to, ver. 10, reckoned, and Gal. 3. 6. accounted. I have thus enumerated all the Places, where this Word occurs, in such a Sense, as to be capable to be thus translated: In none of which I can find any Foundation for such a Mystical Sense of the Word, as has not only been reckon'd the only one by some, but magnified to that degree, as if the All of Religion stood in it, and as if they were all Hereticks, that could not see this. And I hope none, that calls himself a Scholar and Divine, can be ignorant that the Verb λογίζομαι is most commonly used, both by Greek Authors, and by the sacred Penmen, in such a Sense, as is incapable to be rendred to impute. For it does most commonly signifie, to reason, to esteem, to think, to reckon, and to repute. For which, see Mark 11. 31. & Chap. 15. 28. Luke 22. 37. Acts 19. 27. Rom. 2. 3, 26. Chap. 3. 28. Chap. 6. 11. Chap. 8. 18, 36. Chap. 9. 8. Chap. 14. 14. 1 Cor. 4. 1. Chap. 13. 5. 2 Cor. 3. 15. Chap. 10. 2, 7, 11. Chap. 12. 6. Phil. 3. 13. Chap. 4. 8. 2 Tim. 4. 16. Heb. 11. 19. 2 Pet. 5. 12. Now if the Reader will consider all these things, and lay them judiciously together, he will find, that in those few Places, where our Translators thought fit to render the Original Word, by the English Word to impute, or its Equivalents Terms, to reckon, to count, or to account; the Sense of those several Texts, with the Scope of the Contexts, will ever direct us to understand them as denoting no more, but this, *viz. to repute; and therefore, consequently God, who reposes and reckons infallibly, can never repute that to belong to another, which was done by Christ only.* When therefore Abraham believed God, his Faith (the originally God's Work and Gift) is said to be reckoned to him for Righteousness, *i. e. reputed his own Act*, as formally it certainly was. I have the rather taken notice of these things, because the unwary Expositions and enlargements of some good Men, as to their Notion of the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness, has oftner than once, in the Compass of the last Age, given rise to endless Antinomian Errors.*

no doubt, he means a farther Measure, both of Theoretical and Practical Knowledge.

2. The *special Account* which he gives of this, *viz.* in what Respects he was chiefly concerned to know Christ further than he had yet attained to do; where there are two Particulars specified.

1. He desires to know Christ farther, as to *the Power of his Resurrection.* Concerning which, let me premise this, that the Stress of our Salvation, as to the Hope of future Happiness, to be compleatly enjoyed, depends principally upon the Article of the Resurrection; as we must own, if we consult, *Rom. 8. 34. & 1 Cor. 15. 14, 17, &c.* Now, having premised this, let me observe, (1.) That by *the Power of Christ's Resurrection*, which Paul desir'd to know, he must mean, *That Power that was exerted by him, in his raising himself from the Dead, the third Day after his Death; and that Power, that he has now acquired, by that Act, and with which he is possessed, since his Resurrection, as Loganthropos; by which he is able, not only to bestow eternal Life, and all manner of Blessings upon his People, but also to raise others from the Dead, when and how he thinks fit.* And now, as I desire that every Word of this Proposition may be distinctly consider'd; so I would have it observed more particularly, That the Apostle insinuates a Desire to know or experience Christ's Power, in raising him from the Dead, in such a manner, as he was not yet ascertain'd of; seeing he only expresseth a Desire and Concern to attain this. And therefore, (2.) by his Concern, *to know* this Power of Christ's Resurrection, we must, of Necessity, understand; that he was solicitous to be raised, in some such manner, by Christ, as he himself was raised. Which will be manifest to every one that will allow himself to think over, impartially, what I shall say, when I come to explain the *next Verse*; towards the understanding whereof, all I have been upon, is no more than an *Introduction.* Now, so earnest is the Apostle to attain thus to know the Power of Christ's Resurrection; that he is willing to do

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any thing, and endure any thing, rather than to fall short of it.

And therefore, 2. He immediately adds, that he was willing, in order to this End, *to know also the Fellowship of Christ's Sufferings, even so as to be made conformable unto his Death.* For, as he says, *Rom. 6. 5. If we be planted together in the Likeness of his Death, we shall be planted also in the Likeness of his Resurrection;* which Words have, as I conceive, a further Look, than as they are usually explain'd, in a spiritual Sense, of a *Death to Sin, and Resurrection to Righteousness;* tho' I am far from excluding that Sense. But the Apostle does certainly speak, in the Strain, (wherein I have explained this Text, which we have now before us, in *ver. 10.*) *Rom. 8. 17.* when he does not only say, *If we be Children, then Heirs, Heirs of God, and Joynt-Heirs with Christ;* but adds immediately, *If so be we suffer for him, that we may be also glorified together.* For that he respects a special Resurrection, and a special Reward, the following Part of the Chapter does sufficiently insinuate; particularly these Words, *ver. 19. The Manifestations of the Sons of God;* and these, *ver. 21. of the rational Creature's being delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God;* and these Words, *ver. 23.* where the Apostle says, that he, and other good Men, *groaned within themselves, waiting for $\nu\theta\omicron\delta\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, the Adoption, that is, says he, the Redemption of the Body.* And, I think, the same Apostle insinuates this Truth, *2 Tim. 2. 11, 12. If we die with him, (i. e. in a violent way of Martyrdom) we shall also live with him, (i. e. be raised, in some way that shall bear a Likeness to his Resurrection, as he says, Rom. 6. 5.) If we suffer (as Christ did) we shall also reign with him, (at the Beginning of the Millennium:) (but) If (thro' Persecutions) we deny him, he also will deny us, (as he says himself, Matth. 10. 23.)* And I cannot but think, that the Apostle Peter was also apprized of this Notion of the Apostle Paul, viz. *that there was to be a special Resurrection of the more Eminent Saints,*

Saints, at the beginning of the Millennium, when he says, 1 Epist. 2. 12, 13, 14. Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery Tryal, as tho' some strange thing happened unto you. But rejoyce, in as much as you are Partakers of Christ's Sufferings (i. e. call'd to be conformed to him, as to the Painfulness and Reproach of his Sufferings and Death,) that so when his Glory (or he himself as the Shechinah or Glory of God) shall be revealed afterwards (viz. in the more flourishing State of the Church on Earth, during the Millennium;) Ye may be glad also with exceeding Joy, (viz. by reason of your being then privileg'd to be peculiarly rais'd from the Dead, to enjoy Christ in Glory.) If then ye be reproached for the Name of Christ, happy are ye; for the Spirit of Glory (i. e. of Christ the Shechinah) and of God (the Father) resteth upon you, &c. (i. e. you have this way the Spirit given as a Pledge of your future happy Resurrection and Glory.)

Now, if these Expositions of the scriptural Passages, quoted here, do appear strange at first View, as probably they will to many; I humbly beg, that my Readers would be so favourable, as to suspend their passing any definitive Sentence as yet, in reference to this Notion; and so kind, as to carry it along with them, in their own Minds, without either assenting to it, or dissenting from it, until first they have understood what I have to say, by way of Proof, for it. And, in hope of obtaining this reasonable Request;

I proceed now to the III^d Thing, viz. To the great End and Scope, which Paul had in view; and in a Reference to which the two former Heads come under the Consideration of the Means only, which he proposes to use, in order to reach this End.

I come therefore now, after premising some Account of the preceding Part of the Apottle's Discourse, by way of Preliminary; to treat distinctly of this Subject, (which hitherto I have only touched upon incidentally and by the by,) as we have it spoken of, in

the *Eleventh Verse* ; which is the *main Text*, that I propose, not only to speak from, but to discourse of, in this Place. After which, I shall proceed, but more briefly, to explain the remaining Part of the Apostle's Discourse, in the Sequel of this Chapter.

Philip. Chap. III. ver. 11.

The Words, in the Original, are these following.

εἰ πᾶς κατακτήσω εἰς τὴν Ἐξανάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν.

Which our Translators render, after this manner,

If, by any means, I might attain to the Resurrection of the Dead.

Strange Words ! Especially if we consider what the Apostle immediately adds, *ver. 12, &c.*

Not, as tho I had already attained, — But I follow after, if that I may apprehended, &c.

Indeed, my Friends, I must tell you, that I was exceeding puzzled, for a considerable time, what to make of these Words of the Apostle *Paul*. I consulted all the best Expositors, and the most famous Criticks, without receiving any Satisfaction, or so much as a just hint of that which the Apostle had in his Eye here ; which, in *ver. 14.* he calls τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἀνω κλήσεως, the *Prize of the High Calling of God, in Christ* ; which he represents to himself, in Allusion to the *Olympick*, and other *Grecian* Solemnities, and particularly the Races there ; upon which Occasions a βραβεῖον, *i. e.* a Prize or Garland used to be hung up, upon a σιόπη, a *Mark*, at the End of the Race, which was conspicuous even at a Distance, and which the Racers had in View, more and more, as they drew nearer it,
until

until the Prize it self came to be seen, which was bestowed upon him that reach'd the Mark first.

The Question therefore, with me, which no Author could satisfie me in, was; *What this ἀποδοξία could mean?* For if by the *αὐτὸν* the Apostle meant Happiness or Perfection, in generall, he must be supposed to mean, by the *ἀποδοξία*, some appropriate and peculiar Reward, which many, tho' they run well to the Mark, fell short of: For as he says elsewhere, *The many run, yet one only obtain'd the Prize.* But that which increas'd the Difficulty, yet more, was this; that the Apostle does plainly tell us, that he had no particular Certainty or Assurance of his obtaining this *special Prize*; but that he apprehended rather, that unless he was very careful, he might possibly fall short of it. For he represents it as attainable indeed, but as attainable no other way but by great Diligence, eminent Faithfulness to Christ, and extraordinary Usefulness to the World and Church. And yet, at the same time, his Idea of this *peculiar and glorious Prize* is so vast, that he thinks all the Services he could do, and all the Sufferings he could undergo, in promoting and propagating Christianity, were all too little, in Comparison of this *Reward*, which was to be appropriated to none but the first Christian Worthies, and the most Eminent Saints and Martyrs. And it still tends to increase the Difficulty; That the Apostle, notwithstanding of his being fully certain, that such a special Reward was to be attained; yet did not look upon this as such an Article of Christian Faith, as was to be believed as a thing absolutely necessary to Salvation. And therefore, tho' he himself believed, and had taught it in the *Philippian Church*: Yet, as he taught it only, as his own Opinion, there being, as yet, no universal Revelation thereof to the Church; so we find, that there were several of the Christian *Philippians*, that were of another Opinion, and *otherwise mind* 4, ver. 15. Nor does the Apostle challenge them upon this Account, but prophetically tells them, that *God would after-*

wards reveal this to the Church himself; which Paul had only commission to speak of as from himself; the Publication thereof, as a Truth (revealed so to the Church, as to be enjoined upon us, in order to be believed) being reserved for the Apostle John, as we shall quickly see. In the mean time therefore Paul desires, that, seeing both they and he were agreed in the Belief of the *last and general Resurrection*, they might walk accordingly, viz. with due regard to that whereunto they had already attained; for, tho' the *peculiar Resurrection*, which he had in View, was, as yet, no part of the Christian Creed, yet the *General Resurrection* and *Christ's coming to judge Aion and Angels*, were received and approved Articles thereof. And this is the Reason, why he winds up this Chapter and Discourse, with a Repetition of these great Articles of Faith, ver. 20, 21.

Hence it is plain, that what the Apostle calls *βραβεῖον τῆς ἀριστερίας*, the *Prize of the High Calling*, in ver. 14. is that which he calls the *Resurrection of the Dead*, in ver. 11. And that consequently, this *Resurrection* cannot be the *general Resurrection*, but a *special one*, antecedent to it; which is to be the appropriate Reward only of a few, (speaking in a comparative Sense) and those the most eminent of the Saints; and which the Apostle represents as inclusive of a higher Reward, than others shall ever share in, tho', at last, they come to be raised also to Life Everlasting.

And thus I came to attain to form some tolerable Notion of the Apostle's Meaning. For I reason'd thus with my self. When Paul says, that his great Concern was, to use his utmost Endeavours, to see, *If by any Means, he might attain to the Resurrection of the Dead*; surely, (1.) He could never be guilty of such a lank Sense, as to mean no more than this, *If by any means I might obtain to rise to Life eternal at the last day: Not as if I had already attained, &c.* For what News had it been to tell the *Philippians*, that he had not as yet got to Heaven. When therefore our Divines say, that the Apostle means this only, that *he could never be too sure of getting*

getting to *Glory*; they say what is very accommodable to dull and languid Christians: But they forget the Apostle's Character and Attainments, and represent him as speaking weakly and insipidly, and indeed inconsistently with himself. (2.) And, as *Paul* could never be supposed to speak, in this dull and lank manner; so I consider'd, that it was impossible, that he could be under any Doubt of a *Resurrection of the Dead*, in general; who had ever asserted that there was to be a Resurrection of *all Men*, both of the *Just and Unjust*. For this was one main Article insisted on by him, both in his Sermons and Writings, as we see not only here, *ver.* 20, 21. but in the 15th Chapter of the 1st Epistle to the *Corinthians*, throughout the whole Chapter; as also, *Acts* 17. 18. *Chap.* 23. 6. *Chap.* 24. 15, 21. *2 Tim.* 2. 18. And therefore this cannot possibly be the Sense; *If by any means I might attain to rise from the Dead, at the last Day.* (3.) And I consider'd withall that the Apostle could not be supposed, in reason, to mean, that he was concerned to attain to a full Certainty and Assurance, as to his being raised in *Glory*, and to *Eternal Life*. For he had attained this already, in so full and compleat a Sense, as that it is not conceivable, that he could be further assured this way, than he was already. For I defy any Man to tell me of any one Expression of his, but what breaths forth the Plerophory of Faith, and the fullest Confidence. Does he not glory in this, *Rom.* 8. 25, &c. that *nothing could separate him from the Love, Service, and Enjoyment of Christ*; and that he was satisfied, *That he should be more than Conqueror, at last, thro' Christ who loved him.* Whereas, by the way, *more than Conqueror* seems tacitly to look to the special Prize, or special Resurrection, which he speaks of here; as if, at that time, he had some fair Prospect of obtaining it. But that, he had full Assurance as to a future Happiness, without any Doubt or Hesitation that way, is evident from all his Writings. Hence he tells us that he long'd even almost to some Degree of Impatience, to exchange Mortality for Immortality, that,

by getting rid of the Body, he might get home to Christ, 2 Cor. 5. 1, 2, 3, &c. Nay, does not the Apostle say as much, in this very Epistle? Does he not tell us, *chap. 1. ver. 21. that for him to die would be gain? And does he not, ver. 23. desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which was far better, than to be here? Nay, does he not here say as much as this, in the very same Breath, wherein he declares his concern to attain what he had not yet obtain'd the Certainty of? For he proposes this as one of the Means, towards reaching his End, viz. the dying a violent Death, in conformity with the Death of Christ; which he calls a knowing Christ, as to the Fellowship of his Sufferings, by being made conformable unto his Death. So that, when we have laid these things together, we may be assured that this can as little be supposed to be the Apostle's Sense here, in ver. 11. If by any Means I might attain to rise, at the last Day, to eternal Life; or this, If by any Means I might attain to Assurance, that I shall rise to Life and Glory, when the General Resurrection comes.*

It being therefore certain, that none of these can possibly be the Apostle's Meaning; and it being equally certain, that the thing which he had in his Eye, was that which the Bulk even of good Men might fall short of, and which the Apostle himself had only the Hope of obtaining, but no Certainty or Assurance this way: I concluded, that the Apostle had his Eye fix'd upon a *peculiar Resurrection*, which was to be the *Exaltation and Reward*, not of all true Christians, but only of some of the most gallant and useful Saints and Martyrs; *which Resurrection*, I did suppose, must not only be long before the *General Resurrection*, but must also be supposed to include and take in the highest Reward of Glory and Happiness.

And I remember, that after I had imbib'd this Notion, I had occasion to propose it, at several times, to several Persons of great Learning and Judgment; who all agreed, at last, to approve of it so far,

far, as to grant me two Material Points; (1.) That none of the Opinions I mention'd before, could be, in reason, suppos'd to be that which *Paul* runs upon; (2.) That, by supposing my Notion to be true, the Apostle's Words and Reasoning came to be very clear and easy, both with respect to the Sense of every Word and Phrase, and the Connexion of the whole. And hence they concluded, that if I could prove the special Resurrection, I talk'd of, from Scripture, they should be ready to think that I had found the *only true Key*, to unlock this otherwise dark and mysterious Portion of Scripture. And, as this incited me to dive as deep as I could into this Point, so it occasion'd some of my learned Friends to take the like pains. One of whom fell upon a very peculiar Notion; which was this. He suppos'd, that the Apostle was of this Mind; "That he might, thro' Grace and Care, attain so high, as to be made an Exception from the Common Lot of Mortals, either by being translated, that he might not see Death, as *Enoch* and *Elias* were, or by being rais'd from the Grave, after he had been dead for a little time, by a singular Resurrection, such as that of *Christ* was. But, as all the Company reject-ed any Supposition of a *peculiar Translation*, since *Christ* himself dyed; as that which was inconsistent with the *Christian Scheme*: So some of the Company thought that such a *singular Resurrection*, was also the peculiar Property and Privilege of the *Messiah* only, and that even this Supposition did not agree with the *Christian Scheme* any more than the first. But, for my part, I could never admit any such Supposition; unless it could be shewed from Scripture, that the Apostle *Paul* had any ground to expect this, more than *Peter*, *James* or *John*, or the *Virgin Mary*. But besides I desired, that it might be considered, that the Apostle spoke of such a Resurrection, as was attainable by others, as well as by him, when he says, *ver. 15. Let therefore as many as are perfect be thus minded, &c.* The meaning of which, to me, is plainly this; *Let as many as are of the same Opinion*
with

with me, be thus minded likewise as I am, viz. to act so, as they may also hope to attain to the first, special and most glorious Resurrection of the most Eminent Saints.

My Notion therefore, which is the only Key of ver. 11, 12, &c. is this; That the Apostle Paul did believe, that there would be a special Resurrection of the more eminent Servants of Christ, which would include a very peculiar Reward; and that this Resurrection would be long before the General and last Resurrection. And this is, I am confident, that very Resurrection, and Reward which he is so earnestly solicitous and concerned to partake of.

And I do humbly suppose, that this might be of the Number of those ἀρρητὰ ἐν λόγοις, secret Words or Phrases, which it was not lawful for him to utter, (which the Apostle had revealed to himself only, 2 Cor. 12. 4, &c.) that is, as I understand his meaning (tho without limiting it to this Sense only) which the Apostle was forbidden, at present, to publish to the World, as an Article of Faith, but which he had Liberty to propose to Men as his own Opinion; it being reserved to John, to discover and publish it, in the Name of God, and as an Article of Faith, in its proper time and place, in the last Book of the Bible; as we shall quickly make it appear, that it is to be found there, in express words. But seeing the Apostle Paul had no such Commission, but only a Dispensation to publish it, as an Article of Opinion only; we need not wonder, that some of the *Philippians* were otherwise minded, as being like the *Bereans*, Acts 17. 11. who were resolved to believe the Apostles themselves no farther than they could demonstrate their Doctrine from the Scriptures of the Old Testament; which seeing Paul could not do, as to this Article, in such a manner as intirely to satisfy them; and seeing likewise he proposed it, as an Opinion only, and not as necessary to be believed, and concerning which he pretended not to have any Divine Commission: I say, these things being considered, we need not wonder, that some *Philippians* could not agree with him in Opinion, as to this matter; at the same time that

that others, from a vaster Esteem of the Apostle's Judgment, or from a deeper Penetration into his Reasoning, or from some peculiar Illumination of the Spirit, as to his Point, fell intirely in with his Notion. For I do suppose that the Apostle manag'd himself, in his Reasoning upon this Subject, much after the same manner, as he does elsewhere, in things that he propos'd barely as a *Man*, and as far only as his Reason and Opinion might go, and not as an *Apostle*, speaking authoritatively and in the Name of God. An eminent Example of which we have, 1 Cor. 7. 25. *Now concerning Virgins, I have no Commandment of the Lord: yet I give my Judgment, as one that have obtained Mercy of the Lord to be faithful. I suppose therefore that this is good, &c.* So also he speaks, ver. 40. insinuating a Revelation; but pretending to no Authority to injoin the same to be believed by others; for both these are equally denoted, when he says, *But she is happier if she so abide, after my Judgment; and I think also that I have the Spirit of God.* And indeed I cannot but think, that the Apostle spoke of this Subject of the *first and special Resurrection*, to the *Philippians*, in this very strain; telling them, *that he had no Commandment of God, to propose this to be believed; but that he gave his Judgment, as one that obtain'd Mercy to be faithful; insinuating this also modestly, that he had reason to think, that he had the Spirit of God, and knew the mind of Christ, in what he himself believed, tho he only propos'd it to their Reason and Meditation.* However it deserves our Consideration, how wisely the Apostle words himself, that he might reach his main end, both as to those that were of his Opinion, and those that dissented from him; encouraging the one Party to continue in *the like mind with him*, and exhorting the other Party to agree with him and them, so as to strive likewise, *if by any means they might attain, not only to be happy at last, but to reach unto as high degrees of Happiness as others.* For tho they might have no such Notion, as he and some others had, of a *special Resurrection*, nor any Belief this way; yet their equal diligence

gence with his, might bring them to obtain that Privilege also; as it would certainly, whether they attain'd this or not, lay a Foundation of their being truly happy at last. And here, by the way, let us observe, how far different *Paul's* Spirit was, from the Spirit of some Modern Churches and imposing Church-men; nay how diametrically opposite these are. He, tho' certain of this and such-like Truths, nay tho' he had the Spirit of God with him, in what he said; yet did not, durst not, impose any thing upon Christians, either in point of Faith or Practice, for that very reason, that it was indifferent, and therefore to be left to Mens own liberty; as knowing that it was not in the Power of one, or all the Apostles, to require any thing either to be necessarily and universally believed by the Church, or practis'd in the Church; this being the unalienable Prerogative of Christ the Head of the Church (which he was never to give to any after him) to give Law to the Conscience. But, to return;

I hope, by this time, you begin to think, that *this special Resurrection* is a probable Notion (for no Man in his Senses can question its possibility, seeing it is as easy for God to raise some Men sooner, as to raise all Men at last;) and that therefore, if I can but produce certain Proof for it, I may be supposed to do some considerable Service to Christianity and Christians; by bringing in new Light, not only to this memorable Discourse of *Paul*, but likewise to the whole of the Christian Scheme.

In order therefore to give you all the Satisfaction I can, in reference to this weighty Point, which I do, for my own part, look upon as *an Article of the Christian Faith*, tho' a *secondary one*, and not *absolutely necessary to Salvation* as some others; (for I suppose every one knows, that every Article of Faith is not a fundamental and essential one, *E. G.* that it is an Article of Faith, but not a fundamental One, to believe, that *Paul* was an Apostle of the Gentiles; whereas to believe that *Jesus Christ* is the only Messiah, Saviour, Mediator,

or Redeemer, is altogether essential to Faith and Salvation:) I propose to discourse as distinctly and fully of this Subject, as I can; and the rather, that it has never been properly treated of, or so much as understood before, even from the Times of the Apostles to this Day.

And in doing this, I intend to treat of it; (1.) *Doctrinally* and largely; and then, (2.) *Practically* and more briefly; which *last* Consideration will lead me forward, to pursue the Thread of the Apostle's Discourse, in the Sequel of this Chapter.

(1.) I propose to treat of this Subject *Doctrinally*. And in doing this, I intend to proceed in this Method.
 1. To inquire into the Grounds that I go upon, in believing, that there will be such a special Resurrection: With which first and principal Inquiry, I shall have Occasion to interweave, what otherwise might have been considered as a second one, viz. What Foundation is laid in Scripture, by which we may attain to form a tolerable Idea of this. And then, 2. I shall distinctly inquire, when this Resurrection may be probably supposed to be.

I. INQUIRY.

What are the Grounds or Reasons, from whence it can be collected, that there will be a special Resurrection of the most Eminent Saints, antecedent to the General One; so as to lay a just Foundation of our believing it, and of our forming a Genuin Conception of it, as a scriptural and revealed Truth?

In order to answer the End of this Inquiry, I intend to propose my Thoughts gradually to the World, by proceeding according to the following Steps.

1st. I desire it may be considered, that there has been already, a special Resurrection of the more Eminent Saints of the Old Testament: So that it is very congruous to what has been done already, to suppose, that there will

will also be a special Resurrection of the Eminent Saints of the New Testament.

Now, in order to prove the Antecedent, I shall adduce a plain, tho very short, historical Account, which is given us, *Matth. 27. 50, 51, 52, 53.* Ὁ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν κραξάας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα. καὶ ἰδὲ, τὸ κατὰπέτασμα τῆς ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπὸ ἀναθεν ἕως κάτω· καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐσειάθη, καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἐσχίσθησαν· καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα ἀνεωχθίσαν· καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κοιμηθέντων ἄγιων ἠγέρθη· καὶ ἐξεληθόντες ἔκ τῶν μνημεῖων, μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ, εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν πόλιν, καὶ ἐνεφανίσθησαν πολλοῖς. Now *Jesus, crying again with a loud Voice, yielded up his Spirit. And behold the Vail (that parted the Holy Place from the most Holy) of the Temple, was rent in twain, from the Top to the Bottom, (see Heb. 10. 20.) and the Earth did quake, and the Rocks rent; and the Graves were opened; and many Bodies of Saints which slept, arose, (or were raised up;) and they going (or having gone) out of their Graves, after his own Resurrection was over, went into the Holy City, and appeared to many.*

Here there are *Three memorable Things* observable.

1. That just (c) as Christ breathed out his Soul, with a loud Voice; all Nature eccho'd it round, by Thunders and Earthquakes; and that so, as to own his conquering Death and Mortality, by his dying, and by rending the Rocks, Vaults, Sepulchers, and other Dormitories of the Dead, so that all Graves, of all sorts, were thrown wide open.

2. That yet none of the Dead arose at that time, tho all external Hinderances of their rising were removed: For it was necessary that Christ should first take Possession of *Hades*, or the Regions and State of the separate Souls. Which, when he had once done, he was then to demonstrate his intire Conquest over the Dead, both as to their Souls and Bodies; *first* by raising

(c) See this critically consider'd, in the 2d Volume, and 3d Book of *Christol. Chap. 2. Page 271.*

himself, and next by raising such a select Number of others, as he thought proper to raise up. And therefore it is expressly said here, (1.) That *Saints* were raised, and no others; (2.) That *many* *Saints* were raised; and (3.) That *they came not forth out of their Graves, till Christ's own Resurrection was over*: For it was necessary, that he, as Sovereign and Captain-General, should lead the Way, and be *the first Fruits of them that slept, and the first Bringer back* (or as our Version has it, *the First-Born*) *from the Dead.*

3. That the *many dead Saints*, which then arose, were not raised to live again on Earth, tho they were allowed to appear to *many select Witnesses*, in order to assure them of the Reality both of Christ's Resurrection and their own. This is plain from the Words of *Matthew*, who says not, *that they went into the Holy City, (as Jerusalem is sometimes called, as in Matt. 4. 6.) to dwell there, or to converse with any, or all the People, but that they went into it so, as to appear to many.* So that, as Christ appeared, now and then, to select Witnesses, during his 40 Days Abode on Earth; so did those Saints also, under the Conduct of Christ, during the same time, as I humbly think. For, as it is impossible to suppose that Saints, who had been used with the divine Converse of Paradise, and who were free from Sin, and made immortal, by Christ's raising them, could ever be supposed to be raised to Sin and Sorrow here, in order to die again: So it must be concluded to be equally certain, that they must be raised to be Christ's Attendants, when he ascended to Heaven, in order to be Monuments and Witnesses there of his having conquer'd *Death, Hades and Satan*; and of his taking upon him the Sovereignty over Death, and the invisible State and Country of separate Souls. And, if it was necessary, that Christ should rise before them from the Dead; so it was, as least, as necessary, that Christ should ascend first to Glory, and that they should follow him in thither, as his Train.

And indeed we have here a plain Account of the exact and literal Accomplishment of a very memorable Prediction ; which we have, *Isa. 26. 19. Thy dead Men shall live : Together with my dead Body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the Dust ; for thy Dew is as the Dew of Herbs, (that revive after a Winter's Death,) and the Earth shall cast out the Dead.*

And, as this Propheſie plainly points out the pre- ciſe Time of this Reſurrection, *viz.* that it ſhould be, when Chriſt's own Body ſhould be raiſed (for of no other Body could it be ſaid, by a peculiar Appropriation, that it was *God's Body*, or *the Body of the Logos*, the God of *Israel*,) ſo we find, that Chriſt himſelf, a little before his Sufferings, did expreſſy predict the ſame thing, *John 5. 25. Verily, verily, I ſay unto you ; the Hour is coming, and now is, (i. e. is juſt about to take Place,) that the Dead ſhall hear the Voice of the Son of God, and they that hear it ſhall live.* Upon which Words, Dr. *Whitby's* Obſervation deſerves to be exactly conſidered. “ That Chriſt, ſays he, ſpeaks here, not “ barely of a ſpiritual Reſurrection, is evident : “ (1.) Be- cauſe he ſpeaks of it as a Thing ſhortly fu- “ ture ; whereas the ſpiritual Reſurrection was, in “ ſome, already paſt. (2.) Be- cauſe he promiſeth this “ Reſurrection, not to them that ſhould hear *his Word*, “ but *his Voice*. And that he ſpeaks of a proper “ Reſurrection, appears, (1.) From the Gradation he “ here makes, from the Reſurrection of *ſome*, to the “ Reſurrection of *all*, ver. 28, 29. *viz.* when he adds, “ *Marvel not at this*, (Reſurrection, which is to be “ ſo ſoon,) *for the Hour (alſo) is coming*, (*viz.* that of “ the laſt and general Reſurrection,) *in which*, (tho “ at ſeveral Periods thereof,) *all that are in the Graves “ ſhall hear his Voice ; and ſhall come forth*, (tho at ſe- “ veral times, as I ſhall afterwards prove :) *Thoſe that “ have done good*, (if more eminent, firſt of all, but if “ leſs eminent, afterwards) *unto the Reſurrection of “ Life ; and then, they that have done evil (ſhall come “ forth, laſt of all) unto the Reſurrection of Damnation.*

“ (2.)

“ (2.) Because he adds, that *they who bear, shall live;*
 “ and that, because *the Son*, whose Voice they hear,
 “ *hath Life in himself;* ver. 26. I therefore think, that
 “ our Lord speaks of that Hour, when, he rising from
 “ the Dead, *many Bodies of the Saints arose with him,*
 “ Matth. 27. 52.

But, tho the *Doctor* and I are perfectly agreed in this
 Matter; yet I differ from him, when he says, in his
 Note on *Matth. 27. 52.* “ My Conjecture is, that
 “ they (who rose from the Dead) might be some of
 “ those that believed in Jesus, (as *old Simon* did,) and
 “ died before his Resurrection, &c. For it is said,
 “ *that they went into the Holy City, and appeared to many;*
 “ whence it is probable, that they were Persons
 “ known to them, to whom they did appear, and, if
 “ so, they must be Men that lived in the Time of their
 “ Knowledge. For, if the *Doctor* mean, as his Words
 seems to insinuate, that no others rose, but those that
 were Christ's Contemporaries, I must say it is a Con-
 jecture indeed, but such a one, that carries no just
 Probability along with it. For (1. seeing the *Doctor*
 owns, by what he cites from *Albo in Libro Ikarim*, Par.
 4. c. 35. that the *Jews* believ'd, that, when their *Mes-*
siab came, there should be a Resurrection of several
 pious Men; I know not why those pious Men should
 be confin'd to one Generation, more than to former
 ones. (2.) When he supposes, that they must be
 known to have been such and such Persons, he might
 have remembered, 1. That the Text says not, that they
 were known, or did discover what Persons they had
 been; but only, in the general, *that they appeared to*
many; i. e. that they appeared, as the Angels us'd to
 do, with Majesty and Light, or in some such man-
 ner as discover'd them not to be the proper Inhabit-
 ants of this World; and that they did also give some
 Evidence and Indication, that they had formerly dwelt
 on Earth, but that they were now raised from the
 Dead, and allowed to appear to some select Men, as
 Witnesses of Christ's Resurrection, and of his Power

in raising them. Besides, 2. It ought to be remembered, That, when Christ was transfigured upon the Mount, the three Apostles were illuminated, without being informed by Christ, (as the Circumstances of things, as I explain'd them in the *First Book of Christology*, gives us just Ground to conclude,) that the two Persons, that talk'd to him, were *Moses* and *Elias*. So that, in case Christ thought it proper, that any of the New-rai'd Saints should be known to any of those to whom they appeared; it was as easy for him to impress their Minds, that it was *Abraham*, or *Samuel*, or *Daniel*, &c. and no other, that they saw. But I see no Reason to think it necessary, that the Persons that saw and convers'd with the New-rai'd Saints, should know, in particular, what or who the Person was, with whom he or she convers'd; tho' I take it to be absolutely necessary, so far to know them, as to be satisfied, that they belong'd to the human Family, and had been formerly the Inhabitants of this World; seeing the very End of their appearing, was to bear Evidence, that Christ had conquered Death and the Grave, of which not only his own Resurrection was a Proof, but the Resurrection of many others, of which Number they were. (3.) And indeed, so very degenerate was the State of the *Jews*, as well as of the rest of the World, when Christ was on Earth, by what we can judge from the Evangelical History; that it is hard to think, that there were so many Eminent Saints, of that aduiterous and wicked Generation, that died before Christ's Resurrection, as to give Reason to the Spirit of God, to call them by the Name of *many of the Saints*. For, besides *John the Baptist*, and his *Father* and *Mother*, (in case both were then dead) and old *Simeon* and *Anna*, we can hardly find any *true Israelites*, at least of very eminent Note, so much as hinted in all the Four Gospels, who died before our Saviour. (4.) And seeing Dr. *Whitby* does justly suppose, that this Resurrection was the Fulfilling of that remarkable Prophecie of Christ, *John 5.* 25. it is very odd to confine Christ's general Words of

Raising the Dead, to a few of that last Generation. (5.) Especially seeing, if there be any Sense in that memorable Prediction, *Isa. 26. 19.* we must believe, that in many of those that were dead before that Prophet's Days, were to be raised up, at Christ's Resurrection. (6.) And therefore, as the *Jews* believed, that the Eminent Saints of the Old Testament were to be raised by the Messiah, at his Coming, it is no wonder, if Christians did early believe, that this Resurrection, mention'd by *Matth. 27.* was a Resurrection, tho' not of all the dead Saints, yet of all the most Eminent ones, that had liv'd before his Coming; as appears by what the *Doctor* does himself cite out of (d) one of the Epistles ascribed to *Ignatius*; who says, *That they were the Holy Prophets, who were his Disciples, and expected him, thro' the Spirit, and who are said, to enter into the Kingdom with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Luke 13. 29. & Matth. 8. 11.* And here, that these Places come in my way, I cannot but say, that it is highly probable to me; That Christ design'd not only to let us know, that many under the Gospel, from all Quarters and Regions, should partake eminently of the spiritual Privileges of *Abraham*, and the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets*; but also to insinuate, as the remoter and ultimate Sense, that many Eminent Saints should, in after-times, be raised from the Dead, in like manner as those Ancient *Patriarchs* and *Prophets* were to be, in a very little time. Nor can this be strange to any that is acquainted with the Prophetical Dialect; where what is spoken of one thing, in a nearer Sense, and with Respect to a first Accomplishment, is designed further, as to a remoter Accomplishment afterwards. And, if it please God, that I live to accomplish some things which I have in View, I shall make this very plain, and thereby clear up the Extent of many things in Scripture, which Men have perplex'd, by a limited and confined Interpretation of

(d) Ep. st. ad Magnes. §. 9.

them. But, as a Specimen of this, I desire the Reader may consult *the 2d* of my *four Discourses*, which treats of *God's dwelling with Men*, Page 61 &c.

And here let me say, That I am very apt to believe, that the Spirit of God has given us a Hint of both these special Resurrections, that I am now discoursing of, as well as of the last General One, when after he had given *Daniel* this Account of the General One, Chap. 12. 2. *That many of them that sleep in the Dust of the Earth, shall awake, some to everlasting Life, and some to Shame and everlasting Contempt*: He adds, by way of Distinction and Peculiarity, this Account of the more Eminent Saints, and their special Reward, *ver. 3. And they that be wise shall shine as the Brightness of the Firmament, and they that turn many to Righteousness, as the Stars for ever and ever.* By which, I do humbly suppose, that the Resurrection of the Eminent Saints of the Old Testament, at *Christ's Resurrection*, and that other special Resurrection also, at the beginning of the *Millemium*, are denoted: Tho' it was not proper, at that Time, to enlarge upon the peculiar things refer'd to. However, that something very peculiar is pointed at, is plain from the following Words, *ver. 4. But thou, O Daniel, shut up the Words, and seal the Book, even to the Time of the End, i. e. be contented with general Hints; until God shall be pleas'd gradually to clear up the Particulars, that are wrap'd up in this general Account.* For he immediately subjoyns, *many shall run to and fro, (by close study and Contemplation, as others in another sense, by Travels and Journies,) and Knowledge shall (come thus to) be increased.* And I thank God, that I (tho' poor and despis'd) am one of those whom God has honour'd this way, to promote and increase *Divine Knowledge*; and particularly this Part of it, that relates to the Discovery of the special Resurrection: I am now discoursing of; which will be farther manifest in the Sequel of this Inquiry. And, ere Party-Strife, of more sorts than one, may from Envy, Prejudice, and secular or fictitious Ends, detract from

from me in this, as in other Respects ; yet I dare venture to give forth this Prophecy ; *That the Divine Providence will excite some unprejudic'd Person, or persons, (when I am gone, and either forget, or persecuted by Lies and Calumnies, even long after I am dead,) to clear up my fallacious Memory ; as one, (how deplorable soever, in other respects,) whom God has been pleas'd to illuminate, excite, qualify, and make use of, in order to discover the Mind of my blessed Master, further than ever was done before, both in this, and in several other considerable Points ; and that so remarkably, as that it will be matter of wonder to Posterity, that so many important Truths should have continued unknown in the Church, for so many Ages, notwithstanding of the various Hints given, this way, in the sacred Oracles. But when the Millennium comes, but especially when afterwards Christ himself shall come and comment upon his own Word ; How poor will those Labours of mine, as well as those of others, appear ? But, Oh ! Let him hasten that happy Day, when his truly meridian and resplendent Light may be brought in ! How delightfully shall I triumph, to be thus obscur'd, (as the Stars are when the Orient Sun arises in the East, to shine with his own immediate Beams,) in order to learn his Truths, to greater Perfection, from his own Mouth ?*

In the mean time, I write as intirely devoted to himself and Truth, as far as I can find both out. And I do here honestly say, before I proceed to further Steps of this Inquiry ; that I do not, in the least, doubt, but that the Resurrection of the Saints, mention'd by *Matthew*, Chap. 27. ver. 52, 53. was the Resurrection of the most Eminent Saints of the Old Testament. As therefore *Enoch* and *Elijah* were translated, and *Moses* rais'd, by a singular Resurrection, as I have shew'd (e) before ; so I question not, but that *Noah*, *Shem* or *Melchisedec*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Job*,

(e) *Christol. Lib. 1. Page 67, &c.*

Samuel, Eliphaz, Iſaiab, Daniel. with many more, are raised from the Dead, together with *John the Baptist,* old *Simeon* and others that liv'd afterwards. But I proceed to another Step. Therefore,

2dly. I desire it may be consider'd, That, if the more Eminent Saints of the Old Testament, or first Times, were raised to Glory, by a special Resurrection; whether it be not rational to conclude, from all the Ideas we can form to our selves of Christ, as a just and impartial Judge, *That the more Eminent Saints of the New Testament, who liv'd and dy'd under Sufferings, should be rewarded in like manner, by a special Resurrection to Glory, at that time when Christ shall give universal Peace and Prosperity to the Church, during the Thousand Years Reign, of which John gives us an Account in the 20th Chap. of the Revelation.*

For, if we once grant the *real Resurrection* of the more Eminent Saints of the Old Testament, and own likewise the Verity of the *Millennium*; I see not, how the Force of this Reasoning can be evaded. If any pretend to do so, they are oblig'd to assign some just and relevant Reason, why one, that is as eminently Religious as another, should not be as eminently rewarded as he, (especially if he live under a better Dispensation, than the other did) by him that judges without any respect of Persons. Which to me were an Attempt to prove a Contradiction and Impossibility.

If therefore, the Eminent Saints of Old, were privileg'd with a peculiar Resurrection, and special Reward, & included therein: And if the New Testament Church, in after Ages, is to enjoy a sort of Heaven upon Earth, for about a Thousand Years, and for the Enjoyment whereof they are eminently oblig'd to the Apostles, Evangelists, Confessors and Martyrs, whose Labours and Sufferings were the Means of their enjoying such Privileges: I ask, Whether it be not highly consonant to the closest Reasoning; nay, and to the very Nature of God, and the Procedure of his wise Providence,

vidence, to think; That those who laid the Foundation, and were (*f*) laid at the Foundation, (next and under Christ) of the Churches Exaltation and Triumph, and were perhaps more holy and serviceable than any of them, that are to live during the *Millennium*, should receive some peculiar Reward, that may be, at least, equivalent to that wherewith they shall then be privileg'd.

But, seeing the Stress of this Reasoning does not only lean upon the *Supposition* of a real Resurrection of the Eminent Saints, who died before Christ's Resurrection, but likewise upon the *Supposition* of the Verity of the *Millennium*: It may perhaps be expected, that I should prove the *Latter* of these, as well as the *Former*. But, that I may not cut out too much Work for my self now, I desire the Reader may consult Dr. *Whitby's* learned Treatise on this Subject, which is added to the second Volume of his excellent Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament. For, tho' the Doctor and I differ pretty considerably in some things, relating to the Explication of this Point; yet I agree with him in all his Proofs, so far as they relate to the Subject in general. For we agree, (1.) That there will be a happy and flourishing State of the visible Church on Earth, (above whatever it enjoy'd before,) for about 1000 Years Continuance. (2.) That there will be no local Descent, or visible Appearance of Christ, in order to his reigning on Earth, after the manner of temporal Monarchs, during that Period; as many formerly fancied. (3.) That neither will there be any such Resurrection of any Saints departed, as denotes *such* a Return to Earth, as includes the Notion of a real Living and Continuance in this present World. (4.) That this Fullness of the *Gentile-Church* will begin with, or, at least, take in the *Jews*, who shall then generally, if not universally, be converted

(f) See Col. 1. 24.

to the Christian Faith and Religion, who shall then be as *Life from the Dead*, as such a *Resurrection of an old dead Church* will then be to Christians; for which see *Dr. Whitby* on *Rom.* xi. 15, 25. However I must here ingenuously own, that the *Dodder's Reasonings* carried me too far, when I did from hence conclude, in (g) a former Discourse, *That the Revival of the antient Jewish Church is understood by the Resurrection of the Martyrs*, *Rev.* vi. 4. For, tho' I believe that the *Jews* will be converted during the *Millennium*; yet I am now satisfied, (as I hope quickly to demonstrate to others) that the *Resurrection of the Martyrs*, which commences then, is to be a real and corporeal *Resurrection of the Apostles and other most eminent Saints of the New Testament*, who died before the *Millennium* began. However, excepting only this one Particular, I do agree with what I said formerly, in the Discourse referred to, in relation to the *Millennium*; to (b) which, in Conjunction with what I have said further on this Head, (i) in the 3^d Book of *Christology*, Chap. 4. I do refer the Reader.

The Sum therefore of my Thoughts, in relation to the *Millennium*, as far as is needful to say here, amounts to these Conclusions (which I think are plain from *Rev.* 20. 4, 5, &c.) (1.) That there is a time a coming, when Satan shall be restrained, for about 1000 Years, from seducing the Generality of Men, in that manner which he was permitted to run on in before. (2.) That during that time the Church shall have Peace and Renown on Earth; many real Converts being brought in, and others finding it Policy to comply outwardly with the same, as the prevailing Interest. (3.) That, towards the end of the *Millennium*, there will be a very considerable Apostacy from Christianity. (4.) That

(g) The 1st of the four Discourses, viz. that which is intitled, Concerning the Rise and Fall of Papacy. (b) See Pag. 79, & 91, &c. (i) See Pag. 338, 344, &c.

this Apostacy will issue at length in an Universal Combination to root out the Saints that shall continue faithful to their Lord; *ver. 7, &c.* (5.) That this Combination will be so formidable, as to bring the Church to the last Extremity, even as that of a long *besieged City*, so flatter'd and ruin'd, as that the Enemy is just ready to take it, *Sword in hand*, in order to cut off all that are within, *ver. 9.* (6.) That Christ shall come, at the very last and critical Hour, and *consume all his Enemies with Fire from Heaven*, *ver. 9, 10.* as he did *Sodom* of old, or as he destroyed the *Ante-diluvians* by the Flood; and that therefore with this Fire, the *General Conflagration* of the World will begin. (7.) That, during this Conflagration, while the wicked are consuming, the *General Resurrection* will commence; which will be followed with the *Great Judgment* of the last Day, *ver. 11, &c.* Now of this I conceive there will be two Periods. (1.) The Resurrection of the dead Saints, who were not raised in the former special Resurrections; together with the Immortalizing Change, that will pass upon such Saints, as shall then be alive: which will be followed by the *Ascension* of both. Of all which the Apostle speaks, *1 Thess. 4. 15, 16, 17.* (2.) The Resurrection of the Wicked afterwards; and I humbly think long afterwards; perhaps as long as it was between our Saviour's first Publick Appearance, and the last Destruction of *Jerusalem*, *viz. 40 Years.* In the Trial, Conviction and Condemnation of which vast Multitude, we may well suppose (as I have formerly said once and again) that the far greatest part of a thousand Years will be taken up. Having thus hinted these things, I now proceed to another, and indeed the Principal Step, in order to the Probation of this Point. Therefore,

3^dly. I desire that it may be considered, that we have, as I think, a *plain Revelation of the Truth and Certainty of this Point*, *Rev. 24. 4.*

But in order to understand this Expression of Scripture, I think fit to promise another, to which this does certainly

certainly bear a reference, *viz.* Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11. To see the whole therefore together, I shall cite these Places, as they lie in order, so as to include my Sense of them, within so many Parentheses, as may clear up the Sense of the Words.

Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11. *And I saw* (i. e. Christ the Lamb, who opened all the Seals, as we see, *ver.* 1.) *had opened the fifth Seal; I saw, under the Altar,* (of Sacrifice, where the Blood of Sacrifices used to be poured out, *Lev.* 4. 7. compare *Phil.* 2. 17. with *1 Cor.* 10. 5.) *the Souls of them which were slain for* (the sake of *Christ*, *viz.* the *Witnesses of God*, and for the *Testimony* (*viz.* the *Christian Profession*) *which* (in opposition to all Temptations) *they held; (viz.* firm to the End.)

And they cried (instead of the four Angelical or Evangelical Voices, that cried successively under the former Seals) *with a loud Voice* (denoting their Number, the Importance of their Complaint, and their Concern to be heard,) *say, How long, O Lord* (Jesus) *Holy,* (and therefore detesting the barbarous Usage and Murders of thy Friends) *and true* (to thy Promises, as that in *Luke* 18. 7, 8.) *dost thou not judge and avenge our Blood, on them that dwell on the Earth; i. e.* so, as that we may now be raised from the Dead, seeing the last Pagan Persecution is almost over, and Christianity is just about to become the prevailing Interest of the Empire, under *Constantine*.

And white Robes (denoting a new and peculiar degree of Honour and Glory) *were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they must rest a little time further* (for that the special Resurrection which they expected was not yet to be) *until these,* (i. e. the remaining Ages of the next Period of Papal Persecutions) *shall likewise be fulfilled, and until their Fellow-Servants also, and Brethren, should be killed,* (as they had been under Pagan Persecutions.

Rev. 20. 4, 5. *And I saw* (upon Satan's being restrain'd for 1000 Years, *ver.* 3.) *Thrones,* (i. e. New and solemn
Christian

Christian Erection) and they (i. e. the Saints of the Most High, Dan. 7. 9, 13, 18, 21, 22, 26, 27. Zech. 14. 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 16, 20, 21.) sat upon them, (i. e. Christianity was universally Regnant and Prevalent, Jews and Gentiles owning it) and Judgment was given to them (i. e. to Christians.)

And I saw (at the same time) the Souls of them that were beheaded (i. e. the more eminent Saints and Martyrs, who suffered under Rome-Pagan, and who were mention'd, Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11.) for the Witnesses of Jesus, and for (Christ) the Word of God.

And (together with them, I saw likewise the Souls of those) who had not worshipp'd the (Papal) Beast, neither his Image, neither had received his Mark in their Foreheads, or in their Hands.

And they (i. e. both the former and later eminent Witnesses and Martyrs) lived, (being rais'd from the Dead for that End, pursuant to the Promise made to the former, Rev. 6. 11.) and reigned with Christ, (not on Earth therefore, but in Heaven) a thousand Years (sooner than the other Saints of meaner Character; who were not to rise until the thousand Years were ended; for this is immediately added,)

But the rest of the Dead lived not again, until the thousand Years were finished. At which time, the general Conflagration will happen. And then good Men, who were not privileg'd to be rais'd before the Millennium, shall be rais'd (and rais'd first) before the Wicked shall be rais'd up, as Paul assures us, 1 Thess. 4. 15, 16. Tho' it is remarkable also in that same place, that the Apostle insinuates, ver. 14. that others were rais'd long before Christ's coming to Judgment, when he says, that Christ, when he comes to judge the World, will bring those along with him, that slept in him, which supposes their having been rais'd before; and then he adds, ver. 16. that the Dead in Christ, (viz. such as were rais'd by the Power of Christ's Coming, and the Voice of the Archangel) shall rise first; and that, at the same time, those Saints that are alive shall come under the immortalizing Change,

Change, (spoken of, 1 Cor. 15. 51, 52.) and so caught up, together with them, (viz. the last rais'd Saints, for the former did not ascend, but descend from Heaven with Christ) to meet the Lord, and his Glorious Train, in the Air. And now, if these things be duly weighed, we shall find a new Light, in order to our right apprehending of the Apostle's Meaning, 1 Cor. 3. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Which, seeing it was never understood fully before, I shall not grudge to copy out here, as I have done the former Texts, so as to interweave the true and genuine Sense of the Apostle therewith. Now, if any Man build upon this Foundation (viz. upon Christ himself, the only true Foundation, as Paul says in ver. 10.) Gold, Silver, precious Stones, (i.e. Materials proper for the Christian Superstructure, and suited to the Divine Foundation thereof) or Wood, Hay, Stubble, (i.e. corruptible Materials, neither proper for the Building, nor consonant to the Foundation;) let it be remembered, that every Man's Work shall be made manifest. For the Day (of Recompence) shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by Fire - i.e. by the fiery Trial, during the Conflagration of the World, where Christ will sit as a Refiner, to try Men and their Works, as Metals are tried by the Fire of the Furnace) and the Fire shall try every Man's Work (in order to discover) of what sort it is. If any Man's Work (therefore abide (this Probation in the more eminent Sense,) which he hath built thereupon; he shall receive the Reward, (i.e. of the Prior Resurrection.) But if any Man's Work shall be burnt (i.e. be adjudged to be fit to be rejected,) He shall suffer loss (by being excluded a share in this special Resurrection and Reward;) But (however, seeing he has, in the main, founded upon Christ the true Foundation) he himself shall be saved; yet so as by Fire; (i.e. by seeing and feeling, in some measure, the great Conflagration, out of which he shall escape as a Man that has his House on Fire, and all his Goods burnt, tho he himself mercifully escape with his Life, tho perhaps sing'd and scorch'd.) Now these things will direct us to understand, with advantage, the remaining part of the Account

count given us of the special Resurrection of the more eminent Saints, and their special Reward, who *have built no Hay or Stubble on the true Foundation, but Gold, Silver and precious Stones.* To come back therefore to *Rev. 20. 5.* It is said of the special Resurrection, which is to be at the beginning of the *Millennium*; That,

This (viz. the Resurrection of the Eminent Witnesses of Christ) is the first Resurrection (viz. under the Gospel Dispensation.) And of the Specialty of this Resurrection, and the peculiar Reward annexed to it, we have this memorable account, *ver. 6.*

Blessed and holy is he, that hath part in the first Resurrection: For on such Persons the second Death, (i. e. eternal Death which begins upon the wicked, at the same time with their being raised during the Conflagration of the World,) hath no Power; (which is spoken not only in opposition to the wicked, upon whom the second Death has full Power, but also in Contradistinction to those, who are indeed saved at last, but yet so as to feel that Fire, and to be under some dread that way, for a time,) But they shall be Priests of God and of Christ (i. e. shall be exalted to the highest Glory and Dignity,) and shall reign with him, (in Heaven, where he is and must continue, until the Millennium, &c. be over) a thousand Years. So that while Christians are the regnant Party on Earth; the eminent Saints and Martyrs are to be rais'd to live and reign also; but not with the Church on Earth, but with Christ in Heaven.

And now I do humbly suppose, that I have given the only true Exposition of these Texts; and that in so natural and easie a Connexion and Chain of Thought, as seems to shine above all Contradiction, with such an Air of Truth, as no Error can be like it; as the Reader will own, if he has but allowed himself closely and impartially to go over this Paraphrastical Explication, which I have given.

But, in order to the further clearing up of this Point, I desire that it may be considered, that we have *three* distinct Things to consider in these two Texts, which have a close Reference one to the other. (1.)

(1.) *The Prayer of the Souls of the Saints and Martyrs of Christ*, who are represented as shelter'd under the Altar.

Now this Prayer is, (as appears from the Answer,) That Christ would fulfil his Promise, in raising them from the Dead. And the Reason of it is this; That the Christian Church was now just about to be rais'd out of its Grave, by *Constantine*, to be the Regnant Interest of the Empire. Seeing therefore they had believ'd, that they should be raised up at that time, that Christianity should begin to prevail; they had agreed jointly to put up this humble Petition, that, as the living Saints now were about to reign in Peace and Glory on Earth, God would fulfil his Promise, that they should be also raised to reign with Christ in the celestial Glory above; for that it was Matter of Wonder and Concern to them, that there had been no Step taken, as yet, this way. For this I take to be the real Scope and Substance of their Petition; when they say, *Rev. 6. 10. How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth*, i. e. by raising us from the Dead, as a Proof of thy detesting those who murder'd us, and of thy bestowing upon us that Honour and Reward, which we had such Ground from thy Self to expect.

Now this Interpretation I do not oppose, but super-add to that, which I gave formerly of the Meaning of the 5th Seal, in my (k) *Apocalyptical Discourse*. For, whereas I did then interpret the Design of their Prayer, to relate to the Resurrection of Christianity on Earth; I still think that they meant this in Part; and that consequently, what I give in that Place, as the Meaning of the Answer is true. But I own, that I was in a Mistake, when I confin'd the Sense of both, as I did. Which proceeded from hence, that I had not, at that time, been so far inlightned, as I have been

(k) Page 41.

since, in understanding this memorable Point, that I am now discoursing of.

My Notion therefore is this; That the Eminent Saints and Martyrs departed, understanding by these Martyrs that were, every Day, going upwards from Earth to the Paradisical State (during the Massacres and Persecutions under *Dioclesian*, and his *Collegiate Emperors* and *Cæsars*,) in what a desperate State Christianity then was; and understanding, at the same time, by Revelation from Christ, that Deliverance was just at the Door; and that the Church on Earth was about to be exalted on Earth, under *Constantine*: I say, the Souls in Paradise understanding both these, and having a general Idea of this; That there was to be a special Resurrection of the Saints and Martyrs, at or before the Exaltation of the Church on Earth, did suppose, that this was that Period of Time, wherein they were to be raised from the Dead. But not being fully and perfectly informed of this Matter, and wondering that no Hint was yet given them of this Resurrection, tho they were informed of the Revival of the Church on Earth: It is agreed among them, to put up this Petition: wherein they pray for both these things; of which memorable Transaction, *John* has here given us, from Christ, such a Revelation and Representation, as gives us the summary Account, both of their Petition, and the Answer that is returned to the same. Now,

(2.) *The Answer to this Prayer of the Souls of the Eminent Saints departed*, follows. And this is remarkable, upon this Account, that it contains, (1.) *A Rectification* of their *Mistake*, in thinking, that this was to be the Time, when Christianity was to be universally Regnant on Earth, and consequently the Time, when the special Resurrection was to commence; (2.) *A Confirmation* of the Truth of their *Idea* of both these, in the *General*; their *Mistake* being only as to the *Circumstance* of the *Time*, when both these should be brought about; (3.) *A Specification*, (inclusive of a *Pro-
mise*

mise and Assurance, as to the Thing it self,) of the precise Time, when Christianity should be Regnant over all the Earth; and when they also should be rais'd again, to reign in Heaven with Christ, *viz.* that both these should come to pass, when the Church had waded thro' Papal or Antichristian Persecutions, as now it had waded thro' all the *Pagan* Persecutions; for that they and the latter Martyrs were to be raised together, upon the Destruction of the Antichristian Kingdom; which was about to take Place gradually in the World, in a Succession to the *Pagan* Religion and Empire. But then, (4.) We have here also an Account of a special Reward given them, which was to compensate the Delay of answering the Thing petition'd for; as being, tho' not a Grant of the Thing it self, at present, yet a material Answer; by giving them an Equivalent to it, at least such a Favour, as did fully answer the End of their Petition, at that Time. This is express'd, under the Figure of *White Robes*, (such as Princes wore of old) *a luminous Garment being given to each of them*, as a Badge of an higher Exaltation in the Service of the *Shechinah*, as well as of a nearer Relation to him.

—— Now as *this* is plainly express'd, in the Beginning of *ver. 11.* So the former *Three Particulars*, are equally insinuated, in the Sequel of that Verse, *viz.* the *1st.* and *2d.* in these few, but comprehensive Words, *That they must rest further* (without being rais'd from the State of the Dead) *for a little Season*, i. e. a Season comparatively little and short, if the State of the rest of the Dead be considered, (especially such who died before the Flood) who were not to be raised until the end of Time; and the *3d.* in the Words following, explanatory of the Length of this Season; *Until their Fellow Servants and Brethren also*, (*viz.* such as were to suffer under *Rome-Papal*) *should be killed as they had been*, (under *Rome-Pagan*;) and thus until the compleat Number of the *Saints* to be raised, in the special and first Resurrection, *should be fulfilled.*

And thus I have sufficiently, tho' briefly, explained both the *Question* of the Souls under the Altar, and the *Answer* returned. But before I proceed, let me take Notice of those important Truths, that result from them, according to this speculative Comment, which I have given. And, (1.) This confirms, what I have (1) formerly proved, *viz.* That Souls departed are neither annihilated, nor in an unactive or insensible State; (2.) That tho' they are out of this lower State of Sin, Trial and Sorrow, they are not so compleatly happy, but that they are capable of higher Degrees, both of Knowledge and Advancement in Glory; (3.) That they are neither altogether unacquainted with the State of the Church below, nor unconcern'd for their Brethren and Fellow-Servants, in this Militant State; (4.) That Eminent Saints departed, do not only believe that there is to be a Time, when Christianity shall be the universally prevailing Interest, in this World; but likewise that they are then to be privileg'd with a special Resurrection of their Bodies; (5.) That, upon some Eminent Advancements of the State of the Militant Church on Earth, the Saints in Paradise, who liv'd and dy'd under Trouble and Persecution, have a peculiar additional Advancement in Glory, (6.) That the *special Resurrection* is neither to commence sooner, nor to be delayed later, than the Time of the Papacy's being destroyed, and the very first Beginning of, or rather Preparation for, the *Millennary Reign*.——But now, to proceed, I come to consider,

(3.) *The fulfilling of the Promise and Assurance formerly given, as to the special Resurrection, and that punctually in the precise Time, which was specified; as this was represented to the Apostle John, Rev. 20. 4, &c.*

And indeed, if any Person will collate this with the former Text, *Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11.* He will need no o-

(1) See the 1st Book of Christology, and my Discourse on the Death of King William.

ther Proof; especially if he will take my Paraphrase along with him, in Conjunction with the Words. For I am sure, nothing of this Nature can be plainer than this; *That both Parts of the Petition of the Saints* (viz. *that relating to the universal Regnancy of Christianity on Earth, and that other, relating to their own special Resurrection at that Time, or rather previously to it,*) *and consequently both Parts of the Answer and Promise made to that Prayer, are particularly and distinctly answered here in this last Place.*

For, 1. Here a short, but plain Account is given, of all that's necessary, both to assure us of the Truth of the *Millenary Reign of Christianity on Earth*, and to assist us to form a genuine Idea thereof. But seeing I have already given an Account of my Thoughts, this way, above, in the *2d Step of this 1st Inquiry*, as also formerly both in my *Apocryphical Discourse*, and in the *4th Chap. of the 3d Book of Christology*; (to the very Pages of both which Discourses, I have also referr'd the Reader:) I hope I may be excus'd from saying more, upon this Head again, in this Place.

2. And no less distinct an Account is given here, of the *special Resurrection of the Eminent Witnesses and Martyrs of Christ*: Whose Resurrection must be a real and corporeal One, (according to the Rule of Contraries, and according to all the Methods of Reasoning,) seeing it is distinguish'd from, and oppos'd unto the *General Resurrection*; seeing it is said of the Former, *that they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand Years, before the rest of the Dead, of whom it is said, that they lived not until the thousand Years were finished*; besides that the former Resurrection is called the *first Resurrection*, in Contradistinction to the general One, which therefore comes under the Notion of the *last Resurrection*. And, in what Sense these things are to be understood, I have sufficiently intimated above: So that there is no need to insist upon the Words farther.

Only, in case any Person should object, and say, That the Revelation being all compos'd of Figures and Allegories,

legories, it does not seem proper to give so literal an Exposition of this Subject, as I have done: I answer, (1.) That I readily grant, that the Bulk of the Revelation is Figurative, and ought accordingly to be thus explain'd; (2.) But yet we must own, that there are some Passages therein, that cannot be understood wholly in an Emblematical Sense, as particularly *Chap. 1. 1—11. ver. 17, 18. Chap. 2. 5, 11. Chap. 3. 5, 10, 19. Chap. 14. 13. Chap. 17. 18.* (3.) And tho' some Figurative Words are made use of in the Texts cited, to keep a Decorum with the rest of the Revelation; yet, as Truth is at the bottom of the Whole, so it is easie to be seen, that the Truths I have mention'd are thus also at the Bottom of these Texts; nay, so plainly denoted there, that they cannot possibly be rightly understood, unless my Sense, in the Main, be received. Nay, I will venture to say further, That if my Interpretation be intirely rejected, I defie the most learned and ingenious Man in the World, to find out so much as a plausible Interpretation of these Texts, that shall be consistent, at once, with the Words and it self. (4.) But I desire, that it may be considered, in a more special manner, That *Prophetical Time* runs out before the *Millennium* begins. This I found upon the Oath, as well as Promise and Publication of the Angel, made mention of, *Rev. 10. 5, 6, 7.* which allow me to recite with some Paraphrastical Explication, as well as with some small Variation from the *English Version.* *And the Angel, which I saw (in Vision) stand upon the Sea (with one Leg and Foot) and upon the Earth, (with another,) lifted up his Hand (in the Posture of taking God to witness,) to Heaven (as God's Throne;) And (in this Posture of solemn swearing, as we see, Gen. 14. 22. Dan. 12. 7.) swore by him, that liveth for ever and ever, who created Heaven, and the Things that are therein, and the Earth and the Things that are therein, and the Sea and the Things that are therein, that there should be (such) Time no longer; (viz such Time, as Daniel was taught to use, in a Prophetical Sense, Chap. 7. 25. & Chap. 12. 7, 11,*

12. and John likewise, *Rev.* 11. 3. *Chap.* 12. 6. *Chap.* 11. 2. *Chap.* 13. 5. & *Chap.* 12. 14. where Days are put for Years, &c.) But that in the Days (i. e. Ages of the Voice (or Sound) of the seventh (Trumpet) Angel, ὅταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν, when he is about sounding (and whose sounding, as I have proved in my Apocalyptical Discourse, doth include all the seven Vials, in some Sense, viz. as it is productive of them,) the Mystery of God (or the Mystical Prophecy, concerning the State of the Church, as persecuted, during Paganism, which is represented by the seven Seals; the Mystical Prophecy also, concerning the State of the Church, as persecuted, during Antichristianism, which is represented by the seven Trumpets, and seven Vials,) should be finished, according to his Declaration made to his Servants the Prophets, (for which, see *Den.* 12. 5, 6, 7. & *Acts* 3. 24, 25, 26. & *2 Thess.* 2. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. (5.) And let me add this one Thing further, That, as it is plain, that in all the preceding Part of the Revelation, there is no Calculation by Years, but by the indefinite Period, called Time, Times and half Time, and that of Months and Days, (by which it is easie to see, that the Dialect is altered, *Rev.* 20. 4.) so should any Man be so foolish, as to suppose that every Day of the 1000 Years, must be understood of a Year, I can only say, that he may be a good Arithmetician; but he will hardly perswade People of Sense, to believe that the present Race of Men are to continue on Earth, for so many Ages, as this is like to amount to; and much less will it ever obtain Credit, that the Christian Church is likely to continue pure, in a State of Sin and Trial here below, for so vast a Tract of Time.

And now, I might justly have hop'd, that I had demonstrated this Point, were it not, that the Learning and Fame of a very learned Man, who has written on this very Head, may be opposed to what I have said. And therefore I find it necessary to consider Dr. *Whitby's* Arguments against this; especially seeing the very Title of his learned Discourse tells us, that it was a
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main Part of his Design, to refute this Opinion, which I contend for ; not that he knew this Opinion, in any such manner as I have represented it in, (otherwise I hardly think he would ever have opposed it ;) but, according to that gross Notion of some former Authors ; who imagin'd, *that the dead Saints were to rise, at the Millennium, to live again here on Earth.* Whereas, as I said before, under the 2d Step of this 1st Inquiry ; he and I are agreed, 1. That there will be an happy State of the Saints on Earth for about 1000 Years. 2. That Christ will not visibly reign on Earth then. 3. That there will be no Resurrection of the dead Saints, so as to live and reign on Earth. 4. That the Church on Earth will consist of the Jews, as well as Gentiles ; by the Accession of which to the Christian Profession, the Fulness of the Christian Church will be brought in ; as well as by a more universal Conversion of Gentile Nations.

However, tho he and I are agreed in these things : Yet, seeing we differ in our Answers to this Question ? *Whether there will be a real and corporeal Resurrection of the eminent Saints and Martyrs at or before the Millennium ?* He holding the Negative, and I the Affirmative : It is reasonable to consider his Arguments, so far as they concern my Notion, and the Interpretation which I have given of *Rev. 20. 4, &c.*

And here let it be noted ; that as I am not concerned, in the least, with what the Doctor speaks of, in the 1st and 2d Chapters (as being agreed with him, almost in every thing ;) so I am less concerned with his Argument, in *Chap. 4.* which militates indeed strongly against such a Resurrection, as supposes a Reign of the Martyrs raised to be here on Earth, for 1000 Years. So that I am only concerned with what he says in *Chap. 3.* But not with all of it neither. For, as to what relates barely to some Texts, that some have interpreted with reference to some peculiar Notions of the *Millennium*, I have nothing to say at present. But the first part of that Chapter being purposely levell'd against

any manner of Corporeal Resurrection ; it is fit, that I should consider it, as far as concerns me. Now, what the Doctor says, amounts to these three things.

1. He says, that is not the *Bodies* but the *Souls* of the Martyrs, that are said to be raised, *Rev. 20.4, &c.* and that *Soul*, in the Revelation, denotes either the *Soul in Separation*, or the *living Soul* in distinction from the Body. See *Pag. 686.*

2. That a proper and literal Resurrection is never, in the whole new Testament, expressed or represented to us, by *the living of the Soul.* *Ibid.*

3. That the *first Resurrection* must be understood of all good Men, in the general, *Pag. 687.* From whence he proceeds to explain things, relating to the *Millennium* and figurative Resurrection then ; which I need only refer the Reader unto, desiring him to compare his Notions with mine, and to reject which he pleases. For indeed I barely cite these things here, to avoid Repetition ; seeing the Author himself goes over them again, in what follows, *Pag. 687, and 688,* and more particularly in *Pag. 889.* In *which Page* he tells us of a *Reverend and worthy Person*, of more than ordinary Skill in matters of this Nature, who is of Opinion ; *1st.* *That the first Resurrection will be a literal Resurrection of them that have lost their Lives for the Testimony of Christ to enjoy eternal Life in Heaven, a thousand Years before the general Resurrection ; as the Martyrs of the Old Testament arose with the Body of Christ, Mat. 27. 52. They shall reign* (says that worthy Person, as the Doctor represents his Sense) *with Christ, not on Earth, but in Heaven, where Christ is, and shall be, till he come to Judgment. 2^{dly}.* He is of Opinion also, *That not only the Martyrs shall then rise to heavenly Bliss, but that their Murtherers shall then also rise to Eternal Punishment.* Which he gathers from these words of *Deniel, Chap. 12. 2. And many of them that sleep in the Dust shall arise, some to everlasting Life, and some to everlasting Shame and Contempt.*

Now, as for this second Notion of that worthy Gentleman, being he founds it only upon *Dan. 12. 2. I*
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must crave leave to differ from him : For which I need give no other reason than this ; that I have given another Interpretation above of that Passage ; which I do humbly judge to be more consonant to the Christian Scheme, and indeed to his first Notion also.

But, as to his first Notion, I cannot but say ; that I am exceedingly pleas'd to know from Dr. *Whitby*, that there is so eminent a Person, whose Thoughts do so intirely harmonize with mine. For, tho he be *Incognito* to me, yet it seems he has been directed to have the same Notion I have, in the main, as to this Point ; wherein I was ready to think I was intirely singular. And therefore, seeing Dr. *Whitby* goes over the Sum and Strength of his former Arguments, in order to produce them again here, towards the Refutation of this Notion of this eminent Divine, tho he names him not ; I thought it proper to defer answering his Arguments, against a *literal first Resurrection*, until I should come to his own Repetition of them, in opposition to what *this Learned and Worthy Person* advances. Now all that Dr. *Whitby* says here, (which, materially considered, is all he had said before,) is, as follows :

1. He says, That St. *Matthew* speaks not one Word of any Martyrs, that arose after Christ's Resurrection, but only of *the arising of some Saints that slept, &c. Answ.* I have cleared up that Passage, *Matth.* 27. 52. already, and fully refuted the *Doctōr's* Notion, which is ; *that none arose then, but a few Saints, that died in Jerusalem and Judæa a little before Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection.* So that I shall only take notice of two things further here. 1. That I wonder why the *Doctōr* should call the Saints raised then, by the Name of *some Saints* ; when it is said in the Text, as he himself cites it, in his next Argument, that *many Bodies* arose. 2. That there is not the least Ground, from the Text, to think, that the *many Saints that arose and appeared*, were known particularly, by reason of any knowledge, that the Persons, to whom they appeared, had of them formerly ; but

only that they were so far known, as to be known not to have been of the number of the present Citizens, or Inhabitants of this World. But I refer the Reader to what I have said above on this Text.

2. He says, That the Phraseology of *St. Matthew* and *St. John* are different; for that the former says, *That many Bodies arose*, but that the latter says only, *That many Souls lived*: So that, tho the first Expression denotes a real Resurrection; yet, that it cannot be infer'd from thence, that the second Expression denotes any such thing. *Answer.* (1.) Tho the Scripture speak ordinarily of the Resurrection, under the Phrases, of *raising the Dead*, or *raising from the Dead*, or of *the Resurrection of the Body*; yet the Doctor knows, that it was common with the Hebrews, to call *living Men*, by the Name of *Souls*, as we see, *Gen. 46. 26. Gen. 12. 5. Lev. 18. 29. Josh. 10. 28.* and in many other places. (2.) It was indeed very consonant to an Historical Relation of things past, to speak of the Resurrection of the Saints, that arose after Christ's Resurrection, under the Phrase of *the arising of their Bodies out of their Graves*. But it was equally decorous to the Emblematical Representation, which *John* had of this matter, to represent the Resurrection of the Saints, at the beginning of the *Millennium*, as he has done; when he says, that he saw *their Souls alive*, or so, as to see them to *live again*. For, 1. This Expression of *Souls*, was consonant to his former Vision, *Rev. 6. 9, 10, 11.* of which this *Rev. 20. 4, 5, &c.* is a completion. 2. This Epithet of *Living*, in this last Place, was consonant also to his own Phraseology in both Places, as to the Rationale or Reason of his altering his Stile so far; as to add *living* to *Souls* in this latter Place. For tho, in the first place, he represents the separate Soul, not only as existing, but living, and reasoning, and praying: Yet he does not use the Phrase *living*; because that was used appropriately, to distinguish *separate Souls* from *Souls im-bodied*. So that, when he comes to say, that the *separate Souls* came to *Life again*, or to *live again*;

no sense can be made of the change of the Phrase, unless we allow of their being raised from the dead.

3. And indeed this Phrase was all that the Apostle could possibly use in reason, at this time, if Circumstances be duly considered. For, seeing it was not actually raised Persons that he saw, but only a Visionary Representation of Persons to be raised, who were at that time separate Souls; it had been unreasonable and contrary to the Prophetical Stile, to have spoken in the Dialect of *Matthew*; nay it had carried along with it an Appearance, at least, of Falshood, to have spoken in the Historical Stile, as if these Souls had then actually assumed Bodies, at the time when *John* wrote. As therefore the Spirit of God was to guard against Errors on both hands, by representing this as a *Real Resurrection*, and not a *Metaphorical One*, on the one hand, and yet as a *Resurrection*, that was not past, but future, upon the other hand: So it is worthy our serious Observation, how wisely he directs the Scene of this Vision, and directs the Apostle *John* to word himself. (3.) But that Persons are meant, by *Souls living again*, is plain, if it were only, as I said before, from the opposing the living of those Souls, to the living of the Remainder of separate Souls, when it is said, *ver. 5. but the rest of the Dead lived not again, until the 1000 Years were fulfilled.* So that, seeing it is said of them, that they really arose, *ver. 12. I saw the Dead, small and great, stand before God, &c.* It is equally certain, that the first Resurrection was designed to denote, not a *Metaphorical*, but a *real one*.—— By all which we may easily see, why the Spirit of God used a different Phrase here, from those commonly used, in Doctrinal Discourses, to denote the Resurrection of the Dead: So that all Arguments drawn from these are of no Force, to invalidate what we are now defending.—— And consequently we may justly conclude likewise, that the Doctor's consequential Reasoning, drawn from the ordinary Phrases, used to denote the Resurrection of the Dead, in order to prove, that the Apostle *John* meant,

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by the *first Resurrection*, not the *special Resurrection* of the *eminent Saints and Martyrs*, but the *general Resurrection* of all good Men, in opposition to the *general Resurrection* of all the *Wicked*, is a very precarious and unconvulsive way of Reasoning: At the same time, that I understand not, how it is consistent with the *Doctor's* own (*m*) Opinion, that the *first Resurrection* is a metaphorical one only. However certain it is, from *John's* Account, that the *rest of the Dead*, who lived not until the *Millennium* was fulfilled, is a Phrase, that denotes good Men, (*i. e.* those good Men that were not raised before the *Millennium*) as well as *wicked Men*. For as these who are called, *The rest of the Dead*, are all that are said to be judged, (which those that rose, before the *Millennium*, are exempted from, by reason of their known and undoubted Eminency;) so it is added, that they were judged out of the Books that were ope-

(*m*) For seeing the *Doctor* owns no other Resurrection at the *Millennium*, but only that there will be an *eminent Revival*, then, of the *Christian Church*; it looks very odd, to oppose this to the *general and real Resurrection* of the *Wicked* only; when, according to him, the *general Resurrection* is inclusive of all the *Godly* as well as *Wicked*. When therefore he tells us, under his third Argument, that there is to be an *Apostacy* after the *Millennium*; it does indeed prove, that there is to be such a *glorious State* of the *Church on Earth*, as He and I are agreed in; but it says nothing against the *Resurrection* we speak of, viz. of those that are to reign with *Christ in Heaven*. For those that reign on *Earth*, are the *Nations* freed from *Gentile, Mahometanism, and Popish Delusions*, ver. 3. over whom *Christian Thrones or Governments* are erected, ver. 4. But, besides this *earthly Reign* of the *revived and increased Militant Church*, we are also told of the *Resurrection* of others, even of *separate Souls*, who were made alive, (*i. e.* by being rais'd from the *separate State*; for as *Souls*, tho' not as complete *Persons*, they were alive before,) and who reigned with *Christ*, (and therefore not on *Earth*, but in *Glory*;) during that time, that the *Church Militant* reign'd on *Earth*) *i. e.* for a thousand Years before the *Resurrection* of the *rest of the Dead*. From all which, it is easy to see, that there is no *Contradiction* between this Opinion, and the *common Current* of the *New Testament*, which asserts one *General Resurrection* only: Seeing this *Resurrection*, which I am treating of, was never asserted to be *general*, any more than that *Resurrection* was, which is mentioned, *Matth. 27. 52.*

ned for this end, (a Phrase taken from the Custom of exact Human Judicatories) according to their Works. And the Conclusion of the Sentence upon both, is thus expressed; *And Death and Hell (or Hades) (taken in the worst Sense) were cast (i. e. 1st Imperfection, with all Things and Persons that were imperfect, and belonged properly to these) into the Lake of Fire, (i. e. into Gehenna, or that Place that is properly called Hell, as being a Phrase taken from the Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, by being swallow'd up in a burning Lake.) This is the second (or eternal) Death.* And therefore it is added, *And whosoever was not found written in the Book of Life, was cast thus into the Lake of Fire.* Which plainly supposes, that all those that were judged, were not cast into that Lake. However, the Spirit of God seems rather to insinuate this, than express it; for this wise and just Reason, *That all Christians that regard Salvation, might be excited, to such a Christian and Heroical Diligence, in minding Religion, that they might attain to the first Resurrection, (pronouncing, for this end, a special Blessing upon those that attain to the same, ver. 6.)* and that so, as not to run the Risk of the narrow Search of the last Judgment; seeing, (as I said before,) if they were indeed to be saved then, at all, yet it was to be only, with a scarcely, and so as by Fire.

3. But the Doctor adds, that it is not said, That the Martyrs are to reign with Christ 1000 Years before the general Resurrection, but only that they shall reign with him 1000 Years; which, he says, is an odd Expression, when applied to them, that are to reign for ever with him. I answer, that it is very odd to me, that so great a Man should use such a kind of Argument. For, 1st. It is plain, that John only marks out this Period, in Contradistinction to them that were not to be raised, till the 1000 Years were expired. 2dly. John tells us, at the same time, in Words equivalent to the reigning of those Saints for ever, that they were so blessed, that the second Death should have no Power over them, but that they should be Priests of God and Christ.

3. He might as well have objected against Christ's being said *to reign 1000 Years*, (together with his Saints,) as if it founded so odd, as if it were not consistent with his being said elsewhere, *to reign for ever*.

As for what the *Doctor* adds, in the *last Place*, viz. *that it contradicts many Scriptures, which expressly teach, that the Time of the Punishment of the Wicked shall be, after the Sentence of Absolution hath been pronounced on the Blessed*, (such as *Matth. 25. 41—46. John 5. 5, 28, 29. Rom. 2. 8, 9, 16. 2 Cor. 5. 10. 2 Thess. 1. 6—9. 2 Pet. 2. 9. & 3. 7. Jude 14, 15. Rev. 1. 7.*) I say, that this militates only against that 2d Branch of his worthy *Apocalyptical Friend's Opinion*, *That the Murderers of the Martyrs shall arise, as well as the Martyrs themselves, before the Millennium*. An Opinion, I confess, very odd, and, I think, inconsistent with the Christian Scheme. So that having nothing to do with it, I take leave of the *Doctor* at present. Only I hope I may be allowed to say; that seeing so learned and judicious a Divine, as *Dr. Whitby*, could produce no stronger Arguments against this Opinion of mine; it confirms me, not a little, in the firmer Belief thereof.

But, tho I have done with *Dr. Whitby*, I find my self oblig'd to take some Notice of a very singular Notion, on this Head: For tho it do not directly militate against me, yet it is so foreign to my Scheme, and indeed, I think, to the scriptural Scheme in general, That it were not proper to pass by it, in silence, in this Place. It is a small Discourse, publish'd by the Reverend *Mr. Staynoe*, in the Year 1700, as additional to a Treatise intitled, *Salvation by Jesus Christ alone*. The small Discourse (with which I am only concerned) bears this Title: *A short Inquiry, Whether it does not appear from the Scriptures, that the Gospel of Christ shall be made known to those Men, after their Resurrection, to whom it had never been made known before their Death*. In which Inquiry, he maintains the Affirmative.

I shall not spend time upon every thing said in this Discourse. For, (1.) When he supposes, That the

Conflagration of the World, together with the *General Resurrection* and *Judgment* of all Men that liv'd before the *Millennium*, is to be Prior to, or rather to commence with that Millinary State, Page 366. He seems to have forgot the whole Tenure of the Context, *Rev. 20.* and may see his Notion fully refuted by *Dr. Whitby*, in his above-mention'd Treatise. And consequently, (2.) His third and last Resurrection must fall to the Ground, *viz.* that of *Gog and Magog*: For of them only he explains what is said, *Rev. 20. 11, &c.* which all Expositors, before him, have understood of the general, as well as last Resurrection; as I believe later Expositors will do, in all time coming; for I do not think that ever *Mr. Staynoe* will have many Scholars. For he says expressly, Page 367. *I exclude all who shall be saved, out of this third and last Resurrection.* (3.) And, I hope, there is no need to refute that old and obsolete Notion, which he revives, when he makes *the risen Witnesses* (*viz.* those that are to rise actually from the State of the Dead) *to live and reign, not in Heaven, but on Earth*; and consequently his Notion, as to *Christ's personal and visible Reign upon the same*. For besides that I have again and again shewed the Falshood of both these Notions, *Dr. Whitby* has done it largely and unanswerably.

However, I am oblig'd to take notice of his *Three-fold Resurrection*, as he mentions them, Page 344, & 366.

Now, I humbly suppose, that he ought rather to have spoken of three Periods of the Resurrection; and then, in speaking to the *First*, he might have divided it into *two sorts* of Resurrections that belong'd to that Period. For I am sure, tho he proposes *three* Resurrections only, yet he actually treats of them, as if they were *four*. For we are forced, in following his Method, to reckon so many.

The *1st* Resurrection is that of all the Faithful, Page 344. And *this* he supposeth to be, not only Prior, as to its beginning, to the *next*, but so, as that it must be fully over before the *next* begin, Page 348.

The 2^d Resurrection is that of the Wicked or (as he calls them) Reprobates. And his Opinion of them is this; that they shall, all of them, be destroyed by the general Conflagration, some time after that the Resurrection of the Saints is over. I confess he writes so confusedly, and in the dark here, that it is not easie to apprehend what he means: And no wonder, seeing the Notion it self is so perplex'd. But this must be his Meaning; seeing otherwise no Sense at all can be made of his Words, Page 348, 349. But however, he immediately interweaves with this Resurrection of reprobate Christians, who are to be destroyed by the general Conflagration, that other Resurrection, (the 3^d in Reality, tho he calls it his 2^d Resurrection, as we see by what he says, Page 349.)

The 3^d Resurrection therefore, tho call'd, by him, the Second, he supposes will be just after the *Millennium* is run out; and he reckons, that this will be of those, that never heard of Christ or the Gospel.

For we must remember, that his Notion is this; That those, whom he calls Reprobates, who were the Subjects of the *former* Resurrection, (tho by him confounded with the first Resurrection of the Saints,) were those that had the Knowledge of the Christian Religion, but liv'd contrary to it.

Now he supposes, that the Design of God, in raising those Heathens and Infidels, who shall be raised after the *Millennium*, (which is the 3^d Resurrection, according to his scheme, tho he calls it the Second only) will be to put them in a salvable State, by revealing Christ and his Gospel to them. For this is the great Spring of his Inquiry, *viz.* to reconcile two opposite scriptural Notions, (as he thinks them to be, unless solv'd by this supposed Resurrection,) *viz.* That *none can be sav'd by Christ, who have not the explicate Knowledge of him*; and that, at the same time, *Christ must be the Saviour of All Men*, so as to furnish them with the formal and distinct Knowledge of his Gospel; and so, that if they perish, it must be thro' their own Perverseness.

verseness. That both these are his Principles, is plain from what he says, Page 350, 351. as well as from his preceding Discourse, to which he refers his Readers.

The 4th and last Resurrection, (which he calls the 3^d) is, (as I observed before,) *That of Gog and Magog*; and out of which he excludes all good Men.

But here he grossly contradicts himself. For, in the same Paragraph, he says, that some of the Heathens raised in the former Resurrection, which is to be after the *Millennium*, shall be saved. And yet he concludes, and that with a [Therefore] too, that *he excludes all that shall be saved from this last Resurrection*, Page 367. surely, he was in a strange Dream when he wrote this. For he ought to have concluded the very contrary of this, *viz.* That [Therefore] *there shall be a Resurrection at last, of those Gentiles that believ'd before*, (unless he will make those Heathens, raised before, to be, at once, in a State of Trial here on Earth, and yet immortal;) *as well as of the wicked Rabble, who are called Gog and Magog*. Or otherwise, he ought to have made some Provision for those *Gentiles*, that were raised before, in a State of Probation; that such of them, at least, might be raised from the Dead to Glory, as believed, during that Period, and who died again before the last Resurrection of *Gog and Magog*. And, if he had done so, (as was but necessary to have been done, pursuant to his Scheme) we should have had *Five* Resurrections in all. Now my arguing, in this, is unanswerable. For those Heathens, who were raised only after the *Millennium*, cannot be confounded with the former Sorts, who were raised before the *Millennium*; both upon the Account of the Distance of the Time of, at least, a thousand Years; and upon the Account of the different Nature of this Resurrection from the Former; those, before the *Millennium*, being raised to Glory or Misery; and those, after the *Millennium*, to a new State of Probation here on Earth, under the Means of the Gospel. Seeing therefore *those Gentiles*, who are to rise to be in a like State to that, which we

in Britain and elsewhere, are now in ; and who therefore must die as well as we, and be rewarded or punished as they behave, in like manner ; and seeing he reckons it certain, that some of those *Gentiles* will believe and be saved ; and yet does exclude them from rising at the last Resurrection : It is certain, that either they must rise by themselves, or not at all. I must therefore ingenuously say, that so confused a Scheme I never yet met with, from so ingenuous a Man, as Mr. *Staynoe* is reckon'd to be, and appears to be, by some things in the Discourse preceding this Inquiry.

But the main thing I have to do with him, is to shew the Weakness of that Foundation, which he builds up that Resurrection upon, (the 3^d, in order, tho called the 2^d by him,) which is to be of *Gentiles* and *Heathens* that never heard of *Christ*, in order to their being brought under a new State of Trial, by having the Gospel of *Christ* to be revealed to them ; and which the Author reckons will be after the *Millennium* is over, and of which he treats, Page 344, &c. and Page 349, &c.

Now the only Thing, upon which he founds his Notion of this Resurrection, is the Expression of *John*, Rev. 20. 5. *But the rest of the Dead lived not until the 1000 Years were finished.* This Expression, he says, is brought in, in a sort of *Parentthesis* : Which I readily grant. But when he adds, (Page 345, 346. That this Expression is *Proleptical*, and that it ought to be removed (in explaining the Context) from the Place wherein it stands, and be placed between the 6 and the 7th Verse, I say, that this is *gratis dictum*, a mere precarious Supposition, without any Authority, Reason or Reading to back it. Besides that, were it indeed granted, that the Text should run on, in his Method ; he were still as far from having any Ground for this his Resurrection, as before. For there is, indeed, an Account of *Satan's being let loose*, after the *Millennium*, to deceive the Nations ; as well as an Account, that the
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rest of the Dead, (who were not raised with the Martyrs, before the *Millennium*,) lived not, until the *thousand Years* were finished. But, *quid hoc ad Rombum?* What of all this? As long as there is no Account of two Resurrections; or of any *immediate* Resurrection, just as the *Millennium* expires; far less of any *separate* Resurrection *then* of such Gentiles, as had never heard of Christ and the Gospel. So that no more can be deduced from these Words, even when plac'd in his Order, than this; that we are given to know, that, when *John* spoke of a Resurrection of Christ's Martyrs, he was not speaking of the *last General Resurrection*, but of a *first and special one*. And therefore, as soon as he had said, *This is the first Resurrection*, he immediately adds in a Parenthesis, *But the rest of the Dead lived not, until the 1000 Years were finished*: Which is as much as if he had said, *But let none mistake me, for I am not speaking of the last general Resurrection; for that is not to be before, but after the Millennium*.

And indeed so plain and obvious is this, that these very Words which he founds upon, contain a Refutation of the whole of what he advances on this Head. For, if *the rest of the Dead* are certainly opposed to the *Martyrs that rose again before the Millennium*; and if, as he says, *all the Saints*, that were dead before the Millennium, *rose at that time*: It follows, that by [*The rest of the Dead, &c.*] we are to understand all the Wicked that died before the *Millennium*, as well as after it. Now this over-turns *three* main Points of his Scheme, and consequently the whole of it, in as far as he differs from me. For, (1.) It over-turns his second, or as he calls it, first Resurrection of Christian Reprobates, whom he supposes to be raised from their Graves, before the *Millennium*, tho' after the Resurrection of Christ's Martyrs: For not only is there no Account of the rising of any Reprobates *then*; but such an Account, as is inconsistent with, and subversive of any such Notion. (2.) It over-turns his other Resurrection of such Gentiles, as never heard of Christ,

and who died before the *Millennium*, tho not raised till after it: For it is plain, that the Words are general, including all that ever had died, excepting only those eminent Saints, who were made Partakers of the first special Resurrection. (3.) It over-turns his Notion of the last Resurrection; out of which he excludes all good Men, not only without any Shadow of Reason, but in Opposition to the plain Current of Scripture; for which we need only compare, 1 Cor. 15. 23. 1 Thess 4. 16. with Rev. 20. 11, &c.

But further, his Scheme involves these Absurdities: (1.) That some Men are to be raised, without any immediate or direct Reference to Judgment and an eternal State, but so as to be brought into a salvable State, (having, it seems, been no more in a salvable State before this, than the very Devils) in order to live, as we do now; and consequently to die again, in order to rise again; and consequently, in order then (after their second Resurrection,) to be judged, in order to be eternally rewarded or punished. Which is a Notion, not only unknown in Scripture, but so awkward, in the very Proposal of it, that it is not a little odd to think, how it could ever enter into any Man's Head. (2.) It is no less odd and contradictory to Scripture, to suppose the Conflagration of the World to be prior to the *Millennium*, and to the second Resurrection also, viz. that of Christian Reprobates, as well as prior to the third and fourth Resurrections. But it is endless, either to consider or refute Wildness and Confusion, — I shall therefore only say further;

(1.) That *two Resurrections*, and no more, are plainly set down in Rev. 20. 4, &c. viz. 1. The *special Resurrection*, not indeed of all good Men that shall be saved, but of the most eminent Saints and Martyrs of Christ; which is to commence with the *Millennium*, or rather to precede it. 2. The *general Resurrection* of all the rest of the Dead, whether good or bad; after the *Millennium* is over; together with the Wars and Devallations of Gog and Magog; to whose Regnancy, in
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Conjunction with the Duration of the World, an end is to be put, by the general Conflagration, *Rev.* 20. 8, 9, 10. which is to be followed by the last and general Judgment, *ver.* 11, 12, &c. which it seems Mr. *Staynoe* did either altogether over-look, or forget, when he wrote his *Inquiry*.

(2.) That, at the *General Resurrection*, all those Men, whether good or bad, that did not rise before the *Millennium*, as I have said, are to be raised, as the Scripture assures us, *1 Tess.* 4. 15, 16, 17. not to mention other Places. Therefore, 1. Those Men, who, tho' not so eminent as to obtain the special Reward, by being raised before the *Millennium*, yet were Righteous, in the main, shall be then made alive from the Dead; together with those that liv'd and dy'd, during the Continuance of the *Millennium*; as also together with those that liv'd and dy'd after it, *viz.* between the Expiration of the *Millennium*, and the *General Conflagration*: I say, all those are to be raised at the end of Time, when Christ comes as universal Judge. And together with them, when raised, shall all the Saints, who shall be then alive, admit an immortalizing Change, and shall thus come, together with them, to be caught up, to meet Christ, and his formerly raised Saints, (as well as Angels,) in the Air, *viz.* both the Old Testament Saints, raised after Christ's Resurrection, and the New Testament ones, who were raised before the *Millennium*. 2. And when all the Saints are seated with Christ, in the Air, surrounding his Throne; and when from his Light and Fire, as the *Shechinah*, this lower World is set on Fire, and the combustible Matter thereof, being kindled this way, increases the Conflagration, by innumerable Eruptions, from vast *Vulcano's*, such as *Hecla*, *Etna* and *Vesuvius*: Then shall the Wicked be raised up, with Terror, as if they were already in Hell. But their being rendred immortal, and their being wafted upwards into the Air, at a vast Distance from the Effects of the Conflagration, tho' within View of it; will render

them capable of being distinctly heard, judged and sentenc'd.

And this is that rational Scheme, which I presume humbly to offer to the World, as the only genuine and consistent Account of this weighty Subject, which I propos'd to discuss, as far as my Thoughts can reach it, by way of Deduction from Scripture.

And now, I question not but that every one will be apt to conclude, that I have said enough in answer to this *first Inquiry*. And indeed I think that I have sufficiently prov'd it, as far as the Nature of the Subject will allow. But, I hope it will not be tedious to the Reader, if I proceed to one Step further with him; if it were only, that I may come back to my Text, with new Advantage. In order therefore to this;

4^{thly}. I desire, that the Text, in *Phil.* 3. 11. may be further considered. For I am very much mistaken, if we do not find some considerable, tho' short Hint, of the first and special Resurrection therein.

For this End, let us observe, that the Greek Word, which the Apostle makes use of here, and which our Version renders, *the Resurrection*, is not the usual Word made use of that way, but a peculiar one. For *Paul* does not say; *if by any means I might attain, εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν, unto the Resurrection*, but εἰς τὴν Ἑξανάστασιν, (into the meaning whereof we must therefore enquire) of *the Dead*.

And indeed it has hitherto been the Opinion of all Criticks and Interpreters without the Exception of one; that this Word is not to be found again, in all the New Testament. Nor dare I venture positively to assert, that they have been all under an Error in this Assertion of theirs. However I hope I may be allowed to say, that it is not improbable, but that the Apostle uses this Word, in the like Sense, *viz.* as denoting a *Prior and special Resurrection*, in one place more; tho' the Conciseness of his Stile may have occasion'd After-Scribes, to use the Word *disjunctively*, which I am apt to think he himself wrote *conjunctively*, as here in our Text.

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The Place I refer to, is *Rom. 1. 4.* where he says, that *Christ* was declared to be the Son of God, with Power, according to the Spirit of Holiness, *ὡς ἐκείνου τῆς ἀνάστασίνος καὶ νεκρῶν ἵστασίνος* *καὶ νεκρῶν ἵστασίνος*, which we render, by the Resurrection from the Dead. Where one, that compares this and the Original, is non-paull to find no mention made at all of what follows in the Greek, *viz.* of these words, of *Jesus Christ our Lord.* And a Man is no less surpriz'd, when he finds, that our Interpreters have render'd them indeed, not as the concluding Words of the 4th Verse, but as the first Words of the 3d Verse. Which I confess is such an Inversion, as I know nothing parallel to it, in any Translation in the World. For, according to the Greek, the Context runs thus; *Paul a Servant of Jesus Christ, a called Apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God; (which he had promised before by his Prophets in the Holy Scriptures;) concerning his own Son, (who was made of the Seed of David according to the Flesh) even him that was declared the Son of God, in the Power, (by the Spirit of Holiness) of the Resurrection of the Dead of Jesus Christ our Lord.* For if we do but put these words, by the Spirit of Holiness, in a Parenthesis, to answer the first Parenthesis, in *ver. 2.* we shall soon see the Connexion clear. And what could be more proper, than for the Apostle, after he had mention'd *Christ* as promised by the Prophets, to make application here, by adding, *ver. 4.* *He was declared actually to be the Son of God, by the Spirit of Holiness;* The rest of the Verse being designed to shew us, *how he was declared, by the Spirit of Holiness to be the Son of God, viz. in or by the Power of the Resurrection of Christ's Dead;* which was then, when he himself rose from the dead, and when he rais'd up those Saints, mentioned, *Matthi. 27. 52.* who are elegantly said, by way of Emphasis and Peculiarity to be *Christ's Dead, or the Dead of Jesus Christ our Lord.* And indeed this was the exact Verification of that eminent Prophecy, which was mention'd before, *viz. Isa. 26. 19.* *Thy dead Men shall live: Together with my dead Body shall they arise, &c.* Justly therefore might

Paul say, that what was promised by the Prophets, was now fulfilled by the same Spirit of Holiness, which inspired them to foretell such things; this Spirit having now declared Christ to be the Son of God by that Power, by which, not only he himself, but his own Dead also were raised up to Life again. And had not our Interpreters been altogether ignorant of my Notion of this special Resurrection, I do not think they could have been so confounded, as it is plain they were, when they translated this Piece of Scripture. And indeed I must say further, that the Ignorance of the two special Resurrections (*viz.* that, after *Christ's Resurrection*, of the most eminent Old Testament-Saints, and that, before the *Millennium*, of the most eminent ones under the New Testament) has been the Occasion of the Confusion of all Interpreters hitherto, not only in their Interpretations of these first Verses of the Epistle to the *Romans*, but in their Glosses upon abundance of other Places of Scripture. And, as I have given a Specimen of this already, in several Hints, in what I have said above: So I may discover this more fully, before I have ended this Dissertation. But, to return; if my Interpretation of *ver. 4.* be received, which I think is the only natural and plain one; then my Conjecture must be true, that the Apostle did at first write, not Ἐάντα νεκρῶν, &c. but Ἐάντα νεκρῶν ἰνὸς Χριστοῦ, &c. So that the Connexion of the whole 4th Verse is what I represented it to be. And thus the Sense can be this only; that *Christ was declared to be the Son of God*, (*viz.* by the Spirit of Holiness or the Holy Spirit) *in the Power of the Resurrection of the dead Saints* (as well Body) of *Jesus Christ our Lord*. For the Expression is no less expressive than concise; seeing every body knows that ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν, is the common Scriptural Phrase, that is used to denote the *Resurrection of dead Men*, νεκρῶς denoting *literally* a dead Person, whether it be used *substantively*, or *adjectively*. But now, if my Conjecture hold, (as I see nothing that can be said of any great Force against it) there is something very peculiar in it.

it. And as I am now upon a Critical Survey of the meaning of *Ἐανάστασις*; so I shall only previously say this here, that it must, I think, denote as much as this amounts to, *viz. a Prior, special and eminent Resurrection*: For certainly, such was the Resurrection of Christ himself, and such also (in comparison of the last and general one) was that of those Saints who arose out of their Graves, after Christ's Resurrection was over. And I am much mistaken, if this Text, *Rom. 1. 4.* thus explained, be not of great use to help us to understand something of the peculiar Notion, which the Apostle labours to convey to our Minds by this Word *Ἐανάστασις*, in *Phil. 3. 11.* where all Copies agree, in Writing it one way, and all Interpreters likewise in this General Truth; that something very peculiar is meant by it.

But to proceed; let us remember, that this is an approved Rule of Criticks in the Greek Tongue; *Ἐ*, in Compositione, non solum ornatum denotare, sed etiam significationem Augere: i. e. That the Greek Particle *Ἐ*, when it is joined to a Word, so as to make it a Compound, is not to be look'd upon to be so joined merely for the sake of Ornament, but so as to increase and enlarge the Meaning of that Word with which it is joined. Of the Truth of this Rule we have innumerable Instances. But I am not willing to detain the Reader, by such kind of Speculations; with which those that please may entertain themselves plentifully, if they please, from what our best and largest Lexicons will furnish them with; *E. G.* let these Verbs be consider'd, *Ἐαφίεσθαι, Ἐανατίθειν, Ἐανακοιμηθῆναι, Ἐαποπέλασθαι, Ἐαυτοκτενεῖν, Ἐαποροῦμαι, Ἐανίσταμαι, Ἐαναφέρειν, &c.* together with these Nouns, *Ἐέρσηρθη, Ἐωχρηθη, &c.* And hence we have Reason to conclude, that the Apostle did purposely choose to use the word *Ἐανάστασις*, to put us upon this Conclusion; that it was not a bare *ἄστασις*, that he was now speaking of, which did indifferently denote any sort of Resurrection, in a general Sense, and which did, when applied to the Resurrection of

dead Men, equally take in both the Resurrection of the Wicked and of the Godly.

And, seeing the Apostle's Notion is so very singular, and that no Heathen had ever the least Idea of this matter; hence we can expect little or no Illustration of his meaning, by any or all the fam'd Authors of Greece. And indeed I cannot find, that ever this Word was used almost at all by the best Grecian Writers. I find it once indeed made use of by *Polybius*, *Lib. 2.* (nor can I remember to have read it any where else.) But then he means by it, *Expulsion* or *Everſion*; in that Sense, wherein a Man is said, to drive another out of his House, or Estate, or to overturn him, by forcing him out of his Pretentions or Attempts.

The Verbs ἐξάνιστον and ἐξάνισμαι, are, I confess, pretty often to be met with: But then they are used in such Senses, as afford little light, as to this peculiar Notion, which we are speaking of, which is no where to be found but in the New Testament. The nearest Signification, that either of these Verbs can be supposed to have to the Apostle's Notion in the General, is when the Author denotes thereby, to arise out of ones former Seat, or Habitation, or out of sleep, and ones Bed; or when the meaning is, to exalt or raise a Man to an higher Sphere, and that so as singularly to prefer him above other Men: or (which answers the Apostle's Notion best of all) when the Word is used to flit or remove, in the Sense wherein the Latins say, *castra movere*, to remove from one Camp to another; or when the Author speaks by way of Pathetick Exhortation, as *Isocrates* seems to do, when he says, ἐξαίστασο πρὸ μεθης, arise (*i. e.* arise quickly) before thou get'st drunk; *i. e.* break off from thy Cups, without delay, by taking this and the other Sip more.

Nor have we any more Satisfaction from the *Septuagint Version* of the Old Testament; where I find no use made at all of this Word of the Apostle; nor indeed of the Verbs, which I mention'd just now, excepting that the former occurs in one Passage; but
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in such a Sense, as is quite foreign to our purpose, and serves not in the least, to illustrate the Apostle's Meaning. Those that please, for Curiosity's sake, to know what I refer to, may compare the Hebrew Text with the *Septuagint Version*, of *Gen. 19. 32, 34.*

Having therefore no Assistance, this way, from the *Classick Greek Authors*, nor from any or all the *Criticks and Lexicographers*, that have been the most industrious and successful, in reviving and cultivating that Language; and finding as little Satisfaction from the *Septuagint*, I betook my self to the *Greek Fathers*; moved by this Reason, that tho neither Jews nor Gentiles could be supposed to have any thing like a distinct Notion of the special Resurrection which the Apostle speaks of, and that consequently it could be no wonder, that they had no peculiar Word or Phrase to express such a thing by; yet it might be rationally expected, that the *Christian Doctors*, whose Native Language the *Greek Tongue* was, might furnish us with some *Critical Account* of this word of the Apostle, in order to explain the Specialty of his Notion. But all my pains this way were in vain; not one of all the *Antient Greek Fathers* ever dreaming of any such special Resurrection, but only of the general one at the last Day. So that, tho I have already proved the Truth of a special Resurrection from the *Apostolical Writings*; yet it seems that the many Persecutions, that the *Christian Church* labour'd under, for the three first Ages, had so universally obliterated the Notion of *Paul*, as to this Point, from the Minds of Men, that no Vestage of it remains now in any Writing, since the Days of the Apostle *John*. And when afterwards Christianity prevail'd under *Constantine*, we find that the Authority of the Great *Alexander*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and President of the *Nicene Synod*, occasion'd the very Title of the Book of the Revelation to be call'd in Question. And, tho this was at last decided; yet that dark Book was little studied and less understood. So that we need not wonder, that subsequent Doctors (of whom we have hard-

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ly one, that can be thought to have been a judicious or exact Critick) never were able to revive the Apostolical Notion of a special Resurrection. Which we have the less Reason to think strange of, if we are acquainted with Church History. For there we see, that the exact Knowledge of the Bible, was the least Part of the Study or Care of their great Men: For Prelacy and secular Titles, Authority, Grandeur and Riches, had got so into their Heads, that Learning and Religion too, were no otherwise minded by most of them, than as they might be of use, to give them a Name and Handle, to aspire higher in this present World. Hence it came to pass, that Christianity lost Ground daily; so as to sink, at length, into the Abyss of Papal Errors and Superstitions. No wonder then, if so considerable a Man as *Theophylact*, should give us this Gloss, (*Page 178.*) upon *Matth. 27. 52.* (where the Account is given of the Resurrection of many of the Saints) *περὸ ἵλον ὅτι πάλιν τεθνήκασιν, &c.* *It is manifest that they died again. Some indeed say, that after Christ rose, they rose also, and that they did not die afterwards. But I do not see, that this Opinion ought to be imbraced.* But, as I am glad, that some of old were so judicious, as to have a contrary Notion, to that of *Theophylact*: So I am more pleas'd to find, that the ancient and judicious Author of the Book of *Orthodox Questions*, commonly ascribed to *Justin Martyr*, and indeed not unworthy of such an Author, has given us the genuin Sense of that Passage; when he says, *Quest. 85. Page 44. Ed. t. Paris, 'οὐδὲ ἐτελεύτησαν πάλιν, ἀλλὰ μείδον ἐν αἰθέρα σί, &c.* *Therefore those Persons (being raised from the State of the Dead) did not die again, but do now remain in Immortality, together with Enoch and Elias; with whom they are in Paradise, waiting until the last Resurrection be over, and the universal Restitution of things be accomplish'd, wherein, as the Apostle says, all Men shall be changed. Adding this judicious Remark; That, (tho those Saints be now in Paradise, both in Soul and Body, yet) none is yet so raised from the Dead, as to partake*

of that incorruptible and immortal Life, (*viz.* in the fullest and most compleat Sense, to as to be in Heaven with God, which is reserved to the Consummation of all things,) *excepting Christ only*: It being his Prerogative to be (there, in order to approve himself) the *πρωτοτόκου*, the Raiser of Men from the Dead, and the *ἀπαρχὴ*, the Supreme Ruler (as I have (*n*) elsewhere explained these Words) of those that sleep, *viz.* in their Graves.

But however, finding my self still disappointed, in the main, as to any Satisfaction, from Christian Antiquity, with respect to the special Resurrection, of which I am discoursing; I thought I would search our best modern Criticks and Expositors. But, in doing so, I found my self equally disappointed as before. I confess, I was not a little pleased with what *Grotius* says, in his short, but learned and judicious Notes on *Phil.* 3. 11. where he observes, (1.) That *ἐίπας* (which we render, *If by any means*;) does denote, that the Thing, which *Paul* was desirous to attain, was both difficult and uncertain, as to its being reach'd. (2.) That *καταύτων εἰς τὶ*, denotes to attain to such or such a Thing (*viz.* so as to be possessed of it;) for which end he refers to the Sense of the same Word, in *1 Cor.* 14. 36. & *Eph.* 4. 13. (3.) That the Apostle chose rather to use the Word *ἐξανάστασις*, than *ἀνάστασις*, because he would have us to observe, that he was speaking of that full Resurrection, which no sort of Death or Evil does, or can follow. Which Word, says he, answers to the Hebrew Word, *חַיָּת*. (4.) That whereas the common Copies do only say, *ἐξανάστασιν ἐκ νεκρῶν*; his Manuscript, which he often quotes, reads *ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν*.

Now, as I have already materially confirm'd his 1st and 2^d Criticism: So I shall consider and improve this 4th Observation, joyntly with the 3^d, which I am now upon. But, in the mean time, let me observe, what

(n) *Christol. Lib.* 2. Chap. 6. Page 211.

a Loss that learned Man was at, by reason of his not knowing the special Resurrection. For, tho his Notion of the genuin Sense of ἐξανάστασις be exactly true, and, *in general*, the same with mine; yet, by reason of his Ignorance of the special Resurrection, he is forc'd to assert an obvious Contradiction; when he supposes, in his 3^d Observation, that no more was meant by *Paul*, than a Concern to rise, at last, to Happiness and Glory; at the same time, that he makes him, in the 1st and 2^d Observations (taken in their Connexion) to be *uncertain* whether he should ever attain to be thus happy; which (as I have already demonstrated) is altogether false, and refuted by the Apostle himself, even in this very Epistle. For, as I have said again and again, it was not possible for the Apostle so much as to call this in question. So that he must mean a special Resurrection, prior to the general one, and inclusive of a peculiar Reward; which was to him, indeed, certain, as to the thing in general, as being attainable; but was not, certain, as to his own attaining it; tho he might conditionally expect it, or hope for it; provided that he acted as he ought to do, towards reaching it. Of this, therefore, he might be uncertain, at the same time, that he had a Plerophory of Assurance, as to a Resurrection to Life eternal, in the general. Whence it is plain, that this Notion, which I contend for, is the only one, by which the Apostle can be supposed to speak consistently with himself.

Having therefore experienc'd, by all my Inquiries into modern Expositors of the New Testament, as well as by my laborious Searches into ancient Authors of all sorts: That I was not to expect any Light, this way, from Men: I turn'd my self, (abstractly from all these) to the sacred Oracles themselves, and particularly to this very Text. And indeed, I have eminently found, by doing so, that the Scripture is its own best Interpreter; especially in things of this kind.

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What therefore I have observed, this way, I present the World with the Result of, in the following Gradation.

1. That I find that ἀνάστασις, *the Resurrection*, (1.) Is sometimes used *Metonymically*, for the Author thereof, as in *John* 11. 25. And, (2.) Sometimes *Metaphorically*, for Conversion, or a spiritual Vivication of the Soul, as in *Eph.* 5. 14. (3.) Sometimes for being vivified and raised, to farther and more eminent Degrees of Sanctity; for so I understand, *Rom.* 8. 11. as I think the Context will make good. And, (4.) Sometimes *Synecdochically*, or by way of Eminency, for the Resurrection of good Men, in Opposition to the Resurrection of the Wicked, as in *John* 6. 40.

2. That *ordinarily*, where ἀνάστασις is used properly to denote a Resurrection, or the Resurrection, and nothing is added to limit its meaning; it does signify the general Resurrection of all Men at the last Day; as in *Matth.* 22. 23, 28, 31. *Mark* 12. 18, 23. *Luke* 20. 27, 33. *Acts* 17. 18.

3. That when the Word ἀνάστασις is not simply made use of, but with the Addition of νεκρῶν or τῶν νεκρῶν, I find that as it does sometimes denote the Resurrection both of good and bad Men; so it does sometimes denote the Resurrection of good Men only. For, if in the 1st. Sense, it be used, *Acts* 24. 15, 21. *1 Cor.* 15. 12, 13, 21. *Heb.* 6. 2. It is certain, that this Phrase is used in the 2^d. Sense also, in an appropriate manner, so as to denote the Resurrection of good Men only, in Opposition to that of the Wicked; as is plain, *1 Cor.* 15. 42, &c.

4. That when we read of *the Resurrection of the Just*, *Luke* 14. 14. or of *the better Resurrection*, *Heb.* 11. 35. or of *the Resurrection of Life*, *John* 5. 29. We are obliged to take such Expressions, not only in an exclusive Sense, to that of the Wicked, (which is called, *The Resurrection of Damnation*, or of Judgment, *John* 5. 29.) but also in so general a Sense, in relation to good Men, as that we ought not to appropriate any of these *Epi-*
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thets, either to the special Resurrection before the *Millennium*, or to that last Resurrection of other good Men, at the end of Time.

5. But then I cannot but think it, at least, highly probable; That where-ever we read, ἀνοίστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν, the Spirit of God designs to give us either a more direct or more oblique Hint of the special Resurrection of the more eminent Saints. To give Instances of this, let the following Passages be duly considered. And, (1.) I cannot think, that less than this is meant, *Luke* 20. 35, 36. where, after the Sadducees had spoken of the Resurrection in general, and therefore of the last Resurrection, inclusive both of good Men and bad, (which was the Notion of the Pharisees, as we see *Acts* 23. 6. *Comp.* with *Chap.* 24. 15. and which therefore the Sadducees argue against;) our Saviour takes Occasion here to suppose indeed the Certainty of the general Resurrection, but to describe the special Resurrection, (for the Proof of this, was Demonstration of the Reality of the Thing in general:) which he does, after this manner. *The Children of this present Age, or (as our Version has it) World, do indeed marry, and are given in Marriage. But they who shall be accounted worthy to obtain that happy Age, (viz. to obtain the peculiar Reward of the most eminent Saints,) ἢ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν, and the special Resurrection, even that which is to be out from the other dead Persons, (who are not yet to be privileg'd so as to be raised up;) such Persons neither marry, nor are given in Marriage. Neither can they die any more; (i. e. be liable to the second Death, as the far greatest part of those Men shall be, who shall rise at the great Day; so that this is a parallel Expression to that in *Rev.* 20. 5.) For they are ἰσάγγελοι the Angels Equals, (from that time forth,) being now become God's Sons, by reason of their becoming the Children of the (first and special) Resurrection.* (2.) And I think it equally probable, that a special Resurrection, (tho not that at the *Millennium*) is pointed at, *Acts* 4. 2. For the Account is this, *Peter and John having miracu-*
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lously cured the Man, that had been lame from the Womb, *Chap. 3. 1, 2, &c.* which they ascribe wholly to the Power of Christ, *ver. 12, 13.* take Occasion, to preach up Christ's Resurrection, *ver. 14, 15, &c.* wherein it is highly probable, that they took some Notice of his having raised many of the Saints also, mentioned, *Matth. 27. 52.* Now both Christ's Resurrection, and the Resurrection of those Saints, being recent in Mens Minds, and well attested by Eye and Ear Witnesses; it needs not appear strange, that when the Priests and the Captain of the Temple came upon them, *Chap. 4. 1.* that the *Sadducees*, who made up a great Part of that Company, should be grieved, that these Apostles should teach the People, and preach, thro' Jesus, the Resurrection, *τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν*; even a special Resurrection from the Dead, thro' Christ, as the efficient Cause. For, as I said before, it was the common Notion of the Jews, (excepting only the Sect of the *Sadducees*,) that when the Messiah came, there would be an eminent Resurrection of many from the Dead. No wonder then, if the *Sadducees* were alarm'd, to hear both of Christ's Resurrection, and of the Resurrection of so many others raised up, thro' his Power; especially now when this Doctrine was published, in so publick a Manner, and to such a Multitude of the common People; and confirmed by so indisputable a Miracle: For they knew very well, that their Rivals, the *Pharisees*, had the fairest Opportunity imaginable, to establish themselves, this way, upon their Ruin. (3.) And, if this be admitted, I cannot but think, that good old *Simon*, who believed Christ to be the promised Messiah, and was, no doubt, well acquainted with the true Jewish Opinion, taken from the Prophetical Writings, that his Coming would bring along with it vast Changes; and particularly, that as many would be ruin'd by their Infidelity, so he would evidence his Character and Commission by this Miracle, (as well as others,) viz. of his raising many Saints from the Dead: I say, I cannot but think, from these Considerations, that the good

good old Man had this very thing in his Eye, when he said, *Luke 2. 34. Behold, this Child is set for the Fall, τὸ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν, and for the Resurrection of many in Israel.* For we are told, not only that he was a just and devout Man, who waited for the Consolation of Israel, which was to come by the Messiah; but likewise, that the Holy Ghost was upon him, and that it was revealed unto him, that he should not see Death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ, and that he came in the Spirit, into the Temple, ver. 25, 26, 27. where, under a special Prophetic Spirit, he uttered this memorable Prophecie. (4.) It is also highly probable to me, that Christ has his Eye upon the two special Resurrections which I contend for, (*viz.* that of the Old Testament Saints, Historically related, *Matth. 27. 52.* and that of the New Testament ones, Prophetically spoken of, *Rev. 20. 3, 4, 5.*) but more directly upon the First of these; when he was about to raise *Lazarus*: For it was consonant to that particular Resurrection, which was to be Emblematical of the special Resurrections, which were to follow, as well as demonstrative of Christ's Authority and Power, to raise whom he pleased, and when he pleased; to give some Hint, upon this special Occasion, of what he was further to do. When therefore *Martha* says, *John II. ver. 21. Lord, if thou hadst been here, my Brother had not died: Christ answers, ver. 23. Thy Brother shall rise again.* *Martha* having no Notion of any other Resurrection, but the last general one, replies, *ver. 24. I know that he shall rise again in the Resurrection of the last Day.* No, says Christ, *ver. 25, 26. Some shall rise sooner, of which I will give a Demonstration very quickly. For I am the Resurrection and the Life,* (as having Power to raise whom I will, and when I will, without being confined to raise none before the end of Time; therefore). *He that believeth in me,* (or, a Believer in, *i. e.* so eminent an one as *Lazarus* was) *tho he were* (never so really) *dead; yet he shall live again,* (long before the general Resurrection.) *And whosoever liveth* (or is alive now) *and believeth* (eminently,

(eminently, as thy Brother did) *in me*, (tho he must indeed die once, as it is appointed for all to do, yet) *shall not continue dead*, ἐἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, *for ever, or to the end of Time*, (but shall rise sooner.) *Believest thou this?* Martha seems to have been exceedingly surpriz'd at this new Doctrine; but not being capable, rightly, to comprehend his Meaning, vents her Faith, in general, thus, *ver. 27. I believe that thou art Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the World.* Which is as much as to say, Lord, tho I cannot comprehend the Meaning of thy Words, in particular, as to Resurrections, previous to the general one; yet I believe, that thou art the true Messiah, and the Son of God; and therefore capable to make good thy Words, when and how thou pleasest.

Now, 6. Having premised this *Climax* or Gradation of these *Five Steps*, is there not just Reason to think, That the 4th Observation, or Criticism of *Grotius*, respects a special Resurrection, previous to the general one. For, besides that his Manuscript, which he often quotes, reads, in *Phil. 3. 11. The Resurrection τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν*, *i. e.* which is *out from the Dead*; and therefore a Resurrection special to some, in Contradistinction to those, that are still kept to remain longer in the separate State, even until the general Resurrection; we find that the Famous *Alexandrian Manuscript* hath also preserved to us the same reading. So that, if we come now to put all the Force together, which the Apostle's Words contain, in this our Text, we shall find it to be such, as that there is no Parallel to it, in the New Testament; I mean in reference to the Resurrection; and far less any thing to compare with it, in any other Writing. And therefore,

In the 7th and last Place, having got up to this Expression, as the highest Step; Let us observe, as every way memorable, how wonderfully all the other Steps are included, as so many Pleonasm, additional one to another, in this one Expression; but with superadded Energy. For, (1.) Here is ἀνάστασις, a Resurrecti-

on ; (2.) Here we read ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν, but with greater force still ; (3.) For here we read ἀνάστασις ἐκ νεκρῶν ; (4.) And that with the additional Energy, of adding the Particle τῶν before ἐκ νεκρῶν ; Nay, (5.) By using it twice, viz. by prefixing it also before ἀνάστασις ; (6.) And I may add, that it is not simply said νεκρῶν, but τῶν νεκρῶν. But, (7.) The main Force is chiefly discerned, in prefixing the Particle ἕξ before ἀνάστασις, in making thus a complex Word of it. So that Paul, by joining all these things, when he says, that he labour'd, *if by any means he might attain to* (or run before others, as the best Racer, unto the Mark and peculiar Prize, as he speaks, ver. 12, 13. for indeed κερταντισσο εἰς τὴν, &c. signifies as much, and therefore Arias Montanus has justly render'd the first Words thus, *Si modo Occurram ad, &c.*) the peculiar or first Resurrection, which is that which is to be out from the rest of the Dead ; as I may justly translate the Force of the Words, as well as understand the Apostle's Sense. So that, if εἰ πως and κερταντισσο, together with the Particle εἰς, be considered, in that Emphasis which they carry along with them, as they stand connected with what follows, we have an 8th, a 9th, and a 10th Criticism to enforce the Sense of the whole Verse. But, if after we have carried all these along with us, in our own Minds ; we proceed to make a like critical Survey of the 12th, 13th, and following Verses, both in the Emphasis of each Phrase, and in the Connection and Scope of the whole ; I cannot but presume to think, that every intelligent and unprejudic'd Person must own, that the Apostle could not design to mean less, than what I now contend for.

And now, tho I think I have said enough upon this Head, to evince the Truth of the Sense of ἕξ ἀνάστασις, I hope it may not be unuseful to quote one Passage, besides that of *Rom* 1. 4. (mentioned before) where it seems very probable to me, that the Apostle Paul uses the same Word. It is in *Acts* 26. 22, 23. where Paul concludes his Apology for himself, before Agrippa and Festus,

Festus, thus; Having therefore obtained Help of God, I continue unto this Day, witnessing both to small and great, saying no other things, than those which Moses and the Prophets did say should come, viz. That Christ should suffer, and that he should be $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\xi\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\tau\omega\nu$, the First of the special Resurrection of the Dead. For I am sure of this, that the Words run much more smoothly this way, and that the Meaning flows hence more naturally also, than according to the vulgar Reading. If any object, and say; But Paul cannot mean any special Resurrection; because he says, that he spoke nothing, but what Moses and the Prophets had spoken of before: I answer, 1. That Paul might have used these words very justly, tho' thy had, indeed, hinted nothing particular of any special Resurrection; because the Prophets spoke of Christ's Coming, and of his particular Resurrection, as well as of the Resurrection of others in general. For the Apostle might justly explain such general Words, by a particular Reference to Matters of Fact, (as included under the general Notion of a Resurrection,) viz. so as to apply them to, and illustrate them by Christ's own Rising from the Dead, and that special Resurrection of others, mention'd, *Matth. 27. 52.* For tho' the Prophets themselves knew not the full Extent of their own Prophecies, (as it is certain they frequently did not,) yet the Spirit of God knew the same: And Facts, we know, are ever the best Expositors of Prophecies. 2. And besides this general Answer, I might shew that there are several Hints, in the Old Testament Writings, that seem to insinuate a special Resurrection. But I am not willing to swell this Discourse so much, as such Citations, when critically considered, would lead me unto. Let the two Passages therefore, which I cited in the beginning of *this Inquiry*, serve at present, as Instances of this, viz. *Isa. 26. 19.* & *Dan. 12. 2, 3.* but especially the first of these; which I think is full and cogent this way; especially if that solid and generally approved of Rule of Divines and Expositors be followed, viz. *That we*

ought never to desert the literal Sense of Texts, unless where an Absurdity, or other necessary Reason does occur to oblige and force us, to think of another sort of Interpretation.

Objection. But, Sir, (may some say,) Tho it is generally true, That the Apostle speaks, not only in his other Epistles, but even in this Epistle to the *Philippians*, with the utmost Assurance, as to his own future Happiness; yet why may we not suppose, that some Cloud might be over the Apostle's Mind, as to this Matter, when he writes what we have in this Third Chapter? For, as he represents himself as under some Cloud, this way, *Rom. 7. 24.* O wretched Man that I am, who shall deliver me from the Body of this Death? So it seems to be very plain, that he doubted of his Salvation, or was at least uncertain this way, when he says, *I Cor. 9. 27.* I keep under my Body, and subdue it, lest while I preach to others, I my self should be ἀδόκιμος, a Reprobate, or, (as our Version renders the Word) a Cast-away.

Answer. I think I have demonstrated, that as the Apostle was under a constant Plerophory of Assurance, as to Salvation; so that he was eminently so, when he wrote this Epistle to the *Philippians*. And seeing he expressly tells us so, *Chap. 1. 21, 23.* It is a very odd Supposition, that he should be under a Cloud this way, when he comes to write what we have here in *Chap. 3.* Especially seeing he sufficiently insinuates the very contrary of this, even in this Chapter it self, as we see, *ver. 17, & 20, 21.*

But, seeing the Stress of this unreasonable Supposition is laid upon two Passages taken out of two other Epistles, it is fit that I should examine them. And truly, the 1st Passage has nothing at all in it, to the Purpose. For, tho the Apostle, in his breathing after a farther Conquest over Sin and Lust, says, *Rom. 7. 24.* O wretched Man that I am, (to give so much way to vain Thoughts and Temptations,) who shall deliver me (more perfectly) from the Body of this Death; (i. e. the Remainder of Corruption, that is still in me:) Yet that

that the Apostle did not there call his Grace or Salvation in Question, or so much as hesitate this way, is plain from the Answer, which he returns immediately to his own Question, in *ver. 25. I thank God, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord.* Which, as it shews his Assurance, so the whole of the 8th Chapter following, is a Comment on that short Text. For he begins it thus, *ver. 1, 2, 3. There is therefore now no Condemnation, to them who are in Christ Jesus, &c. For the Law of the Spirit of Life, in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the Law of Sin and Death. For what the Law could not do, in that it was weak thro' the Flesh, God sending his own Son, hath done, &c.* Whence it is plain, that the main Scope of *Paul*, in *Chap. 7.* is to shew, (in the Example of himself, considered as a *Jew* and *Pharisee*,) how impossible it was to obtain Assurance of Salvation, by the Ceremonial Law, without Christ, as it is equally plain, that it is his Scope, in *Chap. 8.* to shew, (in the Example likewise of himself, as he was now a Christian,) how naturally the Assurance of Salvation might be attained, by any serious Person, that had a mind to judge of himself by Gospel Rules. So that this Passage, *Rom. 7. 24.* insinuates the very contrary to that for which it was adduced. For the Apostle, as he intimates his Assurance, even in the 7th *Chap. ver. 15, 17, 20, 22, & 25.* So he triumphs so high this way, in *Chap. 8. ver. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, & 39.* as to insinuate, that he neither was, nor indeed could possibly be, under the least Doubt of Salvation, or under any Fear or Cloud this way.— But the 2d Passage does look more favourably, I confess, with Respect to the Supposition, which the Objection runs upon: And, indeed, the Apostle's Words, *1 Cor. 9. 27.* are the only ones in all *Paul's* Writings, that seem, at first View, to militate against my Exposition of *Phil. 3. 11.* and to favour the common one. Let us therefore examine the Meaning of the Words a little more closely. For this end, let us remember, that the Apostle discourses, in *Chap. 7.*

Chap. 8. & *Chap. 9.* of the Prudence that Christians ought to study, in Relation to the Use of things that were *indifferent*, tho' *lawful*. When therefore he had given his Advice, as to the Points following, *viz.* when it was proper to marry, and when to live a single Life, in *Chap. 7.* and how far Christians might use their Liberty, in eating things offered to Idols, and when and in what respects, they were oblig'd to put a Restraint upon that Liberty, in *Chap. 8.* He proceeds in *Chap. 9.* to make Application of this, exemplifying his former Advices, and the Reasons of them, by his own Conduct and Practice this way. Therefore, *ver. 1.* he says, *Am I not an Apostle? Am I not free, as well as others?* and *ver. 4.* *Have we not Power to eat and drink? viz.* what, when and how we please; and *ver. 5.* *Have we not Power, to use our Liberty to marry, as Cephas and other Apostles have done?* and *ver. 6.* *Or I only and Barnabas, have not we Power to forbear working? i. e.* in order to get our own Bread; by demanding a Supply from you, this way, as the other Apostles have done. And upon this Subject he runs on, from *ver. 6.* to *ver. 19.* From whence he proceeds to shew his Concern to gain Men over to Christianity, by a prudent compliance with innocent Customs, of People of all Sorts and Sects, not standing up rigidly for some things, which tho' *lawful*, were not *expedient*, in some Companies, because such Usages and Practices were likely to beget Prejudices in Mens Minds, as to the very main Points of Religion it self, the Promotion whereof was his great End and Design. Now as this is plainly the Sum of what he says, *ver. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.* So he proceeds to illustrate the Reasonableness of this Part of his Conduct, in the *sequel* of this Chapter, by a Similitude drawn from the *Isthmian* Solemnities, that were celebrated once in five Years upon the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, which joins *Peloponnesus* to *Greece*: the particular Place, of these Solemnities, being just by the *Temple* of *Neptune*: which was at

(o) *Cenchrea* (p), a little way from *Corinth*. As therefore, we shall quickly see, when we come to consider, *Phil* 3. 12, 13, &c. that the Apostle *Paul* does often allude to the *Olympian*, and other Solemnities of *Greece*, so well known unto and so generally frequented by Persons of all Ranks and Sorts, not only from all the Parts of *Greece*, but from all Parts also of the Roman Empire: So, seeing he had liv'd long at *Corinth*, and is writing here to the *Corinthians*, it was reasonable for him, to allude rather to the *Istmican* Games, than any other; for every Boy of *Corinth* was acquainted with these. But, let us further observe here, (1.) That, of the five Games used there, called the *Quinquertium*, or *Quinquennales Ludi*, *Solin. Cap. 13.* (which were, 1. *Running*, either on Foot, or on Horse-back, or in Chariots. 2. *Throwing the Discus*, i. e. a round Stone made for that purpose. 3. *Leaping or Jumping*. 4. *Wrestling*. 5. *Fighting* either at *Handcuffs* or *Fists*, or with *Battoons* made for that purpose, in imitation of *Fighting* with Broad-Swords;) the Apostle alludes only to three, viz. to *Running*, or *Racing*, ver. 24, 26. to *Wrestling*, ver. 25. and to *Fighting* or *Cuffing*, ver. 26, 27. (2.) That he that run, whether on Foot, or Horseback, or in Chariot, was oblig'd to observe the Laws of *Racing* or *Running*, by keeping within the *white Line*, by which the Judges of the Games marked out the Path or Compass of Ground within which they were to run; for tho such a Man might win the Race otherwise, he was in hazard still, by any neglect of this kind, of falling short of the *Prize*; which illustrate the Apostle's Meaning, ver. 26. *I therefore so run, not as uncertainly*; (i. e. as those run, who regard not to keep within the Lines and Marks.) So that when he adds, ver. 27. that he acted, with this Caution, and *not as uncertainly*, lest otherwise he might come to be ἀσώνητος; it is easy to see, in what respect he means this, viz. that he acted

(o) of which *Mela* speaks, *Lib. 2. Cap. 2. lin. 75.* In eo (viz. Istmo) est *Oppidum*, *Cenchreae Ludis*, quos *Istmicos* vocant, celebre.
 (p) For *Cenchrea* was not above 70 Furlongs from *Corinth*.

with this Concern, lest the *βραβεύται*, *i. e.* the Judges of the Solemnities, should adjudge him a *Cast-away*, or one that had not run so, as to deserve the Prize. For *ἀδίκως* signifies no more here, than to denote a Man's being *rejected*, by having the Prize adjudged from him, by reason either of his not coming up, the *first*, to the *Mark*, or because of his transgressing the Laws of the Race, and so by coming up, the *first*, to the Prize, only thro' his taking a shorter compass, than he ought to have done. (3.) That he that fought by *Cuffing*, or otherwise, used to prepare himself for the Exercise, by a *συνομαχία*, *i. e.* by thrusting or throwing out his Arms into the Air, as it were to bid defiance to his Enemy, as well as to exert the Vigour of his Arms, against his coming to close with him. In allusion to which Custom, Paul says, *ver. 26.* *So fight I, but not as he does that beats the Air.* But when the two Combatants in-gag'd heartily, to maul one another by Blows; each of them strove to beat the other on the Face, and especially on the Eyes, as the most sensible and tender Parts. In allusion to which the Apostle, *ver. 27.* uses the Phrase, *ἀλλ' ὑποπιᾶζω*, *I beat my own Body under the Eye*, *&c.* *i. e.* *I treat my Body* (*viz.* the Body of Sin and Death; for this must be his meaning in Conformity to his own Dialect, *Rom. 7. 24. Col. 2. 11.* especially if we consider, in how opposite a manner to this he speaks of the natural Body, *Eph. 5. 29.* and *1 Cor. 6. 19.*) as my Adversary, in order to conquer the same, and that so, as to level at the tenderest part most, by mortifying that Lust, that is naturally most dear to me. (4.) That it was the Custom of the *Athletæ*, who were to combat together, at the Exercise of *Wrestling*, to observe a *set Diet*, both as to the Quantity and Quality of their Meat; using nothing but those things, that had a Tendency to render them light, nimble and agile, and abstaining from clogging, heavy and dull things. Unto this the Apostle refers, *ver. 25.* when he says, *That every one that striveth for Mastery* (in wrestling) *is temperate in all things.* (5.) That the Reward of all these

these Exercises, was no greater matter, than that of some green Herb or Plant, or some Branch of a Tree, coil'd round and platted into the Form of a Garland or Crown, with which the Head of the Victor was wreath'd. And this the Apostle justly calls a *corruptible Crown*, v. 25. (which, in the *Isthmian Games*, was made of the Branches of a Pine-tree) to which he opposes the *incorruptible Crown* which true Christians contend for.—Now, as our best Expositors, such as Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Whitby*, &c. are agreed in these things with me ; so I hope, by this time, the Reader is sufficiently apprized of the Sense of this Passage. And I am sure, if he be so, he will readily own, That the Words of the Apostle in 1 *Cor.* 9. 27. are so far from making against my Notion, that they are a very considerable Proof for me : and they will yet appear to be further so, when I come to consider the Sequel of the Apostle's Discourse, *Phil.* 3. from *ver.* 12. to the End ; which is a Portion of Scripture exactly Parallel to this. So that it is evident to me, that the Apostle was only afraid, that if he did not act wisely and faithfully, he might come to be a *Cast-away* so far, as related to the attaining to *the special Resurrection and Reward*, which he had in view ; and which he could no otherwise expect than by a careful Observance of Christ's Laws, which he has in his Eye, when he speaks of the *Isthmian Races*, and other Solemnities, to the *Corinthians*, who knew them too well to need any particular Relation of what related to them.

And now, as I have been led occasionally to clear up the meaning of several Passages of Scripture, during this my Inquiry, which I presume were not understood hitherto by either Ancient or Modern Divines : So I might take occasion, from what I have said, to illustrate several other Expressions. But I shall content my self with *two* only ; which lie so level to my purpose, that I cannot find in my Heart, to let them pass, without some Observation. The (*1st*) is, That Expression, *Rom.* 11. 15. *For if the casting away of them, (i.e. the Jews) be (the occasion of the Reconciling of the (Gentile) World: What shall πρὸςληψις, the Assumption of them again*

again be ; (i. e. the receiving of them into Grace and Favour) ἐπι μὴ ζῶν ἄνευ νεκρῶν ; Can it be any thing less than (or accompanied with less than) Life from the Dead (or a new Resurrection of the Dead.) For the Reason which the Apostle founds upon, seems plainly to be this ; if the Christian Religion was confirm'd, at first, not only by Christ's own Resurrection, but the Resurrection also of those mentioned, *Matth. 27. 52.* Is it not reasonable to believe, that when the ἀναμνη of Christianity is brought in, at the Millennium, and when the Jews are converted to the same Religion ; there will be a special Resurrection then of eminent Saints, who shall rise from the Dead ; by which Jews and Gentiles will be so convinced of the Truth of Christianity, as readily to imbrace it. And indeed, were it not for the sake of Brevity, I might enlarge upon the Reasonableness of this Conjectural Exposition from several things in the Context. And, tho' Dr. *Whitby* had no such Notion, as this of mine when he wrote his *Annotations* upon this 11th Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, together with his *Discourse of the calling of the Jews to the Christian Faith*, which is appended thereunto : Yet I cannot refer my Readers to a more Judicious and solid Account of those Matters, than is to be found there. For if, together with what he says, both in his *Annotations*, and in his most elaborate *Appendix* to the same, this Notion of mine, and what I have said upon it, be carried along, in the Reader's Mind, by a close and strict Inquiry into the Subjects which he and I treat of ; I am bold to say, that these things will appear in so full and clear a Light, as that Men can hardly expect much more before the Dawn of the Millennium appear ; nay, that it will be just matter of wonder that so clear a Discovery of such dark things should already break forth upon the Church, so long before the time of that glorious Period of Christocracy. — But I proceed, (2.) To illustrate the other Passage of Scripture, which I humbly think has never been fully understood hitherto. The Passage I refer to, is that in *1 Cor. 15. Else, what shall they*

they do who are baptized for the Dead, if the Dead do not rise at all? (For, in case this be indeed true,) Why then are they baptized for the Dead. These Words have ever been look'd upon to be very dark and obscure: Which has occasion'd Criticks to suggest abundance of Senses, not only very different from, but sometimes even opposite unto one another; as any one will see, that compares them, either in the *Biblia Critica*, or in *Pool's Synopsis* of them; not to mention any of the many Annotations and particular Treatises that have been publish'd, with Design to explain this Passage.——

Now, in order to give my Thoughts of this Expressi-
 on of *Paul*; I must premise *two* Things, by way of
Preliminary. In the 1st *Place* therefore, let us consider
 the Sense of the *Præposition* *κατά*, which is made use of
 here. It is joyn'd sometimes with the *Genitive*, and some-
 times with the *Accusative*, but never with any other *Case*; as every one knows, that is acquainted with the *Greek*
Language. With the *former* of *these* it is used here: So
 that we have nothing to do with the *Use* of it, the other
 way. And in this *Use* of it, as connected with the *Gene-*
tive, we find that Authors do, (1.) Sometimes mean by
 it, what the *British* Writers do express by, [*For*;] (2.)
 And sometimes by, [*In the Room of, or in the Stead of,*
or upon the Account of, or for the Sake of, or with a
Reference unto, such or such a Person or Thing,] (3.)
 And sometimes, they are oblig'd to translate it by,
 [*Of, or By.*] In this *last* Sense, it is obvious, that
 this *Preposition* cannot be used here. For it were
 Nonsense to read, *Of the Dead, or By the Dead*. But,
 in either of the *former* Senses, the Words may be under-
 stood. Now, I do humbly suppose, that the *Apostle*
 used it, in its utmost Plenitude, in this *Place*; and that
 Mens confining it to one Acceptation only, from va-
 rious Hypotheses, has been that very thing, that has
 hitherto confounded Mens Minds, in relation to a Sen-
 tence, otherwise obvious and plain. For the *Apostle*
 having *several Resurrections* in view, in Conjunction
 with the *Nature and Scope of Baptism*, expresses himself

in this general and concise Sentence, *What shall they do that are baptized ὑπερ τῶν νεκρῶν, &c.* without any Limitation whatsoever. And now, let me also premise, in the 2d Place, that we ought to consider the Scope of the Context, in Conjunction with the Sense of the Preposition; for which I refer the Reader to Dr. Whitby. Now when therefore we consider both these, we have Reason; (1.) To think, that the Apostle had his Eye backward, upon Christ's Death and Resurrection; and therefore Dr. Whitby justly renders, *for the Dead*, by adding, *for a dead Jesus*. For the Apostle argues for the Resurrection of the Dead in general, (against those that denied it) from Christ's being raised from the Dead. And, in this Sense, the Apostle says, *What shall Christians do*, (in Case there be no Resurrection; for if there be none such, they must be miserably mistaken,) *who are baptized for a dead Man, as he must yet be, in case there be no Resurrection*. For thus no Reason can be assigned, why a Man should be baptized at all. Now, Dr. Whitby says, that *δι νεκρῶν*, (tho usually of a plural Signification, as well as it is a plural Phrase, considered Grammatically; yet) is sometimes used to denote one single Person: For which he cites, *ver. 12, & 13. & Luke 7. 15, 22*. But I presume he is very much mistaken, in both Places: For tho both Christ and Paul speak indeed, upon the Occasion of the Resurrection of a single Person, yet they speak of a plural Resurrection; each of these Instances being made use of in a Reference to a Resurrection of others. So that, tho I have mention'd this Sense, I am far from thinking it to be the full Meaning: Nay, if taken separately from other Senses, not to be the true Meaning neither; and I know not, that ever any Greek Author used this Phrase, after this manner. And therefore, (2.) I do believe, that the Apostle look'd back upon that Resurrection of Eminent Saints, mentioned, *Matth. 27. 52*. in Conjunction with the Resurrection of Christ. And, in this Sense, as the View is complex, so is the Apostle's Meaning; which must be this:

If

If there be no Resurrection, whence is it, that we Christians are baptized, with a firm Belief, that as Christ rose from the Dead, so many others have been raised by him already, which we believe, and reckon, as a certain Proof of our own Resurrection afterwards, in God's Time. So that, by a Conjunction of these two Sentences, we have several of those Expositions of *κατά*. For, in the *first Sense*, in Relation to Christ, we may render the Phrase, either for the Dead, as our Version does, or upon the Account of the Dead, or for the Sake of the Dead. And, in the *second Sense*, in Relation to the Saints, who arose after Christ's Resurrection, we may render it thus; with a Reference to the Dead. But then, (3.) We have just Reason to think, that the Apostle did not only look backwards, when he used this Phrase, but that he look'd forwards also; both to the special Resurrection before the Millennium, and to the Resurrection of the rest of the Saints, at the end of Time; and consequently their own Resurrection to eternal Life, in one or other of these Periods. And in this respect, the Words may be rendered, as in the second Sense, *viz.* thus, with a Reference to the Dead, or those that were, as yet, in the State of the Dead, but that were to rise again. But, (4.) There is one Sense still behind, *viz.* that this Expression bears a special Relation to the Nature and Scope of Baptism, as it is plain it does from the Words themselves. Now it is evident, that the Scriptural Notion of Baptism, bears a special Reference to the Death and Burial of Men in the general, and Christ's own Death and Burial in particular. And the Rite of Baptism, then in use, (as all that know Scripture and Antiquity must own, was that of Immersion or dipping of the whole Body, which continued for about 13 Centuries, tho afterwards altered into that of sprinkling, or washing the Face,) was a plain Emblem of this. For, when the Body was plunged into the Water, it was a Representation of Death and Burial. And the Threefold Immersion, then used, was to denote Christ's being three Days and

Nights in the Grave. When therefore the Person baptized came from under the Water, and walk'd out again, it bore a Reference to dead Mens rising out of their Graves, and particularly to Christ's Resurrection on the third Day, after his Death. So that for *Paul* to speak of *those that were baptized for the Dead*, was as much as to say, that Christians then were baptized, in Faith of their own Resurrection, and the Resurrection of others, with the same Assurance with which they believ'd that some had risen before, but more especially their Lord and Master. And we have reason to think, that a Declaration to this purpose, was requir'd of all Converts to Christianity, either from Judaism or Gentilism; and that those Converts did accordingly give an explicate Account of their Faith this way: Whence it came to pass, that those Men, when they were baptized, were, by an easie Figure, represented as dead and buried Men, for a while, as afterwards to be raised from the Dead. In Regard to which, to *be baptized for the Dead*, was as much as to say, that they were then *baptized in the Room of the Dead*, or *in their Stead or Place*; they, at that time, being look'd upon, in a figurative Sense, to *sustain the Persons* of the Dead, as being (mystically and spiritually considered) real Emblems of them, as well as Confessors of Christ's Resurrection, and the Resurrection of others. And indeed, I must own, that, of all particular Senses of this Text, I take this to be the most natural one. But as I said, I cannot see, why we ought to limit the Apostle's unlimited general Expression, to one particular Notion only. And therefore, as the Pharse allows of all these Senses, in Conjunction one with another: So I think, that βαπτίζομενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, denotes this: "Those, who have been baptized, professing that they believed, that as Christ was once dead, so he was now risen from the Dead, as well as many of his eminent Saints; and that they had no greater Assurance of these Facts, than of the certain Accomplishment of the Promise which Christ had made,

“ made, that there would be a Resurrection of all
 “ Men at last, both good and bad ; as also, that they
 “ hoped to be made Partakers of the Resurrection of
 “ good Men, or of the better Resurrection, viz. of
 “ that which is to Life eternal ; with a Reference to
 “ all which things, they did firmly believe, that Bap-
 “ tism was appointed ; and therefore with Relation to
 “ all these, and in Obedience to the Commandment
 “ of Christ, (who ordered the Apostles to disciple
 “ Men, by baptizing them, &c. *Matth.* 28. 28.) they
 “ readily came under this Ordinance of Baptism,
 “ wherein *they were baptized for the Dead*, in all the
 “ Senses and Acceptations of that Phrase, which I
 “ mention’d before. And I think, this Account which
 I have given of this Text and Subject, is the very same
 which the Apostle himself gives us, *Rom.* 6. 1, 2, 3, 4,
 &c. Which therefore I cannot but look upon as a full
 and clear Comment upon it, especially if the Strain of
 the Context, in *Chap.* 5. and in the remaining Part of
Chap. 6. and in the following Chapters, be duly con-
 sidered. In a Connexion therefore with what the Apo-
 stle had said, in *Chap.* 5. he begins the 6th Chapter thus.
*What shall we say then? Shall we continue in Sin, that
 Grace may abound? God forbid! How shall we, that are
 dead to Sin, live any longer therein? Know ye not, that so
 many of us, as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptiz-
 ed into his Death? Therefore we are buried with him, by
 Baptism, into (a Conformity to his) Death; That like as
 Christ was raised up from the Dead, by the Glory of the Fa-
 ther; (∴ by himself, who is the Glory or Shechinah
 of the Father, as being the Brightness of his Glory, or
 his expressed Glory, and the express Image of his Per-
 son, *Heb.* 1. 3.) Even so we also (being dead with him
 in Baptism) should (rise with him and) walk in New-
 ness of Life. For if we have been planted together, in the
 Likeness of his Death: We shall be also in the Likeness of
 his Resurrection: Knowing this, that our Old Man is cruci-
 fied with him, that the Body of Sin might be destroyed, that
 henceforth we should not serve Sin. For he that is dead, is*

free

freed from Sin. Now, if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him. Knowing that Christ being raised from the Dead, dieth no more: For Death hath no more Dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto Sin once: But, in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also, your selves, to be dead indeed unto Sin, but alive unto God, thro' our Lord Jesus Christ. Let not Sin therefore reign in your mortal Body, &c. And in the same Dialect does the same Apostle say, Col. 2. 12. That we are buried with Christ in Baptism, wherein also we are arisen with him, thro' the Faith of the Operation of God, who raised him from the Dead. See also his Words, to the same Purpose, Eph. 1. 19, 20. & 1 Thess. 4. 14. as also those Words of Peter, 1 Epist. Chap. 1. 3, 4. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who ——— hath begotten us again unto a lively Hope, by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Dead, &c. which compare with his Words, Chap. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21. For Christ hath once suffered for Sins, ——— being put to Death in the Flesh, but quickned in the Spirit; ——— the like Figure, whereunto, even Baptism doth now also save us, &c. Now it was our Saviour himself, that was the Author of this sort of Dialect. For speaking of his Death, Continuance in the Grave, and Resurrection from thence, Luke 12. 50. he says, I have a Baptism to be baptised with; and how am I straitned (or pressed, or pained) till it be accomplished. To which Expression, Paul seems to allude, Acts 21. 13. as Christ himself, to his own Words formerly, Psal. 40. 6, 7, 8, &c. Consider also Christ's Words to his Disciples, Matth. 20. 22, 23. & Mark 10. 38, 39. Are ye able to be baptized with the Baptism that I am baptized with, &c. i. e. to be immersed in such Waters of Affliction, as to be overwhelmed with them, for a Time, even so far as to die a violent Death. For the Metaphor of Baptism, or Immersion in Waters, or being put under Waves or Flood, was a common Phrase under the Old Testament, used to denote a Person overwhelmed with Affliction. Hence the Psalmist cries out, Psal. 42. 7. that the Waves had
gone

gone over his Soul; and *Pfal.* 69. 2. that he was come into deep Waters. And so we read the Phrase, *Pfal.* 88. 7. *Cant.* 8. 7. *Fer.* 47. 2. *Ezek.* 26. 19. *Dan.* 9. 26. *John* 2. 3. See Dr. *Whitby* on *Matth.* 20. 22.

And now, after all I have said, I hope I may be allowed to think, that I have demonstrated the Verity of *this special and prior Resurrection*, as far as the Nature of the Subject can be supposed to be capable of Demonstration, from those Scriptural Proofs thereof, which I have founded this my Opinion upon.

And as I have proved this Point largely, so I have not been deficient to interweave and intersperse what will be, I think, sufficient to assist the Reader to form as clear an Idea, both of the *Millennium* and the *special Resurrection* then, as can be reasonable for us to venture upon our selves, or expect from others, seeing we live so long before both these. For, as I now write this, *December* the 10th, 1707. So I hope quickly to shew it to be highly probable to me, that the *Millennium* will not commence sooner than the Year 2000.

But, before I proceed to the *next Inquiry*, Let me desire the Reader, in order to his forming an Idea of the *Millennium*, and the *special Resurrection*, which is to be then, to look back upon what I said, towards the beginning of the 2d Step of *this Inquiry*; and particularly, those *four Things*, wherein Dr. *Whitby* and I are agreed, *Page* 39, together with those *seven additional Considerations*, which follow the former, *Page* 40. And when he has done so, let him proceed to consider, with second Thoughts, my Paraphrastical Exposition of *Rev.* 6. 9, 10, 11. and *Chap.* 20. 4, 5. with which I began the 3d Step of *this Inquiry*, *Page* 42. not to mention other things, both in that 3d Step, and in other Places of *this Inquiry*.

But, besides all this, let what I said in the four Propositions, explanatory of *John* 14. 2, 3. be duly considered, as they are to be found towards the End of the 5th Chapter of *Christology*, *Page* 517, &c. as well as

what I supposed might be one of the Ends of Christ's continuing for 40 Days on Earth, viz. that which is proposed in the same 5th Chapter, in the 1st Place, Page 508.

However, let me add these few things further, in order to help us still to form, if possible, a more full and genuine Idea of the Resurrection at the beginning of the *Millennium*. And, (1.) I think, That as the Saints mentioned, *Matth. 27. 52.* rose before the *Effusion* of the *Holy Ghost*, on the Day of *Pentecost*, with which the *New Testament Dispensation* did most properly begin; the time preceding, from Christ's *Birth*, to Christ's *publick Appearance* being only *Preliminary* to it; and the *few Years and Days*, from thence to the *Effusion of the Paraclete*, being only taken up, in laying the *Foundation of the Gospel Dispensation*: So I do think, that the Resurrection of the Saints, at the *Millennium*, will be, to speak properly, some time before the beginning of that Period. And thus, as the time of Christ's *Abode on Earth*, from his *Birth* to his *Ascension*, and *sending of the Paraclete*, (and in a farther Latitude, to the *Destruction of Jerusalem*,) was the *central time* between the *Old and New Testament Time or Times*: So it is reasonable to believe, that the *Time of the Resurrection of the eminent Saints* before the *Millennium*, together with the *final Extirpation of the Papacy*, at the same time, and the *begun Reign of Genuine Christianity on Earth*, will be a kind of *Central Period of the New Testament Times*. See my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 34. and what I said above, in the 5th Chapter of the 3d *Book of Christology*, under the second *Observation*, particularly Page 342, &c. (2.) I do think, that as Christ did not raise those former Saints, until after his own Resurrection: So likewise that he went into the *happy Hades*, sometime after his being raised from the Dead; in order to take Possession thereof; and that, at that time, he evidenc'd his Power over it, by bringing from thence many eminent Saints. And therefore, I think it highly congruous, to suppose also, that,

that, tho Christ will not go personally into *Hades*, at the *Millennium*; yet that he will appear there, by some eminent Manifestation of his Glory and Power to separate Souls, when he raiseth his most eminent Saints from the State of the Dead. (3.) That, as it is highly probable, that the former Saints, did not only appear to *many*, as it is expressly told us, but that they appeared often, during the greatest Part of the Time of Christ's 40 Days Continuance on Earth: So, it is equally probable, that the Saints, who are to be raised before the *Millennium*, will appear to many, and that often for some considerable Time, before the *Millennium* commence. (4.) That as it is more than probable, that the Appearance of the former Saints to so *many*, was of eminent Use to prepare Men for the Reception of Christianity, against the Time of the Effusion of the Holy Ghost, and what followed it: So it is equally probable to me, that the special Appearance of the later Saints, for a considerable time, and to many Witnesses of Note and Fame, will be a very great Mean towards the Propagation and Establishing of the Christian Religion in the World, for a Thousand Years. (5.) That, as Christianity was eminently confirmed and propagated at first, by the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Gifts of Miracles, and of Tongues, together with other eminent Qualifications and Endowments, conveyed, that way, to the Apostles, and Apostolical Men of that first Age: So we have just Reason to think, that an eminent Effusion of the Holy Spirit will be, at the beginning of the *Millennium*, by which abundance of excellent Persons will be qualified with more than ordinary Grace, Knowledge, Parts, Learning, Zeal, Holiness, Utterance and Activity; by whom Christ will so eminently appear and act, as that *Antichristianism* shall be universally destroyed, and true Christianity be so confirmed and propagated, as to become, in a little time, the prevailing Interest of the World. (6.) But I am far from thinking, that the eminent Saints, raised at or before the *Millen-*

nium, are to be rewarded then as highly as they shall be after the Final Judgment is over: For I do suppose, that what I said in the preceding Book of *Christology*, Page 529, &c. will be found to contain a sufficient Refutation of such an Opinion. And therefore, I refer the Reader back to what I said there. And, (7.) I am likewise far from imagining, that the *Eminent raised Saints* will appear generally to Men then; any farther than the *Saints raised*, Matth. 27. 52. did appear to the *Jews*. For Men must ever be under a State of Tryal in this present World: With which, such an universal Appearance is inconsistent. Nay, (8.) I have no higher Opinion of the *Millenary State* (as I have said formerly) than this; That it will be a State and Time, wherein the Church, comparatively with its former State, during *Paganism* and *Antichristianism*, will enjoy great Peace and Prosperity on Earth. For as there will be Sin then, so there must be Troubles too, such as Wars, Quarrels and Commotions; Perfection and Happiness being appropriated to Heaven only. However, it will be a happy State, when compared with that of former Times.

And now, as I think these are rational, and therefore justly supposable Conjectures, as being not only consistent with Scripture as well as Reason; but congruous to a parallel Resurrection, which is recorded, Matth. 27. 52. So I desire they may be considered in Conjunction with, and as additional unto, those other Considerations offer'd before; whether in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, or in the 3d Book of *Christology*, or in the preceding Part of this *Dissertation*; to the Pages of all which I have already refer'd the Reader. For, by laying those things together, we shall be able to form to our selves as clear an Idea, both of the *special Resurrection*, and of the *Millennium*, as can be rationally expected. So that having attain'd both Ends of this *first Inquiry*, I proceed now to the next.

II. INQUIRY.

When, or at what Time, or Period of Time, may we most probably suppose, that Antichrist will fall, and the happy Millennium begin, and consequently the special Resurrection, which is to be then?

The I cannot pretend to equal Certainty, as to the precise Time of the Millennium and special Resurrection, as I presume to have attain'd unto, as to the Reality of these Events themselves; Yet, I hope, I may venture to say, that I have the highest Probabilities, to make me conclude, that the Commencement of the Millennium will coincide with the Year of Christ 2000; and that the special Resurrection will be at, or about that Time, *i. e.* a little before the Millennium begin, as I humbly suppose.

In order to clear up this Point, as far as I can, I desire that my *Apocryphical Discourse* finish'd on *New Years Day*, viz. *Jan. 1. Old Style. A. D. 1702.* and publish'd a few Days afterwards, may be consulted. But, because this Treatise may come into the Hands of those, who cannot immediately come at that Discourse; and because I presume to say, that no such exact and consistent Scheme of the *Apocryphical Visions* was ever yet given: I shall not grudge to give the Reader a short View of it, as far as may serve my Design, in laying a Foundation for my answering the Scope of this *second Inquiry*; hoping, that if I add any thing, to clear up my former meaning, as I go along, none will quarrel with me for amending what is my own.

And, in doing this, I must premise, what I cast into a *Postscript* to that *Epistolary Discourse*; seeing I did there give a short Account of the first Principles of the *Apocryphical Interpretations* advanc'd in the *Discourse* it self. Now my *Propositions* and *Corollaries*, which I think I have demonstrated, in that Place, are these following;

referring the Reader to the Proof thereof, as well as to the Inlargements of other Things, which I may afterwards touch upon, to the proper Places of the Discourse it self, where they are to be found.

The first Principles of the True Exposition of the Apocalypse, proved in the Postscript, to my Apocalyptical Discourse, Page 157, &c.

- I. Proposition. *The Revelation was written by the Apostle John, and is a Sacred and Canonical Book of the New Testament.*
- II. Prop. *The Book of the Revelation was written after the Destruction of Jerusalem.*
 1. Corollary. *The Visions of the Apocalypse, did neither relate to the Romish nor Jewish State, before the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.*
 2. Corol. *The Revelation relates to the Church and Her Adversaries, as to those things that were to fall out, after the Everfion of the Jewish State.*
 3. Corol. *The Revelation contains the Series of all the remarkable Events and Changes of the State of the Church to the End of the World.*
- III. Prop. *The Seven Epistles directed to as many Churches in the lesser Asia, do not immediately relate to the Christian Church in general, and therefore cannot be interpreted Prophetically, in any proper Sense, as if they did denote so many Periods of Time.*
- IV. Prop. *Babylon the Great, or the Apocalyptical Beast, taken in a general Sense, as it is represented, with its seven Heads and ten Horns, is no other than an Emblem of the Roman People and Power, under seven Terms of Government, and ten Provincial or Proconsular Districts, afterwards to be alter'd into ten separate Kingdoms.*
- V. Prop. *The seven-headed Beast, more specially considered, viz. as represented to be rid upon, or to be under the Subjection*

jection of the Whore, doth represent to us, Rome, as it is under the Ecclesiastical Government of the Papacy, or Apostate Church of Rome.

VI. Prop. The seven Kings, represented by the seven Heads of the Beast, are no other than the seven Forms of supreme Government, that did successively obtain among the Romans.

Now having premised these *Postulata*, in reference to the whole *Apocalypse*; let me proceed to give a *summary Account of my Discourse* it self, (with some additional *Inlargements*) concerning the *Rise and Fall of the Papacy*, &c.

In order to this, I premised two *preliminary Considerations*.

The 1st. was this: That the Three Grand *Apocalyptical Numbers*, viz. that of 1260 Days, that of 42 Months, and that of *Time, Times and an half*, (or 3 Years and an half,) are not only *Synchronical*, but must be interpreted *Prophetically*, so as that we must interpret Days to signify Years. See Page 19, &c.

The 2^d Preliminary was this: That in order to understand the *Prophetical Years* aright, we must reduce them to *Julian Years*, or such as are in use with us now in Europe.

And, as I think, I have irrefragably proved both these Heads: So, I hope, I may be allowed to say, that, so far as I can learn, I was the first Man that found out this *second Point*; and that adjusted the *Prophetical* or *Judaical Years*, of 360 Days, with the *Julian* or *Roman* ones of 365 Days. For which, see Page 24, 25, 26.

Having premised these things, I proceeded to inquire into the *true Era* of the *Rise* of the *Papal Beast*, or the *last Headship* of *Rome*, viz. that of the *Reign* of the *Antichristian Whore* or *Apostate Church* of *Rome*.

And, in order to adjust this, I laid this *Foundation*; that *five Heads* or *Forms* of *Government* were *actually fallen*,

len, at the time of the Vision: for so the Angel, that was sent to interpret the Apocalypse to the Apostle *John*, says, in express Words, *Rev.* 17. 10. And he adds, as expressly, that *one* was then in being, *i. e.* the *sixth Head* or *sixth Form* of Government. And we know, that whatever Dispute there may be, as to the *five former sorts* of Government, that were fallen before the time of *John's* being in *Patmos*; there can be no Dispute at all, as to that Form of Government that then obtain'd: for every one must own, that it could be none but the *Imperial*: seeing this was introduc'd long before *John* was born, and lasted long after his Death.

All the Controversy therefore, that can be, in this matter, I did suppose must be in relation to the other Head or Heads of the Roman Government. And therefore, I set my self to examine the remaining Part of the *Angel-Interpreter's* Words; which he gives as the *Key* of the whole *Apocalypse*; when he says, *Chap.* 17. 10. that after the Fall of the *Sixth* or *Imperial Head*, there were *two* in Name to come, (tho *one* only in Nature and in Propriety of Speech.) His Words are, that *the other*, (*i. e.* the *Seventh*, in Point of Succession,) *is not yet come, and that when he cometh, he is to continue only for a short Space*: Adding, as to the last Head of Rome, *ver.* 11: *And the Beast that was before, and yet is not now; even he is the Eighth, (viz. in Point of Number and Succession) and yet is of the Seven, (in Point of Nature,) and goeth into Perdition.*

Now, when I came to search into History, I could not but conclude, that the *seventh Head* of Rome (*viz.* in Point of Name and Succession) which succeeded the *Imperial one*, could not possibly be any other than that of the *Ostro-Goths* under *Theodorick* and his Successors, to whose Government *Odoacer*, the King of the *Heruli*, prepar'd the way, by destroying *Augustulus*, the last proper (however weak) Emperor of Rome, in the Year 475, or 476. For, as it is certain, that *Odoacer* first, and *Theodorick* and his Successors afterwards, down to *Tejas*, were as absolute Masters of Rome, as
ever

ever any of the Emperors had been before; nay, and were own'd to be so by the Christian *Emperors* of the *East*, as every one knows, that has consulted *Cassiodorus*, in *Libris Variarum*, who was himself chief *Minister* of State to two of those *Gothish* Kings: So it is plain, that this *Gothish* Monarchy, which lasted only about 80 Years, down from *Odoacer* to *Tejas*, might justly be said, by the Angel, to be of *short Continuance*; seeing, comparatively, it was so, whether we consider it in Relation to the preceding *Imperial Head of Rome*, or the *Papal one* that succeeded.

And here I must so far break off the Thread of the present Discourse, as to call to mind, that this Notion of mine did so confound the late famed *Apocalyptical* Writer, *Mr. Beverley*, as to occasion him to write a Pamphlet against me, intitl'd, *The Grand Apocalyptick Question, when the Reign of Antichristianism, or the Papacy began? And consequently, when it shall end? In the Assertion of the Epoch or Beginning thereof, at A. D. 437; and the Period or End thereof, at 1797, humbly debated with Mr. Fleming, &c.* To which, I thought it enough to reply, in a *Marginal Note*, in a *Practical Discourse*, which I was then publishing, upon the Occasion of *King William's* Death, which is to be seen in the 40th Page of that Discourse. In which *Marginal Note* I observed, that, whereas he insisted upon a Criticism, in Defence of his Notion, that the Christian Empire of the East, was properly meant, *Rev. 17. 10.* by the $\acute{\omicron} \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, which he renders $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$, i. e. the *Alien* or *Forreigner*; his own Observation made against him, and for me; seeing the *Gothish Monarchy* was indeed *Alien* and *Forreign* to the *Romans*, and to all the Forms of their Government, which no *Imperial Government* could be said to be; seeing, whatever Religion obtained, the *Imperial Form* was still retain'd. And whereas he adds, that the *Regnancy* of this *seventh Head* was to continue only for a *short Time*; I observed that this did also make for me, and against him; seeing the *Empire* of the *East* continued long after the *Ruin* of the *Gothish Monarchy*.

And

And surely there can be no such natural Exposition of the Character given of that *Form of Government*, which succeeded the *Imperial*, as that which I added there, *viz.* “ That it was remarkable, that the Head, “ which is said to be the *Seventh* in Order, is not said “ *to be of the Seven*; (this being the Character of the “ *last Head*, which is really the *Seventh*, tho the *Eighth* “ in order;) and that for this Reason; because the “ *Gothish Kingdom* in *Italy*, tho it was the *seventh* Head “ or Government of *Rome*, was not, for all that, the “ *seventh Roman Head*: Seeing it is certain, that it “ did not spring or arise out of *Italy*, or *Rome*, or from “ the Bowels of the *Roman People*; but was a *foreign* “ *Power*, that invaded and subdued them, and erected “ a sovereign Government there by Conquest. And indeed there is so much Wisdom visible to me, in the Contrivance of the Characters of these two last Heads of *Rome*; that I am not ashamed to say, is, to me, no small Proof of the Divine Authority of this whole Book.

And therefore I added the Reason, why the Dialect is quite altered, when the Angel speaks of the *Eighth* and *last Form* of the *Roman Government*, after this manner. “ For seeing the *Papal Government*, which succeeded to the *Gothish* over *Rome*, did really spring up “ from the Bowels of the *Roman People*, it was just for “ the Angel to Characterize this *last Head* of *Rome*, as “ that *which was one of the seven proper Forms* of *Roman* “ *Government*; the *Gothish Kingdom* being properly none “ of them, both as being the same, as to Kind, with “ the *first Regal Government* of *Rome*, and as being *no* “ *proper Roman Government*, seeing *Goths* and not *Romans* or *Italians*, did then rule and command the “ *Ancient Dominions* of *Rome* and *Italy*, which did “ always give Name to the *fourth General* or *Universal* “ *Monarchy*, from its *first Rise* under *Kings*, and afterwards downwards, thro’ all the *successive Forms* thereof to this Day.

Having said so much, I return (and, I hope, I do so with Advantage) to prosecute the Thread of my Discourse. For seeing I have evinced, 1. That the *Gothish Monarchy* was the *seventh Government of Italy and Rome*, at the same time, that it was no *Roman Government* at all: And, 2. That the *Papal Government* was really *one* and the *last of the seven Roman Forms of Government*, at the same Time that it was the *Eighth* in Order, as being immediately successive to *that of the Goths*: I cannot (after the Probation of these two Points) but necessarily conclude; that, if we can find out, when the *Gothish Monarchy* ended, we may rationally hope to discover, when the Reign of the *Papacy* began to commence.

Now, seeing the Kingdom of the *Heruli* first, and *Ostrogoths* afterwards, began *An. 476*, upon the Death of *Augustulus*, and ended, *An. 553*, when *Justinian* destroyed it, and consequently revived the 6th *Imperial Headship of Rome*; (by which *that Head*, tho' it had received *its deadly Wound*, never to be fully cured, *was yet, for a time, healed, in Appearance*;) I say, seeing the Case was so, it is certain, that a quite different Form of Government from the *Imperial*, could not be supposed to take Place, just at that time. And indeed, such were the Confusions that followed the Destruction of the *Gothish Monarchy*, that there can be no proper Form of Government found in History, in Relation to *Rome and Italy*, for a considerable time afterwards. For *Narses* having brought in the *Lombards*, the *Emperors of the East* were glad to rest contented with their little and precarious Government, which was only that of the *Exerchate of Ravenna*.

So that there is not the least Pretence, that the *Papal Government* came in Play, as a *proper Head, or Form of Government over Rome*, until the Year 606, when *Phocas* gave the Title of *Universal Bishop* to *Pope Boniface the 3d*. But then we must remember, that the famous Prophecy of his Predecessor, *Gregory the Great*, was not, *that he should be Antichrist that should assume that proud Title,*

Title, but that he that should do so, should be the Fore-runner of Antichrist. So that, as I said, in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 33. Phocas did only proclaim the Pope, as one that was about to be the last Head of Rome: It being left to Pipin to give him the solemn Investiture, and to seat him on the Throne; as it was left to his Son Charlemain, to confirm him in this Dignity.

Now, as near as I can trace the time of this Donation of Pipin, and Confirmation of Charlemain, it was in or about the Year 758; when, (after Pope Zachary had made Provision for the Erecting the Roman Metropolitan Church at Rome) Pope Stephen the 3^d was made a Secular Prince, by Pipin, A. D. 755. or three Years after that, when Pope Paul the First began to build the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, viz. A. 758, or 759.

If therefore we make the Year 758, to be the *Era* of the Papal Kingdom, the 1260 Years of the Duration thereof, cannot be supposed to run out before the Year 2018, if we reckon by Julian Years: But if we reduce them to Judaical or Prophetical Years, they end exactly in the Year 2000. Or if we begin the Papal Reign, in An. 755, 756, or 757, when the Pope was first own'd and submitted to, as the true Head of Rome, the difference of about 3 Years is no great matter; especially seeing Authors differ among themselves as to the precise and exact time, when these things fell out.

However, upon the Supposition, that the Papacy became regnant in the Year 758, we find, that the Year 758, from the Birth of Christ, when it is adjusted with the Characteristical Number of Antichrist, A. D. 666. is the Year 72; which I take to be the very Year of John's seeing the Visions, which are recorded in the Apocalypse; tho' I know others reckon it to have been the Year 75. Tho' it is also observable, that as the numerical Letters of the last Head of Rome are to be found, not only in the Greek Word, which signifies *Latine*, but in the Hebrew Word also of the like Signification, whether we read *Romana scil. sedes*, or *Romanus vel Latinus*, (as I shewed, pag. 31. of the Apocalyptical

tical Discourse :) So it was in the Year of our Lord 666, that Pope *Vitalian* did first ordain that all Publick Worship should be in *Latin*, as if he had design'd that *Italian* and *Vitalian* should chime one with another, to the Tune of a canting Cathedral *Ave Maria*. But to return;

The *Great Apocalyptical Question*, is therefore this; when the Pope came to get himself owned and submitted unto, as Prince and Head of *Rome*?

That he did not attain to this Grandeur, so much as in Title, before *Phocas* his time, is, I think, too plain to be denied. For as *Gregory the Great*, in his Letter to the *Emperor Maurice*, pronounced him to be the *Fore-runner of Antichrist*, who should assume the proud Title of *Universal Bishop*, as I have said, and as *Baronius* tells us at large, *ad Annum*, 595. So his Successor *Boniface the Third*, was no more than *Antichrist's Fore-runner*, by assuming it, *A. D.* 606. as I believe *Phocas* did only design, by giving it, to shew his Resentment against *Cyriacus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who had displeas'd him, and to ingage the Pope to stand by him, in case of need, as knowing how precarious his own Title was, and how hated his Person was by all Men.

But a bare Title and an Ecclesiastical one too, could never make the *Pope Head of Rome*, in any Propriety of Speech, whilst as yet he had no Temporal Dominion over *Rome*: and therefore I am obliged to run down to the Donation of *Pipin*, as the only Period of Time, from whence the Papacy can be supposed to mount the Throne of *Rome*, as its last Supreme Form of Government.

Objection. But it seems odd, to date the *Pope's Headship* from hence; seeing the Limbs of *Antichrist* are made up only of *Ecclesiasticks*; and that therefore, tho' the Temporal Dominion, which *Pipin* and *Charlemain* granted him, might serve indeed to support him, yet it could not constitute him, to be the Supreme Head of *Rome*; seeing he never had any such Temporal Jurisdiction, from whence he could claim an universal Headship; it being plain that he never
had

had any more Dominion, than what serv'd to make him one of the petty Princes of Italy.

Answer. This Objection were Demonstration against me, had I ever own'd the Pope to have been equally a Temporal Head, in extent of Dominion and Power, as an Ecclesiastical one. But all that I pretend to infer from the Donation of *Pipin*, is this; that he had not, before that time, what was sufficient either to support him, and to entitle him to be Head of *Rome*; seeing, ever before this, the *Popes* were *Vassals* to the *Imperial Power*, whose Subjects they were, and owned themselves to be: *Rome* it self being annexed to *Ravenna*; which was then the Capital City of that District or Province of *Italy*, belonging unto the *Greek Emperors*, where they kept an *Exarch* or *Governour* to rule and manage all their Affairs. So that it was *Pipin* that advanced the Pope from being a Subject to be a Prince, by giving him the whole *Exerchate* of *Ravenna*; by which *Rome* became the head City of that Territory, and the Pope consequently Head of *Rome*, independent of all others.

The History of this Transaction we have in *Baronius*, ad Annum 755; who tells us, That when *Pipin* had undertaken an Expedition into *Italy*, upon the Pope's humble and earnest Request, he found the Pope's Circumstances very low. For *Aistulph* King of the *Lombards* had conquer'd *Ravenna*, and the whole *Exerchate*, excepting *Rome* only; to which he was then laying close Siege. But *Pipin*, as the Pope's Champion, fell upon *Aistulph*, and entirely routed his Army, and conquer'd the whole Country; refusing to make any Peace with that Prince, until he had quietly yielded up the whole *Exerchate* to Pope *Stephen* and his Successors for ever.

Now *Baronius* tells us, that while these things were in dispute, and that *Aistulph* had agreed to do as *Pipin* desired; the Emperor *Constantine Capronymus* sent Ambassadors to *Pipin*, demanding the Restitution of the Lands and Cities of the *Exerchate*, as belonging of Right neither to *Pipin* nor *Aistulph*, which therefore
neither

neither of them separately, nor both jointly, had any Pretence to give away, either to the Pope or any Body else. But Power overcame Right, and the poor Emperor protested in vain; for the Pope was not only invested in the Supreme Headship of that Dominion, but had some other Cities and Villages given him likewise: All which do now constitute the *Ecclesiastical Territory* of the *Roman See*, as it is usually called.

And, as a Monument of this memorable Transaction, *Baronius* tells us, that there is extant, (u) at *Ravenna*, an *Inscription*; where a summary Account of this *Donation* of *Pipin* is yet to be seen, and which runs thus: PIPINUS, PRIMUS AMPLIFICANDÆ ECCLESIAE VIAM APERIENS, RAVENNAM, CUM UNIVERSO EXARCHATU, ALIASQUE OMNES CIVITATES, IN PRIORE FOEDERE CONTENTAS, ROMANIS PONTIFICIBUS PERPETUO POSSIDENDAS, SUIS DIPLOMATIBUS CONCESSIT; ETIAMSI IMP. CAPRONYMI AD EUNDEM REGEM MISSI LEGATI ACRIUS INSTITISSENT, UT EAS IMPERIALI RESTITUERET DITIONI. Which *Inscription* we may render thus, in the British. *Pipin, being the first Person that opened the way of the Inlargement of the Church, did give and grant, by his Letters Patents, to the Popes of Rome, not only Ravenna, with its whole Exerchate; but all the other Cities mention'd in his former Treaty, (viz. in that which he had made before with Aistulph the Lombard) to be possess'd by the Bishops of Rome in all time coming; notwithstanding that the Ambassadors of the Emperor Capronymus, who were sent, upon this very Account to the same King Pipin, had, with the greatest Vehemence insisted, that the said Exerchate and those other Cities should be restored to the Imperial Government.*

(u) *Mezereay*, p. 99. says the same, and tells us, that the *Inscription* is on a *Marble Stone*.

Of this Transaction other Historians of the Roman Church take notice also, particularly *Anastafius*, *Leo Ostie-fis*, *Balvus* and *Platina*. Only there is some Difference between these Authors. For, whereas *Platina* says, that this happened in the Days of Pope *Stephen the 2d*; *Baronius* asserts, that that Pope liv'd but three Days, and that this happened in the Days of Pope *Stephen the 3d*. And, whereas *Platina* placeth Pope *Paul the 1st* between these two *Stephens*, making him the Brother of the first of them, *Baronius* placeth him after both the *Stephens*, making him to be the Brother of the latter. So that we see how uncertain the Chronology of that Age is, as to precise Years; and that therefore we ought not to be positive. However the Difference of 3 or 4 Years being allowed for, (which is no great thing in calculating the Period of 1260 Years,) we find an Agreement as to this; that *Pipin's Donation* of the Exerchate, was to one of these *Stephens*, (excepting that *Platina in Vita Hadriani primi* says, that the *Exerchate* was first given by *Pipin* to *Gregory the 3d*, Predecessor to *Zachary*, and afterwards confirmed and ratified to *Hadrian* by a solemn Oath, and with new Privileges by *Charlemain*) at or about the Year 755, or 758. and I think it was most probable, to Pope *Stephen the 3d*, that *Pipin* gave this Gift, towards the end of his Life, and therefore in the Year 755, or 756; as it was in the 2d Year of the Papacy of *Paul the 1st*, and therefore in the Year 758, that the *Palace* of the *Papacy*, viz. the *Church* of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, was begun to be erected.

However memorable is the Character which *Platina* gives us of that Age, *in vita Stephani tertii: Nunc vero adeo refrixit Pietas*, &c. " At this time Piety and Religion
 " were so far sunk, that Men did not only not wor-
 " ship God, as formerly, bare-footed, but refus'd any
 " Prostration, with Shoes and Stockings on. They did
 " not cry and weep in the time of Worship, but stood
 " ridiculing it, in the most impudent Manner, laugh-
 " ing and telling Stories one to another, all the while.

“ I speak not of the meaner Sort, says he, but the
 “ highest, even the most eminent of the Clergy. And
 “ what shall I say further? seeing the more wicked
 “ and impudent any Man was then, the more he was
 “ honour'd and praised, so little of Virtue was then
 “ left in the World. And from henceforth the Chri-
 “ stian Religion did decline more and more every Day.
 A true and memorable Account of the Period of Anti-
 christ's being born into the World.

But, to come further to answer the Objection; I say, that tho I am far from thinking that the Pope's Temporal Dominion was ever equally co-extended, in a proper Sense, with his Ecclesiastical Headship: Yet I reckon he neither was, nor indeed could possibly be, the proper Lord of *Rome*, until he was possess'd of this Dominion as well as of the Ecclesiastical Title; nay that he never was universally owned to be Supreme Head of *Rome* even in an Ecclesiastical Sense, until he had a Civil Sanction given him, to exempt him from any Subjection to secular Princes.

For, seeing the Denomination of Supreme Head of the City of *Rome*, was ever, in all Ages, and by all Men, agreed upon to be the Fundamental Title of the Headship of the Roman Dominion: The Pope may be reasonably look'd upon, upon this very Account, to be the Head of the Roman Government; tho he had even a smaller Share of *Italy*, annex'd to the Possession of the City of *Rome*, than he has been possess'd of, ever since the Days of *Pipin*. For the Pope possesses as much of *Italy*, at this Day, and ever since the *Donation* of *Pipin*, (tho not before) as ever was possess'd by all the old Kings of *Rome*, down from *Romulus* to *Tarquin the Proud*; nay and for some considerable time after the Expulsion of the Kings, and the Succession of the *Consular Power*. And why then should this *last Form of Government* be denied the Title of *Supreme*, any more than the *first*, during its whole Duration; or the *second* for a considerable time afterwards? For all the *Roman Authors* are agreed that the *Regal Go-*

vernment was as much the *Supreme Government* as the *Imperial*; and that the *beginning* of the *Consular Power* was also as much the *Supreme Form of Government*, as it was afterward when the *Dominion of Rome* was ten or twenty times larger than before. For the *Dominion of Rome* it self was the essential Character which they went upon this Way: Infomuch as that *Romulus*, who had hardly a Foot of Ground beyond the poor and weak Walls of his Infant-City, was ever look'd upon to be as really *Supreme Lord of the Romans*, as ever *Augustus* was afterwards, when the Empire had stretch'd it self over the greatest Part of *Europe*, and a vast Part of the Continents of *Asia* and *Africa*.

Hence it is that (w) *Florus*, comparing the Increase of the Roman Power, to the Age of a Man, speaks thus: *Prima aetas sub Regibus fuit, prope 250 per annos, &c.* That is; *The first Age (i. e. of the Government of Rome) was under Kings, for 250 Years, during which it was exercis'd, round its Mother (viz. Rome) with Conflicts with its Neighbours. This may be said to be its Childhood.* The next Age begins with *Brutus* and *Collatinus* the *Consuls*, and runs down to *Appius*, *Claudius* and *Quinctius Fulvius* the *Consuls*, then taking in the Period of 200 Years, within which time *Rome* conquer'd *Italy*, &c.

And thus *Tacitus* also reckons the *Fundamental Constitution* of the *Roman Government* to stand in the *Possession of Rome*; when he (x) says, *Urbem Romanam ab initio Reges tenuere, &c. i. e. Rome was at first under Regal Government, &c.* So that the Essential Point, that was ever agreed upon, as that which gave Denomination a true *Supreme Form of a Roman Government*, was this; that it was own'd and submitted unto as *Supreme* over the *City of Rome*, and consequently was *Head of the Roman People*. And this the Angel himself, who was sent to *John*, to give him the *Key of the Apocalypse*, doth plainly suppose, *Chap. 17. ver. 18.* So that *Romulus*,

(w) L^b. I. cap. I. (x) *Annal. Lib. I. in Exordio.*

as I have said, was ever look'd upon, to be as much the Supreme Lord of the *Romans*, tho' (at first he had not one Village or Cottage, beyond the narrow Compass of his first Walls and *Pomeria*;) as *Augustus* was afterwards, when, in a comparative Sense, it might be said, *atq; iidem fines Orbis & Urbis erant*, i. e. that the Limits of *Rome* and the *World* were the same.

And, besides what was of old; if we descend lower, how confin'd was the Roman Empire, under *Galienus*, upon the Usurpation of the 30 Tyrants, that rose up in several Parts of the Empire? How weak was it under *Valentinian* the 3^d? And how much lower and more narrow'd under *Augustulus*? And yet the Possession of the City of *Rome* entitl'd them to the Possession of the *Roman People*. So that, in this Case, I may justly make use of the old and certain Logical Maxim, that *Majus & minus non variant speciem*, i. e. that Degrees alter not the Essential Nature and Properties of Things; even as it must be said, in all Propriety of Language, that he that were *Doge* of the City of *Venice* upon a Declension of that Republick, (even upon the Supposition, that all its Lands, not only in the *Morea*, but in *Italy* it self, were intirely lost,) that, I say, he would still be *Doge*, as much as he that now possessees that Title.

Therefore, tho' I should yield to those that make the *Objection* even to the fullest Extent of their own main Proposal; that the Fundamental Constitution of *Antichrist* is this, that he claims an *Univerfal Ecclesiastick Headship* over *Christians*: Yet I must still be allowed to add, that I cannot possibly date his full and proper Rise to this, sooner than the Donation of *Pipin* and his Son *Charlemain's* Ratification of the same; by which those Princes did intirely yield the *Dominion of Rome* to the *Popes* for ever; and, in order to this, gave him the Precedency, even over themselves; insomuch, that they refused to be owned *Kings* or *Emperors* at all, until the *Pope* had greas'd them with his anointing Oil, and set the *Crown* actually on their Heads. For tho'

Pipin had been made King, by the Blessing and Declaration of Pope *Zachary*, who joyn'd with him in deposing *Childerick*; yet, upon Pope *Stephen's* coming to *Paris*, to demand Assistance against the *Lombards*, he not only met him, and walk'd before him, leading his Horse; but would be crowned by him again, together with his Sons. And we are equally assured, by Historians, that, after his Death, his Son *Charlemain*, from his Zeal for the Pope, went to *Rome* it self, in order again to receive his Crown from the Holy Father, and therewith the Title of Emperor of the *Romans*.

And surely, this was the Time, when the last Head of the *Roman* Beast, after his having united the Secular to the Ecclesiastical Headship, did (as the (y) *Two horned Beast*, by his double Claim, of being the Successor of *Peter*, as to Ecclesiastical Matters over Priests, and of his being the Successor of the *Emperors*, as to Temporal Matters over Princes) make an Image of the old *Roman* Empire; which was eminently verified in the Coronation of *Charlemain* and his Successors, by the Title of *Emperors of Rome*, and in that of their apparent Heirs, by the Title of *Kings of the Romans*. For it is evident to any that understand History, that both these Titles, as well as their Authority and Power, amounted to no more than what the Character of an Image does amount unto, in Relation to the Original thereof. For every one must own, that, as the *Roman Popish Worship* is an Image of the old *Jagan Romish* Religion: So that *Charlemain's* Dominion and Title also, (preserved since, in some Measure, in the *German Empire*) was never any greater Matter, than a bare Image or Shadow of the *Old Roman Empire*.

Now, ever after this Time, we find, that the Popes laid Claim to a supreme Power, both over the Western and Eastern Emperors, as well as over all Kings and Princes, whose Territories had ever been formerly sub-

(y) See Rev. 13. 11, 14.

ject to the old *Romans*; nay, and over the whole World too, under Pretence of their being Christ's Vicegerents, and the Successors of *Peter*, as Prince of the Apostles; and that therefore they are invested with the supreme Regal Office, as well as with the supreme Priesthood.

Did they not, ever after the Days of *Pipin* and *Charlemain*, openly twist Universal, Secular, and Ecclesiastical Power together? And have they ever gone back, at any time, in the least, from this Claim? Do they not, at this very Day, openly declare, that their *Cardinals* are equal in Honour to Sovereign Princes? And do not their Nuncio's, upon this very Score, take Place of the Ambassadors of all crowned Heads, the Emperors not excepted? Are not several of their Ecclesiasticks Independent Princes upon all but the Pope only, and particularly such as are *Electors* of *Germany*, viz. those of *Mentz*, *Trier* and *Collogn*?

Nay, did not the Popes, for many Centuries, demand Tax and Tribute, both ordinary and annual, and extraordinary upon special Occasions, not only from *Italy*, but from all *Christian Nations*, and therefore from all *Countries*, formerly subject to the *Roman Empire*? And did not almost all these Nations own the Popes to be Superior to their own natural Princes, and that with their own Consent too, paying them Homage accordingly, as well as Tribute? The old Tax, famous in this Nation, by the Name of *Peter's-Pence*, is a standing Monument of this, as well as innumerable other things, observ'd in our Annals? As particularly, that famous or rather infamous Instance of a noted King, that was forc'd to submit to be openly whip'd by the Monks and Priests, in a very odd manner, to save himself from being depos'd or put to Death? Was it not a Maxim of the Cannon Law, owned then both by Princes and People, that it was in the Pope's Power to depose all Princes, at his Pleasure, by his Excommunications? And are there not Instances of his doing so; and of his being submitted unto accordingly, both by

1 ?

Princes

Princes and Subjects. And when, at length, some Princes declar'd against this; was not the Notion so strong and universal, that the Bulk of the People declar'd themselves freed from their Allegiance to their natural Princes, and took up Arms against them accordingly? He that has ever read the History of past Ages, and particularly the terrible and bloody Wars of the Emperors and Popes Parties, under the Names of *Gibbelins* and *Gnelts* or *Welphs*, cannot dispute how great the Papal Authority and Power were at that Time; especially if the memorable History of the Great Emperor *Henry the 4th* be consider'd, whom the Pope depos'd, and set up *Rudolph* Duke of *Swevia* in his Stead, sending him an Imperial Crown, with this *Motto* upon it.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rudolpho.

That is,

Christ unto Peter gave the Crown,
Which he to Rudolph sends from Rome.

Upon whose Death Pope Gregory the 7th, surnamed *Hilebrand*, (in whose Time the Papacy was at its heighth,) was so far from yielding to the Emperor, that he found Means to influence his own Son, *Henry the 5th*, to rise against his Father. This, with innumerable more Stories of this kind, the Histories of those Times are full of. One of which is so memorable, as ought never to be forgotten, *viz.* that the Brave and Heroical Emperor, *Frederick Barbarossa* was forc'd, thro' this Passive-Obedience-Principle of his Priest-ridden Subjects, to yield himself to the Pope, at length, where, after he had been treated as a Beast, as particularly to lie all Night abroad in the Street, before *St. Mark's* Palace, was, at length, trampled upon by the Pope, who kick'd him with his own Feet, saying, it is written, *Upon the Viper and Basilisk thou shalt walk,*
and

and the Lion and Dragon thou shalt tread under thy Feet. To which, when the Emperor, remembering his Dignity, had said, *Non Alexandro sed Petro*, I do not this Honour to thee, Pope *Alexander* the 3^d, but to *Peter*; the Pope impudently answered, *Et mihi & Petro*, thou dost it to Me, and consequently to *Peter*.

From all these things, (and many more might be added) it is plain, that tho' the Pope be properly an Ecclesiastical Head; yet he is really the only Head of *Rome*, in a secular Sense also, down from *Pipin* to this Day: And that consequently his being made Temporal Head of the *seven hill'd City*, (which is as well known, to denote the ancient Seat of the *Roman Monarchy*, in *Roman Authors*, as that of *Rome* it self) that rules over the *Kings of the Earth*, was that which laid the Foundation, at least in a full Sense, of his exercising all the Power of the former *Roman Head*, or *Romish Beast*, under the *Imperial Form of Government*; but not under the Formal Authority or Title of Emperor; but (as the Revelation elegantly words it, *Chap. 13. 12.*) before him, i. e. under his View, by his Papal Authority, as a Power superior to him. So that, tho' the Pope made an *Image* of the former *Imperial Authority*, and gull'd *Charlemain* and his *Successors* with this fine Feather in their Caps; yet he reserv'd the real Authority and Power, both over them and their Subjects, to himself, and oblig'd them accordingly, to pay Homage ultimately to himself. Witness the infamous *Vassilage* which Pope *Hadrian* oblig'd the *Emperor* to, A. D. 1157. when he forc'd him to hold his Stirrup, &c. and his setting up a *Picture* of this in the *Vatican*. Nay, the same Pope enacted also, in *Edicts*, as well as impudent *Letters* to the *Emperor*; 1. That *all the Kingdoms of the World were subject to him*; and that *he was set up by God, to destroy Countries and Nations, as he pleased.* 2. That *he was the supreme Head of the Roman Empire*; and that the *whole Roman Empire was therefore held now of him, as being a Fief of the Papacy.*

Now, after this Deduction of things, I could not but conclude, that the *Ara* of the *Papacy*, as the *last Head* or *Form* of *Government* of *Rome*, was, as near as I could calculate it, in or about the Year 758; and that consequently, the Conclusion of the 1260 Years of the Papal Regnancy, must be about the Year 2018, which, according to Prophetical or Judaical Reckoning, is the Year 2000.

And, having laid this Foundation, in my *Apocryphical Discourse*; I proceeded to adjust the *Three Grand Periods* of the Apocryphical Reckoning of the Time, that was to be between the Gospel-Times, from the Effusion of the Spirit, on the Day of *Pentecost*, mention'd *Acts 2.* to the *Millennium*.

The (1.) Period therefore, consisting of the *seven Seals*, I supposed to begin at A. D. 33, or 34, and to end with *Constantine the Great*, A. D. 337.

The (2.) Great Period of the *Trumpets*, I did think, most probably, to begin about two Years after *Constantine's* Death, *viz.* A. D. 339, and to run down to the beginning of the Reformation.

Now, under this Grand Period, I did suppose, that the *1st Trumpet* ended with *Theodosius*, An. 395; the *2d* with the Ruin of the *Western Empire* of *Rome*, under *Augustulus*, An. 476; the *3d Trumpet* with the Ruin of the *Gotthick Kingdom*, An. 553; The *4th*, first with the *Donation* of the *Exarchate*, to the *Pope*, by *Pipin*, A. D. 758, and then with the Confirmation of this Gift, by *Charlemain*, confirmed by the Total Destruction of the *Kingdom* of the *Lombards*, An. 773, or thereabouts; The *5th Trumpet*, interwoven in Part with the former, and relating to the *Saracen Empire*, and the State of the Church then, from An. 622, the Year of the *Hegira*, to An. 772; and from thence to 1067, when *Tangredipix* destroyed the *Saracen Empire*; The *6th*, relating to the *Turks*, as their History is interwoven with that of the Church, from A. D. 1067, to An. 1453, when *Mahomet the Great* took *Constantinople*; during which time the *Witnesses* were slain, and lay unburied,

buried, afterwards, until the Year 1516; *The 7th Trumpet*, comprehending the *seven Vials*, beginning that same Year.

Therefore the (3.) Grand Period of the *Vials*, begins *An. 1516*; *The 1st Vial* running down to 1564; *The 2d* to 1616, or 1617; *The 3d* to 1648; *The 4th*, from thence to *A. D. 1716*, or 1717, as to the height thereof; but to expire fully, *An. 1794*.—— And, to pass other things, which I have conjectur'd in Relation to the other *Vials*, I only add, that the Conclusion of the Papacy is to be a little before the Year 2000; at which Time, I do suppose the *Millennium* will begin.

In all these things I am obliged to be very short; leaving the Reader, for further Light, to my Apocryphical Discourse, so often refer'd to already.

However, I cannot dismiss this Inquiry, without observing how many things concur to make me believe, that Antichristianism was never fully fix'd in its Chair, before the Days of Pope *Paul the 1st*, Pope *Stephen the 3d*, Pope *Hadrian the 1st*, and Pope *Leo the 3d*; who were Contemporaries with *King Pipin*, and his Son *Charles the Great*. For, (1.) Tho' several Popes, that preceded them, had flily contended for Image-Worship, to the Effusion of much Blood, especially in their Squabbles on this Score, with the *Grecian* Emperors; yet they never attain'd to get Idolatry fully established, before *Stephen the 3d* his Time. For his Predecessor *Constantine*, (the Brother of *Desiderius* King of the *Lombards*;) during his being Pope, for a Year and a Month, was a great Enemy to Idolatry, and beat down all Images out of *Rome* and its Dominions every where; and had the Concurrence of a Synod too, held purposely on this Subject. For which Reason Pope *Stephen the 3d*, or *Stephen the 4th*, according to *Baronius*, was set up against him; tho' under Pretence, at first, that he came unjustly to the Popedom, as being only a bare Laick, until his Party set him up, and that the Bishop of *Ravenna* had consecrated him Bishop of
Rome,

Rome, which was indeed owned by *Constantine*. But he told his Enemies, that he had done no new thing: For that *Sergius* the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and *Stephen* Archbishop of *Naples*, had been thus made Bishops, *per saltum*, from being Laicks. This enraged *Stephen the 3d*, and his Idolatrous *Lateran Synod*, which he had got together upon this occasion; to that degree that they pull'd out his eyes, thro' Rage. So that this *Constantine* seems to have been the last *Christian Bishop* of *Rome*. Upon whose Death *Antichristianism*, in point of *Worship*, came to be entirely fix'd. And together with his Ruin, the Pope did a little while after obtain, by means of *Charlemain*, to destroy the whole Kingdom of the *Lombards*, who had been the eminent Opposers of Idolatry all along. And yet as mad as the Pope and his Synod were against *Constantine*, in nulling his Acts, and in establishing Error and Idolatry; they agreed that all *Baptisms* and *Extreme Unctions*, performed either by himself or any others during his time, should be owned to be valid. For it seems the Church of *Rome* was not quite so nonsensical as some pretended Protestants amongst us; who do not only damn Ecclesiastical Mens Acts, because not just of their way, but likewise do condemn, as null and void, the very Acts of Bishops, who, as they pretend, are no Bishops, because of their invading the Sees of others, and thus breaking their Chimerical Notion of an uninterrupted Succession. (2.) As *Antichristianism*, came both into the *Creed* and *Worship* of the Romish Church, in Pope *Stephen's* Time; (in whose Days, says *Onuphrius Panvinus*, in his Chronology of the Popes, added to *Platina's* History, the 11th *Grand Schism* happened, the greatest of all others that had been before) so, as *Platina* tells us, the Morals of Men bore Proportion to both; such universal Wickedness having come in with both, as never was known before. (3.) And, whereas the Popes had only an empty Title formerly of being universal Bishops; they were then invested with Supreme and Independent Authority, Dominion and Power, Civil as well as Ecclesiastical, both

over

over *Rome* and Christians. (4.) And, besides these things, it was not till then, that the Princes of *Europe* agreed, to submit their Faith and Consciences implicitly, to the Determinations of the Pope and his Clergy. (5.) Nay the Pope did then first get the Power to excommunicate Princes and People, as he pleased, nay and to punish them with Death or otherwise, as he thought good, where he could attain to put his Laws in Execution. (6.) And as the *Greek Emperors* of the *East* never had one Foot of Ground in *Italy*, after this, nor the least Shadow of Power; so there was no *Emperor* of the *West*, so much as in Name, from *A. D.* 755. until *A. D.* 800; when *Charles* the Great got the Title of (z) *Emperor of Rome*. (7.) But then, as I have said, the Western Emperors were no better than Images of Empire: the whole *Crowned Heads* of *Europe*, ever after that, being no better, in relation to the Pope, than what the Electors are now in *Germany*, in respect to the Emperor. Nay they were vastly more Tributary than they, and every way inferiour. For, tho the Popes often made Emperors, the Emperors had no Power to make Popes; or, if they attempted it, they were sure to be excommunicated, in order to be deposed.——— Now, in Case any Man can shew me a Con-

(z) Of this Inauguration and Coronation *Platina* gives us a twofold Account. The 1st is, in *vita Hadriani*, where he says, that *Charles* the Great, having waged War against the *Lombards*, upon the Pope's Request, having subdued them, and put an End to that Kingdom, *A. D.* 778. which was the Year 204, from its first Erection; he went to *Rome*, where, after Salutations, he and the Pope went to *St. Peter's Church*, where they did mutually and solemnly swear perpetual Friendship, in all time coming. And there, as the Pope confirmed him King, so *Charles* did confirm him in the Possession of the Exerchate, bestowed upon him by his Father. But, seeing no mention is made of any solemn Coronation of *Charles* then, nor of the Title of *Emperor*; this is not the principal Thing to be refer'd to; as being that only that answers to the Proclamation of a King, that is afterwards to be solemnly Invested and Crowned. Therefore *Platina* tells us, 2^{dly}. in *vita Leonis tertii*, that *Pope Leo*, being desirous to return some eminent Favour to King *Charles*, who had deserved so well of the Church

Concurrence of these Circumstances, before the Days of *Pipin*, I shall own my self mistaken, as to the *Æra* of the Reign of the Papacy. But, as I despair of this; so I hope none will be so silly, as, for the future, to date Antichrist's Reign from *Prepararions* to its Reign, rather than from its *actual Mounting the Throne*: Which is just as good Sense, as to date King, *William's* Reign, not from his being *Proclaimed King* or from his *Coronation*, but from his *Landing at Torbay*, or even from the *Birth of the Prince of Wales*; which seems to have been the main Spring of the Revolution. And indeed, at this Rate, we might as justly conclude, that the Papacy began to reign, in the Apostolical Age, seeing the Scripture tells us, that that *Mystery of Iniquity* began then to work, as that it began its Reign either in the Days of *Constantius, Justinian, Valentinian the 3d, or Phocas*. How strange then is it, that no Writer, before me, did ever think of the time of *Pipin and Charlemain*, as the *Æra* of the Papacy; which has all the Characters and Properties of the *begun Regnancy of the Papal Antichrist*, as the *last Supreme Head of the Romish Beast*; or of the *Romish Beast* as rid upon by the *Scarlet Whore*; or of the *Beast with two Horns*, that made an *Image of the Old Roman Imperial Government*, at the same

Church, and considering how weak the Emperors of Constantinople were to support that Dignity, and that upon this Account Rome and Italy were exposed to endless Calamities; he did therefore, at the desire and Prayers of the People, after Divine Worship in the Palace of St Peter, in the Year 800, declare Charles to be Emperor, pronouncing it with a loud Voice, and placing a Diadem on his Head; all the People shouting and crying out, *Carolo Augusto, a Deo Coronato, Magno & Pacifico Imperatori, Vita & Victoria*; that is, May Charles the August, Crowned by God, the Great and Flourishing Emperor, be blest with Life and Victory. Now, says Platina, at the same time that Charles was Crowned Emperor of the Romans, his Son Pipin was declared and anointed King of Italy, which was to answer the Old Title of Cæsar, which after Domitian's time was never used to signify Emperor, (for the Senate, by a Law, had order'd the contrary) but was a Title given to the apparent Successor, and which is now continued in Germany, in the Title of King of the Romans.

time that he exercised the Supreme Government, before that Shadow of the old Roman Imperial Government, or above it, as the Sovereign of all Emperors as well as Kings.

So that, as the little Horn, that came up last, Dan. 7. 8, 24. is said, 1. Not only to have been divers from all other Kings; and, 2. To have been raised to his Supreme Power at the time of his having subdued Three of the ten Kingdoms, or, as the Words are, by getting three Horns plucked up by the Roots before him: So I may confidently apply this to the Papacy in Pipin's time. For, by his Means, the Papacy, 1. Conquer'd the Exerchate of Ravenna, and consequently was made Supreme Head of Rome, the Emperors of the East being thus deposed; 2. By his means also the Papacy conquer'd the Kingdom of the Lombards, which, next to the Eastern Empire, had been the greatest Enemy of Idol-worship's prevailing, and consequently of the Pope's arriving to supreme Power and Empire; and, 3. By the means of Pipin also, the Kingdom of the Franks (which was afterwards, under Charlemaine, intitl'd the Western Empire,) was abridg'd of any Power over Rome or Italy, and was yielded, in some Sense, to be subject to the Popes. But I have said so much on this Subject already, that it is high time to come to stop now.

And indeed I had added no more to what I have said upon this Inquiry, if I had not been desired to consider a Book, that I was told was come out about a Year ago, with great Applause, on the Apocalypse; viz. that of Mr. Whiston: Which I confess I was willing to consider, as being not only the Work of a Celebrated Author, but because I understood that he had published, not only his own Thoughts therein, but those also, so long and so generally talk'd of, which the Bishop of Worcester has been equally famous for, as for his Skill in Chronology. And indeed I find by Mr. Whiston's own account, that his Book is nothing else, but an Illustration and Improvement of that Learned Prelate's Scheme: Which,

Which, having, as it were, espoused for his own, and written out from the Bishop's Dictates or Notes, he has now, by agreement with him, sent forth with his own Improvements.

Great Names usually bear a great Sway in the World, and I confess it was so with me, in this Case, upon my first View of this Famous Book. What! thought I, may we not expect from *such a Paul*, when receiving and writing such Truths at the Feet of such a *Gamaliel*? But I was extremely surprized, when I came to consider the Book more closely. For tho I found Learning enough in it, as well as Mathematical Method: Yet, I must say, that I found in the whole very little either new or solid, unless old *Joseph Mede's Scheme* new-vamp'd be reckon'd a *New Interpretation* of the *Apocalypse*.

But, as Dr. *Allix* has lately told Mr. *Whiston*, in his Letter to him, that he has run into many Mistakes, by founding so much upon that Author's Scheme: So I think every one will say the same thing, that is acquainted equally with Mr. *Mede's* and Mr. *Whiston's* Notions.

However, I was glad to find Mr. *Whiston* to have escap'd one of Mr. *Mede's* Grand Errors, *viz.* that of intermixing some of the *Trumpets* with the *Seals*, and most of the *Vials* with the *Trumpets*; of which Error I took Notice formerly in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 36. And my Surprize, this way, was the greater, because this Mistake was the Native Result of Mr. *Mede's* Grand Notion of the *Twofold Parallel Prophecie*, *viz.* of the *sealed Book*, and *open Codecil*. For seeing Mr. *Whiston* magnifies this so much, I could not but suppose, that his avoiding the Conclusion, tho he had espoused the Premises, was owing to *some other Persons* Scheme than Mr. *Mede's*.

I have neither Room here, (considering Circumstances,) nor Leisure, nor Inclination, nor indeed Health, to run out largely upon that Author's Scheme. However, I cannot forbear to mention a few Things here,

here, tho very cursorily ; which I look upon as *Mistakes* in themselves, as well as inconsistent with my Thoughts, upon the present Subject.

And, (1.) I must say, that I see no Reason for his fixing upon *A. C. 96*, which was the Year of *Domitian's* Death, as the Year of *John's* seeing the *Apocalyptical Visions* in *Patmos*, as he does *Lemma 4. Page 32.* For *Dio Cassius* says, that *Domitian* was kill'd after he had reign'd 15 Years and 5 Days ; and *Suetonius* tells us, that he was slain the 14th of the *Calends* of *October*. When therefore *Jerom* says, that *John* wrote the *Apocalypse* in *Patmos*, in the 14th Year of *Domitian* ; Learned Men have hitherto agreed, that it was *A. C. 95*, that the *Apocalypse* ought to be dated from. But I am apt to think, that *Jerom* was mistaken, when he makes *John's* Relegation to *Patmos* so late. For, by what *John* says to the Church of *Smyrna*, Chap. 2. ver. 9, 10. It is plain to me, that *Domitian's* Persecution was of ten Years Duration in all ; Days being put for Years. Now it had been very odd for *John* to advise the Christians of *Smyrna* to hold out in Patience for these ten Years, while, at the time of the writing of this, by *John*, all the ten Years were expir'd, or just expiring ; if, as *Mr. Whiston* says, *John* saw the *Apocalyptical Visions* the same Year wherein *Domitian* died. And yet I am far from saying that *John* wrote this at the very beginning of *Domitian's* Persecution : For I am moved by the Authority of *Irenæus* to think otherwise ; who tells us, *Lib. 5. Cap. 30.* as his Words are preserv'd by *Eusebius*, *Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 8.* that *John* saw the *Apocalyptical Visions*, — — πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς Δομιτιανῆς ἀρχῆς, towards the end of *Domitian's* Reign ; which I think *Mr. Whiston* strains too much to his *Hypothesis*, when he renders his Words, at the end of the Reign of *Domitian*. Now, upon the Supposition that *John* saw his Visions while that Persecution was yet raging, and was yet to continue to do so for some Years ; it was very consonant for *John* to tell the Church of *Smyrna*, how long the Persecution, they were then under, was to continue in all ; as it was al-

so congruous for *Irenæus* to use an indefinite way of expressing the Time of *John's* being in *Patmos*, to supply the Defect of his not knowing, certainly, the particular Year of his seeing his Visions. And perhaps he had just Reason to write indefinitely after this manner likewise; because, if *John* was several Years in *Patmos*, as it is highly probable he was; it is equally probable, that he might see some of the Visions of the Revelation one Year, and some another. So that, by laying all these things together, I conclude, that, tho' no Man ought to be positive, as to a certain Year, in such Cases; yet that it is highly probable, that at, or about the Year 92, the Date of *John's* being in *Patmos*, and of his seeing his Visions there, must be plac'd. And this was the Reason of my supposing formerly, that the Year 92 was probably the Year wherein *John* first had the Visions, contain'd in the Revelation, communicated to him.

(1.) I wonder how Mr. *Whiston* comes to lay it down, as his 3d *Hypothesis*, that St. *John* should use Roman Years in his Calculations. For as I have demonstrated in my *Apocryphical Discourse*, Page 19, &c. he uses no other Years than *Daniel* used before him, viz. Years of 360 Days apiece.

But however, I am glad to hear from him, Page 85, that the *Bishop* of *Worcester*, has, by the help of distinguishing between *Prophetical* and *Julian* Years, attain'd to an exact Calculation of *Daniel's Weeks*: Which I hope we shall see in due time. However, as I have made an *Essay* this way already, in the 4th *Chapter* of the preceding Book; so I hope it is no Injustice either to him or Mr. *Whiston*, to say, that near 7 Years ago, I publish'd that Distinction, which I had discovered many Years before. When therefore Mr. *Whiston* says, that this was not known for so many Ages, till our excellent *Chronologer* and *Scripturist*, the *Lord Bishop* of *Worcester*, made this Observation, and so laid a firm Foundation for the clearing of it: I suppose Mr. *Whiston* meant only to say, that the *Bishop*, so far as he knew, was the first Discoverer

verer of it ; for I presume, he will not say he was the first Publisher thereof. And, tho I shall not question, but that he might have made this Observation long before I was born ; he being a much elder Man than I am ; yet, as I never saw him, so I cannot be supposed to have received any Light, either in this, or in (y) any other respect, from him ; as indeed, I never had the least Information, this way, from any Man whatsoever.

But to proceed, (1.) It is plain, *That the three Grand Apocalyptical Numbers of 1260 Days, 42 Months, and Time, Times and an Half, are not only Synchronical, but must be interpreted Prophetically, so as Years must be understood by*

(y) *Were it not, that the B. of W. is so highly Celebrated, as the only Oedipus of the Revelation in our Age, I might have Reason to suspect that he might have been owing to a very obscure Author, for some Hints of this kind ; especially, if I have had Reason to know, that he has condescended so far, as to peruse even a small Discourse, containing, A New Account of the Rise and Fall of the Papacy. E. G. Whereas I had formerly, near seven Years ago, in my Apocalyptical Discourse, viz. in the Postscript to it, Page 171, drawn a memorable Observation, from Rev. Chap. 1. ver. 19. compared with Chap. 4. ver. 1. It cannot but be supposed to be pretty odd, at least to me ; to find the same Passage, with no Alteration, excepting that of Words, introduc'd by Mr. Whiston, with this pompous Preamble, Page 31. And besides this, — there is another Argument, — and which, as I own, was first observed to me, by our great Chronologer, and most accurate Enquirer into these Matters, the present Lord Bishop of Worcester. And then he proceeds to tell the World, as News, what I had published long before ; nay, and to draw from it the very same Conclusion I did, in Relation to the 7 Epistles to the Asiatick Churches ; which looks the more likely to have been taken from me, because it is altogether Forreign to Mr. Mede's Scheme, (of which, that of the Bishop and Mr. Whiston, is a profess'd Improvement, as Mr. Whiston tells us in his Latin Dedication,) to discard these 7 Epistles from being Prophetical. And I believe it will not be easy to find any Apocalyptical Authors before me, that made this Observation : At least, I know of none. Perhaps some Persons may think it too mean to own themselves to be oblig'd, in any thing, to the Writings of one, that is called a Presbyterian. However, let the Reader compare what Mr. Whiston says, Page 31, 32. with what I said formerly, Page 171, 172, 173. and then let him judge it as he pleaseth.*

Days; as I have proved in my *Apoclyptical Discourse*, Page 19. And therefore, (2.) It is impossible to understand these Years to be *Roman* ones. For then the 1260 Days, when reduced to such Years, must be imperfect by 18 Years. For which Reason, I shall be at the Pains again to write out that Scheme, which I gave formerly in my *Apoc. Dis.* p. 26.

The <i>Prophetical</i> Year.		The <i>Julian</i> Year.	
<i>Years.</i>	<i>Days.</i>	<i>Years.</i>	<i>Days.</i>
1.	360 360	1.	365 365
2.	720	2.	730
3.	1080	3.	1095
<i>Half Year.</i>	180	<i>Half Year, about</i>	183
<i>Three Years and a Half.</i> } 1260			1278

But, (3.) I must add, that I cannot think of any thing offer'd, that looks like a Reason, why the Revelation should run upon any other Years, than those used constantly before, in the *Prophetical* Writings. For *John* was not at Liberty in this Case. He wrote only what he saw and heard; and pronounceth a dreadful Curse, upon any that should add or take from his Text, *Chap.* 22. 18, 19. Seeing therefore the same Spirit dictated to *John*, what he was to write, that had done

done the same before to *Daniel*; and seeing, as *Daniel's* Prophecy fills up the *Hiatus*, or *void Time*, between the end of the *Old Testament-History*, unto the end of the *Jewish Government*; *John's* Prophecies beginning where *Daniel's* end, and running down to the *Millennium*, in a distinct Order; and from thence in a few *Generals*, to the end of Time, filling up thus, the Want of the History of the *New Testament*: And lastly, seeing the same *Phraseology*, the like *Figures*, and the very same kind of Numbers, are made use of: It is astonishing to me, that all Interpreters before me, should have remain'd ignorant of this Point so long.

When therefore Mr. *Whiston* calculates *Daniel's* 1290, and 1335 Days, by *Roman Years*, I think he goes upon a very precarious Bottom. And as for the other Number of *Daniel*, the new Invention of Calculating which, by Prophetical Years, he attributes to the *Great Chronologer and Interpreter, the B. of W.* (tho I think he might have found the same materially, and that again and again, in Mr. *Beverley's* Writings:) I presume to ask him, What other Reason, either the *Bishop* or *He* can assign, why the Spirit of God calls the Days of this Number, not simply *Days*, but *Evenings-Mornings*; unless it was with Design, to let us know that he meant not 2300 *Prophe-tical Days* to be interpreted *Years*, but that he meant *Natural Days*, that were usually distinguish'd into *Evenings* and *Mornings*. I foresee, that Mr. *Whiston* may remit us to his *Theory*, for an Answer; where he supposes, that the *six Evenings* and *Mornings* of the *World's Creation* were *Years*, and not *common Days*. But when he gives us his Reasons, over and above his bare Word, for this; and when likewise he will let us know, whether the *Day of Rest* was a natural *Day* or a *Year*; I shall then readily submit to his Opinion. But, in the mean time, I must be allowed to think, that no more was literally intended by the 2300 *Evenings-Mornings*, than

those 2300 Natural Days of the *Prophanation* of the Sanctuary, by *Antiochus Epiphanes*; which therefore seems to have continued exactly 6 Judaical Years, 4 Months, and 20 Days.

And here, before I proceed to other things, I humbly beg the Favour to know, how he can reconcile what he says, in the 3d *Corollary* of *Lemma*, or *Proposition* 14. Page 83. where he approves the *Bishop of Worcester's* Opinion, (which I own to be mine also,) that 3 *Times*, and a *Section* or *Part*, is equivalent to three Years and an half: I say, I desire him to reconcile this with that *Part* of his 7th and last *Hypothesis*, where he says, that 3 *Times*, and a *Division* or *Part* of *Time*, does signify 3 Years and a Month.

And I beg the like Favour, as to the first *Part* of the same 7th *Hypothesis*, to let us know, upon what Ground he pretends that the τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς, the *Third Part* of the *Earth*, is to be understood of the most eminent and remarkable *Third Part*, which can be supposed. For, by these Words, I am oblig'd to suppose, not only, that we must understand, by the *Three Parts* of the *Earth*, the *Three Parts* of the then known *World*, viz. *Asia*, *Affrica* and *Europe*, but that we must understand likewise, That either *Asia* must constantly be meant by this 3d *Part*, (seeing it is certainly the most eminent, as to Bigness,) or *Europe*, because, (in some Respects, especially in later Ages,) it has been the most remarkable, upon the Account of peculiar Providences. I leave Mr. *Whiston* to chuse which he pleaseth to adhere unto. Only I crave leave to think, that the Spirit of Prophecy, where-ever he useth this Phrase, alludes, not to the *Three Parts* of the *Universal World*, as it was known of old, but to the *Three Parts* of the *Roman Empire*, (to which only the *Christian Church* had the most direct Relation, down from *John's Days*, to the Discovery of *America*) as it was divided, by *Constantine the Great*, between his *Three Sons*, viz. *Constantine*, *Constantinus* and *Constans*. And perhaps, I can pro-

produce such Probabilities for this, as Mr. *Whiston* can never pretend to parallel. In the meantime, I am bold to say, that his 7th Hypothesis is equally precarious as his 3d and 4th.

And here I shall take Notice of one thing further, wherein, as I humbly think, Mr. *Whiston* is mistaken, in Point of Calculation. And I do, at the same time own, that I was mistaken, this way, my self, in some Measure, when I wrote my *Apocalyptic Discourse*. It is that Passage mention'd, *Rev. 9. 15, &c.* in Relation to the *Fourfold Turkish Government*, which afterwards united under one Head. Concerning whom it is said, 1. That the Four Angels were loosed, viz. from their former Confinement; and, 2. That, they were prepar'd to slay the 3d Part of Men. And, 3. That the Period of their Conquests over the 3d Part of Men, was to be that of an Hour, a Day, a Month and a Year. Now, in order to understand this Period, we must know, (1.) That the *Turks* were at first divided into four sole Tribes, or *Sultanies*, who were confederated together for mutual Defence. Of which, Mr. *Whiston* has given us a Scheme, p. 178. tho whether it be exact or not, the Obscurity of History allows us not to know. However, that there were four confederated Tribes of that People, all are agreed. (2.) It is equally agreed, that one of these *Sultanies* or Tribes, with the Assistance of the rest, did, under the Command of their Prince *Tangrolipix*, (otherwise called *Togrol-Beg* or *Togrul-becus*, for which consult *Abul-Pharag.* p. 226. & *Elmacin*, p. 271, &c.) did invade the *Saracene Empire* in *Persia*, and subdued it, destroying the *Caliph*, and reigning in his Stead. Which memorable Transaction, was in or about the Year 1067, or 1068, which Mr. *Whiston* says, p. 173. is well known in History. (3.) Let it be remembered, that the Text gives us a *Threefold Rule* of Calculating the Number assigned. The 1st is this; That we must calculate the *Era* thereof before their four *Sultanies* were united in one Empire, under one *Sultan*. And seeing we know that this was not until *Ottoman* reign'd,

which was a considerable time after their Passing *Euphrates*, as Mr. *Whiston* owns; we cannot but know likewise, that the very Foundation of his Calculation, founded on this Passage, falls to the Ground. The 2d Rule is this, That it is not said, that *they shall reign for an Hour, &c.* but it is said, *That they were prepared for an Hour, &c. i. e.* for such a Period of Time, as is afterwards described. Now, seeing the *Preterite* is used here, and a *Preparation* spoken of, which is a very peculiar Word, in such a Case as this; I cannot but think, that we are directed to look back upon their Conquest of the Empire of *Persia*, under *Tangrolipix*, as the *Ara* of the *Turkish Preparations* for invading the *Christians*. For, ever after that, they became formidable, and were still Invading some Place or another. Now, as I take this to be the true *Turkish Ara*; so we have a 3d Rule given, by which we are directed to understand, when the *Preparation* was to end, by their full Accomplishment of the Work they were sent to do. And this, as the Event has made good, was their *entire Conquest* of the *Greek Empire*. And this is express'd, by their *slaying the 3d Part of Men*, i. e. their subduing the 3d Part of the old *Roman Empire*, viz. that Part, which *Constantine* gave to *Constantius*, when he divided it among his *three Sons*. So that the *Turks*, from the Time of their Conquest of the Empire of *Persia*, were gradually prepared for, and made gradual Advances against the *Grecian Empire*, until they intirely swallow'd it up at last. And of this the Spirit of God thought fit to give Warning in this Place, by desiring us to take notice of this Enemy then, when they should pass the River *Luphrates*, which they did under *four Sultans* or *Generals*, viz. *Soliman Shabum* and his *three Sons*, which was towards the end of the *thirteenth Century*, as is supposed by the best Authors. (a) And when *Soliman Shabum* happened to be drowned, by a Mistake of the

(a) See Pocock's Supplem. ad Abul-phar. Page 41, 42. & 106, 108.
Foard

Foard he ought to have passed over at, two of his Sons, viz. *Sankur-zengi* and *Cun-Tugdi*, were so frightned at this *Omen*, in the beginning of their Enterprize, as to desist from proceeding, and to return with their Followers, to their old Habitations in *Persia*: *Ortogrules* alone, or as others write it, *Ostrogules*, or *Otrogules*, the third Son continuing on this Side *Euphrates*, becoming thus, together with his three Sons, the Head of those *Turks*, that were resolv'd to push their Conquest Westward; the Names of whose three Sons were *Condoz*, *Sarubani*, and *Othman* or *Ottoman*. So that the *Turks* retain still their ancient Form of a *Fourfold united Government*, a considerable time after their passing *Euphrates*. And this remain'd until such time, as that *Ottoman* the youngest Son did, by Degrees, and with abundance of Artifice, lay the Foundation of making himself sole Monarch: Which at length he attain'd to, but not sooner than several Years after his Father's Death, tho' not without considerable Struggles; which was at, or about the beginning of the *fourteenth Century*, which some think was in the Year 1300, or 1301. Now, if after these Considerations, we come to calculate the Number here assign'd in the Text, we shall find they reach down exactly from their Conquest of the *Persian Empire* under *Tangrolipix*, to their Conquest of the *Greek Empire*, under *Mahomet the Great*. But here, as I formerly observed in my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, Page 50. an *Hour*, in the prophetick Stile, does always denote, by an indefinite way of speaking, a *Season* or *Period of Time*, be it longer or shorter. So that when it is said, that the *Turks* were prepared for an *Hour*, &c. I take the Meaning to be this; that they were prepared for an *Hour* or *Season*, even for a *Day*, a *Month*, and a *Year*. But if Mr. *Whiston* will insist upon, bringing an *Hour* into the Account, not as a *General*, inclusive of the other Numbers, as *Particulars*, (tho' I think he can find no pallel Place, where an *Hour* is otherwise used,) the Matter is so small, as is not worth contending for; seeing, when he has made the most of it, it amounts

only to 15 Days. So that, let us reckon an Hour as we please, the *Period* consists of a Day, a Month and a Year; which according to Prophetical Calculation, reckoning by *Caldean* or *Judaical Days, Months, and Years*, make up exactly 391 Years. And accordingly, they reach down from the Year 1067, that is, 1062 of Prophetical Reckoning; at which time *Tangrolipix* erected the *Turkish Empire* in *Persia*, upon the Ruins of that of the *Saracens*, and so conclude with that memorable Year, 1453, when *Mahomet the Great* took *Constantinople*, and consequently conquered the *third Part of Men*, or the *third Part* of the *Old Roman Empire*, and erected his own *Empire* upon the Ruins of the *Grecian one*. But in case that we think proper to reckon by common Years here, (I mean as to the Year of Commencement and Conclusion of the 391 Years, the Reader will find, that it took up about five Years from the taking of *Constantinople*, before the Turks attained to have all Troubles in the *Eastern Empire* composed, and all things relating to its Security fully settled and adjusted. So that, according to this Reckoning, the 391 Years lead us down from the vulgar Year 1067, to the Year 1458. And indeed, upon second Thoughts, I must own that this is the truer Reckoning. For as *Historians* reckon by *Vulgar Years*, and *John* by *Prophetical ones*; and as these 391 Years must be *Prophetical*, because they are part of the 1260 Years: So they do exactly fill up the Space between the Year 1067, and the Year 1458; a Year as memorable, in some respects, as the former, for the taking of *Peloponesus*, which was followed by the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Trebizond*, and consequently of the whole *Grecian Empire*—— Now, had *Mr. Whiston* considered this, he needed not to have taken such vast Pains, as I find he has done, to begin the *Ara* of the *Turkish Preparations* with *Ottoman*, in order to conclude it with the Year 1697. when *Prince Eugene* of *Savoy* obtain'd his memorable Victory over the *Turks* in *Hungary*. For, in the 1st Place, the time of *Ottoman's* beginning to reign is so obscure, that it is surprizing to

to me that Mr. *Whiston* should not only fix upon the Year of the *beginning* of the *Ottoman Empire*, as if he were certain that it was the Year 1301, but condescend also upon the *Month* and *Day* thereof, as if he were next to certain that it was *May 19*, that Year. 2dly. Why shou'd the *Victory* of *Prince Eugene* over the *Turks*, *Sept. 1. 1697.* be reckon'd the conclusive Year and Day of the *Turkish War*, any more than the time of their being defeated, when they besieged *Vienna*, when they were so near taking it, some Years before. For either Mr. *Whiston* meant to say, that the *Victory* in 1697, was the *end* of the *Turkish Preparations*, by their intire Conquest of the *third Part of Men*, or the *Inhabitants* of the *Grecian Empire*; or that it was the *end* of *all Turkish Hostilities* against the *Christians*; or lastly that it was the *final end* of their *Government* as an *Empire*. The *last* he cannot say. The *second* he can as little say, unless he pretend to an *infallible Spirit* of *Prophecy*. And, as for the *first*, it is as contradictory to his *Scheme*, as it is agreeable to mine, and I think to the *Text* it self. And it deserves serious Consideration, that after the Conquest of *Constantinople*, *Peloponesus*, and *Trebizond*, the *Turks* were so disposed of in *Providence*, almost in the same manner, as they had formerly been on the other side of *Euphrates*, as never to be able to carry on their Conquests further *Westwards*, than the *Limits* of the old *Grecian Empire*, to which they have been confined since, notwithstanding their formidable Attempts, this way, under several *Sultans*, particularly *Solyman the Magnificent*, and *Mahomet the Third*. And, 3dly. Seeing I have shewed before that all the *Numbers* which *John* uses, ought to be interpreted by *Prophetical Years, Months, and Days*, I must say, that were his Calculation never so right, as to the *Ara* of its beginning, the *Conclusion* must still be false, seeing he reckons here after the *Roman* manner of Calculation, making the *Sum Total* to be *396 Years*, and *106 Days*. 4thly. I desire him once more to consider, as I hinted above, that he goes directly opposite to the *Words* of the *Text*, when

when he dates the *Ara* of the *Turkish Preparations*, from the time that their ancient *Quadroparvite Government* was destroyed, by being reduced to *one single Sultany* under *Ottoman*; whereas the *Text* plainly directs us to fix the *Ara* sooner, *viz.* when they were under the Government of four *Sultans* (called by *John four Angels*) both before and after their passing over the *River Euphrates*. And seeing the *Case* is so, and that we have no account of any one memorable *Action* of that *People*, before that time, excepting only that under *Tangrolipix*, in, or about the *Year 1067*, it seems to me to have been the design of *Providence* to necessitate us, as it were, to fix upon no other *Year* as the *End* of the *Turkish Preparations*, for the entire *Conquest* of the *Grecian Empire*, than the *Year 1458*, or about that time, of *Prophetical Reckoning*, when *Mahomet the Great* took *Peloponesus*, and invaded *Trebizond*, and so gave the *finishing Stroke* to his *Conquest* of the *Greek Empire*. For tho' *Constantinople* it self was reduced from being the *3d Part* of the old *Roman Empire*, when *Mahomet* took it: Yet his *Additional Dominions*, conquer'd by him, did justly intitle him to be *Head* of the old *Greek Empire*. Thus ended the *Turkish Preparations*, by a full *Completion* of that *Work*, for which they had been gradually prepared before, and for the performance of which, upon that degenerate and apostate *Set* of *Christians*, they were commiſſioned and sent forth by *God*. Now I shall say no more here, being willing to be short; only I leave *Mr. Whiston* himself, and whoſoever shall read this, to compare it, with what he says in his *Essay*, pag. 176, &c.

(3.) But, as I humbly think, *Mr. Whiston* is mistaken, in his calculating some of *John's Numbers* by *Roman Years*, and consequently in those things that depend on that *Calculation*; So, I think, he is no less, if not much more, mistaken in fixing the *Ara* of the *Papal Antichrist's* mounting the *Throne* in *A. D. 456*. I shall therefore proceed to shew how precarious an

Hypothesis

Hypothesis he runs upon, when he dates the *Reign* of the *Papacy* from the Year 456.

And indeed, I may justly say, that I have done this sufficiently already; having, if I mistake not greatly, sufficiently, nay unanswerably, proved, 1. That a *new Head* or *Government* of *Rome* could never be said to obtain otherwise, than by its being *Sovereign Lord* of the *City of Rome*; which, according to the general *Idea* and *Sentiment* of all *Roman Authors*, was then (and not till then) when it attain'd to be own'd, *as such*, by the *Senate* and *People of Rome*, and consequently till it was agreed unto, to be *such*, by the *Confederates* of the *Romans*. 2. And, I think, I have equally proved, that the *Papacy* never obtain'd this, until *Pipin* first, and his Son *Charlemain* afterwards, set it up *as such*, and gave an *Example* to all others to do so, enforcing this upon all Men, by *Solemn Edicts*, and by *Penal* and *Sanguinary Laws*.

And therefore, I need to be the shorter upon this Head. I shall therefore only desire Mr. *Whiston*, (1.) To let the World know, by what *Philosophy*, or upon what *Reason*, he makes a *distant Preparation* to reign the *actual Time* of a *Prince* or *Government's* beginning to reign. For, according to this *Method*, *Antichristianism* began its *Reign* in the *Apostolical Age*, seeing *Paul* tells us, that the *Mystery of Iniquity* began then to work. And, at this rate, every gradual *Step* that *Antichristianism* took towards its *Headship* over *Christians*, may, with equal *Reason*, be reckoned the *Aera* of the *Pope's* becoming the *last supreme Head of Rome*. And, (2.) I desire he would let us know, why 456, is pitch'd upon, rather than any other Year, as the *Aera* of the *Pope's* *Exaltation*. For, I am sure, Mr. *Beverly* had much more *Reason* to date the *Regnancy* of the *Papacy* from the Year 476, when the *Western Empire* was destroyed by the *Ostro-Goths*, than Mr. *Whiston* can pretend to have, for fixing this at the Year 456, meerly because the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Huns* did, for some Years before and after, pillage, over-run and ruin *Rome*, for a Time, together

gether with several of the *Roman Provinces*, but without fixing any *new Government* over them. For, at this rate of Reasoning he might as rationally conclude, that the beginning of the *Pagan-Conquest* of the *Jewish Nation*, of old, ought not to be datèd, neither from the Captivity of the *ten Tribes* of *Israel*, or that of the *two Tribes* afterwards, but from *Sbithak*, call'd, in the *Gentile History*, *Sesoftris*; because he conquered the Land of *Israel*, for a Time, in the Days of *Reboboam*, and took *Jerusalem*, and the golden Shields of *Solomon* out of the *Temple*, together with both the Sacred and Civil Treasures, doing whatever Conquerors use to do in the like Case. And indeed, if we compare the Account of that King's Conquest of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, *1 Kings* 14. 25, 26. *2 Chron.* 12. 2, 3, 4, 9. with the Account given by Historians of the Inroads of the barbarous Nations into the *Roman Empire*; we shall find 'em pretty much alike. For, if *Alaricus* took *Rome*, *A.* 410, and if *Atkaulphus* the *Goth* pillaged that City, *A.* 414, yet they left it soon after. And if *Genfericus* the *Vandal*, and *Attila* the *Hun*, made dreadful Devastations in the *Roman Provinces*, from about the Years 455, and 456; and afterwards, tho' with several Intermiſſions, down to the Year 476: Yet these soon expir'd. Now, for a Man to think, that *Popery* was then got upon the Throne of *Rome*, when the Pope himself durst not appear there; and when both the *State* and *Church* of *Rome* were, in a manner, swallowed up, during that Time, and for several Years after; is, to me, one of the oddest Fancies that ever entred into the Head of any wise or learned Man.

And yet, according to his Scheme, that is and must be the Year of the Rise of the *Papacy*. And consequently wonderful Things are to be expected in the conclusory Year, *viz.* 1716. What these are, he gives us an Account of in 6 Particulars, p. 270, *viz.*

1. That Tyranny and Idolatry will then end; And,
2. The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of *Rome*; 3. And the
- 42 Months of the defiling the Sanctuary; 4. And the

1260 Years of the Churches being in the Wilderness; 5. And of the afflicted State of the *Vaudois*; 6. And that the tenth Part of the great City will fall at the same, and the 7000 Names of Men, mention'd, Rev. 11. 12, 13. Who were to be slain then; and that, soon after this, the 7th Angel will sound the Great Trumpet, for the Restauration of the Jews, and the pouring out the 7 Vials, or last Plagues, upon the Beast's Kingdom, in order to its utter Ruin and Destruction for ever.

Now, as for the five first Particulars, they are all one and the same; and therefore, as I have only contracted them to keep up his Number; so he needed only to have said, that Popery would cease to reign after the Year 1716, because that was the last Year of the 1260. But the last Head of the great Events, which he then expects, is, I think of a Heterogenous Nature from all the former, and contains several Things, relating to very different Periods, in my humble Opinion; so that I am oblig'd to let him know, that I find some pretty gross Mistakes wrap'd up in this small Bundle; the disproving of which, will carry along with it also a full Refutation of his Fancy, that all the other Events he speaks of, will come to pass in the Year 1716. To proceed therefore, I say,

1. That the τὸ τρίτον, the *third Part* of the Earth, or the *third Part* of Men, denoting, as I said, the *third Part* of the Roman Empire, when it was in its Glory; we have just Reason to suppose, that, when afterwards the Roman Empire was split into 10 Kingdoms or Parts, the δέκατος, or *tenth Part* of the City or Empire of Rome, must be supposed to denote one or other of these 10 Kingdoms, and probably one of the most conspicuous and eminent of them. Now Mr. Whiston himself, when he gives an Account of these 10 Kingdoms, p. 228. (which he reckons to be, 1. That of the Greeks, 2. Romans, 3. Suevi, 4. Burgundians, 5. Visigoths, 6. Vandals, 7. Britains, 8. Ostrogoths, 9. Saxons, 10. Franks,) plainly owns, that the Grecian Empire did, at last, cease

to be the *third Part* of the *Roman Empire*, so far as to become the *10th Part only*. And tho it be certainly inconsistent with this Division of his, to make *Constantius*, *Julian*, &c. to be no more than *Emperors* of the *10th Part* of the *Roman Empire*; yet there is all Reason to think, that it was high enough to call it the *tenth Part*, in the Days of the last Emperor *Constantine Paleologus*; tho even then it might be justly called τὸ δέκατον, the *tenth Part* (*viz.* by way of *Eminency*) of the *Roman Empire*, or of the *Great City*, because of its ancient Title and Dignity, notwithstanding of its narrow Limits and Weakness at that Time. So that all Characters and Circumstances make me believe, that the *10th Part* of the *City*, that fell when the *Witnesses* were slain, as it is mention'd, *Rev. 11. 13.* was that *Part* of the *Grecian Empire*, that remained to the last Emperor thereof, when *Mahomet the Great* took *Constantinople*, *A. D. 1453.* Whereas, when *Mahomet* had intirely conquer'd the whole Dominions of *Constantius*, he might justly be said to slay or conquer the *3d Part* of the Subjects or Territories of *Old Rome*, or the *Great City*. Whence we see, how consistent it is to suppose, that the *Grecian Empire* may equally, tho in different Respects, be called both the *3d and 10th Part* of the *Roman Empire*. So that I humbly conceive, this Event is over long ago. But it is very common for Men to forget or slight past Things, and to magnifie what happens in their own Times, tho vastly smaller than the former, and to be also too big with expecting things, and, to be sure, in a little time too, which are yet perhaps long ago past over. And I presume to say, that I can assign no other Reason than this, for *Mr. Whiston's* overlooking, in his *Scheme*, not only this wonderful Event, but the *Reformation* also brought in by *Luther*, *Zuinglius* and *Calvin*; and indeed almost all the most memorable Providences since. But of this more afterwards.

2. Whereas, in the same Earthquake that destroyed the *10th Part* of the *Great City*, it is said, that *seven*
Thou-

Thousand Names of Men perished, *Rev. II. 13.* I am still of the same Mind I was in before, when I wrote my Discourse concerning the Rise and Fall of the Papacy, that this Metaphorical Phrase denotes this only, that those *Eastern Christians*, whom *Mahomet* conquer'd, were, generally speaking, so degenerated, in all Respects, as to deserve no greater Character than that of the Names or Shadows of Christians, as being only *Nominal Christians*: And every one that knows any thing of the latter Times of the *Grecian Empire*, (for which we need only to look into the *Bysantine Historians*) must own this to be as true an Account, as a sad one; seeing neither the *Vandals*, *Saracens*, nor *Turks* did ever exceed them, or, I think, equal them, in all manner of Impieties. And indeed, it is memorable, that as the *Turks* are said to slay or destroy the Names of so many Men, or so many *Nominal Christians*, (and we know that the Number 7, whether alone, or with the Addition of so many hundreds or thousands, is a perfect Number of its Kind;) so the *Papish Party* are represented as Triumphant over the *dead Bodies* or *Carcasses* of the *slain Witnesses*, i. e. as I formerly explain'd the Phrase, over the *Calixtines* in *Bohemia*, who submitted to the *Papacy*, with the Allowance of a small Mark of Distinction, *Rev. II. 9, 10.* And it is memorable, that both these Conquests, viz. of the *Western Christians*, by the *Papists*, and of the *Eastern ones*, by the *Turks*, are said to fall out the same Hour, *Rev. II. 13.* that is in the same Season or Period of Time, (viz. toward the Conclusion of the 6th Trumpet, a little before the founding of the 7th) as they certainly did, according to my Interpretation.

3. And now, seeing I am insensibly led to the memorable Account of the *Prophecy*, *Martyrdom*, *unburied State*, *Resurrection* and *Ascension* of the *Witnesses*, spoken of, *Rev. Chap. II.* Let me humbly beg Mr. *Whiston*, to condescend so far, as to peruse what I formerly wrote of this Subject; as he will find it, p. 51. of my *Apocryphical Discourse*; where, if I mistake not,

I have set this Matter in a clearer Light, than ever it was in before, and demonstrated, as far as such a Subject will allow of such a Proof, that the *Great and General Slaughter* of the *Witnesses*, was then, when the *Waldenses, Albigenses, Piemonais, Wiclifites, Hussites* or *Taborites*, were so intirely destroyed, as that the whole World believed, there was not one of them remaining alive. And indeed, if some few of them were alive, unknown to the World, they were only alive *as Men*, but not alive *as Witnesses*; seeing, *as such*, none but themselves knew any thing of them. So that none of all those that had witnessed before, against Popery, were known at last to be alive, excepting the *Bohemian Calixtines*, who had apostatized to *Rome*, and who had been, for some time, the most imbitter'd and cruel Persecutors of their old Brethren the *Taborites*, because they would not desert the old Doctrine of *Huss*, as they had done. Nay, so exact is my Calculation here, that I shew, that from the Death of the *last and famous Martyr* of *Bohemia, Andreas Poliwka*, to the first Appearance of *Andreas Carolaftadius* and *Zuinglius*; and consequently to the *beginning* of the *Reformation*, when, as I think, the *Witnesses* arose, there was, (as near as we can find it out, from History,) just *3 Years and an half*. Which, as it answers exactly to the *3 Days and an half* of their *unburied State*, which was to be between the Death of their *last Martyr*, and the *first Revival* of the new inspired ones, or those into whom the old *Spirit of Life from God*, (which was in the old *Witnesses*,) is said to enter, *Rev. II. II.* So is a Circumstance of that Consequence, as was never observed before, nor can be in Relation to any other Scheme; as I am apt to think every Impartial Reader will judge, that will compare the Discourse I refer to, either with *Mr. Whiston's* Scheme, or any other.

I know *Mr. Whiston* will, at first, think, that had I read what he has said, *p. 20, &c.* I had not been so confident. And therefore, to prevent his thinking so long, I come now to consider what he says. And here,

I find, he tells us this Story. “ That the *Duke of Savoy* publish’d an *Edict* against the *Vaudois*, dated *Jan. 31. 1686*, N. S. and another following, dated *April the 9th*, which was publish’d in the *Vallies* the *11th*; and that his *Army* attack’d them on the *22d*, and slaughter’d many of them, imprisoning, abusing, and dispersing the rest; and that afterwards, they that were forced, in *December*, An. 1686, to leave their *Country*, were kindly entertain’d by the *Protestants*, until, at length, they resolv’d to march home again; which they accomplish’d in *April, 1690*; and that, after this, the *Duke of Savoy* re-established them, by an *Edict*, dated *June 4. 1690*; which was, says he, just 3 Years and an half after their total *Dispersion*. And he adds, *p. 208*, that it was from the *Prophecy, Rev. II. ver. II.* “ That the most Learned, the *Lord Bishop of Worcester* expressly foretold this, before it happened, as is well known to many, and exactly came to pass accordingly. And thus far, (says *Mr. Whiston*) of this *Prophecy*, seems to me to have been already fulfilled, and that very remarkably. And has not he just Reason to say all this? Is not here uncontroverted *Matter of Fact* to found upon? —

However, I hope, I may be allowed to make a few *Remarks* upon this *Story*, and the *Interpretation* founded upon it. And therefore, let me observe, (1.) That, had the *Bishop* and *Mr. Whiston* had the *Number* of 4 *Years* to unriddle, as an *Apocalyptical Number*, instead of 3 *Years and an Half*; with a *Design* to serve a beloved *Hypothesis*, this *Story* had suited their *Design* much better than it does now; seeing it is much more natural to reckon the *Period* of the slaying these *Witnesses*, from the *Edict* against them of *Jan. 31.* or at least that of *April 9, 1686*, than from their *Dispersion* in *December* following. (2.) It is very odd to reckon, that a particular *Persecution* of about *three Thousand Protestants* (for they were not much above that *Number*, *Men, Women and Children*; I mean, those that were dispersed first, and returned again, as I was told from

one of their most famous Ministers,) should be look'd upon to be the *general and great Martyrdom* of the *Catholick Church*; at the same time, that the Bulk of all the *reformed Churches* was left untouch'd. But Credit is concern'd here: And, for this, *all the foreign Churches* must be reckon'd to be none of the *Witnesses* against *Popery*; and, because the Matter cannot be otherwise sav'd, even the *Church of England* must be debarr'd from this Character and Honour: For the *Vaudois* must be the only Witnesses, as being the only Descendents of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*. To prove which, we are referr'd, p. 204. to the most learned Dr. *Allix*; to whom therefore, I leave the Probation, in Case he will undertake it. Only, in the mean time, as Mr. *Whiston* says, That he wonders at those *Expositors*, who apply this Prophecy to any others, and especially to those, who apply it to any, or all of the lately reformed Churches, against such direct and express Evidence to the contrary, (which we shall believe when given:) So, I say, that I wonder at the *Bishop* and *him*, how they can call such a Passage as this, the Slaying and Revival of all the Witnesses of Christ, during the 1260 Years of Antichrist's Reign, as if the Persecution and Re-establishment of 3 or 4 Thousand *Vaudois* was the All of this Prophecy, exclusive of the many Millions of Witnesses for Christ, and against Popery, equally reformed as they; especially seeing, if we consult Sir *Samuel Morland's* History, (not to mention other Authors,) we shall find abundance of other Persecutions which that People were under; wherein they were as eminently preserv'd, and deliver'd from (nay, and much more eminently too,) than they were in this. Nay, we ought not to forget, that the Bulk of that People, and especially those that suffered most at first, and acted most afterwards against the *French King*, are now again forced to live as Exiles in *Germany*; as *Messieur Arnold*, (the late famous Captain, as well as Minister, of that People, in the Reign of the late King,) told me here in *London*, about five Years ago, being

being then their Commissioner and Agent, to obtain Charity for them, to buy themselves Necessaries, in order to their settling the more comfortably in their new Habitations. (3.) I desire to know how this is consistent with the 5th of Mr. *Whiston's* grand Expectations mention'd before, which are not yet come, but must fall out, *A. D.* 1716. *viz.* That the *Vaudois*, as the *slain Witnesses*, are then to be raised up. It seems there are *two Slayings* of these Witnesses, and *two Resurrections* of them? But why two? Seeing the Prophecy speaks but of one: For there can be no more but one *ultima Clades Martyrum*. And I would hope he does not fix upon a *particular Slaughter*, (tho one would be afraid that *particular* and *general* are confounded here :) For, if he do this, I can tell him of Scores of Persecutions that bid fairer towards the Character of the last and universal Slaughter of the Witnesses, than that of the *Vaudois*; in 1686, can ever be supposed to have been. (4.) It is pretty comical to observe to what a Shift the *Bishop* and Mr. *Whiston* are reduc'd, when they are forc'd to confound the opposite Characters of the *living Witnesses*, and the *dead and lifeless Carcasses of Witnesses*. For it is plain that they do so, when they represent the *living Vaudois* to be *slain* and *dead Corps*. And then, having laid down this admirable *Hypothesis*, they conclude, as admirably, that it was out of great love to them, that their *dead Corps* were not buried, and that therefore it was not their Persecutors that kept them *unburied*, in order to triumph over them, but their *Protestant Friends*; tho it seems their *Papish Enemies* were never so well pleas'd with any Victory they ever obtain'd, as with *this Act* of the *Protestants*, in keeping *these Corps above Ground*, as Trophies of their intire Conquest over them. Now, until this rare Invention came forth, all Interpreters before were so thick-skull'd, as to understand the Text, *Rev.* 11. 8, 9, 10. as denoting the very opposite Account to this of the *Bishop* and his *Scholar*. And I will for once venture to give my self forth as a Prophet, (with as much Assurance, as Mr. *Whiston* gives

forth the Bishop for one,) viz. in this, that future Interpreters, if they be not byass'd against Reason, by some odd sort of Insinuations, will be of the opposite mind to that of the Bishop, in all time coming. (5.) And whereas Mr. Whiston gives us a new Criticism here; viz. "That the dead Bodies of the Witnesses are to lie, ἐπὶ τῇ πλατείᾳ πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, i. e. says he, in that broad and great City, for so the Words are best rendred, as I cannot but agree with a Learned Friend: He must pardon me, if I say, that he and his learned Friend, tho they were the most Learned Men in the World, in all other respects, are yet exceedingly mistaken, as to this Text. For; 1. I must let them know, that no true Critick would easily have interpreted πλατεία as an Adjective, equally as μεγάλη, as it stands connected here in this Phrase. 2. Tho some Copies read σώματα, and tho our Version, I know not why, renders it so; yet I suppose Mr. Whiston knows, that not only our Common Copies, but all famous ones, read πτώματα, Cadavera, i. e. dead Corps (excepting that the Alex. Manusc. reads it, in the Singular, πτώμα, which every one may see was an Error of the Scribe.) 3. I would have him know, that the Words [shall lie] are only a sort of Paraphrase, as well as Supplement of our English Version, and are found in no Greek Copy in the World, that I ever heard of: and, as I said formerly, I do think they are of no use, but to mar the Sense; which, without this Addition, runs smooth and plain. For the Words run thus, ver. 7, 8. And when they τέλσωσιν have finished their Testimony (N. B. this destroys a weighty part of Mr. W's Scheme, who renders, it when they are about to finish it) the Beast, that ascendeth out of the Bottomless-Pit, shall make War upon them, and shall overcome them, καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν, and shall kill them and their Bodies (also,) in the Street of the Great City, (Rome,) &c. Now I pray Mr. Whiston to think, what the Spirit of God means, by this double Killing: For here it is said, that the Beast

first

first kill'd the *Persons* of the *Witnesses*, and then, after they were dead, that he kill'd their *very Corps*. My *Exposition* indeed will explain it. For, I have prov'd from *History*, that when the *Bohemian Taborites*, the last Remains of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, (I mean the last, that then remain'd openly to witness and suffer Martyrdom for Christ) were slain; their *Apostate Brethren* the *Calixtines*, who were (in a scriptural and spiritual Sense) no better than the *dead Corps* of the *old Witnesses*, were kept up, by the *Papists*, as *Trophies* of their intire Victory over the Church. And great indeed was their *Triumph* then, the *Popish Clergy* rejoicing and making merry; as reckoning that they should never be *tormented* any more, by *Prophets* and *Reformers*. But they were strangely surprized, when about 3 Years and an half after, they heard of a *Carlostadius* and *Zuinglius*, and after them of a *Luiter*, *Melancton*, *OEcologmpadius*, &c. who laid open their *Errors* and *Vices*, with as much *Freedom* and *Boldness*, as ever *John Huss*, and *Ferom of Prague* had done. And it was not long after, that the *Reformation* kindled again thro' all *Bohemia*. I might say much more. However I shall only observe further under this Head, that the *Empire of Germany* (of which the *Kingdom of Bohemia* was a *Province*, as *Switzerland* was of old, nay *Piedmont* too, seeing it belong'd to the *Kingdom of the Franks*, which was afterwards intitl'd the *Western Empire* under *Charlemain*;) was that eminent *Street* or *wide Place* of the *Great City*, or the *old Roman Dominions*, wherein the *Witnesses* were slain, and wherein their flinking *Corps*, the *Calixtines*, were slain also, tho in another manner, viz. by their being despis'd, abus'd and ridicul'd. And, it was in the same great *Street* of the *Roman and Popish Dominions*, that the *Prophets* or *Witnesses* reviv'd and liv'd again, until they were at length raised up to great *Glory*, to the *Terror* of their *Enemies*, by having their *Religion* incorporated with the *Laws* of the *Empire*, and espous'd, profess'd and establish'd, by many *Princes*, *Republicks* and *Free Cities* of *Europe*. But

it seems all these Events are inconsiderable things, to be brought into this *New Scheme*, as being nothing to the purpose, when compared with my Lord Bishop of *Worcester's* Interpretation mention'd above. But, (6.) I would fain have the *Bishop* to solve this plain *Question* here; *viz.* how it comes to pass, that, according to this Scheme, *Antichrist* should be supposed to fall, *A. D.* 1716, at the same time that the *7th Trumpet-Angel* is only to begin to sound then? For until *he*, or his *Scholar* shall satisfy the World, as to this Point; I must be allowed to say, that I think, 1. That it is equally ridiculous to reckon a Government to end then, when a previous Declension (that only tends to bring on its final Ruin, at last) begins; as it is to date its Reign, from a Preparation to reign; especially if this Declension, and Preparation, be long before the actual Beginning and Conclusion of the said Government. 2. That it is likewise equally odd, to reckon Christ's Kingdom to begin punctually at the sounding of the *seventh Trumpet*, (which *opens* with the pouring out of the *first Vial*) before *that Trumpet* has gone on so much as for one or two Years; at the same time, that he must own that the *Papacy* cannot be supposed to be intirely destroyed, nor consequently the Kingdom of Christ to be erected, in its stead, until the *7th and last Vial* has run out. so far, as to lay a Foundation for the latter of these, by the Accomplishment of its Design as to the former. If I mistake in this plain Reasoning, I shall think it very strange. But, (7.) Seeing the *Bishop's Prophecy* will be still objected against me, as certain matter of Fact, I find my self oblig'd to say something of it; and therefore I observe, 1. That Mr. *Whiston* words himself here very cautiously, using a general way of speaking, by which I cannot say, whether he meant to tell us, that the Bishop prophesied of the exact time of the *Beginning* of the *Persecution* of the *Vaudois*, as well as of their *Restauration*; or of the *latter* only, after the *Persecution* was begun. 2. If he prophesied of the *first*, as well as of the *latter*, I think he

he should have secured Witnesses to attest it, seeing it was in the Days of King *James II.* But, I think, I have ground to believe, that it was not till some considerable time after King *William* and Queen *Mary's* coming to the Crown, that he gave forth his Opinion this way.

3. I do therefore think, (and I reckon I had pretty good Information of this matter, almost as soon as it was first talk'd of,) that it was not sooner than the begun Return of that People to their own Country, that the *Bishop's Prophecy* began to be talk'd of, concerning the sudden Resurrection of the *Vudois*, as the Remains of the ancient Witnesses. And I know also, that at the same time, the Treaty between the *Confederates* and the *Duke of Savoy* was so far advanced, that any Man, that was acquainted with the secret Transactions of State then, might have Prophecy'd of the Re-establishment of that People, about the time mention'd, without ever looking into the *Revelation*: For, tho' I had never any immediate Access to know such things, yet I could then have told that the *Protestants* insisted upon *this*, as an *Article*, and that the *Duke of Savoy* was not the Man to stick upon it, considering his Circumstances at that time, and the Concessions made him in other respects, as well as the Advantages he had in view, even in this very Point.

4. But let us suppose the utmost, that Mr. *Whiston* can demand of us, this way; yet, seeing I have proved, that the Prophecy was accomplish'd near two Ages ago; the *Conclusion* can amount to no more than this, that the *Bishop* happen'd to guess luckily.

Question. But some will say, What! Is it possible that two Men, so eminently Learned, and such close Students of the *Apocalypse* for so many Years, as Mr. *Whiston*, but especially the Bishop of *Worcester* are, should be guilty of such Mistakes? Nay, did not the most Learned Dr. *Allix* publish a Discourse, a few Years ago, wherein he did materially agree with them, at least in his calculating the time of the Fall of Antichrist? Sure such Judicious and Great Divines must

have very strong, or at least highly probable Grounds, for what they say and publish, with such Assurance ?

Answer. As for Dr. *Allix*, it is indeed certain, that he publish'd such a Treatise as is mention'd ; wherein, to my great Astonishment, he specified not only the Year of the Ruin of the *Papacy*, but the Day thereof likewise ; supposing, it seems, that the *Papal Government* was not to fall gradually, as other Governments use to do, but all at once, or in a few Hours, as a *House* or *Tree* sometimes does, that is blown down by a violent Tempest. But I think that he has changed his Opinion since. For, in his *Epistolary Appendix* to his *two Treatises*, (lately publish'd) which is directed to Mr. *Whiston* ; after he had shewed some of Mr. *Mede's* Mistakes, he adds these Words, p. 71. *Sir, This is the Reason why I have altogether renounc'd these Principles of Mr. Mede, which I had before followed but too closely, being prevail'd upon by the Authority and Example of some Great Men, who adhere to them but too much. And I hope, if you consider with Attention, what I have said, — that you will follow my Example.*

However, hence we see, that very learned Men may be very grossly mistaken, by founding upon wrong Principles at first : Tho I must say, that it is a rare Instance to see any renounce them again, and openly tell the World so, even tho they are never so much convinc'd, that they were formerly in an Error. For the mistaken Notion of Credit (which made *Luther* refuse openly to own his Error of *Consubstantiation*, tho convinc'd, this way, before his Death) is a Thing that sways even the most learned Men, in such a Case as this, and frequently more than others. And therefore this honest and generous Confession of Dr. *Allix*, raiseth his Character much higher, every way, with me, than it was before ; and will, I question not, raise his Credit higher also, with all ingenuous Men. And I should heartily wish, that both the other great and learned Men would follow his Example, that the Doctor may not be mistaken in his *Hope*.

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However, I come now to make one Effort more, towards convincing them. Whereas therefore the *Question* propos'd, does principally require to know, upon what Grounds the *Bishop* and Mr. *Whiston* go, when they seem to be so positive, that in, or near the Year of Christ, 1716, such wonderful things will fall out, as I took notice of before.

And indeed Mr. *Whiston* is not defective, as to the Number of his *Arguments*: For he gives us no fewer than *Nine*, as they are to be found in the 271st, and 272^d Pages of his Book. But how strong they are, we are now to inquire.

His 1st *Argument* is taken from his own Calculation of *Daniel's* 2300 *Evenings-Mornings*. Which, seeing he never proved, but only asserted, and seeing I propos'd a material *Objection* against it, can be no *Argument*, until he produce Reason for it, as well as the Authority of the B. of *W*.

2. *Arg.* This Year (*viz.* 1716.) is determin'd, says he, by *Daniel's* Time, Times and a Part, or three Years and a Month, i. e. 1110 Years. For from *A. D.* 606, till *A. D.* 1716, are just 1110 Years.—— Now, 1. I had thought he had reckon'd before, (as sure he does expressly, p. 84,) that he had interpreted that Number, as I and all others have done, to be *Time, Times and an Half*. But it seems he did not find, that *half a Year* would agree with this other *Epocha* of 606, and therefore it must be called diminutively a *Part*, and that Part must be just a 12th Part, alias, a *Month*, *Q. E. D.* But, 2. I have already proved, that *Antichrist* did no more begin his Reign then, in any Propriety of Speech, than he did in the Year 456; tho I confess it is the least absurd of the two Opinions.

3. *Arg.* This Year, says he, is determin'd by St. *John's* Vision of the two Courts of the Temple; the inner Court, representing a pure State of the Church, for 360 Years; and the Outer a corrupt State, for 1260 Years succeeding it. For from *A. D.* 96, till *A. D.* 456, when the corrupt State began, are just 360 Years: And from thence,
till

till 1716, are just 1260 Years.—— To which I need only say, 1. That these two Periods of his, are the Result of meer Imagination, without any Pretence of Argument for it ; and that, 2. I have already proved the whole Calculation to be false, by shewing that it is no way probable, that *Jobn* saw his Visions so late, as the Year 96.

4. *Arg.* This Year is determin'd, says our Author, by the Vision of the *two Witnesses*, &c. —— But this Reckoning of his, I have but just now refuted.

5. *Arg.* And this very Year, says he, is also found, by the *Analogy* these *Witnesses* have all along with our Saviour. For, as 1700 *Days*, the Time of our Saviour's whole Ministry, are to 40 half *Days*, the Time between his Death and Ascension ; so are 1260, the Years of the *Vaudois's* whole Testimony in Sackcloth, to 30 Years, the Time between the *Vaudois's* Death, or Expulsion, 1686, and their Ascension into Heaven, *A. D.* 1716.—— So far our Author. And now, Reader, I leave thee to judge of this *Mathematical Demonstration* ; for I pretend not to understand it, even tho his Calculations were all infallibly true. But, besides what I have said already, to shew the contrary of this, both as to the Point of the *Vaudois*, and as to the Year 1716 ; I must say, that Mr. *Whiston's* Supposition, that Christ's publick Ministry lasted 1700 *Days*, or *four Years and an half*, is false ; and if he will consider what I have said against this, in the 4th Chapter of the 3d Book of *Christology*, p. 394, &c. I think he will find this Notion refuted, and that of Dr. *Richardson* and Dr. *Usher* confirm'd, that Christ's publick Ministry was only for *Time, Times and an half*, or for 3 *Years and an half*, i. e. for 1260 *Days*. And, if any Argument therefore can be founded upon *Analogies* and *Congruities* ; certainly my Notion is much more rational than Mr. *Whiston's* ; seeing nothing can be supposed to *harmonize* more naturally, than the time of the *Witnesses* being in *Sackcloth*, for 1260 *Days* of *Years*, does with Christ's *witnessing* before ; in a State of *Humiliation* and *Suffering*

ring for 1260 *natural Days*; especially, if we consider, that from the time of the *Slaying of the Witnesses* to their *Resurrection*, there were to be just 1260 *natural Days* also.

— And here let me take Occasion to tell Mr. *Whiston*, that if he will look into that 4th Chapter of the *preceding Book*, he will find a Refutation of some very material Points of his *former Book*, intitl'd, *A short View of Chronology*, &c. and particularly his Notion of *Christ's* being born a *Month*, and no longer, before *Herod's* Death; as he may see, p. 387, &c.

6. *Arg.* Is taken from an odd Calculation. For, says he, *Christ's Kingdom* began *A. D.* 33, and lasted till *A. D.* 313, when *Constantine* became Christian; which makes just 280 Years. From thence, till the ceasing of the *Western Empire*, are 142 or 143 Years; and from thence till *A. D.* 1715, or 1716, are just 1260 Years. — Now, for my Part, I know not what Argument is to be found in all this Deduction. But I would fain know, whence it comes to pass, that the *Author* should contradict his 3^d pretended Argument, to adjust things to his Purpose here. For he had told us there, that the *pure State of the Church*, (which I think is equivalent to the Phrase, *Christ's Kingdom*, at least as used here) did not end sooner than the Year 456: But now he tells us, that it ended, *A. D.* 313.

7. *Arg.* This Year also is confirm'd, says he, from the *Epocha* of the *Ten-horned Beast*, beginning, *A.* 456, and ending, 1716. — But this is so shameful a begging the Question, as deserves no Consideration. And, I believe, he himself will see the Truth of this sufficiently, if he will read what I have said above.

8. *Arg.* Is taken from his Notion of the Continuance of the *Turkish War*: Which (seeing I have refuted it already) I need say no more of. When therefore he tells me of Mr. *Brightman's* Prophecie, and Dr. *Crescencer's*, I need only say, as I did before of that of the *B. of VV.* that they were lucky Guesses, tho drawn from no certain Premises; and just such as I have known some *Astrological* ones happen to be true by Chance.

Chance. But the Nature of Man is such, as that most Men are more taken with *Affirmatives* than *Negatives*: Which we may observe almost every Year, in our *Almanack-Makers*. For, if a Thousand of their Predictions prove false, it is not minded. But if, by Chance, any thing fall out like a fulfilling of what they had said, tho in dubious Words; immediately they are admired as *Prophets*. I might mention several things of this Sort, which I know to be true, and particularly with respect to the famous Predictions of *No'tredame* and *Lilly*; but I must not expatiate now: Only I shall say this, That seeing the Strefs, both of Mr. *Brightman's* and Dr. *Cressener's* Conclusions are deduced from a like Notion of the Years of the *Turkish Preparations*, as Mr. *Whiston's*, they must be equally false as his are.

His 9th and last *Argument* is taken from the Bishop of *Worcester's* famous Prophecy, concerning the *Vaudois*. But I have considered this sufficiently already.

And thus I have done with all Mr. *Whiston's* Arguments: Of the Strength of which, let the Reader be Judge; for I am not willing to say any thing further of them.

And indeed, I am willing to have done with this odd Scheme, tho otherwise I have a great many other things to take notice of, which are equally unaccountable as the former. For, 1. I might shew several Mistakes in his *Lemmuta*, or *Preparatory Propositions*. 2. I could also shew Mistakes in his Account of the *Seals*. 3. And more in his Exposition of the *Trumpets*. And, 4. As for his Interpretation of the *sealed Book*, and *open Codicil*, it were easy to shew, how precarious his Notion is, as well as Mr. *Mede's*, upon whom he founds. 5. And, as for his Opinion of the 7th *Trumpet*, and the *seven Vials*, that none of them is yet poured out, it is altogether precarious; (b) especially, seeing

(b) It is enough to render this Scheme very much suspected, that the General Slaughter of the old Witnesses, and the Destruction of the whole

ing he supposeth, that the *Millennium*, or the *Kingdom of Christ*, in its highest Glory, as to this World, is not to commence before the Year 2000. But, seeing I have materially refuted these Mistakes already, by what

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whole Greek Empire, together with the Reformation, and all the eminent Dispensations since, should have been in a manner, wholly forgotten in it, as if they were of no Consideration, in comparison of some other lesser Occurrences. And, seeing Mr. Whiston lays such stress on the Prophecy of the B. of W. I desire he would cast open the Annals of Scultetus, p. 5. and there he will find this Account; that one John Hilten gave forth this Prophecy, (long before the Reformation, seeing he was dead before it;) That the Year 1516, should be the first Year of the Beginning of the Declension of the Papal Power. Of the Truth whereof we cannot doubt, seeing Scultetus cites Melancton, as attesting it, in the Second Book of his Epistles, p. 81. where he writes, that he himself had seen and read this very Prophecy under Hilten's own hand, in a Manuscript of his, being a Comment on the Book of Daniel. But there is another Prophecy much more famous, viz. that double one of Huss and Prague; (to whose publick Trial and Martyrdom I do suppose the Spirit of God does principally allude, where mention is made of two Witnesses, and of their being publickly slain in the broad Street or Place of the Great City, and afterwards of the slaying of their rotten Corps, viz. their apostate Disciples, the Calixtines.) For John Huss, (as the same Author tells us, p. 6.) cried out of the midst of the Flames, July the 6th, 1415. in the Presence of all the Popish Council and other Spectators then assembled at Constance: Hussum crematis; post centum annos Cygnus veniret, quem comburere non poteritis. That is, Ye burn a Goose, (for Huss signifies a Goose in the Bohemian Tongue,) but after a 100 Years are elapsed a Swan (for Luther in the German Language, denotes a Swan,) will come, which ye cannot burn. And Jerom of Prague being to be martyr'd the 30th Day of May, 1416, told his Murderers, in a calm and composed manner, that, 100 Years after, they should answer, for what they did, to God and him; the meaning of which must be this, that those of their Party should smart for this Act, by other Witnesses, of his Opinion and Way. From whence it is plain, that the Reformers were devoted, as the Witnesses to be raised, that were to succeed the old slain ones; and that therefore they are called by the same Name, in the same Sense, that Elijah is prophesied of to live again, when John the Baptist was meant, as Christ assures us. The words of Jerom of Prague, (as cited by Scultetus, and other Authors) are these; Post Centum Annos respondebitis Deo & mihi. And so uncontroverted were these things, that the Bohemians did, in Commemoration of them, stamp a Coin, with this inscription upon it: and I have been told, that some of

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I have said ; I am willing, at present, to rest satisfy'd, without going further.

In the mean time, if either Mr. *Whiston*, or any Body else, is desirous to have a full Account of my Thoughts

them are yet extant, amongst the Curiosities of some considerable Men. And indeed never was there such a wonderful Concurrence of Providences, down from the Apostolical Age, as happened about the Year 1515, 1516, 1517, &c. For as, 1. A little before, Printing was invented, about 1440. So, in a very little time after, the Press was plied hard by many, and Learning propagated far and near. 2. And the Learned Men that fled from Greece after the taking of Constantinople, reviv'd the Greek Learning, and particularly made both the Knowledge of the Greek Testament, and the Greek Fathers to be inquir'd after. 3. And, to allude to the Scriptural Phrase, it was eminently seen then, That as God himself gave the Word, so innumerable was the Company of them that published the same : New Witnesses arising in every Country, almost every Month ; some to revive one sort of Learning, and some another ; but all of their Labours tending to promote the Reformation. Such, in an eminent manner, (for it is not possible to number all) were Erasmus, as to the Latin, with innumerable more ; Rodolphus Agricola, Budeus, &c. as to the Greek ; Reuchlinus, &c. as to the Hebrew ; Carolostadius, Fabritius Capito, Zuinglius, Luther, Melancton, Oecolompadius, Calvin, &c. as to Divinity. This is that Year, says Scultetus, p. 10. of the renewed Birth of the True Church, which was the 356th Year from the beginning of the former Reformation, brought in by the Waldenses ; The 146th Year from the appearing of John Wickliff ; The 116th from the beginning of the Ministry of Huss ; The 36th from the Condemnation of John Wessch of Groningen, who formerly taught publicly the same Doctrine that Luther did afterwards ; The 60th Year from the beginning of the Defection of the Calixtine Bohemians from the Doctrine of Huss ; who, as the Author truly says, retain'd only the Name of Huss, and the Cup in the Eucharist, as a Badge of Distinction ; but (as he tells us again) were now begun to return again to their old Religion, and were spread, not only thro' Bohemia, but thro' Moravia, Poland, &c. Being patronized by many Great Men, and having most eminent Divines among them, some of whom he name, and says that their Increase was wonderful that very Year, whilst, say he, I am now writing this ; which was A. D. 1617. But alas ! We know since, that things began to take a new Turn for the worse, from that very Year. However, I am very hopeful, that about the same Year of this Century, viz. 1716, and 1717, there will be an eminent Turn of the 4th Vial, (under which, I reckoned, in my Apoc. Disc. p. 67, that we are now) in favour of the Protestants, and against the

most

Thoughts of the *true Scheme* of the *Revelation*, as far as I have published my Mind this way; I desire, that besides what I have said in this *Dissertation*, and in my *Apocryphical Discourse*, which I have so often referr'd to; the Reader would be pleas'd to consult what I said, when I explained the *Context* of the Words, in *Rev.* 14. 13. from whence I discoursed, when I preached upon the Occasion of *K. VVilliam's* Death, as he will find it, *Page 39, &c.* of that *Book*. And perhaps it may likewise be of use, to consult what I have said, in the *4th Chapter* of the *preceding Book*, concerning the *Loganthropos*, particularly what I said there, as to the *Millennium*, p. 344, &c.

And now, that I have mentioned this Period once more, I shall take my leave of it, at present, after I have added one thing; *viz.* that it is my humble Opinion, that, when that glorious State of the Militant Church comes, there will be some very eminent Discoveries of the Truths of God, and some peculiar propheticall Manifestations of what is to follow. Which is the more probable to me, because, tho' the Spirit of God has

most Eminent Princes and Powers that support the Papacy. For tho' I am far from Mr. Whiston's Notion, yet I am still of the same Opinion, this way, that I was formerly of. I might add many other things here, but that I am afraid of being tedious. Only I cannot forbear to take Notice of one Thing further, *viz.* that A. C. 1530. the Remains of the Waldenses in Piedmont, sent two of their most eminent Teachers to Switzerland, to know the Doctrines of the Reformers, and to give an Account of their own. They presented, for this end, a Summary both of their Faith and Government, to Oecolompadius at Basil; wherein they say, "That their principal Objections against the Doctrine of Luther and the other Reformers, were against their Opinions, as to Free-will and Predestination; declaring that their Ancient Faith was the quite contrary of theirs; but that, from a Sense of their Want of Learning, they were ready to alter their Opinion, upon better Information. And, it seems, they did so soon after, mov'd by the Authority of Oecolompadius, Bucer and Capito. The Account of this Transaction we may see in Scultetus, ad Annum 1530; who has given us a Copy, both the Paper of the Vaudois, and of the Answer of Oecolompadius, from the Originals, as they were found in the Library of that great Man.

given the Church an exact Series of all the Periods, preceding that eminent one ; yet he has thought fit, as it were, to huddle up, in a very little Compass, all that relates both to that Period, and what follows it ; as if he did design, on set purpose, to give us a tacit Hint, that he did adjourn the Particulars, relating to those future Ages, until the Times of proper Prophecy should elapse, and run into that Fullness of the Gospel-Dispensation, which is to begin *first* with the *Resurrection* of the more eminent Saints of the *New Testament*, and then with the *Revival* of the *Gentile Church*, enlarg'd by the *General Conversion* of the *Jews* to the *Christian Faith*.

I shall only add one thing further, by way of *Coronis*, to my *Apocalyptical Speculations* ; That, it tends, I think, to illustrate my *Exposition* of the *1260 Years*, nay and to render it still more probable ; if we consider the remarkable Things, that the several Periods, according to my Calculation, terminate in. For I do think, (1.) That *Time*, or *360 Prophetical Years*, is that Period, that reaches from the *Papacy's first Exaltation* to be *Head of Rome*, *A. 758*, to his obtaining to reach the *highest Pitch* of his Authority and Power over the *Western Empire* ; which was then certainly, when the Emperor *Henry the 5th*, being expell'd from *Rome*, *A. 1118*, was forc'd a little after to give up the *Power of Investitures* to the *Pope* : which was the last Jewel remaining to the *Imperial Crown* ; which the *Popes* had been contending to obtain, for *360 Years* before. And indeed if any Person will consult *Usher de Success. Eccles.* He will own that *Antichristianism* was at its height, about the beginning of the *12th Century*. For from the Days of *Pope Gregory the 7th*, called *Hilderbrand*, and *Henry the 4th*, to the Time of *Pope Alexander the 3d*, called *Roland* and *Frederick Barbarossa*, the *Popes* exercised a constant Tyranny over *Europe*, insulting all Princes, and particularly the Emperors, in such barbarous ways, as were never known before. Nor do I think, that either Ignorance, Wickedness or Oppression, did ever prevail

vail so much under any Pagan Government, as during the 10th, 11th, and 12th Centuries; infomuch that even *Baronius* reckons that *the Abomination that maketh desolate*, began about *A. D.* 900. And, (2.) If to the Year 1118, or thereabouts, we add the double Period of *Times*, or twice 360 Years, we shall find some things equally remarkable. For, as I reckon, that *Times*, or 720 Years, do denote the whole Duration of the *Regnancy* of the *Papacy*: So we shall see how naturally these correspond with my Scheme. For, 1st. 360 Years of *Prophetical* Reckoning, being added to the Year 1118, (which is the Year 1118, of the *Julian* Reckoning) where the former 360 Years end; we are led down to *A. D.* 1478. *i. e.* to the Year 1473, of *Prophetical* Account; about which time the *Taborites* of *Bohemia* were generally ruin'd, destroyed and dispersed by their *Apostate* Brethren the *Calixtines*, who, having complied with the *Council* of *Basil*, *A.* 1436. were afterwards the *Popish* Tools to destroy the *Saints*. So that this Period reaches from the highest Pitch of *Papal* Authority to its intire Conquest of *Christ's* Witnesses; containing the Period of *Antichristianism's* Continuance in full Power and Authority. But then, 2dly. If we join the third *Time*, or the third Period of 360 Years with the preceding, so as to reckon the two *Times* conjunctly, we find that twice 360 Years, *i. e.* 720 *Prophetical* Years, lead us down to *A. D.* 1833; about which time, as I conjectur'd (c) formerly, the 5th *Vial*, which is to be upon the *Seat of the Beast*, will be poured out. For, as I conjectur'd, that *that Vial* would begin about 1794, and expire about 1848; so it is probable, that the height of *that Vial* may be about 15 Years before its Conclusion. As therefore *Time*, or 360 Years, may probably denote the Period of the *Papal* Increase from its *Inauguration* to its *Meridian* Glory: So *Times* or 720 Years denote his *Continuance* from thence to his *De-*

(c) Apoc. Disc. p. 77.

struction, as to the Seat of his Government. And seeing this Period of his Continuance is divided into two Times, or two equal Parts of 360 Years a-piece; it seems highly probable to me, that the first denotes the Period of his Continuance in the Exercise of his full Power and Authority; and that the latter of these Times denotes the Period of the Pope's begun Declension, from about the latter end of the 15th Century, when Learning began to revive again, until about the Year 1813, when Rome, the Seat of his Government, will be destroyed. But then, we must remember, that tho' the Seat, and indeed the Form too, of the Papal Government is to be destroyed by the Effusion of the 5th Vial; yet Antichristianism or Popery it self, as Mahometanism also, will still be kept up, and have formidable Parties to abet and maintain them, as we see, Rev. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. Nay, we find there, that the Popish Missionaries will find means to cement Pagan and Mahometan Princes with themselves, in order to extirpate the true Christian Church out of the World. So that the total Ruin of Antichristianism will not be sooner than the 7th Vial; which runs in to the Millennium. And therefore, (3.) I conclude that the Half-time, or 180 Prophetical Years, denotes the last Period, that begins just after the Destruction of Rome, as it is the Seat of the Beast, and ends with the last Destruction of the united Papal, Mahometan, and Pagan Interests, and consequently with the beginning of the Millennium, about A. D. 2000.

But now, after all I have said, I can honestly say further, that as 30 Years are as likely to put an end to my Life, as 300, (upon which account I cannot be supposed to have had any regard to the Fear of being refused whilst I liv'd;) So I should rejoice as much as Mr. Whiston or any Man else, to see the Fall of Popery so soon as 1716. But, in the mean time, I reckon'd my self oblig'd to search after Truth, in this respect, as well as in all others, without regard either to Hope or Desire.

And

And thus I come, at length, to the *Conclusion* of what I had to say at present, with respect to the *Theoretical Part* of this Discourse.

I proceed therefore, (2.) To the *Practical Part*. In doing which I shall with all necessary Brevity, *1st.* Premise a *general Hint* of its Importance this way; and then, *2dly.* I shall consider the *Improvement* which the Apostle makes thereof, in the sequel of this Chapter.

1st. I shall premise something, in *General*, in relation to the *Importance* and *Usefulness* of this Truth. And, (1.) This will help us to see, as thro' a Ray of Divine Light, not only how harmonious the Providence of Christ is, in all the Steps and Adjustments thereof; but likewise how exactly the lower and higher Rewards are adjudged to good Men, in proportion to lower and higher Degrees of Holiness and Usefulness. (2.) We may observe hence, that there is a nearer and closer Harmony and Relation between that Part of *Christ's Family* which is *above*, and that which is *below*, than we can now distinctly apprehend; seeing we see here that eminent Rewards and Resurrections are dispens'd to eminent Christians departed, in some Proportion to the Revivals of the Church on Earth; as is seen both in the Resurrection of the eminent Old Testament-Saints, and the New Testament ones. (3.) It is not therefore enough, to seek to get to Heaven, but to reach, as far as we can, the higher Degrees of Glory. Worldlings are not only concern'd to get such Estates, as they may just live upon, but such vast ones, as that they may live in Grandeur and Pleasure. And sure Christians ought to act thus, as to heavenly Concerns. And it is plain, that this was the Apostle's laudible and noble Ambition. Nay, tho' I am far from the whimsical Metaphysical Stretches of some Practical Divines, that tell us, that a Man that would be saved, must abstract wholly from his own Salvation, and love God for himself only, without any direct regard to

Reward ; yet I am bold to say, that that Man can never justly hope to get to Heaven, who seeks after so much Religion only, as, he thinks, may be just enough to carry him to Heaven, without any Regard to the Good of others. For, as Christ truly says, we can then only be said to *honour God* properly, when we *bring forth much Fruit*. Whereas therefore a *General Notion* of *Glory* and *Happiness*, tends to incite Men to mind Religion in general : This *Doctrine* of a *special Resurrection* and *peculiar Reward*, (which none shall partake of but the Christians of the highest Denomination) is *peculiarly calculated*, to incite Christians, to constant, universal and extraordinary Diligence, Care and Concern, to reach higher and higher Degrees of spiritual Knowledge, Holiness and Serviceableness in the World. And therefore this Notion is of great use to revive Practical Religion among Men ; which is now so universally dwindled away into dry Forms, lifeless Rites, and a selfish Narrowness both of Mind and Practice. And I am sure, until such a noble Ambition revive in our Minds, as influenc'd this Apostle, Religion must still decay further ! But when-ever this Spirit comes to revive in the World, Religion will also revive with it, and no sooner. But now, that I have again mention'd the Apostle *Paul*, I shall proceed to the next Point. Therefore,

2dly. I come to consider the Apostle's Improvement of this Notion of the peculiar Resurrection. For which end we must consider what he adds in the sequel of this Chapter, from v. 12. to the end.

Now this *Applicatory* or *Conclusory Part* of the Discourse of the Apostle here may be, I think, very naturally taken up under *three General Heads*. For, 1. He shews how he applied this to himself, and what the Use was, which this way he made thereof, v. 12, 13, 14. Then, 2. He proceeds to apply this Doctrine to the *Philippians*, by advising and exhorting them to make the like use of this Doctrine, as he did, ver. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. And, 3. He adds the *Rationale* of both these,

these, from some weighty Considerations, wherein he and they, and all true Christians, were agreed, *v.* 20, 21.

(1.) *Paul* tells us, in *ver.* 12, 13, 14. What the Improvement was, which he himself made of this Doctrine. — And here I find there are three Things which he says of himself, in reference to this Truth.

The *1st*. Thing is this; *viz.* A fair and honest *Confession*, that he had not, as yet, attained to a Certainty and Assurance, that he should be one of those eminent Saints, that should be so specially honour'd, as to be rais'd from the Dead at the beginning of the *Millennium*, and made Partakers of the high and glorious Reward, that was then to be dispensed to such Persons.

In a reference to this, after he had said, *ver.* 11. *If by any means I might attain to the special Resurrection of the Dead*, he immediately adds, *ver.* 12. *Not as if I had already attained this, or were already thus perfect.* And, to the same purpose, he says again, *ver.* 13. *Brethren, I count not my self to have apprehended.*

Now, as hence we see the Apostle's Humility, in making so fair and open a Confession; so likewise we have Satisfaction given us, as to a Great Question, that naturally ariseth hence, *viz.* *Whether it is possible for any Christian to attain to an Assurance, that he shall be one of those that shall be thus raised and rewarded at the beginning of the Millennium.* For, in Answer to this, I say, (1.) That no Christian can doubt, but that it is possible for God to render a Man certain of this, if he please to impart it to him by a special Revelation. But, (2.) Tho' nothing be impossible for God to do, yet it is highly improbable, that ever God did so, or ever will do so. For, 1. Tho' a General Assurance of Salvation be well consistent with a studious Concern to grow in Holiness and Usefulness, as we see, in the Instance of this Apostle; yet it does not seem consistent with the End and Design of the Revelation of this Doctrine, to attain to an equal Assurance, this way, that a particular Christian should certainly know this as to him-
M ; self;

self; at least I think, that it is not rational to think that ever God did, or over will, reveal this to any Man. For indeed the very Design of letting us know of this Doctrine, is to incite Christians to the utmost Diligence, upon this very account, that Men may labour so to exceed themselves every Day, and continue doing thus to the Death, *if (as the Apostle says) by any means, they may attain to this Resurrection from the Dead.* 2. And seeing the Apostle *Paul* had not attained to any Assurance this way, I know not who can now pretend to have reached it. 3. Nor can I find any thing in Scripture, that can give us any ground to think, that ever any Person shall attain such an Assurance. (3.) But yet, tho I deny, that any full Assurance is attainable this way; I think it not improbable, but that very eminently Holy and useful Christians, may attain to a very fair Hope and Expectation thereof, especially towards their Death and Removal into the invisible World, or the *Hades* or *Paradise* of *separate Souls*. And indeed I think this is plainly insinuated here by the Apostle, when he says, *If by any means I might attain to this.*——*Not as if I had already attained*——*I count not my self to have apprehended.* For what News had it been, for *Paul* to have meant and said, that he was not yet raised from the Dead, or made an actual Partaker of the most special Reward. Seeing therefore neither *Paul*, nor indeed any Man, in his Sense, was capable to speak after this manner; he must necessarily suppose, that a *Rational Expectation* this way is attainable. But then, if it be ask'd, how this is attainable, the Apostle insinuates this plainly in this same place, as we shall further see, when we come to consider, *v.* 13, and 14. If any ask, whether it be probable that he himself attained to such a rational and well-grounded Hope, as this, afterwards, before his Departure hence? I can only say, that it is highly probable to me, that such a Man, as he was, could not fail at length to obtain this Satisfaction, especially considering the Method he took, as to this Point, *ver.*

13, 14. And here, let me observe three things, 1. That the Notion that obtain'd, as to this Point, at first, seems to have been this, that this special Resurrection was to be the appropriate Portion, if not only, yet principally, of those that suffer'd to Death for Christ. And this seems to have been at the bottom with the Apostle here, *ver. 10.* as well as in other Expressions, in other Epistles; which therefore I tell the Reader, by the bye, will receive new Light from this Hint; as I might shew at length, were it proper: But I must forbear now. Nay I do believe this might be the first Spring of that General Thirst after Martyrdom, which was in the first Christians, and which incited them to run in and cry, We are Christians, desiring to be put to Death for Christ. 2. I believe the Apostle doth allude to this Notion and Principle, as well as insinuate the Attainableness of a well-grounded Hope this way when he says, *Rom. 8. 35, 36, 37.* That Persecutions, Miseries, and violent Deaths were so far from hurting the Saints, that they tended to make them *more than Conquerors.* Now tho' all Saints shall be *Conquerors*, yet I think no Notion can give us a clear Idea of what *Paul* means by *more than Conquerors*, excepting this only, of which *Paul* discourses here in this Chapter. 3. I am of Opinion, that the Apostle did actually attain to a rational and satisfactory Hope and Expectation this way before his Death, and even so eminent a one, as was next to a full Assurance and Plerophory. For so much, I think, he himself insinuates, when he (*d*) says, *2 Tim. 4. 6, 7, 8.* *For I am ready to be offered, and the time of my Departure is at hand. I have fought a good Fight, I have finish'd my Course, I have kept the Faith. Henceforth there is laid up*

(*d*) That this Epistle was written near the End of the Apostle's Life, this Text informs us. And I agree with Dr. Pearson's and Dr. Whitby's Chronology thus far; that I think it more than probable, That as the Epistle to the Philippians was written in or about A. D. 63, so that both his Epistles to Timothy were written about A. 66. i. e. a little before Paul's Death, who is supposed to have suffered, A. 67.

for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that Day: and not only to me, but to all them also, that love τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ, the Appearing of him. For the Particle here seems to denote some peculiar Appearing of Christ: As the Character of those that shall be thus rewarded, seems also to denote something that few good Men attain to; seeing, there have been but few comparatively on Earth, (as there are few also recorded in Scripture) that long'd either to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, or that desired Christ's hastning his coming to Judgment; both which are included in this Character of *loving* the Appearing of Christ. Now the word ἐπιφάνεια is never used in the New Testament, but with reference to Christ, as I (e) proved formerly. But then it is used variously in reference to him For, 1. It is used, to denote Christ's *first Coming*, or his appearing on Earth, in the Days of his Humiliation, 2 Tim. 1. 10. And, 2. It denotes also, the *last coming* of Christ, viz. at the Great Day, 1 Tim. 6. 14. 2 Tim. 4. 1. Tit. 2. 13, 14. But then, 3. I take the words I have quoted, 2 Tim. 4. 6, 7, 8. to have the most direct Look towards Christ's *appearing*, at the beginning of the *Millennium*, tho not in an exclusive Sense to his last Coming: For the *First Resurrection* bears a Reference to the *last*, and is to be a Pledge of it; even, as the *happy Millennium* State will be a Resemblance and Pledge, of the glorified State of the Saints, after the last Judgment is over; especially as is represented, under the *Emblem* of the *New Jerusalem*. And, tho I expect no *Personal Appearance* of Christ at the *Millennium*; yet there will be such *Eminent Manifestation* of him then, (as of old, at *Mount Sinai*, where the People saw nothing like a visible Representation of him that spoke to them,) as may justly be call'd, *The Appearing of Christ*. And, in this Sense, (if not only, yet principally) we are oblig'd to understand this

(e) Christol. Lib. 2. Cap. 5. p. 203.

Word, as it is used, 2 *Thess.* 2. 8. where the Apostle assures us, that *Antichrist* is not to be fully destroyed, until *Christ* do it himself, with the Brightness of his Appearing. For, tho he has consumed him already, by the preaching of his Word, ever since the 7th Trumpet sounded, and the *Witnesses* arose, in the beginning of the Reformation; and will consume him further, during the succeeding *Vi-als*; yet he and his Kingdom, shall not come to be fully destroyed, as I have shewn, until the *Millemium* come. But, tho the *Formal Kingdom* of the *Papal Antichrist* is to end then, when that *Eminent Appearing* of *Christ's Kingdom* shall come to pass, in or about *A. D. 2000*: Yet, seeing we are told, that after the Expiration of the *Millennium*, or rather towards the Conclusion thereof, *Antichristianism* is to revive again, and be more formidable than ever, under the new Name of *Gog and Magog*, (by whom I understand a general Confederacy of *Pagan, Mahometan and Christian Atheists and wicked Men*;) and seeing these are only finally to be destroyed, by the last general Conflagration of the World: I do not so confine this Word $\epsilon\pi\ \phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\iota\alpha$, even in this Text, to *Christ's Metaphorical Appearing*, in erecting his Kingdom so illustriously, during the *Millennium*, as wholly to exclude the last *Appearing* of *Christ*; tho I think that the Apostle does most immediately speak of the first here.

The *III* Thing the Apostle says, in Relation to himself, is this, *viz.* That he was both *incited and encouraged* to pursue the *special Prize* he had been speaking of, and to seek to have *Satisfaction* this way; because he was apprehended and laid hold on by *Christ*, for this very *End*, that he might pursue these, in order to obtain them.

Now to understand this, let me observe to you, that the Apostle seems plainly to look back here to two things, which he leaves us to suppose, and to refer to, as so many known *Postulata*.

The 1st is, The End for which Christ came into the World, which was to lay hold upon Sinners, in order to save them.

The 2^d is, The particular and eminent Expression of Christ's Love to *Paul*, in his Conversion. In which he did catch hold of him, when he was journeying to Hell, and fighting against Christ.

And, besides these things supposed, we must take Notice of this also, that the Apostle speaks so, as it is plain he alludes to the Games so much renowned at that Time in *Greece*, mention'd before.

Now tho many run, yet one only at each Match, could receive the Prize, as *Paul* says himself, 1 *Cor.* 9. 24. *One receiveth the Prize.* But I shall be obliged to consider this *Agonistical* Matter, and the Apostle's alluding to it, when I come to the 13th and 14th Verses; and therefore I shall pass it now.

However, from these Hints we may the better understand what we are now to consider.

And, 1st. Christ's *apprehending us*, may denote what I hinted before, *viz.* his laying hold on us, 1. In effectual Calling; And, 2. Afterwards by his Spirit and Supports.

But this may run higher; 1. Backward, to his taking upon him our Nature, for thereby he apprehended Man; And, 2. Forward, to his Design of perfecting our Nature. And this I take to be the principal Meaning of the Word here. For it is not said abstractly, that he apprehends us, but relatively, with respect to the Prize, that we are called to contend and wrestle for.

2^{dly}. The End for which he apprehends us, is, That we may be happy, by reaching the Prize fully.

But, 3^{dly}. It may be asked, How do these *incite* and *incourage* us to follow after Christ, in order to reach forwards, towards the attaining the Prize. Answer,

(1.) These are an *Incitement* this way, if we consider, 1. What an Example Christ is this way, who did so much for us, when he had no particular End of his

own to serve ; and when we neither desired, nor deserved such Favour. And consequently, 2. What Obligations Men are under this way.

(2.) These are an *Encouragement* this way. 1. Because this way we see Christ is interested in our Preservation. See *Heb.* 12. 1, 2. *Isa.* 53. 10, 11. *When thou shalt make his Soul,* &c. 2. Because he has made such rich Provision for our Security, &c.

The III^d Thing is, The *Way* which the Apostle took, to reach this End, *viz.* by following after his Master's Example, and treading in his Steps, as nearly as he could.

But this leads me forward, to consider, what the Apostle says of this, in the 13th & 14th Verses.

In which Verses, there are *two Things* to be considered, *viz.* 1. What he run for? *Ans.* *Towards the Mark, for the Prize of the high Calling of God in Jesus Christ.* 2. The Method he took to reach this End. *This one Thing I do,* &c.

The Ist Thing, is *the End, or the Thing he run for.* This is spoken of, under the Notion of a Prize hung upon a Mark. And here there is a Gradation of no less than *five Steps.* And,

(1.) In the general, the Apostle tells us what he had in his Eye. This he calleth *σκόπη* *the Mark*, the *Meta*. For, in Racing, there was some Post or Pillar, or Arch, erected ; and he that first reach'd that, was reckoned to have perfected his Race, and to deserve the Prize that hung upon it. — By the *σκόπη*, or Mark then, Perfection in the general Notion of it, is described : Let us therefore set this Mark before us. For we must never cease running, till we reach Perfection.

(2.) More particularly the Apostle has, in his Eye, *τὸ βραβεῖον*, *the Prize* that hung upon this *Meta* or Mark. This was some Crown or Garland ; which the best Racer, or Conqueror, in the *Exercises*, wore. Which,
in

in the *Olympick* Games, was of the Olive-Tree; in the *Pythæan* of Laurel; in the *Nemean* of a Green Herb, like to Parsley; and the *Isthmian* Garland was a Branch of the Pine-Tree.

Now, by the *βραβεῖον*, the Apostle means, that peculiar and appropriated Share of Perfection and Happiness, which he hoped to receive, in a Proportion to his Services; and particularly, his being raised again at the *Millennium*.

Let us therefore set our Hearts thus on things above, and run for the Prize that is set before us, enduring the Cross, and despising the Shame. And surely, the Vision and Fruition of God, the Company of Christ for ever, the happy Society of the Angels and Saints above, in a State free from Sin, with the Satisfaction and Joy that result from all these, are a Prize worth contending and running for.

(3.) This Prize is said to be the *βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως* of the superior or heavenly Calling, or as we render it, *high Calling*: That is, it is the Prize, which our superior Calling or Vocation both sets before us, and encourages us to expect.

Our very Christianity is wholly occupied about this, *viz.* to ripen and prepare us for this Prize, as well as to incite us to it. — Now, in all Callings and Occupations, some End is designed. And every Science or Art is denominated more or less excellent, as its End is more or less noble. — But there is none to compare with Religion, in this respect, which is therefore justly called *ἡ ἄνω κλήσις*, the highest and noblest Calling. For, 1. It is from above, as to its Original and Discovery; And, 2. Its Tendency is upwards, from whence it descended; and to which it is designed to bring us.

What we call therefore, the outward Calling, or our Profession of Christianity, is altogether heavenly. And if we be called inwardly also, we are the more oblig'd to mind this, as well as strengthen'd and encourag'd this way. For then, as it is, 2 Cor.

4: 6. God, who commanded the Light to shine out of Darkness, &c.

(4.) This high Calling is said to be *the Calling of God*. It is high, because Divine. And it is Divine, because it is revealed and discovered by him, *from whom every good and perfect Gift descendeth*. 2. Because it tends ultimately to bring us to him, and to manifest the Riches of his Glory. 3. Because it is *Ectypal*; for all that is revealed is copied, as it were, from the Nature of God, and is indeed a Discovery and Copy of him, as far as is fit for us to know of him here.

(5.) But it is further added, that all this is *in Jesus Christ*, i. e. by him, and thro' him. For, to go back, by a retrograde Motion, what we have gone thro'; all we have been saying centers in Christ. For, (1.) God is no otherwise seen or known, than in and by Jesus Christ. For *the Father hath no Man seen, neither can any see him* immediately: But he is seen as a Saviour in Jesus; and as the Father of Mercies, Grace and Comfort in Christ. (2.) This Calling of God, is, *1st* Brought and offer'd to us by Christ; *2dly*, Purchas'd for us by him; and, *3dly*, Apply'd to us, by the Spirit sent from him. (3.) The Prize of this high Calling is secur'd in his Hands for us, who is gone to Heaven to prepare it for us. And, *4thly*, Perfection it self, in which the particular Reward of every one is included, is wholly in Christ's Hands; *out of whose Fulness all receive Salvation*. For he is *the Head of all Things*, and the Repository of all Good. And, *in him, the Fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily* or really.

The *III* Thing, is *the Method he took in running, so as to reach his End*; in which there are five things; likewise, which are observable, four of which are express'd, and one supposed, with which therefore it is proper to begin.

The (1.) Thing therefore which is observable here, and which the Apostle necessarily supposeth, is this; *That he resolv'd to bring his whole Life, and all his Actions, in a Reference and Relation to a future State of Happiness, as*
the

the only worthy End of living. For he considered, that Conversion and Glory are only connected mediately, thro' the Intervention of Holiness as the Medium. —

Now, what has no Relation to an End, is the Action of a Mad-man ; what is done for a silly End is dishonourable ; and what is done for a wicked End, is sinful. Our End therefore must be righteous and good, that the Action may be so ; and great and noble, that the Action may be honourable. But that which is the ultimate end of all Actions, and a Man's whole Life, ought certainly to be great and noble. And it is not possible that a Man can act as a wise Man, a good Man, and a Man of Honour, (in the true Sense of Honour) unless he act for the Honour of God, and the attaining the Perfection of his own Nature, and the Happiness thereof ; which is the same with what our Confession defines to be, to glorifie God, and to enjoy him for ever. Therefore these easy Rules and Maxims of Life do result hence. 1. That we ought to do nothing, but what has some Tendency, more directly, or more indirectly, to promote the Glory of God, or at least what is consistent with it, and the Honour of our Profession. 2. Nothing but what tends some way or other to promote our own Happiness, at least nothing derogatory to the Dignity of human Nature. 3. Nothing but what we can hold up our Faces to the supreme Judge upon the Account of, without Shame at the great Day.

Let this therefore be the first and great Maxim of Life: And let us say, is this for God's Honour? Is it for my true Interest? Shall I be approved for this at the great Day.

(2.) This being supposed, as necessarily premised, the next thing observable, is the Intenseness and Concern of the Apostle's Soul in the Matter ; *This one Thing I do.* To reach Happiness in the best and most compendious way, was his *hoc age*, his main Business ; and every thing else was but a *Parergon* to him, a by-Business, not worth his Observation. And this therefore

fore is another Maxim of Christian Wisdom to be duly and seriously considered, laid down, and acted from.

For *that which is of greatest Moment ought to be minded in the first Place, and with the greatest Diligence and Intenseness.* Hence our Lord, *Matth. 6. 33.* exhorts and commands us, *First to seek the Kingdom of God, &c.* And hence we are so often press'd, to *seek true Wisdom, as the first and principal Thing; and with all our gettings, to get Understanding; the Prize of which is infinitely before all things in this World.* Job and his Friends concluded of old, *Job 28. 28.* That *to fear God, and depart from Evil, was Man's only true Wisdom.* And Solomon could add nothing to this Discovery, by all his Searches, as we see, *Ecc. 12, 13, 14.* Nor did our Lord add any thing to this Truth in it self. Only he set it in a clearer Light, and made the way plainer towards the Attainment of it. For what saith the Gospel but this same thing; as the Apostle excellently sums it up, *Tit. 2. 11, 12, 13, 14.* *For the Grace of God which bringeth Salvation to all Men, hath appeared, teaching us, that denying.—— Looking for that blessed Hope, and the glorious Appearing.—— Who gave himself for us, &c.* Let us therefore act in this also, as the Apostle did.

(3.) The Apostle lays down a third Rule and Maxim of Christian Wisdom, which is *to forget the things behind, and only to mind the Things before.*—— This Forgetfulness is not to be taken in a narrow or rigid literal Sense. For as it is impossible to forget wholly what we have run thro'; so were it possible to forget thus, it were both sinful and foolish. What! Shall we reckon it Duty to lose all Remembrance of God's Benefits to our Souls? Would not an Attempt this way hinder our future Advances in Holiness? — The Meaning therefore, is to be taken only comparatively, and *Secundum quid.* As if he should say, I do not satisfy my self, and sit down contented with what I have attained. No, no, I look upon these things, as comparatively small in Relation to what I may further attain to. Therefore, I do not think so on these things

as to retard my self in the rest of my heavenly Race and Journey. The Expression is *agonistical* therefore, as well as the rest. For those that are upon the Stretch in a Race, contending to come up the first with the Mark, must not (*f*) look behind them, but forwards upon what is before. Let us, in this Sense, forget the Things behind, and press on to the Things before.

But, (4.) The Apostle shews us what he did further, to reach the Prize, *viz.* that *he reach'd forth to the Things before.*

The Original Word, ἐπεκτεινομαι, which we render *to reach forth*, denotes Contention or Emulation, in those that run in a Race; and so ἐπεκτεινομεν is he that runs with the greatest Emulation, to out-run all others, in order to come first to the Mark, in order to reach the Prize. Now what Care there is in this Exercise, at this Day, is sufficiently known to many; as in preparing both Man and Horse, adjusting the Weight of the one, to the Strength and Make of the other; and what Concern a good Rider has to sit right and easy to his Beast, to lean forward, to keep the Reins right, neither too slack nor streight, to husband the Horse's Strength, so as not to run him too soon to the utmost, and yet not to trust all to the last Push. With Respect then to such things, does the Apostle use this *Agonistical* Word; which does denote therefore, that he did all that possibly he could to get before all others, if possible, in Christian Services and Attainments. And as this Word therefore does properly denote the utmost Concern and Precaution; and may therefore be rendred more properly and emphatically, *I contend to get up with the Things that are before*, i. e. so as I may, *alios antevertere*, pass by all others, and get before them:

(*f*) This Horace expresses excellently, Serm. Lib. I. §. I.
 Ut cum carceribus missos, rapit ungula curus,
 Instat equis Antiga suos vincantibus, illum
 Preteritam temens, extremos inter euntem.

So the next Word seems more properly to take in the Sense of the former, *to reach forth*, as we render it.

For, (5.) The Verb *πίπτει*, which we render *to press*, or *press forward*, signifies not only *persequere* & *insequere*, to follow after the Things before, or to press on towards them; but also it may be rendered *percutio*, *ferio*, I beat or strike; as also *fugo*, I put to flight. — Now this superadds another Notion to that which the former Word suggests, *viz.* that he did not only act the Part of a wise and cautious Runner, emulating all others, and contending to out-run them; but that he used all lawful and allowable Force, Strength, and Activity in his running. He imitated the excellent Horseman that comes in first to the Mark, with Whip and Spur, with that Force, that every one, in the Way, is oblig'd to let him pass them, for fear of being run over, or run down. — Now these things being duly considered, will be found to take in every thing momentous in the Words. — And therefore having made the Sense plain, and set the Apostle's Example before you; all the Application I need to make further, from hence, is this; Let us labour to act the same Part that he acted; and therefore let us go and do in like manner. *Amen.*

(2.) The Apostle having told us, how he applied this Truth to himself, proceeds, in the next place, to direct his Discourse to the *Philippians*; wherein he lets them know, what Improvement he thought they ought to make of the same. And this he insists upon, in the 15, 16, 17, 18 & 19th Verses. — Where we find a *Threefold Exhortation or Advice*, *viz.* 1. To them, whom he calls, comparatively, by the Designation of *perfect* ones; 2. To others that *differ'd*, in this Point, from him and them; And, 3. To *both Sorts* jointly.

1st. He exhorts those whom he calls *Perfect*, *ver. 15.* in these few, but comprehensive Words; *Let us therefore, as many as are thus perfect, be also thus minded.*

I hope there is no need to insist upon the several Senses of τέλειος, *Perfect*. And therefore, I need only say, that, when it is spoken of, in a religious Sense, and in Relation to Men, it signifies, 1. A sincere and upright Person, as *Psal.* 37. 37. *Psal.* 119. 1. in Opposition to an unsincere Person. But, 2. Tho in the *Old Testament*, this Word seems to have been thus used, at least, in some Places; yet I find not that it is used thus in all the *New Testament*; either when it is applied to Persons or Things. For, (1.) Where-ever it is applied to Persons, I observe, that it is constantly used to denote Christians of an higher Form, and who have attained to higher Degrees of Knowledge, Grace or Usefulness, in a Contradistinction to others, who are of a lower Form, tho otherwise sincere. So that it is used to denote an *Adult* Christian, in Contradistinction to a *weak* Christian, who is comparatively but, as it were, a *Babe in Christ*. Thus, of Necessity, we must understand this Word, *Heb.* 5. 14. And, I cannot think, that it is otherwise used in any other Place; and I know not, that it is ever used in Relation to Men, but in these Places following, *viz.* *Matth.* 5. 48. *Chap.* 19. 21. *1 Cor.* 2. 6. *Chap.* 14. 20. *Eph.* 4. 13. *Col.* 1. 28. *Chap.* 4. 12. *Jam.* 1. 4. *Jam.* 3. 2. And again, (2.) I observe likewise, that where-ever it denotes Things, it denotes, at least, most directly, Things more perfect, not so much in Opposition to bad Things, as in Contradistinction to Things that are less perfect in their Kind; as in *Rom.* 12. 2. *1 Cor.* 13. 10. *Heb.* 9. 11. *Jam.* 1. 4, 17, 25. *Job.* 4. 18. — And certainly in this Sense only can the Apostle be supposed to use this Word here. But then it deserves Observation; that when the Apostle says, *ver.* 12. *Not as tho I had already attained,* (*viz.* not as tho I were certain of my attaining to the *first* and *special Resurrection*, mention'd, *ver.* 11.) it is added, both naturally and emphatically, ἢ ἤδη τετελειώμαι, which, I think, is, as if he had said, *or were already come to such Perfection, as this amounts to: But I follow after, &c.* — But, tho the Apostle was not perfect,

in this peculiar Respect; yet he calls himself, in Conjunction with others, by this Character, *ver. 15.* so that he must mean this here, *viz.* that he, and such of the *Philippians*, as believed the *special Resurrection* at the *Millennium*, were *perfect* in Knowledge, as to this Point, when *compared* with those that either could not, or would not, comprehend and receive the Notion; tho at the same time, neither they nor he were yet so perfect, as to any like *Assurance*, as to their attaining to be *thus* raised.

Now his Exhortation to those *perfect* Christians, wherein he comprehends himself, is, I think, twofold; 1. That, seeing he had now told them, that he was still of the same Opinion, as to the special Resurrection, which he had formerly told them of; he desired that they, who had espoused the same Opinion, this way, would not quit it, upon little Objections to the contrary, how speciously soever proposed. 2. And that, as they believed this Truth, as well as he, they would improve it also, in the same manner he had just now told them, that he did. — For, I think, both these are equally included in the Latitude of the Exhortation; *Let us therefore, as many as are thus perfect, be also thus minded.* For, seeing he had told them, both what his *Theory* and *Practise* was, in Relation to this Point: It is equally plain, that, as he *expressly exhorts* them to the like *Practise* with himself, in Reference to his Opinion, this way; so he does *necessarily suppose*, that they and he were of the same Mind, in Point of *Theory*; seeing he does not only exhort them to be *thus minded*, as he was, but puts them and himself in the *same Class*, when he says, *Let us*; and when he calls himself jointly with them, and in Contradistinction to others, by the Epithet of being *perfect* Christians.

II^d. The Apostle proceeds to give his Advice, in Relation to others, that differ'd from him, and those who were of his Opinion, with Respect to this peculiar Notion. Now, in Reference to them, he says,

ver. 15. *And if, in any thing, ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even the same thing unto you.*

In which Words we may observe a great deal of Wisdom: Which will obviously appear from the following Considerations. 1. That he plainly, tho tacitly, insinuates, that the *Philippians* were of different Sentiments as to the *special Resurrection*: For he distinguishes them thus; when he says of the *first Sort*, who held the *Affirmative*, *Let us, &c.* and of the *other Sort*, *And if ye be otherwise minded, &c. i. e.* any Party of you. For, as he includes *himself* in the Number of the *first*, so he does plainly distinguish himself and those of his Opinion, from those that held the *Negative*. 2. But yet, to avoid any thing that might irritate those that differ'd from him, he speaks as if he made no difference at all, between those of the two Opinions. For he does not here, in this Clause, speak to those that differ'd from him, as a Party, but in Conjunction with the other; and as thus composing one Church, when he says, *And, if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, &c. i. e.* if any of your Number be so. 3. And, for this End, he does not say, that any Person was of a different Opinion, but goes wholly upon a *Supposition*, that such a Thing might be. 4. But yet, he insinuates sufficiently, how firmly he himself believed this Opinion of the *special Resurrection*; seeing he plainly asserts, that God would *reveal* this Point to the Church, in such a manner, as that even this Opinion should be believed by them, as well as others; as he did indeed, some time after, by the *Apostle John*, Rev. 20. 4, &c. But, seeing this plain and positive Account has been since obscur'd, by Persecution first, want of Learning afterwards, and weak Glosses since; I cannot but thank God, that he has been pleas'd to revive this Truth, after its being, as it were, buried in Obscurity, for about 15 or 16 Centuries: Which is one Verification of Christ's saying, *That God is pleas'd, sometimes, to reveal his Truths to Babes, when he hides them from the Wise and Prudent.*

But,

But, III^d. The Apostle directs his Exhortation, more directly and plainly, to those of both Opinions, in these Words, *ver. 16. Nevertheless, wherunto we have already attained, (i. e. to be of the same Opinion,) let us walk by the same Rule, and mind the same Things.*

Where we see, 1. How christianly and wisely, the Apostle obviates any Umbrage of Division or Disaffection, that might happen to arise in the Church, upon the Occasion of different Sentiments, either upon this Head, or any other Article of the like Nature and Consequence. 2. How prudently he joyns in himself, in this Respect, equally with those that differ'd from him, as with those that agreed with him; when he says, *Wherunto we have already attained, let us walk, &c.* By which, as he avoids all Appearance of Partiality, so he casts in himself, between the one and the other Party, as a *Center* of mutual Love and Union, to keep them united, to cement them further; and, in case of any Breach, to re-unite them.

I suppose, I need not say more here. For every one must be apprized, what the Apostle means by the Sequel of the Verse; seeing it is plain, 1. That by the *Rule*, by which Christians *walk*, we must understand the Christian Doctrine; 2. That all Christians *attain* not to an equal Measure of Knowledge this way; 3. That yet all are oblig'd to live up, as far as they can, to their Degrees of Knowledge, this way; without quarrelling with one another, as has been, alas! too common in all Ages; the Wise despising their Inferiours as Fools and Blockheads; and they again crying out against all the Learning of wise Men, as dangerous Notions, and erroneous Speculations.

But now, that I have touch'd upon this Subject, which indeed is the main thing that the Apostle insists upon, both in the 15th and 16th Verses; I cannot forbear to say something further upon it; especially considering, how necessary it is to be insisted upon, in this Age, where Trick, Censure, Envy and Malice, do so much

abound. In doing which, I shall gradually propose these things following, to be enlarged upon by Mens own Thought ; seeing I am oblig'd, at present, barely to propose them, by way of short Hints.

And, 1st. We are to take notice of *three things*, supposed here by the Apostle. (1.) *Supposition*. That very learned, wise, and good Men may have very different, and even opposite Sentiments, in several things, even of considerable Moment. — Nay, as this ever was, so we must expect that it will always be so, more or less, here in this World ; seeing it was so in the Apostolical Age it self : For the wisest Men see but in part, even in regard of Points that we are apt to think are in themselves pretty obvious. (2.) *Suppos.* That good Men may differ, not only in Circumstantials and lesser Points ; but in reference to these Points also, that are agreed on all hands to be essential Articles of the Christian Religion. — For we must remember, that every Difference, as to Essential Points, is not an Essential Difference. It was a Dispute, that related to Essentials, when the Apostles and Elders differ'd whether the Gospel was to be preach'd to the Gentiles ; and had not *Peter* had a Divine Commission this way, in his Preaching to, and baptizing *Cornelius* and his Family, he had incur'd the Censure of the *Synod of Jerusalem*. And it was equally a Dispute then, (even after that the Apostles had freed the Gentiles from the Ceremonial Law) whether the Apostles had Power or Right to vacate the Law of *Moses*, so far as they did. Some Christians therefore preach'd, that *unless Men were circumcised and obeyed the Law of Moses, they could not be saved*. And I durst venture to say, they had more to say for this Opinion, than ever was yet alledged, for some later Ceremonies and Models of Government, as necessary to Salvation. But in opposition to those Jewish Christians, *Paul* asserts, that if the Gentile Christians were circumcised, *Christ would profit them nothing*. — Hence we may see, how justly it has been said, of late, by eminent Divines ; *In Necessariis Unitas, in Adiaphoribus Libertas,*

bertas, in Utrifq; Charitas, i. e. That we ought to unite, as far as we can, in things necessary, to allow mutual Liberty in things indifferent, and to be charitable towards one another, in both these respects. (3.) *Suppos.* That, tho there may be very considerable Differences, as to Opinion, between good Men, in both the above-mention'd Respects; yet, if mutual Love and Affection be kept up, it will be a great Means gradually to lessen these Differences, and in due time to remove them. And for this Reason the Apostle does so earnestly recommend Love and Union here, as also elsewhere; as we see in those Places, where he labours to compose Differences, as to the eating of *things offered to Idols*, and as to the Point of *observing of Holy Days*. —Hence therefore we may naturally infer, 1. That for any Man or Party to make *Creeds*, in order to *impose* disputable Notions upon others, is unscriptural and barbarous. 2. That it is *Antichristian*, to *excommunicate* or *persecute* any, for not believing and practising just as such or such a Community does. 3. That *different Sentiments*, (where Men do not own themselves *Atheists*, or of such *Principles* as are *inconsistent* with the *Constitution* of a *Civil Society*, as *such*) ought to be *tolerated*, even *within the Church*, by all Christian Nations, who have any regard, either to the Apostle's Authority, or to their own Peace. 4. That the Differences of Opinions afford an Opportunity for the Exercise of Charity and Forbearance; without which that eminent Virtue would want frequent occasions of evidencing, who they are, in whose Breasts this Grace does eminently reside. 5. That Differences as to Judgment, ought to make no Difference in point of Affection; and that therefore, where there are Differences this way, they proceed either from Ignorance and Prejudice, or from worldly Ends, or from both.

2dly. These things being supposed, the Apostle proceeds to lay down this Proposition: That all Christians ought, as far as they have attained, to walk by the same Rule, and to mind the same things; in order thus to

evidence and to promote, as far as they can, true Catholick Love and Charity.—— See the Commendation of Love, *Rom.* 13. 10. *Gal.* 5. 22, 23. *1 Cor.* 13. 1, 2, and *ver. ult.*—— And consider withal, 1. That as God is Love, so the Image of God must principally stand in Love; 2. That the Excellency of the Heavenly Angels, above Apostate ones, is chiefly discernable in this, that the one sort are acted by Love, and the other by Malice; 3. That the most Essential Difference between good and bad Men, is seen the same way; 4. That Love is the Essential Bond and Tye, by which the Church and good Men are kept united, and is therefore commanded by Christ as his new Commandment, and as the Badge by which his true Disciples are distinguishable from others; 5. That Love tends to recommend Christianity to Strangers; 6. That the higher Degrees we attain to of Love, the fitter we are for Heaven; seeing the Perfection of Love is but another Name for the Celestial Felicity it self.

3dly. Therefore, from all these Considerations, the following *Conclusive Maxims* do naturally result. 1. That the *Articles of Opinion* are many, but the *Articles of Faith* few. For which see, *Heb.* 11. 6. *John* 17. 6. *Rom.* 10. 9. 2. That no Man is justly chargeable with any Opinion, but what he owns to be his *in Thesi*, i. e. in so many Words; nor with any Practice, but what is legally and clearly proved. 3. That therefore consequential Absurdities, which a Man disowns and abhors, tho' drawn never so evidently from his Opinion, are unjustly fixed upon him, who declares that he disowns these Inferences, and that he is not satisfied that they are necessary Consequents of his Opinion. Thus *Luther* could never be brought to own the Absurdities of *Consubstantiation*, nor *Calvin* of his *Latitude* as to the *Sabbath*, nor *Arminius* as to his *Notion* of the *Decrees*. And thus those, among us called *Anabaptists* or *Baptists*, have been unjustly charged with denying Baptism, when they only deny the immediate Use of it to Infants and Children, before they come to the Use of Rea-

Reason. 4. That Love is not only a Part, but an Eminent Part of Religion; but that most Opinions and Notions, for which Men usually lose Charity, are not so. Whence it follows, that Christian Love and Charity are indeed necessary; but that Agreement in Articles of Opinion, is neither necessary, nor possible, as the World is now constituted. And hence the Folly and Madness of the common Wish of unthinking pretended Zealots, for their various Orthodoxies, is easily seen, when they *gravely* or rather *dully* (for the original Word *Gravus* signifies *both* these) cry out; *Ob! that all Men were of one Mind, that is to say, of their Mind.* But pray Reader be Judge, if the Sense (or rather Nonsense of this) amounts to any more than this; *Ob! if all Men would submit to my Opinion, as the only true one.* And then let it be considered, if this be not as much as to say; *Ob! if God would make all Men of one and the same Age, Complexion, Humour, Degree of Capacity, Method of Education, &c.* 5. Errors, of themselves, tho' radically they flow from Sin, are not formally, and therefore not properly, to be reckoned Sins, as being only Infirmities of the Understanding, but not of the Will: For no Man wills or chuses to err, if he can help it. As therefore we hate no Man for being poor, blind, lame, or for being a Fool or Ideot: I see not why we should hate those that err, in Matters of Religion, for want of due Information: this being no more than the Consequent of the Poverty, Blindness, Lameness and Weakness of such Mens Intellects. Seeing therefore we all profess to be travelling for Bliss; shall we fall violently upon them, that cannot be persuaded just to follow our Tract and Way, as judging their own Path the best. 6. That a Party-spirit is directly contrary to a Catholick Christian Spirit, and is therefore inconsistent with Christianity it self. 7. That we ought to avoid needless Disputes, and to avoid Quarrels with others about little disputable Points; unless where Self-defence obliges us to it, or some weighty Consequents depend upon our doing so. 8. That we ought to have

2 Care of loading Men with opprobrious Names, or such Designations, as go under a bad Character in the World with different Parties, whether they be so in themselves or not; such as *Calvinist, Arminian, Antinomian, &c.* But let us imitate Christ who only reason'd against the *Saducees* without calling them by hard Names, *Mat. 22. 29.* 9. That we ought to beware of an indiscreet Zeal, such as that of the Jews, *who had a great Zeal for God, but not according to Knowledge,* or such a Zeal as that of the Apostles, when they desired their Master to *destroy the Samaritans with Fire from Heaven.* 10. That we ought to act from calm, moderate and pacifick Principles; giving due allowances to all Sorts of Men, from the Consideration of different Education, Circumstances, Ideas and specious Authorities and Reasons. Had we been educated and brought up with *Soci-nians at Cracow,* with *Papists at Rome,* with *Mahometans at Mecca,* with *Jews in Portugal,* or with *Heathens in Japan,* or elsewhere; we must have been of their Opinion, unless God had wrought a Miracle to the contrary. And therefore let us *do as we would be done by.* 11. That we ought to acknowledge Worth, where-ever we see it, tho in an Enemy; for *whatever is good is from God.* Let us therefore carefully avoid that opposite Satanical Temper, of representing even the best things, in the worst Dress imaginable. If a Man be *frugal and temperate,* he is often represented as a *Miser*: or if *generous,* as if he were an *extravagant Fellow.* If a Man be *sober and virtuous*: Oh, say some, he is but a *dull Moralist.* Or if another be strictly *Religious*; some will cry out, *Ha,* all is *Hypocrisy.* But, upon the other hand, if a Man be *over-taken in a Fault,* instead of *restoring him in the Spirit of Meekness,* as the Apostle's Command is; all things too commonly are rak'd up against him, that a wicked Imagination can invent, without any regard to the Rules of Christianity or Charity, or even common Humanity. But let us act the Counter-part to this; without aggravating things. And let Mens Errors of Judgment or Life be what they will; let us value

value any good Thing that we see in them. For if we value Flowers, that we see growing in the open Fields, rather more, than when we see them in the Garden: Should we not rather admire Virtue, when thriving under innumerable Disadvantages; than when we see it flourish under peculiar and constant Care and Cultivation. 12. That we ought ever to remember, that in many things we mistake and err our selves; and do therefore stand in need, not only of the Divine Forgiveness, but even of the favourable Construction of Men. And thus I have done with the Apostle's *threefold Exhortation*.

But seeing he adds to this, by way of *Coronis*, his Advice, to follow good Examples, as well as good Rules, in *ver. 17*. We must not wholly omit to take notice thereof; when he says, *Brethren, be Followers together of me*; by which he does not only exhort to Holiness in general, but, as I think, does also modestly insinuate his Desire, that those of the *Philippians*, that differ'd from him, as to the Truth he had insisted upon, might come equally to see and own it as others did. And, I think, that this is further insinuated by him, in the following part of the Verse; when he adds, *And mark them, who walk so, as ye have us for an Example*.

However, in order to inforce this Advice, he proceeds to dehort and deter them, from falling in with the Example and Practice of spurious Christians, *ver. 18, 19*. *For many walk*, says he, *of whom I have told you often, and now tell you, even weeping, that they are Enemies of the Cross of Christ: Whose End is Destruction, whose God is their Belly, and whose Glory is their Shame, who mind earthly Things.*—I shall not consider these words narrowly, at this time; nor shall I so much as inquire, whether he means all spurious Christians in the general, or whether he means the Sect of the *Gnosticks* in particular. Only we cannot but observe, how early Satan had sowed his Tares, in the Field of the Christian Church; nay how great and general a Defection there was even then, both in Point of Doctrine and

and Morals; for they were not a few, but *many*, that *walked* at this wicked rate described here. — And I would add this Observation further, That these two Verses seem naturally to fall into a *Parentesis*; seeing, if we omit them, and read the 20th Verse immediately after the 17th, we see a close Connection of the Thread of the Apostle's Discourse. For thus these Verses run. *Brethren, be Followers together of me, and mark them, who walk so, as ye have us for an Example: For our Conversation is in Heaven, &c.* But this Observation leads me forward to the last Head of the Apostle's Improvement of the Doctrine, which he had insisted upon. Therefore,

(3.) The Apostle proceeds to the *Rationale*, or the *Reasons* of his Exhortation to *both Parts* of the *Philippian Church*; to satisfy them all, how *reasonable* and *just* it was, that they should unite and agree as Brethren; and that for this *weighty Consideration*; that both he and they, and all true Christians were agreed, in all the *Fundamental and Essential Points of Religion*; and even in those things that related to the *Resurrection of the Dead*. — Now his *Consideration* here is *twofold*, ver. 20, 21.

The *1st.* is this, That they were all united so, as equally to belong to the *Celestial World*. For, says he, *our Conversation is in Heaven*. Which is as much as to say: Shall we fall out about different *Notions and Apprehensions*, when we do all equally belong to the *Society above*, and are travelling thitherwards.

There is nothing that needs any *Explication* here, excepting the *Greek Word* πολιτευμα, which is of the like Import as πολιτεια, as both are derived from πολις, a *City*. And I must confess, our *Interpreters* have render'd this Word very imperfectly, by the Word *Conversation*; when this does, at least, denote our *Citizen-Conversation*, as bearing a *Reference* to the *Conversation of Joynt-Citizens*, who are of the same *Society*, and intic'd to the same *Privileges*, and act for the same

same Ends, in Relation to the Honour and Advantage of the Community they belong unto. Hence, as this Word is rendred *City*, Heb. 11. 10. so it is rendred *Freedom*, Acts 22. 28. and *Commonwealth*, Eph. 2. 12. but may better be rendred, in all these Places, a *City-like Government*, and Mens being intitled thereunto. So that *πολίτευμα* denotes properly, the Constitution of a *City*, or the Form and Privileges of such or such a Community. It denotes *Jus Civitatis*, the Burghership and Franchizes of a *City*, *Nation* or *Empire*.

And now, that I have mention'd *Nation* or *Empire*, in Conjunction with *City*; I must observe, that the Notion of all these Three is the same usually, according to both the Old *Roman Dialect*, and that of the *New Testament*. As for the *Romans*, it is evident, that *Urbs*, i. e. *Town*, was the usual Name of *Rome*, which is hardly ever call'd *Civitas*, i. e. *City*, by any good Author. *Civitas Romana*, i. e. the *Roman City*, was as much as to say, the *Roman Republick*, during the Continuance of the *Commonwealth*, or to say, the *Roman Empire*, after the Days of *Julius Cæsar*. Thence it was, that *Cives*, a *Citizen* of *Rome*, denoted any Man, that was born in any *Town*, *Village* or *Cottage*, that belong'd to any free Province of the *Roman Dominion*: So that it was equivalent to that of a *Free-born Native* with us. When therefore any *Nation* or *Country* came to obtain their *Freedom*, the *Inhabitants* were said to be *Civitate Donati*, i. e. to be intitl'd to the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*, as much as if they had been born at *Rome* it self; whereas others were obliged to buy this. An Instance of both these ways of being *Roman Citizens* we have in *Paul*, and the *Captain of the Castle of Jerusalem*, Acts 22. 25, 27, 28. And in this *Dialect* *Julius Cæsar*, when speaking of the *Helvetick Nation*, or ancient *Switzers*, (g) says, *Omnis Civitas in quatuor*

(g) Lib. 1. Comment. de Bello Gall.

Pagos divisa est, i. e. Every City is divided into four Villages. Now our best Criticks on this Author are agreed, that by *Pagus*, a Village, *Cæsar* meant a certain *District* of the Province; which therefore he meant also to express, by the Name of *Civitas*, a City. So that a *Helvetic* City was of the same Import then, as a *Canton* of *Switzerland* is now.

Whence it is plain, that the Apostle does not speak, according to our Modern Idea of City, but according to the *Roman* Notion thereof: With which he was well acquainted, seeing he himself, tho' born at *Tarsus*, and at a vast Distance from *Rome*, was yet a free-born *Roman* Citizen; *Tarsus* being a Part of *Rome* consider'd as an *Empire*. — So that by *πόλις*, *Paul* means an *Empire*, and by *πολιτεύμα*, the *Constitution* of that *Empire*. And, that this was his Idea, appears from hence, that we find him elsewhere using the Words, *Place*, *Country* and *City*, as equivalent Terms, as particularly, *Heb.* 11. 8, 9, compar'd with *ver.* 10. as also *ver.* 14, 15, 16.

Whence it is apparent, that *Paul* speaks here of *Christ's Empire* in general, tho' with a special Reference to the higher Regions thereof; and that accordingly, he intimates; that, as it was with him and others, that were *Roman Citizens*, viz. to belong to *Rome*, and to be under its Laws, tho' they had never seen *Rome*; so it was also with Christians here below, who, tho' they had never seen Heaven, did yet belong to the *heavenly Jerusalem*, and its *Empire* above, which is the *Mother* of all true Christians; our Lord *Jesus* being He of whom the one Family, which is partly in Heaven, and partly on Earth, is named.

Philo did therefore hit the Truth exactly, when he divides Men into two *Polities* or *Communities*; (b) calling the one *ἐπι τῆς γῆς*, those of this earthly Empire, and

(b) P. 405. C.

the other, οἱ δὲ ἔσαν, *those that belong'd to the heavenly Empire.* And indeed, the Scripture speaks in the same Dialect, when it says, That *the first Adam was of the Earth earthly, but that the second Adam was the Lord from Heaven*; as also when it says, That *good Men are born ἀνωθεν from above, or from Heaven*; and that thus they are born not of the Will of Man, nor of the Flesh, but of God.—And this shall now suffice, as to the *first Reason* of the Apostle.

The *II^d*. is this, That *He*, and all the *Philippian Christians*, were agreed, as to what related to the *Last Judgment*, and *General Resurrection*, and the *Future and Eternal Glory* of all Saints, after both these were over. All which weighty Points, he represents thus. *From whence also, (i. e. from Heaven,) we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change our vile Body, that it may be fashion'd according to his glorious Body, according to the working, whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself.*

The Reader will see, by the bare Citation of these emphatical and comprehensive Words, how vast a Subject I might have to run out and expatiate upon here: But I forbear, so much as to touch upon it; not only because it has been so much treated of already, by innumerable Authors: But because, besides, that I am obliged, not to run out too far beyond the due Limits of this *Dissertation*, additional to the preceding Book; I think it highly proper, to refer my Thoughts, this way, until I come (if it may so please God) to discourse of the *last Things*, in their proper Place.

I shall therefore only observe, That the Apostle brings this in, to satisfy the *Philippians*, that his *Notion* of the *first and special Resurrection*, was very well consistent with that of the *last and general One*.——And indeed his Declaration of his *Want of Assurance*, as to the *Former*, and of his *Full Assurance* as to the *Latter*; is a *full and undeniable Proof*, that he spoke of a *double Resurrection*, in this Chapter.

Having therefore, I hope, sufficiently proved what I proposed to prove, at first, I end here, and bid the Reader heartily Farewel.

From my Study,
This 30th Day
of December,
1707.

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* <i>Luke,</i> Chap. 13. 29. & <i>Math.</i> 8. 11.	35
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ERRATA.

PAGE 39. Line 31. after *should* read *be*; p. 58. l. 7. dele *can*; p. 169. l. 3. for *too* r. *so*; p. 369. l. 19. for . r. , after *aside*; p. 397. l. 14. for *three*, r. *thirty three*; p. 402. l. ult. r. *Isagogic*; p. 403. l. 30. after *and*, r. *may*; p. 412. l. 5. for *as* r. *at*; p. 438. l. 1. r. *Relation*; p. 449. l. *ferult*, r. *Grabii*; p. 529. l. 1. of Marg: Nete, for r. r. *in*; p. 530. l. 3. dele *what*; p. 619. l. 7. after *so*, r. *graciously*.

In the DISSERTATION, Page 90. after *Ch. 15.* add *Ver. 29*; p. 105. l. 20. for 1797. r. 1697; p. 128. l. 19. for (1.) r. (2.)

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THE
Loganthropos :
OR, A
DISCOURSE
CONCERNING
CHRIST,
As He is
The *LOGOS*, made Man.

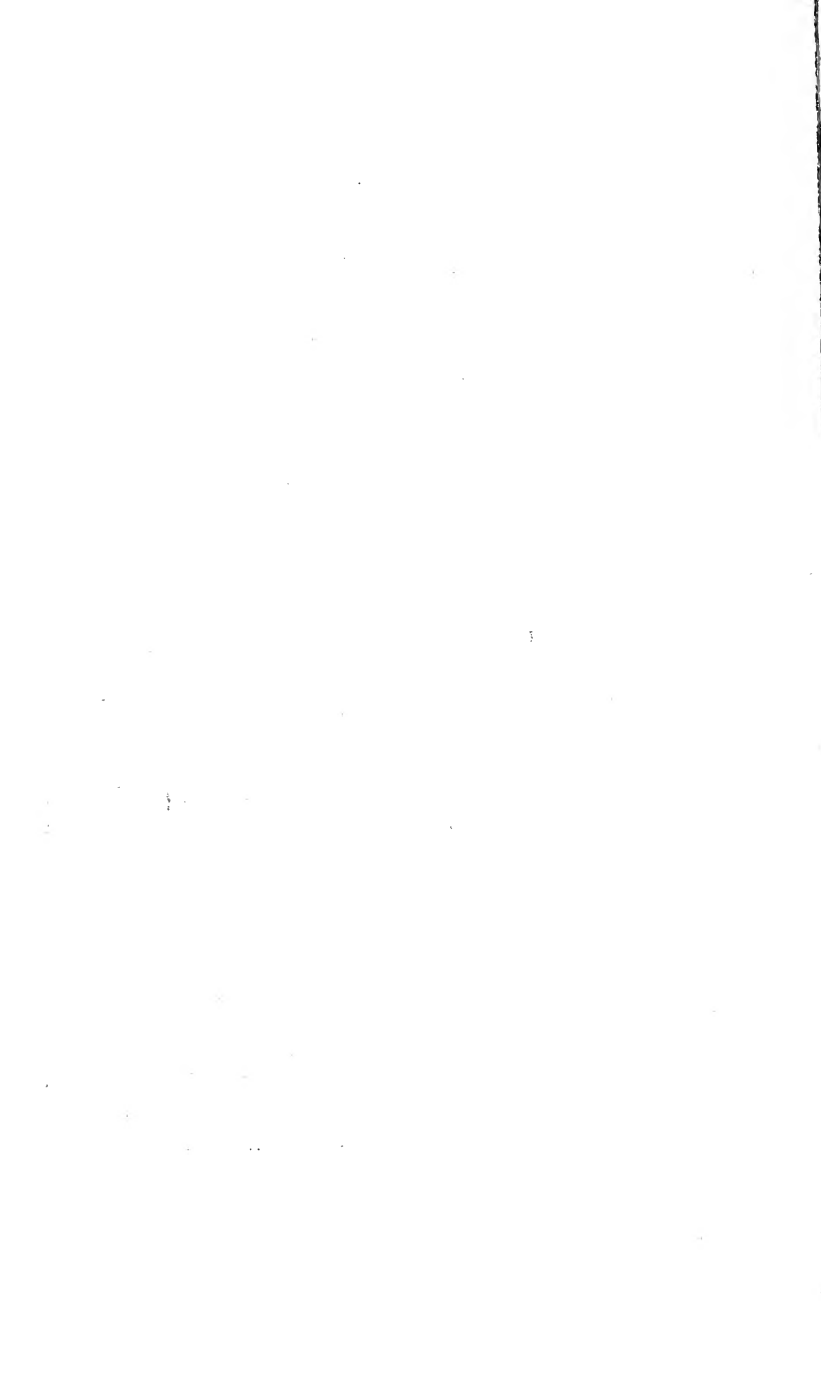
BEING THE
Third Book of *CHRISTOLOGY*.

Heb. 1. 1, 2. *God, who, at sundry times, and in diverse manners, spake in times past unto the Fathers by the Prophets; hath, in these last days, spoken unto us by his Son, &c.*

Augustin. Epist. Volusteno. Venit Christus; complentur in ejus Ortu, Vita, Dictis, Factis, Passionibus, Morte, Resurrectione, Ascensione, omnia preconia Prophetarum.

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A
 DISCOURSE
 CONCERNING
 CHRIST,
 AS
 Loganthropos.

The INTRODUCTION.

THE Reader may remember, that in the *General Introduction* to the *First Volume* of this Work, I gave him some Account of my Scheme, as to the *Design* and *Principal Heads* of this Discourse; and that I added something relating to the *different Method* I propos'd to proceed in, in this and the following Books, from what I us'd in the two first. But in the *Introduction* to the *Second Book*, I spoke more plainly as to this last. And indeed, when I consider both the Vastness of this Work it self, and how much my time is taken up with other things, besides the

necessary and important Duties of my Function; but especially, when I call to mind the uncertainty of Life, and how many Warnings I have had of late, as to Death, I have resolv'd, (as I said before, in the Places referr'd to) rather to give the World a few Materials towards the Building of this Fabrick of *Christology*, than delay until I be in case to finish it in all its Parts, to the same Proportion that I have brought the two first Books unto; lest, by this Delay, I cut my self short of offering those few, but valuable Things, that I have already, through Grace, attained to, and which I hope will not be despis'd, tho not so perfect as I could wish they were.

'Tis true, should the Reader judge of my Subject and Performance here, by the Bulk of this present Book and Volume, he might well think that I have reason to Apologize rather for my Prolixness than Brevity. And I readily confess, that I have just Reason to do so in one sense; seeing I have been forc'd to alter my Resolution of sending forth this 3^d Book, together with the 4th in a 2^d Volume, as I propos'd to do in the Introduction to the First, p. 5. For I did not then imagine, that my Thoughts upon *Christ* as *Loganthropos*, as being for the most part Hints only, would have arisen to that Bulk, that I find they do now amount to: But, as the old saying is, *Many Littles arise to a large Sum at length*. And indeed this is the exact state of my Case, as to this matter: For it is not, because I have treated largely of this Subject, that I find this one Book is swell'd to such a Bulk, as to make so large a Volume by it self alone; but it is, because the Subject is so large and vast, that the bare mentioning of so many things as relate to it, have oblig'd me to enlarge so much upon the whole (tho without any great Enlargement upon any one particular Head) as that I find my self necessitated to send forth this 3^d Book, in this Volume apart, considering what Proportion it alone doth bear to the two former Books.

And yet, how bulky soever this Book may appear to be, the judicious and learned Reader will soon see, that I have been so careful to avoid tediousness, that I have either

ther wholly past by, in Silence, many of those Points that our common Systems treat of in reference to Christ, or spoken of them very transiently, which I did on purpose that I might leave the more room to treat of those new Points, that I never met with in any Author before, at least as to such a Cultivation and Improvement of them, as I have been inabled to make here, thro' *the good hand of my God upon me.* For, as the Subject of the three first Chapters, is, in a manner, intirely new, and (properly speaking) never treated of before (tho intirely Scriptural :) So the Materials, in many of the other Chapters, and the Method observ'd in all of them are such, as that I may without Vanity promise the Reader, that he will find the Scriptural Divinity set in a further Light here, than it has ever yet been set in, by any Divine whatsoever. And yet, I believe no Person that has perused the *First Volume*, together with *This*, will think, but that, had I not prefer'd the Satisfaction of others, before my own Reputation, I might, by a further Delay, have sent this Book forth more polish'd than it now is.

For indeed, I must needs acquaint my Readers, that I have for some time hung in suspense in this Matter, between Publishing any more on this Subject whilst alive, and leaving my Thoughts to be publish'd after my Death, upon the account of the Disingenuity I have already met with from some: For, if those things, that are so generally unexceptionable, which I have already publish'd, have had no better Reception in the World; What can I expect, as to those other things, that, at first view, must be supposed to appear as Novelties and Singularities to the Generality of Men? Error, Conceitedness, nay perhaps Heresy it self, are the Brands that I must expect will be affixed to them, by many of all Denominations. So, that they act certainly the most cautious and polittick Part, who either keep on in the common Track, (according to the old Saying, *Via trita, Via tuta*, the Way most frequented, or the Broad High Way is the safest;) or, who, if they think freely, keep their

Thoughts to themselves ; or, in case they think of publishing any of their Notions, reserve them unto their Death, to be made publick by their Executors, when they themselves are out of the reach of Opposition and Reproach. But then, upon the other hand, it look'd to me, to be a mean, cowardly, and degenerate thing, to be afraid of exposing Truth in its naked View to the World. And I must own, that I have been much encourag'd to proceed upon this Subject, from the Approbation that some of the most Learned Men of the Age have given of it ; especially Foreign Divines. Besides, that I think meanly my self of most Posthumous Tracts ; which can hardly be reckon'd the Genuine Production of those Men, whose Name they bear, unless they themselves, in their Life, had not only left such Pieces finish'd, but given order likewise for their Publication. For there is no true Student, but must be supposed to grow in Knowledge, and consequently to have had reason to alter his Thoughts frequently, especially in more Nice and controverted Points. For I my self have now by me several Tracts, that might appear to be finish'd for the Press ; which yet I could not publish as my present Thoughts, tho they were mine some Years ago. As therefore, none can put the last hand to any thing of mine, but my self, because none knows how far I have had reason to alter, or rather to better my Mind, since I began to study in good Earnest : So I reckon it my Duty to publish, if possible, in my own time, those things that I think may be of use to Men.

And as I have reason to thank God, that I have seen further into the Reccesses of Divine Truths, than I did some Years ago : So, I proceed to offer my Speculations to be canvass'd, by all that love the Study of Divinity ; with a sincere Resolution to retract any thing, wherein I have been mistaken, when fairly convinc'd of it ; according to what I have already told the World in the Close of the *General Preface*.

As therefore I can honestly say, That I design nothing, by all my Studies, but a farther Propagation of the Knowledge of the Truths of God: So I hope all sober and serious Christians will reckon themselves oblig'd to consider what I say, before they allow themselves the liberty to pass any definitive Sentence, especially of a censorious Sort.

For, let me be so bold, as to tell the Reader this before-hand ; That he will find, if he think over this Volume with Candour and Impartiality, what I do humbly suppose, he never met with before in all the Books of Divinity that ever he read.

I shall not either prevent my self or preoccupy the Thoughts of others, by giving any account here of the Heads treated of in the following Chapters. Only I shall hint a few things, by way of Preliminary, as a taste of that great Subject, that I am designedly to treat of, in this Part of my Work.

Now I am sure, that our Minds will be insensibly led in, to see some thing both of that Wisdom and Love that passeth all created Understanding, as to the full Extent and Dimensions thereof ; if we allow our selves liberty and closeness of Thought, in an equal Proportion, as to these things following, *viz.* That *Human Nature did sin, and therefore must suffer, and that to Death, according to the first Threatning and Sentence: That, the Woman having been first in the Transgression, Christ began to Honour Human Nature, (that where Sin began, Grace might first take place and abound) by honouring the Female Sex, in being born of a Woman: That Man, being the nobler Sex, Christ must become a Man, and thus honour that Sex likewise: That Human Nature could not atone for its own Guilt, because vitiated and corrupted: That Christ's Human Nature must therefore be incorrupted, and without all Taint: That yet, Christ's Human Nature, as part of the Common Nature of Mankind, came in course to be liable to Death: But that, He receiving it purified, and offering it up incorrupted, it became a proper Atonement for Sin; especially if we consider, that it was offered up (if I may say so)*

upon the Altar of his Divinity, as he was the Logos, which sanctified the Gift, (and therefore sure the Cross was not this Altar, in any Propriety of Speech, seeing our Saviour assures us that the Altar (a) was greater than the Gift offer'd upon it) and so made it a full Equivalent for the Human Nature in General. Seeing therefore mere Men could merit nothing at the hands of God, both because finite and corrupted, Christ both could and did merit; because without Sin as Man, and Infinite as God. He died therefore, that he might have both Authority and Power to govern Men as Loganthropos, and to save such as should come under his Government sincerely and universally: whence he is said to be (b) the Saviour of all Men, but especially of those that believe. He exerted this Power, I readily grant, as the Logos, before he actually assumed our Nature; but then it was by virtue of the previous Contract and Agreement, that was between God and him, of which I shall afterwards discourse. But when he became the Loganthropos, it was fit that he should give forth a new Law: which he has accordingly done, owning it, by a Specialty, to be his own. By which hints it does appear, that a mighty Controversy, agitated with great heat on all Sides, has not yet been duly stated, when put after this manner; viz. Whether Christ died equally for all Men, or comparatively for a few of them only, or for all sufficiently, and for some only effectually. For I should chouse to put the Question thus; Whether Christ did die, in order to procure to Himself, as Mediator or Loganthropos, a Headship over some Men only, or over all Men, in order to save those that should believe in him, and obey his Institutions. Which I shall, at this time answer no otherwise, than in the Words of the Apostle, That (c) He is able to save them to the uttermost, that come unto God by him, &c. Which, as to what it supposeth, I leave to all Men of Candor and Sense.

(a) Matth. 23. 19.

(b) 1 Tim. 4. 10.

(c) Heb. 7. 25.

And I do, in like manner, desire all my Readers to consider, Whether our Lord Jesus does not rather suppose this Question, as it is stated by me, than as it is stated after the Method of the several contending Parties, (whose Notions are summ'd up in the first complex Question) when he summs up the Gospel in this short Proposition; (*d*) That *God did so love the World, as to give his only begotten Son for the same, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting Life.* For we need no other Comment upon these Words, but what he himself gives us in the following Verses. If any Man desire a more formal and explicite Answer to the Question, let him consider the following Places of Scripture, and then think, whether he has not a sufficient Answer, again and again, *Rom. 14. 9. Acts 2. 30. Acts 5. 31. Matth. 28. 18. Job. 17. 2. Phil. 2. 6---9, 10. Rev. 5. 12.* But I must not now expatiate upon Controversies.

Only what I have said will help us to conceive of the *Ends* of Christ's Incarnation and Death, which were, to *Atone for Sin*; To give out a new Edition of the *Divine Law*; or, (if that word displease any) to give us a *plenary Account of God's Will*; as far as was necessary for us in this state of *Trial*; and to *shew us all this liv'd over in a perfect Example.* As therefore, the *Perfection of Human Nature* was only seen in him; so we are exhorted (*e*) to look unto *Jesus*, as the *Author and Finisher* of our *Christian Faith* and *Holy Religion*; to the end that we may raise and elevate our Natures, in imitation of him, as high towards God and Heaven, and as far above the degenerate Herd of Mortals as possibly we can; seeing it was one end of his Death to render Sin odious, (which cost him so dear) and to recommend Goodness and Virtue to our Study and Practice, which was his great Concern to promote, and which shone so

(*d*) John 3. 16. (*e*) Heb. 12. 1, 2.

illuſtriously in his whole Management. For it was one great End of Chriſt's Miſſion, that we ſhould be *conformed to the Image of the Son of God*, Rom. 8. 29. And, wherein this Image of Chriſt does ſtand, we may eaſily ſee, if we compare *Col. 3. 10. &c.* with *Eph. 4. 24.* not by piecing theſe together, (as has been commonly done hitherto by Expoſitors) as if the Apoſtle had given a defective Account in either place, or rather in both; but by explaining the firſt Place by the ſecond, and the ſecond again by the firſt. For the Image of God ſtands in a ſpiritual and ſaving Knowledge, ſuch as is productive of Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs; or in theſe, as flowing from ſuch a Knowledge, as the directive and regulative Principle of ſuch a Life, of which Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs are the main Ingredients. And ſeeing *Faith works by Love* in all this, and *Love is the fulfilling of the Law*, and is given by our Saviour as the Sum thereof; we may well ſay, that Love is the eſſential Thing, wherein the Image of God, *who is Love*, doth conſiſt, and conſequently of Chriſt who is all Love, and who is therefore, in this, as in every thing elſe, the expreſs Image of his Father. Whence we may eaſily attain to ſee, how remarkably Chriſt, who is the *Wiſdom of God*; and who, *of God, is made unto us Wiſdom*, and is therefore *our Wiſdom*, comes to be *juſtified of his Children*; for we may very reaſonably interpret Chriſt to be meant by this Epithet or Deſignation, *Mat. 11. 19. Luke 7. 35.* tho I would not wholly reject the uſual Interpretation, which is every way conſiſtent with that which I have given. But how wonderful is it to think, how great the Love of God the Father, and God the Son was, in condeſcending ſo low, in order to lay a Foundation for our being brought back from the Image of Satan to the Image of God. What a ſtrange *Metamorphoſis* was here, if I may ſo ſpeak, that the *Original* ſhould, as it were, change its own Form, and deſcend ſo far as to become *the Copy of its own Copy*, in order thus to efface all blurs from it, that it might be again reſtored to what it was at firſt. But

I shall have occasion to speak to this further afterwards: Nor shall I prevent the Reader's Thoughts, by saying any thing more here, as to any part of the Subject treated of in this Volume.

However, let me tell him this, that if he be a Bigot either to the *Lutheran, Calvinist, Arminian, or Amiral-dian Scheme*, or any other, so as to think it a Sin to offer any further scriptural Light, he may let this Book alone: For I assure him that mine is not adapted to any of them all; excepting so far as I could find ground from Scripture to be of their Opinion. For I have (f) learned to call no Man the *Master or Teacher* of my Faith and Religion, but *God and Christ*; according to the old Saying, *Amicus Plato, Amicus Aristoteles, sed magis Amica Veritas*, *Luther and Calvin*, and all Learned and Good Men, I honour; but *Paul, Peter and John* I honour more; and yet none of them dare I put in the room of *Christ*, tho I own their Writings to be Canonical, and found upon them as such; which I do upon no Writings besides, since their Days.

It was perhaps as just a Character, as Great, which was given of *Calvin's Institutions*, when they first came out,

*Præter Apostolicas post Christi tempora Chartas,
Huic peperere Libro secula nulla parem.*

But it is very strange, if no Additional-Light has been added to Divinity since his time. I hope none will Deify that Great Man, or make him Christ's Equal. If they do, they have reason to renounce the Christian Name, as well as they have done the Thing. There is a Divine Curse pronounced upon all them that trust in Man: and I am sure it holds in this case, as well as in others. But it is time to go forward to the Work I am to treat of.

(f) Matth. 23. 9, 10.

With respect to which, let me beg the Christian Reader, that dares allow himself to think closely and freely, to accept of these my Meditations in good part ; and, if he receive any benefit by them, to return thanks to God, the Father of Light, Mercy and Consolation, to whom alone all Praise is due. But, in Case I have fallen short of Truth, or mist it in this or the other Particular, I hope he will not suffer himself to transgress the Common Rule of Justice in this case, but that he will do to me, as Reason, Equity, and Conscience will tell him, I ought to do to him, were he the Author of these Papers, and I his Reader.

And I hope I may demand this Justice from him the rather, because a sincere Concern to be useful to him, has prevail'd with me, above that regard which otherwise I ought to have had to my own Quiet and Reputation, by either delaying the Publication of these things, until I could have sent them forth in a more polite Dress, or by suffering them to lie by me in the dark, until I my self had been called away from this afflictive and miserable World.

For, as I have already said, the Reader cannot but see that the uncertainty of all things in this World, especially of what is future (which, as the Poet says, *Caliginosa nocte premit Deus*, and which is, according to the Scripture, wholly unknown to us, as being (g) *reserv'd by God in his own hands*) has incited me to suggest some things, material in themselves, and useful to the Church ; tho' with disadvantage to my self, not only as many of them may appear new, and therefore obnoxious to Censure, but as all of them are sent forth, without that Accuracy, either as to Stile or Method, or as to that large and studied Illustration, which most of them seem to require, in order to their better acceptance with Men, especially vulgar Readers, and such as are inured to the ordinary Systems and Schemes that have obtained

(g) Acts 1. 7.

so long in the World, rather for the sake of the Fame of Great Names, and Prescription and Authority that way, than upon any other Account.

But, to leave Prefacing here, I proceed to give some Specimen of the remaining Heads of *Christology*.

And, seeing I have largely treated of Christ, as *Logos*, I now proceed to give some Account of him as *Loganthropos*.

C H A P. I.

What those Things are, that ought to be premised, by him that would render the World Happy, by a full and compleat Treatise concerning Christ, consider'd as Loganthropos; where three Sorts of Wisdom, conspicuous in the Gospel, are proposed as necessary to be treated of: Concerning the First of which, the Author discourseth distinctly here, viz. That Divine Wisdom that is to be seen in the Contrivance of Christ's Appearing in the World, with respect to the peculiar Circumstances of his Lot and Acting among Men.

IN the Introduction to the 2d Book of *Christology*, I told the Reader that I found my self oblig'd to naturalize some Greek Words into the English Language, and gave an Account of my Reason for so doing. And there I shewed that *Theanthropos*, or *God-Man*, tho' so generally used by Divines, was both an *unphilosophical* and *unscriptural* Way of Speaking; and that therefore I thought it necessary to substitute this in its stead; and to speak of Christ incarnate under the proper Designation of *Loganthropos*, that is, the *Logos made Man*, or, as *John* speaks, *made Flesh*, i.e. the *Logos*, as clothed with, or appearing and acting in and by Human Nature.

Now

Now seeing I propose not so much to treat of this and the remaining Heads of *Christology* (as I have already told the Reader again and again) as to afford some things, as *Hints* or *Materials* to him, that shall be so happy as to bless Mankind, with a full and useful Treatise this way, (which my uncertain Life, various Business, and innumerable Avocations, make me despair of accomplishing) I proceed in the *first place*, to suggest those things that I look upon as absolutely necessary to be premised here, in order to introduce the Reader's Thoughts to the Scriptural Idea of Christ, as *Loganthropos*.

And here ; First, Were I to treat of this Subject, according as its Greatness and Usefulness do require, I must premise an exact Breviate of *Matters of Fact*, relating to our Saviour's Birth, Life, Miracles, Parables, Doctrines, Sufferings, Death, Resurrection, Converse afterwards for forty Days, and Ascension.

And, in doing this, I must be supposed to prove the Verity of these *Facts*, at least as to the main of the History it self that these relate to ; seeing *these* are the Great Foundation of all our Religion.

But in both these, *viz.* the *Narration* and *Probation*, I should think my self oblig'd, in a peculiar manner, to study *Brevity*, as far as that were consistent with *Perspicuity* : Because so much has been said this way already both by *Ancients* and *Moderns* ; that nothing seems to be so much wanting now, as an Exact and succinct *Synopsis* or *Abridgment*, of what is already extant at large, but with vast and almost confounding Variety of Thoughts and Methods, in innumerable Treatises ; which, without such an *Abridgment*, are enough to tire out the Thoughts and Inquiries, ev'n of most Scholars, tho otherwise both Judicious and Laborious.

But, *2ly*, It will be convenient, if not necessary also, to insist longer, as well as with the greatest Exactness, in shewing the Divine Wisdom, that is so conspicuous in this Great and Main Foundation of the Christian Faith.

And

And here, there is a *threefold Wisdom* conspicuous; tho neither of them has ever been so cleared up to this day, by any Writer, either Ancient or Modern, as they ought to have been, so far as I can learn. The *1st* is, that *Divine Wisdom*, that is observable in the Contrivance of Christ's Appearing in the World, under such and such peculiar Circumstances. The *2^d* is, The *Prudential Wisdom*, that appeared in our Saviour, when he was in the World, in his Conduct and Behaviour, with respect to those he had to do with. And the *3^d* is, That *Spiritual and Heavenly Wisdom*, by which he manag'd himself during his State of Trial, both with respect to God, and Angels Good and Bad, in the Discharge of his Trust of the Affairs of Mankind, in order to obtain that Supream and Universal Empire, as *Loganthropos*, for which he came into the World, and suffered therein.

To treat of any of these fully and exactly; but especially of all three (seeing they have so near a Relation the one to the other, and tend so much to illustrate each other) would be one of the greatest Services that ever was done by any Man to the Christian Church. But as this must be supposed to take up a great deal of time, and afford Matter for a vast Volume of it self: so it will require the most elevated Genius in the World to attempt it.

However, that my Readers may understand what I mean by these *three Sorts of Wisdom*, and what it is that I am so concerned to have cleared up, upon all these Heads; I shall venture to give the World a few Hints in relation to each of them, in hope that they may be as so many Sparks, in order to kindle many more in the mind of some fit Person, who may be so happy as to prosecute and improve them further, than I have leisure for, or perhaps capacity.

Now, as for the First of these, *viz.* the *Divine Wisdom*, to be observ'd in the Contrivance of Christ's Appearing in the World, under the Circumstances that we have an Account of in the Evangelical History; I do think, that the principal Thing observable here, and that

that which this runs upon, is ; *That it is the perfect Reverse of Human Policy.* Or, to express this more intelligibly and fully, I lay it down thus : *That Wisdom that was manifested in Christ's Appearing, and the Circumstances thereof, and in the Philosophy or Doctrine which he taught, was wholly abstracted from any thing like worldly Policy.*

And now that I have mention'd this, I cannot but acquaint the Reader, that there is (b) a Learned and Ingenious Gentleman, and a worthy Friend of mine, with whom I have sometimes had the Happiness to discourse upon this First Sort of Wisdom, (for of the other Sorts I never knew any Man that had any such Idea, as I have been directed to) whose Thoughts have been long and deeply taken up this way, and who seems to be fitted, above most Men, to render the World happy, by a Compleat Treatise of this kind ; if his Health and other Studies will allow him to give us a full Scheme of his Meditations ; which I could heartily wish to see finish'd and made publick, and for which I have waited for several years past ; suppressing my own Meditations on this Head, all that time, in hope that he would publish his. For I must confess, that in the hope of this, I have long hung in suspence, whether I had best publish any thing of this kind. But at length I was determin'd to treat of this Subject, mov'd by these Considerations : 1. Because I knew not how to treat of Christ as *Loganthropos*, at all, if I did wholly omit this first and eminent Consideration of him. 2. Because that worthy Gentleman and I did differ in one weighty Point, in relation to this, tho we agreed materially in all other respects. For, whereas he propos'd his Scheme in such a manner, as if God could not have acted in any other Method, than that wherein Revelation tells us he has acted ; asserting, if I understood his Meaning aright, that it was *Absolutely* impossible that any thing, or so much as circumstance, could have fallen out otherwise, than they have done ; I

(b) Mr. Alexander Cunningam.

was of the mind, that this was to carry the Point too high. And therefore I thought, that it was enough to shew the Rationale and Wisdom of the Scheme and Method, that Divine Wisdom has thought fit to proceed in; as supposing no other necessity this way, than a *Hypothetical* one only; seeing I durst not venture to determine, but that Divine Wisdom might have proceeded according to a Scheme different from this, at least in circumstantial Respects, if God had seen fit to do so. I thought therefore, that in case my Friend did publish his Scheme, it might not be amiss to publish mine; which, tho in other respects inferiour to his, might yet, in this respect, as I humbly supposed, be less liable to Misconstruction. And, *3dly*, Besides these Considerations, I could not see any Inconvenience could arise to the Truth it self (whatever might happen to my self, to be out-done by a greater Genius and better Pen) if he and I both, and a hundred more should emulate one another in a friendly Dispute, which of us could do most for the Defence and Illustration of our Holy Religion. And I consider'd withal, that I never knew any two Authors that wrote without Collusion, that ever proceeded exactly in the same Method or Way, tho they treated never so closely of the same Subject: So that, whatever I may attain to do, on this part of my Subject, I leave room enough for my Friend to treat of it still. But to proceed;

Concerning this Wisdom there are two Queries, that naturally arise in our Minds, *viz.* (1.) *Is this really true? or how do I, or can I prove that it was so?* And, (2.) *If it was so, What was the Reason of God's Acting thus?*

In Answer to the First, I need only desire, that every Man would consider the Facts recorded in Scripture, and judge if it was not so. For had God acted in this matter, according to what Human Policy would have suggested, Christ must have come into the World, and acted in it, with all the Grandeur, external State, Magnificence, Authority, Power and Glory, that ever was

affected by the greatest earthly Monarchs. He must have liv'd long, made a pompous Show of Wisdom, Learning, &c. in order to render his New Philosophy acceptable and taking with all Men. And this too must have been attemper'd to Mens sensual Inclinations, and have given Promises or Encouragements, as to Riches, Honour and Power, to those that should distinguish themselves by their Proficiency in this Doctrine, and their Zeal for its Honour and Propagation: And besides, Christ must have pick'd out the most nobly Descended, and the most Learned and Wise Men of the whole World, to have carried on the Design thereof, after his Departure out of this World. And then he must have left the World, as he liv'd in it, in the greatest Glory imaginable. In a word, he must have acted the quite contrary Part, to that which we see he Acted, whilst here among Men.

So, that had God follow'd the Methods of Human Policy, to have made the World fall in with Christ, and imbrace his Gospel; our Lord must have come into the World and Acted in it, after some such Method as that, which the Jesuits in *China* represented him to have acted in, in order the better to profelyte that People. A worthy Gentleman, who liv'd a considerable time in that Country, told me, That this was certainly their Way, *viz.* to represent Christ, as if he had come into the World with the most wonderful Glory that ever was known. And this is so certain, that it is universally known, that they have been openly accused before the Pope upon this Account, and that great Contests have arisen upon it: Tho' what the Decision is, the Popish Church is so Politick, as to keep a Secret from us. However, I was credibly inform'd, that one of their Missionaries was heard to Harangue after this Manner publickly to a considerable Auditory of the *Chinese*: "Ye have had many very Great, Wise and
 " Excellent Emperors here in *China*; and no Nation
 " can boast of the like: But yet none of these, nor in-
 " deed all of them, can be compared to the Eternal
 " Em-

“ Emperor, Jesus Christ. That ye may know this, I
“ will now give a short, but true and exact Account of
“ him. The World being very wicked, and Men very
“ miserable, by reason of the Tyranny of those Kings
“ and Princes that Rul’d before his Coming ; especial-
“ ly the Head of all these, the Emperor of *Rome*, who
“ Reign’d over the greatest Part of the World at that
“ time, with terrible Rigour and Cruelty : God took
“ pity upon Mankind at last, as finding their State
“ grow worse and worse. To rectify this, he resolves
“ to send his own Son from Heaven to subdue these
“ Tyrants, and reduce things to Order again. Well !
“ at length the Heavens appear more Glorious than
“ ever before. A wonderful Light, bright and glori-
“ ous, that out-shone the Sun by ten thousand Degrees,
“ breaks forth. Great Noises are heard in the Air,
“ with most wonderful and delightful Musick : And at
“ length a prodigious Army of more than a thousand
“ thousand Millions of Angels appears in sight. Before
“ whom marches a Chariot, of a prodigious Bigness,
“ all of solid Gold, most curiously wrought, but so
“ thick set with precious Stones, that the Gold could
“ hardly be seen for their sparkling and dazzling Splendor.
“ This Chariot was drawn by ten thousand bright and
“ nimble Spirits, and a hundred thousand of a nobler
“ Rank guarded this Chariot before and on either Side,
“ being commanded and led by *Raphael* the Arch-An-
“ gel ; as the rest of the Army that followed the Cha-
“ riot, was by the Great *Michael*, the First of all the
“ Arch-Angels, and Lieutenant-General to Christ
“ himself, who rode in this Golden Chariot, and com-
“ manded all. Now, says the Jesuit, here all Language
“ fails me, in setting forth the Glory of this Great
“ General. He was of a most prodigious Stature, as
“ big as a thousand Men, but most wonderfully Beauti-
“ ful and exactly symmetry’d. His Face out-shone the
“ Sun so far in Splendour, as is beyond all Conception.
“ He had a prodigious Flaming Sword in his left Hand,
“ the very Sight of which was terrible. But in his
“ right

“ right Hand he had the Ensign of the Cross, which
 “ had a fanative Vertue in it, to remove Distempers,
 “ to chear the Heart, to recover the Frenzical and Di-
 “ stracted, to raise the Dead ; and in a word, to work
 “ all manner of Miracles, to remove Mountains, dry
 “ up Seas, &c. Now, says he, all Tyrants and wicked
 “ Men were convicted and punish’d by him, and the
 “ Roman Empire destroy’d. In the stead of which,
 “ he rais’d up one *Peter*, a most Eminently Holy and
 “ Excellent Person, to rule the whole World for him,
 “ as his Vicegerent. He destroy’d not only the Empire
 “ of *Rome*, but the Name of Emperor, and the very Form
 “ of that Government. And, in its stead he erected a
 “ Holy Constitution, over which he set this Wise and
 “ Holy Man *Peter* ; ordering, That when he should
 “ be called out of the World into Heaven, that his Chief
 “ Priests should come together and pray to him ; and
 “ that upon their so doing, he would send them an An-
 “ gel to tell them what Person he had pitch’d upon to
 “ succeed in this Sacred and Universal Headship over
 “ the World. And, when he had done this, he took
 “ his leave of *Peter* and his Bishops, and went to Hea-
 “ ven with all his Army, in the same Glorious and Tri-
 “ umphant Manner, in which he came. But he assu-
 “ red his Vice-Roy *Peter*, that as often as he desired,
 “ he should hear from him by a special Messenger,
 “ who should assist him in all dark Cases and Affairs
 “ of Consequence. And he never fail’d to do so
 “ to *Peter*, and all his *Successors* the *Popes*. So that,
 “ says the Priest, the *Pope* that now is, has had fre-
 “ quent Messages from Christ in Heaven, command-
 “ ing him to send Holy Men to the Great Empire
 “ of *China*, out of the Great Love he has for that
 “ Learned, Wise and Excellent People, to invite
 “ them to leave their Idolatrous Priests and false
 “ Worship, and own him and his Vicegerent the
 “ *Pope*. Now I am one of those Holy Missiona-
 “ ries, (continues he) and I assure you, that whoso-
 “ ever of you will do as I shall direct, shall, when
 “ he

“ he dies, go into that Glorious Paradise where
 “ Christ is. And that I may know who have a mind
 “ to be thus Happy ; I.e, I have here a Book, given
 “ me by the Pope, by Order of Christ himself ;
 “ that I may mark down in it the Names of all those
 “ that desire his Favour : Which I must from time
 “ to time send an Account of to the Pope, that he
 “ may send it to Christ in Heaven ; and I assure
 “ you, that all those that refuse to have their Names
 “ thus recorded, shall be destroy’d at last in a most ter-
 “ rible Manner. Come therefore, and let me have all
 “ your Names : But know, that every one that expects
 “ this Favour, must give me his Offering in Money, ac-
 “ cording to his Ability, that the Sincerity of his Heart
 “ may be known. Thus far the Priest and his Ro-
 mance : Which, as I am told, wrought upon a great
 many, to his Hearts Content. But my Design in rela-
 ting this Story, is this only ; to let us see, that Christ’s
 Appearing, and his Religion, must have had something
 in it, like that which the cunning Jesuit insinuates ; had
 it been any way calculated to serve secular Ends, or
 been framed according to worldly or Popish Politicks :
 For, be the Story true or false, it serves my End at pre-
 sent.

But, because what a private Protestant saw and heard
 may be objected against, as an invidious Reflection up-
 on the Romish Church, in case any of that Com-
 munion shall condescend so far as to peruse these Papers ;
 I shall tell the Reader, that this needs not appear incre-
 dible to any, that is acquainted with the Genius either
 of the Court or Church of *Rome*, as I might prove at
 length from their own Authentick Authors. But, be-
 cause I would not detain the Reader needlessly, I shall
 only desire him to consult, amongst many other Books
 that might be named, *Dr. Patrick’s Reflections upon the*
Devotions of the Roman Church, &c. Where he will find
 this memorable Story, to this purpose (taken out of the
Festival. de Invent. Sanctæ Crucis) p. 347. not to mention
 Scores of more ; and which I shall copy out in the

same Dialect, and way of Writing, in which he found it; it being part of one of their old Homilies, that was used to the People on the Day, that was kept sacred upon the Account of the pretended finding of the Cross. Good Friends, such a daye ye shall have the inventyen of the holy crosse; ye shall not fast the even, but come to God, and to holy Church, as Chrysten people holde doe, in worship of him that dyed on the Crosse. Than ye shall understande, why it is called Inventio Sanctæ Crucis, the fyndynge of the holy Crosse; the which was found in this wyse, as I shall tell you. When Adam our fyrste fader was seke for age, and woide sayne have ben out of this worlde; Adam sent Seth his son to the Aungel Keeper of Paradyse, prayeing the Aungel to send him the oyle of mercy to anoint his body therewith when he were deed. Than went Seth to Paradyse, and sayd his Message to the Aungel. Than answered the Aungel, and sayd that he might not have it till the yeres were fulfilled. But have this bzaunche of the Tree, that thy fader synned in, and set it on his Grave, and when it bereth fruyte, than shall he have mercy and not erre. Than toke Seth this bzaunche and came home and founde his fader deed. Than he set this bzaunche on his faders grave, as the Aungel badde him do; the which bzaunche growed there tyl Salomon was kynge, and he made to set it down, for it was saye for the work of his Temple; but it wolde not accorde with the woike of his Temple. Salomon than made to caste it downe into the Erth, and it was hidde there to the tyme that the Bishop of the Temple let make a wayze in the same place there as the Tree laye, to washe in thepe that were offered to the Temple. Than when this wayze was made, they called it in their Language Probatia Pisciana. To the which water came an Aungel certayn tymes from Heben, and dydo worshippe to the Tree that lay in the grounde of the wayze, and moved the water; and what man or woman that came to the water nexte after the Aungel, was made hole, what seknes that ever he had, by vertue of the tree; and so endured many wynters, to the tyme that Chryste was taken and holde be done upon the crosse. Than this Tree by the

the odynance of God sawanne upon the water, and when the Jews had none other tree redy to make the crose of, for greate haste that they had, they toke the same tree and made thereof a Crosse, and so dyed our Lord thereon, and then the tree bare that blessed fruyte Crystes body, of the whiche wellethe the ogle of Mercy to Adam and Eve and all other of their offspring. But when Cryste was deed, and was taken down of the crose, for envy that the Jewes had to him, they toke the crose, and two other crosses, that the Thebes were hanged on either syde of Cryste, and buried them deepe in the Erth; for Crysten people sholde not wyte where they were done, for to do it worlshyp, and there it lay a yere and more unto the tyme of Eleyna, &c. Now as for the rest of the Story, how *Elyna* (i. e. *Helena*, the Mother of *Constantine*) found the Cross, it is rather more Romantick, than what I have copied out; but I leave it to the Reader to consider, as he will find it in the above-cited Book of *Dr. Patrick*, page 343. &c. For I profess my Self to be sufficiently tired, with a little scrap, that I have copied out. Which sufficiently shews, how ingenious the Romish Clergy have ever been, in inventing Stories of this Kind. For, tho this Story is not exactly parallel to the former, yet it equally shews what Latitude that set of Men have used in all Ages, in order to accommodate Christianity to their selfish ends. And as their Invention is vast, so their Reasoning is strong. Of which take a taste out of the *same Author*, p. 381. cited out of *Festival. in Fest. Omnium Sanct. l. 148.* On All-Hallowen-Day, our Prayers shall be sooner heard than any other Day: For this Day all the Saints in Heben come togyder to pray to God for us; and therefore we may well know, that all coming togyder, shall be sooner heard, than if they come but by one or two by themselves.

Now, pray Reader, were not all things that related to Christ and his Religion quite contrary to this sort of Proceeding? For as the Prophet says, *Isa. 53. 2.* when Christ came, there was neither the Ancient *Form* of the *Shechinah* to be seen in him, nor any other Sort of *Majesty* or *Grandeur*, which our Translation renders *Come-*

lines. His supposed Father was but a poor Country Carpenter: In which Trade Christ himself seems to have been Educated. And, as if *Joseph's* Cottage, and the mean Furniture of his Chamber and Bed had been too magnificent, and favour'd too much of this World, our Lord must be born in a Country Barn or Stable, and have no richer Cradle than a Manger. His first Visitants must be poor Shepherds, and his Estate no more than the Charity of some poor Women, *Luke* 8. 3. No House he ever had, and often no other Bed than the bare Ground, nor any other Canopy than the Sky and Clouds. He had less this way than the very Foxes and other wild Creatures of the Earth, or the Fowls and Birds of the Air, *Matth.* 8. 20. *Luke* 9. 53. Nor did he ever discover the least desire that way. He was so poor, that he could not pay a Penny towards the Tax or Poll-Mony, that was then exacted, without working a Miracle to procure it, *Matth.* 17. 24, &c. which is so much the more remarkable, as to the Humility of the Action, that this fell out a little after his being so eminently own'd and honour'd by God, at the Transfiguration. But to return; as he was poor and mean all his Life, so he chose no other Disciples, than a few poor illiterate Men. And not only so, but he was arraign'd and condemn'd in so ignominious a manner, that even *Barrabas* the notorious Kopper, was reckon'd by the Jews the better Man of the two. He died the ignominious Death of a Slave, in the Company of two Thieves, and had a Grave bestow'd upon him out of Charity.

Were these things the Result of worldly Policy? or had they any thing in them that favour'd this way? Was this the Politick Method to make all Men fall in love with him and his Ways? What Madness then is it for some Men to represent our Religion, as if it had been contrived by crafty Politicians? Do not those that talk this way want the Discipline of a *Bedlam*?

And pray, does Christ's Doctrine favour any more of Human Policy, than his Personal Circumstances did?

did? Are Self-denial, Poverty, Calumny and Persecution in this World, so lovely, and such insinuating things to Men, that Politicians could fall upon no finer Arguments of Persuasion?

Let this therefore suffice as an Answer to the first Query: And let us now proceed to the Consideration of

The 2^d Question; *viz.* What may we suppose was the Reason why God acted at this rate? In answer to which, I shall wave all those collateral or secondary Considerations so often touch'd upon by our Practical Divines; *viz.* that God designed this way to teach us to despise Honour, Riches, Grandeur, sensual Pleasures, &c. and to teach us Humility, Contentment with a mean Lot, Patience under Sufferings, Heavenly-Mindedness, &c.

For, let these things be as Men would have them, it is plain to me, that the Great, Principal and Immediate, if not only Foundation of this Procedure was, to give us full Satisfaction, as to the Divinity of Christ and Christianity. For I lay down this as a certain Maxim in this Case; That that Religion which was to be given forth by God, as worthy of him, and in its best Edition, and that must accordingly bear its own Evidence along with it, as truly Divine, must not only be Diametrically opposite to every thing that is properly wicked, but must have nothing in it in common with the Policy of this World. For it must appear to be from God, for this very Reason, That it was not from Men, nor had any thing in its Contrivance or Frame that look'd like this World.

Hence it was necessary, not only that the Founder and Instituter of such a Religion, should appear and act in the World, in a poor and mean Lot and Condition, without Noise, Pomp, Honour, Riches, Authority, Power, the Assistance of Great Men, or any Earthly Advantage to recommend his Doctrine, Institutions and Government: But that he must never be taught by Men, nor be initiated into either the Learning

ing of the Jews, by any of their *Rabbi's*, nor into the Philosophies or Learning of the Gentiles, by any of their Doctors. That, by all these things, it might satisfactorily appear at length, that both his Doctrine and its Success in the World were from God, and not from Men, far less from the Enemy of both, who lost so much ground in the World this way.

In order to understand this the more clearly; if we should here, by way of *Apologue* or *Parable*, suppose a Dialogue upon this Head, between three or four of the most eminent Persons of the Three Religions, *viz.* the *Gentile*, *Jewish* and *Christian*; What can we imagine the Christian Doctor to run upon to better purpose, than that which I have hinted? In order therefore to bring in things the better, I hope the Reader will not be offended, if I assume the Liberty to make this Supposition; That *Paul* and *Seneca*, who were Contemporaries, (and who are feigned by some of the Ancients to have written Epistles one to the other, concerning Religion) had once the Opportunity to Discourse together upon this Subject, in the Company of a zealous Jew. And to lay the *Scene* of this the better, as is usual in all *Drama's*, let us suppose this Interview to have been at *Corinth*, upon the occasion of what happened there, when *Gallio* the Elder Brother of *Seneca* was Proconsul or Deputy of *Achaia*.

The History of what happened then at *Corinth*, as it is recorded in the 18th Chapter of the *Acts*, may serve for a Foundation of such a supposed Meeting. The Sum of which History is this: The Emperor *Claudius* (i) having banish'd all those of the Jewish Nation from *Rome*;
or,

(i) There is a Passage in *Dio Cassius* so very memorable, in relation to this Command of *Claudius*, mentioned, v.2. that I cannot forbear to take notice of it here; as it is to be found, Lib. 60, pag. 768. Edit. *Henr. Step.* 1591. Τῆς τῆ Ἰουδαίας, πλεονάζοντος αὐτοῦ, &c. The Sense is this: The Jews abounding so at *Rome*, that it was not easy to drive them out of the City, without a Tumult, by reason of there being so great a Multitude
of

or, as *Luke's* Words are, *Having commanded all Jews to depart from Rome*: This obliged *Aquila* and his Wife *Priscilla*, who were of the Jewish Nation, tho' Christians as to Religion, to leave *Italy*. They came to *Corinth*, and set up their Trade of Tent-making in that City. *Paul* comes thither not long after from *Athens*; and, being of the same Occupation originally, he lodges and works with them. Where, being join'd by *Silas* and *Timothy*, he makes it his Business not only to frequent the Jewish Synagogue every Sabbath Day, but to reason there with the Jews concerning Christ and his Religion, which, notwithstanding the great Opposition he met with, had such Success, as to convert *Crispus* with all his Family, and many more. Encouraged this way, as also by a Revelation from Christ, that he should convert many others in that City, and having taken up his Lodging with *Fustus*, a Holy Person, whose House adjoined to the Synagogue, and was therefore the most convenient for his Purpose, he laid hold on all Opportunities to reason the People into the Christian Faith. There he continued for a Year and six Months, teaching in the House of *Fustus*, being excluded the Synagogue. And, seeing we read but of one Synagogue, we have no ground of fancying that there were two, as *Grotius* and others have done. For the Case was certainly this: *Crispus*, upon his turning Christian, being

of them; He did not indeed properly drive them out, but he prohibited them to meet together (i. e. to worship God) according to the Laws of their Nation. Now, as *Suetonius* says, That *Claudius* drove the Jews out of Rome; and *Luke*, ver. 2. That he commanded them to depart from Rome: So *Dio* lets us know in what manner he did so, viz. not by any Edict, far less concurrent Decree of the Senate, but by prohibiting them to meet together to worship God. This I confess was materially an expelling them, who were so zealous for their own Customs. However I take notice of it, in order to confirm what I said formerly, when I refuted the Notion of *Grotius* and *Hammond*, as if *Claudius* had formally persecuted the Christians; whereas this is all the Persecution that he was ever Author of, either against them or the Jews. See the Postscript of my Discourse concerning the Rise and Fall of the Papacy, Prop. 2. page 140.

turned out from being Chief Ruler, and *Paul* consequently denied Entrance into the Synagogue, by *Sosthenes*, a zealous Jew that came into the Office of *Crispus*; *Paul* keeps a Meeting at the House of *Fustus*, next Door to the Synagogue. This inrages *Sosthenes* and the Jews, especially when they find that *Paul's* Auditory increased, and that abundance both of Jews and Gentiles were profelyted to *Paul's* Doctrine. Therefore at last they make an open Insurrection, and seize upon *Paul*, whom they carry before *Gallio* the Deputy of *Achaia*. *Gallio* tells the Jews, that if they could prove that *Paul* or any other Man was guilty of any wicked or lewd Action, inconsistent with the Peace, Safety or Laws of the *Roman* Government, he was oblig'd to bear with them, tho they brought *Paul* there in a tumultuous and disorderly way. But, if they accused *Paul* only, upon the account of a different way of speaking, or because he had different Sentiments, as to Religion, and worship'd God in another manner, than they did; he had nothing to do either with him or them: For that he was a Civil Magistrate, to whose Judicature and Province such sort of Matters did no way belong. And therefore he left them to dispute such things out among themselves. An excellent Answer, and such as became *Gallio* and his Character; the some Practical Divines have very injudiciously fix'd it as a Mark of Infamy upon him; when he does, upon this very Account, deserve to be set up by all Magistrates and Judges, as a most Excellent Pattern. However, the Jews, as it would seem, insisting to rail at *Paul*, in a tumultuous manner, *Gallio* orders them to be driven from the Court and Judgment-seat by force. Upon this Order the Greeks fall upon *Sosthenes*, the Chief Author of this Tumult, and beat him before the Judgment-seat: which *Gallio* thought fit to connive at, either because he judg'd that he deserved to be so treated, or because he supposed that this might prevent the Jews from acting after this factious and tumultuous way for the future.

Now,

Now, this Piece of History being so memorable, what if we build upon it that which may serve to introduce the supposed Dialogue, which I hope may not be unuseful to illustrate what we are upon? Let us therefore suppose, that *Seneca* was with his Brother at this time, upon some Message from the New Emperor *Nero*, (in the first Year of whose Reign this Tumult happened, which was *A. D.* 55.) as, suppose, to confirm his Brother in that Proconsular Government, wherein *Claudius* had placed him, by carrying a new Commission from *Nero*, whose Governour *Seneca* was at that time. Now this being supposed, we may justly think, that *Seneca*, tho he approved of *Gallio's* Conduct in this Affair, might yet be stirr'd up, out of a Philosophical and Rational Curiosity, to lay hold on this Opportunity, to know what lay at bottom with the two Contending Parties, *viz.* the Jews and Christians. For which purpose, we may suppose him to engage his Brother *Gallio*, to send for *Paul* and *Sosthenes*, the two Heads, and most Learned Doctors of the two Parties and Religions: Which no doubt *Gallio* would readily yield to, not only out of Respect to his Brother, but in order to be satisfied himself. For, tho as a Judge, he had nothing to do with such Matters; yet, as a Wise and Learned Man, (for such a Character he bears in the Roman History) as well as a Person of Eminent Quality, he might have the like Curiosity this way with his Brother.

Well; these things being thus adjusted, and *Paul* and *Sosthenes* being come, let us suppose such a sort of Dialogue, as I shall here propose to the Reader, merely with a Design the better to convey what I think cannot be proposed in another Method, with equal Advantage.

These Preliminaries, I say, being thus adjusted, and all the four being together, and after usual Ceremonies, seated as *Gallio* thought most proper; let us suppose him to accost *Paul* and *Sosthenes* after this Manner; which allow me, Good Reader, to express more after the Modern Way of Speaking, than that which obtain'd

at *Rome* or *Corinth*, when these four were alive. *Gentlemen*, tho as a Magistrate and Judge, I had nothing to do to meddle with the Controversies between you ; yet, as a Man that loves to know Men and Things, I thought it proper to send for you both. I hope you are sensible that I treated you both as became my Character, and with Civility. For, if you *Softness* met with the rude Insults of the Mob, it was by no Order of mine ; and it was, to be plain with you, no other than you did deserve. For I cannot imagine by what Authority you took upon you to drag *Paul* along with you to my Tribunal, in that rude and unmannerly Way you did. And you cannot but think, that had I been of that violent Temper that some Men are of, I might have punish'd you and your Associates, according to the Rigour of the Roman Laws made against Riots, and those that lead the Dance in them ; especially now when the late Emperor himself was oblig'd upon such like Complaints of the Insolence of your Countrymen, to do that, which was, in effect, a Banishment of you from the Seat of the Empire. But I love to forget and forgive Injuries, as being none of those that take pleasure either in Blood or Persecution. Therefore I shall not insist upon any thing relating to the late Tumult : but desire that both *You* and *Paul* may forgive one another, in case of any Injury real or supposed, that one or both of you may insist upon. Let me hear nothing of this : But let both of you remember who I am, and what relation I stand in to the Emperor and Senate of *Rome*, and that you your selves are subject both to them and me, as you are now Inhabitants of this City. Having told you of these things, let me inform you that the Gentleman present here, is my Learned Brother *Seneca*, of whom no doubt you have heard oftner than once. And if you have heard his right Character, you cannot but know that he is one of the greatest Philosophers of the Age, as well as one of the most Eminent Persons now in the World ; for I do suppose ye know what relation he stands in to the present Emperor, as his Governour,

vernour, and what his Authority is with him, as his Favourite. But he is no ordinary sort of Courtier, to value himself upon External Circumstances. He is desirous to discourse with you as a true Philosopher: For he is none of the captious or sophistical Sort, who love to argue, for Arguing sake, or to show his Acuteness or Eloquence. His Concern is to know God, Nature, and true Philosophy and Morals, and to live accordingly, in order to be useful to others. And tho I am better acquainted with the *Court* and *Camp*, than with the *Areopagus* or *Forum*, yet I am too much his Brother to be wholly a stranger to these. Now a Man of his Learning, Penetration, and Inquisitive Temper, cannot but be supposed to desire to be further apprized of the Constitution, Laws and Rites of the two Religions, that you do so zealously espouse: Nor am I without a Concern the same way. I have therefore readily concurr'd with his Desire, to learn from you, who are the Heads of the two Parties of Jews and Christians in this City, what the things are that occasion such fierce and hot Contention between you.

Seneca. Gentlemen, my Brother *Gallio* has succinctly and fully told you the Reason of your being sent for here. Nor shall I detain him or my self from receiving from you, the Satisfaction we expect from you both. Only allow me to tell you, that as we hope we shall be Witnesses to no undecent Heats or mutual Recriminations, but of your Reasoning closely and calmly; so we desire not any long Narrative of Stories and Facts, relating to either *Moses* or *Christ*, or to their Philosophies and Laws; but only a succinct and nervous Account of what the most Judicious of both Sides do advance and insist upon, for the Verity and Excellency of your several Doctrines or Religions, in opposition to, and as exclusive of, one another: For, since the Jewish Writings have appear'd in the Greek Language, we have diligently perus'd them, and inform'd our selves of your Laws and Customs with the greatest Care, especially since the time that *Judaea* was made a Province of the Empire.

And,

And, as for Christ and his New Model of Religion, the Facts that relate to these are so recent, that we, whose Education, High Station and Correspondence, have afforded us peculiar Opportunities to inquire into them, and to inform our selves this way, cannot be supposed to be Strangers or unacquainted with them. These things I thought fit to premise, that I might prevent you from running out tediously upon things, and from rendring this Conversation uneasy either to your selves or us.

Softbenes. Most Illustrious and Honourable Lords ; Tho I have the greatest Reason to be incensed against this Man, yet the Respect I bear to such Great and Eminent Personages, obliges me punctually, or at least as far as my Duty to God, my Religion and Country will allow me, to observe all that Decorum at this time, which you have laid me under such strict Orders to keep to. And, seeing I have to do with Persons so well acquainted with our Sacred Writings, and Laws, I shall come immediately to the Foundation of our Controversy with, and just Indignation against this Man, and the rest of this pestilent Sect. You tell me, that you have carefully perused our Sacred Writings. And therefore you know how Antient our Nation and Religion has been : The Excellency of which has been so conspicuous, that it has attracted many of other Nations, in all Ages, to abandon their Country's Worship and Rites, and yield themselves Profelytes to our Religion, at least with respect to the first and great Principles thereof. And I perswade my self, that such Wise Men as you are, must see that our Religion is by far the most excellent in the World. I know our Rites are many, and seem to be intollerable. But they are no more, as to Number or Severity, than tend to evidence our Obedience towards God, and to keep us in from those Irregularities, that Men are so apt to run into, if exempted from such Impositions. However one thing you cannot but grant, that the Idolatry of other Nations is such, as is inconsistent with true Reason and Philosophy. We own but one Supreme Being as God, whom we adore as infinitely Perfect :

fect: Infinite Perfection being the only Idea of God, that Reason as well as our Revelation leads us unto. And upon this Supposition, it is impossible that there should be more Gods than one, seeing there cannot be two Infinitely Perfect Beings. Therefore I am persuaded, that tho' you may speak, as the Vulgar do, when you speak of a Multiplicity of Gods, you cannot allow your selves to think that there are more than one. And far less can you believe that such Men as *Jupiter, Bacchus* or *Hercules* of old, or *Cæsar, Augustus* and *Claudius* of late, were exalted to be Gods in any Propriety of Speech, after their Death. This I am the more bold to mention to you, because we Jews are oblig'd to suffer the greatest of Miseries here, rather than allow any Man, or other Creature, to be the Rival of God, in any respect; far less in point of Godhead. And it is not long, since *Philo* and some other eminent Jews durst look (*k*) *Caius* in the Face, upon this very head, as ye may remember: whom our God did preserve almost miraculously, for so brave a Defence as they made for his Honour.

But, if the Deifying of a *Cæsar* or *Augustus* be so abominable in our Eyes, you may easily imagine how justly we are inrag'd, that a mean Man, a Servant, a Carpenter, a Cheat, an Impostor, should be thus Characterized. I can hardly think of it without the utmost Fury. But your Presence and Commands, most Noble Lords, put a Force upon me, in this respect. Only allow me to shew you the Aggravations of the Sin of this *Paul* and his wicked Associates, in Deifying their *Jesus*, above that of you *Romans*, in reckoning your Emperors Gods after their Death. For, whereas 1st. Your Emperors, by the Providence of God, were Illustrious above other Men, either as to Birth and Family, or Bravery and Courage, or Policy and Wisdom, or Virtue and Goodness, or at least as to State and Gran-

(k) See *Philon. Leg. ad Caium.*

deur ; it is no strange thing, if you should think that those whom the Providence of God made Gods on Earth, should be *relati in numerum Deorum*, inrolled into the Number of the Gods, after Death. But this *Jesus* was neither Emperor nor Prince ; nay, had not one Foot of Ground that he could call his own. He was the Son of a poor Country-Carpenter. Nay, as you know, and *Paul* himself cannot deny, was Crucified the other day, as an Impostor and Blasphemer, by the joint Concurrency both of the *Romans* and *Jews*. So that I cannot imagine how you can tolerate such a Pestilent, Enthusiastick, and Frenzical Sect, as this of Christians is, who continue to Blaspheme God, by calling this *Jesus* his Son and Equal, and by this Doctrine disturb the Common Peace ; at the same time that they do thus most notoriously arraign the Authority, Law and Justice of the Roman Empire and Nation of the *Jews*. In the 2d place, You are not so mad as to think, that either *Cæsar*, or *Augustus*, or *Claudius*, are so Deify'd, as to be equal with the Supream Being, (for that were Contradiction and Absurdity;) but only that, if they may be said to be Gods at all, they are *Dii Medioximi* or *Minorum Gentium*, inferior Deities ; *i. e.* as we *Jews* word it, agreeably to our Theology, *Angels*. And indeed, if they were truly vertuous, we make no question but they may be advanced into that Number ; and not only they, but all good Men, even tho mean in this present World. But here lies the Absurdity of this new upstart Religion, or Heresy rather, that they are not asham'd to hold forth, that their Impostor is indeed the Son of God, and Equal with his Father. ; *llj.* Whereas you *Romans*, tho you Deify your Eminent Hero's, when Dead, were never so mad as to reckon them such, while alive ; this *Paul* and his Associates are not asham'd to assert, that their *Jesus* was God whilst he liv'd ; nay would have us believe that he existed from Eternity, and assum'd a human Body on purpose to suffer, in order to atone for the Sins of Human Nature, and thus to bring about strange Advantages and Blessings to all those, that will
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list themselves into their Number, and under his Banner. And then *4thly*, That which aggravates their Wickedness further, is, That, whereas you are born and educated Strangers to the Jewish Religion and Nation, the Ring-Leaders of this Pestilent Sect are Jews by Nation and Education. But, tho' all of them be to be hated, as the Refuse of Mankind; yet this same *Paul* is the greatest Apostate, and consequently Villain of them all. For whereas the Rest of them were originally poor Fishermen, or other Mechanicks, and consequently ignorant of the Jewish Law and Learning, or indeed of any, and therefore the more easily impos'd upon by the Impostor, (being no doubt chosen by him for this very purpose;) this Man, upon the other hand, was educated a Scholar, under the best and most famous Doctors of our Nation, and, to give him his due, is a Man of very extraordinary Gifts, and was likely once to make an Excellent Doctor among us, being as zealous against the Christians, as I now am. But all this tends to blacken him now the more, as tending to aggravate his Crime, in turning Renegado and Apostate from his Nation and Religion, and becoming the most mortal and inveterate Enemy of both. Judge then, if I and my Countrymen have not all the reason in the World to hate and abhor this Ring-leader of Heresy and Sedition.

I have but one thing to add; *viz.* That we Jews do expect, before it be long, that our *Great Messiah* will come, and put all things to right. And because this Man and his Associates are so infatuated, as to mistake Jesus for him, it is fit I should give you some Account of him. Our Sacred Authors have assured us, that there would be four Great Gentil Monarchies, that should successively conquer the World, *viz.* the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, *Grecian* and *Roman*; and that, after these, there would arise another, whose Head would be the *Messiah*, *i. e.* one *Anointed* or impowered by God to govern the whole World. Now this shews you the Reason of the Name *Messiah*, or *Christ* (as the Word sounds in the Greek :) For our Kings, and High-Priests,

and most Eminent Prophets, were anointed with Oil, to shew that they were Authorized by God, (who, in the most proper and eminent Sense, was our King) to be our Rulers, in their respective Offices. And the Notion that we have of this Great Monarch, is this; That as *Nebuchadnezzar* subdued all Kingdom, and so erected the *Babylonish Monarchy*; *Cyrus the Medo-Persian*, by destroying the *Babylonish*; *Alexander the Grecian*, by destroying that; and *Cæsar the Roman*, by destroying that which *Alexander* laid the Foundation of: So our *Messiah* will destroy the *Roman* at last, by conquering that Empire, and erecting the *Jewish Nation* to be the Top and Supreme above all Nations in the World, over which this *Messiah* will Reign for Eternity, without Succession, and much more without suffering any other Nation to conquer the Jews for ever.

Now pray consider, what an odd and unaccountable Paradox is advanced by this Apostate Jew, and the rest of his villainous Tribe, *viz.* that the Impostor *Jesus*, (who was no greater Man, than what I told you of,) was this *Messiah*, this Divinely impowered Emperor. Against whom therefore, is it proper to argue at all? Is it not enough to ask them, what Countries and Nations this *Jesus* has subdued? Where are his *Trophies*? Where his *Victories*? And where and when his solemn *Triumphs*? Upon the Cross! Ay, to be sure, there or no where! Ah! rare *Triumph*! But, into what *City*? into what *Capital*? — Ha, ha — I am inrag'd — I cannot contain my self. — But my Engagement to you, and the Respect I pay you, seals up my Lips — I presume therefore to say no more — Let the Apostate answer, if he can. — But pray, my Lords, take care that he do not blaspheme the Supreme Being; and that the same Fascination, with which he has bewitched others, particularly *Crispus* my Predecessor in the Jewish Synagogue of *Corinth*, do not intoxicate and bewitch even you.

Paul. Most Excellent *Gallio* and most Noble *Seneca*, it is with the greatest Pleasure and Satisfaction that I find
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my self in your Presence, and under your Protection ; and I cannot but adore the Goodness of Heaven, in allowing me the Company of such Eminent Persons, and such Admirable Judges, upon the occasion of disputing upon the greatest and most important of Subjects. And seeing it is such, and that Truth delights not in Shade or Cover, but in the openest Sun-shine ; I shall make it my Business to set the Matter in Controversy between *Softbenes* and *Me*, in the clearest Light I possibly can. And in doing so, I hope you are in hazard of no Fascination or Witchcraft ; unless sober and impartial Ratiocination be lost in the dark, under that invidious Nickname. But I can hardly think, that even *Softbenes* himself will reflect upon me this way, if he allow himself to reason at all. For, by the way of Reasoning he has led me into, I find my self oblig'd to proceed in such a Method, as I am apt to think will at first View, seem to confirm all he has said against me. And therefore I must humbly beg your Patience, in allowing me a full, as well as fair Hearing, before ye allow your selves to pass Sentence upon what I am to say for my Lord and Master *Jesus*, and his Religion. For, if I can prove him to be the true *Messiah* or *Christ*, all the invidious Reflections cast upon me and my fellow-Christians, will fall to the Ground of course.

Softbenes owns, that a Great and Mighty Prince has been universally expected by the Jews. And he cannot deny, but that this was universally expected about the time when our *Jesus* was born into the World. For when the *Eastern Sages* were divinely directed to come to *Jerusalem*, and inquire after him that was born King of the Jews, *Herod* was extremely frighted at the News. What the Determination of the Chief Priests and Scribes was, as to the Place where the Messiah was to be born, *Softbenes* is not ignorant of. Nor can you be Strangers to *Herod's* inhumane Murder of the poor Children of *Bethlehem*, and the neighbouring Country, to prevent, if possible, the Accomplishment of the Prophecies that related to *Christ's* Birth. I might take occasion here to

shew you, that *Daniel's* Prophetical Calculation of Years to Christ's Birth and Death, is now run out. So that Christ must be the Messiah he prophesied of or none. I might likewise shew you, that the Prophets do plainly describe the *Messiah*, as one that was really God, but one also that was to assume Human Nature, and that under the Vail or Disguise of a mean Man; and that he was to suffer, and that to the Death for Men. It is true they speak of him, in other Places, as a mighty Conqueror, and represent his Kingdom in the most lofty manner. Which things are no ways inconsistent. For *Christ* was not to subdue the World by force of Arms, as other Hero's, but by force of Reason, by the Light of Truth, and by a Divine Energy accompanying both. He was not to depopulate Cities and Countries, or to wade to Empire thro' Blood. No, no, he was to erect a Spiritual, Rational and Philosophical Empire in the World, that should allure and engage all that lov'd Truth, Virtue and Goodness, to become his Subjects.

And here therefore allow me to reason with you as Men and Philosophers. For, tho, when I have to do with Jews only, I make it my Business to deal with them at their own Weapons, by proving from their own sacred Writings, that our *Jesus* is their promised *Messiah*: Yet, having to do with those that are neither Jews nor Christians, but Romans and Philosophers, I am oblig'd to reason, in a manner and way abstracted from all the Religions that obtain now in the World. And here let me lay two Things from you, as necessary and rational *Postulata* or *Suppositions*; 1. That ye would abstract from all the Ideas and Notions, that ye have imbib'd, either from the Priests of your Country's Religion, or from the Founders of the several Sects of Philosophers, and those who pursue and defend their several Schemes. And, 2. That ye would abstract, from all the Prejudices that arise from Grandeur, Honour, Riches, worldly Success and Power, which vulgar Souls place their Happiness

pineness in ; but which true Philosophy teaches us to despise.

These things being premised, let us bethink our selves of three things ; (1.) That the true Notion of God is, as *Sophocles* has truly observ'd, that of *Perfection it self*. If God be infinitely Perfect, then he is the Supreme Good of Men. And if so, as he must design our real Good ; so that can only be the truly Divine Philosophy, that leads us to God, in a way congruous both to the Divine Nature and our own. But then, (2.) Let us consider, that human Nature is now vitiated. How it came to be so, I shall not now say. But that it is so, the Knowledge we have both of the World and of our selves, puts it beyond all Controversy. A good God therefore must be supposed to have left something in the World, to assist us to counter-act this Vitiosity that is in Human Nature, and that has over-spread the World, as an universal Contagion. And truly God never left himself without Witness, or Men without some Assistance this way. He has given to all of us Reason, in some degree or other. He has opened the Books of Creation and Providence to be meditated upon. He has spread the Notices of some weighty Truths, by a Traditional Conveyance, from Father to Son. He has raised up wise Men and Philosophers, in all Ages and Nations, to teach and instruct others. And I must add, he has kept up the Jewish Nation for many Ages, for this very end, that the Knowledge of the true God and his Worship, might not be lost in the World. And of late, he has ordered Matters so, that their inspired Writings should translated into the elegant and almost Universal Language of the Learned Greeks. But I must add, 3. That tho the Philosophy and the Study of Wisdom has so long taken place, in *Phoenicia*, *Egypt*, and other Countries first, and since in *Greece*, especially at *Athens*, from whence it has been propagated almost into all Countries subject to the Roman Empire ; yet the World seems rather to be confounded than edified this way : so that the Study of Wisdom is

turned, for the most part, into airy Speculations, Logomachies, Sophistical Controversies, and trifling Subtleties. Sect is opposed to Sect, and one Scheme to another, with such Heat and Passion, such invidious Reflections, and such endless Disputations; that every one wants an *Oedipus* to unriddle Matters, and to represent Truth in its Native Plainness and Simplicity, so as to make it an easy Guide to Human Reason, with respect to the Conduct of Mens Lives, both apart and in relation to Community and Society.

Now upon the Supposition of all these things, which I believe such equitable, as well as capable Judges, will readily yield to be certain and indisputable Truths, let me beg you to suppose one thing more; *viz.* That the Great and Good God having tryed all other Methods to reclaim Men from Sin, Vanity and Misery, had designed to try one more, that should be so attemper'd as to be most Glorious and Worthy of himself, and at the same time most rational and plain, adapted to our Capacities and Circumstances; in order this way, if possible, to turn Men from Darkness to Light, and from the Power of Satan and Wickedness, to God and Virtue; I say, supposing this, as highly rational in it self: Let me make bold to ask you, Gentlemen, what way were the most likely to be that which Divine Wisdom would fall upon, in this Case, pursuant to so noble a Design?

Seneca. Sir, seeing others are silent, and that you and they seem to put it upon me, to speak upon this weighty Question, I shall not frustrate your Expectations, even tho I shall perhaps run the Risk of forfeiting my Reputation, upon a Subject that is so much out of the road of Common Philosophy.

That such a Supposition is highly rational, none can deny. For it is not only a natural, but necessary Conclusion from the *Postulata*, which *Paul* has most judiciously laid down. For, seeing Mankind has sunk so universally into Sin and Misery; and seeing God is the Supreme

Supreme Good, and therefore, as (l) *Plato* says, *the only Cause or Author of whatever is Good; whereas we are rather to make any thing whatsoever the Cause of Evil, than to ascribe it to God: We cannot but conclude, that all those means of Bettering the World, which Paul has mentioned, have been used on purpose to do us good. But, tho we have justly provok'd him by turning his Medicines into Poison, yet we cannot but think that he who is Goodness it self has reserved some better thing, as a more happy and sovereign Salve and Remedy at last, to bring us back, if possible, to pursue the true Interest of our own Natures, and consequently that of our Fellow-Creatures. And it is certain, that as the Jews have been big with the Expectation of their Messiah, of whom, if I mistake not, even Moses himself Prophefied, as one that was to be a new and divine Legislator, not only to that Nation, but to the whole World. So we Romans, and I think all or most other Nations, seem to have been under an Instinct or Impression, derived from Age to Age, tho I know not whence; that God would raise up such a Person as should bring a truly Rational and Divine Philosophy into the World, and with it a peaceable and happy Empire; even such a State, as the Poets represent that of the Golden Age to have been, under Old Saturn, the First King and Father of the World. Nay, (m) at this very time, I know not how nor whence, but certain it is, that almost all Men seem to be big with such an Expectation. And we know, that it is not long since there was a Prophefy of the Sibyls, viz. (n) That Na-*

(l) *Plato*, Lib. 2. de *Repub.* pag. 430. E. Edit. *Marfilii Ficini*, Lugd. A. D. 1590. (m) See *Virgil Eclog.* *Corn. Tacit. Hist. lib. 5.* & *Suet.* in *Vita Vesp.* *The Words of this last Author are these: Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & constans Opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore, Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. And Josephus de Bello Jud. Lib. 6. tells us, That the great thing that induc'd the Jews to hold out the War against the Romans, with such Obstinacy, was the expectation they had of the coming of the Messiah: Whom he flatteringly says was Vespasian; acting in this, like a Roman Courtier, or rather Sycophant, or not like a Jew.* (n) See *Suet.* in *Vita Augusti.*

ture was about to produce an Universal Monarch, that should conquer the Romans ; or to this Purpose : A Prophecy so frightful then to the Roman Senate, that they made a Decree, that none born that Year, should have Liberal Education. I confess we generally think, that that Prophecy has been since accomplished, in *Cæsar's* being declared perpetual Dictator, and in his Successor *Augustus*, and those that have Reigned since. But when I consider, that the Year when this Prophecy was publish'd, was that wherein *Pompey* took *Jerusalem*, and therefore seem'd to denote that Country as the Place where this Monarch was to be born ; but especially when I consider how universal the Impression still is, that such a Person is about to appear ; I cannot but say, that it is not improbable, but that this Prophecy may have yet a further Accomplishment. But let that be as it will, tho I should be very sorry if ever the Roman Empire should be destroyed, yet I could not but rejoice, if it should please God, to send a Divine Legislator and Philosopher into the World, to teach us Wisdom and Virtue in a new and more perfect manner. I am perfectly of the mind of the Great *Plato*, whom I cannot enough admire, upon the Account of this Rational Wish (tho in other Respects I am not so much his Disciple, as I am the Scholar of the Great *Zeno*.) For, when in one of his Dialogues, he introduces *Alcibiades* consulting *Socrates*, as to the best Method of praying to the Deity, and of offering up Sacrifices to him, he represents *Socrates* at a mighty loss, what to advise him &c. But at length, when he had sufficiently shew'd him, the Superstition of the *Athenians*, as to their many and costly Sacrifices, and how unfuitable and little pleasing these were to a pure and infinitely Perfect and Good God ; he (o) proceeds to tell him, that the best Way for both *Alcibiades* and himself, was ; περιμένειν ἕως ἂν τις μάθῃ, ὡς δεῖ πρὸς θεὸν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δ' ἀρκείσθαι, to wait until some Greater

(o) Plato in Alcibiade, pag. 2. E. 43.

Person, than they, should arise, who should be able to teach them exactly how they were to behave both towards God and towards Men. It seems the Greatest Men then were at a loss in both these Respects, and that they had the Modesty to own this, and that all their Knowledge of Divinity consisted in some rational or probable Guesses only; as indeed it is no more with us to this day, if we allow our selves to speak out. But it is no less plain that it was a current Opinion in the Days of *Plato*, that a Divine or Extraordinary Person would come at length into the World, who should bless Mankind with a full, plain, universal, perfect Philosophy, as to both the Essential Parts thereof, *viz.* our Duty and Interest in Relation both to God and Men; and consequently such a one as would determine all things relating to Religion and its Principles, Laws and Rites, as well as Relating to Ethicks and Moral Virtue, to Polity, Government, and Relative Duties, with respect both to Families or private Societies and to Kingdoms, Republicks and Empires, or Publick and General Communities. Now, that such an Expectation obtain'd in the days of *Plato*, appears from what follows. For, he does not introduce *Alcibiades*, as solicitous to know what *Socrates* meant, when he talk'd of the Coming of such a Philosopher, as otherwise he must have done. But, as if this had been an Opinion too well known and too universally receiv'd, to be so much as call'd in question; he brings in *Alcibiades*, allowing of this as certain, and therefore satisfying himself to ask two important Questions about it; *viz.* First, when this Person would come, and then what sort of Person he was to be; adding a most pathetic Account of his Desire to see this Excellent Person. His Words are so Emphatical this way, and have left such an Impression upon my Mind, that I think I can repeat them verbatim. Πότε ἐν παύσει ὁ χρόνος ἔσται, ὃ σάκευτες; ἢ πῶς ὁ παιδύσων; ἠδιστα; ἢ ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἰδέειν τῆτον ἄνθρωπον τῆς γῆς. *When shall that Time come, O Socrates? And who shall that Teacher be? For I long exceedingly*

ingly to see such a Man, who he is. But, tho' this be the Common Interpretation, I have been apt to think that $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron$ might have been written $\kappa\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron$ at first by *Plato*. For the dash of a Pen might have made the κ look like χ either in the Autograph, or in some Copy afterwards, there being so very minute a Difference both between the Form of these two Letters and the Sound of them, and consequently of the Words also. For the Greeks make no other Difference between *Cronus*, whom we Romans call *Saturn*, and *Chronus* Time, Age or Antiquity, when they pronounce these words, than this; that they speak the latter something more gutturally than the other. And certain it is, that the one of these is derived from the other, tho' I leave it to Grammarians to squabble about this critical Controversy of Words, which of these is the Primitive, and which the Derivative. Whether therefore *Saturn* was called *Cronus* $\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\rho}\alpha\ \tau\ \chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron$, because he was the first Man and Coævous with Time it self, i.e. with the beginning of it, as some think; or, whether Time got its Name *Chronus* from *Cronus* or *Saturn*, because his Reign was the first *Epocha*, from whence Men began to calculate the Flux of Time, as others conjecture: I say, whether the one or other of these Guesses be truest, it is all one to me. Only I think it not improbable, that *Plato* may mean *Saturn* here. And if so, the two Questions are reduc'd to one, and the Sentence all of a Piece. For then the Sense is: *When shall this New Saturn appear, O Socrates, and bring back the Golden Age to the World? Pray, what sort of Person will this Teacher be, when he comes? or, in what way will he appear and act? For my part I long to see him, and that happy Change that he will bring along with him, when he shall appear.* But let this be interpreted as Men please, yet still it is plain from hence, that such an Expectation *Plato* had, when he wrote this Dialogue. And that the same Expectation did obtain in the World long before him, and has continued ever since, seems to be highly probable, because the Reasons that induc'd him to desire such a Divine Philosopher, have been the same in all Ages.

And

And we are all agreed now in the *Rationale* of this Desire ; with this Difference only, that *Paul* asserts that this Person is come already ; whereas *Softhenes* and we are of the Opinion that He is yet to come.

However, seeing we are all agreed in the Supposition, in General, let us now come directly to the Important Query, which *Paul* has made us, *viz.* What is most likely to be the Method, that Divine Wisdom would take, in case God should design to send a Divine Person into the World, in order to propagate an Universal and Perfect Philosophy, and, in conjunction with it, a Government every way Rational and Excellent ; in order thus to reclaim Men, and render them, in all respects, happy ? This is, I think, *Paul's* Question, in another set of Words. And a noble one it is, that deserves the utmost Stretch of our Nerves and Thoughts, in order to our being satisfied about it. But I confess that I am no ways *par negotio*, capable of such an Undertaking. For, tho I may pretend to be a Philosopher, yet I confess that this Question has never occur'd to me before ; tho now, that it is propounded, I am convinc'd, that it is the most momentous of all others, and shall reckon that time to be most nobly employ'd that is spent in Discussing of it. And I am apt to think, that we must be oblig'd to *Paul* to answer his own Question, tho if either *Softhenes* or my *Brother* will undertake it, I shall be very well pleas'd to hear their Thoughts.

Gallio. For my Part, Gentlemen, tho I cannot but own that the World would be very happy under the Reign of such a Divine Philosophical Emperor as ye talk of, yet I must needs say, that this may be rather wish'd for than expected. Nor do I think it possible to determine how God would accomplish such a Grand Affair, upon the Supposition that he had any such Design. All I can say is, that I have an Idea of Political Management. And I have often thought, that an Elevated Genius, well educated, and under prosperous and advantageous Circumstances, might do much to reclaim the World, and render it happy, if truly virtuous himself,

self, and of a Publick Spirit to design the Publick Good. And, if God have a mind to bring back the Golden Age, which the Poets talk of; no more seems to be needful, but to raise up another *Alexander* or *Cesar*, but one vastly more virtuous than they, *viz.* such a one as shall design the Good of Mankind, as much as they did their own Glory; and having done so, let but God (or as we speak the Gods) fall in with his *Hero*, and make the whole World yield to him; and then the Work is done. And seeing my Brother has made mention of a Dialogue of *Plato*, which bears the Name of *Alcibiades*, I cannot, I think, make use of a more fit Name or Man than the same *Alcibiades*, to convey the Idea of such a Person, as I think were proper, if Virtuous and Fortunate, to Reform the World. And here then allow me to do three things; 1. To give you the Character of *Alcibiades*; and then, 2. To shew you what I think was only wanting in him, to make him such a Hero, as I think were enough to reform the whole World; and having done these, I shall in the 3^d place, Draw the Picture of such a Glorious Person, as, I do think, were proper to carry on and manage (at least better than any has ever yet been seen to do) all that is necessary to be reform'd, both in Civil Government, Religious Rites, and the Philosophy and Morals of Men.

And 1st, As to the Character of *Alcibiades*, I shall take it for granted, that an Elegant Roman Author has done him no more than Justice, in what he has said of him; I mean *Cornelius Nepos*, the Contemporary and Friend of *Cicero* and *Pomponius Atticus*, (p) *Alcibiades Clinia Filius, Atheniensis. In hoc Natura, quid efficere possit, videtur experta. Constat enim inter omnes, qui de eo memoria prodiderunt, nihil illo fuisse excellentius, vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus, &c.* “ *Alcibiades*, says he, the Son of “ *Clinias*, the *Athenian*, was such a Man, that Nature “ seems to have exerted her self to the utmost in pro-

(p) Corn. Nep. Alcibiade, cap. 1.

“ ducing and framing him ; as if she had meant to try
“ all her Power and Skill, to give a Proof of what she
“ could do. For it is agreed by all, that have written
“ any thing concerning him, that there was never any
“ thing known more admirable than He, whether in
“ Vices or Virtues. He was born in the most noble
“ City then in the World, descended from the highest
“ Family, and was by far the most comely Person of
“ his Age, capable of every thing that requir'd Acti-
“ on, and at the same time, the most eminent Statef-
“ man and Politician. He was the Greatest General
“ in the World, and equally skill'd to command by Sea
“ and Land. And he was the First Orator, without
“ Competition : for such was the Opinion all Men had
“ of his Address and Eloquence, that there was none
“ that durst presume to oppose what he said. Such a
“ Man he was, that when Affairs requir'd it, he
“ was the most indefatigable in Labours, the most
“ patient under Hardships, the most Generous and Li-
“ beral, and the most splendid and sumptuous in his
“ way of Living, and particularly in his Table ; acting
“ the most affable and insinuating Part, and never fail-
“ ing to nick Opportunities, so as to make them serve
“ his Purposes, and that in the most cunning manner.
“ And yet this same Man, when he allowed himself to
“ unbend, and nothing important stood in the way of
“ his doing so, could instantly dissolve in Luxury, Ef-
“ feminacy, Debauchery and Intemperance, to that
“ degree, that all Men stood amaz'd, that one and the
“ same Man could be so different from himself, and act
“ as if he were compos'd of opposite Natures. But,
“ as the same Historian observes, this Diversity tended to
“ greaten him, rather than detract from him ; for that his
“ Debauchery was rather the Effect of Necessity than
“ Choice. For the *Athenians* having us'd him most un-
“ gratefully first, he was forced to comply with the
“ Customs and even Vices of other Places and Nations
“ who protected him. And yet, tho he faithfully serv'd
“ the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Thracians* and *Persians* successively ;

ly ; yet *three things* were equally conspicuous in this Man ; *First*, that he was ever faithful to the State that protected him, and true to their Cause and Service ; and yet, *Secondly*, That his noble Soul was ever fraught with new Projects to serve his Native Country, where he might do it fairly and honourably, notwithstanding all the repeated Affronts and Sufferings he met with from them. But then, *Thirdly*, Notwithstanding all his Virtue and Gallantry, he was still unfortunate from first to last. It may not therefore be improper to repeat what the Historian says further of him, as to the Reason of his being oblig'd to act such very different Parts.

“(q) This Man, says he, tho reflected upon by several, has been so happy as to be Celebrated with the highest Praises by three most eminent Historians, *viz. Thucydides*, who was his Contemporary ; *Theopompus*, who was born a little after his days, and *Timæus* of the same Age. Which two last, seeing they are noted to speak ill of every body, I know not how they have agreed to praise him only. For all that I have said of him, they have agreed in to be true. And they add this further ; “ That being born in *Athens*, the most Famous City in the World, he had the Happiness to exceed all that that City had ever to boast of, as to the Glory and Dignity of Life ; (he means, as to those things chiefly valu'd there, *viz. Wisdom, Policy, Philosophy, Eloquence and Morals.*) But when he was banish'd thence, and came to live at *Thebes*, where none of these things were valu'd, but only Strength of Body, and Exercises that discover'd the Vigour and Agility thereof, he so approv'd himself to them in these, that there was no Man could pretend to equal or come near him, in any respect. When, from thence, he came to *Lacedæmon*, whose Citizens valu'd nothing so much as Patience, Temperance, and the induring

“ of Hardships and Fatigues, in which they reckon’d
 “ Virtue principally, or only to consist; he comply’d
 “ so readily and naturally with their Maxims, that he
 “ was justly look’d upon to exceed all the *Lacedæmonians*,
 “ in Parsimony, both as to Diet and Apparel. When
 “ he was oblig’d to live amongst the *Thracians*, a sort
 “ of People that were wholly given to Wine and Ve-
 “ nery, he outstrip’d them all in every sort of Debauchery.
 “ And when he came to live amongst the *Persians*, who admir’d
 “ nothing so much as constant and bold Hunting, and sumptuous
 “ and high Feeding, he fell so in with their Methods, that
 “ no Man was so much celebrated that way as he. So that where-
 “ ever he came, he had the Fortune to be the Principal and
 “ First Man, in the Esteem and Love of all People, so
 “ as to be the very Darling of all Nations. What a mighty
 “ Genius then must we suppose this *Alcibiades* to have been,
 “ (r) who yet died a young Man of about forty Years of Age?
 “ Let me only add what the same Historian says of him, in
 “ relation to his Education. (s) “ He was, says he, educated
 “ in the House of *Pericles*, whose Step-Son he is said to have
 “ been. His Teacher and Instructor was *Socrates*. And he
 “ had for his Father in Law *Hipponicus*, who was the
 “ Greatest Master of the Greek Language then in the
 “ World. So that, it cannot be conceived, that better
 “ or greater Advantages could have met together, in
 “ one Man. For both Fortune and Nature seem’d to
 “ contend, which should serve him most, in order to
 “ buoy him up for the greatest and most eminent Services.
 “ And now, my Friends, I have given you a Summary Account,
 “ of what all Historians have agreed in to have been the just
 “ Character of this Grecian Hero.

I come now, 2dly. To consider, what I think was only wanting, to make him such a Person, as is fit

(r) Cap. 10. (s) Cap. 2.

both to Conquer, Rule, and Reform the World. And, 1. This was his Misfortune, that he was not born the Heir of a Sovereign and puissant Monarch. Had he been the Son of *Augustus Cæsar*, and succeeded to him, when fifteen Years old, or thereabouts, what could he not have done, especially had he liv'd as long as *Augustus* did? But it was his Misfortune to be born in a Republick, the most jealous of great and popular Spirits in the World? His Spirit was too great for the narrow Orb in which he mov'd. And his Circumstances were such, as it was not possible to rid his hands of the many Difficulties he struggl'd with. And then, 2. His Compliance with the Vices of all Countries, tho his Misfortune rather than Fault, was too unbounded. And, tho I cannot wholly quarrel with him in his doing after this manner, in the General; yet he ought to have acted so, that it might have appeared that it was mere Civility and Complaisance, that oblig'd him to it. And, by this Method, as he would have oblig'd all Men, as much as he did by his Excesses, or rather more, when they had perceived that what he did was wholly from Condescention, and not from Inclination: So he would have this way kept a handle to have drawn Men back insensibly to the Consideration of the contrary Virtues, and been capable to reason Men from Vice, with the better Grace and greater Authority. Had but these two things concurr'd in this Man, I cannot but think, that he might have been fit to have accomplish'd all that is wanting to render Mankind happy.

And therefore, in the 3^d Place, I suppose every one of you may easily form the same Idea, with me, of a true Hero, such as Reason seems tacitly to desire. Let us therefore suppose, that God does design to bring the Golden Age into the World in our own time, under the Reign of a *New Saturn*; I think we cannot but agree as to his Idea. For these things must of necessity concur in his Composition. (1.) He must be descended from the most Honourable and Noble Family in the whole World, at least that which is generally esteem'd
and

and own'd to be such at the time of his Birth. (2.) He must be born the undoubted Sovereign of the Greatest Monarchy in the World, and that an Absolute one, to do what he pleases without Controle. (3.) He must have all the Education, that is possible to be given, to form his Mind both for Universal Empire, and the perfect Knowledge of all Sciences that are valuable to Human Society. (4.) He must be a most extraordinary Genius, in order to improve his Education to the highest Pitch. He must, if possible exceed *Alcibiades*, as a Philosopher, Orator, Statesman and Politician, and as a General both by Sea and Land. In short, he must be capable of every thing, to such a degree as to exceed all the rest of Mankind, as far in all the Excellencies of Soul, as he exceeds them in Grandeur and Power. (5.) He must have all the Treasures of the World, at his Command, so far at least, as that none may be able to resist him. (6.) He must keep an even hand between Profuseness and Parcimony; that he may never want to lay out, when Affairs require it, nor miss an Opportunity of doing so; especially in rewarding Fidelity, Bravery and Virtue. In a word, he must so act, as to be rather lov'd than fear'd, and yet fear'd more than all things in the World besides. (7.) He must be a thorow Master in the Art of Insinuation and Dissimulation, and so compliant with Custom, as never to require or expect any thing that so much as seems to thwart with Mens Inclinations and innocent Follies: I call those such, as are no way hurtful to Society or Government. For whatever is inconsistent with these, must be strictly guarded against, and most severely punished. (8.) But in his Compliance with innocent Vices, such as Luxury, Excess of Wine and Women, he must so act, that Men may believe, that his Condescension this way, is rather the effect of a pleasant, affable and debonair Temper, than of a sensual and unbridled Appetite or Passion. (9.) He must exceed all Men, as much in Beauty, Symmetry, and a Majestick Aspect and Carriage, as in Wisdom, Power, or Riches. (10.) He

must approve himself to be the true Friend and Father of his Country, and the inveterate Enemy of all the Enemies of himself or it. (11.) He must be excessively ambitious of Glory and Fame, and resolve accordingly to exceed all the Hero's of Antiquity, as far as *Cæsar* exceeded *Romulus*. (12.) And in order to this end, he must be indefatigably vigilant and diligent, and matchlessly Brave in time of Action. (13.) He must come early to the Throne, at least as soon as *Augustus Cæsar*, and reign, if possible, both longer and more happily than he; who was so fortunate, as to reign as many Years as his Predecessor *Cæsar* liv'd. (14.) He must not be imbroil'd with any sort of Cares or Troubles, far less foreign Wars, or intestine Seditions or Conspiracies. (15.) And when he has liv'd to the utmost Extent of natural Life, he must die an easy and quiet Death, and be rational, and sensible, and pleasant to the last. (16.) He must be buried with the greatest Pomp and Solemnity, all People lamenting him. A greater Monument, than that erected for *Mausolus*, and more lasting than the greatest *Egyptian Pyramid*, must be erected to perpetuate his Memory; and all Wits and Pens must be at work to transmit the same, as justly and fairly, as possibly can be contriv'd, to Posterity. (17.) He must leave all Affairs in the best order imaginable, that his excellent Laws and Rules may be observ'd in all time coming. And in order to this end, he must, in his own time, have had a Collection of the most eminent Genius's in the World; Men of noble Birth, eminent Learning, and all other valuable Qualifications. And these he must have model'd into distinct Colleges, Courts or Societies; some for Government, Counsel and Polity; some for Commerce and Trade; some for War and Military Affairs; some for Philosophy and the noble Sciences; some for Religion and its Rites; and some for Mechanical Arts and for Husbandry. And all his Disciples, in these several Respects, must have been fully instructed by himself, whilst he liv'd, and brought under the most strict and solemn

solemn Bonds and Ties to observe his Orders, and oblig'd the same way, to hand down his Laws and Constitutions from Age to Age, by adopting into their Number such as were fully instructed to fill their Places, as they should successively drop off by Death. (18) He must be succeeded by such a Race of Hero's, as shall tread in his Steps, and follow his Measures, as near as possibly they can. (19) But in case of any Degeneracy this way, and consequently hazard of altering this noble Constitution, he must be supposed to erect a Senate, consisting of such or such a Number of Delegates from all the several Colleges I have mentioned and responsible to them; which Senate should be vested with a Sovereign Power, to oppose all Innovations that Great Men, or even the Monarch himself should attempt to bring in; that thus the Laws may be kept up in full Force, ambitious Spirits curb'd and over-aw'd, and the Constitution thus secur'd. (20.) And to preserve all the more sacred and inviolable, the *Birth-Day* of this Great Prince must be kept sacred to all Posterity, as the greatest Anniversary of all others; wherein the Government must Regale the whole People, and divert them with Sports and Plays of all sorts: And upon this Day, at or about Noon, all Men must be obliged to join in a solemn Hymn to the Memory of this Prince, under the Character of the Restorer and Saviour of Mankind: and having done this, they must (all without exception, if come to the Years of Discretion) enter into a most solemn Oath, to continue Faithful to the Constitution, Laws and Orders of this Great Prince; vowing, in the most sacred and awful manner, to hold those Accursed, that shall attempt to alter any of these, and to oppose all such Innovators as the worst of Enemies, until they bring them to Punishment, in the most severe manner, as Terrors to others.

And now, Gentlemen, I have given you my Thoughts concerning such a Hero, as ye seem still to expect, tho I must profess my self a Sceptick this Way. Had *Julius Cæsar* had all these Virtues, equally with that of Ambition,

bition and Desire of Power, and Fame, yet he had never been capable to effect what you desire; because he waded thro' so much Blood to Empire, and left Mens Minds full of Horrour and Revenge for the Loss of their Friends and Country's Liberty: Which, tho' suppress'd for a time, prov'd his ruine at length. *Augustus* had a much fairer Game this way. But his first Beginnings were clouded with Wars and Cruelties. And, tho' he conquer'd all his Enemies at last, and labour'd to regain Mens good Opinion by Clemency and Mildness: (t) Yet the Memory of old Roman Liberty was not forgotten; tho' Men chose rather to sit down quiet, after so many desolating Wars, than to hazard themselves and Families by beginning new Broils. So that a great part of his Reign was spent in securing the Power he had acquir'd, and in making all Men depend upon him. But his long, peaceable and glorious Reign did so inure Men to an Absolute Monarchy, that (u) at length they fell even in love with it, especially after all the old Generation were gone off the Stage, and none remain'd that could remember any thing of the old Republick and Liberty of the Romans; all those who were alive having been born, either during the former Civil Wars or afterwards. And both these concurr'd, not only to make all Men submit peaceably to *Augustus*, but to magnify his Government above all others. For the older Men remember'd the Confusion, Misery and Cruelties that the World was fill'd with, first by reason of the Convulsions occasion'd by *Marius*, *Cinna* and *Sulla*, and then by the *Triumvirate* of *Pompey*, *Cæsar* and *Crassus*, but especially

(t) Cum ferocissimi per acies aut præscriptione cecidissent, cæteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus & Honoribus tollerentur, ac novis ex rebus aucti, tura & præsentia, quam vetera & periculosa mallent. Tacit. Annal. Lib. 1. Cap. 2. Edit. Rykii. Lugd. Bat. 1687. (u) Domi res tranquilla. Eadem Magistratuum vocabula. Juniores post Aëtiacam Victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella Civium nati. Quotusquisq; reliquus, qui Rempub. vidisset? Tacit. Annal. L. 1. c. 2.

the Civil Wars of the two first. Others, that could remember little of that time, could yet distinctly call to mind the *Second Triumvirate* of *Antonius*, *Lepidus* and *Augustus*, and their Wars with *Brutus* and *Craſſus*, and the Wars that enſued afterwards between *Antonius* and *Augustus*, and the Severities exerciſed by them, both during their Union and Contention for Sovereignty. And the younger Men that heard of theſe former Tragedies, and ſaw the preſent Splendor and Glory of *Augustus*, and felt the Advantages of Peace and Plenty under him, could not but reckon themſelves very happy, above what their Predeceſſors ever were. For an univerſal Calm was then in the World, the Temple of *Janus* ſhut up, every Man at eaſe and quiet, Learning and Virtue encourag'd, all Princes and Nations courting the Roman Emperor, and emulating one another in complaiſance to his Will, and in an Ambition to ſhew themſelves faithful Allies to our State. So that had Heaven design'd to have ſent ſuch a Hero into the World, then ſeems to have been the only proper time. And truly had *Marcellus* liv'd to have ſucceeded *Augustus*, or, upon his Death, had we had *Germanicus* in the room of *Tiberius*, perhaps it might have gone very happily with us. But a *Tiberius* ruin'd all. And things ſince have ſtill turn'd worſe and worſe. For after we were rid of that cunning Tyrant, we ſaw our ſelves govern'd firſt by a *Mad-Man*; and after that, to ſpeak plain, by a *Fool*. I confeſs now we have a very happy Change. And, Brother *Seneca*, the Gods ſeem to have put it into your Power to render the World as happy this way as we can reaſonably deſire, eſpecially when you have ſo excellent and brave a Man as *Burrus* to go hand in hand with you in ſo noble a Deſign. Let him form the Mind of young *Nero* for War and Empire, and let it be your buſineſs to render him thorowly wiſe and virtuous. I know how difficult a Task this is, conſidering his Youth, Temptations, and too natural Diſpoſition to Pride and Cruelty; and I can eaſily ſee what a hindrance *Agrippina* will be to you. However I hope all theſe are con-

querable. But perhaps I have said too much, especially to one that knows the present Circumstances of our Court, and the Great City so much better than my self. Hasten thither, and assure the Emperor, that as I do heartily thank him, for his continuing me in this Government, so I shall to my utmost promote his Glory and Interest. And as I do most particularly render him thanks for allowing my dear Brother to make such an Excursion, as to come so far as *Corinth*, that we may enjoy one another for some days; so I desire you may return with the greater Expedition, lest your absence prove disadvantageous to the true Friends of the Emperor. For, tho' you may safely trust in the Virtue of *Burrus*, yet *Agrippina's* Power may render it a Task hard enough for both of you to prevent *Nero's* being insnar'd by Temptations, that few young Men, especially in his Circumstances, can be supposed to have the Wisdom, Temperance and Steadiness to resist.

Gentlemen, I hope you are of that Virtue, as not to expose any thing that is said in this private Conference. But, my Brother, only knows the grounds of my Fear, that such a Hero, as I have describ'd, is not yet like to appear. And truly my long experience of Men and Things makes me diffident wholly this way. For, as I have hinted already, there never certainly was any time so proper for the Appearing of such a Hero, as that wherein *Tiberius* began his Reign. For had Heaven bless'd *Augustus* with such a Son, or at least Successor, as I have given a Description of, how happy had Mankind been! Good Gods, how would the World have been mended by this time! which now, alas! grows worse and worse. Had such a Prince been born about 15 Years before the Death of *Augustus*, and declared Successor to the Empire, at the same time (w) that he gave forth that great and remarkable Edict for describing the whole World, as far as was possible to do it, as

(w) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 1. c. 11. See Luke 2. 1.

to number of Countries, Towns, Men, Revenue, &c. I say, had such a Prince been then born and thus own'd to the World, and accordingly Educated, we might have been at this very time happy under his flourishing Government. But seeing Heaven has suffer'd things to run on in the quite contrary Course, I think I have very good Reason to continue an Infidel as to the Appearing of any such Prince for the future.

Softbenes. I know not how *Paul* may relish your admirable Discourses, most Noble Lords. But I am sure, I have just Reason to thank you both. For you have spoken, as if you had been divinely inspired, to confirm our Notions of the Messiah and his Kingdom. *Seneca* has learnedly shown, that the Appearing of such a Prince has been the Expectation of all the thinking Part of Men, in all Ages. And *Gallio* has discover'd what sort of Prince he must be; what his Qualifications; what his Government; and what the Happiness of the World under it. And both of you are agreed with me, that such a Hero never yet appeared in the World; and consequently that the crucified *Jesus* could not possibly be he. However I must be so bold, as to tell you, that there are *two things*, wherein I think the most noble *Gallio* has mis'd that which is proper to compleat the Character of such a Divine Hero, as he has most admirably describ'd in all other respects. For, 1. He has allow'd him to temporize in point of Virtue and Vice, to give way to Intemperance in some respects, and to give allowance by Law, as well as Example this way to others, as to those Evils that he says do not hurt Communities as such; and he has mentioned Excess as to Eating and Drinking and Venery. Now, tho' some Vices do more directly tend to hurt the Commonwealth than others, yet it is our fixed Opinion, that every Sin tends some way to the detriment thereof. Let us but consider these Evils, that ought, according to him, to be tolerated. Are not Luxury as to Eating and Drinking pernicious things, especially the latter? For what Secret can be trusted to a Man, that uses to be overcome by Drink?

And

And who is safe from him, who has thus lost his Reason? And as for Venery, I hope he excepts the Allowance of Adultery. For who can endure to have his Wife, who is his Property, abus'd? As for simple Fornication, I confess the Case is more tolerable. But Limits must be set to Great Men in this: otherwise, who can secure the Chastity of his Children? I do not much dispute other Points with him: For even our Great Prophet permitted *Divorce*, upon certain Occasions; and our most eminent Patriarchs and Princes allowed of *Polygamy*, by their Example. Only I say, in the General, that such a Divine Hero, as we are in quest of, must be sinless himself, and allow of nothing that is sinful to be tolerated; let the Reason or Pretence to the contrary be what it will. And this is the Notion we have of our *Messiah*. But then, 2dly. I must tell you something more, that will perhaps surprize you, *viz.* that we do expect our *Messiah* will be more than a mere Man. Nay our Prophets carry the matter so high, as to assure us, that He will be such a one, as shall be truly God, or the Son of God, as partaking of his Nature. How this can be, I confess is a Mystery to us. But seeing our Divinely Inspired Writers do agree this way, and that the constant Tradition we have of this Matter confirms us in this Notion, it is not lawful for us to doubt of it. You may perhaps smile at this Opinion of ours: But when ye allow your selves to consider, that all your own Theology runs upon this Supposition, I hope you will ridicule ours the less. Yours indeed is stuff'd with innumerable Fables about Gods and Goddeses, and their Progeny, and their ridiculous, and even obscene and wicked Actions; which I question not but you laugh at within your selves. But yet I believe, that Mankind had never run so wild in their Stories this way, had they not from the first Age of the World been possess'd of something that laid the Foundation of such odd Ideas. Now our most Ancient Writings tell us, that the First Man (whom we call

call *Adam* (x), from the Excellency of his first Formation, and you call Saturn) having Apostatized from God to Sin, by the Insinuation of the Prince of evil Demons, God condescended to take pity upon him notwithstanding, and promis'd that his own Son should appear, in due time, to act *Adam's* Part over again, so as to regain all that he had lost. This is, I confess, darkly insinuated by *Moses*; but our *Cabbala* supplies this Defect. Now this Son of God, when he becomes Man, is to partake of both Natures; of the Divine, that he may be capable to do whatever he pleaseth, and of the Human, that he may be a proper Prince for Mankind. And seeing he is to be God, as well as Man, we believe that he himself will be our Governour perpetually,

(x) *Adam* is generally supposed to have had his Name given him, from a Word of the same Letters and Sound in the Hebrew, that signifies Red, because, say our old Commentators, he was made of a Red Earth or Clay. But tho' *Moses* says indeed, Gen. 2. 7. That *Adam* was made of the Earth, and that the Hebrew Word there used signifies Red, yet he says not that he had his Name from thence. And therefore it may be as reasonable to suppose that that Name was given to the Earth or Ground from *Adam*. So that we are still left to enquire why God called the First Man, *Adam*. *Jonathan B Uz.* tells us, That the Dust of which *Adam* was made, was principally taken from the Ground whereon the Sanctuary afterwards stood, but with a Mixture of other Dust brought from the four Quarters of the World, and that all this was moisten'd with a Mixture of all the Sorts of Water in the World; and that *Adam* was equally Red, Black and White. However, certainly Man, when first created, was a most Noble Creature, and therefore the Name that God gave him must have express'd something of his Nature and Excellency. He appear'd at first like the rosy Morning, and was no doubt called *Adam*, to denote his Excellency. And some Footsteps of this seem still to remain in the Oriental Tongues. In the Hebrew *Aden* signifies a Foundation, and *Adon* Lord or Prince, whence God himself takes the Name *Adonai*, and it may not be improbable, that *Adam*, who was constituted Lord of this World, might have his Name at first from hence, with a small Variation of Sound. *Ludolphus* in his Ethiopick History, Lib. 1. cap. 15. as also in his Lexicon of the Ethiopick Language, supposes, That the true Original of the first Man's being Nam'd *Adam*, is preserved there, and that it signifies, not only Delightful, or God's Delight, but Brightness and Excellency. And perhaps the Syriack Word *Adamas*, a Diamond, may be derived from hence, as denoting both its sparkling Brightness, and its Value and Excellency.

with-

without any Succession, as long as the World lasts. But when the Race of Mankind comes to an end, we do suppose, that this same Glorious Prince will present us to his Father, that his Faithful Subjects may be eternally rewarded by him in the Supream Mansions of Heaven, and live there in inconceivable Pleasure under him, above any thing that this World can admit of. But now when we speak of God's having a Son, we must not conceive of this from common Ideas. Our God is infinitely glorious above Matter, and has no Body. We speak therefore Figuratively, when we express ourselves in Vulgar Terms, of this Kind. If I should call Reason or Judgment the Father of Rational Volition, and consequently, Will the Son of Reason, no Body would think, that I spake of these, in the same Sense that is used to express Mens Relation to one another. And, in like manner, you must not suppose that we understand that the Pure and Infinite Being is multiplied into such Persons, as two or more Men, descending one from another. However we pretend not to be capable to explain how this is: but reckon it enough to believe, that there is some real Foundation this way, known to the Deity Himself, tho not to us; seeing the Prophets have been inspired to speak to us in this Strain, when they represent our *Messiah* to be truly God, and yet describe him as a real Man, when they speak of his coming into the World. And indeed how can a God be visible, and act among Men as their Prince and Judge, unless he assume the Nature of Man, and act in and by it? For unless this be, how were it possible for Men to converse with such a Ruler, as were infinitely distant from us in Nature, Attributes and Operations? And consequently, how were it possible for us to be govern'd by him, in any Political or Social Way, as a King governs Subjects? I thought fit, my Lords, to give you this Taste of our *Theology*. And I am perswaded that the more you consider it, the better you will like it; tho at first View, it may perhaps appear to be very odd. But, excepting these two Particulars, I do intirely agree

gree with *Gallio*, that the *Messiah* will be just such a Hero, as he has describ'd. And you may remember that I did before give you an account of the Jewish Notion of him to the same purpose, tho more generally and briefly.

Seneca. My Proposal was, my Friends, that *Paul* might be allowed to answer his own Question. But I believe he is not displeas'd that he has been so happily prevented hitherto. And I hope it will be both to your and his Satisfaction, to consider what I have to add, to what has been already said upon this Great Head. My Brother has drawn the Character of such a Hero, as we are in quest of, in such natural, bright, and noble Colours, that I concluded that it was impossible to find any real flaw in the Description he gave. But *Softbenes* has, with great Judgment, discover'd its Defect in two Particulars. I confess, that when he mention'd the First Thing that he thought was deficient, I did think he was very much mistaken. For I could not conceive how a Hero could reform the World, without some Compliance with, and Allowance for, such Vices, as are so natural to Men, and that it were impossible for him otherwise to get their Love and Approbation. And I still think, that this was as necessary, as any of the other Qualifications of *such* a Hero, as my Brother describ'd, that is, a *Political One*. But when *Softbenes* came to his second Particular, and told us that the Hero that he and his Countrymen expect, must be not only Divine, in the Sense that we reckon all elevated Genius's to be, but really God, or one that partakes of the Divine Nature, in the most proper Sense of the Word, as well as truly and really Man; I confess I was not a little surpriz'd. For I must own, that by this the Jewish Nation seems to have a Stretch of Thought, that equals, or rather exceeds any thing that any Philosopher ever fell upon. However something like this seems to be insisted upon by *Plato*; which the Discourse of *Softbenes* has made me think upon, and, if I mistake not, help'd me to understand further than I ever did: For

I remember, that in the Dialogue mentioned by me before, and immediately after the Question of *Alcibiades*, which I gave you my Thoughts of, he seems to insinuate something not unlike this Jewish Notion, if indeed it be not the same. For, when *Alcibiades* had said, Πότε ἐν παύσει ὁ χρόνος, &c. *When shall that Time come?* &c. or as we may otherwise render the Words; *When shall this Saturn appear?* viz. to bring back the Golden Age. And what sort of Man will this Teacher be, when he comes? For I do exceedingly long to see such a Person, and to know who he is. I say, to this Question *Plato* makes *Socrates* to return this (y) Answer. οὗτος ἐστὶν ὃν μελεῖ περὶ σε, &c. This is no other than he under whose Care thou art. But, as *Homer* represents *Minerva*, to have first removed the Cloud from *Diomedes* his Eyes, before he could be capable to see the Goddess that spake to him, and know that he was not a Human Person, but a Deity: So I must tell thee, that it is necessary, that the Darkness that is now over thy Mind be first removed by this God, and then thy mind must be drawn nearer to him; and so thou shalt be made capable to discern what is Good and what is Evil; which at present thou seems incapable of. To which *Alcibiades* is made to reply after this manner. Let him therefore either remove this Cloud from me, if he think fit, or otherwise dispose of me. For I am ready to Act as he would have me, and so, as to omit nothing that he shall require of me, whoever he be; provided that this tend to render me better. To which *Socrates* Answers. Assure thy self, that he takes care of thee, even in a most wonderful way. Now, that we may understand the meaning of *Plato* further, I shall give you an Account of another Passage of his to the same Purpose, which I have mark'd in another Part of his Works: Where, after he had discoursed upon several Points, in relation to the founding a rightly constituted Government, and particularly its Metropolis or Capital City, that was to be the Head and Cement

(y) Plat. Alcibiad. 2. pag. 43. F.

thereof: He comes at length to discourse after this manner: (2) *It were necessary, if we should name such a City thus, (i. e. from the true Governour, for he had said immediately before, that it was usual to give Names to Cities and Countries, from the Founders of them) To derive its Designation from God himself, who is the true and proper King and Lord of those who are endued with thinking Souls. But who is this God, you'll say? Pray allow me to make use of a Story, the better to set forth and illustrate what I have to say to this Inquiry. We are told, that long before there were any Cities built and inhabited, the Government of the whole World was in the hands of old King Saturn, with universal Happiness to Men; and that the best Governments that have ever obtain'd since, do but faintly set forth the Excellency of that first One. And therefore I thought it was worthy of our Thoughts, to consider that Ancient Government, with the closest Intention of Mind. For which end, I have made mention of it to you, at this time. Now the Account, that has been traditionally convey'd to us, of that Ancient Government, is this; that all things did then naturally and copiously spring up of themselves, without the Toil and Care of Men, and that so plentifully, that nothing was wanting that they could desire, either as to Necessity or Pleasure. The Reason of which Happiness is said to be this: Saturn understanding that the Nature of no Man was capable to manage Human Affairs so, but that his Weaknesses and Folly would discover it self, to the Detriment of the Publick, either by his being Arbitrary and Tyrannical, or by his Wantonness, Pride and partial Administration of Justice: Understanding, I say, this Point thorowly, he took this Method. He did order and manage things so, that Cities and Countries should not be ruled by Men, but by Beings of a Divine and more Noble Nature than they, even by Spirits: To these he committed the Government of the several Communities of Men, as to so many Kings or Rulers set over them. Which Method or Rule is still follow'd by us in all our Inferi-*

(2) Plato de Legibus, Lib. 4. pag. 599. E. F. G.

our Governments, as is seen in our care of our Flocks of Sheep, and Herds of other Creatures. For we do not set Oxen to rule Oxen, or Goats to manage Goats. But we set Men over them, as only fit to rule them; because they are of a Kind and Nature superiour to these, and therefore capable to command them. In like manner God (who goes under the Name of Saturn) being the Friend of Men, set over them at first certain Spirits, of a much more noble Order and Nature, than that of Man. And these excellent Spirits did, with the greatest ease both to themselves and to Mankind, so carefully rule Human Affairs, as intirely to preserve Peace, Chastity, Liberty and Justice, to all Men equally; by which means no Quarrels or Seditions were heard of, but all things remain'd in perfect Tranquility and Happiness. Now the Truth of this Story, and the Use I make of it, is this; That no City, that is only under the Government of mere mortal Men like our selves, and not also under the Rule and Sway of God, can ever be really happy, but must continually labour under Evils and Vexations, &c. To this Purpose does the Great Plato discourse, in a most Divine and wonderful Manner. And I am sure I have given you his Sense, tho perhaps I have not given you his Words *verbatim*.

And now, my Friends, what difference is there between the Notion of *Plato* and that of the *Jewish Nation*, in this Point. It is credibly reported, that *Plato* did converse very much with the *Jews*, when he was in *Egypt*, (where there were always a Multitude of that Nation,) and perhaps he might there imbibe this Notion of theirs, as it is (a) certain that he seems to have incorporated a great deal of their Theology into his Philosophy, with this difference only, That he adapts both his Notions and Words, as near as he can, to the Religion and Opinions of his own Country. However, I think we may observe these Things here; (1.) That no mere Man can ever have all those Qualifications, that are fit to render him capable to subdue and govern the whole

(a) See Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 11, & 12.

World, at least so as we could wish it were Govern'd. (2.) That therefore such a Hero, as we are in quest of, must be more than a Man, and be of a Nature infinitely more noble and capacious than the Human Nature is. (3.) That therefore he must be God himself, or one that partakes of the Divine Nature, which I think signifies the same thing. (4.) This Hero then must be both God and Man, or have both these Natures united, as *Sosthenes* has reasoned very justly. For he must be God, to have Wisdom and Power enough, to govern the whole World; and he must be Man, to be a proper Head and King to Men. And indeed, if ever a second *Saturn* come into the World, I see not how it is possible for him to bring in a truly Golden Age, considering how the World is now constituted, unless he be both God and Man. And I cannot conceive what *Plato's* Meaning should be, unless this was his Notion. For there are two Things, that I think are plainly insinuated by him, in the two Passages I have quoted from him. 1. That the Being that he speaks of was not only then existing, but the Supreme Ruler, under whose Care both he and *Alcibiades*, and all Men were, and therefore he would have his Philosophical Republick and City to be called by his Name. And here it is memorable, that *Plato* speaks of one, that he calls somewhere the *Son of the Good*, as *Sosthenes* calls him the *Son of God*. Him he sometimes distinguishes from the *Supreme Being*, whom he calls *The Being*, in a peculiar manner; and yet at other times he speaks of him as one and the same with him. Now if from this Hero, *The Son of The Being*, or *Son of The Good*, or as *Sosthenes* speaks, the *Son of God*, *Plato* were to give name to his Commonwealth and City, it must either be derived from that of τὸ αὐτοκτλόν, the *Self-Good*, or τὸ φᾶς, the *Brightness*, by way of Eminency, or ὁ νοῦς, the *Mind*, or ἡ σοφία the *Wisdom*, or the *Logos*, *Eidos* or *Idea*, (which I take to signify the same thing with the two former,) or else *Aeon*, by which he denotes him as *Eternal*: For I think these are all the Names, that *Plato*

describes this Glorious Being by. But to proceed : 2. As *Plato* speaks of such a Being, as was then existing and properly God, so it is plain, that he expresseth his Expectation, that this God will come into the World, become a Man, or at least appear and act as such, and that he will take upon him the Government and Conduct of Men, and bring in a New Golden Age into the World, as a Second *Saturn*. Nay he tells us this further, that when he comes he will teach us how to worship God, and perfectly set Limits to things, so as we shall know what is Good, and what is Evil, and consequently what makes for our Welfare, and what for our Hurt. But, (5.) There is one thing further observable here ; and that is a very considerable Hint, how this *Hero* or *Saturn* will govern Men, and what the Fundamental Rule of his Government will be ; *viz.* that he will place Glorious and Excellent Spirits, or Beings of a Superiour Nature, Excellency and Power, to that of Man, as so many Vicegerents, or *Præsides Provinciarum*, Proconsuls or Deputies, to govern the World by. Not, that we are to imagine that there will then be no Political Government, such as now obtains, in the Roman Empire and its Provinces : But that the Emperors, Senators, and other Officers, Superiour or Inferiour, will be all under the Superintendency of higher Beings. So, that here will be an Excellent Order and Gradation. For, as Inferiour Officers are now subject to, and responsible for their Actions, to the Superiour Rulers ; so, according to this Notion, even these must be to the Vice-Roy or Guardian-Spirits, and these again to the *Logos* or *Eidos* ; who, being a Partaker of the Divine Nature, cannot be supposed to do any thing amiss ; tho as to the order of things, he be supposed to have one above him, who is figuratively called Father, according to the Account *Sophenes* has given of the Jewish Notion, which seems to be the same with that of *Plato*.

And thus I have given you an Account of *Plato's* Thoughts of this Subject, as exactly as was necessary. And must profess my self to be of the Opinion, that

no other Hero, but such an one, can be the proper Deliverer and Benefactor of the World. And this being supposed, *Softbenes* his first Particular will necessarily follow, as a Conclusion from thence. For he that is God as well as Man, cannot be supposed to be capable of Evil, or to countenance it, in the least, in any other. And his Power is such, to command both Love and Reverence, that there is no need to comply with Men in any thing mean or little, in order to secure their Obedience, in other respects.

But alas, my Friends, after all these fine and curious Speculations, can we be certain that ever such a one will come? For my own part, tho I cannot despair, yet I am afraid this is too great and too good to be expected, at least in our Days. Oh! *Softbenes*, when will your *Messiah* come? How do I long, with *Alcibiades*, to see and converse with such a Glorious Hero! Oh! when will that time come, if indeed it will ever come? But pray, *Paul*, let me now renew my Request, that you would speak to your own Question. For I find you a rational and wise Man, by what you have said. And therefore I am perfectly surpriz'd to find that you are one of those Men, that have fallen off from the Bulk of your own Countrymen, by asserting, That a Crucified Man is the very *Messiah*, that they have been expecting. It seems to me to be the wildest Fancy, that ever entered into Mens Heads. But I have learn'd, as well as my Brother, to condemn no Man, until I have heard what he has to say for himself. And therefore tho this Conference has lasted so long already, yet I am curious to know, 1st. What you have to say in Answer to your own Question, by giving us your Thoughts of the Character of such a Divine Hero, as we have been talking of; and then, 2^{dly}. I beg you would inform us, upon what Grounds you come so confidently to assert that this Hero is come already, and that your *Jesus* is the Person. And I dare say that my Brother and *Softbenes* join with me in this Desire, and will likewise concur in giving you a fair and impartial Hearing. For the *Softbe-*

nes began with too great Warmth against you, yet I hope I may promise for him, that he will not interrupt you now, even tho the weight of the Subject should oblige you to be longer, than we could otherwise desire.

Paul. Most Noble Lords, I cannot but exceedingly rejoice, upon the account of this happy Meeting. And, as I do heartily thank you both, for your Polite and Learned Discourses, and *Sophenes* likewise for what he has said: So I must tell you, that there appears something, more than Human, in what has drop'd from all your Lips at this time. For I am sure that the things ye seem to be agreed in, take in all those Particulars, that I desire to have granted me, as so many Suppositions or Postulata, in order to lay a Foundation for all that Superstructure, that I intend to raise at present.

And here, seeing you have allowed me the Freedom to enlarge, I beg the Favour briefly to Recapitulate those things that we seem to be all agreed in: Which I shall cast into that order, that appears to me to be most natural and easy. And I think you will not be displeas'd with me, if I repeat them thus:

Supposition 1. God is Perfection it self, or infinitely Perfect, and therefore the Supreme and Beatifying Good of Men.

Suppos. 2. Human Nature is now extremely vitiated, and therefore stands in need of a Divine Cure.

Suppos. 3. All Methods hitherto made use of, have not been sufficient to reach this Great End.

Suppos. 4. No Method can be supposed so proper this way, or so effectual, as Gods sending a Divine Hero and Philosopher into the World.

Suppos. 5. It seems to be highly probable, that such a Method of Cure should be the Design of God; The Goodness of God, and the Misery of Man arguing its Necessity; and the General Expectation of the thinking Part of Mankind this way, especially of the Jews, confirming us, that this is not the Effect of a mere subtilty of Reasoning.

Suppos. 6. No mere Man is capable to be the universal Saviour or Ruler of all Mankind.

Suppos.

Suppos. 7. Such a Hero therefore, as we are now in quest of, must of necessity be more than a Mortal.

Suppos. 8. And it seems to be altogether necessary, that he partake of the Divine Nature, or be God, in the most proper Sense.

Suppos. 9. And no less necessary, that he be truly and properly Man; so as to partake of both these Natures; that he may equally act God's Part to Man, and Man's Part to God.

These Things, being supposed, I proceed now directly to the Performance of that Task, that is so expressly enjoind me, by the most Excellent *Seneca*. And both Parts I shall labour to perform, thro' Divine Assistance, with all the Plainness and Brevity, that the Subject is capable of, or at least as far as my Thoughts, and the Brevity of Time will permit me to do.

And, 1st. I begin with the Question, which I started to you, and which the Learned *Seneca* has judiciously repeated, so as to make it more plain. And therefore I shall study to keep to his Form of Words as nearly as I can. The State then of the Question in hand is this.

Supposing, *That God should really Design to send such a Divine Person into the World, as we have been discoursing of, and as the Jews expect their Messiah to be, in order to propagate an Universal and Perfect Philosophy, and, in Conjunction therewith, a Government every way Rational and Excellent, in order thus to reclaim Men, and render them, in all respects, Happy: What is most likely, in reason, to be the Method, that Divine Wisdom would take, in this Remarkable Dispensation?*

Now, to answer this Question distinctly, it will be necessary to consider this Preliminary one; How many Methods are supposable in this Case? I very well know, that the Methods that the Infinite Being may contrive, may be infinitely diversified, as to Particulars. But, so far as we are capable to reason from the Nature of Things, there can be two general Methods only; that is a Divine and Human One. For, seeing the Parties concerned are but two, God and Man, God cannot

be supposed to act to Men, otherwise than agreeably to his own Nature or to ours. And, I believe, you will easily grant, that neither of these can be exactly followed, so as that one be stuck to in opposition to the other. For a Method intirely Divine, would be too great and confounding for Men to bear up with. And therefore if God intend the Reformation and Cure of Mankind, he must necessarily do one of these two Things; *viz. either* wholly alter and change the Nature of Man into his own, *or* condescend to deal with us, as our Nature and Circumstances will allow. The *first* of these you cannot but see to be a Contradiction: For, were it supposable, that Man could be thus altered, God would no more have to do with Man but with God; seeing Man were then no more. But the Grossness of this Absurdity is so palpable, that every one must instantly see the Impossibility of such a Supposition. And therefore, it follows of necessity, that God must condescend to deal with Man, as Man, *i. e.* as his Nature and Circumstances will allow; if he mean really to cure and save us. Let this therefore be distinctly laid down as another Supposition or *Postulatum*. And because I have one or two more to add to this, and would cast them all into a *Classis* distinct from the former; allow me to mention them here, according as I shall gradually deduce them by way of Inference or Conclusion from what I have to say further. And seeing, I take this I have just now mentioned, to be what you cannot controvert with me, let it be mark'd in the first place, as that which is self-evident.

Postulatum I. God, in order to govern and save Men, must of necessity be supposed to condescend so far, as to deal with them, as the Human Nature, and our Circumstances, will allow.

But, in God's condescending thus to deal with us, we must not think that it is possible for him, to act any mean or unbecoming Part. But, he must be so supposed to act, so as still to preserve all that Decorum that becomes the Supreme Being. For, it is, at least as necessary,

cessary, that he act according to his own Nature, as in condescension to ours. And indeed this is so certain, that were it possible for him to do otherwise, he must cease to be infinitely Perfect, *i.e.* to be the Chief Good. But, this is as palpable a Contradiction, as that other which I just now mentioned; and therefore is equally as impossible a Supposition, as the former. Hence therefore this further *Postulatum* does naturally and necessarily result.

Postul. 2. In order to God's Ruling and Saving Mankind, he must be supposed, of necessity, to proceed in a Method intirely agreeably to his own Nature and Essential Properties.

And this being laid down as certain, you see that it confirms and makes good what was said before, in *Suppos. 6, 7, 8, & 9.*

Both these *Postulata* being therefore equally certain and self-evident, we must necessarily conclude, that the Method, that Divine Wisdom must take in this Case, must be a mixed or compounded Method: not in any gross Sense of Mixture or Composition, which the Purity and unchangeable Perfection of God makes impossible to be conceived: but in such a pure and holy Sense, as is consistent with the Dignity and Grandeur of the Infinite Being.

To understand this, I desire you to remember, that God can only be considered, in a two-fold Respect, *viz.* *Absolutely*, as to what he is in himself, and *Relatively*, as he bears a Reference to his Creatures; particularly those that are endued with such thinking Souls or Minds, as to be capable of a Moral Government, and so to be dealt with as his Subjects and Servants.

God, *Absolutely* considered, comes under the Notion of *Being*, in the most Perfect and Elevated Sense. So that whatever tends to Greaten the Notion of *Being*, to the Degrees of unlimited Perfection, ought to be ascribed to God, as necessary to him. And whatever speaks Meanness or Confinement, either as to Capacity, Power, Existence or Duration, ought to be abstracted from him. All the Notion therefore that we have of

him, under this Consideration, is this, that, in the General, we know that he is *The Being* that is *Ininitely Perfect and Happy*.

And, seeing Infinity excludes all Limits, we are sure, that he is *one* only and no more : for two or more Infinites involve the greatest Contradiction ; seeing to suppose two that are Infinite, is to suppose that neither of them is so. For that were all one, as to say, that there were two (*b*) *All's* ; each of which were *All*. So that God essentially considered is one only. And therefore to talk of a Plurality of Gods, is flat Contradiction and Nonsense.

But then, we must remember, that God, *Essentially* considered, cannot be supposed to *Act at all*. For no Being whatsoever can be conceived of, as acting, in this Abstracted Notion. For all *Action* denotes a *Relation* of one Sort or other : Whereas we are now talking of an *Absolute* and *Abstract* Consideration of God, as to his Being, Essence, Nature or Subsistence.

And yet, to conceive of God *thus only* were merely confounding to us, unless we did also conceive of him, as Acting and Operative. And therefore we are oblig'd to think of him *Relatively*, with reference both to himself and other Beings.

How God acts *Relatively* to himself, or towards himself, is a Secret too great for us to pretend to inquire into, with Exactness. Only, so much we may be allowed to say, that God, being the only Perfect Being, he must of necessity also be the only perfect Object to be contemplated, and when contemplated to be belov'd by himself. For being Perfect, he must *know* himself perfect, and consequently *love* himself perfectly also. So that he must be his own Felicity ; because nothing imperfect can make him happy. And therefore, were he not happy in himself ; he could not be happy at all, which were the grossest Absurdity.

Now, in *seeing* and *liking himself* perfectly, he must of necessity *beget Images* or *Ideas* of himself. And these

(b) See Dr. Grew's Cosmol. B. I. c. I.

must be Infinitely Perfect, because produc'd by him, as the Perfect Representations of him, that is so. They must be Co-eternal with him, and therefore altogether necessary, because he must be supposed ever to be Energetical in producing them, and ever Happy, this way, in this Relative Fruition of himself.

These *Images* or *Ideas* must be conceiv'd of, as *one* and the same both with God and one another, *essentially* considered, and yet *distinct* and *different* from him, consider'd *relatively*.

The *first* of these is necessarily concluded from hence; that God being Infinite, and therefore One, whatever is in him, must be himself.

The *second* is no less necessarily concluded from this; that it is impossible for any thing to be its own Image.

And seeing Understanding and Will, are really *distinct* Things, and *different one* from *another*, (according to our Conception) as well as *both* of them from the *Essence* or *Being* that understands and wills: Hence God, *relatively* considered, comes to be conceived, to be *Three* as well as *One*.

This, my Friends, is that which lays the Foundation of that Great Mystery of our Revealed Religion, which we call the *Trinity*. For God has taught us, that, as he is *One* in *Nature*, so he is *Three* also, as we speak (for want of a better word) in regard of *Personality*.

And, so much I thought fit to hint to you of this *Relative* Consideration of God, with respect to himself; because it is the Foundation of his Relation to his Creatures. For God, *qua* *Ens*, as Being, cannot be supposed to act, in reference to us, seeing this Consideration of him abstracts from the Notion both of Action and all manner of Relation. But, when once we come to conceive of God as acting in reference to himself, we are led to think of him likewise as acting in relation to us.

Now these three Relations that we have supposed in God, and which we Christians call *Persons*, bear these Characters. God conceived of as a *Being acting in Himself and towards Himself*, we call by the General Name

of *The One God*, or the Infinitely Perfect Being. But when we conceive of Him as *Contemplating Himself*, so as to *Beget the Perfect and Substantial Image of Himself*, we call Him *The Father*: While, at the same time, *this Substantial Image or Idea that is Begotten*, is called *The Son of God*. Now, seeing from the Conjunction of these two, we are oblig'd to conceive that a *Perfect Volition*, which is inclusive of an *Energetical Operation*, doth result; this we call by the Name of the *Holy Spirit*, that proceeds from the Father and the Son. We do readily confess, that this is but a faint Adumbration of this Mystery: but seeing we do not believe this as a *Point of Science*, but as an *Article of our Revealed Religion*; it may serve my Design, to have thus far shown you, that there is such a Foundation for what we believe, in the Idea we have of the Deity, that indeed we cannot conceive of God without allowing of some such thing, as is thus necessarily suppos'd in God.

And this will appear further from hence, that we cannot conceive otherwise of God's Acting in relation to Men than in this way: For, seeing we are laps'd Creatures, how, I pray you, should God act towards us, in order to reclaim and save us, if these Personal Relations or Persons be not first suppos'd?

For, seeing in this Case, God must stand upon a Satisfaction to his Justice, and demand a Reparation to his Honour, at the same time that he desires our Salvation; we must suppose that there are in the Plenitude of the Divine Nature, *one* to demand this Satisfaction, and *one* to undertake to give it. And it is hence, that we are led to conceive of *God the Father*, as *sustaining the Dignity of the Deity*, and of *God the Son*, as *engaging to give him Satisfaction*, in recovering Man from his lost and sunk Condition.

Now, when we have conceived of the Sons Undertaking, we are led to consider two Things to be done; *First*, That a Foundation be laid, by some eminent Appearing of such a Hero, as we have been talking of, and by his giving forth a perfect Scheme of Philosophy
and

and Government. And *then*, it will be necessary that the Superstructure be gradually rais'd and carried on, by promoting the End of this Hero's coming into the World, and keeping up the Vigour of his Laws, for the Good of Men. Now our Notion is, that, as *the Son of God* has done the *first* of these, immediately and by himself; so the *other* is promoted and carried on by *the Holy Spirit*; who acts as the Sons Vicegerent in this; even as the Son acts as the Vicegerent of the Father: and thus the Order of Acting is made to run on, in the same manner with that wherein these Divine Persons are supposed to subsist.

I hope you will pardon me, that I have thus far digressed, in order to give you a Taste of the Foundation of our Divine Philosophy, especially seeing it is, in some respect, necessary, to introduce your Minds into the more distinct Understanding of that Great Subject which I am now about to treat of more directly.

In the mean time, let me beg you to look back so far, upon what we have said, as to remember; that the *Relative* Consideration of God is the proper Foundation of our *First Postulatum*, and the absolute Consideration of him the Foundation of the *Second*.

But then, let us remember, that seeing God cannot otherwise act, than according to his own Nature and Essential Properties; therefore our *First Postulatum* must be explained by the *Second*, rather than the *Second* by the *First*.

And hence it follows, that in all God's Condescensions to the Weaknesses of Human Nature, he must ever be supposed to act so; that it may be naturally and easily concluded by all Men, that it is he himself that acts, and not mere Men; even at the same time, that he makes use of such to be his Agents and Instruments in carrying on his Purposes. For, if his Method be not such, as to bear full Evidence with it, that it is not Human but Divine, he must be supposed to lose the main end of his acting, which is to bring Men back to himself, so as to be possess'd of Wisdom, in order to live virtuously, and attain thus to Happiness. So that, of

necessity, he must be supposed to act in such a Method, that all Men that consider it, may be forced to own and acknowledge, that this is *God's own Doing*. And therefore let this further *Postulatum* be laid down here.

Postul. 3. In order to God's Governing and saving Men, it is necessary, that his Method be such, as plainly and evidently to demonstrate it self to be Divine, in order to its being believ'd, receiv'd and comply'd with by Men, as such.

For, tho' God must condescend to deal with Men, as the Human Nature will bear; yet it is absolutely necessary that the Method of his doing so be Divine and not Human, in the Sense wherein we take the Word Human, when we speak of the Methods of the Legislators and Rulers of this World.

And thus I come back, and I hope with a great deal of Advantage, to the Question propos'd. And therefore, let me put you in Mind of the Distinction I made before, between a *Divine* and *Political* Method of Administration or Government.

For whatever Method Divine Wisdom be supposed to make use of, in order to save and govern Men, certain it is, that it must not be such, as that which we call by the Name of Human Policy. But upon the contrary, it must be the very Reverse of this. For the Great Maxim it must run upon, must be this: *It must be seen to be of God, because it has nothing like human Contrivance or Policy in it.*

This, this, Honourable Lords, and you my Countryman, is that Rule that I beg you to consider: For, as it is self-evident, especially considering the Premises laid down, so it is the Great *Principle* that I desire to lay down, as the *only immediate Foundation* of what I have now to propose, in answer to the Question I am answering.

For, this being once fixed, I have nothing to do, but to give you an Account of the Idea I have of a Divine Hero, and the Divine Method that I think he must be supposed to follow, in his taking upon him the Care and Cure of Men.

And,

And, in doing this, I need only follow the Method that the most Noble *Gallio* has laid down. For I verily believe, that were *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon* and *Plato* alive, and had the same Opportunity of Discourſing together that we have, and upon the ſame Subject; they could not have painted forth a *Political Hero*, with greater Exactneſs, or to more Perfection than he has done. And therefore, I think I cannot have a more even Thred to follow, than this, which he has laid down. Tho, in following it, I muſt be oblig'd to make my Hero the exact Reverse of his.

Whereas therefore the Noble *Gallio* truly ſays, (I.) That a *Political Hero* muſt be Deſcended of the moſt Noble Family in the whole World, at leaſt that which is generally eſteem'd and own'd to be ſuch, at the time of his Birth: I muſt ſay, that a *Divine Hero* muſt be the very Opposite to this. It is indeed very proper, and even neceſſary that he come from an Honourable and Noble Race, at leaſt ſuch an one, whoſe Genealogy is exactly preſerv'd; that it may be ſeen that he is the proper Deſcendant of Men, who have been Honourable in their Generation. But then, it is neceſſary, that this Family, at leaſt then when he is born, be reduced from the Height of Grandeur to the loweſt Degree of Plebeaniſm; upon Suppoſition, that his Parents be of honeſt and good Report, for real Worth and Virtue. And the Reaſon, why it is neceſſary, that his Parents be low and mean, at the time of his Birth, is this; that there may be no Umbrage given of his being educated by them in the Rules of Human Policy; that his Wiſdom and Conduct may diſcover it ſelf to be wholly from God. And therefore his Parents muſt be under ſuch mean Circumſtances, as to be reduc'd to the neceſſity of getting their Bread, with hard Labour, in ſome honeſt, but mean Employment, and that ſo as to have no time to harbour great or aspiring Thoughts (had they otherwiſe never ſo great a Capacity this way) after Grandeur, Riches and Empire. I have inſiſted upon this Particular the more diſtinctly, becauſe

because if you apprehend the reason of my opposing my *Heró* to *Gallio's*, in this, you will easily discern it in all the rest. Therefore to proceed : If, (2.) It be necessary, that a *Political Hero* be born the undoubted Heir of the Greatest Empire in the World, and that an Absolute One, that he may do what he pleaseth without Controle ; it is equally necessary, from my Principle, that the *Divine Hero*, be born one of the meanest Subjects of such an Empire, without any Help or Assistance in the World, to carry on any, even the least, Political Design. For, if notwithstanding his being opposed and born down by all things on Earth, he be able not only to bear up himself, but capacitated also to carry on the general Good of Men ; it will then be seen, that the Work was God's, because nothing Human was made use of to promote it. (3.) It is indeed necessary, that *Gallio's Hero* have all the Education, that *Rome*, *Athens* and the whole World can give him. But the *Hero* I speak of, must, for the Reason assign'd, have nothing either of a Polite, Learned, Political or Noble Education, or so much as Conversation. (4.) That a *Hero*, whether he be *Political* or *Divine*, be a *Great Genius*, is certain. But still the *Divine Hero* must be the Reverse of the *Political One*. For, the *Political* must excel, or seem to do so, in those things, that are generally valu'd and esteem'd in the Age, wherein he lives : E. G. as things go now, he must excel others in Philosophy, Eloquence, Policy, Military Skill and a Courtly Behaviour. But the *Divine Hero* must despise all these, and study none of them. He must think freely, without any Addictedness to Human Rules or Great Names. He must thwart all the Philosophies of Men, and shew their Weakness, by laying down a better Scheme. He must speak without Artifice or Affectation. He must act an undisguis'd and impolitick Part ; particularly in opposing the Great Men and the Wise Men of the World. He must know no more of War than of Policy, nor give the least Umbrage of his knowing the use of any Military Weapon, or of his loving such an Art

Art or Practice. And he must be so far from Ceremony and Courtship, that he must reprove and condemn the Great Men, for their Vices, without any weak Regard to their Power or Glory. (5.) The *Political Hero* must be rich, I confess. But the *Divine Hero* must be one of the poorest Men in the World. He must have neither House nor Land, nor Estate nor Credit of that Sort, no not to defray his necessary Expences: but must be maintain'd by the Charity of others, and those too of the meaner sort. For he must have neither Place nor Pension, nor Gratuity, from any of the Great or Rich Men of the World. But, what he receives, must be, as we use to say, from hand to mouth, and that from those that are but of mean Circumstances themselves, who are known to be so poor, as to be in no capacity to afford him any rich Present. (6.) Therefore, however the *Political Hero* act, in rewarding his Friends, the *Hero* I speak of must be in no capacity to encourage any by Gifts, or so much as the Promise or Expectation of great things in this World. Nay, that the Opposition may be the more full, he must assure those that shall follow his Rules, that they must expect Opposition, Hatred, Reproach, Contempt, and cruel and barbarous Oppression, from their Fellow-Creatures, for espousing the strict Ways of Virtue. (7.) He must therefore be so far from complying with any evil Custom himself, or Dissimulation this way, that he must not allow, nor so much as connive at any Vice or Wickedness, of any Sort, in others; let the Pretence be never so specious for such an Indulgence. (8.) And if he is to connive at no Sin or Evil, be it what it will, there is no need of what *Gallio* added, as to his Hero's acting so, that it might appear that his Compliance with customary Evils, was chiefly or only the Result of a debonair or complaisant Temper, (9.) That he be a comely Person, well symmetry'd, and of a noble Presence, is not amiss I confess to be supposed in the *Divine Hero*; seeing he must have Human Nature, in the utmost Perfection. But then it is as necessary, that he

he be so far from making Ostentation of his Beauty, that he do act so under a Vail of Modesty, and in so plain and unaffected a Garb and Habit; that it may not attract the Observation of Men, or be generally taken notice of. (10.) And whereas *Gallio* says, that the *Political Hero* must love his Country and Friends, and hate his and their Enemies: The *Divine Hero* must hate none, but love all. He must shew his Love to be impartial; and therefore, tho he may well be allowed to shew a peculiar respect to his Countrymen, in making them the first Offers of his Friendly Concern for Men; yet he must make no real Distinction in the main between his Countrymen and others. For all Men must be his Friends, and the whole World his Country. Nay, which is more, he must love his Enemies, as well as his Friends, and act at such a rate of Generosity, as to do Good for Evil, and be concerned to save Men, whether they will or not. (11.) His Character therefore must be, to be equally Ambitious to do good, and to despise the empty Praise of being known to have done so. So that he must just be the Reverse of *Cæsar* and such like *Hero's*. For he must despise that Glory and Fame, that they courted so much. (12.) Therefore he must never meddle neither with Court nor Camp, so as to seek Applause either way. But he must be as assiduous, (and much more) to save Men, as they were to humble or destroy all those that stood in the way of their Exaltation. (13.) He must give Evidences of his early Ripeness for Counsel and Business. And yet he must not openly enter upon his Great Work, until he come to have liv'd to that Age, wherein all are agreed a Man is come to his full Maturity and Ripeness: Which I think we may justly reckon to be about 30 Years of Age. And when he has then made his first Publick Appearance upon the Stage of the World; He must not continue any longer, than just so long, as that his Fame may spread itself thro' the World. And I suppose 3 Years, or a little longer, may serve for this. Which, when ended, he must leave the World. For
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according to the *Maxim* laid down, he must not continue so long in the World, as to make Men apprehensive of his being employed in forming any Manner of Political Schemes or Plots, in order to overturn the Governments that are already fixed ; with which he must not in the least concern himself, at least directly. (14.) But, tho he must not meddle either with Civil or Military Affairs, but lead a private Life ; yet he must be hated by some, and feared by others, and opposed by all Men, even in his Offers of Peace and Happiness to the World. (15.) And when he has liv'd out his few Years, in struggling with a wicked World, in order to do them good, he must be at length pursued by them, even to Death. So that it will be necessary, that this *Hero* be put to death, for doing good, by those very Persons that he first made his kind Offers unto ; and that the Kind of his Death be such, as may bear Evidence of the Rage of his Persecutors, and of a Design to rub Contempt on him and his Doctrine for ever. He must therefore be put to Death, not only in a cruel manner, but in the most contemptible way that can be thought of. For, if after all this, he carry on his Heroical Designs, and accomplish the Good of Men, it will be clearly seen, that his Design and Work is of God ; seeing nothing but his own hand is left to favour this Cause : especially if the Case be brought to such a pass, as that all Mankind, without the Exception of so much as one, be seen to have either opposed, or at least deserted, this Hero. (16.) And his Funeral must be as contemptible as his Death. Only, seeing it will be necessary that he conquer Death by Dying, as well as Wickedness and Violence by suffering, and therefore must rise again, because he must be a perpetual Saviour, and demonstrate himself to be more than a Mortal, according to *Supposition 6* : We must suppose that it will be necessary also, that Divine Providence do so order the Circumstances of his Burial, that he be laid in a strong Sepulchre, and such a one, as never any Person was laid in before ; and that, over and above all this, a strict Guard be set

over it, and all manner of Precaution used, that none steal his Body away. For, if after all this, he rise again and force his way out, so as to give as evident Proofs of his being alive, as Men had before of his being dead, and of his having continued some considerable time in the Grave, as we may well suppose that of about 36 Hours to be: What else can we suppose, but that this must be the immediate Power of God? It is true, that it will be necessary, that some Account of this wonderful Person be given, that the History thereof may not be lost, because this must be the Ground-Work and Plan of all his Government and Laws afterwards: Nay, it will be necessary that more than one Account of this be preserved to Posterity. But then, it will be equally necessary, that the Historians be Men of mean Figure and low Circumstances, and of no Learning: For they must write without Artifice or Eloquence, or any shew of these or the like Qualifications, for which Authors are generally esteemed. They must add no Comments of their own, but only write bare matter of Fact, in the most plain, and, as it were; rustical and impolish'd Dress. And it must appear likewise, that they wrote their Accounts, without knowing of one anothers Designs, or at least collating Matters, that their Agreement in Facts may be an Evidence of their Verity; not only because of the Difference of their Stiles and Methods, but upon the account of the seeming Dissonancy of the things related, at least as to some Circumstances. (17.) The Divine Hero must not only die and be buried, as I have said, but must leave the World, to appearance, just as he found it. It is true, he must be supposed to have had some Disciples. But these must be a few only, and Persons of Mean Fortunes and Circumstances, of no extraordinary Parts, and of no Breeding or Learning at all. And all the use he must make of these, while he lives and converses with them, must be to make them Witnesses of what he did and what he said. And, tho he may let them into the knowledge of some part of his

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his Mind : Yet he must keep himself and his Design hid, even from them, and much more from all the rest of Mankind ; in so much, as to leave even his most eminent Scholars almost as ignorant as when he found them. For thus, he must not only act an opposite Part to all other Legislators and Founders of Sects : but he must leave room for God, after his Death, to attest the Verity of his Mission, and the Divinity of his Doctrine, by inspiring those Men to understand those things fully, which he himself, whilst alive, kept secret from them : on purpose, that it may afterwards be seen, that his Religion had nothing of Human Policy in it, to recommend or promote the ends thereof. (18.) And, seeing he must Live and Reign Eternally, after his Resurrection, he can have no Successor. Only he must institute such Orders of Men, as shall have it for their Business, to explain and prove the Verity and Truths of his Religion or Philosophy, and excite Men to fall in with the same, and to live accordingly. Which Servants of his must not expect or seek after Honour, Riches and Grandeur in the World ; but must embrace his Service for the Works sake. For thus Men must be brought over to the Institutions of this Divine Legislator, by seeing his Votaries act so, as to follow their Master, by living according to the Rules of a Divine and not Worldly Policy. (19.) All therefore, that such, as are his devoted Servants, must do, in order to promote the Institutions of their Master, and the Good of Men, is to strengthen themselves mutually in this Work, by exciting and encouraging one another. And, in case of any more formidable Attack against them and their Scholars, or in case any extraordinary Difficulties be started ; it will be needful for them to meet together, that they may be the better directed and assisted in their Work, and in the Management of themselves therein, under whatever Circumstances they may be stated. (20.) And, tho it be necessary that some Day, like an *Anniversary*, be kept up, in Memory of this Divine Prince, together with some *Solemn Institution* to be celebrated in

all time coming: Yet, that he may be the exact Reverse of the *Political Hero*, in this, as well as in all other respects, he must neither institute Anniversary Day, nor any Action, by which his *Birth* may be celebrated. But, instead of this, the Memorial of his *Death* must be solemnly kept, by a Holy Feast, where his Followers must renew their Allegiance to him, and solemnly swear or declare, that they will ever be faithful to him and to one another, in keeping up the Honour and right Observance of all his Institutions. And seeing he must rise again, his *Resurrection-Day* must be the Grand and only Holy Day, to be religiously observed stately by his Votaries and Followers. And, because it will be necessary that he be look'd upon to be the only *Hero*, that ever appeared in the World, in a Divine Sense, I mean properly so; and seeing he must be supposed to null and vacate all other Religions, and consequently Holy Days: it will be necessary, that his *Resurrection-Day* be observed not once in the Year, but frequently, as being that which is to take place instead of all others. As therefore, the *Seventh Part* of time, or *Seventh Day*, is religiously observed by the Jews; so nothing can be more proper, than that that Day of the Seven, upon which he shall rise, be held Sacred. And seeing this septenary Revolution of Days has been not only observ'd by almost all Nations, tho in different Methods, but is mark'd out now, by the Names of the *seven Planets*, or, supposed *Deities* that preside over the World: It will be even necessary, upon this account, that the *Resurrection-Day* of *Him*, who is the Lord of the *Planets* and all *Nature*, and who must put an end to all *Idolatry*, be observ'd *weekly*. Suppose then, that the *Resurrection-Day* of this Divine Prince should happen to be on the *First Day* of the Week, as the *Jews* and many others reckon that Day to be, which is sacred to the *Sun*, amongst you *Romans*; it might justly be look'd upon to bear Evidence of Divine Wisdom in it; that he, who gave Light to that great Luminary, and who may not unfitly be shadowed forth by it, should be celebrated on that Day.

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And if the Sun's Day be *thus* disposed of, so as to be observed weekly, we may easily conclude, that we are divinely admonished to keep no Day in Memory of the Moon, or of *Mercury, Jupiter, Venus* or *Saturn*.

And thus I have given you a summary Account of the Character of a *Divine Hero*, as he must be the Reverse of the *Political One*. But, seeing the Generality of Men cannot be supposed to follow such an abstract Way of Reasoning, as I have now used; allow me to pre-occupy the only Objection, that can be used, as I think, with any shew of Reason, against what I have said. For I foresee, that you may readily tell me; Here is indeed a very specious and plausible Scheme. But all Men are not Philosophers, to see the Force of this Reasoning; and far less can it be supposed, that one of a thousand should discern the *Divine Hero* under all this Disguise.

Gallio. Aye, truly, Sir, you now come at length to that Objection against your Scheme, which my Mind has been full of, ever since you first started your Notion, in opposition to mine. And seeing I am big with it, allow me to ease my self by giving a Vent to that which lies so heavy upon my Thoughts. I readily own, that you have given us an evident Proof of your being a wise and acute Philosopher: and I am so far from being displeas'd upon the account of what you have said, that I assure you I was never so satisfi'd with any Discourse as with yours; as giving me a new Scheme of Philosophy. I am sensible now, that no *Political Hero* can ever fully reform the World or render it happy. And I pray Heaven therefore that we may be blest at length with a *Divine One*. And I confess, you have drawn a very fine Philosophical Scheme of such a one and his Management. But pray, Sir, seeing you were just about starting an Objection against it, let me give it you, in all its Strength, according as it does at present occur to my Thoughts. I shall, for this end, suppose, that your *Divine Hero* were just now in the World, acting that part you suppose he will act when

he comes. Now pray let me ask you, how it were supposable, that he could reach his end, which is the General Good of Mankind. I see you have foreseen the Objection. But, for my own part, I cannot see what Answer can be given to it. I think I understand as much of the Generality of Men as you do, and that I am as impartial to my Light and Reason as almost any Man can be. Now should I see and converse with your Hero, and see him so barbarously treated by Men, as you say he must be; I think, tho I should hate to have any hand in his Persecution, yet I should be ready to conclude, that he must secretly be a very wicked Person, whatever his Pretences might be. For, by your Scheme, Heaven and Earth must jointly oppose him, even to the last; at least the Gods are represented as looking on and suffering Men to hound down their own Hero. I confess, Sir, upon the Supposition of this Man's Acting, as you have said, his Generosity must be surprizingly Great, even above all Thought. For what can there be imagin'd so Noble, so Brave, so Heroical and so Divine, as for one to design and carry on the Good of those that hate and persecute them, in spite of their Malice and Ignorance, and whether they will or no? But then, as Mankind is represented thus to be universally degenerate, so the Deity seems to be propos'd as acting a very odd part. For you suppose God to send this Hero (whom you make to be no less than his own Son) and yet to desert him. I confess this is the true Notion of a Hero in the general. But then we always make our Hero's to come off bravely at last. I confess this was proper for your Scheme, seeing you make him the Reverse of ours. And I own also, that you have salv'd the Case admirably, by making your Hero rise from the Dead, and so receive his Glory and Reward afterwards. So, that I can readily yield you all you desire to be granted, in these respects. But then I insist upon this, that Divine Wisdom must give full Evidence to Men, that this Hero is of God's own sending, and such Evidence as may balance or over-balance the apparent Disadvantages

tages that Men are laid under, who judge of things, from the outward appearance, and must therefore think it impossible that a Deity should, in assuming our Nature, for our Good, be exposed naked and defenceless in the World, in order to carry on such an end. Untie to me this *Gordian Knot*, if you can, and then, as we use to say, *eris mihi magnus Apollo*, I will look upon you to be as wise as even *Apollo* himself.

Paul. I was happily prevented by you, most Noble *Gallio*, as to the Objection, I was about to propose to my self. You have done it fully and to better purpose. For, besides that it appears more natural and sprightly, as coming from you; you have also happily interwoven some things, as yielded by you, that help to shorten my Work. For you have reduc'd all to one single Point, in the Supposition you have made; *viz.* That Divine Wisdom must, in this case, give full Evidence to Men, that this Hero is of God's own sending, and such Evidence as may balance or over-balance the apparent Disadvantages that Men are laid under, in other respects, who must be supposed, at least the Bulk of them, to judge of things according to outward appearance, and must therefore think it impossible that a Deity, in assuming our Nature, and that for our Good, in conjunction with God's own Honour, should yet be exposed, naked and defenceless in the wide World, in his carrying on such noble Ends and Purposes; nay, and so exposed, as to be (seemingly at least) deserted and persecuted by God himself as well as Men. Thus I have repeated your Supposition, and I hope you will allow me to have done it candidly, seeing I have labour'd, if possible, to render the Difficulty greater, by adding some Words that do represent it, as I think, with greater force. And now I proceed to discuss this matter.

The *Supposition* you have made, most noble *Sir*, is altogether just, and even absolutely necessary to be made, in this Case, as I was just about to have told you, when you prevented me. So that your Thoughts and mine

have been hitherto materially the same. The Question therefore, that follows upon this *Supposition*, is; How, or in what way, must Divine Wisdom be supposed to proceed, in bearing such Evidence to this Hero, and in owning him in all his Actions and Sufferings, as that there may be full Proof, both to the Thoughts and even Senses of Men, that he is indeed what we suppose him to be. Now, there are but *two Sorts* of Methods supposable, in which Divine Wisdom can proceed, in giving such plenary Evidence this way, as may fully ballance the Disadvantages, that his mean Circumstances and severe Sufferings, seem to put him under, in order, to reach his end; and consequently also to put Men under, with respect to their judging aright of him and his Intentions.

The *first supposable* Method (if indeed it be at all supposable) is that of God's miraculous influencing or changing the Minds of all Mankind to receive, own, and submit to this Divine Person and his Institutions. But, tho' this be *supposable* in the general, because accomplishable by Almighty Power, had God a mind thus to exert it; upon which account I thought fit to mention it here: Yet it is not *supposable* in this present Case, as being inconsistent with the Scheme I laid down; which made me add these Words: *If indeed it be at all supposable.* For if God should change Mankind thus all at once, there were no need of any such *Hero* at all: At least it would render it impossible for him to suffer, because all Men are supposed, by this, to fall in with him as a Divine Benefactor. And besides, for God to change Mankind after such a miraculous manner, were not to deal with Men as Men, seeing it would leave no room either for deliberate Reasoning or free Choice, nor consequently for the Reward of Virtue, in acting wisely and honestly. Nay this were rather to alter and new-make Men, than to deal with them as rational Creatures and free Agents, with respect to Cure and Salvation, upon Terms. So that all things seem to concur, to render this Method impracticable, according to
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the present State and Circumstances of Persons and Things.

The *second* Method therefore, and the *only* one, that Divine Wisdom can be supposed to take, in this case, is to give all those *Evidences*, that can be expected to be given, in reason, this way ; in order to certify and assure the World, of the *Divine Mission* and *Commission* of this *Hero*, in order to the Cure and Salvation of the World.

And therefore we are now brought to this Inquiry, what those Evidences are, that are necessary to be given, in this Case, and which when given, amount to a plenary Demonstration of the Divinity of this *Hero* ; so far at least as to put it beyond the Possibility of doubt (where Men allow themselves to think impartially) that this same Person is owned by God, in all his Designs and Actions ? And, as an Answer to this, I shall give you an Account of what I do humbly judge, must be done by God, in this Case, and which, if done, doth contain all that Men can conceive of, as necessary, or even convenient, to be performed by him, in order to Mens full Satisfaction, with respect to the Divinity of this *Hero*, as to his Mission, his Conduct of himself, and the Greatness and Integrity of his Scope and Intention. And, (1.) I think it necessary, that before this *Hero* be introduc'd upon the Stage of the World, there be not only a general Expectation of some such Person ; but that also Divine Wisdom take care, to inspire fit Persons, from Age to Age, to prophesy of his Coming. And I think it highly congruous to Divine Wisdom, that those Prophecies be at first something obscure ; and that the older Prophecies be gradually revived and confirm'd in subsequent Ages, by others ; and that in such a manner, that the nearer the time of his Appearing be, the more plain also the Predictions do appear. However I would have some of them to be so exact, as not only to tell the time of his Coming, but also to describe some of the most eminent things relating to his Appearance, and particularly so, as may be descriptive

descriptive of his mean State, Sufferings and Death. And, that the Truth of these Prophecies may not be question'd, it is necessary also, not only that an Account of the Principal of them be preserved in Writing but that they be preserved in such a manner, that when the time of their Accomplishment comes, there may be sufficient Evidence, that they are not then obruded upon the World, but that they were given forth and generally believed also; at least by that Nation to whom these Prophecies were first publish'd.

(2.) Besides *Prophecies* previous to the coming of this Hero, I think it highly congruous to Divine Wisdom, and therefore, if not absolutely necessary, yet necessarily *ex superabundanti*, (i. e. for the farther Confirmation of Men, with respect to their seeing and owning the Divine Care and Concern in this Matter;) That God do interweave previous *Signatures*, or *Hieroglyphical Strokes*, for this end, into his former Management of the World, at least of that part of it, and those Persons therein, that had most of his Presence and Countenance. Or to speak my sense more plainly, I would have God act so, from Age to Age, that some certain *Persons* may be raised up to act in such a manner, that when this *Hero* comes, it may appear, that they were so acted by God, as to carry along with them some Vestiges of the same Wisdom or Management, that was to discover it self more fully in him. And, besides *Persons*, I would have such a *Set of Ordinances and Ceremonies instituted*, as should be Emblematical of this Great Person, and of his Office and Conduct; and that in such a manner also, That when he himself comes, Wise Men may be able to look back upon them, and say, Surely all these were thus ordered, as a Train of things, that pointed at this *Hero*. In a word, I would have *such a number of Select Persons*, and *such an Institution*, as to Customs and Rites, as might be like a Draught of a *Building*, or *Plan of a City*, to be afterwards erected: But then, this must be so done, that *no one* of those Persons or those Customs be the Emblem of the *Whole* of this Great *Hero*; but only

only that *one* be Typical of him, in *one respect*, and *another* in *another*. As suppose a Great and Wise Emperor should design to erect a *Magnificent Structure*, and should draw a *Scheme* of it, without discovering the Whole to any Person or Persons at *once*; but should give at one time the *View* of the *Plan* of a *Porch*, at another time of a *Court-yard*, at another time of an *Out-House*, at another time *one Part* of the main *Mansion-House*, and then of *another Side*, and so on: Every Part would look very fine; but yet so, as no Man could easily guess what the *whole Plan* would be. But, if after a thousand particular *Views*, of distinct Parts, he should at length produce an *intire Model*, of the *whole* of his *Project* and *Scheme*, and that such a *Perfect One*, as to answer exactly to all the *Views* shew'd before, and to take them all in: Then the curious and skilful *Comparer* of things, would be surprized to see, how admirably the preceding particular *Schemes*, were answer'd, adjusted and taken in, in this *one compleat and perfect Model*. And yet this would appear to greater Satisfaction, if the curious *Spectator* of these *previous Schemes* of particular Parts, should be conducted to see a *perfect Edifice*, that all these answer'd to. For then he would be able to reflect that, the wise *Artificer* had projected this *Edifice* with design to render it a *perfectly finish'd Piece*; and that all those *previous Adumbrations* of this or the other Part, were not *meerly* design'd for the sake of themselves, or for *Diversion* and *Amusement* for a time; but as so many *Typical* or *Emblematical Representations*, of what was at length to be of *standing Use*. (3.) And, when this *Hero* comes; tho' for the reason formerly assign'd, he must act under all manner of outward *Discouragements*; yet he must have such *Gifts* and *Qualifications*, as may lay a *Foundation* for Mens believing him to be a *Divine Ambassador* to Mankind. These things therefore must appear most conspicuously in him. 1. Such eminent *Wisdom* and *Knowledge*, as may strike Men with awe, and plainly discover him to be the most raised and elevated *Genius* that ever appeared. Which will so much the

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more surprize Men, if, tho young and destitute of all Education, he be found too hard a Match for the greatest Sages of the World, even in those Points that relate to their own particular Profession. 2. His Holiness and Purity must be as peculiarly eminent, as his Wisdom; even such, that the exactest Critick may find it impossible to find any one real flaw in his Conduct, or any Defect or Sin in his Life and Conversation. 3. He must evidence himself, to be the most generously dispos'd Person, that ever appear'd, in making it his Business always to go about and to do good, both to the Minds and Bodies of Men. And this he must do, in the most disinterested manner in the World, that it may evidently appear, that he is wholly self-deny'd as to Passion, Prejudice, or any private Regard, and that his sole End is the general and publick Good of Men, without any the least Resentment against even his worst Enemies. 4. He must evidence himself to know the very Hearts of Men, as a Proof of his unlimited Knowledge. For, being a *Divine Legislator*, he must give Law to the Mind, as well as to the outward Man, (which no *merely Human* or *Political Legislator* ever did or can do :) and therefore must give Proof of his ability this way, by discovering his Infiniteness of Knowledge, by shewing, in more than one Instance, that he knows the Secrets of Mens Minds, by an intuitive View of them. 5. And he must give Proof of his Knowledge of Things future as well as of what is past or is present, by predicting such things, that could not be known by any but God himself, or those that are inspired by him to know them. 6. But, in a peculiar manner he must be endowed with such Power, as no Man ever discover'd. He must cure all manner of Distempers by a bare word, and that in his own Name, and by his own Authority. He must demonstrate himself to be the God of Nature, as *E.G.* by commanding the Air and Water, upon some occasion or other. Nay, he must raise the Dead when he has a Mind: and so order Matters,

as to give Proof of his Authority over Demons or Spirits; that it may be seen that he is Lord of the invisible World as well as of this. And, which is still more, he must not only rise again, but give Evidence that he raised himself by his own Power; and that consequently he is more than a mere Man. Nay, what if I say further, that it will not only be necessary to raise his Human Nature, after Death; but also that he act so in the first Assumption of this Nature, that it may evidently appear, that he was not an ordinary Man or Descendant from Man, but that he did by his own Power form to himself the Human Nature, *i. e.* to speak plain, he must form to himself a Body in the Womb of a Virgin, who never knew Man. Now, as he must thus give Proof of an Almighty Power, by innumerable Miracles: So he must openly declare that these are done, as Signs of his Father's approving him in all things; that so the Miracles may be properly *Evidential* ones. For, if upon this Declaration, especially if there be at any time, an open and solemn Appeal to Heaven this way, God do continue to concur to work Miracles in or by him; it must then be self-evident, that God approves him in every thing, and expects we should do so too: unless we can suppose, that the Great God should thus concur to confirm an Impostor, in his wicked Design of putting an universal Cheat upon Men, in the Matters of the greatest Importance to their Souls, and that for ever. Which is a greater Absurdity, in my Opinion, than to say there is no God. For his Essential Notion being that of *the Infinite Being*, and consequently, in relation to us, *the Supreme Good*; it is more blasphemous and absurd, to say he is a *monstrous* or *wicked Deity*, than to say, that *he is not*: For, besides that the latter is involved or supposed in the other (seeing he cannot be a Deity that is any way defective or evil, that being the very opposite Notion) it is direct Contradiction, as well as the highest Blasphemy in itself; for Infinity being the highest Perfection of Being,

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and *Monstrosity* or *Wickedness* involving Deficiency in the very Word and Notion; it is impossible that *these* and *Infinity* should be consistent or meet in one and the same Being. Therefore God, being infinitely Good, must of necessity oppose such an Impostor, as shall (especially in Matters of the highest importance) appeal to him, to assist him to work Miracles. So that he that does so again and again, before Multitudes of Spectators, and that in such a way, as it is impossible it should be Juggle only (as suppose in raising a dead Man, after being three Days in his Coffin and Grave;) and is evidently countenanc'd this way by God, by the continuance of this miraculous Power: I say, he that does so, and is thus assisted, must of necessity be own'd by God, to be that which he gives himself out to be, when he makes this Appeal or Declaration, and shews undoubted and frequent Miracles, as evidential of his Being from God. But, (4.) I think, it will be necessary also, in order to this Hero's being known to be the Great Ambassador of God to Men, That Heaven it self should give evident Demonstration, of a real Concern for this Glorious Person, and the Success of his Negotiation. And therefore we must suppose, that there must be several *concurring* Divine Appearances and Attestations, in order to the calling back the Thoughts of Men from worldly Considerations, to an attentive and serious Contemplation of this Great Person and his Message. And I do therefore humbly conceive, that it will be very proper, if such a Method as this be fallen upon. 1. That for some considerable time before the actual Appearing of this *Hero*, there should be a *Cessation* of both *Prophecy*, and the *Power of working Miracles* in the World, even in that Province or Country, where this Great Person is to be born. I said before, that it was necessary, that there should be successive Prophets, who from Age to Age, should speak of the coming of this Prince; and I did suppose that you would understand, that such inspired Men should be empow'rd to work more or fewer Miracles: For these are necessary, to ascertain Men, that their Pro-
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phesies were indeed from God, and not Delusions, or the Product of a heated Imagination. But now, under this Head, I must suppose, that it will be highly congruous to the Maxims of Divine Wisdom, and very proper, in order to pave the way for the readier Reception of this Prince; that God suspend the Efflux of both the Gifts of Prophecy and working Miracles, for a considerable time before his Coming. And my Reason is this, that when this Hero comes, and evidences himself to be the very same Person that the old Prophets spoke of, his Prophecies and Miracles may be the more conspicuous and taken notice of; and may therefore seem to insinuate this, that God had withdrawn these extraordinary Gifts from mere Men, because he was to send him, that was the true Spring and Original of them, into the World. And, tho' I cannot pretend to say positively how long these Gifts must cease in the World before this Prince's Coming, yet I think it necessary that it should be for more Ages than one. And I think it may not be an incongruous, far less impertinent, Conjecture, if I should suppose, that this Cessation or Suspension should be for as many hundred of Years, as they had continued for thousands. Let us suppose then, that this Prince be born exactly after 4000 Years had elapsed from the Creation of the World, (a little after which, upon the Supposition of Man's Lapse, and consequently need of being set right again, we must reckon the first Prophecy concerning this Hero to have been given out) I think we may very well suppose, that the Cessation of these Gifts should continue for 400 Years or thereabouts. But then, 2. When this Prince comes to be born; it must be precisely in *the Fullness of Time*. What I mean by this I may afterwards explain. And therefore I am not willing to detain you this way now. Only that I may not seem to use an Expression without any determinate Sense or Significancy, I tell you that I mean such a Time, wherein Mankind has so far propagated its Kind, as sufficiently to fill the whole World; and such a time, wherein Arts and Philosophy

lofophy have come to the highest Elevation; and, in a word, fuch a Time, wherein all Circumftances concur to determine it to be the moft proper Time that Divine Wifdom could make choice of, in order to the fending fuch a Divine Embaffador into the World. And truly I am perfectly of the fame Opinion, with the Excellent *Gallio*, that no more proper time ever was, for fuch a one to make his publick Appearance and Entry into the World, than that was when *Augustus* died, and *Tiberius* came to the Throne. But of this more afterwards. 3. However, let the time of this Prince's Appearing be what it will, we muft fuppofe it neceffary, that fome very memorable things fhould happen to prepare the way for it. And I think fome fuch things muft be fuppofed to fall out, as I fhall juft now hint to you: and I leave you to judge whether any things more proper, in order to reach this end, can well be thought of, E.G. if an Eminent Perfon fhould be born juft a little before this, whofe Birth fhould be miraculous, and at the time of whofe Birth, Prophecy fhould begin to be revived, and which Perfon fhould be made ufe of to prepare Men, in an extraordinary way, for the Reception of this Divine Hero; giving evident Demonftration of his being that long expected and moft Glorious Prince. This I think may be juftly look'd upon to be very expedient in order to this Prince's Reception; efpecially if God fo order it, that he be mark'd out to be fuch, not only by him as *Usher* to him, after his publick Miniftration for this end; but before he came to the due Exercife of Reafon; and more efpecially, if this Acknowledgment be miraculous likewise. But, befides this, it will be convenient, if not neceffary likewise, that God manifefth himfelf in behalf of this Hero, both before his Birth, (and even Conception) and at his Birth, and afterwards, by fome fuch Appearances as thefe; viz. By Vifions of Angels, celebrating his Nativity, to be feen and heard by Perfons leaft liable to invent fuch things, and in a Method that might take away all Suppofition this way; By the Creation of fome
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new *Phænomenon* in Nature, that might call all Men to contemplate and consider it with Wonder; By impressing the Minds of some of the greatest Sages in the World, at a great distance from the Place of his Birth, to understand the meaning of it, and to take a long Journey, to pay their Homage to this Great Prince, and that so as to own him as the Divine Hero, tho' under the greatest Disguise at that time; By putting the Government, this way, upon a Consultation of the Wise Men, and learned in such things, what all this must mean, and, in order to be satisfied, ordering an Exact Inquiry to be made into the Ancient approved Prophecies that were believed to relate to this Person; By their unanimous Determination, as to the Place of his Birth, and so concluding, that, probably at least, this was indeed the long expected Hero; By the Governments acquiescing in this Determination, and the Prince's Fear, lest he should be put from his Royal Dignity, by his Means; By his wicked Design, to make sure of destroying him in the Bud, and so acting a bloody Tragedy this way; and By God's defeating him in his own Method, and preserving the young Prince, in spite of all his Craft and Power. But further, we must suppose, that God do attest from Heaven, that this is his own Son, and the Saviour of Men, as soon as this Prince begins to make his Appearance. And this must be done more solemnly and remarkably afterwards to select Witnesses. And, as God must give Demonstration of his being such a Person, during his Life; so, in a most special manner, at his Death. Nature it self must be so managed, that he, tho' then suffering, may be seen and own'd to be the God of Nature. Some miraculous Signs must therefore be then given, *viz.* such as a Preternatural Eclipse of this World's Chief Luminary, the Sun; the rending (c) the Rocks, in an unusual manner;

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(c) A worthy Gentleman, that travelled through Canaan told me, that an ingenious Person his Fellow-Traveller, who was a Deist, used to make

manner ; and the raising of the Dead. And, when afterwards he shall raise himself (as I said before) from the Dead, I think it will be necessary, that he remain in this World for some considerable time, at least so long, as to have Opportunity to converse with so many Persons, and that so frequently, that it may be beyond doubt that he was actually alive. I pretend not to reckon what number of Days or Weeks are necessary this way : But I think, that if he continue on Earth so long as to appear to proper Witnesses, for above a Month, it may be sufficient. So that I should think, that near a Month and a half, or about 40 Days were a very competent time, for such an end. But to confirm this further, it may also be supposed to be highly reasonable and proper, that he should not remove from Earth to Heaven clandestinely, but openly and visibly, and so, that there might be just reason to believe, that he was actually gone to God, and that with the highest Evi-

merry with all the Stories that the Romish Priests entertain'd them with, as to the Sacred Places and Reliques they went to see ; and particularly when they first shew'd him the Clefts in the Rock of Mount Calvary, which is now included within the Great Dome that was built over it, by Constantine the Great. But when he came to examine the Clefts more narrowly and critically, he told his Fellow-Travellers, that now he began to be a Christian. For, said he, I have been long a Student of Nature, and the Mathematicks, and I am sure these Clefts and Rents in this Rock were never made by a natural or ordinary Earthquake. For, by such a Concussion the Rock must have split, according to the Veins, and where it was weakest in the Adhesion of the Parts. For thus, said he, I have observ'd it to have been done in other Rocks, when separated or broken after an Earthquake : And Reason tells me it must always be so. But it is quite otherwise here : For the Rock is split quite a-thwart, and cross the Veins, in a most strange and preternatural, or supernatural manner. This therefore I can easily and plainly see to be the Effect of a real Miracle, which neither Nature nor Art could have ever effected. And therefore, said he, I thank God that I came hither, to see this standing Monument of a miraculous Power, by which God gives Evidence, to this Day, to the Divinity of Christ. He that will look into Sandys his Travels, will see some Account of these Clefts in the Rock of Calvary, together with a small Copper Cut that represents them : Tho' Mr. Sandys seems not to have view'd them so critically as this Gentleman did afterwards.

dence of his Approbation. And yet all these things must be so manag'd, in a Consistency with what I said before, that it may be seen, that nothing of Human Policy, or so much as like it, can be discerned in all this Procedure. And therefore he must not immediately give such Demonstrations to all Men in gross: For this were to leave no room, either for Ratiocination or Faith, or consequently for Virtue. But the immediate Witnesses must be a select Company, *viz.* of such Men, as he is afterwards to make principal Use of in carrying on his Design; and the Veracity of whose Testimony (lest they should be suspected, as self-interested or partial) he must afterwards confirm by miraculous Gifts, Signs and Appearances. And this leads me forward to another thing, that I shall propose further, in the (5th) Place; *viz.* That the Divine Appearances, Confirmatory of the Divinity of his Person, Mission, Doctrine and Design, must not end with his Resurrection and Ascension; but must be continued afterwards: That it may not only appear, that he is alive in Heaven, and received there with the utmost Applause, but that as a peculiar Reward, he is intrusted with the immediate Management of all Human Affairs, and that he carries them on, in a Method every way congruous to those most excellent Purposes, for the carrying on of which he came into the World. And here I do suppose, that it will be highly congruous to these Ends, if not absolutely necessary: 1. That he do, pursuant to his Promise when on Earth, send down such an Efflux of Divine Energy, upon his Friends, whom he had selected to carry on his Ends, as may be justly the matter of Astonishment to all Men. Let us suppose then, that there be a Divine and Extraordinary Appearance upon them, as Emblematical of their Mission and Commission from God, and that in the View of a mixt Multitude of Spectators from several Parts of the World; And that, upon this strange Appearance and Sign, every one of those, thus mark'd out by Heaven, be immediately wrought upon, by so new and wonderful a Change, as to be, as it were meta-

tamorphoz'd, on a sudden, from being ordinary Men, to be extraordinary Ones; and to give Evidence of this, by being, more or less, indow'd with the Gift of working Miracles, and of speaking those Languages they understood nothing of before, and of understanding them that spoke such Tongues and Dialects, as they understood nothing of formerly. But, 2. In all the Miracles they work, they must ever own, that it is by a delegated Power from this Hero, that they act. And this they must do, so as not only to disclaim all such Power, as flowing from themselves, but also so, as to specify this Hero, by Name, as the only immediate Source and Original thereof: That thus his Exaltation and Authority may be evidently seen, by this Appropriation of all this Power to him, lest otherwise, if they did speak, in the Name of God, in general Terms only, Mens Minds might be confounded so, as not to discern, at least distinctly, that all these Gifts and Miracles were directly intended to ascertain Men, as to the omnino-dous Divinity of this Great Prince and Benefactor of Men. 3. These extraordinary Gifts must not only be bestowed on this or the other particular Person, that shall yield himself to be the Disciple and Subject of this Prince; but, more or less upon them all, at least for some considerable time after his Ascension. And, because we must suppose, as I said before, that his Ends must be reach'd, without any worldly Policy, or so much as Human Aids and Assistance; therefore, to balance all Disadvantages of this kind, we must suppose, that these extraordinary Gifts must be continued in the Society of his Followers for more than one Age. For they must not cease totally, until such time, that the Hero's Doctrine come to be generally receiv'd in the World, and be establish'd by the prevailing Powers, and even incorporated into their Constitution and Law. When this comes to pass, as we must suppose it will at last, there will be no further need of such Gifts, at least, as to any stated Exercise of them. But till then, it will be necessary that they be continued; tho
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not with equal Universality, yet so, as they may not be removed all at once, but gradually; and then cease to be (at least in such a manner as formerly) when the Hero's Philosophy and Laws shall receive the Civil Sanction from the Rulers of the Empire and its Provinces. And therefore, 4. This Hero must be supposed so to manage Affairs, from Heaven, as the Seat of his Empire, as at length to conquer the whole World by degrees; and that in such a manner, that the Sufferings of his Followers, and the miraculous Gifts bestowed upon them, together with a Divine Energetical Power accompanying both, may be seen to be made use of, as interwoven one with another, in order to the Conviction and Conversion of the World to the Interests of this Great Prince. For he must not conquer, by human Force, as other Conquerors (who may thus indeed make Men Slaves, but never can make them Converts;) but by the constraining Evidence of naked Truth and undisguised Virtue and Honesty. Now, if all these things concur, I confess my Self at a loss to think of any one thing more, that can be supposed to be wanting, as to Divine Appearances, in order to satisfy Men, that this Hero is truly Divine, and of God's own sending, in order to the true and eternal Benefit of Men. However there is one thing, that I must further add, as that which is as necessary as any thing I have said, with respect to this end. And therefore, tho it be not exactly of the same kind, yet I shall mention it here, seeing it is calculated to reach the same end with the former. Therefore I add, in the (6th) Place, that it will be necessary, not only that this Prince do come again, at the end of time, as the visible and great Judge of Men, to call them to an Account, as to their Behaviour in this World; But also, that all those that know of his first coming, have sufficient Reason to convince them of the Certainty of his Second Coming, and that he will come then in the most solemn, august and awful Manner, as the Supreme and universal Judge of the World. For the Knowledge of this will be one of the most effectual

Methods, that possibly can be, to ingage Men to fall in with this Prince and his Institutions, notwithstanding his Disguise and mean Appearance; seeing they must thus be supposed to understand, that tho he act, as it were, *Incognito* at first, he will appear, in all the Splendor of the Deity at last, and reward or punish Men according to their Desarts. And therefore that this may be believed, he must not only make the Article of his Second Coming a Fundamental One, and accordingly give a plain and full account of it; but he must likewise confirm this and all the other essential Parts of his Philosophy, by the Concurrence of such Divine Appearances, as I have been mentioning, and by the continuance of the Gift and Power of Miracles, with those that propagate this Doctrine, in order to be thus Confirmatory thereof.

And now, I have at length come to an end of the Task, laid upon me by the most Excellent *Seneca*, as to the Great Question I was to speak to. I confess I may seem to have been too prolix: But, when the Greatness of the Subject is considered, I persuade my self of an easy Pardon from such Equitable and Judicious Judges. For I do really think, that I have mentioned nothing, but what was material, and that I have not dwelt upon any one Head longer than was just necessary to render it clear. So, that I may rather fear, that my Care not to be tedious, may have left the matter under some disadvantage to you, in point of Obscuriry. But then I promise my self, that your piercing Wit and elevated Minds will prevent this Disadvantage; and that therefore, tho my Brevity might render my Subject and Design obscure to others, yet it will not have any such Effect upon you.

Seeing therefore you have had Patience, to hear me out, in giving you a Resolution of the Great Question propos'd; I must earnestly beg you to bear with me further, in making some Application of it, in order to my answering the further Desire and Expectation of the Learned *Seneca*, as to the second Task, or second Part of it, which he has injoyn'd me. There-

Therefore, *adly*, Seeing I am desir'd, to inform you, upon what Grounds I do so confidently assert, that this *Hero*, we have been discoursing of, is come already; and that *Jesus*, whom we Christians adore, is *he*: I come now to answer your Expectation, in this Respect also, if you will allow me (as I desire and hope you will) a fair and impartial Hearing. And seeing I foresee that my Discourse may bear hard upon *Softbenes*, tho' I shall be far from using any hard or grating Expressions to irritate him; I hope the Presence of two such Roman Princes, and the Consideration of the Decency, that was resolv'd upon, in our entring upon this Free Conference, will prevail with him, not to interrupt me. For I do honestly promise, that I shall represent things just as they are; and that I shall be ready afterwards to hear and answer any Objections, that shall be made against me, either by you or him, with all the Calmness and Fairness I am capable of, and with the greatest Readiness to yield to Truth, in what Scale soever it be found to lie. For whether I yield to you or you to me, it ought ever to be remembred, that neither of us can be properly said to conquer or be conquered; but that Truth, which I hope we are all of us ready to yield to, is the Conqueror of all, and we the Disciples and Subjects thereof. To proceed therefore.

Whereas I have given you an *Abstract View* of the Character of a *Divine Hero*, I have nothing to do now but to make Application of it to *him*, that we know by the Name of *Jesus Christ*, *i. e.* the *Divine Saviour who is the Messiah*. For *Jesus* or *Jeshua* signifies a Saviour, in the Hebrew Language, as *Softbenes* knows. And *Christ* is the Greek Word, that answers to the Hebrew Name *Messiah*; both of them denoting one that is *Anointed*. Now the most Illustrious Kings and High-Priests, and the most Eminent Prophets of the Jewish Nation being anointed with Oil, when set apart to their several Offices, (as *Softbenes* has already said) hence the Prophets give the Name of the *Messiah* or the *Anointed*, by way Eminency, to the *Divine Hero*, that they were

ever expecting; in order thus to Characterize him, as he that was to be King, Priest and Prophet, in the most perfect manner. So that the Union of these two Names denotes his being the *Divine Hero*, who was to save Men according to the most elevated Sense of the Word Salvation, as being the *Messiah* or *Divinely Anointed*, or commissioned and appointed Person for this Work.

In order therefore to give you an Idea of this *Jesus Christ*, I shall demonstrate to you, that all the Parts of the Character of the *Divine Hero* do perfectly meet in him.

Whereas therefore I told you, (1.) That the Divine Hero must necessarily act such a Part, and carry on his Great Ends, in such a way, as that it might be seen, that there was nothing of Human Policy or worldly Wisdom in the Case; and that therefore he must be the very Reverse of Political Hero's or Princes: I need only to appeal to your selves, whether our Jesus did not exactly proceed in such a Method. Indeed so notorious this is, that his mean Circumstances and Appearance, together with his Sufferings, have been the only things, from whence his Enemies have fetch'd their Arguments against his being the Messiah. And I have often admired the Divine Wisdom, in this very case. For, as all Men, that oppose us, are careful to preserve the Narrative of the principal Facts and Circumstances of his Life and Death, on purpose to ridicule and run him down this way; they are not aware of the vast Reach of Divine Wisdom, in out-witting and defeating their Design, and establishing the Truth of Christianity, by their own Concessions. For these very Matters of Fact, are all we desire, in order to prove our Point by. As therefore the Facts are too certainly and universally known to be now denied; so I question not but that God will take such care, that the Memory of them shall never be lost in the World, but so preserv'd, that it shall never be in the Power of any Man, to arrive at that Impudence, as flatly to deny them, unless
he

he mean to be hooted at by every Body, as equally mad and wicked.

But, tho you have heard a great many things concerning this *Jesus*, yet perhaps you have not had an Account of him, with all those Circumstances, that are necessary to your being able to form a just Judgment of him, as a *Divine Hero*. And therefore I shall give you a succinct Historical Relation of the plain Matters of Fact that relate to him, which can be proved by many thousands of Witnesses yet alive, in case any Person should call any of them in question. But seeing, as I said, even those that are his greatest and most inveterate Enemies own them to be true, at least as to the main of them, I can fear no Opposition this way. And you may remember that *Sophocles* made use of some of the Principal of them, as Topicks that he thought he might justly argue from, against our *Jesus* his being the *Messiah*. To proceed therefore:

The Historical Character of our *Jesus* is, in short, this: (1.) That he was descended from the ancient Lineage of *David*, the first Hero and King of the Jewish Family and Nation, according to the Prophecies that did of old, determine, that the *Messiah* must be the Lineal Descendent of that Great and Good Prince. And that this is true, the exact Genealogies of the Families of our Nation, which the Jews are critical in above all others, will evince to a Demonstration, if any Person will take the pains to be informed (*d*). So that we can shew (which no Prince besides in the World can pretend to) the intire Genealogy of Christ, in a lineal Succession from the First Parent of Mankind. But *Herod*, an Ambitious and Political Ruler, tho an Alien and Usurper, had the Chief Command of the Jewish Nation, when our *Jesus* was born. So that, tho he was by lineal and successive Right the true and proper

(*d*) Several of the Fathers, particularly, Just. Mart. Apol. 2. & Tertull. in Marc. 4. 19. appeal for the Truth of this to the Censual Tables,

per King of the Jews ; yet his Family was reduc'd to so low a State by Oppression, that his Mother was espoused to no higher a Person, than a poor Country Carpenter, tho he were originally descended from the same Stock with her self, *i. e.* from another Son of the same *David*. Thus our *Jesus* was descended, that he might be opposed, as to his Right, in all respects. But, as *Herod* thought it Policy to degrade this Family, that it might insensibly be obliterated, by being rendred Contemptible : Divine Wisdom, which knew how to turn things, in a quite other Channel, thought fit, that his Son should assume the Human Nature, from one indeed nobly Descended, but in such mean Circumstances, that he might not have any polite, far less political Education ; nay to speak the matter fully, no literate Education at all. Therefore, (2.) Our *Jesus* was so far from being born to the Inheritance of the greatest Empire of the World ; that he was born one of the meanest Persons in the World. For lower he could not well have been, to have had a Name to come of an honest and creditable, tho at that time mean Family. (3.) So far therefore was he, from having all the Education the World could afford him, that we are assured ; (e) He had not so much as the Knowledge of Letters from any Man. For it seems his Parents were so poor, that they could not afford so much as to pay for his being taught the Hebrew Alphabet, or any other Part of the Rudiments of Learning. (4.) He was very far therefore from being taught the Principles and Rules of either Philosophy, Eloquence, Policy, Military Skill or courtly Breeding. And, tho it is certain he knew all these things, and every thing knowable besides (which must have been immediately from God himself ;)

extant in their times, which were made by order of Augustus Cæsar. In which Joseph and Mary are mention'd amongst others, as being taxed at Bethlehem; because descended from David; tho they themselves dwelt in Galilee. (e) Joh. 7. 15.

yet it is plain, from all his Conduct, that he perfectly despised these, according to the Estimate that Men usually put upon them. For he taught a Philosophy more noble, than any that ever yet obtain'd in the World. He spake freely, but without Artifice or Affectation of Ornament. He spoke the Truth, without any regard for Names or Parties. Trick he abhor'd, and every thing that veer'd towards it. And tho he honour'd human Governours, as such, tho he affected no such Authority himself; yet he durst censure and reprove their Vices, when open and hurtful, without any mean or servile regard to their Power. (5.) He was so far from affecting Riches, that he had neither House, Land nor Money; but was so poor, as to be maintain'd (f) by the Charity of others, and those not rich or great, but of such mean Circumstances, as to have but just a Competency themselves. So that their Charity and Benevolence was no more than what they could just spare, by a frugal Management; and therefore was far from putting him in any Capacity to attempt any Change or Alteration of the State or Constitution that obtain'd then. (6.) He had therefore neither Place, Pension nor Gift to bestow upon any of his mean Followers. And so far was he from any Promise this way, that he carefully forwarn'd them of Persecution, Contempt and the loss of all worldly things, if they meant to follow him. (7.) So far then was he from allowing, or abetting any evil Custom, or using any Dissimulation this way; that he did constantly declaim against all Vices, tho never so fashionable, and strictly required all Men to be virtuous, let the Consequences be what they would. (8.) And therefore there was no need of his acting so, as to put a fair Face on his Compliance with Vice. For he never complied with any. (9.) He was indeed the most comly and majestick Person, that ever appeared in the World, exactly and perfectly symmetred, and

(f) Luke 8. 3.

of the most venerable Aspect. For it was necessary he should be such, who assum'd Human Nature, without Sin or Imperfection. But then he took care to veil this Noble Appearance, by an ordinary Habit: Which, tho neat and comely in it self, and someway (g) emblematical of his Integrity and being all of a Piece, was yet so mean, that no Man could suppose, that any Prince or Great Man would be seen in it, even when acting *Incognito* or under Disguise. (10.) He show'd himself impartial, as in all other respects, so particularly in that, which the mistaken Philosophy of Men has hitherto celebrated as the greatest Virtue; I mean the partial and divided Love, of what Men call their Country, in opposition to all the World besides, and particularly those Nations that are Neighbouring to it, especially if at Enmity with it. For, tho Heaven was properly his Country, yet having become Man, the whole World was such to him, and all Mankind his Relatives, tho, in a more special manner, (b) those that fell in with his Institutions. To serve them all, especially such, was his Ambition, without any little regard to this or the other Spot of Earth, or the *Shibbolah* or Discrimination of Language or Dialect; which he did with that Heroicalness, as to resolve to save them, whether they would or not, in spite of all their Enmity and Opposition. To love only those that lov'd him, was too mean for his great Soul. And it was not consistent with his divinely elevated Genius, to act so inconsistent and degenerate a part; as to condemn other Mens Hatred to him, and to patronize their doing so, at the same time, by returning Hatred for Hatred, or Evil for Evil. For, tho their Enmity was unjust, yet he knew this proceeded from Ignorance and mistaken

(g) For so we may justly reckon his Coat to have been, which was all of a Piece, Joh. 19. 23. tho it was also thus ordered in Providence, v. 24. that an ancient Prophecy, viz. that in Psal. 22. 19. might be fulfilled.
 (b) Luke 23. 19, 20, &c.

Notions; and therefore he consider'd them as the Objects of Pity and Compassion, and not of Hatred or Prosecution. And hence he laid down this noble Rule to himself, *to do to them, not as they did to him, but as they ought to have done.* Which Rule he therefore fixed, as a Fundamental Maxim of his Constitution; That (i) *What we would desire or wish others to do to us, we should do to them; and what we disapproved in them, we should avoid to do our selves to them.* And indeed, how odd is this partial Love to ones Country, if duely considered? For, if we are for confining our Love at all, there will be no stop at length, if we act by this Principle of Partiality. For, if I am to love those that speak the same Dialect or Language, and are under the Prevalency of such a Constitution, and such Laws and Customs, and who inhabit such a Part of the World, *E.G. Judaea, Greece or Italy*; I may be led from larger to smaller Inclosures, by the same sort of Reasoning. And so I may come to hate all those, that were not born in the same City or Village; and from thence to hate all that are not the Natives of the same Street, and consequently those that were not born under the same Roof. And then it will be equally or more natural, to set up my self in opposition to all Mankind. Which if I do, my Reason must tell me, that every one ought to do the same. So that at length, by this selfish Principle, Men are led to act as so many wild Individuals, who set up for *Anarchy* and *Ataxie*, that is, for dissolving all Relations, Ties, Constitutions, &c. And what is this, but to declare against Reason, Nature, Order and Virtue, and to appear for Madness, Ruin, Confusion, and Wickedness? Judge therefore, my Friends, whether my great Master *Jesus* did not act a wise and generous part, though opposite to all your Philosophies and Notions. For, his Design being *the general Good of Men*, the Prosecution of *that* must be in such a way, as that he must be sup-

(i) Matth. 7. 12. Luke 6. 31.

posed to destroy all irregular Inclosures; so as to engage his Followers (*k*) to love those that hated them, to bless those that reviled them, and to do good to those that injur'd them, and were their greatest Oppressors. For, as *divide & impera*, divide in order to overcome and ruin was the Devil's Maxim first, and then the wicked Politicians Rule: So my Lord, who was to bring universal Love into the World, must be suppos'd to establish a Principle in his Government, quite opposite to that, by which the Devil had so far prevail'd over Mankind, as first to engage them in different Interests, and then to hound them on to one anothers Destruction, and that under the specious Pretence of Vertue too. A Politick Contrivance, I confess; for we all know that there is no Hatred so cruel, as that which a Man thinks he is oblig'd to, from a Principle of Virtue or Religion. But how strange an Infatuation is this, when we consider, that Hatred to Men is what all sober Reason, and consequently all that deserves the Name of Religion, must oblige us to look upon as Inhuman? But to go on, (II.) The blessed *Jesus* acted so, that every one that knows any thing of his History must own, that he was not more concern'd to do good, than not to be known to have done so; and therefore his Care was to enjoin those whom he miraculously cured, that they should tell no Man who it was that wrought the Cure. For here also, he was desirous to live down another grand Error of the Philosophies and Sentiments that hitherto have so universally prevailed in the World, *viz.* that Happiness stood in what they call'd Fame; that is, in being generally talk'd of in the World. As if a Man's Felicity consisted in what was wholly foreign to him. A strange Whim, and wholly ridiculous in it self, as being contradictory to impartial Reasoning. No Man perhaps ever made a greater Noise in the World than *Julius Cæsar* and *Octavius Augustus*; but, as they were un-

(*k*) Matth. 5. 43, 44, 45.

known to all the Ages that preceeded their time, so what are they now the better though they should be known to all succeeding Generations? A few Letters, cast into this and the other Form, is all that Posterity can know of them, as denoting that two Persons who liv'd at such a time were so and so dignified, and acted after such a manner. But if they are talk'd of long and variously, as Mens Information concerning them may be, or according to the Ideas that Men have of Persons and Things, and by which they are apt to judge of them, are they either the better or the worse? And yet, upon the account of this *Chimæra*, call'd Fame, these Men seem to have been prompted to do as they did. If they did any thing great, it was that they might be fam'd for it. And so they acted as other Political or Worldly Heroes did before them. But *Jesus* manifested himself to be acted by another Spirit. He valu'd not Popularity or empty Applause: No, no, his Concern was to flee from it. For, when the *Jews*, mov'd by the Miracles he wrought, were at length perswaded that he was the *Messiah*, (notwithstanding all the Insinuations of their Rulers and Doctors to the contrary,) and were therefore (1) resolv'd to take him by force, and proclaim him King; he was forc'd to abscond and hide himself, to prevent their Design of seating him thus upon the Throne of his Ancestors. So that he was in this, as in all other things, the exact Reverse of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, and such like worldly Princes. (12.) As therefore they were careful to destroy or otherwise take off all those that stood in the way of their Glory, my Master Christ was wholly concern'd to save Men, and to render them, in a true and spiritual Sense, Good and Great, without affecting to be prais'd for it. And therefore he had nothing to do, either with Court or Camp, or any thing that the great Men of this World make choice of, to render themselves known by.

(1) John 6. 14, 15.

(13.) He did indeed give early Proofs, and those most admirable ones, not only of a most elevated Genius, but such a one, as no mere Man could ever boast of. For (m) though he had never been taught so much as the Alphabet of Letters, and had no higher Converse, from his Infancy, than that of poor Country People ; (n) yet upon his coming to *Jerusalem* to the Passover, when he was but twelve Years of Age, he took the opportunity to discourse with the *Jewish* Doctors, in the Temple, concerning some of the nicest Points of their Law, with that Gravity, Wisdom, and Judgment, as shewed him to be an Over-match to them all. By which it was easy to conclude, that what seem'd to be deficient as to human Education, was more than abundantly supply'd by the peculiar Presence of God. And yet, such was his unparallel'd Humility, that when his Mother and supposed Father commanded him to return with them to their Country Cottage, he readily obey'd, (o) at the same time that he gave them to know, that he had not done any thing rashly in that matter, but in compliance with God his Father's Will, in *whose House* he then was, meaning the Temple. Nay, such was his Compliance, as not only to go down with them, but to remain with them ; and (though vastly superiour to them and all Men) (p) yet to *be subject to them* in such a manner, as to give a perfect Example this way of the Duty, which every Child owes his Parents. For he remain'd with them, and assisted them to get their Bread (as if he had been design'd for nothing higher than that of a Prentice or Journey-man to his supposed Father *Joseph*) until he was 30 Years of Age ; at which time I did suppose that the Divine Hero ought to make his

(m) John 7. 15. (n) Luke 2. 42, 46, 47. (o) Ibid. v. 49. *Where what is render'd in our Version, Will you not that I must be about my Father's business? ought rather to be understood thus, What! is it not fit for me to be found in this my Father's House? meaning the Temple, where they then found him.* (p) Ibid. ver. 51.

Publick Appearance, and (q) which was the time also prefixed by the Law of *Moses*, for the Priests entring upon their Publick Office, as such. And yet, though he entred upon his Publick Work no sooner; that no Man might have any, even the least Umbrage of his affecting worldly Power, he continued in it no longer than about 3 Years. (14.) During which time, though his Life was wholly spent in doing Good both to the Souls and Bodies of Men, yet all the Return he had was to be slighted and hated by those he was so concerned to be useful unto. (15.) And tho' the nicest Critick could find no Flaw in him, either as to his Doctrine or Life, yet the infernal Demons, whose Kingdom he was about to destroy, found means at length, (God, in great Wisdom, permitting it) to incite the Bulk of Mankind against him, and at length to kill him, in the most barbarous and inhumane manner that ever was known, all things considered. But this matter of fact is so recent, and so universally known, that I need not, I suppose, refresh your Memories with what you have heard so much of. Only, it is fit that I acquaint you with one thing, that I can prove to be true, from Authentick Witnesses yet living; viz. (r) that when *Judas* the Traitor came with the Officers and Soldiers, that the High Priests and Doctors sent to take him, he was so far from running away from them, that he told them again and again that he was *Jesus*, reproving one of his Followers, that would have resisted; and yet he manifested his Power at the same time, in such a manner, as to confound his Enemies, nay, and to force them backwards, and make them tumble on the Ground; to shew, that it was not in their Power to have taken him, had he not design'd to be taken. But to return, (16.) His Funeral bare proportion to the Ignominiousness of his Death; excepting that Divine Providence did so over-rule matters,

(q) Numb. 4. 3, 23, 30, 35, 39, 43, 47. 1 Chron. 23. 3. (r) John 18. 1, 2, &c.

(s) that he should be laid in a new Sepulchre, cut out of a Rock, where never any body had been laid, that so there might be no Suspicion, who it was that rose from thence. And the *Jews* and *Roman* Governour too took Care, that the Body should not be stolen from thence. For all Precaution imaginable was used this way, (t) by securing the Door, by rolling a great Stone against it, and by sealing it, and by setting a Watch Night and Day to secure the Body from being removed, in case any should have attempted to do so. But all this was over-ruled by Divine Wisdom, on purpose to confirm the Verity of his Resurrection. For (u) though the *Jewish* Doctors were so wicked as to bribe the Souldiers that guarded the Sepulchre, to tell the People, that whilst they slept Christ's Disciples came and stole the Body away: Yet the Truth could as little be kept buried, as the great Patron of it. For the Story was so nonsensical, that a few unarmed Men should attempt this, or, had they attempted it, been able to effect it, without waking the Soldiers, that a Miracle must have been wrought to have carried on their Design. And surely God would not work a Miracle of this Nature; which, if wrought, had been a Contradiction to all he had done before. I am perswaded that neither *Softbenes* nor any Man of Sense ever dreamt of this. For, as the Soldiers told one Story before they were brib'd, and another after; so we cannot suppose, that they spoke in earnest, or all in the same strain, or that they did not whisper something of the Truth to their Intimates, and they to others. Besides, it was to render themselves ridiculous, to tell the Story as they were ordered. For how should they know how the Body went out, if they were asleep all the time? And if this was the Case, why were they not punished for neglect of Duty? But not to detain you, Certain it is, that they were far from

(s) Luke 23. 50, 53. John 19. 41, 42. Mark 15. 46. (t) Matth. 27. 64, 65, 66. (u) Matth. 23. 11, &c.

being asleep. For (w) there was a terrible Earthquake at that time, and a *Glorious Spirit* was seen to come down from Heaven, who roll'd away the Stone. His awful Appearance made the Keepers tremble, who become as unable to oppose him, as if they had been dead Men. And when they assumed the Courage at length to run away and tell the News, there were others who came to the Sepulchre, and were not only Spectators of this Divine Messenger, but allowed to converse with him. And, as they had an account of Christ's Resurrection from him; so they were Spectators of it afterwards, by seeing and conversing with *Jesus* himself. (17.) However, though it was necessary that God should thus approve his Hero, yet that he might evidence further how much he avoided all worldly and political Measures, he manag'd himself so, that, when he left the World, his poor Disciples were as much or more in the dark than ever. They had indeed been Witnesses of his Wisdom, Holiness, and Power, in working Miracles, more than others. But they understood almost nothing of the Nature of his Kingdom, and what he design'd to do with them or by them. They had, 'tis true, some apprehension that he was the Messiah. But they knew not what sort of Prince that was. They were sunk into the same Notion with others, in their expecting a Political Hero, (x) fancying that he would make them all Grandees and Princes of this World. So, that when he suffer'd, (y) they were confounded what to think of him. Now Divine Wisdom did, on purpose, order things thus, as I said before, in the abstract Character which I gave of a Divine Hero, that the stress of Christ's Divinity, Mission, Behaviour, Doctrine, and Sufferings, as to the Belief of all those, might lean afterwards upon an immediate Appearance of God from Heaven, by way of Attestation of the Truth of them. (18.) But though his Followers were to be divinely instructed af-

(w) Mat. 28. 2, 3, &c. (x) Mat. 20. 21. (y) Luke 24. 39, 40, 41.

terwards, and impower'd to work Miracles, as all Men know we are at this day: Yet we are taught to despise Glory, Riches, and Honour, after our Master's Example. And though I might say some things considerable this way in relation to my self, I shall forbear, lest I should give any the least Suspicion of designing or affecting the Applause of Men. Only I shall take this occasion to thank *Softbenes*, for his owning me to have been once none of the most illiterate of the *Jewish* Doctors; amongst whom I might have indeed expected any Honour or Preferment, had I not chosen Sufferings, Want, and Reproach, in following this *Jesus*, before all the Advantages of the World in any other Course. I confess I was once as violent against him and Christianity, as he now is; which makes me pity him rather than be angry with him. But as soon as God opened my Eyes to see the Truth, I could continue no longer in opposition to this great Benefactor. And I pray God, that both *Softbenes* and you may attain to the same Idea of *Jesus*, that I am now labouring to possess you with; and then I am sure you will not think it below you to follow my Example. For I hope you will not be affronted, when I tell you, that I look upon it to be a greater Honour to be, as I am, an Apostle of *Jesus*, than to be the first Favourite of *Nero*. (19.) I confess, we may justly appear to be a poor, despicable, and defenceless sort of People, to the Eye of Sense, seeing all the Method that Christ has allowed us to make use of, at present, to promote his Religion by, is to evince the Truth thereof by strong Reasoning, to live up to it by a holy and exemplary Walk, and to work Miracles, when proper Occasions offer, in confirmation of it. And, in case of any Difficulty, we are directed to consult one another, that what we do may have the Face of the greater Authority. And in doing thus, we are oblig'd to strengthen one another, by mutual Encouragement, to persevere to the last, and in Case of suffering for our Religion, to seal the Truth of it, even with our Blood; as being assured of being eter-

eternally rewarded, when we leave this World. (20.) And in order to the perpetuating the Memory of our Dear Master and his Institutions, we do constantly assemble together, upon his *Resurrection-Day*, which was the first Day of the Week, and which you call *Sunday*, and we the *Lord's Day*, because Sacred to him. For we apprehend, that the *Jewish Sabbath* has now run in to this Day: In the Observance of which we keep sacred the seventh Part of time as much as before; and that is all that is substantial or properly Moral in an Hebdomadal Holy Day: tho we acknowledge, that something Divine must lay the Foundation of Mens fixing upon this or the other Day. And sure nothing more wonderful, this way, could occur, than the memorable Resurrection of our Lord *Jesus*. If therefore, it was proper to observe the seventh Day of the Week, before Christ's Resurrection, as the Jews justly did in Commemoration of the finishing the Works of Creation, according to the Mosaical Account; because that kept up the Memorial of that Innocency, wherein Man was made at first, in a Paradisical State, which you of other Nations represent, as the Golden Age under old *Saturn*: It was altogether proper, that the First Day of the Conquest of the *Second Adam* or *Saturn*, who came to bring back the Golden Age again to lapsed Men, should be Celebrated to the Praise of so great and admirable a Benefactor. So that, if the seventh Part of Time be kept up by us now, as well as before; the Moral Part of the Sabbath is preserved, and that with advantage too, the latter being much more apposite to the State of Man, as lapsed, than the former. Seeing then both cannot reasonably be observed, because two Days of seven answer not to an Hebdomadal Sabbath, but destroy the very Notion of such a Holy Day; either, by making our Christian Sabbath to be the Eighth Day of the Week (which is impossible, for tho our Lord's Day be indeed the Eighth Day, if we consider the number of days only, and abstract from the Hebdomadal Revolution, and tho our Lord's-Day was

(z) prophesied of under the name of the Eighth Day, as that which was to succeed to the Jewish Sabbath, which I suppose *Softbenes* is not ignorant of, yet to suppose but seven Days in a Week, and at the same time to talk of an Eighth Day Sabbath, were mere Contradiction) or by altering the Property of the Jewish Sabbath, from being the seventh Day, to be the first of the Week (which the Revolution of time, from the Creation, allows not of :) Therefore it is necessary that we

(?) *The Verse I refer to, is Ezek. 43. ult.* And when these days are expired, it shall be (or, it shall come to pass) that upon the Eighth Day, and so forward, the Priests shall make your Burnt-Offerings upon the Altar, and your Peace-Offerings (or, Thank-Offerings) and I will accept you, saith the Lord God. It is strange to me, that I find not one of our Criticks or Commentators, that has taken any notice of these Words. And yet all Christians, that I know of, are agreed that the Mystical Temple, that this Prophet saw in Vision, is design'd to shadow forth the New Testament-Church. And, if so, what other Sense can these Words bear, than this, that all the Jewish Weeks, with all their Worship and Service, which depended upon, and was measured by Hebdomal and Lunar Revolutions, were to terminate and run in unto a new Constitution of Affairs; their Sabbath being changed from the seventh Day to the eighth, i. e. from the last Day of the former Week, to the first Day of the following one. And as the Jewish Worship run almost wholly upon the number seven, in respect of time, so here it is said, v. 25, 26. That seven days should be spent in offering Sacrifices, and seven Days should be allotted for the Priests to consecrate both the Altar and themselves. And then it follows, that upon the eighth Day ever after, the Priests should offer their Sacrifices of all sorts. Now an eighth Day, as a Holy Day, was unknown to Moses, and all the Hebrews. And therefore it must of necessity be the Christian Sabbath, that is here intended. So that I think it will not be wholly precarious to observe here, 1. That the Jewish Sabbath was to be afterwards changed from the seventh Day to the Day following. 2. That the Christian Sabbath was to be the first Day of the Week. 3. That the Institution of this later vacates the Obligation of the former. And here, let me advertize the Reader, that I am of opinion, that this short Hint may suggest, to those that are Thoughtful and Industrious, the Idea of that Key, by which only we can attain to unriddle this Enigmatical Temple of Ezekiel; which can only be done, by stripping the Prophet's Words of the Judaical Figures, taken from their Tabernacle, Temple and City, and their ritual Law and Service, and accomodating the whole to the Gospel-Institution; but so as to remember, that it is the perfecter State of Christiocracy, in the time of the Happy Millennium, that these Figures principally point at; which is the reason, that this part of Prophecy is so dark to us now.

Should

should suppose, that Divine Wisdom intended to put an end to the necessity of observing the seventh Part of Time, after the Jewish Way, by laying a Foundation, that necessitates our Observation of it, after our manner. And, to avoid Confusion, in this Change, the Divine Wisdom was pleased so to order Matters, that Christ's Resurrection-Day should be the immediate Day that follow'd the Jewish Sabbath; that so the Change might be, as it were, insensible. And yet, that the Day, which our Lord rose in, might be the more memorable, Divine Wisdom seems to have so ordered matters at first, that the seventh Day from the Creation should be observed, rather than the First, when God began to create; as if he had done it on purpose, upon the Fore-sight of Man's Fall, and after-Redemption: That, as soon as the Second *Adam* should obtain his great End, and enter upon his Office, after his Sufferings were over, it might be early that very Morning, that followed the Ancient Sabbath, and upon that Day that was the first of the Week, and mark'd out, amongst most Nations, by the first and most glorious Luminary, the *Sun*. And, as if things could not be cast into any other Method; tho by the Type of the Messiah's being buried, it was necessary that he should be three Days in the Grave: Yet, as that Transaction that is doing, for part of three days, takes its Denomination from thence, as much as if it had occupied the whole of these; so, seeing it was absolutely necessary, that the Messiah's Body should not be liable to Corruption, when buried, and therefore could not lie three whole Days; and yet necessary likewise, that he should keep an intire Sabbath in the Grave (and that with such a peculiar Honour put upon the Jewish Sabbath, the only one of Divine Institution, as to observe that Day only, as an intire one, in the Grave, with a Design, that that peculiar Honour put upon it should serve also to give it an Honourable Burial;) and no less so, (as I have said) that he should rise early the Morning of the Day following it: It was, I say, upon all these Ac-

counts requisite, and even necessary, that our Blessed Jesus should lie in the Grave just as long, and no longer, than he did; which was from three a-clock in the Afternoon, on Friday, to the time when then the Sun rose on the Lord's Day, usually called Sunday. Pardon me, most noble Lords, that I have digress'd so much, upon the Subject of the Resurrection-Day of Christ: But seeing it is the only Holy Day that we observe, and so very remarkable upon all Accounts, I thought it proper to give some Account of it. Now upon this Day we do constantly assemble our selves, before the Sun rise; where, after Prayers to God and Praises for the sending so excellent a Saviour into the World, together with some instructive Discourse upon some part of his Divine Philosophy; (a) we join together in a solemn Celebration of the Memorial of his Death and Sufferings, after the manner which he himself taught us, a little before his Sufferings; and in doing so we do bind our selves by a solemn and sacred Oath, never to allow our selves in any Sin, or to do any Action, unworthy of our Master and his Institutions. But, having detained you so long with other things, I shall not spend any part of our remaining time with an Account of this.

I proceed therefore, with your Allowance, to make Application, of what I said in the 2^d Place, when I drew the *Abstract Scheme* of a Divine Hero. Whereas therefore I did then tell you, what, I thought, God must be supposed to do, to ascertain to Men the Divinity of one, that should appear and act in the World, under such outward Disadvantages as Jesus Christ did: I am not ashamed to tell you, that I did then draw my Scheme, from God's Management in relation to Christ.

(a) Plinii Epist. Lib. X. Ep. 97. Affirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante Lucem convenire; carmenq; Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem; seq; sacramento non in scelus, aliquod obstringere; sed ne furta, ne Latrocinia, ne Adulteria committerent, ne Fidem fallerent, ne Depositum appellati abnegarent. Quibus peractis morem sibi Discedendi fuisse: rursusq; coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen & innoxium.

For I am bold to say, that neither I nor any Man else, could have invented such a Scheme as I did present you with, had not God himself laid the *Plan* of it. And yet, I am sure, nothing can be more reasonable, or so little liable to Objection, than it is, now it is given, if duly and impartially considered.

I have therefore nothing further to do now, than to desire you, to put in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, in the Room of the General Term I chose to make use of before, when I talk'd of a *Divine Hero*, in a general way of speaking. And then I am sure, you will have a satisfactory Idea of my blessed Master, and of that Divine Wisdom, that appeared in and for him, and which did so fully answer what seem'd otherwise to be too weak to lay a Foundation of Mens Believing him to be the Messiah.

Seeing therefore I have no time left, that can be supposed to be sufficient for my discoursing largely upon this Subject, or so as the weight of it does require; I shall content my self now, to refresh your Memories, by putting you in mind of what I said before, tho I did not then mention the Name of my Great Master. And I assure you, that I shall, as in the Sight of God, say nothing of him, but what I know to be true, and can prove to be so, if required. Let me therefore tell you, (1.) That he was expressly prophesied of, by inspired Men, whom God raised up, from Age to Age, to prophesy of him. *Softbenes* knows this to be true; and that these Prophets were so particular and express, as to speak of his Sufferings with the Circumstances of them, so as even to prefix the very precise time wherein he suffered. For were it not to avoid Tedioufness, I should think it no hard matter to prove, that both *Jacob* and *Daniel* (two of the greatest Prophets of the Jewish Nation) did expressly specify the time of the *Messiah's* Coming and Sufferings, to be the very same with that of our *Jesus*: Who was born at that very time, which the judicious *Gallio* fix'd upon, as the most proper that ever was, for the coming of such a Hero as we have been
dis-

discoursing of. For he was born, towards the end of the peaceable Reign of *Augustus*, and at that very time when an Account of all the Roman Empire was ordered to be taken by him; and, after he had liv'd 33 Years and about an half, and made his Publick Appearance about 3 Years, he was crucified, about the 20th Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, whilst *Pontius Pilate* was Deputy of *Judæa*. (2.) God so ordered Affairs of old, especially among the Jews, that there should be innumerable Rites and Customs, that should be as so many Types and Emblems to prefigure him. And were it not, that this would render my Discourse long and tedious, I might shew you, that all the Ceremonial Law of the Jews was intended this way. For I would, 1st. Shew you, how exactly the one pointed at the other; and then, 2dly. I would put *Softbenes* to this plain Test, whether it be possible, without such a Reference, ever to satisfy thinking Men, as to the *Rationale* of the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*. For, is it consistent with the Notion of God, to impose upon Men so many costly and burderesome Customs, such as the sacrificing of such innumerable Multitudes of brute Creatures, merely for the sake of the Customs and Rites themselves? So that, if God had not had a further View and Reference, than what the Bulk of the Jews now talk of, or rather dream of; we should be extreemly puzzl'd what to make of such an Institution; which yet we are sure was of God. But tho the end of the Ceremonial Law be now fully answered, and consequently all its Rites vacated and of no use further: Yet it is altogether necessary, that the Mosaical Account of these be preserved to the end of time; that the train of Divine Wisdom in these (as they pointed at Christ, led to him, and ended with his coming) may ever be the Subject of new Inquiries, in order to Mens discerning more and more the wise and admirable Harmony of all God's Methods, even in their seeming Dissonancy. But I forbear to insist upon these things now. Therefore let me desire you to consider, the in (3d) Place, with what wonderful Gifts and

Qua-

Qualifications the Blessed *Jesus* was endued, in order to fit him for his Divine Embassy. For, *1st.* He was matchlesly wise and knowing. His Genius was elevated to such a Degree, that was indeed more than Human. He spake with that Penetration (*b*) that confounded all the Wise Men that attack'd him. And yet tho an awful Majesty accompanied him, and struck the Minds and Consciences of Men, so as to force a sacred Veneration of him upon their Thoughts, he ever look'd and spoke with that insinuating Sweetness, that ingag'd Men rather to love him, than fear him. *2dly.* And as Human Nature appeared to be perfect in him, in regard of Wisdom, so also in respect of Justice, Righteousness, and Sanctity; in so much, that no Man could ever tax him with any Word, Action, or so much as Gesture, that was either indecent or mean. *3dly.* But his Goodness and Concern to be diffusively useful, was that which shone in him, with the greatest Brightness. For he acted with that unbounded and unexemplified Generosity, as to do good to all, even those that treated him the worst. *4thly.* Being to give Law to the Mind, as well as external Actions of Men, he show'd his Ability for this Part of his Office; by giving undeniable Proofs of his (*c*) knowing all that was in Man, by discovering to them the very Secrets of their Hearts. *5thly.* And no less plainly and remarkably did he give Evidence of his Knowledge of Futurity, by fore-telling things to come. *6thly.* And as for his Power, no Man can doubt of its being Almighty, who has heard of his innumerable Miracles. What Distemper or Malady was there, which he did not cure again and again? and that often with a Word only; nay and sometimes at a great distance from the place, where the Patient lay. The Wind and Waves obeyed his powerful Command. The Dead arose, when he pleased to call them back to Life again. And evil Spirits pretended not to be able suc-

(*b*) Matth. 22. 46. (*c*) John 2. 25.

cessfully to oppose him. Nay so far were they from this, that they were oblig'd to own him to be the Son of God; tho they could not but be sensible, how fatal to their own Interest such an Acknowledgment was like to be. But, that which surmounted all other things was, that God bare Evidence of his prior Power, in his forming to himself a Human Body in the Womb of a Virgin; and that it was he that rais'd himself from the Grave to Life again; and that ascended to Heaven, to be there approved in all he had done and suffered, and consequently to be divinely and gloriously confirmed in that wonderful Headship and Supremacy over Mankind, that he had been formerly commissioned unto and invested with. And, (4.) Together with these Qualifications, so undeniably conspicuous in this our *Jesus*, we are to take notice also of those remarkable *concurring* Appearances and Attestations, which God was pleas'd to give, in relation to him as the appointed Saviour and Deliverer of Men. And here let us take notice,

1. That, for a considerable time, before he came among Men, both the Spirit of Prophecy and the Power of Miracles were withdrawn from the Jews. The last inspired Prophet of that Nation, as they themselves own, and as *Sosthenes* knows, was *Malachi*. And, by the best account we have of his Age, it was about 400 Years before Christ's Coming that he liv'd; and we must suppose that proper Miracles were not known nor seen all that time. Nay, so concerned seems God to have been this way, that even the Great *John Baptist*, was denied this Power, tho he had all other Qualifications of an eminent Prophet.
2. Christ therefore was born, (as far as can be collected from the Jewish Annals of time, which are the exactest in the World) in the Year 4000 from the Creation of the World, which may justly be called the Fulness of Time, upon more accounts than my present time will allow me to take notice of. Only let me remember you of this, that it was about 15 Years before the Death of *Augustus*.
- Now,
3. Before Christ made his Appearance in the World,

God

God so order'd it, that (d) *John the Baptist* was miraculously conceiv'd and born, (e) and pay'd Homage to Christ yet unborn, when in the Womb of his Mother, by a miraculous Motion there (f) confirmed by the Prophetick Raptures of both the Mothers. Both these miraculous Conceptions were predicted by Angels: And Visions of Angels, with other concomitant Divine Evidences, concurr'd to render Christ's Birth illustrious. (g) A new Star appeared at his Birth, and God directed Wise Men to understand its Signification, so as to come from a remote Country to inquire after this Illustrious Infant, and to pay Homage to him as soon as they saw him, acknowledging him thus for their Sovereign, and consequently for the Sovereign of all Men. *Herod* and the Jewish Doctors do, upon this occasion, inquire into the place of the Messiah's Nativity, and own it to be the very City *Berlebem* where Christ was born. (h) *Herod* thinks by a barbarous Murder of the poor innocent Children of that place, to elude the Event, and render the Prediction abortive; but to no purpose. For this gives Birth to a new Evidence of the Divine Care, in the Preservation of *Jesus*. Well, he is preserved. And, after he had long remain'd obscure, and is about to appear, his Usher the *Baptist* comes forth publicly to prepare Men for his Reception. (i) *Christ*, who was oblig'd to ratify every Divine Institution of his Father, makes his first Publick Appearance, in coming to *John* to be baptis'd, that he might countenance and confirm *John's* Commission and Ministry. (k) There *John* is divinely inspir'd to know him, (and it must be Divine, when an elder and popular Preacher gives the Preference, especially in so eminent a manner, to one that had not yet made any Publick Appearance) and owns him before all his Hearers to be his Great Master the *Messiah*. God from Heaven concurs

(d) Luke 1. 7, &c. (e) Luke 1. 41. (f) Luke 1. 41, 42, &c. and v. 46, &c. (g) Matth. 2. 1, 2, 3, &c. (h) Matth. 2. 13, 16, &c. (i) Matth. 3. 13, 14, 15. (k) John 1. 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, &c.

in the Publication of this Truth, by a miraculous Light, and the Emblematical Appearance of a Dove that lighted upon Christ, in order to point forth his Temper, Character and Design, and the Nature of his Doctrine and Kingdom. And, lest all these should be too little to bear Evidence of his being the *Messiah*; God himself proclaims it from Heaven by an articulate Voice. Yea, lest this should be forgotten, God took care afterwards to renew the same Appearance and Voice to Select Witnesses, with some further and more remarkable Circumstances. And, as God bore Evidence to Christ's being the *Messiah* all his Life, so most eminently at and after his Death: insomuch that all those things I mentioned before, did exactly fall out, in relation to Christ; such as an extraordinary Earthquake, a preternatural Eclipse of the Sun, his Resurrection, *April 5.* (which was the day that immediately followed the Jewish Sabbath) his Converse with his Disciples for 40 Days afterwards, and his Ascension to Heaven at last, in a visible and glorious Manner. But, (5.) The Divine Appearances, confirmatory of Christ's being the *Messiah*, did not end either with his Death, Resurrection or Ascension, but rather flowed down more illustriously afterwards. The Reason, why this was necessary, I hinted to you before, in my Abstract-Scheme. I shall therefore confine my self now to bare matter of Fact, and that with the utmost Brevity I can be Master of. Know then, 1. That when Christ had ascended to Heaven visibly from Mount *Olivet*, two Angels appeared to his Disciples, whilst they still gazed upwards; commanding them to depart from thence, and think of Christ's Second Coming. Upon this they depart to *Jerusalem*, where they give themselves to Prayer; chusing *Matthias* to be Apostle in the room of the Apostate and Traitor *Judas*. Now whilst they spent their time thus, in Divine Adorations and Meditations, waiting for the Coming of the Holy Spirit, according to Christ's Promise; lo, at last he is sent in an extraordinary Manner, on the Day of *Pentecost*, which was

May

May 24. (l) An awful Noise, like a mighty rushing Wind gave notice of his Approach, and fiery cloven Tongues that fell down upon them was the Emblem of his Operation and its Effects. They are instantly inabled to understand and speak all Languages. Innumerable Jews and Profelytes were providentially directed, to be Witnesses of this, and saw how the illiterate Apostles and other Christians present, were inabled on the sudden to speak as many Languages and Dialects, as there were Persons of different Nations and Countrys present. Which unusual Miracle, upon *Peter's* opening up the reason of it, wrought so upon the Minds of the Multitude, that whereas the number of Christians was (m) but 120 before, (n) no less than 3000 more were converted to the Faith of *Jesus*. And, as all those that thus believed were endued, more or less, with the Gift of Languages, so also with the Power of working Miracles: of which so many Instances are known, that it is beyond the Power of Infidelity it self to call them in question. But then, 2. Let it be remembred, that no Christian ever assumed to himself the Honour of working any Miracle, by any Power or Authority of his own. No, no, we ever did so (o) in the Name of *Jesus* only, and by his sole Authority and Power. However, 3. If indeed it should be possible for any to doubt of the Truth of the innumerable Miracles, that have thus been wrought by the Disciples of Christ, we dare venture to appeal to the Senses and Reasons of all Men now alive, as to the Verity of those that are wrought by us almost every day. I pretend not, that I can show you *Ostentative* Miracles, to gratify a meer Curiosity: For that were unworthy to be demanded of my Master, or granted by him. But, if there be any Person to be found, that is given over by Physicians for Dead, or that is deaf, blind, lame, &c. I am willing

(l) Acts 2. 1, 2, 3, &c. (m) Acts 1. 15. (n) Acts 2. 41. (o) Acts 3. 12, 16. and chap. 4. 9, 10. and ver. 29, 30, 31, &c.

to put the Test of Christianity upon such a charitable Cure ; upon Condition, that the sick or impotent Person declare himself willing to return Thanks to my Great Master, as his Physitian and Benefactor, in case the Cure be speedily and effectually wrought. I hope I propose nothing, but what is highly reasonable. And let me tell you, that whether you desire to see such miraculous Cures or not, yet I can without Vanity assure you, that I am indued with this Gift ; and not only I, but all true Christians, tho not equally as to degrees. For this Gift must continue in our Society, for near 300 Years still, *viz.* until the time that Christianity comes to be the Religion of the Empire. For I must tell you, 4. That tho Christ and his Religion, do appear mean and despicable, at present, to the Generality of Men, especially the wise Philosophers, Politicians and Grandees of the World ; yet he will begin to be universally own'd and submitted to, as the Great King and Saviour of Mankind, before that Number of Years be run out, that I have just now mentioned to you. I know indeed, that the whole Force of the Roman Empire will be frequently engag'd to root out the Christian Society and Religion, and that sometimes with that seeming Success, as to reckon they have reach'd their end. But they will soon find their Mistake, and that they celebrated the Triumph before the Victory. For I assure you, that Christianity will conquer by Suffering, and have such a Resurrection as Christ himself had, and that all its Enemies shall at last be cut off. Nay, (6.) Let me tell you one thing further, That we are no more certain, that Christ appeared in the World, not long ago, under the disguise of a mean Man ; than that he will come again, at the end of time, in such a Glorious Manner, as will be inconceivably above the most Grand Appearance, that ever any of your *Consuls* or *Dictators* was seen in, when they pass'd thro' *Rome* in Triumph to the *Capitol*. For he will come, as the Supream and universal Judge of Men, with all the Celestial Glory and Majesty, to call all
Man-

Mankind to an Account of their Life and Actions. This he has assur'd us of by solemn Promise. This the Spirit of God has miraculously confirm'd, as a Great Truth. And this all I have said bears Evidence unto. But it is time to come to an End. And therefore let me conclude all, with an earnest Request to you, that you would allow what I have said a serious and impartial Re-consideration, as that which concerns you most nearly, nay above any other thing whatsoever. May that God therefore, who has given so many and so eminent Proofs of the Divinity of Christ, and of the Verity, Excellency and Importance of his Doctrine and Institutions, incline your Hearts so to consider them, as to espouse them, and so to countenance and defend them, that ye may attain to live up to them; that so, when this Blessed *Jesus* shall come the second time, both you and I may be approved and rewarded by him, as faithful at once to our own Reasons, the Honour of God, the Dignity of Human Nature, and the Joint-Interest of Christ, our selves and others. *Amen.*

And thus, Reader, I am come at length to the Conclusion of what I intended to convey the Idea of to thy Thoughts, in this way of *Drama* or *Dialogue*. For seeing I made choice of this Method, for no other end, than to convey my Notions of Christ, as a Divine Hero, with the more Life and Force, I have nothing to do with the *Decorum* of an *Epilogue*, or any other sort of *Conclusion*, by which such like Discourses use to be winded up. And indeed, when I consider how long I have dwelt upon this Part of my Subject, notwithstanding my Concern for Brevity; I cannot but reckon it high time to pass forwards to something else.

But yet, before I do so, allow me to tell thee two things, (1.) That, what I have discoursed of in this Chapter, is of the greatest Import that can be, as being the very immediate Foundation of the Christian Religion. And, tho' in treating of it, I have laboured rather to give Hints, than any full Account of Matters; yet I believe

that I may venture to say, without any Presumption, that I have put this matter in a clearer Light than any one Author ever did, nay perhaps I may say further, than all Authors, that ever yet appeared. And yet, (2.) I may say this likewise, that there is Matter enough behind, for the most elevated Genius in the World to improve and enlarge upon. I shall not presume to prevent the free Inquiries of others this way, further than to observe; 1. That it were worth any Man's Time and Pains, to trace, thro' the Old Testament, the many Instances (tho some of them little observed hitherto) of the Hope, and Desire of the Saints, in reference to the *Messiah* and his Appearing. 2. How gradually the Expectation of the Messiah grew and increased, and how universally it spread in the World, against that time, wherein he was born, especially amongst the Jews. Some things very memorable this way I have already taken notice of. But much more might have been said. For not to insist upon the more controverted Predictions of the Sybils, (a point that requires to be yet further cleared up;) it will deserve our Thoughts to inquire into the Import of these Passages of Scripture, among others, *viz.* *John* 4.25,29. *Chap.* 6.14,15. *Chap.* 7.31,40. *Chap.* 10.41. and *Chap.* 12.13. especially if compar'd with what we read of in *Josephus de Bello Jud. Lib.* 7. *Cap.* 12. in *Tacitus, Hist. Lib.* 5. and in *Sueton. in Vesp.*

• And, 3. This Consideration of the Greatness and Universality, of the Jewish Expectation of the Messiah, shews us the Heinousness of their Guilt, in pursuing Christ to Death. Where, among other Passages, that of *Isa.* 53. 8. as it is explained and applied, *Acts* 8. 33, 34. will deserve to be considered; and whether this may not be a more natural and just *Gloss* on the Word *Generation*, than the common one, *viz.* that by the Exclamation, *Who shall declare his Generation?* We are directed to understand the Wickedness of that Generation or Age of the Jews, wherein Christ liv'd. As if the meaning were; what Tongue, Pen or Pencil can declare or describe the Villainy of that wicked Generation

tion of Men, that agreed, to cut off their Messiah? This sense is altogether agreeable, with the Character which that Generation of Men gets elsewhere in the New Testament. For it is called a Generation of Vipers, *Luke 3. 7.* an adulterous Generation, *Matth. 12. 34, 39.* a wicked Generation, *ver. 45.* and an untorward Generation, *Acts 2. 40.* Nay it was (p) the current Tradition of the Jews, that the Generation wherein the Messiah was to appear, would be generally a wicked and reprobate Generation. So that *Acts 8. ver. 33.* may justly be thus paraphrased and understood; *In his Humiliation (i. e. in the State thereof, and upon the account thereof, being despised as a mean Man) his Judgment was taken away (i. e. he had no Right or Justice done him, but the very contrary to these;) Or, as the Hebrew has it, From Force and from Judgment he was taken away; i. e. it proceeded from a Force put upon Pilate, by the repeated Instances of the Jews, and from Pilate's Judgment this way extorted from him by their Rage and Clamours, that Christ was taken away. And then it naturally follows; And who shall then declare (or be able to set forth) his Generation? (viz. as to the monstrous Wickedness thereof.) For his Life was taken from the Earth; (i. e. for nothing less than his Life could satisfy their Rage.)* So that I think it is plain, that this and no other can be the genuine Meaning of that Place; and that by *Generation* we are to understand that *Generation* of the Jews, wherein Christ was born; who did indeed fully verify the Character which *John* gave of them, *Luke 3. 7.* For they acted to their Messiah, as the genuine Seed of the old Serpent.

(p) See *Dr. Lightfoot on Acts 8. 33.* and *Dr. Whitby on Philip. 3. 2.*

C H A P. II.

Concerning the Second Sort of Divine Wisdom observable in Christ, viz. That Prudential Wisdom by which he manag'd himself, as a Man, in relation to Men, whilst he liv'd and convers'd among them.

THEY that will allow themselves thorowly to consider, what I have said in Relation to the former Sort of Divine Wisdom, conspicuous in Christ and the Gospel, will not need any long Discussion of this second Sort.

But there are so few, even of Scholars, that seem to have thought either of *this* or the *former*, so far as my Knowledge or Reading goes, that I remember not of any one Author that has touch'd directly either upon the *one* or the *other*, to any purpose; excepting the Author of *the Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. And he, I confess, has treated of this second Sort of Wisdom, with a great deal of Ingenuity: Tho, I think, he has, for the most part, fallen short of the Mark; at the same time, that he seems to have honestly aim'd at it.

What my Notion of this Point is, I have already acquainted the World with, (*q*) in the *General*; and shall therefore refer the Reader to it; not being willing to trouble either him or my self with any thing like Repetition.

However a more *particular* Discussion of this Point seems to be necessary, in order to our more full and distinct Understanding of Christ and the Gospel. And therefore, I hope, it will be neither unpleasant nor un-

(*q*) See the 1st Book of Christology, pag. 48.

profitable to the Students of Christianity, to go along with me, in what I have to offer on this Subject.

And here, let me desire the Reader to remember, that the Summ of what I said as to the *former Wisdom*, viz. that which is conspicuous in the Contrivance of the Gospel, amounts to this; *That Christ should act the opposite Part to that of Human Policy: And that, in order to make up this seeming Defect, there should be many and such eminent supernatural Attestations and Evidences, as to the Divinity of Christ, and his Doctrine and Institutions; as should be sufficient and full towards the Satisfaction of all Men this way, that will allow themselves seriously and impartially to consider Things.* For it is plain, that the exact adjusting and ballancing of these two, is the *Main*, if not *only Thing*, wherein the *Divine Wisdom* is to be seen, in the *Contrivance* of the Gospel.

And, seeing this is the very Truth, tho hitherto little minded (and by most not at all;) I would beg the Reader to carry the distinct Notion and deep Impression of it along with him, in all his Meditations: and then I am perswaded he will readily fall in with what I have to say, with respect both to this *second Sort of Wisdom*, at least as to the main of it, and to the *third Sort* also, that I must refer to another Chapter.

I am sure, that this will be self-evident, in the *first Place*, that this *second Sort of Wisdom*, must wholly harmonize with the *first*. For, if the adjusting of these two things, which I have just now mentioned, be the great Thing conspicuous in the *Divine Wisdom*, as to the *Contrivance* of the Gospel; Certain it is, that the *very same thing* must have been the *Maxim* of our Lord *Jesus*, in his Management of himself, whilst he was in the World; seeing the *History* of this was design'd to be the *immediate Foundation* of our Religion.

For nothing can be plainer, from what I have said, than this; That the *Grand Prudential Rule* of our Saviour's Conduct of himself in the World, as he was *Man*, and so and so circumstanced in the World, in reference to others, was this: *To behave himself with so exact and per-*

fect a Decorum, in relation to the Circumstances of his State of Humiliation and Trial, and with respect to the Ends of his Appearing thus among Men; That he might equally hit and adjust these two Points, viz. To act as the perfect Reverse of Earthly Politicians and Hero's, and yet give indelible, certain and plain Proofs and Evidences of his being the true Messiah.

This I take to be the exact State of the Case, as far as I am able to conceive of it, and cast my Notion of it into Words. And, if this General be once rightly understood, it will be easy for us to conclude, what those particular Rules were, that follow upon it, and that he manag'd himself accordingly by.

For, we must abstract here from the Consideration of Christ's being God, or the eternal *Logos*; and consider Christ only as *Man*, intrusted with the grand Concerns of Human Nature, in order to his regaining, as the *Second Adam*, what the *first* had lost. And therefore I am now to consider Christ only as to his Human Conduct (tho I hope none will quarrel me for calling the *Wisdom* conspicuous therein by the annexed Designation of its being *Divine*, as being not only in an eminent Sense, but also in an unparallel'd one, above what any other Man could possibly be capable of) of himself, in relation to those he had to do with in the World, in a *visible Manner*; in order to deduce from thence those particular *Prudential Rules*, which flow'd from his close Adherence to the general one, which I have mention'd, according as this was accommodated by him to the Persons he had to do with, and consequently to his own Circumstances this way.

Now there was a *fourfold Set* of Men, or four Sorts of Persons, with whom our Saviour, as *Man*, had to do with while he was in the World, viz.

1. The *Roman Power and Government*, under which *Judaea* was at that time, having been for some time before, reduc'd into the Form of a *Province* of the *Roman Empire*, tho, in other respects, it was govern'd by its own Laws.
2. The *Jewish Government*, or the *Rulers*

Rulers of the Jewish Nation, who had also a hand in the Publick Management, according as things were modell'd at that time; the Power being lodg'd in the High-Priest and Priests, together with a Counsel of the most eminent Doctors and Scribes; who were then split into several Factions and Parties, differing both in Opinions and Customs. 3. The *Jewish Populace*, or the common Sort of Jews, of all sorts. 4. Those *few* that were openly *profelyted* to him, as the true *Messiah*; especially the 12 *Disciples* of the First Rank, who were admitted to the most close Relation to him, and most intimate Attendance upon him.

For, we shall find, that the General Rule I laid down before, when accommodated to Christ's Circumstances, in a Relation to this fourfold Set of Men, admits of a fourfold Consideration; and that, by these, we are directed to understand the great Springs of our Saviour's prudential Conduct of himself, as Man, and consequently to conceive, more distinctly than it is possible for us otherwise to do, how exactly wise and just our Saviour's Measures were, in all he did and said, whilst he liv'd and convers'd among Men.

In the 1st Place then, let us consider how our Lord was circumstanced, with respect to the Roman Government, and how he managed himself in relation to the same. Now we are to remember, that when our Saviour made his publick Appearance upon the Stage of *Judea*, *Tiberius Caesar* was Emperor of *Rome*, and had been so, for about 15 Years before. And it was therefore several Years before Christ entred upon his Publick Ministry, that *Tiberius* had thrown off the Mark of his first pretended Modesty and Gentleness, acting openly in the most cruel and oppressive Manner, that could be. They that are at all acquainted with the Character of *Tiberius*, and the *State* of the *Romans* under him, cannot but own, that there never was perhaps any time more critical, or that required a Consummate Prudence in eminent Persons, to behave so as to be secure. For *Tiberius* was perhaps the most jealous

Man, that ever liv'd. And as he was a Monster for Villany, and particularly Cruelty, he was ever restless and suspicious of his own Safety. But he had Cunning enough to balance Men and Factions, by constant Spies among them. Which made all Men, but especially the *Senators* and *Grandees* of *Rome*, cautious, even to Slavery and Terror, as to what they either did or said, not knowing but the least suspicious Whisper might be conveyed by some Body to *Tiberius*, and improv'd to their Ruin. He, in the mean time, buried himself up in the little barren Island, call'd *Capree*, as if he knew nothing of what pass'd at *Rome*. And yet nothing occur'd, but he had it convey'd to him by his Spies and Emissaries, who often invented Stories for their own ends, or so represented things, that proved fatal a little after to some Body or other. By him *Pontius Pilate* was sent into *Judea*. Who, by the Account of him, in (r) *Josephus*, appears to have been a Man of equal Boldness and Cunning. He knew very well, that being at such a Distance from his jealous Master, he was in eminent Danger as to his Life, in case he had been in the least remiss, as to any thing that related to the Emperor's Honour or Authority: For this would soon have been improv'd against him, by some of his Enemies, or any that had an Eye to his Government. Therefore to signalize himself in Zeal for his Master, he begins his Regency with setting up the Emperor's Images in *Jerusalem*. This was unlawful by the Jewish Laws. They rise in a tumultuous manner: But are soon quash'd by his Cunning and Resolution. However, fearing the Consequences of persisting in his Resolution, the Jews being so obstinate as to resolve to die rather than permit this Violation of their Law: *Pilate* wisely considers, that his Master was fearful of Insurrections, and therefore having show'd his Zeal for him enough in that Particular, yields at length to the Importunity of the

(r) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. cap. 8.

People, that he might at least gain their good Will, and be secure for the future, at least so far as to prevent their sending Complaints to *Rome* against him. But that he might shew his Authority still, he seizes on their sacred Treasury call'd *Corban*, under the specious Pretence of laying it out for the Publick Good, so as to bring in Water to their City. And, tho they rise tumultuously upon this account too, he shows his Cunning in defeating their Design, his Power by punishing their Offence, and his Resolution by detaining their Treasure. Such was the State of the Jews then. They were rul'd by an arm'd Force, that was headed by one, that wanted neither Courage nor Cunning to keep them subject; and who had learn'd by Experience to be every way upon his Guard with them. The Rulers of the Jews therefore, as they durst do nothing without him, that fell directly under his Jurisdiction, thought it the most Politick Method to vie with him and his Romans, in a mighty Pretence of Loyalty to the Emperor. When therefore, they laid their Plot to ruin Christ, their great Concern was to find something in his Words or Actions, that might seem to favour of a Design against the Roman Empire, or at least that might favour of Disrespect this way. For they concluded, that *Pilate* would not otherwise be moved with Accusations against a poor Man, from whom his Master had nothing to fear. And he had too mean an Opinion of their ritual Law, or any other part of Religion, to put a Man to Death upon the account of Stories of Christ's transgressing this way. But could they prove any thing in Christ, that seem'd to favour of an Ambitious Design, they thought they could force *Pilate* to destroy him. And, seeing they themselves fancied that their Messiah would be a great Conqueror, and set up an Universal Monarchy in the Jewish Nation, they could not but think that Jesus, who was given out to be the Messiah, must give some hints of his Design this way. Therefore we are told, *Luke 20. 20.* That the Chief Priests and Scribes watched him, and sent forth Spies, who should feign themselves just Men, that
might

might take hold of his Words, that so they might deliver him unto the Power and Authority of the Governour. But here, by the way, let me observe, That we ought not to make the Jewish Rulers worse than indeed they were. For it is usually said, that they were convinc'd that Christ was really the *Messiah*, and that they acted thus against Jesus out of pure Malice. But the case was quite otherwise. Their Ignorance of *Jesus's* being the *Messiah* was not, I confess, an invincible Ignorance. So far was it from this, that they might easily have known, that he was that same Divine Person. But they were so intoxicated with the Dream of their *Messiah's* being to appear as another *Cæsar* or *Augustus*, that this very Prejudice, and their own earthly and ambitious Tempers, render'd them incapable of being wrought upon by any Argument whatsoever. When therefore they saw our Saviour's Miracles, they were resolv'd to stave off the Evidence of Truth any way, rather than yield that so poor a Man was the *Messiah*. So that they thought it enough to use this silly and ridiculous Argument against a plain Truth; that it was not *by assistance from God*, but *from the Devil that he wrought Miracles*, *Matth. 12. 24.* Which our Saviour admirably refutes, *ver. 27.* See also, *Luke 11. 15.* and *Chap. 18. 19.* But that the Jewish Rulers, tho' they sinn'd most grossly in pursuing Jesus to Death, were yet ignorant of his being the *Messiah*, is certain from *Peter's* plain Assertion this way, who, tho' he aggravate their Sin in *Killing the Prince of Life*, *Acts 3. 13, 14.* from other Considerations, acquits them in this respect. For he adds, *ver. 17.* *And now Brethren, I know that thro' Ignorance ye did it, as did also your Rulers.* But to return:

This being the State of *Pilate* with respect to the Roman Emperor, on the one hand, and the Jewish Rulers on the other; we may easily apprehend how Christ acted, pursuant to the Rule I mentioned above, by a wise Application of it to his Circumstances, in relation to *Pilate* and the Roman Government. For his Business this way, was to act so, that the most cunning and captious

tious of his Enemies should have nothing to accuse him of, that favour'd, in the least, of ambitious Designs. When therefore he had miraculously fed a Multitude of People (even 500 Men, besides Women and Children, *Matth. 14. 21.*) with no more than five Loaves and two Fishes, (which he did not out of any thing like Ostentation, but in Compassion to the People, who had followed him into a desert Place, *Matth. 14. 13, 14, &c.*) and the People began to conclude, that he was certainly the Messiah, *John 6. 14.* We have reason to observe, with what concern our Saviour conceal'd himself, till the noise of this was over, *John 6. 15.* When therefore Jesus perceived, that they would come and take him by force, to make him a King, he departed again into a Mountain himself alone. And indeed he had good reason to do so. For, whereas other Miracles related only immediately to particular Persons, this seem'd to be of a Publick Concern, and was look'd upon, as that which agreed more directly with the gross Notion, which the Jews had of the Messiah as a Temporal Prince. He that could feed an Army miraculously, was a King very acceptable to the Jews. For it was easy to conclude, that he that could do this, could do every thing else. The People therefore project to make him King, whether he would or not. Our Saviour knew their Thoughts, and foresaw the Event, *viz.* what use the Jewish Rulers would make of this with *Pilate*, and what *Pilate* must do to show his Fidelity to his Master, and how he must be circumstanced in relation to both. To obviate therefore all Inconveniences, he withdraws from the People, till this their Heat should be over, and by this Method prevents all the Surmizes and Objections of his Enemies, and acts, at the same time, exactly pursuant to the Rule laid down, and in an exact Agreement with the Design of his State of Humiliation. And indeed so exactly did our Saviour act this way, that the Jewish Priests and Doctors were confounded in their attempts to destroy him. For when they brought him before *Pilate*, he ask'd them, as he had just reason to do, *John 18. 29—32.* What Accusation

cusation bring you against this Man? They answer'd and said, *If he were not a Malefactor, we would not have deliver'd him up to thee.* Pilate had reason to admire their Impudence. For he desir'd to be inform'd of his Crimes. And they, who knew none in him, can say nothing but this General, that he was a Malefactor, and he was to believe them implicately, so as to condemn a Man to Death, tho he knew not for what. Nay, says *Pilate*, if ye can produce no Proof against him, as to particular Crimes, *Take ye him and judge him according to your Law.* Which was, in effect the same that *Gallio* said afterwards, in the Case of *Paul*. For it amounts to this; if ye can produce nothing of a civil Nature, for which this Man should be punish'd, then I perceive the Affair belongs not to my Tribunal. Therefore seeing the Affair seems to relate to your own Law only, do ye judge of it. But this would not serve their turn: For no Punishment, less than Capital, will serve their turn. Therefore they tell him, *It is not lawful for us to put any Man to Death.* But how shall they accuse the innocent *Jesus* of any thing Capital? No Man had the Impudence to charge him with any thing immoral. And it must be gross Immorality indeed, if he must suffer Death for it. What shall they then do? Why; nothing can be supposed to influence *Pilate* to be their Tool, in their being reveng'd of *Christ*, unless they accuse him of Treason against the Roman Emperor. Well, this they resolve upon; tho they knew that nothing could be more notoriously false. They form therefore their Accusation against *Christ* thus, *Luke 23. 2.* And they began to accuse him, saying, *We found this Fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give Tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is the Christ (i. e. the Messiah) who is the King, i. e. of the Jews.* *Pilate* therefore enters into that Discourse, which we have, *John 18. 33 — — 37.* He durst do no less, upon such an Accusation. But he thought that neither he nor his Master had any thing to fear from one, that own'd himself to have no Pretence to a Terrene Kingdom. And therefore, being per-
swaded

swaded that this Accufation proceeded from nothing but Malice, he acquits Christ as innocent, *Luke 23. 4.* This intrages them, and occasions their running out in tedious Stories against him, *ver. 5.* and mention being made of *Galilee*, because Christ had his abode there for a long time, and made his first Appearance chiefly there, he snatches at the Expression, to rid his hands of this Affair, and fends Christ to *Herod*, because that Province did properly belong to his Jurisdiction, *ver. 6, 7.* *Herod* flights him, as a despicable Person, and fends him back to *Pilate*, to whose Jurisdiction he did indeed properly belong, seeing he was born in *Betlehem*, which was in *Jewry*, *ver. 8, &c.* *Pilate* perseveres in his former Sentence, and argues from *Herod's* being of the same Opinion, *ver. 13, 14, 15, &c.* Thus Christ's Innocency is vindicated, to the Confusion of the Jews; who are so far from proving their Accufation, that they are able to do nothing but run out in railing and Noise. But poor *Pilate* is at length overcome with Noise, and the Fear of a Tumult and publick Disturbances, and therefore yields to the popular Iury, tho still with a Protestation against them, and clearing himself of the Guilt of Christ's Blood, *Luke 23. 23. John 19. 4, 5, 6. Matth. 27. 24.* And yet, when he hears them accuse him of Blasphemy, as if he had own'd himself to be the Son of God, he is said to have been under a fear and dread of him, *John 19. 7, 8, 9.* Therefore, being not unacquainted with the History of his Miracles, and having some Notion of the Coming of a Divine Hero into the World, and being under some Influence of what his Wife had dreamt of him, as something extraordinary, he studiously labours to release him, *John 19. 12.* But alas, poor Man, the Jews come in with a clenching Argument at length, *ver. 12.* *If thou let this Man go, thou art not Cæsar's Friend; for whosoever makes himself a King, speaketh against Cæsar.* This was what touch'd him nearly, *ver. 13.* And yet one cannot but admire his Resolution, *ver. 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22.* So that, tho he concurr'd

curr'd at length with their wicked Demand, he leaves all the blame on them, and tacitly owns Christ's Innocency, as he openly fixes Guilt upon them. By all which, it is easy to see, how exactly the Prudential Wisdom of our Lord did harmonize with that Divine Wisdom, that contriv'd the Gospel, and how this bore Evidence to the former.

And now, 2dly, What I have said of our Lord's Prudential Conduct of himself, in relation to the *Roman* Government, will bring Light into his Management, with respect to the *Jewish Rulers*; seeing they were his proper Enemies, and the great Spies that lay at catch to insnare him, in order to inform *Pilate* against him, and to prosecute him at the *Roman* Tribunal, to which what related to Life and Death did, at that time, only belong.

There were two Things therefore that our Saviour had to poize and ballance, with the greatest Niceness, one against the other; viz. Not to say that he was the *Messiah*, in plain Words, or by way of open Assertion; and yet to say it at the same time in such a manner, as that his Meaning should be as well known, as if he had used more plain Words. The *First* of these Courses he was not to take, that he might cut off the *Jewish* Doctors, from having a just Foundation of Accusing and Prosecuting him, for owning himself a King. And the *Second* of them he was oblig'd to follow, because he must own himself to be that which he really was. Besides that, seeing he was to suffer upon this very Score, the *Jews* might this way be render'd inexcusable; and thus the Design of God might take Place, in opening a way for the Propagation of the Gospel among the *Gentiles*: which could not be, until first the *Jews* had destroyed their *Messiah*, and thus pull'd down the whole of their own Constitution with their own Hands. For, if they rejected him, they did, by that very Action, declare themselves Apostates from their own Constitution, (which pointed at, and centred in him,) and Rebels to their Sovereign. By which, the
Justice

Justice of God, in their being cast off, and having their whole Constitution destroy'd, is abundantly vindicated.

Here then, we see how nice a part our Saviour had to act, with Respect to the *Jewish* Rulers. They were afraid, that the People should rise and make him King, and that this would induce the *Romans*, whose Power they dreaded, to cut them off; and therefore they lay it down as necessary, for their own Security, that he be cut off. That this was the Case, we see expressly, *John* II. 47, 48, &c. For, upon the full and certain Information that was brought them, of the Miracle wrought, in raising *Lazarus*, it is said, *Then gathered the Chief Priests and Pharisees a Counsel, and said, what do we? For this Man does many Miracles. If we let him thus alone, all Men will believe on him. And the Romans will come and take away both our Place and Nation, &c.* Then it is added, *ver. 53. Then from that day forth they took Counsel together for to put him to death.*

What does our Saviour do upon this? Why, it is immediately added, *ver. 54. Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews, but went thence into a Country, near to the Wilderness, into a City called Ephraim, and there continued with his Disciples.*

Our Saviour therefore avoided all he could to be brought to the Test; because he was not to baulk the Truth, when put to it. When therefore, *Luke* 17. 20, 21. *He was demanded of the Pharisees, when the Kingdom of God should come; he answered them, and said, The Kingdom of God cometh not with Observation, (i. e. with outward Pomp and Show.) Neither shall Men say, (as they do with respect to such external Things, as strike the Sense, and set the Populace a running and gazing) Lo here, or lo there, (Oh how pretty, how fine, how stately this or the other thing is!) for behold the Kingdom of God is among you, (for so the Word should be render'd, and not within you.) That is, it is come already, and is in the midst of you: for the Kingdom of God is that Gospel I preach, and I the King you expect, tho'*
you

you see no outward State or Grandeur either in me, or in it.

And this may serve for a Specimen of our Lord's Management of himself. And therefore let these things following be duly observed. 1. That it was inconsistent with Christ's Design, and with the State of Humiliation, wherein he was whilst on Earth, to act any thing, that favour'd of Worldly Policy, or look'd like an Aim at Worldly Power or Grandeur. This I have prov'd so fully, that I need only mention it here. 2. That yet, he was to own himself to be the Messiah, when put to the Test, not only by Deeds, but in Words. So he does before *Pilate*, John 18 37. *Pilate* therefore said unto him, *Art thou a King then? Jesus answered, thou sayest that I am a King. To this End was I born, and for this End came I into the World, that I should bear Witness unto the Truth.* Here was a material Confession of the thing, but caution'd as to the Formality of owning it; and that so, as to include a flat Denial of setting up to be such a King, as the *Jews* pretended their Messiah would be, *viz.* a Temporal Emperor, that would dethrone *Tiberius*; for he had said before, *ver. 36. that his Kingdom was not of this World.* But that thus Christ materially own'd, that he was a proper King, and the true Messiah, is plain from what the Apostle says, 1 *Tim.* 6. 16. when he calls this the good Confession or Profession, which Christ witnessed before *Pontius Pilate.* And before this, our Lord had rid into *Jerusalem* upon an Ass, to fulfill a Prophecy, which said plainly, that the Messiah should do so, when he came, as we see *Isa.* 62. 11. and *Zach.* 9. 9. And this was so much the more remarkable, that the Common People were, as it were, divinely inspired, to cast green Branches in the Way, and even their Garments, Huzzaing him in thus, *Hosanna to the Son of David: blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord: Hosanna in the Highest,* *Matth.* 21. 8, 9. Or, as *Luke* tells the Words, or another part of them, *Chap.* 19. 38 *Blessed be the King, that cometh in the Name of the Lord, Peace in Heaven, and*
Glory

Glory in the Highest. Which was so plain an owning him to be the Messiah, and King of *Israel*; that some of the Pharisees were extremely offended with it, and said from among the Multitude unto him, *Master, Rebuke thy Disciples, i. e. the whole People, for such they were then,* Luke 19. 39. But what says Christ? *I tell you, that if these should hold their Peace, the Stones would immediately cry out,* ver. 40. And with what Authority does he enter into the Temple, calling it *his House*, and throwing out the Buyers and Sellers from thence, ver. 45, &c. But yet all this did not lay a full Foundation of accusing him so before *Pilate*, as would take with him. And therefore let us observe, 3. That the *Jewish* Rulers wanted some plain Assertion, which might seem to carry this with it, that he was affecting to erect *Judæa* into a Kingdom, independent on the *Roman* Empire; Therefore they come and ask him, *By what Authority he acted as he did?* Luke 20. 1, 2. Which he avoids answering directly, by proposing a Counter-Question, which included such a *Dilemma*, as quite confounded them, ver. 3, 4, &c. Which he follows by such a Parable, as confounded them yet more, ver. 9, 10, &c. This infuriates them, and puts them upon the Design of sending cunning Spies to watch him, who were to see, if, under a fair Pretence of Information, they could draw any thing from him, that favoured of aspiring Thoughts after Worldly Power, ver. 19, 20. And they propose this captious Question, ver. 21, 22. *Is it lawful to give Tribute to Cæsar?* But he easily perceived their Craftiness, and asks them, *Why tempt ye me?* And then he gives them such a sort of Answer, as breaks all their Measures, v. 24, &c. So that, tho' he own'd himself to be the Messiah, and King of *Israel*, yet he gave no Handle to his Enemies to accuse him of attempting or designing any Innovation in the State. And therefore let us observe, 4. What that Method was, that our Saviour made use of to adjust these two Things I have mention'd above, viz. to own himself to be the Messiah and King of *Israel*, and yet not to own it so, as that the *Jews* could find any Accusation just-

ly upon it, that would oblige a *Roman* Magistrate to punish Christ as a Traitor to the State, as then constituted. Here then let us observe, That there were four things, that concurred at this Time. 1. That the *Jews* expected that their Messiah was to be a Temporal Prince; and therefore concluded, that if any Man own'd himself to be the Messiah, he must design to erect an Earthly Monarchy. They therefore reckon'd that Christ must have such a Design, and must give some Discovery of his doing so. 2. Christ at the same time, who knew their mistaken Notion of the Messiah and his Kingdom, was to own himself such, and yet declare himself to have no Designs of this Kind. For, as he had no Political Views, so he was to give nothing of Umbrage this way; because his Sufferings must not be stated upon any such Account. 3. *Pilate*, who laugh'd at a Heavenly Kingdom, and had no great Opinion of the Honesty of the Scribes and Pharisees, was such a Man as not to regard what they said, unless they could prove that Christ affected Worldly Power. And this must be proved too, so as he was able to understand them, and not by far-fetch'd Consequences and Stretches, from Phrases and Circumlocutions, that he understood nothing of. 4. Our Lord therefore, from a perfect and clear View of all these Things, chose this Method. There were several Phrases used by the Prophets, and peculiar to the *Jewish* Writings, by which the Messiah and his Kingdom were spoken of. These were as familiarly known by the *Jews*, as the most common Words were: And yet they were such Figurative and Peculiar Expressions, that no other Nation could well understand. Or if they did, they were not such, as could be used by a Heathen Magistrate, especially in Matters of Life and Death. These Phrases therefore our Saviour chose to keep to; by which he did own himself to be the Messiah to the *Jews*, as much as if he had said in so many Words, that he was the rightful King of the *Jews*; and yet, at the same time, he did defeat the Design of the *Jews*, as much as if he had said nothing at all, that import'd that he was the Messiah;

siah ; because such Phrases were not understood by *Filate* in their Sense ; nor could he receive their Exposition of them, as equivalent to plain Words, because this were to make them, at once, Judge and Party. And here then, as we cannot but admire Christ's Prudence, in keeping to these Phrases ; we may have just Reason to admire the Forecast of Divine Wisdom, in painting forth the Messiah and his Kingdom by such a Set of Words, as should be the Handle for him to act by, in securing himself, during the set Time of his Acting on Earth, and in out-witting all his Enemies at the same time that he laid a Foundation of his suffering honourably, and just in such a manner, as he was to suffer in ; *viz.* So as to be vindicated by the *Roman* Government, and merely sacrificed to the Violence of the *Jews*, to their own Shame, and, at length, just Ruin.

And here, let us take a View of those Prophetical Phrases, that were peculiar to the *Jewish* Nation, and by them universally understood to denote the Messiah, and his Kingdom ; especially seeing Christ's adhering to these was that Method, which he did so successfully make use of, and by which he perfectly reach'd his End, by an exact and equal Adjustment of those two Things I mentioned before ; that, at first View, seem'd to be irreconcilable. But here the Reader must not expect that I should take Notice of all those Expressions of the Old Testament that relate to Christ, but only of those that were the vulgarly receiv'd ones, when Christ was in the World. Now the proper Name by which the *Jews* ever spoke of him was that of the *Messiah* or *Christ* ; whose Coming was so universally believed and expected, that even the poor Woman of *Samarita* could say, *John* 4. 25. *I know that Messiah cometh, (i. e. adds the Evangelist, Christ,) when he is come he will tell us all things.* To which our Lord answers, *ver.* 26. *I that speak unto thee, am he.* When therefore the Woman told this to her Neighbours, they crowded out to see him ; and it is said, *Many believed in him, and told the Woman,* *ver.* 42. *Now we be-*

lieve, not because of thy Saying, for we have heard him our selves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the World. And no Wonder that this Name should be universally given him, that was anciently called the Promised Seed, and the Sbtlo; for, not to mention other Places, he is expressly called *Messiah the Prince*, Dan. 9. 25. But he is also called emphatically, *the King of Israel*, or *Ruler in Israel*, Mic. 5. 2. Matth. 2. 5, 6. Luke 19. 38. For so it was fully specified, Isa. 9. 6, 7. That the Government should be upon his Shoulder, and that he should be called *the Prince of Peace*; of the Increase of whose Government and Peace there should be no End; upon the Throne of David, and upon his Kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with Judgment, and with Justice, from henceforth, even for ever. And besides, that the Prince that the Jews expected was called *Messiah*, and *the Prince*, *King*, or *Ruler*, in a peculiar and emphatical Sense, there were two Ways of Speaking used in relation to him, viz. *the Son of God*, and *Son of David*; which the Jews understood, when they spoke in an appropriate Sense, to be Names or Periphrases, properly expressive of the Messiah, and peculiar to him. *Son of God* denotes the Messiah, Psal. 2. 7. Prov. 30. 4. and he that appeared with the three Youths was called so, Dan. 3. 25. And that it was a Phrase common with the Jews, to call the Messiah so, when our Lord came into the World, appears, Matth. 4. 3. Chap. 14. 33. Chap. 16. 16. Chap. 27. 54. Nay, even the Devils themselves speak in the same Dialect, Matth. 8. 29. And in like manner, *Son of David* was a familiar Phrase among the Jews, by which they call'd him that was to be the Messiah, as we see, Matth. 9. 27. Chap. 15. 22. Chap. 20. 30, 31. Chap. 12. 23. Chap. 21. 9. Chap. 22. 42, 45. Which was a Phrase, that was founded on what was said of the Messiah, Isa. 9. 7. Jer. 23. 5. Chap. 33. 15, 17. Amos 9. 11. There was also another Phraseology, that our Saviour made use of, as denoting him to be the Messiah, in that appropriate Sense he us'd it, viz. *Son of Man*, Matth. 8. 20. Chap. 9. 6. Chap. 10. 23. Chap. 11. 19. Chap. 12. 8, 32, 40. Chap.

Chap. 13. 37. Chap. 16. 13. Chap. 17. 9, 22. Chap. 20. 18. Chap. 24. 27, 37, 39. Chap. 25. 31. Chap. 26. 2, 24, 45. In the using of which our Saviour alludes to *Dan. 7. 13.* Which is used to denote the Messiah likewise. But this was so humble a Phrase that the *Jews* did not care to make use of it, in relation to their Messiah; and therefore our Lord gave no Occasion of Offence to them by it, as he did, when he allowed himself to be called by the other Characters. And yet, as I said before, none of these Expressions could be a just Ground of accusing Christ before *Pilate*, as a Traitor to *Cæsar*. *Messiah*, was mere Gibberish to him. *David's* Family was so low, that *Tiberius* had nothing to fear, tho' Christ was really his Son. The *Son of God* sounded indeed awfully; but yet it was too mystical to a Gentile, to take away a Man's Life upon this Account, nor was there any *Roman* Law to justify his so doing. The only Phrase then that could fright *Pilate*, was Christ's being called *King* or *Prince*. This he could not let pass. And therefore when Christ talks of his Kingdom, he catches at the Word, with some Concern, *John 19. 37. Art thou a King?* But though Jesus own the thing, yet he does it so artfully; especially seeing he deny'd (what the *Jews* labour'd to fasten upon him) that *his Kingdom was of this World*; that *Pilate* saw no just Reason to take away his Life.

And here then, let us consider what the *Jewish* Phrase was at that time, which they constantly used, when they spoke of the *Kingdom* that the *Messiah* was to erect. Now this was constantly this, and no other, *viz. the Kingdom of God, or Kingdom of Heaven*. For tho' they dreamt of a Temporal Monarchy, yet the Providence of God did so order it, that they should use a Way of Speaking, that should carry along with it a quite other Idea; and so should be a material Refutation of their own Assertion, and a Confirmative of what Christ taught, that his Kingdom was to be Heavenly and Divine. However, that this was then the received Phraseology, appears plainly from these two following Passages,

pages, not to mention other things observable to this purpose in the Evangelical History. The *First* is that which we have, *Luke* 14. Where, while he sat at Meat in the Pharisees House, where they watched him, *ver.* 1. it is said, *ver.* 15. that one of those that sat at Meat with him, said unto him, *Blessed is he that shall eat Bread in the Kingdom of God.* The *Other* is what I cited before, *viz.* *Luke* 17. 20. Where the Pharisees demanded, *when the Kingdom of God should come?* And it is easy to see whence the *Jews* took this Expression, *viz.* from *Dan.* 7. 13, 14, 18, 27. Where the Kingdom of the Son of Man, and the Kingdom of the Saints of the most High, is made mention of, as the Last Kingdom, and such a one as was to be universal, as to Extent; and perpetual, as to Duration. See also, *Dan.* 2. 44. and *Chap.* 9. 25. Now the *Jews* did compendiously express their Notion of this Kingdom, in respect to all these Qualifications under the Designation of the *Kingdom of Heaven*, or *Kingdom of God.* Hence the *Chaldee* Paraphrase upon these Words, *Isa.* 40. 9. *Say to the Cities of Judah, Behold your God,* gives this Gloss, *Say to the Cities of Judah, The Kingdom of God is revealed.* And on *Isa.* 53. 11. the *Targum* says, *They shall see the Kingdom of their Messiah.* And that the later *Jewish* Writings do frequently use the same Phrase, is taken Notice of by Dr. *Lightfoot*, Vol. 1. Page 569, 570. and Vol. 2. Page 115. When therefore *John Baptist*, and *Christ*, and his *Apostles* spoke in this Dialect, as they do frequently, (for which see *Mat.* 3. 2. *Chap.* 4. 17. *Chap.* 5. 33. *Chap.* 12. 28. *Chap.* 21. 43. *Chap.* 13. 47, 48. *Col.* 1. 13. *Rom.* 14. 17.) we may easily conclude that they spoke in a Strain that the *Jews* were accustomed to, and perfectly understood. Only here was their Strait, that they knew not how to improve this into an Accusation against our Lord, that could be of any Validity with *Pilate*; who had nothing to do with an Heavenly Kingdom, if *Christ* did not set up for an Earthly one. So that our Lord, by keeping to this Way of Speaking, did perfectly defeat the Design that they laid against his Life. Therefore, to proceed,

3^{dly}. Let us consider, the prudential Management of our Lord, in relation to the Populace or Bulk of the Jewish Nation. Which will be easily discern'd, if we consider this one thing, and the Reasons thereof, *viz.* That our Lord conversed more with them and among them, than amongst the Learned Rabbi's, or any sort of Men of Note and Quality. Now the Reasons, why he chose to act thus, are easily assignable, from what has been already said. For, (1.) Our Lord did this way remarkably counter-act the Method of Politicians, who if they have any ambitious Designs, they do not care to make themselves too cheap by conversing constantly with the meaner People, however fair and insinuating their Carriage may be this way on occasions; but take care to work upon, and by the Heads of the People, and those that have the greatest Sway with them. And, at this time, the Pharisees were the prevailing Party, that carried the Body of the Jewish Nation, which way they pleas'd. An eminent Instance of this we see, in the strange Change they wrought on the People, when Christ was seized. For whereas a little while before, such a Multitude had huzza'd him into *Jerusalem*, as the Messiah, in the most solemn Manner, *Luke 19. 37, 38, &c.* in so much that the Scribes and Priests durst not meddle with him, for fear of the People, *ver. 47, 48. Chap. 20. 19. and Chap. 22. 2. Matth. 21. 46.* We find, that in a very little time after, they were so far wrought upon and wheedled over by their Doctors, as to join universally in crying out, *Crucify, Crucify him*, and in preferring *Barrabas* before him. And therefore had our Lord acted according to common Methods, he must have courted both the People and their Doctors. Whereas he did neither. For he constantly declaim'd against the Scribes and Pharisees, as the worst of Men, *Luke 20. 46, 47. and Matth. 23.* throughout the whole Chapter. And, as for the People, whereas a Multitude of them had come in to him, and own'd themselves his Disciples, upon the Miracle of feeding them with two Loaves and a few Fishes, *John 6. 2 — 9 — 14* he first withdraws

himself from them, as knowing their Design of proclaiming him the *King Messiah*. For indeed, as I hinted before, this was the properest Miracle to work upon them that could be. What, thought they, has this Man fed 500 Men, with almost nothing. He is the best General in the World. For had there been 100000 Thousand, the continuance of the Miracle would have been equally easy to him. Therefore, thought they, this is certainly our great Prophet, *ver. 14. i. e. the King of Israel, ver. 15.* But when our Lord's withdrawing did not abate the People's Heat this Way, but that they follow'd him over the Sea of Galilee, *ver. 22, 24.* Our Saviour chuses *another Method*, to break them off from their Design. He is so far from courting them, that he speaks roughly to them, telling them, that they follow'd not so much out of any real Conviction of his being the Messiah, by the Miracles he wrought, as *because they had eat of the Loaves, and were filled, ver. 26.* which was as much as to say, that they form'd a Notion of him, that was gross and false, as if he were to raise them to Glory, Honour and Riches. And therefore he adds, *Labour not for the Meat which perisheth, &c. ver. 27.* And thus he draws them insensibly in, to afford him a proper occasion to disprove their worldly and sensual Notion of the Kingdom of the Messiah, which he does in so pungent and grating a manner, through the greatest part of that Chapter, that a great part of those new Disciples left him, and *walked no more with him, ver. 66.* For their Dream of an Earthly Monarchy being vanish'd, they had no more any Value for Christ. By all which it is easy to see, that Christ's conversing so much with the Populace, was not out of any Affectation of Popularity, but rather, as he manag'd himself, the very Reverse thereof. But then, (2.) Our Lord had this End likewise in his doing so; that he was concern'd to give his poor Countrymen a fair Opportunity of being happy. Religion was in a manner lost among them. Their Doctors were generally a wicked and degenerate Set of Men. Our Lord took pity upon them,

as upon poor Sheep that wanted a Shepherd. And whereas their Doctors affected an outward Austerity, and would not come near the meaner Sort, looking upon them as if they had been accursed, in comparison of themselves; our Lord came in a familiar manner, conversing even with Publicans, and those whom the Jews call'd *Sinners*, *Mark* 2. 16. *Luke* 5. 29, 30. that is, such Persons as did not observe the Ceremonial Law, and were perhaps not very observant of the Moral: Which he did, in order to do them good. So that when the Scribes and Pharisees form an Accusation against him from thence, he unanswerably refutes this Cavil. What, says he, is it a Crime for a Physician to visit his Patients? *Matth.* 9. 12. Where ought he to be, if not with them? And, as thus our Lord gave all his Countrymen, even the meanest of them, a fair Opportunity to know and embrace the Gospel, and did openly defend this Procedure: So, he did all that they themselves could have desired, in order, the more effectually, to ingage them to fall in with him. For, besides the unstained Purity of his Life, his admirable Wisdom, the Authority that attended his Discourses, the Majesty of his Aspect (tho vail'd with Modesty, Humility, Affability and Sweetness) the Concern he shew'd for the common Good (particularly in relation to the Spiritual Good of Souls) and the many Miracles he wrought, and all of them beneficial to some body or other: I say, besides all these things, we are to consider, 1. That they were not ignorant of Christ's Descent from *David*: for that Genealogy was exactly known. And therefore it is noted, *Luke* 2. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. That when *Augustus* taxed the World, *Joseph* and *Mary*, tho they dwelt in *Galilee*, were obliged to go to *Bethlehem*, the City of *David* (they being of the House and Lineage of *David*) to be taxed there; for as *Luke* says, all went to be taxed, every one to his own City. So that Christ's being descended from *David*, was universally known. Which could not but endear him to the Jews; who did so much glory, and boast of that Great Prince, and of his noble Family; espe-

especially considering the many and eminent Predictions that related to the revival of it, by the *Messiah*, who was to spring forth out of the Root of *Jesse*.

2. And, as Christ was descended from the *Jewish Race*, and particularly from *David*, so he gave sufficient Evidence of a peculiar Regard to that Nation above all others. When therefore he sent forth his twelve Apostles to preach the Gospel, he gave them this Charge, *Mat. 10. 5, 6. Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any City of the Samaritanes enter ye not; but go rather to the lost Sheep of the House of Israel.* It is true, it would seem that our Lord did twice pass beyond the Limits of *Judea* and *Galilee* in his Travels; once into the Coasts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and once into the Country of the *Samaritanes*: The *First* is mentioned, *Matth. 15. 21.* but is so worded, that no Man can be certain, that our Lord went actually beyond the Limits of *Judæa*. Nay, the contrary seems to be insinuated, *v. 22.* where the Woman is said to have come out of these Coasts. But, if he pass a Step beyond them, it was not to preach, which he did not till he arriv'd in *Galilee*, *ver. 29.* And so strictly did our Lord observe the Rule, that he laid down to his Apostles; that, it is from hence only that we can vindicate his Carriage to the poor Woman, which otherwise would appear to be too severe. But seeing, as he says, *ver. 24. I am not sent but to the lost Sheep of the House of Israel;* it was but a necessary Conclusion, *v. 26.* that it was not meet to take the *Childrens Bread* and to cast it to Dogs. For the *Jewish Peculium*, or *Pecunare*, their Inclosure and Property, was not yet forfeited by them. If therefore Christ dispensed any Covenant-Favour to those that were not of that Church, but Aliens from that Common-wealth, it could not be done according to the ordinary Rule, but as an Exception from it, that could not be drawn into a Precedent, as being a peculiar Case. The *Second* Time that our Lord seems to have gone beyond the Limits of *Judæa* and *Galilee*, was when he went thro' the Country of *Samaria*, and to the City *Sychar*, *John 4. 5, &c.* where he discovered him-

himself to the Woman, and afterwards to the other Inhabitants. But, if we duly consider Circumstances, this was very consistent with the ordinary Rule, that our Saviour laid down to himself and his Apostles; which we cannot suppose but our Lord had Liberty to dispense with upon extraordinary Occasions; and sure this was one. For the History is this. Christ had been at the Passover at *Jerusalem*, *John* 2. 13. There he purg'd the Temple, *ver.* 14, &c. This occasions a Dispute between him and the *Jewish* Rulers, *ver.* 18, &c. And there he works many Miracles, to the Conviction of many, *ver.* 23. But Jesus keeps himself upon the Reserve, as knowing the knavish Designs of the Rabbi's, *ver.* 24, 25. This Reservedness in him, and the known Enmity of the Doctors against him, obliges *Nicodemus*, one of them, who believed in Jesus, to come to him, and discourse with him in the Night, *John* 3. 1, &c. From *Jerusalem* Jesus and his Disciples go into the Country of *Judaea*, where his Disciples baptized many, *ver.* 22. This occasions a Dispute between *John's* Disciples and Christ's, *ver.* 25. The former tell *John*, that *all Men were like to leave him, and flock after Jesus*, *ver.* 26. *John*, upon this, tells them again, that it must be so, and ought to be so, for that *Jesus* was the true *Messiah*, *ver.* 27, &c. This Testimony of *John*, and Christ's Disciplining so many more than he, enraged the Pharisees, *John* 4. 1. which Christ knowing, and foreseeing the Consequences of, he leaves *Judaea*, to go back into *Galilee*, *ver.* 3. Now the direct Way from *Judaea* to *Galilee* was thro' *Samaria*, as every Map of ordinary Exactness will tell the Reader. And therefore it is said, *ver.* 4. *and he must needs go thro' Samaria, i. e. the Country, not the City, of that Name.* So that it was not a Matter of Choice, but Necessity that he went thither. And so far was he from Preaching there, that being weary with his Journey, he chose to sit down on the Side of old *Jacob's* Well, which was without the City *Sychar*, *ver.* 5, 6. while he sent his Disciples into the City to buy Meat. To this Well, whilst Jesus sat there, Providence directs

a Samaritan Woman to draw Water. And upon this Occasion happens that memorable Discourse between him and her. So that our Lord did not, of set purpose, go to preach to that People ; but, in concurrence with a Providential Call, past out of his Common Method and Rule of Procedure, to do good to some poor, ignorant and misled Persons. By which he demonstrated the Verity of what he had said to the *Jews* and *Galileans*, that had the mighty Works been done amongst *Gentiles*, that were done among them, they would not have been so refractory to own him for the Messiah. And here by the way let me observe this, that no such Prudential Rule can be laid down by any Man for his Conduct, but that it may be Duty sometimes, upon a loud Call of Providence, to pass from it, and act another part. For of two things equally Lawful, one may be ordinarily Eligible. And yet something may occur that may make the other the more Eligible of the two, *prout hinc & nunc*, or *pro re nata*, that is, as Circumstances may concur to alter things. For it is the Property and Prerogative of God alone, to make one Thing, in it self indifferent, necessarily Duty or necessarily sinful ; as *E. G. Circumcision, Sacrificing, &c.* which were necessary to the *Jews*, and sinful now to us. But, where there is no Positive Command or Prohibition, but only Prudence and Reason to direct Men, we must remember which of the things Lawful are most Eligible. Thus ordinarily Christ chose to preserve his Life, by withdrawing from his Enemies. But, at last, the Change of Circumstances made him chuse rather to offer himself a Prisoner to those that sought to lay hold on him. And thus it was in the present Case I am speaking of. He kept to his ordinary Rule of confining his Preaching to the *Jews*, by avoiding all Occasions of speaking unto the *Samaritanes*. But when Providence, notwithstanding this, draws him insensibly to speak with this Woman, and when this Discourse occasions her to blaze his Fame abroad ; he could not avoid to improve it, both out of

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Deference to his Father's Will, and from the regard he had to the Welfare and Salvation of Souls. 3. And, as Christ acted, as if he had been as National as his Country-men, (though from a quite different Principle and View) so he was concerned that none of his Country-men, should want a fair Call of the Gospel, in order to their being saved, in case they were not wanting to themselves. And therefore, after he had sent his twelve Apostles to preach every where to the *Jews*, Mat. 10. 1, 2, 3, &c. he resolv'd to give them a new Call and Invitation, and a more particular one than before, that none might pretend Ignorance, and that he might avoid, as much as was possible, the Censure of Partiality. Therefore seeing the Work of Preaching statedly thro' all *Judæa*, and *Galilee*, was too hard a Task for the 12 Apostles; and seeing also he himself could not ordinarily spare them from him; he appointed other 70 Disciples also, as *Luke* tells us, Chap. 10. 1, &c. whom he sent forth by Pairs, two and two before his Face into every City and Place, whether he himself would come; giving them the very same Commission and Charge that he had given the 12 Apostles before. And here it deserves special Observation, that Christ spread the Gospel so universally, thro' all Places of *Canaan*, where the *Jews* dwelt, that there was no less than a threefold Proclamation of the Gospel to every City and Place where the *Jews* dwelt. The First was by the twelve Apostles, who seem to have gone thro' the whole Country, upon that Errand, *Matth* 10. 5, &c. And, it would seem, that Jesus himself followed them, by what we read, *Matth*. 11. 1. So that here are no less than two Offers of the Gospel. For the Apostles seem to have been his Harbingers only, and the Method taken to have been this; That Christ and his Apostles went together until they arriv'd at some City or principal Town; and that being there, he sent out his Apostles two by two, *Mark* 6. 7. that so every part of the City might be preached unto; or if the Town was small, we may suppose that while two, or four, or six, were telling the News of the Messiah's being

ing come, in that Place, the rest were employing themselves the same way in the Neighbourhood, or Country adjacent; and that when things were thus prepared, our Lord himself made his Appearance among them, and continued the Discourse; confirming their Words by his own Presence, and their Miracles, which were all wrought in his Name, by new ones done by himself, as proper Occasions were offered to him. But, because both these Proclamations seem to be interwoven one with the other, I shall not reckon them as two, but one only. The *Second* therefore was by the Seventy Disciples, whom he sent forth *two by two into every City and Place*, Luke 10. 1. So that here, for Expedition, and that no one Place might be past by, or so much as any one Person of the *Jewish* Nation, that dwelt in that Country; he seems to have canton'd out the whole Country into 35 Parts, or small Divisions; into each of which he sent two of his Disciples, to preach and publish the glad Tidings of Salvation. But was this to save himself from the Trouble and Pains of Attendance? No, it was far from it. For, *he himself and his twelve Apostles followed them into every City and Place*, as Luke expressly insinuates, Luke 10. 1, &c. And therefore the *Third* and Last Publication of the Gospel was by Himself, surrounded with the Twelve; the seventy Disciples being only sent to prepare the way for his own Coming. Therefore it is said, that he sent them before his Face, and into every City and Place, *whether he himself would come*. And that this was inclusive of all *Judæa*, seems to be sufficiently plain, because the Expression is general, and no other Exception made, but that there should be no open Publication of the Gospel, to any of the *Gentiles* or *Samaritans*, Matth. 10. 5. And the Command given to the Seventy, being the same in all other Respects, with that given to the Twelve, we need not question but that it was the same in this Respect also. And here let us observe, how concerned Christ was, that the whole *Jewish* Nation should be acquainted with the News of the Gospel; and what indefatigable

fatigable Pains our Lord was at, in going twice in Person thro' the whole Land, and in giving all the *Jews* sufficient Warning that the Messiah was come, no less than three times, if not four. An Observation so much the more memorable, that I believe the Reader never heard of it before : at least so it appears to me, if I may suppose such a thing from the Silence of all Expositors and Divines, as to this matter, so far as my Reading and Knowledge of Authors goes. I am aware, that some may object, and say ; that it would seem, that Christ did not personally go after either the Apostles or seventy Disciples ; because we read that both of them returned to him, *Mark* 6. 30. *Luke* 10. 17. And that therefore we ought to interpret the words, *Luke* 10. 1. to denote this only, that Christ sent the 70 into every place, whether he otherwise had a mind to have gone himself. But sure I am that these Words in the 1st Verse of the 10th Chapter of *Luke* denote more than this ; even no less than a fixed Design or Resolution to follow them. For the Greek cannot be interpreted otherwise. And if Christ sent out the Seventy, with this very Design, I cannot believe that our Lord fail'd of performing what he had so solemnly and deliberately resolv'd upon. And if he followed the Seventy Disciples, I cannot but think, that he acted after the same manner, in his sending forth the Twelve Apostles, tho' this be not expressly taken notice of. What is said therefore of the returning of the Twelve first, and of the Seventy afterwards, relates to the final Performance of their Work, after they had gone round the whole Country. For seeing they went forth two by two, tho' our Lord be supposed to have followed them, and to have made himself known in all Places, that had not rejected his Disciples previously ; we are to reckon, that our Lord had so far laid down a Regulation of their Journeys and his own, as to appoint some certain place, whether all were to meet, after they had gone their several Circuits, and he himself the general Round of the whole Land. And, seeing I have mention'd

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Christ's Commission both to the 12, and to the 70, I would desire the Reader to take notice of one thing, *viz.* our Lord's Command, that in case of being despised and rejected, by any City, Village, Family, or Person, they should use this Rite or Action, as a Testimony against them; *To shake off the Dust from their Feet, or from their Shoes, Matth. 10. 14. Luke 10. 10.* For, it is certainly worth our while, to consider the meaning of this Custom, and what our Lord's Design in it was. Now we are to know then, that the Jews had a Notion, that the very Dust of the Land of *Israel* had a peculiar Sort of Sanctity in it, above other Countreys; and that the Gentiles were so polluted, that the very Ground and Dust of their Land, was defiled. *Tosaphta ad Kelim*, say thus, *In three Things Syria was like unto any Heathen Land*; one was, *That the Dust of it made a Person unclean, as the Dust of any other Heathen Land, &c.* And in *Bab. Saredv. Fol. 12. 1.* there is this Passage. A Traditional Author says, *They bring no Herbs into the Land of Israel, out of a Heathen Land. What difference is there between them? R. Jeremiah says, The Care of their Dust is among them.* The Gloss upon this is, *They take Care, lest together with the Herbs something of the Dust of the Heathen Land be brought, which defiles in the Tent, and defiles the Purity of the Land of Israel.* By these and many such Expressions, to be found in the Jewish Writings, it is plain, that they were careful to bring no Dust from a Heathenish Land, into the Land of *Israel*, no not so much as the little Dust that hung upon Herbs, in case they were permitted to bring any such. When therefore the Jews came from their Travels amongst Heathens, they stop'd upon the Borders of their own Country, they carefully rub'd off any Dust or Dirt that was upon their Cloaths, and particularly they were careful to shake the Dust from off their Feet, that they might not be defiled this way, and that they might testify their Abhorrence of Paganish Customs and Ways. When therefore our Saviour gave his Disciples order to *shake off the Dust from their Feet, for a Testimony against those Places that re-*
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jected them and their Message; both they, and all the Jews that saw them do so, were fully appriz'd of the meaning of this Rite. For it was, in effect, a Declaration, that such a City was look'd upon as prophane and no better than Heathenish, because of their opposing themselves to the Messiah, and that they were accordingly pronounced to be such, by his Disciples, in his Name. But to proceed; (3.) Our Saviour had this further Reason in view, in conversing so much with the Bulk of the Common People; that, in case they continu'd obstinate against him, to the last, notwithstanding all the Pains he took upon them, the Love he express'd towards them, and the Evidences he gave of his being the Messiah: It might then 'be clearly seen, how inexcusable they were, and how justly He might punish them at last, as inveterate and incorrigible Enemies and Rebels. And, seeing he foresaw how they would behave, he wisely acted so; that we may now plainly see, how just he was, in his sending the Romans to punish them; especially seeing it is notorious to all, that know that History, that it was their own Wickedness and Obstinacy that pull'd down that Vengeance upon their Heads. And thus he acted, as the Psalmist says, *Psal. 51. 5.* in such a manner, as to *be justified in what he spoke, and clear* (viz. from all Censure in point of Justice and Equity) *when he judged.* As a Comment upon which Expression, it may not be amiss to consider that Account of this Matter, which Christ himself gave to the Jews, in that plain and pungent Parable of the Vineyard and Husbandmen, as it is related, *Matth. 21. 33, &c. Mark 12. 1, 2, &c. Luke 20. 9, 10, &c.* The Sum of which is this. A certain Person made an Inclosure of a Piece of Ground, and made a curious Vineyard of it. And after he had, with great Cost, Care and Pains, made it fit for his Purpose, by Planting it with Vines, by hedging it round about, by making a Winepress in it, by fortifying it with a Tower; he let it to certain Husbandmen, who were oblig'd to send him such a Proportion

of the Fruit, as a Rent due to him, for the use of the rest. And having done so, he went into a far Country. From whence he sent Servants to the Husbandmen, to receive this Rent. But instead of this, they beat and abused his Servants, killing several of them. And this they did not once only, but again and again. The Lord, after all these Insolencies and Affronts, is induc'd to send his own Son to them. For Reason seem'd to say, that surely they would reverence his Son. But their corrupt Reasoning was the quite contrary of this: Come let us kill him, for this is the only Son, and then the Inheritance will be ours. Now this was as plainly the case of the Jews, at this time, as could possibly be. For our Saviour alludes to what had been said of *Israel* of old, *Psal.* 80. 8 ——— 14. *Jer.* 2. 20, 21. and *Isa.* 5. 1, 2, 3, &c. Which last place our Saviour seems to have expressly pointed at, and commented upon. And therefore, our Saviour had no need to make Application; because the Prophet *Isaiab* had done it so plainly before, when he says, *v.* 7. *The Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is the House of Israel, and the Men of Judah ——— and he looked for Judgment, but behold Oppression, &c.* Our Lord therefore put the Question home to the Jews, *Matth.* 21. 40. *When the Lord therefore of the Vineyard cometh, What will he do unto these Husbandmen?* This Question, tho no doubt it grated them, yet they could not otherwise answer than thus, *ver.* 41. *He will miserably destroy those wicked Men, and will let out his Vineyard unto other Husbandmen, which shall render him the Fruits in their Seasons.* Lo! here the Force of Truth. For, that this was their Answer, the Words of *Matthew* assure us; by this Preamble, *They say unto him,* he will miserably destroy, &c. And yet, that they knew his Design in the Parable, *Luke* tells us expressly, *Chap.* 20. 19. when he says, that *the Priests and Scribes sought to lay hold on him the same Hour, but that they feared the People; for they perceived, that he had spoken this Parable against them.* And indeed how could they avoid understanding it, when the Figures were so plain, and no other than what they were

were accustom'd to, and such as the Prophet *Isaiab*, as I said, had expounded before. And here it is memorable, that Christ does by this Question draw from them such an Answer, as vindicated his whole Procedure, and condemn'd themselves; even so far, as to pronounce this Sentence upon themselves, that God was obliged to destroy them, for their Wickedness, in a most miserable manner, and to give his Vineyard unto the Gentiles. So that all that was done, in the just Judgment of God, in the final Destruction of their Temple, City and Nation, was no more than what they did here acknowledge, God ought in Justice to do. And thus they did make Application to themselves of what was said, *Isa. 5. 3, &c. And now, O Inhabitants of Jerusalem, and Men of Judah, judge I pray you, between me and my Vineyard. What could I have done more for my Vineyard, that I have not done to it? &c.* Which last Words deserve a particular Consideration, as they bear a relation to what I am now upon. For had Christ conversed only with the Jewish Ruiners, the common People might justly have pleaded Ignorance of Christ, and it would then have been thought very rigorous, to punish the whole Nation for rejecting their Messiah, who had never fully or sufficiently manifested himself to the Body of that Nation. But seeing our Lord acted so, in this respect, that he could honestly and truly put up this fair Challenge to them; What one thing have I left undone to my Vineyard, that I ought to have done for it? It is easy from hence to see, how justly they were punish'd for their wicked and malicious Treatment of the Son of God. But, (4.) There was one View or Consideration further, that influenc'd Christ to converse chiefly with, or among the Common People; *viz.* That he had some present Purposes, with relation to himself, that he could not, in an ordinary Course of things, reach so well, by any other Method as by this. Now the Purposes that Christ was to promote, with respect to himself, whilst he was upon Earth, by making himself so well known to the Populace, by his Discour-

ses and Miracles, were these three, if not only, yet chiefly; 1. He was to lay such a Foundation of Thought and Reasoning in their Minds, as should at last terminate in this Conclusion; That he was certainly the Messiah. And this was to arise of it self, whilst he himself labour'd to conceal himself from them, as to any open Declaration. Nay it was to proceed so far, as I have already observ'd, that they should be so earnest and zealous this way, as openly to follow him into *Jerusalem*, in a publick and solemn Procession, proclaiming him, with loud Hosannah's, to be the King of *Israel*. For, seeing the Jewish Rulers did not perform this part, it was necessary that the Common People should be drawn in, by a Train of Prudential Management, which yet should be the very Reverse of Political Design, to condemn the Infidelity of the Rabbi's, and put them upon new Consultations. I say, that tho' this was the Consequent of a nice prudential Management, it was yet the Reverse of political Design. For we are to consider in the 2^d Place, That Christ design'd this way, to give occasion to the Priests and Scribes to pursue their Designs upon his Life, with the greater haste and precipitation. For, as our Lord was careful to keep out of their way, until he had finish'd the appointed time of his Ministry, as doth plainly appear by what has been said; so, he was concern'd to act so, towards the end of that time, that he might suffer exactly at the determin'd Period. *He had a Bloody Baptism to undergo*; but was he concern'd to avoid it? No certainly. Take his own word for it, *Luke 12. 50. I have a Baptism to be baptized with: And how am I straitned (or pained) till it be accomplished.* Therefore he allows of the Hosannah's of the People, *Luke 19. 40.* and no wonder, for he had laid a Train, that occasion'd the doing so, *ver. 29. 30. &c.* And for this end he authoritatively purg'd the Temple, *Luke 19. 45, &c.* and irritated the Priests and Scribes by his Discourses, *Luke 20. 8, 9, &c.* and *ver. 45, 46, 47.* But this is still more evident from his voluntary Surrender of himself to those that were

were sent to take him. So that it is no more certain, that he acted from a Prudential Concern to avoid Death before, than that he acted with a Concern to accomplish his Work at last by Suffering. And yet, 3. It is as plain, that he serv'd himself of the Populace, in order to protect him from being seiz'd upon by the Jewish Government, as long as he had any thing to do or say before-hand; as we see, *Matth. 21. 26. Luke 19. 47, 48. Chap. 20. 19. and Chap. 22. 2.* So that, if all things be duly considered, never was there any Prudential Management so nicely exact and critical, in the adjusting and reaching such various, and seemingly jarring and opposite Interests and Purposes; which yet our Lord brought equally to bear, and perfectly to harmonize, by one and the same Series of Actions.

And now, 4^{thly}. It is fit, that I should say something concerning Christ's prudential Management of himself, with Respect to his Disciples, and constant Followers, especially such of them, as he had chosen to be most constantly with him, and allowed to converse most familiarly with him.

I am not here to inquire into the Character or Office of the twelve Apostles and seventy Disciples, or why he limited these two Benches or Orders to such precise Numbers; of which Matters I may perhaps discourse afterwards. Nor am I to enquire, why Christ made them so little acquainted with his Mind, whilst he was with them; for that I have already taken Notice of. But I am only to consider how our Lord carried towards them, especially the twelve, in relation to that Service and Work they were afterwards to be employed in, *viz.* to carry on the Gospel, as those that had been the Witnesses of what Christ did and said, and were therefore the most proper Persons to inform others.

Now I would desire the Reader here, to bear in Mind that great Prudential Maxim, by which I did before suppose that Christ acted; for, it is the Application of that, with respect to different Persons, and under differ-

rent Circumstances, that I am now inquiring after, in this part of my Discourse.

This being premised, I proceed now to consider how our Saviour acted in Relation to his Disciples; which I shall do as briefly as possibly I can. Now the only thing that I propose to run upon here, and which I think will very well deserve our Thoughts, is to consider what sort of Men our Lord made Choice of, to be his Followers and Favourites. That they were all of them poor and illiterate Men, I have again and again taken Notice of, and assign'd the Reason why it was so. I am therefore upon a quite other Consideration here, and such a one as I never remember to have met with in any Author whatsoever; and yet one would wonder, that such an Inquiry should have been hitherto forgotten. It is this, What the Personal Characters of the Men were, that Christ made Choice of as Apostles; for to them I shall confine my self, seeing we have nothing particular mention'd as to the seventy Disciples, to lay a Foundation of our Inquiry this way, in any of the four Gospels. I confess something is said of some of them in the *Acts*, especially *Stephen*, upon the Supposition that he and some others mentioned there were of the Number of the Seventy, as I confess I reckon it more than probable they were. But seeing the Seventy were chiefly called, and set apart upon a particular Account, and towards the End of our Lord's Ministrations, and that we have not so much as a Catalogue of their Names, in all the Gospels, excepting that one of them, *viz. Cleopas*, is mention'd occasionally, *Luke 24. 18*. I have nothing to say concerning them: Only, in the general, I say this, that they were all *Galileans*, *Acts 2. 7*. as a Prelude that the Gentiles were to be called. Now the *Galileans* were a mixt People, but of the *Jewish* Religion; and therefore a proper Link between Jews and Gentiles, to hand the Gospel from the one to the other. And I say further, that were we acquainted with their Names and personal Characters, I doubt not but it would be Matter of sweet Meditation, to observe how Christ pair'd them, when he

he sent them out by two and two to preach the Gospel. For I question not but that our Lord's Wisdom was seen even in this; as *E. G.* in Coupling an elder and more experienced Man, with one younger, but more brisk and active; One of greater Judgment with another of a more ready Wit; One of more Authority and Strictness, with another of greater Affability and engaging Sweetness; One of greater Knowledge and Readiness in the Scriptures, with one more acquainted with the present Customs and Occurrences of the Time wherein Christ liv'd; One of greater Courage and Zeal, with one of more Prudence and Caution; and so on. But seeing we have nothing particular in relation to the *Seventy*, let us see what is said concerning the *Twelve*. I confess we have not much to say, even concerning them. For of some of them we have nothing more than their bare Names. And, tho' we might have our Recourse to the Stories of them, that are to be found in the Remains of the Christian History; yet some of these Accounts are so apparently fabulous, and all of them so obscure and uncertain, that I dare build nothing of this sort upon them. So that I am oblig'd to confine my self to the Scripture, for any thing that can be said of them in relation to their Character. And here, let us in the first Place set down the Catalogue of their Names, as we have them set down four times over, with some small Difference as to Order; which I shall thus represent to the Reader.

MATTH. 10. 1, &c.

1. The First, *Simon*, who is called *Peter*.
2. *Andrew*, his Brother.
3. *James*, the Son of *Zebedee*.
4. *John*, his Brother.
5. *Philip*.
6. *Bartholomew*.
7. *Thomas*.
8. *Matthew*, the Publican.
9. *James*, the Son of *Alpheus*.
10. *Lebbeus*, whose Surname was *Thaddeus*.
11. *Simon*, the *Canaanite*.
12. *Judas Iscariot*, who betray'd him.

LUKE 6. 14, &c.

1. *Simon*, called *Peter*, and
2. *Andrew*, his Brother.
3. *James*, and
4. *John*.
5. *Philip*, and
6. *Bartholomew*.
7. *Matthew*, and
8. *Thomas*.
9. *James*, the Son of *Alpheus*, and
10. *Simon*, call'd *Zelotes*.
11. *Judas*, the Brother of *James*.
12. *Judas Iscariot*.

MARK 3. 16, &c.

1. *Simon*, Surnamed *Peter*.
2. *James*, the Son of *Zebedee*.
3. *John*, his Brother.
4. *Andrew*.
5. *Philip*.
6. *Bartholomew*.
7. *Matthew*, call'd *Levi*, the Son of *Alpheus*, Chap. 2. 14.
8. *Thomas*.
9. *James* the Son of *Alpheus*.
10. *Thaddeus*.
11. *Simon*, the *Canaanite*.
12. *Judas Iscariot*.

Boanerges.

ACTS 1. 13, &c.

1. *Peter*.
2. *James*.
3. *John*.
4. *Andrew*.
5. *Philip*.
6. *Thomas*.
7. *Bartholomew*.
8. *Matthew*.
9. *James* the Son of *Alpheus*.
10. *Simon Zelotes*.
11. *Judas* the Brother of *James*.
12. *Matthias*, who succeeded to *Judas Iscariot*.

The the Difference, as to the order of the Names of the Apostles, as recorded in these several Lists, may seem at first to be too minute a thing, as scarce to deserve to be taken notice of; yet I am much mistaken, if the Reader do not agree with me, to have other Thoughts of this, upon a close Consideration of what I have to hint this way. And, 1. Let us observe, that all the Lists agree to name *Peter* first, and that *Matthew* mentions this with a peculiar Emphasis, *πρῶτος Σίμων*, *First Simon*. How much the Papists build upon this, is so well known, and their Notions this way so solidly refuted, that it were lost labour to repeat it here. But yet it is proper to inquire into the Reason, why he is ever set down as the first in Order, tho not as to Office. And some think, with Dr. *Whitby* upon *Matth.* 10. 2. (and he quotes some of the Ancients, as being of the same opinion) that the only or main Reason of this was, because *Peter* was the first called to the Apostleship. But this seems plainly to be a Mistake. For tho *Peter* be named before *Andrew*, *Mark* 1. 16. *Matth.* 4. 18. Yet they were both called at the same time. Nay *Andrew* was the Person that brought his Brother to Christ, and was the Instrument of discipling him, *John* 1. 40, &c. The true Reason therefore of *Peter's* being always nam'd first, was because *Peter* was mark'd out by Christ, as the Man that was to be first sent out and employed to begin the Gospel-Church, and consequently to be himself the first Stone of the New-Testament-Building. In prospect of this, Christ calls him, by the new Name of *Cephas* or *Peter*, as soon as he saw him, which is by Interpretation a Stone, says *John*, Chap. 1. 42. And with a Reference to the same Design, upon his hearty Confession of Christ, he has that remarkable Prediction, as well as Testimony given him, which we have, *Matth* 16. 18, 19. And accordingly it came to pass. For *Peter* did not only work the first Miracle after Christ's Ascension, *Acts* 3. 6. as well as preach the first Sermon, and that with such Success, as to convert 3000 to the Church, *Acts* 2. 14, &c. Where-

as before the whole Number of Christians, Men and Women, amounted only to about 120. *Acts* 1. 15. (of which the Apostles, with the Seventy Disciples, made up the far greatest Part :) But this same Apostle (which is the main thing to be attended to here) had the first Commission to begin the Gentile Church, by preaching to *Cornelius* and his Family, *Acts* 10. 1, 2, &c. No wonder then, if all the Evangelical Writers be found to agree, in placing his Name in the Front of the List of the Apostles. But, 2. Let us observe, that as *Peter* is always rank'd first, so *Judas Iscariot* is always plac'd the last. But then the Reason for this is so obvious, considering what he was and prov'd, that there is no need to mention it. Only, seeing I have nam'd him, I would take notice of two things concerning him. The *first* is, that he seems to have had the Sirname of *Iscariot*, because he kept the Purse for the rest. For it is very rationally conjectur'd by *Dr. Hammond*, and others, that this was a Name deriv'd from a Word in the *Syriack* Language, that signifies a Purse, and so it denoted the Purse-Bearer. The *Second* is, why our Lord made choice of such a Man? To which I answer, for these Reasons following. *First*, because the Scripture must be fulfilled, that our Lord was to be betrayed by one of his own Principal Disciples or supposed Friends, *Acts* 1. 16. *Secondly*, Because our Lord would, this way, lay an Obligation upon Christians, to make a necessary Distinction between a Man's Qualifications, as a Minister, and his Commission to it, as an Office; and force us therefore to believe this to be a certain Truth, and no less than a Christian Canon, *That a Minister's Mission may be valid, and consequently the Acts of his Ministry, tho' he himself be un sanctified*: For *Judas* was chosen Apostle as well as the rest, and sent out to preach and work Miracles, as well as they. *Thirdly*, Because Christ would let us know, that no Church-Society on Earth, can be supposed ever to be so pure, but that some *Judas* may creep in. Nay, *Fourthly*, (which deserves peculiar Consideration) Because our Lord would
have

have us to understand, from his own Practice, by what Rule we ought to proceed, both in admitting Men into a Christian Society, (as well as into a distinct Order of Church-Officers) and in casting them out from thence. Our Saviour knew *Judas* to be an ill Man from the first, and he tells us so much himself, *John* 6. 70, 71. see *ver.* 64. and *Chap.* 13. 11. But his peculiar and extraordinary Knowledge of Men, was not to be (nor indeed could be) the Foundation or Standard of a stated and ordinary Rule and Method of Procedure in the Church. And therefore he was to make choice of such, as seem'd, to an ordinary but rational Cognizance, to have the most proper Qualifications for the Work of the Ministry. And these, I think, are reducible to two, *viz.* *Piety* and *Parts*: For so the Apostle judged, when he commanded *Timothy*, *2 Ep.* 2. 2. to commit the Ministerial Work to Men that were not only *faithful*, but *able* also to teach others. The most pious Man, without Parts, is, at least, as unfit to be a Minister, as to be the Master of a Mechanick Employment: And there is Sense in the old Proverb, that every honest or good Man cannot make a pair of Shoes. Nor can the Man of the finest Parts act the part of a true Gospel-Minister, without Piety. But then, Piety being an internal thing, we can only judge of it by outward Acts. And a Man of Parts can so imitate the good Man, that no mere Man can suspect him to be any thing else, but that which he professes himself to be; especially if we consider, how much we are oblig'd to joyn Charity to our Censure of Men, by the Rule of Christ. Now, it is plain to me, from the few Hints that we have of *Judas*, that he was a Man of Parts, Address and Cunning. His being trusted with the Purse shews as much: Tho' this became his Snare, and prov'd his Ruin; for he is charg'd with being a Thief, with respect to what he was entrusted with, *John* 12. 6. And his Conduct, in betraying Jesus, and particularly the Sign he gave the Priests Servants, *viz.* that of kissing his Master, shews equal Cunning and Confidence. But, that he acted the part

of

of a very Religious Man, when Christ chose him, and afterwards, we may rationally conclude from one thing recorded of him, *viz.* his seeming Concern and Zeal for the Duty of Charity to the Poor, *John* 12. 5. For the Censure past upon him, by the Evangelist, *ver.* 6. flowed from his after-discovery to be a Traitor. For that neither *John*, nor indeed any of the Apostles did suspect him, at that time, appears from what follows, *Chap.* 13. 22. For when Christ had told them, that one of them should betray him, *John* adds, *Then the Disciples looked one on another, doubting of whom he spake.* And he further tells us, *ver.* 23, &c. that he being next to Jesus, and leaning on his Bosom, was beckn'd unto, by *Peter*, to ask Jesus, of whom he spake. And that, tho' Jesus told him, and discover'd his meaning by a Sign, that one would have thought was plain enough, yet, such was the general Opinion of *Judas* his Sanctity, that they interpreted both it and Christ's Words, pursuant to it, quite another way than Christ design'd, as we see, *ver.* 29. And indeed this Opinion of *Judas* his Holiness and Integrity, seems to have been so great, that one would wonder that the Apostles should have been so universally possess'd this way. For *Matthew* tells us, *Chap.* 26. 22, &c. that when Christ told them, that one should betray him, they did not only cry out, *every one of them, Lord, Is it I?* But that when Christ had given them the Sign, they could not believe their own Eyes. Nay, when *Judas* had ask'd the Question again particularly, *Master is it I?* and Christ had answered plainly thus, *Thou hast said, i. e.* thou art the Man; and that *Judas* upon this had gone out, finding himself discover'd, and that Christ had call'd after him, with this cutting Saying (as *John* tells) *What thou dost, do quickly;* yet, even after all this the Apostles could not believe that *Judas* was the Man. By all which, it is plain that *Judas* was not only a Man of Parts, but universally look'd upon as a Man of great Piety and Integrity; until he discover'd himself, by the actual betraying of Christ.

Our Lord therefore pitch'd upon him, as a Man that was every way fit for the Office of Apostle, according to that Rule of Procedure, that ought to obtain for ever among Ministers, in adopting a Man into the Ministry. And, if Parts and apparent Piety, or the fair Appearance of it, are the Foundation this way ; much more ought this to be the Rule of admitting any as private Members of a Christian Society ; *viz.* That a Competency of Knowledge and Unblameableness of Life, intitles every one, that is willing, to be a Member of a Church, in order to his being admitted to all Ordinances. And, if a Man be once admitted, in either of these Respects, *viz.* as a Christian into the Church, or a Minister into the Ministry ; it is plain, that nothing can throw him out again, but a plain Defect in either of these Qualifications. As to the private Christian, when once admitted to be a compleat Member of a Christian Society, he can never be turned out again, unless he be either really distracted, in which respect he is unfit for human Society it self, or be discover'd to be of a wicked Life : and in both these Cases, we must not go upon mere Surmizes, nor yet upon a Pretence of knowing things extraordinarily ; but we must proceed, *ex allegatis & probatis, i. e.* from matter of Fact, plainly proved by undoubted Witness and Evidence. And in this case our Saviour himself has given forth the Method of Ecclesiastical Procedure, *Matth.* 18. 15, 16, 17. So that I need say nothing further. And the same Rule will hold equally, *mutatis mutandis*, as to a Synodical Conduct, with respect to the Suspension or Deposition of a Minister. Let me suppose therefore, that either a *Metropolitan* with his *Suffragans* (according to one Model of Ecclesiastical Polity) or a *Synod* with its *Moderator* (according to another Model) were indued with as infallible a discerning of Spirits, as even Christ himself was, (for tho' this Supposition be really impossible, yet because it has been pretended to, at least in some eminent degree, and as to the kind, by the Romish Church, it is not unfit to make it here :) Yet this infallible Knowledge

ledge of theirs, could be no Foundation for them to proceed upon, either to suspend or depose a Minister from his Work, or a Christian from Church-Communion; unless they could produce such Evidence against them this way, by the Mouth of two or more Witnesses, as could bear the Weight both of a legal Process and Sentence against them. For even our Blessed Saviour never took upon him to cast *Judas* out from his Apostleship, or so much as Christian Fellowship, for want of such Evidence; but suffer'd him to run on in his own way, until he forfeited both these, by his Wickedness and Treachery. And that I spake nothing in all this, but native and plain Truth, appears, not only by consequential Reasoning from Christ's Management this way, but also from the Determination of the eleven Apostles, together with the seventy Disciples, and the thirty nine private Christians, that compos'd the Christian Church, *Acts* 1. 15. For this is their Determination, in concurrence with *Peter's* Sentiment, that *Judas* having been numbred with the other Apostles, and having obtain'd part of the same Ministry, ver. 17. from which he had fallen by Transgression, ver. 25. (i. e. by betraying Christ) it was requisite, that another should be adopted into his place, &c. where by the way let us observe, that *Judas* seems to be the Antitype of *Achitophel*, into whose Room or Office *Hushai* came, by comparing, *Psal.* 109. 8. with *Psal.* 41. 9. and both with *Acts* 1. 20. and *John* 13. 18. So that this may confirm what I said, as to the Character of *Judas*, as a great Man as to seeming Piety as well as Parts. But it is time now to proceed to something else. Let us therefore observe, 3. That in the List in *Matthew* and *Luke*, *Andrew* is nam'd as the Second in Order; whereas in *Mark* and the *Acts*, he is mentioned, in the Fourth Place only, the two Sons of *Zebedee* being reckon'd as the Second and Third. The Reasons of the first Account I take to be these. First, That *Matthew* and *Luke* in their Gospels, follow'd the Order of the time, wherein the Apostles were made acquainted with *Jesus*. And it is certain, by what we

can judge, that *Andrew* and *Peter* were called first, and the Sons of *Zebedee* next: For which see *Mark* 1. 16---19, &c. *Matth.* 4. 18 ——— 21, &c. Secondly, Because *Matthew* and *Luke* follow'd the Order, wherein the Apostles were rank'd, by Pairs, when Christ sent them forth to preach the Gospel, even as the Seventy Disciples were afterwards. But now, upon the other hand, I take the Reason of *Andrew's* being inserted after *James* and *John*, both in the List of *Mark*, and that of *Luke* in the *Acts*, to have been, to denote the Eminence of these two, above *Andrew*, not in point of Office, but because Christ had put peculiar Marks of Honour upon them. For these two together, with *Peter*, were made choice of, to be the select Witnesses both of his Transfiguration, *Matth.* 17. 1, &c. and Agony, *Matth.* 26. 37. all others being excluded. In regard therefore to this peculiar respect shewn to them by Christ above *Andrew*, I do suppose *Mark* in his Gospel, and *Luke* in the *Acts*, insert their Names conjunctly with *Peter's*, and before that of *Andrew*; tho it would seem that *Andrew* was not only the first Christian, as he had been before one of *John's* Disciples, *John* 1. 35, 37, 40, 41, 42. But also *Peter's* Elder Brother, *ver.* 44. In the 4th Place, let us observe, that in all the four Catalogues *Philip* is rank'd the fifth in order. And the Reason seems to be this, because *Philip* was call'd, before all the following Persons, to be Christ's Disciple. For which see *John* 1. 43. And 5thly. It is, I suppose, for the same Reason, that *Bartholomew* is mentioned jointly with him, as the sixth Apostle in the three first Lists: tho why *Thomas* is put before him in the *Acts* I know not. If any ask, why I suppose that *Bartholomew* was called to be Christ's Disciple next after *Philip*; I answer, because I take *Bartholomew* to be the same with *Nathanael*, *John* 1. 45. For as there *Nathanael* is spoken of as an Acquaintance of *Philip*, and brought in by him to Christ, by whom he receives one of the greatest Characters, that ever was given of any Man, *ver.* 47. together with a very great Promise of a peculiar Privi-

lege, ver. 50, 51. So he is rank'd among the Apostles, *John* 21.2. But, if he was such, he must be the same with *Bartholomew*: For he cannot be the same with any other. Now, it is no strange thing for one and the same Person to be spoken of under various Names. For even among the Apostles themselves we find Instances of this. Thus *Simon* is sometimes called *Cephas* or *Peter*; *Thomas* is called also *Didimus*; *Matthew* is called also *Levi*; *Thaddæus* is called also *Lebheus*, and elsewhere *Judas the Brother of James the Son of Alphæus*; and *Simon the Canaanite* is elsewhere called *Simon Zelotes*. So that *He*, who is called by *John* by his proper Name *Nathanael*, seems to have usually gone under the Designation of *Bar-Tholomew*, or the Son of *Tholomew*, amongst the Disciples, and that accordingly he is recorded by the other three Evangelists. And we know, that it was very customary with the Jews, to call Men by the Name of their Father, as it is to this Day in some other Nations, as particularly in *Wales* and in *Holland*, among the more common Sort of People. Thus it seems *Nathanael* was vulgarly called *Bar-Tholomew*, or *Bar-Ptholomee*, i.e. the Son of *Ptolomce* or *Ptolomeus*; even as *Peter* is sometimes called *Bar-Jonas*, or the Son of *Jonas* or *John*. But the Evangelist *John*, who wrote the last of all the New-Testament-Writers, finding that none of them had mention'd this Apostle by his proper Name, might justly take occasion to insert this in his Gospel. Now it is to be remembred, by the way, that all these six Apostles were *Galileans*. *Peter*, *Andrew* and *Philip* are expressly said to be of that Country, and to be of the same City, viz. of *Bethsaida*, *John* 1. 43, 44. And *James* and *John* seem to have dwelt either in or near the same City, by what we read, *Mark* 1. 16, 19. And as for *Nathanael*, he is said to be of *Cana of Galilee*, *John* 21. 2. And here, that I have mention'd *Galilee*, it may not be amiss to observe, that tho' the Providence of God did so order it, that Christ was born in *Bethlehem* in *Judæa*, yet, in other respects, he was rather a *Galilæan*, seeing *Joseph* and *Mary* liv'd in *Nazareth*,

zareth, whether the Angel *Gabriel* was sent to *Mary*, and where she conceived *Jesus* miraculously, *Luke* 1. 26, 27, &c. Whence he was commonly called *Jesus of Nazareth*, *John* 1. 45. and *Jesus of Nazareth of Galilee*, *Matth.* 21. 11. And as *Christ* was conceived and educated there, during the time of his private *Life*; so we find that he conversed and preached most in that *Country*, especially at *Capernaum*, where he dwelt for some time, *Matth.* 4. 13. And as *Christ* himself, was in these respects a *Galilean*, which occasion'd *Pilate* to send him to *Herod*, who was Deputy of that *Country*, *Luke* 23. 5, 6. So most of the *Apostles*, if not all of them were of the same *Country*. I have already given the Reason, why our *Lord* preach'd most in *Galilee*, viz. because it was at a greater distance from the *Seat* of the *Priests*, and not so directly under their *Authority*, as that part of the *Country*, which, by a peculiar *Appropriation* of the *Word*, was called (s) *Judæa* or *Jewry* at that time. For the *Talmud*, the *Jewish Rabbi's* say, (t) *That there were no Priests among the Galileans*. But we may add this Reason also, that the *Galileans* seem to have been a more honest and plain-hearted *People*, than those of the *Tribes of Judah and Benjamin*, were at that time, who were only call'd *Jews*, in a strict *Sense*. For besides other differences between the *Jews* and *Galileans*, the *Jewish Rabbi's* themselves have told us of several, which seem to be more to the *Commendation* of the *Galileans* than the *Jews*, (u) *E. G.* That the *Galileans* valued their *Reputation* more than *Mony*; whereas the *Jews* great *Care* was for *Mony*; without regard to their *Reputation*. (w) *That in Judæa* they did servile *Works* on the *Eve* of the *Passover*; but that in *Galilee*, they abstain'd from any thing of that kind. (x) *That in*

(s) *Josephus Antiquit. Jud. Lib. 11. cap. 5. tells us, That the Origin of this Name was then first given to this People, and part of the Country, when Nehemiah and his Companions came from Babylon to Jerusalem.*

(t) *See Nedarim, Cap. 2. Hal. 3. (u) Hieros. Chetubh. Fol. 29. 2.*

(w) *Pesachin, Cap. 4. Hal. 5. (x) Nedarim, Cap. 2.*

Galilee they pretended to no Dispensation from a solemn Vow, because the Name of God was invoked; whereas in *Judæa*, the Priests pretended to a Power to dispense with Mens Vows. (y) That in *Judæa* they allowed the Bridegroom and Bride private Company together for one hour before they were wedded; but that this was forbidden in *Galilee*, &c. Who the *Galileans* were originally, I find not that any Writer has ever determin'd. That *Galilee* was under the Government of *Herod Antipas*, in the Days of our Saviour, we know from the New Testament and *Josephus*. But yet, tho' the most of that Country obeyed *Herod*, part of it, especially to the North, was under the Jurisdiction of *Philip*, called the Tetrarch. *Galilee* contained that Share of the Land of *Canaan*, that was anciently the Possession of the Tribes of *Issachar*, *Zebulon*, *Naphtali* and *Asher*, together with part of the Land of the *Danites*. It was divided in our Saviour's Days into the *Higher* and *Lower Galilee*, (z) as *Josephus* tells us. But the Rabbins since have told us of a third Part, which they call the *Vale*. *Nazareth* was in the Upper *Galilee*, and *Capernaum* in the Lower. Now this Lower *Galilee* is called *Galilee of the Gentiles*, *Matth.* 4. 15. Why it is called so, perhaps we may learn from *Strabo*, (a) who says, that *Capernaum* (the most flourishing City thereof at that time) was, in part, inhabited by Strangers, particularly *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phanicians*. And if *Capernaum* was thus peopled, we may suppose that *Chorazin*, *Bethsaida*, and other neighbouring Towns, were not without some Numbers of those Gentiles. And if so, we need not wonder, if it got the Name of *Galilee of the Gentiles*, in Contra-distinction to the Upper *Galilee*, that had few comparatively, and perhaps none at all. Now I am apt to think, that the *Galileans* were origi-

(y) *Tosaphta ad Chetub. Cap. 1. See Dr. Lightfoot, Vol. 2. cap. 86. of his Chorographical Century, &c.* (z) *Lib. 3. de Bello, Cap. 2.* (a) *Lib. 16. Pag. 523.*

nally *Israelites*, descended from the ten Tribes, who took the Opportunity to go up to *Jerusalem*, at or about the time of the return of their Brethren of the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* from the Babylonish Captivity; and that those of the two Tribes (who began then to be called Jews) having possess'd that part of *Canaan*, which had been their former Habitation; the other *Israelites* were order'd to take Possession of their Allotments of the Land, as far as they could. But, seeing a considerable part of the Land, where the Twelve Tribes had inhabited, had now been possess'd by those, whom *Salmeser* the King of *Affyria* had settled there, as we read, *2 Kings* 17. 24, &c. From whom those that were afterwards called *Samaritans* were descended:) The *Israelites* of the ten Tribes (and perhaps they were not very many that returned to their own Land) were oblig'd to occupy so much only of the Country, as they could obtain leave of them to do, assisted by their Brethren the Jews, especially by reason of the Favour that *Zerubbabel*, *Ezra*, *Nebziab* and *Mordecai* had at that time with several successive Kings of *Persia*. I confess this is all Conjecture only; nor can any Man pretend to more, considering the *Hiatus* that is here in the Sacred History of the Jews; which even *Josephus* could bring no Light into. However I perswade myself, that it is the fairest and most rational Conjecture that is yet given. And perhaps this was the Reason why Christ calls *Nathanael* an *Israelite*, and not a Jew; as being born in *Cana* of *Galilee*, and a Descendent of some of the ten Tribes: tho the Addition of [*indeed*] and [*in whom there is no Guile*] was certainly with a Design to represent his peculiar Worth, in regard of Integrity and Seriousness. Now our Blessed Lord did not only keep so much in *Galilee*, and put such Marks of respect upon the *Galileans*, upon the account of the Reason so often mentioned, *viz.* to be at a distance from his chief Enemies; but likewise, because he knew them to be more honest and plain-hearted, and less ceremonious, and not of so narrow a Soul, as those of *Judaea*. And

seeing, as I have already said, our Saviour was confin'd to the Land of *Canaan*, as to his own personal Presence and Preaching; it was with great Prudence, that he chose to remain chiefly in *Galilee*, where Gentiles were allowed to co-habit and converse with those of the Jewish Religion, more freely than they were in *Judæa*. For which reason, I do suppose our Lord chose to reside chiefly at *Capernaum*, where a considerable Part of the Inhabitants were Gentiles, both as to Nation and Religion. For, by this, he attained, in some measure to make himself known to Foreign Nations, without going beyond the Limits of the Land of *Canaan*: By which means, tho he strictly adher'd to the Divine Rule, of being confin'd to that Country, he reach'd his end, of having the Fame of his Actions made known to Heathens, another way. But it is high time to return from this Digression, tho I hope neither an impertinent nor unuseful one. Let us therefore, 6thly. Observe, That *Thomas* (otherwise called *Didimus*, *John* II. 16. *Chap.* 20. 24. *Chap.* 21. 2. which is a Greek Word of an equivalent Signification to that of *Thomas* in the Hebrew, both of them signifying a *Twin*) is in all the three first Catalogues rank'd with *Matthew*, (tho, as I said above, I know not why he is cast out of his proper Place in that List which we have in the *Acts*.) All the difference that we find in the Order observed in the three Gospels, is this; That in *Mark* and *Luke*, *Matthew* is mentioned first, whereas *Matthew* himself puts *Thomas* first; which only shews the Modesty of the Author. For, seeing both *Mark* and *Luke* agree, I think it highly probable, that *Matthew* was both the oldest Disciple and the oldest Apostle, if not also the oldest Man. 7. The next, in all the Catalogues, is *James* the Son of *Alpheus*. But, 8. The two next to him, are differently represented, both in Name and Order. *Matthew* mentions *Lebbeus*, otherwise called *Thaddeus*, as the *Tenth* among the Apostles. And *Mark* mentions the same Person, in the same Order, but not by the Name of *Lebbeus*, but that of *Thaddeus* only: and both of them do mention *Simon*
the

the *Canaanite* after him. But *Luke* in both his Lists places *Simon* first, whom he calls not the *Canaanite*, but *Zelotes*. And then he places him, whom they call *Lebbeus*, or *Thaddeus*, in the *Eleventh Place*, whom he calls by neither of these Names, but by that of *Judas* the Brother of *James*, i. e. of the last *James*, who was the Son of *Alpheus*. To begin with *Lebbeus*; my Opinion is this; That *Judas* was his proper Name. But there being another *Judas*, Christ and his Apostles used to call him *Lebbeus* or *Thaddeus*, for distinction's sake; and accordingly *Matthew* and *Mark* speak of him. But after *Judas* the Traitor was gone to his Place, it would seem, that he began to be called by his more proper Name again; and therefore *Luke* speaks of him so. Now *Thaddeus*, in the *Syriack* is supposed to be a Deflection of the Hebrew Word *Judas*, as (b) some Learned Men seem to make very probable. And it is no less reasonably supposed, that *Lebbeus* is of the same Importance, as being derived from *לֵב*, a *Lion*, to which *Judas* is compared in *Jacob's* Prophecy; tho' some do suppose, with equal Probability, that he was so called from *Lebba*, a City of *Galilee*, mention'd by (c) *Pliny*. And, if this be the meaning, then the whole of all these Names put together, amounts to this, that his proper Name was *Judas*, which in *Syriack* was rendred *Thaddeus*, and that his Native City, or that of his Residence, was *Lebba*, whence he came to be called *Lebbeus*. However seeing he was the Brother of *James* the Son of *Alpheus*, we may justly suppose that *Matthew* and *Mark* thought it proper to mention him immediately after his Brother. Whereas *Luke* seems to have mention'd him, in the *Eleventh Place* only, because perhaps he was called to be an Apostle after *Simon Zelotes*. Let us therefore come now to *Simon*, concerning whom I shall only inquire, with respect to the different Denominations he goes under: For by *Matthew* and *Mark*

(b) See the Criticks upon *Matth.* 10. 3. (c) *Lib.* 5. 19.

he is called *Simon the Canaanite*, but by *Luke*, in both his Lists, *Simon Zelotes*. Some think that *Καανίτης*, or *Καανίτιος*, as some Copies, but corruptly, read it, or, as others, *Καθανάιος*, and *Καυάτιος*; that, I say, this word is equivalent to *Zelotes*. For certain it is, that our Saviour, who confined his Preaching to the Jews and Israelites, would not have made choice of a Gentile to be an Apostle, far less one descended from the cursed Race of the Canaanites. This *Simon* therefore had not this Name from the Country or Nation, that bore that Name: For the first was too general and Indefinite, as being common to the whole Country, that was given by God to the twelve Tribes; and the other was, as I have said, inconsistent with Christ's Scheme and Management. Dr. *Hammond* therefore and others do, with great Appearance of Truth, suppose that his Name was given him, in the Dialect of the Jews, to denote that he had been once of the Sect of the *Zelotes*; and that it is derived from *קנה קנה* or *קנאות*, which signifies *Zeal*: and therefore the *Syriack* Version renders this Word so, as that it is plain he understood the Original Word to begin with *ק*, and not with *נ*, with which the Word *Canaanite* begins, when it denotes a Man of that Country, or that Generation of People. So that, in this Sense, *Matthew* and *Mark* are supposed to have preserved the Sound of the *Surname* of this *Simon*, taken from the Sect he had been of, before he became Christ's Disciple, tho' they express'd it in Greek Characters: Whereas *Luke* thought fit to give the Sense of this Name, rather than the Sound of it; *Zelotes* or *the Zealot*, being the meaning of that Original Denomination of him, which we render *the Canaanite*. But others do suppose, that as this *Simon* had been formerly one of the Sect of the *Zealots*, upon which account he is called *Zelotes* by *Luke*; so he was a Native or Inhabitant of *Cana* of *Galilee*, and that therefore *Canaanite*, in the two other Evangelists, is as much as to say, *the Citizen of Cana*. I shall leave the Reader to chuse either Notion, as he pleases:

pleases: Tho I my self incline rather to the first Opinion; because I find none of the other Apostles, to be denominated thus from their Cities. And seeing *Nathanael* (whom I think I have proved to be the same with *Bartholomew*) is expressly said to be of *Cana*, *John* 21. 2. I cannot see, why *Simon* should be called the *Canaanite*, more than he, if this were indeed the Reason of this Appellation? However, that he was called *Zelotes*, *Luke* tells us twice over. And no other Reason can be assigned for this, except to mark him out, from the Sect he had formerly been of, even as *Matthew* is called the *Publican*, from his former Employment. Now the Original of the Sect of the *Zealots* seems to have been this. The Family of the *Macchabees* and their Associates, having done many things, in defence of their Country and Religion, against their cruel Masters the *Syrians*, and others, which they could not justify by the Letter of the Mosaical Law, but only from Necessity and Self-preservation, as matters stood; an occasion was taken afterwards by others, to do very unjust and horrid things, under a Pretence of Zeal for the Law. And that they might have the fairer Plea for their Designs and Actions, they pretended not only to copy after the *Macchabees*; but draw Precedents from a far higher Antiquity and Authority; alledging, That *Phineas*, *Jael*, *Elijah*, and such others, were Paterns to be followed by them; tho they consider'd not, that these were extraordinary Instances, that could not be brought to be the Foundation of a stated and ordinary Rule; unless they could have produced the same Evidence of a Divine Impulse and supernatural Commission, that was to be found in those ancient and eminent Persons. However this was their way of Reasoning. And what Outrages and Barbarities they committed afterwards, (d) *Josephus* doth sufficiently inform us. Of this Sect *Simon*, it seems, was, until

(d) De Bello Jud. Lib. 4. cap. 11, and 12.

Christ converted him, and made him a better sort of Zealot. And so much shall serve now, as to the Names and Order of the Apostles.

And indeed I am aware, that some may wonder, what I mean by all this Pains upon things, that seem to be so minute, and perhaps barren too. But I hope the Reader will judge otherwise, before I have done. And surely it is not altogether impertinent, to consider the Catalogue of those, with some Niceness, by whom the Christian Church was first founded; if it were only in Deference to the Holy Spirit, who thought it not a vain thing to give us a fourfold Account of these Great and Illustrious Names, and that with such Variety, in the respects mentioned, as to put us, this way, upon the narrower Search and closer Inquiry, concerning them. But before I proceed, to what I have principally in my Eye, upon this Subject, I must premise two material Observations here. The *1st.* is this; That we are obliged to distinguish between a *Twofold Calling* of the *Twelve*, into whose Names and Order we have been inquiring. And I mention this the rather, because I find not that this is usually much minded; tho' the Scripture is express and plain this way. For the Generality of Writers speak of this Matter, as if they did suppose, that when *Peter* and *Andrew*, *James* and *John*, &c. were first called to follow Christ, they were by that Call constituted Apostles: Whereas, it is plain, that they were then only called to be Christians, and therefore had no other Name for a considerable time, but that general one, (which was common to all that followed Christ) of being some of his *Disciples*. For they had not the peculiar Name of Apostles, until they were sent out by a special Commission to preach the Gospel: immediately before which, Christ did himself solemnly *chuse* them from among his other Disciples, and *ordain* them his Apostles, that is, Ambassadors or Plenipotentiaries, to carry on the Design of the Gospel-Kingdom, in his Name, as being, after that, clothed with his Authority, and vested with his Commission.

mission. And I question not, but that Christ did this, by the Imposition of Hands; tho' this be not mentioned particularly. For this was the ancient Jewish Rite, constantly used in such Cases, and that which the Apostles used ever after, in *ordaining* others, as is plain from the History of their Acts. And it is certain that Christ did this publickly, in the sight of all, and therefore must have done it by some Rite or Sign visible to the Eye, as well as by Words perceptible to the Ear. The Account of this, as we have it in *Mark*, chap. 3. ver. 7, 13, 14, &c. runs thus. Our Saviour having cured a Man's withered Hand on the Sabbath-day, which the Pharisees lay hold on as matter of Accusation against him, in order to destroy him, ver. 1 --- 6. The Historian tells us, that he withdrew himself towards the Sea, with his Disciples, (who appear by the sequel to have been many more than the Twelve.) But besides them, *a great Multitude followed him*, says *Mark*, from Galilee, Judea, Jerusalem, Idumea, from beyond Jordan, and from the Country about Tyre and Sidon: And therefore he says twice over, that they were a *great Multitude*; insomuch that he was obliged to get a small Ship to wait on him, because the Multitude throng'd and press'd him so much, ver. 7, 8, 9. And, for the same Reason, he went up into a Mountain, calling those only up to him, that he had a mind to have near him; the rest of the People remaining below. And there, being surrounded with those Disciples, that he allow'd to come, and in the face and view of that great Multitude that followed him, he made choice of Twelve, whom he solemnly set apart, and ordained to be Apostles: and from thenceforth they were known and own'd to be such. The Words of *Mark* are these, ver. 13, &c. *And he goeth up into a Mountain, and calleth unto him whom he would; and they came unto him. And he ordained Twelve, that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach; and to have Power to heal Sickneses, and to cast out Devils. And Simon he sir-named Peter, &c. and they went into a House. And the Multitude cometh together again, (i. e. about*

bout that House, where he and the Twelve were gone to refresh themselves, and that with mighty Crowding to get in) so that they could not so much as (obtain Liberty or Time to) eat Bread. St. Luke tells us the same thing, as plainly, tho' after another manner; thus, chap. 6. 12, 13, 14, &c. *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. And, when it was Day, he called unto him his Disciples: and of them he chose Twelve; whom also he named Apostles.* — *And he came down with them, and stood in the Plain, and the Company of his Disciples, and a great Multitude of People out of all Judæa, &c. And he lifted up his Eyes on his Disciples, and said, Blessed be the Poor, &c.* That which I desire may be principally considered here, is the 13th Verse. For there we see, that our Saviour had a great many Followers, who went under the name of Disciples or Scholars; That the Twelve had no peculiar Name or Distinction from the rest; That it was out of that Number that he chose Twelve; That when he had chosen the Twelve, he set them apart from the rest, by a solemn Ordination, as Luke insinuates, and as Mark expressly tells us; and that, when he had ordained them, he gave them the new and appropriate Name of Apostles. A 2^d Observation which I premise is this; That of all the four Catalogues of the Names of the Apostles, the First and Third are principally to be followed by me at this time; as having the most direct Tendency, in order to our understanding the Character of the Apostles. The Reason of my saying so is this; That I take Matthew and Luke's Catalogues, which we have in their Gospels, to contain the Order wherein Christ himself cast the Apostles, when he sent them forth to preach the Gospel, and to work Miracles. Which I found upon this, that they have used the Copulative [*And*] as it were on purpose to shew how they were pair'd, if I may so speak, when they were sent out to preach. For they do not cast them all together, as it were in a heap, without any Copulative, by saying, *Peter, Andrew, James, John, Philip, &c.*

Nor

Nor do they put the Copulative between every Apostle, as *Mark* does; who writes after this manner: *And Simon, and James, and John, and Andrew, and Philip, &c.* But they join them together thus: *Simon and Andrew, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, &c.* Now, if this was the Order of their being join'd and sent out, we may be assured that Christ had some very good reason of coupling them after this manner. So that if we know the Character of one of these, we have a Foundation of a rational Conjecture as to the Character of his Companion that was join'd with him. And thus we shall be the better able to penetrate into the Rationale of our Saviour's Choice of these Men, to be his Apostles or Ambassadors to the World. But before I proceed, I must take notice of one Difficulty that lies in our way; and that is of the Difference that is between the Evangelists, as to the Order of the 10th and 11th Apostle. For *Matthew* joins *Lebbicus* or *Thaddeus*, otherwise called *Judas*, with his Brother *James*, and *Simon Zelotes* with *Judas Iscariot*: Whereas *Luke* inverts this Order. Now how shall we get over this rub? I confess the matter is not great, in it self: for whosoever of these was join'd with the Traitor, had no Dishonour by it, but rather the greater Honour of the two, as being plac'd with an ill Man, as it were on purpose to keep him right. However, certain it is, that one or other must be mistaken here (or rather his Scribe) or otherwise alter the Order in mentioning the Names and Order of these two Men, for some particular end. My Conjecture is this, that *Luke* cast the two Apostles of the name of *Judas* together, on purpose to make the more remarkable Distinction between the honest *Judas* and the wicked one. But seeing *Luke* wrote later than *Matthew*, and was not present when Christ ordain'd and sent out his Apostles, (for he wrote only from the Relation of others, as he tells us himself, *Chap. 1. 1, 2.*) I chuse to follow *Matthew* in this Matter, who was not only then present, but was one of those that was ordained Apostle, and sent out at that time; and the rather,

ther, because *Mark* agrees in this with him, who wrote his Gospel from the Mouth of *Peter*, or at least with his Approbation, if we may believe (e) Ecclesiastical Antiquity. Thus therefore, after all this Pains in collating the four Catalogues of the Apostles Names, I do rationally suppose, that the Apostles were join'd together after this manner, when Christ sent them forth, two and two, to preach ; viz.

1. *Peter*, and *Andrew* his Brother.
2. *James*, and *John* his Brother.
3. *Philip* and *Bartholomew*, otherwise called *Nathanael*.
4. *Matthew* and *Thomas*.
5. *James* the Son of *Alpheus*, and *Judas*, who was otherwise called *Thaddæus* and *Lebbeus*.
6. *Simon Zelotes*, and *Judas Iscariot*.

And now let us proceed to inquire into the Characters of these Men. 1. I begin with *Peter*. And his Character is very easy to be found. He was, in a word, an honest, but forward and bold Man, of a fiery and fervent Temper ; and therefore very fit to begin a good Work, that was attended with Difficulties, and did therefore require Activity and Courage. He was a positive Man in all his Notions, and ready to tell his Mind frankly, without Disguise. Hence it was, that he own'd Christ openly to be the Messiah. But being possess'd of the Notion of his being a Temporal Monarch, challeng'd his Master, for talking of suffering Death. From the same Principle he talk'd of erecting three Tabernacles, when Christ was transfigured. Hence he told Christ, that tho' all Men did forsake him, yet he never would. And hence he drew his Sword to oppose those that came to lay hold on Jesus. And, tho' he was under a Consternation, when Christ was arraigned, and his Courage fail'd him, so as to deny him ; yet he

(e) Euseb. Hist. l. 3. c. 37.

recover'd again. When Christ appear'd to him at the Sea-side, he could not stay till the Ship should arrive, but jump'd out into the Sea, to get at his Master. And how undauntedly he acted afterwards for Christ, the History of the Acts of the Apostles tells us. He was therefore a very proper Person to be made choice of, to break the way for the Gospel's being propagated among the Gentiles. And we shall find, that Men of his Temper and Disposition, have been made choice of in all Ages, by Christ, for the same sort of Service he was. I take *Athanasius* to have been just such a zealous and resolute Man, as he was; whom Christ made use of to stem the Torrent of the Arrian Heresy. And perhaps never any Man was liker *Peter*, in his Temper and Way than *Luther*, who was chosen to break the Ice, in the beginning of the Reformation. And before him *Wicliff* in *England*, and *Huss* in *Bohemia*, seem not to have been unlike him. Now, with *Peter* was join'd *Andrew*, who by what I can guess from the little hint we have of him, was of a very different natural Temper, tho his Brother. For I take him to have been a devout, calm, thoughtful and inquisitive Man. When *John* therefore came and forewarn'd Men, that the Messiah was about to be revealed, he early join'd himself to him, and became his Disciple, in order to his better Information this way. For when *John* very honestly pointed out Jesus to him and another of his Disciples, desiring them to take notice of him, for that *He was the Lamb of God*, John 1. 29, 35, 36. This stir'd up honest *Andrew* and his Companion to follow Jesus, in order to observe him, and to be acquainted with him, *ver.* 37. And Jesus, to satisfy their honest Curiosity, encourageth them to go along with him to his Lodging, where they abode that day, *ver.* 38, 39. *Andrew* being this way fully satisfied, that Jesus was the Messiah, was not only concerned to become his Disciple, but brings his Brother along with him, that he might become one too, *ver.* 40, 41, 42. This Account of him satisfies me that the Character I have given of him is just.

And

And, if so, then I think I may justly suppose, that we may understand, why our Saviour sent him forth, as *Peter's* Companion, *viz.* not only because he was his Brother, and I think his Elder Brother; but also because he was a sage, grave and mild Person: and therefore, was a fit Companion to *Peter*, whose Zeal and Heat was apt to hurry him on too fast, and precipitantly, both in his Words and Actions. *Andrew's* Mildness and Prudence was fit to attemper *Peter's* Forwardness; as *Peter's* Zeal upon the other hand was likely to give Life, Warmth and Courage to *Andrew*, in case of over-great Caution, which might be apt to degenerate into Fear. So, that as God join'd a calm and thoughtful *Melancton* to a passionate *Luther*; so Christ did act in this Case: for I take *Melancton* to have been another *Andrew*, as to Character and natural Temper, as *Luther* to have been a second *Peter*. Let us, *2dly.* Consider the next Pair. These were also two Brothers, *viz.* *James* and *John* the Sons of *Zebedee*; concerning whom we have a great many things, which may serve to lay a Foundation for our conceiving of them, as to their Temper and Disposition. From a mistaken Notion of Christ's Kingdom, they desired to be his first Ministers of State, *Mark* 10. 37, 40. and from a mistaken Zeal, they were desirous, that Christ should allow them to act the part of *Elias*, on those that did not receive the Gospel, *Luke* 9. 54. and *John* particularly shew'd his Zeal, in forbidding one to cast out Devils (tho he did it in Christ's Name) because he followed not them, *Mark* 9. 39, 40, 41. *Luke* 9. 49, 50. These things shew, that both these Brothers were naturally ambitious and designing Men, but with a great Mixture of Fervor and Heat, accompanied with no small Measure of Courage and Resolution. But, being good and holy Men, and having gradually learn'd to know the Gospel better and better, this Complexion and Disposition of theirs render'd them the more fit to encounter the obstinate Jews, in the defence of the Gospel. They seem to have been very young Men, especially *John*, when they were first

first made Apostles. And therefore, as young Men usually are, they were a little too precipitant and forward at first. But being, by Age and Experience mellow'd down afterwards, they prov'd most eminent Instruments, in propagating the Gospel. *James* was indeed pretty early cut off, *Acts* 12. 1, 2. But we may suppose that his eminent Zeal and Piety had done great Service in his Life, and was eminently useful to the Church, when he was put to Death. And how useful *John* was, during his long Life, as well as by his useful Writings, I need not say. He was Christ's beloved Disciple, above all the rest; and he, together with *Peter* and *James*, were the chosen Triumvirate, who were only intrusted to see Christ, both when transfigured, and when in his Agony. These three then were certainly the first and principal three of Christ's Worthies: in comparison of whom we may justly say, as it was said of old of *David's* Hero's, that tho they were mighty and excellent Persons, and did very great things, *Yet they attained not unto the first Three*, 2 Sam. 23. 19, 23. For, as *Peter*, *James* and *John*, were peculiarly honour'd and intrusted by Christ, above all the other Apostles; so they were afterwards, in some Sense, the Leaders of the rest, as having the principal hand in laying the Foundation of the Christian Church. With a Prospect this, as *Simon* was prophetically called *Cephas* or *Peter*, in the Sense I took notice of before; so he and his two Companions were called *Boanerges*, by Christ, *Mark* 3. 17. For I see not, why that Name should be given to *James* and *John*, exclusively of *Peter*, as it usually is, when the Connexion is such, as to give no real occasion for such a limited Exposition. What the Derivation of *Boanerges* is, I leave to the Criticks, to (e) whom I refer the Reader. It is sufficient to our purpose, that the Interpretation is given, and we know that Christ meant by it, *Sons of Thunder*. The Hebrew Phrase,

(e) See Bib. Crit. and Lightfoot, on *Mark* 3. 17.

which is refer'd to here, is בני־קט, which does not only signify Sons of Thunder, but Sons of Earthquake, and therefore ἑρπυτι in the Greek Text must not be taken in the most confined Sense, but as it denotes any sort of violent Concussion, that is accompanied with a loud and awful Noise, such as that was at Mount *Sinai*, when the Mountain quak'd, by reason of the terrible Noise that was then. I do therefore suppose, that our Lord, in giving this Designation to these three Apostles, did allude to the Prophecy, *Hag.* 2. 6, 7. *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, yet once more or within a little while (so we may justly render the words) I will shake the Heavens and the Earth—— and I will shake all Nations, and the desire of all Nations shall come, &c.* That this is a Prophecy concerning the coming of Christ and his Kingdom, all are agreed. And the Apostle plainly interprets and applies the words this way, *Heb.* 12. 25, 26, 27, 28. His Sense runs thus. If the Transgressors of *Moses* Law did not go unpunish'd, pray let Christians take heed that they transgress not Christ's Law: For that Law was comparatively but an Earthly Thing, whereas this is altogether from Heaven. It is true it was Christ that originally gave the old Law, and it was his Voice that shoke the Earth. But now he hath promised (*Hag.* 2. 6, 7.) that he will yet once more shake, not the Earth only, but the Heavens. *And this Word, yet once more,* signifies such a shaking of both Earth and Heaven, as shall include a removal of both, that *those things that cannot be shaken may remain; and a new Heaven and Earth brought into the room of the former, of a more excellent and induring Nature than they were.* Now, by these last figurative Words, the Apostle means no more than this, at least as to the first and more immediate Sense, that when Christ should give out the Gospel, he would by that Voice shake both the Ecclesiastical and Civil State of both Jews and Gentiles, out of their Place. So that a New Heaven and Earth should be brought into the World, in the room of the old, which should gradually vanish away. That is, That both the Religion
and

and Civil Polity of the Jews should be Thunder-struck and overturned as by an Earthquake from the Foundations: and that the Pagan Religion and Roman Government should meet with the same Fate afterwards; And that, instead of these *the Desire of all Nations, i. e.* Christ and his Gospel-Truths (so desirable to all rational Creatures, when acquainted with them) should come in the stead of Jewish Ceremonies and Pagan Dotage, Idolatry, Prophaneness and Tyranny. And what more proper Figures can be used to present this great, but gradual Change, than those of an old Heaven and Earth shaken to Pieces, and the Creation of a new Heaven and Earth to occupy the room of the old. Now this being the meaning, we may easily see, why our Saviour gave the Title of Sons of Thunder and Earthquake, to *Peter, James, and John*; who were the first Heralds, that preach'd the Gospel to Jews and Gentiles, and thunder'd out Judgments against the obstinate Rejecters of Christ; for so *Peter* and *John* did eminently, *Acts 3. 12 — 19 — 22, 23, &c. Chap. 3. 8 — 19, &c.* How eminently did *Peter* act the part of a Boanerges, in the Case of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, *Acts 5. 3, &c.* And no doubt, it was the peculiar Zeal of *James*, that occasioned *Herod* to mark him out as one of the most forward of them all, when he caused him to be beheaded, *Acts 12. 2.* But that which I desire may be principally observed, is this, That the Holy Ghost, when it came upon the Apostles, came with a Noise, that carried along with it something both like Thunder and Earthquake. When it came first of all, *Luke* says, *Acts 2. 2, 3.* *That on a sudden there came a Sound from Heaven, as of a rushing mighty Wind* (or, as the Greek may be rendered more properly, as of a strong Wind sent, brought, or coming from thence) *and it filled all the House where they were sitting. And there appeared to them cloven Tongues, like as of Fire, and it sat* (Gr. ἦν ἐνάθεσσον, viz. γλωσσά, and a Tongue sat) *upon each of them.* There are several Critical Observations that might be made on this account. But these would make me digress

too far; and therefore I shall pass them at this time, leaving the curious Reader to consult the Criticks, and particularly *Lightfoot* and *Whitby*, upon this place. It is therefore sufficient, for my present purpose, to observe, that the coming down of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles and the rest of the Hundred and Twenty mentioned, *Chap. i. 15.* (for I make no question, but that this Emblem of the Holy Ghost came upon all of them, tho not in equal degrees, seeing every one that believed and was baptized did partake of it afterwards) that, I say, this Descent of the Spirit came down, as Thunder does, with a mighty Noise, as of a strong Wind, and with Lightning accompanying it, tho in an unusual Shape, as no doubt the Wind was too of an unusual Sound, in order thus to distinguish them from common Thunder and Wind. And thus we read again, *Acts 4. 31.* *That when they had prayed, the Place was shaken,* (as a House is, when a Thunder-storm passeth over it, or when an Earthquake is under it) *where they were assembled together, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, &c.* Thus we read (which may illustrate and confirm what I say) that when the Voice spake to Christ from Heaven, which is mentioned, *John 12. 28.* it is told us, *ver. 29.* *That the People, that stood by, said that it thundred.* But others, that were a little more observant, and took notice of some difference between this Noise and the usual Noise that Thunder makes, said, *That an Angel spake to him.* And thus likewise came the Voice to *Saul*, accompanied with Light, when he was upon his Journey to *Damascus*, *Acts 11. 3, &c.* insomuch, That not only he was struck down to the Ground, but all the Men struck so too, and even speechless with the awfulness of the Voice, or Noise rather, for they heard no articulate Noise, as he did. To return then, we may hence attain to understand, why these three first Apostles are called *the Sons of Thunder*, *viz.* because they were to be the three first and principal Instruments and Agents of the Gospel-Dispensation, which began with, was founded upon, and at first carried

ried on by the Holy Ghost, and his Gifts, Operations and Effects, which were given and dispensed, after the manner of Thunder and Lightning, accompanied with an Earthquake; tho there were some peculiar Marks and Criterions in this Matter, that plainly distinguish'd it from Common Thunder, Lightning and Earthquake. And I think, that *John* may very probably be supposed to allude to this, when he styles himself, in his second and third Epistle, ὁ πρεσβύτερος, *The Elder, Senior or Presbyter*, by way of Peculiarity, without the Addition of Apostle, or any other Note of Distinction, as to Character or Office. For this is quite another Stile and way of Writing, than that which *Peter* uses, Chap. 5. 1. when saluting the Presbyters or Ministers, he calls himself, by way of Condescention, συμπρεσβύτερος their Fellow-Presbyter. I do therefore suppose, that not only *James*, but *Peter* also being dead, when he wrote these Epistles, and perhaps all other the Apostles, he calls himself *the Presbyter*, exclusive to all others, as being the only Person living, that was dignified with a peculiar Name and Character of Christ's own giving. However, from what has been said, we may see, why Christ gave this Title to the two Sons of *Zebedee*, and why he sent them forth together. And here let us not forget, that as *Peter* was peculiarly honour'd to be the first Man that preach'd to the Gentile Church, and was therefore the first Stone of that Building: So *James* was the first Martyr of the Apostles (as *Stephen* was the first of all Christians) that cemented the same Building with his Blood. And, as *John* went hand in hand with both of them, to propagate the Gospel, tho he was only *Peter's* Second in point of Activity, and was not call'd to die a violent Death, as he and *James* were: so he had this peculiar Honour above both of them, not only to live after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, but to put the last and concluding hand to the Canon of the New Testament, and consequently to the whole Bible. In which last respects, he was *the Presbyter*, by way of Eminence and Peculiarity, and a *Boanerges*. And surely the Book

of the Revelation, that contains in it the Fate both of the Church and World, speaks him to be such, as well as his being δ θεόλογος, *The Divine* or *Theologue*, in a Sense peculiar to himself at that time, as he is called in the Title of the Apocalypse. So that upon the whole, if God did by the Christian Religion, as by Thunder, Lightning and an Earthquake, shake both the Heaven of the Jewish Law, and the Earth of its Polity, and the Settlement of that People in *Judæa*, out of their Places? If Paganism, as to its Religion, Customs, Philosophy and Laws, were at length so shaken this way, as to be shatter'd to pieces? If the Roman Empire it self was first weaken'd, and at length totally destroyed by it? And, if the Christian Dispensation was brought into the room of all these, as a new Constitution from all that had been before, and thus as a kind of new World or new Heaven and Earth? I say, if these things be duly considered, we need not much wonder, if the three Leading Apostles (who were the first and principal Builders of the Christian Fabrick, or who, at least, had the first and chief hand, in laying the Foundation of this Erection, (next under Christ and under the Conduct of the Paraclet) be called *Boanerges*, or the Sons of Thunder: nor need we, any longer, look upon this Designation as strange; nor yet inquire any farther after the meaning and design of Christ, in giving them this Title. And now, after all this, it will not be hard to guess, why our Lord made choice of *James* and *John*; why he sent them forth together; and why he join'd them with *Peter*, when he chose these Three to be the only Witnesses both of his Transfiguration and Agony. I proceed therefore, 3. To inquire into the Character of *Philip* and *Bartholomew*, who are the third Pair, (if I may say so) of the Apostles. And seeing, I think, I have said enough to prove that he that is usually called *Bartholomew*, was the same that is by *John* called *Nathanael*, I shall begin with him. For, taking this for granted, there is none of the Apostles, whose Character is so plainly and fully given; and that by our Lord himself, *John* 1. 47. *Behold*

an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no Guile. Perhaps *Nathanael* might be little taken notice of, even for Religion, in the Place where he liv'd; whilst the rotten-hearted Pharisees, and such a Man as *Judas Iscariot*, were look'd upon as mighty Saints. And therefore our Lord prefaceth his Character of him, with a *Behold*. And then he adds the Character, *An Israelite indeed*. The bulk of the Jews thought that their very Name intitl'd them to Heaven: And, if they were rigidly tenacious of their Ceremonies, they thought they were very good Men, and liv'd up to their Profession; tho they dispens'd with their Consciences in Moral Duties, such as Justice and Mercy. But *Nathanael* plac'd his Religion chiefly in the latter. And therefore Christ explains what he means by calling him *a true Israelite*, by adding, *in whom there is no Guile*. So that Sincerity is the Test of true Religion: Nay, the very Essence and Soul of it. If any say, Was it consistent with this Character, that *Nathanael* was so drawn away with Prejudices against Christ, and so rash this way, as to quarrel with *Philip*, when he asserted that Jesus was the Messiah, as we see, *ver. 46*. Can any good thing come out of *Nazareth*? I answer, shall this be an Objection against him with us, when it was none with Christ, tho he knew what pass'd between *Philip* and him, as we see, *ver. 48*. No, let us rather conclude the quite contrary of this. For indeed this very thing is the most eminent Proof that can be of his Sincerity. For he was a plain upright Man, that spake as he thought, without Artifice or Disguise. And, if he fail'd, it was not for want of Sincerity, but Information. Nor was it strange, that he should labour under this Prejudice: for the whole Nation of the Jews seem to have been possess'd with the same Notion, even the very Sanhedrim, as appears from their Reprimand given to *Nicodemus*, and their Determination upon it, *John 7. 52*. Art thou also of Galilee? Search and look; for out of Galilee ariseth no Prophet. But how far soever *Nathanael* was carried away with this popular Error, yet he was not so prepossess'd

with it, as not readily to yield to Reason, tho it thwarted it. When therefore *Philip* had beg'd the Favour of him, only so far to suspend his Determination in this matter, as to go along with him, and be Judge for himself, desiring him to *come and see* : Good *Nathanael* readily agreed to this, as highly reasonable. And when he came, and found by Christ's Answer to his Question, what no mere Man could know, he immediately believes, and gives Christ that honourable Testimony, which we have, *ver. 49. Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel.* So that *Nathanael* or *Bartholomew*, was, in a word, a plain, sincere and honest hearted Man, that knew no Trick, and hated Dissimulation, whither in Word or Action. And, as such honest Men run so far from Knavery and Falshood, as usually to talk too free for their own Safety ; so we may reasonably suppose, that *Nathanael* was one of those, that the World is apt to call an honest well-meaning Man, but not equally stock'd with Prudence. For both his Answer to *Philip*, and his Question and Answer to Christ, seem to carry some such Air along with it. He knew no Complaisance to *Philip*, in asking him, how he came to think so or so : but bluntly and roundly contradicts him. But his Honesty laying him open to Conviction, on he goes to Jesus. But, tho he got so great an Encomium from him, he is not moved from his wonted pace. He does not thank Christ, for he knew nothing like Compliment. Nor does he excuse himself from deserving such an Elogium, as others would have been apt to have done, from a pretended Modesty. But he bluntly asks him, *How knowest thou me?* And upon Christ's Answer, being convinced, he roundly and plainly tells all his Mind, not fearing either Censure or Persecution, as a cautious Man would have done ; for the Character he gives of Christ is so high, that the Jews might have laid hold of, under pretence of its being Blasphemy, and so persecuted him, on this Head for his Life ; as we know they did Christ himself afterwards, tho he had never

used any Expression so plain and high concerning himself, as this was. And therefore we may well suppose, that when Christ required his Apostles, not only to be harmless as Doves, but wise as Serpents, he had a particular Eye upon this good Man; whom I look upon to have had much more Integrity and down-right Honesty, than Caution, or any thing that look'd like Cunning: tho, at the same time, he might be a Man of very considerable natural Parts, and so every way qualified for the Office of an Apostle. Now, as for *Philip*, we find but very few and small Hints concerning him; which makes it the more difficult to give any Character of him. All the Account we have of him, amounts only to these things; *viz.* First, That he was of *Bethsaida*, the City of *Andrew* and *Peter*, *John* 1. 44. and therefore no doubt acquainted with them; and, if so, he could not be a Stranger to *John the Baptist*, and his Doctrine, seeing *Andrew* was one of his Disciples. Next we find, that Christ called him to be his Disciple, the very next day after *Peter* came to Christ, *ver.* 43. So that he seems to have been the Third, as to Order, if we consider the time of their being called. Being called, we find something that seems to speak him to have been a judicious, inquisitive Man, well vers'd in the Scriptures, and that had examined what the *Baptist*, and *Andrew*, and *Peter*, had said of Christ, by the Sacred Writings, as the *Bereans* did afterwards the Apostles Doctrine. For I cannot think he spoke at random, but from Conviction upon Evidence, when he tells *Nathanael*, *ver.* 45. *We have found him of whom Moses in the Law and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph.* Besides, that he shows Judgment and Discretion, in the choice of these Words, considering the Man he spoke to: for *Nathanael* was a Man not to be dictated unto, but easy to be brought over to Truth, upon such Evidence as that which he insisted upon. And, as this supposes, that he was intimately acquainted with *Nathanael*; so it satisfies us, that *Philip* was a Holy Man himself; for, as the old Saying is, *Noscitur*

ex socio, he is known from the choice he made of a Companion. But besides all this, his Prudence as well as Modesty is seen, in his short but pithy Answer to *Nathanael's* Objection, when he says, *Come and see*, ver. 46. For, tho he himself might have been capable to prove Jesus to be the Messiah, so as to convince *Nathanael* by the Arguments that had satisfied himself: yet, as this would have taken up a great deal of Time, he justly supposed, that it would be not only the shortest but most effectual Method, to bring him along with him to his Blessed Master. Another Hint concerning this Man we have, *John* 16. 20, 21, 22. viz. the Method he took to answer the Desire of those Greeks that came to him, desiring that he would shew them Jesus. Whither they came to him, rather than any other Apostle, as meeting him first, or from a deliberate Choice, I can pretend to say nothing, because the Text is silent this way. But his Method of managing this Point being particularly recorded, deserves Consideration; that he consulted *Andrew*, in the first place, before he would gratify them so far: And *Andrew* giving his Opinion that he ought to do so, he joins him, as his Companion in this matter. He seems to have hesitated, whether a mere Curiosity to see Jesus, ought to be gratified; and therefore he makes choice of *Andrew*, as the oldest Disciple of Christ, and consequently the most experienced of them, and who was, as I have said, a cautious, prudent and inquisitive Person; in order to have his Judgment and Concurrence in what he did. So that this minute Circumstance is not recorded in vain. For it confirms me in what I have said of *Philip*, that he was himself a cautious, modest and wary Man, even in the smallest of Actions, or those that, at first view, we may think so. There is but one Hint more given of this Man, in all the New Testament (for that *Philip* mentioned, *Acts* 12. and elsewhere, was not *Philip* the Apostle, but *Philip* the Deacon and Evangelist;) and that is in *John* 14. 8. when he says, *Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us.* The Occasion was this:
Christ

Christ was now about to take leave of his Followers, and to suffer. He enters therefore upon a long and pathetic Discourse, concerning his leaving them, which he began upon the occasion of *Judas Iscariot's* going out in order to betray him, *Ch. 13. v. 30.* And is continued from the *31st* Verse of that Chapter (with a few Interruptions occasioned by some Questions put up to him from some of the Apostles) to the end of *Ch. 16.* and is concluded by that remarkable Prayer, *Ch. 17.* Immediately after which, he and his Apostles go into that Garden, in which he was seized, as we see, *Ch. 18. 1, 2, &c.* Now he begins this long and noble Discourse with telling his Apostles, that he was to leave them; *Ch. 13. 31, &c.* This surpriseth them all. And *Peter*, the most forward of them all, asks him, whither he went, *ver. 36.* which occasion'd a Dialogue, that confounded their Thoughts yet more. *Thomas*, who was, as we shall see afterwards, of a positive and diffident Temper, gives his Master, in a sort, the Lie, *Ch. 14. 5.* Whom our Lord refutes strongly, but in soft Words, as giving Allowance for the Man's Temper, *ver. 6, 7.* In the close of this Answer, our Lord had asserted, *that they knew the Father*, and had seen him, because they had known and seen his Christ. *Philip* breaks Silence here, with this Request, *that Christ would shew them the Father*, and then they would be fully satisfied, *ver. 8.* The Words bear Evidence of a judicious Curiosity, as to the matter inquired after. And the manner of them (being neither by way of Assertion, nor Self-confidence, as *Peter's*, *ch. 13. 37.* Nor by way of Challenge, as that of *Thomas*, *ch. 14. 5.* but by way of Petition) shews the Modesty and Judgment of *Philip*. And he that considers how deeply the Disciples were tinctur'd with the common Notion of the Jews, in expecting a Messiah, that should be a glorious Conqueror, may discern a great deal of Faith, tho in a Struggle with Diffidence, to have been at that time in *Philip's* Breast. For it speaks forth as much as this comes to. Lord, this is no easy thing for us to believe or digest, that thou art a-

bout

bout to leave us, and to suffer Death by the Jews, However Lord, if thou wilt allow us to see the Father, as we have seen thee, we will rest satisfied with this strange Dispensation, without either desponding or turning back. We are not to suppose that *Philip* did ever dream of seeing the Essence of God here: but only of seeing the Father manifest himself in some visible way, by way of Attestation of the Truth of what Christ had said. But even this was a Proof of *Philip's* Weakness and Ignorance, in this Affair: it being altogether improper, that ever the Father should appear under any visible manner, as I have (f) elsewhere demonstrated. And therefore Christ checks *Philip*, with some Sharpness, seeing a Man of his calm and thoughtful Temper might have better understood his former Assertion, had he consider'd it a little more closely, than either a *Peter* or a *Thomas*, considering the natural Rashness of the first, and the Scrupulosity of the second. However, upon the whole, this Passage confirms me, as to what I observed from the former; that we do not mistake *Philip's* Character, when we suppose him to have been a critically judicious, and cautiously prudent Person, as well as a modest and holy Man. And therefore we see how justly *Philip* and *Bartholomew* are pair'd together. For besides, that they were old and intimate Friends, and good Men; *Philip's* Judgment and Prudence might be of great Use, to direct and caution an honest, free and open-hearted *Nathanael*, when they had to do with cunning and knavish Men, that lay upon the catch with them; as *Nathanael's* Frankness and down-right Ingenuity was like to be of equal use to *Philip*, that his Caution might not degenerate into servile Fear, to the baulking of a free Declaration of the Truth, and the Message they were sent about. And besides, as *Philip* was likely to reason better and more closely than *Nathanael*; this *Bartholomew* was of that

(f) Christol. lib. 2. cap. 7. pag. 282.

honest Warmth and Zeal, as would put him upon a pathetic and fervent way of Preaching, more adapted to a popular Auditory. So that our Lord's Wisdom may be conspicuously seen, in sending forth these two Men together. We come now to consider, 4. The next two Apostles, *viz.* *Matthew* and *Thomas*. And seeing I have said something but just now, concerning this last, I shall begin with him here. I took notice of what *Thomas* said to Christ, *John* 14. 5. and ventur'd to characterize him from thence, with relation to his natural Temper, as one that was scrupulous and diffident, as to his giving credit to things, and very positive and fixed, in any Notion he had first taken up. But I built not this Character of him, upon that Expression alone. For we have something further related of him, that demonstrates this more fully; *viz.* that Passage in *John* 20. 24, 25. where, tho' all the other Apostles assured him of Christ's Resurrection, upon their own Knowledge, as having seen him themselves; yet *Thomas* would not believe them. Nay, so positive was he this way, as to say, *Except I shall see in his Hands the Prints of the Nails, and put my own Hand into them; nay, and thrust my Hand into his Side too, I will not believe.* However, tho' *Thomas* was scrupulous, positive and diffident, and hard to be convinced, he was of that affectionate Temper, as to be mightily concern'd and affected with any thing of Weight and Moment, that he was once satisfied about. And therefore, when Christ had condescended to him, in all he demanded, he was struck down into a melting and concerned Frame, and cryed out, *ver.* 28. *My Lord and my God*: An abrupt Expression, but full of Significancy and Force, and such as shews how full his Soul was, both by way of Concern for his own past Infidelity and Obstinacy; by way of Admiration as to Christ's Goodness and Condescension; and by way of Joy and Delight to see his Master again: all which he expresseth so, as to shew his Faith in Christ, both as Messiah and God; and so as to declare his Resolution, as to a close Adherence to him, as such,

for the future. So that *Thomas* was (as we say of some, that *quicquid volunt valde volunt*) of that Temper, as to be positive and fervent in all he said or did, whither right or not. And we find many warm Men of this Temper, that they passionately love, or passionately hate, are resolutely diffident, and as fervently credulous at other times. And truly it is no small Confirmation to us, that *Thomas* was exactly such a one as we have describ'd, to consider what is taken notice of him, *John* II. 16. For when Christ had told his Apostles, that *Lazarus* was dead, *Thomas* said unto his Fellow-Disciples, *Let us also go, that we may die with him.* An Expression that demonstrates a warm and passionate Affection and Love, and such a one as was rash and inconsiderate. But all such Men are so. If they hear of the Death of a Friend, that they passionately lov'd, they know not how to bear it, and mind not, whilst the Passion lasts, what they say, in giving a Vent to their Sorrows. Now, with *Thomas* was joined *Matthew*, otherwise called *Levi*, the Son of *Alpheus*, *Mark* 2. 14. tho not that *Alpheus* that was the Father of *James* and *Judas*. Concerning him little is said, besides that his Name is inserted in all the four Catalogues of the Apostles. For besides this, we have no hint of him in all the Sacred History, by which we can guess at his Character, except, that we are told of his being call'd to be a Christian, when he was sitting at the Place of the Receipt of Custom; of which we read, *Matth.* 9. 9, &c. *Mark* 2. 14, &c. *Luke* 5. 27, &c. And all that we can gather hence is, that Christ pitch'd upon him as a proper Person to be his Disciple, and afterwards to be his Apostle; that being call'd, he readily obeyed, and, as *Luke* says, *left all, rose up and followed Christ*; so that he did not so much as dispute whither his safe and gainful Employment, or Christ's Service, ought to have the Preference; that he invited Christ and his Disciples to Dinner in his House, and, as *Luke* says, made them a great Feast there; that, together with them, he had a great many Publicanes, and others of his Friends and Acquain-

Acquaintance to dine with him, which probably he did, in order to draw them in to follow his Example in becoming Christians ; and that this gave occasion both to a Discourse between Christ and the Pharisees, and between him, and the Disciples of *John*. Now all I would observe from hence is, *first*, that *Matthew* appears to be the very Reverse of *Judas Iscariot*. For whereas the Traitor was covetous, and therefore left Christ for the World ; *Matthew* was generous and liberal, and left the World for Christ. Which is so much the more remarkable, that *Judas*, as I have observed already, had perhaps the fairest Appearance of serious and strict Religion, before he discover'd himself, of any of the Apostles ; whereas *Matthew* was a Publican, and rank'd with the unclean, whom the Jews call'd Sinners. So that *Judas* was a Devil acting under the disguise of a Saint : Whereas *Matthew* was a Saint, tho under the reproachful Name of a Sinner. And here I would particularly take notice of *Matthew's* Modesty and Humility. For whereas *Luke* says with an Emphasis, that he did, upon Christ's Call, immediately *leave all, and rise up and follow him* : *Matthew* himself says only, *and he arose and followed him*. And whereas *Luke* says, that *he made Christ a great Feast in his House* : He himself mentions this in the General only, and as it were by the bye, thus ; *and it came to pass, as Jesus sat at Meat in his House, behold, many Publicanes and Sinners, &c.* And his Modesty is further remarkable, in that which I hinted above, *viz.* his placing *Thomas* before himself, in the Rank of the Apostolical Bench, whereas both *Mark* and *Luke* reckon him before *Thomas*. And then, *Secondly*, I would likewise observe this, as highly probable ; That *Matthew* was no less the Reverse of *Thomas*, in point of natural Temper, than he was of *Judas*, in point of Religion and Integrity. For by what I have said of him, I hope I may justly conclude him to have been a Man of a calm, sedate, and thoughtful Temper ; slow to speak, (and therefore we read not of one Question that ever he put up to Christ) but swift to
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hear and inquire ; and careful to review and commemorate what he himself thought worthy to be known. And hence it is, that he has left behind him that exact and admirable History of Christ, which the Christian Church has agreed to place before all the other Gospels, and justly. For, as neither *Mark* nor *Luke* were Apostles, and therefore not Eye and Ear-Witnesses of what they write, at least not of so many of Christ's Sayings and Actions as *Matthew* was : So *John* neither wrote so early as *Matthew*, nor any thing like an exact History ; but only added some memorable things, especially some large Discourses, which *Matthew* had omitted, as well as *Mark* and *Luke*. And indeed the former of these seems only to be a Compendizer of *Matthew's* History : and as for *Luke*, who owns that he wrote from the Information of others, we may be sure that he founded his Account principally upon that of *Matthew*. As therefore *Matthew* seems, in this respect, to have been honour'd above all the Twelve : So we may be sure, that the Holy Spirit did not chuse him to be first Amanuensis of the New Testament, without special Reason. He must therefore be supposed to have had all the proper Qualifications of a perfect Historian, *viz.* intimate Acquaintance with him whose History he writes ; a nice Observation of the Facts he records, and the Circumstances ; an unaffected Concern to inform others punctually as to Truth ; a Dexterity of doing this nakedly, without any partial Comments of his own ; and a Freedom from Passion and Humour, in the giving things a wrong turn, by setting them in a false Light, or by painting them forth in artificial Colours. Now to act thus, requires a Man of a critical Inquiry, a solid Judgment, and a tenacious Memory ; as well as one of great Faithfulness and Application. And I believe the more judiciously and seriously we peruse *Matthew's* short Annals of Christ, the more we will be convinced that he has approved himself to be such an Historian. And, if so, who fitter to be joyn'd with *Thomas*, considering the Character that he bears in the Gospel-Account. But
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if *Thomas* needed such a Companion, to rectify his Temper, and to direct him in his Conduct; *Thomas* might be equally necessary to a calm, modest, and thoughtful *Matthew*, in point of popular and pathetic Discourses; for there are none that work so naturally on the Affections of Men, especially the vulgar Sort, as those that are of a volatile and affectionate Temper themselves. So that Christ's Wisdom is equally discernable in joining these two Men together, as in joining the former. Let us now come, 5. To the next Pair, viz. the two Sons of *Alpheus*. And here previously, let us observe how careful Christ is to preserve and encourage Friendship among Relatives. Therefore (tho for special Reasons he selects *Peter*, *James* and *John*, to be his Witnesses, as to the Transfiguration and Agony, yet) in sending them forth, he sends the three Pairs of Brothers together, without disjoining them. Hence *Andrew* is join'd with his Brother *Peter*, in this Commission; *John* with *James*; and again *Judas* with the other *James*. This being premised, let us proceed to consider the Character of this last pair of Brothers. And here, as the two younger Brothers, in the former Pairs, seem to have the Pre-eminence, the elder of this latter Pair is certainly the most illustrious, by what we can judge, tho the younger Brother was also a very eminent Person. However I have all reason to begin with the first here; seeing we have a fuller account of him, than of the other. *James* the Son of *Alpheus*, is commonly called *James the Less*, in Church-History, to distinguish him from *James* the Son of *Zebedee*, who is usually stiled *James the Great*, upon the account of his greater Age, and consequently Authority at first. This lesser or younger *James* is justly supposed to be he, that is characterized from his Relation to Christ, and called the Lord's Brother, *Gal. i. 19*. And (g) *Dr. Cave* and (h) *Dr. Whit-*

(g) *Life of James the Less.* (h) *Preface to the Epistle of James.*

by are certainly in the right, when they make this *James* him, that some call the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and who was usually called *James the Just*, to be one and the same Man. He therefore, whose Death is spoken of and lamented by (i) *Josephus*, and who by him is called ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ, the Brother of *Jesus*, was no other than this Apostle. How he was the Brother of *Jesus*, is not easy to determine. Some think, that after the immaculate Conception, *Joseph* had several Children by *Mary*: and the contrary Opinion is certainly no Article of Faith. However, seeing the constant Tradition of the Church runs against this, I think we ought to pay that deference to it, as to seek for another Sense of the Words. In *Matthew* we read of four that are call'd his Brethren, besides Sisters that he had. For some are brought in saying, *Chap. 13. 55, 56. Is not this the Carpenter's Son? Is not his Mother called Mary? And are not his Brethren called James, Joses, Simon and Judas? And, as for his Sisters, are they not all with us?* All the Ancients before *Jerom* are of opinion, that these were the Children of *Joseph* by a former Wife, who died before his Espousal to the Virgin *Mary*; and that upon this account they are called the Brethren of *Jesus*. But *Jerom* attempts to prove, that these Persons were not the Children, either of the Virgin *Mary*, or of *Joseph* by a former Wife, but that they were the Children of another *Mary*, that was Sister to the Virgin, and the Wife of *Cleophas*, otherwise called *Alphans*. His Opinion is founded on the words in *John 19. 25. And there stood by the Cross of Jesus, his Mother, and his Mother's Sister Mary, the Wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen*; as also upon what *Matthew* and *Mark* say to this purpose, *Matth. 27. 55, 56. And many Women were there, among whom was Mary Magdalen, and Mary the Mother of James and Joses, and the Mother of Zebedee's Children, Mark 15. 40. There were also Women look-*

(i) Antiq. l. 20. c. 8.

ing on a far off, among whom was Mary Magdalen, and Mary the Mother of James the Less, and of Joses, and Salome. From hence he concludes, that James, Joses, &c. were called his Brethren, as being his First Cousins, and consequently such near Relatives as, in the Language of the Jews, were called by the general Name of Brethren; in the same sense wherein Lot is called *Abraham's Brother*, Gen. 13. 8. tho his *Brother's Son* only, or his *Nephew*, Gen. 12. 5. and as the word Brother is used, Gen. 29. 12. Lev. 10. 4. *Theophylact* is of a different Opinion from *Jerom*, and thinks, that *Cleophas* being dead, and *Joseph* being his Brother, took his Wife to him, according to the Law, in order to raise up Seed to his Brother, and did accordingly of her beget James, Joses, and the other Children mentioned. But I cannot embrace this Opinion of all others; considering that *Joseph* was espoused to the Virgin *Mary*, and too good a Man to marry another, even tho other Jews might allow themselves in the point of Polygamy. But seeing it is a precarious Supposition that *Cleophas* was *Joseph's* Elder Brother, I need not dispute, how far the Law of raising up Seed to a deceased Brother, was obligatory or not upon *Joseph*, considering his Circumstances. *Dr. Whitby* in his Preface to the Epistle of James, seems to be of *Jerom's* Opinion. But in his Comment on *Matth. 13. 55.* he declares, that he likes the more antient Opinion best, which supposeth, that these Children were *Joseph's* by a former Wife; recommending for this end what *Antonius de Dominis* had said on this head, to establish the old Opinion, and to refute that of *Jerom*. The Reasons he goes upon, the Reader himself may have Recourse to: For I am not willing to spend time in disputing this point here. Only I must say this, that how specious soever these Reasons seem to be, I incline rather to the Opinion of *Jerom*. For to me the Distinction between the Virgin *Mary* and her Sister *Mary*, in *John 19. 25.* seems to be so plain; that I see not how it is possible to confound them together, so as to interpret both to be one and the same Person:

when the Evangelist says in express Terms, that the *Mother of Jesus was there*, and *his Mother's Sister Mary*, the *Wife of Cleophas (or Alphæus) and Mary Magdalen*. Whereas *Matthew*, omitting the *Virgin*, tells us, that besides *Mary Magdalen*, and *Mary the Mother of James the Less*, there was another illustrious Woman there, *viz.* the *Mother of Zebedee's Children*: whose Name I suppose was *Salome*, mentioned by *Mark*. However, leaving the Reader to chuse which Opinion he likes best, certain it is that *James* and his Brethren were nearly related to Christ. I proceed therefore to consider the Character of *James*; which indeed is very illustrious. For, in the *first place*, we find, that immediately after that *James the Elder* was beheaded, when *Peter* was miraculously delivered out of Prison, his first Concern seems to have been, that *James* should be informed of his Deliverance, and the manner of it, *Acts 12. 17.* *Go,* says *Peter*, *and shew these things unto James, and to the Brethren.* Which makes me think, that, upon the Death of the first *James*, this Namesake of his was adjudged by the Apostles as the fittest Man of all the Apostolical Bench, to fill his Place, (k) and that accordingly he was from thence rank'd next to *Peter*, as the second Apostle, who before was only reckoned as the Ninth of that Order. His Relation to Christ might make the Apostles agree to have it so: and his own eminent and shining Worth might also intitle him to it. And probably the Spirit of God might determine that it should be so. And from hence it might come to pass, that as *Peter* was eminently look'd upon, as the Apostle of the Circumcision, as indeed all the Apostles were, *James* might be intituled to a more peculiar Care of the Church at *Jerusalem*, as *Peter* of the whole Church of the Hebrews; from whence, in after-times, *James*

(k) Eusebius Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 1. tells us this very thing, that I now suppose; which he relates from Clemens his Hypotypos. Lib. 8. and before him, Hegesypus, Lib. 5. related materially the very same thing.

might come to be spoken of, as if he had been the Bishop of *Jerusalem*. However *Paul* ranks *James* with *Peter* and *John*, as the three most eminent Apostles of the Jews, and tells us, that these three were look'd upon as the *σύλοι*, or the Chief Pillars of the Church; and that these three (of whom he gives the first Honour to *James*, by naming him first) had made an Agreement with him, that he and *Barnabas* should go unto the Heathen, and they unto the Circumcision, *Gal.* 2. 9. And the same *Paul* makes honourable mention of this same *James*, *Gal.* 1. 19. calling him *an Apostle*, and *the Lord's Brother*. But the Eminence of this Apostle, in relation to the others, appears in nothing more remarkably, than in that Great Assembly of the Church, wherein the great Controversy concerning the necessity of Circumcision, and the Ceremonial Law, came to be finally determined. For after *Peter* had convinced the Bulk of the Assembly to be of his Mind; which *Barnabas* and *Paul* back'd by a relation of Matters of Fact, confirmatory of what *Peter* had said; *James* rises up, and, in a grave and judicious Speech, determines the whole Controversy, and puts them into a Method to put an end to it abroad for ever, as we see, *Acts* 15. 13, &c. And such was both the strength of his Reasoning, and the weight of his Authority, that the whole Assembly fell in with his Sentence, *nemine Contradicente*. Mention is also made of the same *James*, *Acts* 21. 17, 18. with a peculiar Mark of Honour, and with an Insinuation, that *James* was at that time the Man of the first Note of all those that were then at *Jerusalem*; seeing *Paul* paid a Visit to him as such. And we cannot doubt therefore, but that it was the same *James*, that gave *Paul* that admirably prudent Advice, in relation to the critical Circumstances that he stood in, at that time, with respect to the Christian Jews, that were yet enraged against him, upon the account of his so open a Rejection of the Ceremonial Law; and which Advice *Paul* readily

comply'd with, as we see in the Sequel of the same 21st Chapter of the *Acts*. And it is generally agreed, that it was this same *James*, to whom *Jesus* is said to have appeared, 1 *Cor.* 15. 7. And, seeing *Paul* ranks this Appearing of *Christ* to *James*, after all the other that he had mentioned, as if it had been posterior to all, excepting *Christ's* appearing to himself; I am of the Opinion, that it was by this, that *Christ* signified his Mind, with respect to the Advancement of this *James*, to fill the place of his Namesake, as soon as he should be taken off. However, I think it strange that *Ferome* first, and *Dr. Hammond* after, should lay such stress upon I know not what Tradition, when they suppose, that this Appearing of *Christ* to *James*, was his very first Appearing of all, and that they should strain their Wits to confirm this, by putting a forc'd and unnatural Sense upon the Particle $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\epsilon$, as if it did not denote *Time* here, but must be understood as a Mark of Dignity: Which cannot be reconciled either with the Evangelical History, or indeed with Sense. For can it be supposed that *Christ's* single Appearing to *James* alone, was a Matter of greater Consequence, than his appearing to all the Apostles together, yea, and to 500 Persons at once; especially when this is the only Place that gives the Church any hint of *Christ's* having appeared to *James* alone. However, thus far this Tradition makes for my Notion; that it was this (whatever besides was in it) that laid the Foundation of the Exaltation of *James*, to the Rank that the other *James* had held before. Now all these things being considered, we cannot but see what an eminent Apostle this *James* was. But a close Observation of the Spirit that breaths in his *Admirable Epistle*, (notwithstanding of its being suspected as spurious by some Men formerly) will, I am confident, raise his Character still higher in the Mind of every serious and judicious Reader. And seeing it is believed, and I think upon very just Grounds, that *John* concluded the Canon of the

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New Testament, in the Days of *Nerva*, or *Trajan* rather, and consequently cast the Books into that Order that they were generally kept in afterwards; we see how high the Character both of this *James* and his Epistle was with him, seeing he gives it the first place after those of *Paul*, and ranks it before *Peter's* Epistles as well as his own. For he seems, in this, to have followed the same Order wherein *Paul* makes mention of them, *Gal. 2. 9.* Now with this *James* was join'd his own Brother *Judas*, called otherwise *Lebbeus* or *Thaddeus*: for as to the two intermediate Brothers, *Joses* and *Simon*, either they died young, or were only of the number of the common Disciples, tho perhaps they might make two of the Seventy. Of this *Judas* we have nothing said particularly, either in the Gospel or Acts, excepting that *John* takes notice of one very pertinent, judicious and momentous Question of his to Christ, concerning the Criterion or Nature of that way wherein Christ was to manifest himself to his own Disciples, as a Privilege peculiar to them, and not to the World, *cb. 14. 22.* which gives occasion to Christ's continuing his useful Discourse, and of his speaking more clearly on this Head, by way of Answer, *ver. 23.* And, it is particularly taken notice of, that it was this *Judas*, and not the other, that put up this Question by the Addition of these words, *not Iscariot*; as if it were on purpose not only to distinguish the honest Man from the Knave; but to hint this also, that it was a Question too noble and high for such a Man as *Iscariot* was. But tho this *Judas* was not only a holy Man, but a judicious Person too, yet I look upon him to have been rather a zealous and hot, than a prudent Man. I found this chiefly upon his Epistle; which breaths a peculiar Feror and Warmth. And therefore the Wisdom of Christ is seen eminently in joining these Brothers together. For as *James* had certainly the coolest Head, his Brother *Judas* (or as our Translators call him *Jude*, I suppose because the Name of *Judas* is become infamous amongst the Vulgar, upon the account of the Traitor)

seems to have had the more fiery and active Spirit. *James* was therefore every way the fittest to direct, both as the eldest Brother, and as the wisest and calmest Man. But *Judas* was altogether fit for an useful and zealous Publication of the Gospel, and a vigorous Defence of it; especially when assisted and caution'd by his Brother, as to the best Method of Proceeding. And here, before I leave these Brothers, I cannot but desire the Reader to observe, how little our Saviour regarded Relation, in comparison of real Worth; seeing he places these two Kinsmen, almost the last of all the Apostles. And tho' this *James* may have deserved to be the first of all, yet our Saviour would not patronize this while on Earth (as if it were to avoid the Suspicion of Partiality to his Kinsmen) tho' I do suppose he rais'd him higher after his Exaltation, upon the Reasons that I have already assign'd. I proceed now, 6. To consider the *last Pair*. But as for the last of these, *viz. Judas Iscariot*, I have nothing to add to what I said above, either with respect to his Character, or the Reasons Christ went upon in making choice of him to be an Apostle. Only we may take notice of this, that he purposely cast him into the Rear of all, as the last; from a Foresight, of his being an Apostate, that he might be cut off, and his room fill'd up the more easily, without any Alteration or Change, as to the Order of the rest. All therefore that I have to do here, is to consider the Character of *Simon* that was join'd with him. But this seems to be no easy matter, because we have not so much as any one particular Passage relating to him, from whence we can judge of his Temper or Parts. However, the Wisdom of God is such, that there are two things notwithstanding, from whence we may very rationally pass a Judgment upon him. The *first* is, that he was formerly one of the Sect of the *Zealots*, from whence he is called *Zelotes*. For that Sect being composed of the most fiery Spirits of the Jewish Nation, who were either the most bigotted, rigorous and stiff, for every thing that related to the Law

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of *Moses*, or else pretended to be so ; we may reasonably conclude, that this *Simon* was one of the first sort of these Zealots, *i. e.* one that was honestly zealous for the Law, tho' to that degree of Heat and Rigor, that bespoke him to be more honestly fervent, than wise or prudent. However, when he was convinced of Christ's being the *Messiah*, we may justly suppose, that he learn'd more Wisdom, and that his natural Heat was rectified, tho' not altered. So that, no doubt, he was a fervent, affectionate and zealous Christian and Apostle. And therefore, *Secondly*, seeing we have Reason to think that he was join'd with the Traitor, it was on purpose to be a check upon that false and deceitful Man : tho', at the same time our Saviour might reach an end, with respect even to him, in joining a cunning and artful *Judas* with him to mollify his Temper, and to moderate his Heat and Zeal. However, it is not a little to his Honour, that he was set, as it were, a *Tutor* over *Judas Iscariot*, to keep him right, in the main, whither he would or not. And the Wisdom of Christ will appear the more conspicuously here, if this *Simon* was the Father of *Judas* ; by which he must be supposed to have the greater Ascendant over him. And indeed I cannot but look upon this *Simon* and *Judas* to be Father and Son : and if so, we may observe with what Precaution Christ acted, when he admitted *Judas* to be an Apostle. The Reason of my Conjecture is this, that the Apostle *John* never mentions *Judas*, but with this Addition, *the Son of Simon*, or *Simon's Son*, as we see, *John* 6. 7. *Chap.* 12. 4. *Ch.* 13. 2. and *ver.* 26. Whereas when he mentions the other *Judas*, he does it simply, without any such Note of Distinction, as *Brother of James*, or *Thaddeus*, or *Lebbeus*, but only with this Addition, *not Iscariot*, *John* 14. 22. And the Reason I take to be this ; that whilst *Simon Zelotes* was alive, who no doubt was almost Heart-broken upon the account of his Son's Villany, the Evangelists thought fit to pass over in Silence the Relation that *Judas Iscariot* stood in to him. But *John*, who wrote his Gospel after his Decease, thought

it might not be improper to mention this Relation, as an Insinuation of what we are now in quest of, *viz.* the Reason of his being join'd with *Simon*. If any say, But *John* does not specific this *Simon* by either the Sir-name of *Canaanite* or *Zelotes*, as the other Evangelists do, so that it does not seem to be the same *Simon*; I grant it: nor do I pretend to assert this. But yet, if any Man will consider, in the Places quoted, how constantly and how emphatically *John* calls him *Simon's Son*, he will think that I do not suppose that this was *Simon* the Apostle, without very great Probability: For tho' this *Simon* was by the other Evangelists constantly spoken of with the Sir-name of *Zelotes*, or *the Canaanite*, to distinguish him the more fully from the other *Simon*, who had the Sir-name of *Cephas*, or *Peter*; yet it is probable that this latter, in process of Time, came to be so constantly spoken of, either under the simple Name of *Peter*, which he does only assume in the beginning of his first *Epistle*, or under those of *Simon Peter*, as he calls himself in his second *Epistle*; that the other *Simon* came at length to be designed by this his proper Name only, without the Addition of any Sir-name. Hence the Angel of God that spake to *Cornelius*, ordered him to send to *Foppa*, and to call for *Simon whose Sir-name was Peter*, that he might be distinguish'd from the other *Simon*. And therefore we find that *John* in his Gospel, never mentions this first *Simon*, but either under the single Name of *Peter*, *John* 18. 26. or those of *Simon Peter*, *chap.* 13. 6. *ch.* 20. 2. *ch.* 21. 15. And indeed he seems to be so constantly called *Peter* only, as we see, *Acts* 1. 15. *ch.* 3. 3. *ch.* 4. 8. *ch.* 8. 14. *ch.* 5. 15. *ch.* 9. 38, 40. *ch.* 10. 13. *ch.* 11. 7. *ch.* 10. 44, 45. *ch.* 12. 3, 18. *Gal.* 1. 18. *ch.* 2. 7, 8, 14. that we need not wonder, if, in process of Time, especially when *John* writ his Gospel, which was after the Decease of all the other Apostles, and after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, all Men spoke of him so; and consequently mention'd the other by his proper Name *Simon*, without any additional Sir-name or Mark of Distinction, as being altogether need-

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less. And thus I leave it to the inquisitive and impartial Reader, to judge, whether it be not highly probable, that *Judas Iscariot* was the Son of *Simon*, who at first was called *Zelotes*: but which additional Sir-name he himself might perhaps avoid to be known by afterwards, as carrying along with it an Insinuation of that former blind Zeal and Fury that he was acted by, and which he was no doubt ashamed of, when he became Christ's Disciple.

And now I have done with the Characters of the Twelve Apostles. Only, as I have mark'd them forth so, as to give the Reader a View of Christ's Wisdom and Conduct, in his joining them together, when he first sent them forth to preach the Gospel; so I would desire him to take notice, with what Wisdom Men of such different Tempers were chosen and cast together, into one College or Society, in order to assist one another the better, in laying the Foundation of the *Kingdom of God*, or the *Gospel-Erection* among Men. Every wise Prince discovers his Prudence to the World, in the choice of his principal Ministers of State. And in nothing does this appear more, than in adjusting and making use of the fittest Men for his Service. If he have Business, that requires a nice and critical Management, he employs Men of Wisdom, Penetration and Conduct, at least so as to give them the principal hand therein. If he is to do what is difficult and hard to be performed, in point of Action, he chiefly employs Men of a daring Boldness and Address. And, above all things, he is careful of those whom he intrusts with his secret Counsels, that they be not only Men faithful to his Interest, and Men of Secrecy; but, that in other respects, they be of very different Dispositions, that by a Collision of different Humours and Sentiments, he may the more safely and clearly draw his Conclusions, when he has weigh'd all that is said on all hands. I confess this is not altogether Parallel to the case in hand. For, as our Lord acted not according to the Rules of human Policy, as I have at large sufficiently proved, and was
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infallibly wise himself, and therefore needed no Counsellor, so the Apostles had an infallible Preses to direct them in all Matters of Consequence, *viz.* the Spirit of Christ, by whom our Lord acted, and in whom he was present with them. But yet it was fit, that he should have proper Instruments to act by, and that these should be so adjusted for their own sake, as well as the Interest of others, as to be mutual Checks upon one another, and Incitements and Assistants one to another. And seeing the Twelve Apostles were selected chiefly for this purpose, and were to act by Concert, in Matters of general and universal Concern, it will be no unpleasant Contemplation, to take a view of the Apostolical College, with respect to their several Dispositions. Now previously to this, let me suppose, that a wise and good Prince were to erect a College or Counsel of Twelve Men, and were previously to lay down a Rule to regulate his Choice this way: what could this be, but this? That besides Fidelity and sufficient Capacity, they should be Men of such different Dispositions as these; That some one or more of them, should be bold and resolute, to start and undertake Projects, and free to tell all their Mind; That others should be ambitious and aspiring, that their designing their own Interest might make them vigorous and active to promote that of their Master; That others should be fiery and hot, to set the Wheels a going, when such things were proposed as seem'd to make both for their Lord's Honour and Interest, and their own; That others should be jealous and diffident, and put in Remora's to all these, and have the Faculty to puzzle the Cause for a while, from Fear and Suspicion, in order to be a check to the Resolves of all the former; That there should be others also, that should be Men of nice and scrupulous Honesty, that should put in as many Caveats upon the Head of Honour and Integrity, as the former did in point of Safety; And that, after all, there should be some of strong Parts, slow to speak or propose things, but of calm and sedate Reasoning, who should think it necessary to in-

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terpose at last, and should have the Faculty to refine upon all that was offered by the others, for and against the matter proposed, either as to the Justifiableness or Expediency thereof, or as to the Method of doing it. I humbly suppose, that a Council, College or Bench of Senators thus constituted, must be supposed to speak forth the Wisdom of that Prince that should make choice of such Men, in a way of mutual Check upon one another, and yet of Help and Assistance one to another, even upon the very account of their being mutual Checks. And I leave the Reader to judge, if the Apostolical Bench (which was so sacred and venerable, that every Apostle was peculiarly characteriz'd and distinguish'd from all others, by the special Presence of the Holy Spirit with them, that it is noted, *Acts* 5. 12, 13, &c. to have been such, that *none of the other Disciples durst join himself to him, i. e.* so as to equalize himself with him, in any respect whatsoever) was not thus modell'd, according to the Characters given of them; and whither *Peter* alone was not enough to answer the first sort of Senators mention'd; and whither *James* and *John* did not answer the Character of the second sort; *Judas* the Brother of the second *James*, and *Simon Zealotes*, the third sort; *Thomas*, the fourth sort; *Bartholomew*, alias *Nathanael*, the fifth sort; and *Philip* and *Matthew*, but especially *James* the Less, the sixth and last sort. And now that I have again mentioned *James* the Lesser or Younger, I cannot but think, from what I have already said of him, that he came to be of that Authority, as to be rank'd above *Peter* himself. My Reasons are four: *First*, Because he held the chief Place in the Convocation or Assembly of all the *Apostles, Elders and Brethren*, so far as can be judg'd from the Account of it, *Acts* 15. *Secondly*, Because *Paul* mentions him first, as it were of course, and with an Emphasis, *Gal.* 2. 9. when he speaks of *James, Peter* and *John*, as the first Pillars of all the Twelve. *Thirdly*, Because *John*, who finish'd the Canon of the Bible, keeps the

same Order in ranking their Epistles. And, *Fourthly*, Because *Peter* seems to have stood in awe of him, even to that degree, as to have run into an unwarrantable Diffimulation: for which see *Gal. 2. 11, 12, &c.* And indeed, upon the whole matter, I cannot but think, that the Bench of the Apostles, as well as that of the Seventy, with the Consent of the whole Church, had made choice of *James* to act as the first of all the Apostles, in the Management of the Affairs of the Church in general, as well as of the Mother-Church of all, *viz.* that of *Jerusalem*, from which *the Law and the Word, Isa. 2. 3. Mic. 4. 2. i. e.* Christ and the Gospel, or New Law, were to go forth. And he seems plainly to have been the fittest Man of them all this way, and much more proper than *Peter*, upon the account of Parts, Prudence and Discretion; tho I am apt to think, that besides this, his near Relation to Christ, might influence them this way, out of respect to their Master. And it is not improbable also, from what I hinted, that Christ did order it so, either by appearing to them himself, or by the Illumination of the Holy Ghost, for this end; or both these ways. However it was, it is plain to me, that as *Peter* was the first Apostle that preach'd to the Gentiles, and so laid the Foundation of the Gospel-Church; so this *James* the Younger had the first hand in the After-ordering and Management of the Church, and in bringing things into a just and solid Order and Method. And perhaps this might be one end of Providence, in suffering *Herod* to take away the Life of *James* the Elder, or, as he is commonly call'd, the Greater; that *James* the Younger, who seems to have been much more prudent, tho less fiery, might be exalted into his place, or rather into that of *Peter*, as the first of all the Apostles; *Peter* being the next to him, and being taught to be contented with the second Place for the future. And indeed, if *Peter* was more fit than this *James* to break the Ice, as we use to say, and to pave the way for the Gospel-Erection, I am equally confident that this *James* was the much more fit Man,

to lay the Foundation of the Government, Order and Discipline of the Church : for his Head seems to have been peculiarly turn'd for drawing a proper Scheme of this kind, as it is plain he had very solid and ready Parts, in point of Management, to give every thing a proper turn ; of which that prudent Expedient, which he propos'd to *Paul*, *Acts* 21. 17, 18, 19, &c. is a sufficient Demonstration. But it is high time that I should put an end to what relates to the Character of the Apostles. Nor shall I say any thing more of the Twelve. Only I cannot altogether omit *Matthias*, who was chosen to fill up the Place of *Judas Iscariot*. I confess we can only guess who he was ; seeing we have not so much as one particular Passage relating to him, excepting that of his being chosen to be an Apostle, *Acts* 1. 15 — 26. And from that we can only collect, that he was an old Disciple of Christ, for that is plainly enough insinuated, *ver.* 21, 22. I suppose one of the Seventy, and the most excellent of them all, in the Opinion of the Apostles, excepting only *Joseph* called *Barsabas* ; (whom it seems they gave the Preference unto, by naming him first, *ver.* 23.) but the most proper of the two, to be an Apostle, as appears, because the Lot fell upon him, *ver.* 26. All therefore that can be said of him, is, that he was an old experienced Christian, and the very Reverse of *Judas Iscariot*, in point of Integrity and Holiness ; and probably a quiet, modest Man, such another as *Nathanael*, who was higher in God's Esteem than in Mens ; tho such a one also as every good Man did put a due Value upon. More I have not to say of him.

I should now put an end to this long Account concerning the Apostles. And indeed I have done with the Twelve. But seeing it pleased God to call two others afterwards to be Apostles also ; I cannot forbear to speak something concerning them, and the Wisdom of our Lord in this Choice. These were *Barnabas* and *Paul*. That *Paul* was an Apostle, no Man can doubt. And I suppose we can as little doubt that *Barnabas* was

an Apostle too: For they are both expressly call'd so, *Acts* 14. 14. And as we have such an Account of *Paul*, as assures us, that he acted as an Apostle, and was owned as such, by the Twelve, and indeed by the whole Society of Christians, every where: So we find, that *Barnabas* was owned by all as his Equal, as to Office and Reputation; and being both the older Man and Christian, he is spoken of almost constantly in the first Place: Which would not have been done, at least by *Luke*, *Paul's* close Companion and Admirer, had *Paul* been of a superiour Office to *Barnabas*. It is therefore, I think, as certain, that *Barnabas* was a proper Apostle, in the most proper Sense, as that *Paul* was one. And I find not that any one of all the ancient Fathers did ever seem to doubt of this: for tho' sometimes they call him simply by the Name of *Barnabas*, in the same manner as when they call other Apostles, *Paul*, *John*, *Peter*, &c. without adding any thing more; yet at other times they call him expressly (1) the *Apostle Barnabas*. And, as *Barnabas* and *Paul* were both of them Apostles; so I think they were the only Persons, that were honour'd to be so, besides the Twelve. For we find not any thing, that can lay a Foundation of our looking upon any other, that we read of in the *Acts*, to have been such. The Persons, that of all others, mention'd in the *Acts*, bid the fairest for this Honour, are *Judas*, *fir-named Barsabas*, and *Silas*, whom the Twelve Apostles join'd, as it were, with them, in renewing and confirming their Commission to preach among the Gentiles. But yet this is done so, as it is plain, they themselves made a great Distinction between *Barnabas* and *Paul*, and them. *Judas* indeed and *Silas* are called *chief Men among the Brethren*, *Acts* 15. 22. but then that tells us that they were not *Apostles*. They were principal Men, as being *Prophets*, as they are cal-

(1) See Clem. Alex. Lib. 2. Strom. p. 373. B. p. 375. B. and Jerom in his Catal. Script. Eccl.

led, *ver. 32.* And their Appointment to go along with the Apostles *Barnabas* and *Paul*, intituled them to the Character and Office of *Evangelists*: For an Evangelist did denote as much as this; *A Companion of, or Deacon, Minister, Assistant, or Servant to an Apostle.* Our Lord had sent forth first his Apostles, and then the *Seventy Disciples* or *Evangelists*, by two and two. And therefore the *Twelve Apostles* thought it very proper to do so too; by sending forth *Two Apostles* in Company, and with them *Two Evangelists*, as their Companions and Assistants. But now let me proceed to the Consideration of these two Apostles, for to them I shall confine my self at this time.

I begin with *Barnabas*, as being the elder Man. But the Reader must expect, that in speaking of him, I should speak of *Paul* also: For their History is so interwoven, that I cannot consider the one without the other. Now I take it for granted, that *Barnabas* had been an old Disciple of Christ, and probably one of the *Seventy*: For it was absolutely necessary, that he should have known Christ, in order to be an Apostle, as we see, *Acts I. 21.* And therefore *Paul* says of himself, that *he was born out of due time*, *I Cor. 15. 8.* and therefore, he adds, *ver. 9. For I am the least of the Apostles, and not meet to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church: But by the Grace of God, I am that I am.* So that it had not been possible for *Paul* to have been an Apostle at all, if he had not seen Christ from Heaven. And therefore he vindicates his Character from the exception of those, who might detract from him this way, because he had not known Christ in the Flesh; by telling them, that Christ had made up this defect, by appearing to him from Heaven, *I Cor. 9. 1. Am I not an Apostle? Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?* Now there was no necessity that Christ should appear to *Barnabas*, in order to his being constituted an Apostle, who had seen Christ in the Flesh. And therefore it was sufficient this way, if the Holy Spirit did signify that this was the Mind of Christ, that the Apostles
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and Christian Church should own and acknowledge *Barnabas* to be an Apostle. But when was it that *Barnabas* was thus mark'd out for this High Office? Strange, if so remarkable a thing should be omitted in the Gospel History! Nay, when was *Paul* called to be an Apostle? I know, it will be readily reply'd to this last Query, that he was constituted an Apostle, by Christ's appearing and speaking to him from Heaven: And that, as for *Barnabas*, it will be said; that no express mention is made either of the time or way of it. But I must be so bold, as to differ from all Interpreters, in both these Points. As for *Paul's* Vision of Christ, in his way to *Damascus*, it was indeed necessary to qualify him to be an Apostle, as I have said, as well as to convince him of the Verity of Christianity, and the Divinity of Jesus: But this was not that which did formally constitute him an Apostle. And indeed it is very odd to conclude, that he should be instantly an Apostle by this, when as yet he was not properly a Christian; for it was not till three Days after this, that he was Baptized by *Ananias*, as we see, *Acts* 9. 9 ——— 18. And could he be an Apostle, before he had taken on him the Badge of the Christian Religion, by being baptized. After his Baptism indeed he preached, and acted the part of an *Evangelist*, pursuant to the Order of Christ, delivered to him by the Mouth of *Ananias*, *ver.* 15. through the Imposition of whose hands, he was filled with the Holy Ghost, *ver.* 17. And therefore he first preached at *Damascus*, as an *Evangelist*, and afterwards at *Jerusalem*, being introduced to the Apostles, by the means of *Barnabas*, *ver.* 27. whereas before they were shy of him, as distrusting his Integrity. Now, as for *Barnabas*, he had long been eminent as an *Evangelist*. The first account we have of him, is *Acts* 4. 36. And there we find that he was a *Levite* by Tribe, but born in the Island of *Cyprus*, where abundance of Jews liv'd at that time, as we find from (m) History; and that his proper

(m) See Dio Cassius, in Traj. & Euseb. in Chron.

Name was *Joses*, or as other Copies have it, *Joseph*; but that his eminent Qualifications and great Usefulness occasion'd the Apostles to call him *Barnabas*, *i. e. the Son of Consolation*, as our Version has rendred the Word. But indeed *Βαρκιθις* is a Word that properly denotes Exhortation or Pleading of Causes, as well as Consolation; as we may have occasion afterwards to shew more particularly. So that it does properly, in Scripture, denote the Work, Office and Operation of the *ὁ ἄσπινκλιτος*, *i. e. the Holy Spirit*, who is *the Paraclete*. So eminently therefore did the Holy Ghost appear in and by this Evangelist, that the Apostles were divinely directed to call him *Barnabas*, that is, *the Son of the Operation of the Paraclete*, even as *Peter*, *James* and *John* were called *Sons of Thunder*. And, this way was *Barnabas* honour'd above all the Evangelists. For his Character with the Apostles and the whole Church was this, *Acts 11.24. That he was a good Man, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of Faith.* A noble Character indeed, and such a one, as a greater could not have almost been given. Nor do we find any thing that looks like a blemish in his whole Conduct; unless that should be reckon'd one, that he fell out with *Paul*, about taking *John, alias Mark*, along with them, *Acts 15. 36, 37, &c.* But, as it is dubious whether *Paul* or *He* were to blame in this Affair, or rather both, as is common in such Cases; so *Barnabas* seems to be at least so far excusable, that natural Affection directed him to stick upon his taking that Person with him: For it seems to me, from *Col. 4. 10.* that he was *his Sister's Son*, and a Person of that Worth, that even *Paul* himself speaks of him, after that, with Honour. But seeing we know not exactly the Circumstances of that Contention, and seeing Divine Providence made use of it for the better Propagation of the Gospel, (these two excellent Persons laying out themselves afterwards, in different Places, as if it were with an Holy Emulation which of them should be most useful) we have reason to pass this over in silence. It is to be taken notice of here, that both these Apostles were unmarried Persons,

1 Cor. 9. 6. and so were the fitter to propagat the Gospel, and to travel from Place to Place, as having no Family to take care of. As for their Persons, *Barnabas* seems not only to have been, by much, the older Man, but to have been likewise a Man of a noble Mein, and august and venerable Aspect and Presence: Whereas *Paul*, as he himself insinuates, 2 Cor. 10. 10. (and as all the ancient Tradition agrees) was a Man of a little and weak Stature, and of a mean Aspect. But this Character of their personal Appearance I chiefly found upon that Passage, where we are told, that the People of *Lystra* fancied them to be Gods; supposing *Barnabas* to be *Jupiter*, and *Paul* to be *Mercury*, Acts 14. 11, 12, 13. For the Heathens represented *Jupiter*, their chief God, both in their Pictures, Statues, and Descriptions, as an old but vigorous Man, of a noble and august Aspect, and large and robust Make. Whereas *Mercury* the Interpreter of the Gods, was not only mark'd out by his *Caducens*, *Wings*, and *Galea*, but as a little, dapper and nimble Man, as to his Size and Frame. And besides they fancied *him* to talk much, and *Jupiter* to take State upon him, and so to be one that spoke little, but said what he had a mind to say with great Gravity and Majesty. So that, from the gross Mistake of the poor *Lystrians*, we may form to our selves no contemptible Idea, in the General, of these two Great Men. I look therefore upon *Barnabas*, to have been one of a great, venerable and majestick Aspect, who spoke little, but with great Composure and Seriousness, and therefore with Authority and Affection, rather than with close and connected Reason and Subtilty of Argument. Whereas I take *Paul*, to have been of a mean and contemptible Aspect, and no Affecter of Words or Eloquence; but to have been, at the same time, a Man of a clear Head, deep Penetration, solid Judgment, and ready Wit; and to have spoken rather connectedly, and by way of strong Reasoning, and in a quick, brisk and masculine Stile, than popularly, and with oily, insinuating and affecting Expressions: Which made some
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Persons, that detracted from his Worth, not only to represent his *Person* to be *weak*, but reflect upon *his Speech* as *contemptible*, 2 Cor. 10. 10. But now it is high time to return and consider, in answer to the Question above, when *Barnabas* and *Paul* were constituted *Apostles*, who were at first but *Evangelists* only : For I think strange, that this has not been more taken notice of, when we have as full an Account of their Ordination this way, as of the Choice of *Matthias*, or indeed of the other Apostles. The Account is that which we have, *Acts* 13. 1, 2, 3, 4. *Now there were in the Church that was at Antioch, certain Prophets and Teachers ; as Barnabas and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, who had been brought up with Herod and Saul. And 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, &c.* The odd and fanciful Sense of *Dr. Hammond* on this Place, is well refuted by *Dr. Whitby*. But I must beg Pardon in differing from this Learned Man too ; who supposeth, that there was no Ordination of *Barnabas* and *Paul* as Apostles here, but only a Temporary Mission to the Gentiles ; and that the laying on of hands upon them, was only by way of Benediction on their Enterprize. And it is not a little strange, that the Doctor should take them to have been Apostles already, and yet that they should be accountable, as it were, to that Church ; seeing he says, *That that Mission they presently compleated, and then returned to Antioch, declaring to the Church there what they had done in prosecution of it, Chap. 14. 26, 27.* It is true they did so, because *Antioch* was then the most famous Church in the World, next to that at *Jerusalem*. But it was not because they had any peculiar tie to it any longer : which is supposed in the very next Verse, *and there they abode long time with the Disciples ;* which shews, that their Abode there was only from Choice ; for that they were at liberty to

have been any where else. In order therefore to understand this matter thorowly, let us consider the Series of History. When *Stephen* was put to Death, there was a terrible Persecution against the Church at *Jerusalem*, in which *Saul*, afterwards *Paul*, had an eminent hand, *Acts* 8. 1, 2, 3. This occasion'd the Brethren to scatter and disperse into various places, *ver.* 4. And, as *Philip* went to *Samaria*, *ver.* 5, &c. as did *Peter* and *John* afterwards, *ver.* 14, &c. So others went to *Antioch*, preaching the Gospel there, but confining it to the Jews only, *Chap.* 11. 19. This occasion'd the Apostles to send *Barnabas* to *Antioch*, *ver.* 22. Who, (being formerly acquainted with *Saul*, after his Conversion, as we see, *Chap.* 9. 26, 27. and whom the Apostles had sent to *Tarsus*, *ver.* 30.) finding the Work increase upon his hands, and knowing none more proper than *Saul* to assist him, takes a Journey to *Tarsus*, to seek him; and, having found him, brings him to *Antioch*, where they continued for a whole Year, *Ch.* 11. 25, 26. But, all this time, there is not the least Insinuation that either *Barnabas* or *Paul* were Apostles, If any of them bid fairer than another for this Honour, it should be *Barnabas*. And yet he (as well as *Saul*) is only rank'd with the *Prophets* and *Teachers*, *Chap.* 13. 1. All these five therefore, mentioned there, together with *Agabus*, mention'd *Chap.* 11. 27, 28. and *John*, whose Sir-name was *Mark*, *Chap.* 12. 25. and probably many more, were no other than *Prophets*, *Teachers* or *Evangelists*, who assisted one another in laying the Foundation of a Christian Church, in that vast and populous City, which was, at that time, second to no City in the whole World, but *Rome* only: Tho I look upon the five that are mention'd, to have been joint-Pastors of that Church; which is the reason that they only are mention'd in relation to it, *Chap.* 13. 1. and that *Agabus* and *John*, *alias Mark*, were only there, as occasional Assistants for a time. Now upon the Prophecy of *Agabus*, concerning an universal Famine, the Disciples at *Antioch* make a Contribution for the Relief of the Brethren which dwelt in *Judea*, who

who were generally poor; and this Contribution they send to them, by the hands of *Barnabas* and *Saul*, *Chap.* 11. 28, 29, 30. who, in this case, were their *Deacons* only. *Barnabas* and *Saul*, having performed what they were sent about, return from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, bringing along with them *John*, whose Sir-name was *Mark*, another Evangelist, *Chap.* 12. 25. And probably they returned the sooner, because of the Persecution that then raged, wherein *James* was beheaded, and *Peter* imprisoned, as we see in the same 12th Chapter. So that hitherto there is no Vestage of *Barnabas* or *Paul's* being exalted from being *Prophets* and *Teachers*, to the higher Office of *Apostle*. Nor did the Apostles, I verily believe, ever think of adding them, or any Man else, to their Number. The Number *Twelve* seem'd to them to be so sacred, that having made it up, by the Choice of *Matthias*, they never imagin'd that Christ would suffer any others to have a Share in that Honour and Office with themselves: And it is plain that this was the Foundation of their Procedure, when, in order to fill up the vacant place of *Judas Iscariot*, they make choice of two only, praying that God would make choice of him of the Two, that he thought most proper, to take part with them in that peculiar Ministry or Apostleship, which they were called unto; as we see *Acts* 1. 23, &c. And the Notion that they had of their Work, at first, seems plainly to be this, that they ought ordinarily to keep fix'd at *Jerusalem*, as a supreme Aristocratical Counsel, to determine those matters that concerned the Church in general; that all those that they sent forth to preach the Gospel, might be responsible to them for their Management, and might know whether to appeals and to have recourse, in case of nice, critical, controverted or difficult Cases. And this I conclude was their Determination, at first; and which they founded upon the Order of Christ himself, *Acts* 1. 4. where it is said, *That Christ being assembled together with them (viz. just a little before his Ascension see Luke 24. 29.) 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. And to this they stuck so closely, that even when that severe Persecution came upon them, wherein Stephen suffered, though all the rest of the Brethren were scattered abroad through all the Regions of Judea and Samaria (yea and to Countries much more remote) yet it is mark'd, that the Apostles kept at Jerusalem still, Acts 8. 1. It is true, that the Apostles did not so confine themselves to Jerusalem, but that some of them were allowed to make Excursions from thence. Thus Peter and John went, for a little time, down to Samaria, Acts 8. 14, &c. and thus Peter, who I suppose was one of those that accompanied Saul to Caesarea in his way to Tarsus, ch. 8. 30. took occasion to take a turn round the adjacent Country, as far as Lydda, ver. 32. which occasion'd his being sent for to Joppa, ver. 36, &c. where, after he had miraculously cured Tabitha, alias Dorcas, upon his stay there for some time, ver. 43. the Providence of God order'd things so, that he had the blessed Opportunity of preaching to Cornelius and his Family, (see ch. 10.) by which he began the Gentile-Church: for which Procedure he was called to an account, and forc'd to make his Defence, ch. 11. Now News being brought, at the same time, to the Apostles, that many of the Inhabitants of the great City of Antioch were converted by those that had been scatter'd by the late Persecution, they send Barnabas thither, ch. 11. 19, &c. And this brings me back again to my Subject, concerning Barnabas and Saul; concerning whose Apostleship we hear nothing till ch. 13. And then indeed they commence Apostles, by an immediate Order from Christ, delivered by the Paraclete. For the Account is plain and full, tho' short; and amounts to this. Barnabas and Saul having returned from Jerusalem, ch. 12. 25. (whether they had been sent with the Contribution of the Antiochians, ch. 11. 29, 30.) give a melancholy Account of a new Persecution there, raised by Herod, wherein James was beheaded, and Peter imprisoned. (For it is plain

plain to me, that *Peter's* Deliverance out of Prison, *ch.* 12. 5, &c. and *Herod's* miserable end, *ver.* 21, &c. tho inserted for Connexion sake in that Chapter; yet happened not while *Barnabas* and *Saul* were at *Jerusalem*.) Upon this sorrowful News, the Church of *Antioch* agree upon a solemn Fast-day, to humble themselves, and to beg of God by united Prayers, that the Church might be preserved; insisting probably upon that Petition, which Christ had of old taught all his Disciples, that *it would please the Lord of the Harvest, to raise up and send forth such Labourers into the Harvest, as might make up the Loss of James and Peter* (for no doubt they thought that *Peter* also was put to death by this time). In this solemn Humiliation and Fast, I say, (while the Heads of the Assembly take their turns, in Preaching and Prayer, lo the Spirit of Christ speaks to these Prophets internally, as I do suppose, and by them outwardly to others; Commanding that *Barnabas* and *Saul* should be separated from the rest, for the Work whercunto he had called them. And now, that we are come to these Words, *ch.* 13. 1, &c. which I quoted at length before, it is fit to consider them more closely. And, 1. I observe, that all the five Persons mention'd as the Joint Teachers of the *Antiochian* Church, were of the same Office, and stood in the same Relation to that Society: For they have all of them the same Title and Character, and they were all equally imploy'd in the same Work. So that, if *Barnabas* and *Paul* were Apostles, the other three were so too. And, if they were not such, neither can we think that these two were so, especially *Saul*, who is mention'd last of all. 2. I observe, that the only Reason assignable for this Order, wherein these Men are rank'd, is this; that *Simeon* called *Niger*, and *Lucius* and *Manaen*, seem to have been the Men, that first gather'd a Church at *Antioch*, as being those that are spoken of, *ch.* 11. 19, 20, 30. But that *Barnabas* having been sent thither by the joynt Commission of the Apostles, *ver.* 22. was upon that account, as well as that of his Eminency as to Qualifications, *ver.* 23, 24.

if not upon the account of Age also, intitl'd to the first place, in the Catalogue of the Church-Officers of *Antioch*. Whereas *Saul*, being not only the youngest Man, as well as youngest Disciple, but the last Teacher of that Church, *ver. 25, 26.* is mention'd in the last place: a Reason so just, that even *Luke* his Admirer, thought himself bound to keep close to it, *ch. 13. 1.* I observe, 3. That there was here an extraordinary Appearance and Revelation of the Holy Ghost; seeing an exact set of Words is made use of, and this discovered not to one Person, but to all of them, and that in the face, and with the Approbation and Concurrence of the whole Church. 4. That the Words do not only contain a peculiar Emphasis, as they are spoken immediately by the Spirit, and that by way of an extraordinary Command, (and such a one as we find not again in all the New Testament) but that they do express both a peculiar Relation to the Spirit, and a peculiar Office and Work under the Spirit; that the rest were not to share in. ἀφορίσατε δὲ μοι, *Separate unto me, or set apart for me, Barnabas and Saul*: Which is as much as to say, I have chosen them to my self, to stand in a more peculiar Relation to me, than they were before. And therefore it is added, *for the Work whereunto I have called them.* 5. I take notice of the ready compliance of the other Teachers, with the Concurrence of the Church, in setting them apart accordingly; which they do by *Fasting and Prayer, and laying on of their hands.* If any say, But did those of an inferior Office ordain Men to be Apostles? I answer, that the Holy Ghost was properly the Ordainer. So that (tho a peculiar Honour was put upon them, in this respect, as if God design'd this way to insinuate the Power that he design'd should be afterwards lodg'd in the People, even in the Choice and Ordination of Ministers, joyntly with the Assistance and Approbation of other Ministers; yet, properly speaking, in the present Case) their part was only to give a Declaration of this, and to testify their Concurrence with the declared Will and Pleasure

sure of their Lord. They acted in this as the *Son* of the Prophet, who, at the Command of *Elisha*, anointed *Jehu* King of *Israel*, 2 *Kings* 9. 1, &c. In which History it is remarkable, that God promised to *Elijah*, that he should anoint *Jehu*, 1 *Kings* 19. 16. But neither he nor *Elisha* did it immediately, but a Son of the Prophets. So that *Elijah* did this, through *Elisha* only, and *Elisha* through the young Prophet. But from none of all these did *Jehu* receive his Authority ultimately, formally or properly, but from God only. And so it was in this case. And therefore, 6. I observe, that after *Barnabas* and *Saul* were thus set apart, they are not said to be sent out by these Prophets, or by the Church; but they are said emphatically to be sent out by the Holy Ghost, ch. 13. 4. an Expression that deserves to be peculiarly considered; for it seems to be design'd to guard us from imagining, that they were made Apostles by their former Fellow-Teachers, or by the Church in Concurrence with them. 7. I observe, that as *Barnabas* had his Name given him by the Apostles formerly; so *Saul* seems to have had a new Name given him at or upon this occasion. For, a little while after *Luke* takes notice of his being also called *Paul*, ver. 9. which he had never done before: and that so, as never for the future to call him by his old Name. 8. I take notice again, that *Barnabas* and *Paul* not only act as Apostles, ever after this, but are expressly called so, ch. 14. 14. which they never were before. 9. It deserves also to be considered, that God so ordered it, that not one of the Twelve Apostles should be made use of in setting apart these two Apostles. For which I think we may assign these three Reasons. (1.) That it might be seen and known, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* had not this Character and Office bestow'd upon them by Men, but immediately from Christ, as Head of the Church, by the Designation and Appointment of the Holy Ghost. Therefore *Paul* says, *Gal.* 1. 12. that he received not his Gospel, i. e. a Commission to preach it, from Man: and far less did he receive his Apostleship from them. (2.) That *Barnabas* and

and *Paul* might not be supposed to be a secondary sort of Apostles, subordinate to the Twelve : but that they might be co-ordinate with them, as every way equal, as to Office and Dignity, and consequently as to Authority and Power. (3.) That they might be a new Set of Apostles, to act by themselves, by a new Commission, independent on the Twelve. So that if they consulted them, it was out of Choice (and not out of Necessity) with a design to put Honour upon them, and that all things might be done decently and in Order ; and with a prudential Concern to influence others the more, that might be prejudic'd against them, upon the account of their accommodating themselves more to the Gentiles, and in dispensing more freely with the Jewish Law and Rites, than the other Apostles did. For, in other respects, their Commission and Authority was the same with that of the other Apostles. And if there was any Advantage, it was upon the side of *Barnabas* and *Paul*. 1. Because they had it immediately from Christ, after he was glorified. 2. Because they had theirs given them, with a more immediate Respect to the Gentiles. And, 3. Because their Commission to them was such, as to carry with it a sort of Ingrossing Authority ; by which the Twelve became limited (as to stated Work) to the Hebrews only. Which is so much the more to be considered, that the three first and leading Apostles (and consequently all the rest) agreed that it was so, and that for the future, *Barnabas* and *Paul* should be the Apostles of the Gentiles, and they of the Hebrews only, as *Paul* tells us, *Gal.* 2. 9. And we find therefore, that this Commission of *Barnabas* and *Paul* was approved of and ratified by the whole Assembly of the *Apostles*, *Elders*, (*i. e.* Seventy Disciples, and others who had been called more lately to be Evangelists and Teachers) and *Brethren*, (*i. e.* private Christians).

And here, let us seriously consider the Divine Wisdom discoverable in confining the Twelve Apostles to the Circumcision or Hebrews, and in carrying on the Gospel

Gospel among the Gentiles by two Men, that were not of their Number. And, 1. How consonant was this, to what I delivered in the former Chapter. For by this Christ appears to act the Reverse of Human Policy, in such a Method, as does the more eminently discover his own Heavenly Wisdom, and secure us in the Belief of his Glorification above: seeing two Men are made use of to preach to the Gentiles, none of whom were of the Number of the Twelve, that Christ had made Apostles while on Earth. For if *Barnabas* was one of the Seventy Elders, yet he was none of those that the Apostles thought fit to propose, in order to be an Apostle. So that his peculiar Eminency and Exaltation, was owing to Christ immediately after his Ascension to Heaven, and his sending the Paraclete from thence. And *Paul* was so far from being either Apostle or Disciple at first, that he did not so much as know Christ in the Flesh, nay, was an Enemy to, and Persecutor of the Church. And this may be the Reason, why Christ made use of no more than *two Apostles*, as the proper Apostles of the Gentiles, *viz.* to demonstrate his own Authority and Power the more, after his Exaltation.

2. This lets us see, that the Office of the Twelve Apostles was properly limited to the Jews, among whom the Christian Religion was only propagated at first. And tho the Gentile Church owes much to them; yet it is to *Barnabas* and *Paul*, and their Companions, that we owe the Propagation of the Gospel most directly and immediately. 3. That it is ridiculous to talk of Successors to the Apostles; who could have none. So that never was any thing more chimerical, than for the Romish Church to pretend, that their *Popes* were *Peter's* Successors; who was not only an Apostle, and therefore could have no Successor, but was also so stated in reference to the Believing Jews, as to be indeed no Apostle properly of the Gentiles, and consequently one that had no direct Relation either to the Romish, or any other Gentile Church. Nor do they speak with more Sense, but rather with less, who, among the Protestants,

testants, tell us of Bishops being the Apostles Successors.

Having observed these things, I might now proceed to consider the History of *Paul* more particularly, by whom God did principally carry on the Work of the Gospel. But this would carry me too far; especially considering how long I have been already on such like Points. And therefore I shall desire the Reader to consider, that the main things in the Book of the *Acts*, (the Knowledge of which is exceeding necessary) are these five, *viz.* *The Mission and Descent of the Holy Ghost; The sending of the Gospel to the Gentiles; The vacating of the Mosaical Law, as to its Necessity; The laying the Foundation of Gentile-Churches; and, The carrying the Gospel into Rome, the Seat of the Empire.* And, as a distinct Account of these is necessary, and no further Account of things needful is to be inserted in the Canon of the New Testament: so it is with great Wisdom that our Lord orders this History to end with the last of these.

Having, after this manner given an Account of the Apostles, I had a Design to have added something likewise, this way, in relation to those Apostolical Men, together with other useful Christians, who were Companions of, and Assistants to the Apostles, in the Work of the Gospel, tho in inferior Stations. But, considering how large this Chapter is become already, and how much more weighty Work I have to run through, in the remaining Chapters, I forbear: especially seeing we have no Catalogue, so much as of the Names of the 70 Elders or Evangelists, which Christ did at first appoint; nor yet any particular Account of those who were afterwards brought into that College or Class of Extraordinary Church-Officers. However I shall venture to give the Reader a *twofold conjectural Catalogue* here; The *first* containing such of the 70 Elders, as have their Names recorded in Scripture: The *second* containing the Names of those Persons, who were afterwards adopted into that College, or were at least Church-Officers of an inferior sort. And to these I shall

shall add a *third* Catalogue of some eminent Christians, that were neither Evangelists, nor in any Church-Office, properly speaking, tho' useful to the Church.

I. The Names of such of the 70 Elders or Evangelists, which are recorded in Scripture.

(1) *Mark*, whose Gospel is extant. (2) *Luke*, who wrote not only the Gospel that goes under his Name, but also the Acts of the Apostles. (3) *Lazarus*, the Brother of *Martha* and *Mary*, who was raised from the Dead. (4) *Cleopas*; And, (5) *Simon* (who I suppose was the same with *Simon* the Pharisee, with whom Christ dined, *Luke* 7. 36, 39, 40.) to whom Christ appeared, as they went to *Emaus*, *Luke* 24. 18, 34. (6) *Joseph*, call'd *Barsabas*, who was fir-named *Justus*, and who was propos'd with *Matthias*, as fit to have succeeded *Judas* in the Apostleship, *Acts* 1. 23. (7) *Matthias*, before his Advancement to the Apostolical Character and Office. (8) *Joses* or *Joseph*, fir-named *Barnabas*, who was afterwards an Apostle, *Acts* 4. 36, &c. (9) *Ananias* the Covetous, who was, with his Wife *Sapphira*, struck dead for this Sin, *Acts* 5. 1, 2, &c. (10) *Stephen*, the Proto-Deacon, and Proto-Martyr, *Acts* 6. 5. *Acts* 7. 1, 2, &c. (11) *Philip*, *Acts* 6. 5. (12) *Prochorus*, *Ibid.* (13) *Nicanor*, *Ibid.* (14) *Timon*, *Ibid.* (15) *Parmenas*, *Ibid.* (16) *Nicholas*, *Ibid.* (17) *Ananias*, that was sent with a Divine Message to *Saul*, i. e. to *Paul*, *Acts* 9. 10. (18) *Simon* the Tanner, *Acts* 9. 43. (19) *Simeon* called *Niger*, *Acts* 13. 1. (20) *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, *Ibid.* (21) *Mannaen*, who was brought up with *Herod* the Tetrarch, *Ibid.* (22) *Agabus* the Prophet, *Acts* 11. 28. (23) *Judas* fir-named *Barsabas*, *Acts* 15. 22, 32. (24) *Silas*, *Ibid.* (25) *Mnason* of *Cyprus*, an old Disciple, *Acts* 21. 16. (26) *Andronicus*; And, (27) *Junia*, whom the Apostle calls *Kinsmen*, and *Men of Note among the Apostles*, and that were in *Christ* before himself, *Rom.* 16. 7. (28) *Simon* of *Cyrene*, *Matth.* 27. 32.

II. The Names of such Persons as seem afterwards to have been made either *Evangelists*, or *Pastors*, or *Deacons*.

(1) *Timothy*, to whom *Paul* writes two Epistles. (2) *Titus*, to whom he writes one Epistle. (3) *Philemon*, to whom he writes an Epistle. (4) *John*, fir-named *Mark*, *Acts* 12. 25. *Chap.* 15. 37. *2 Tim.* 3. 11. Sister's Son to *Barnabas*, *Col.* 4. 10. Whom, upon this account, as a young Man, I cast into this Catalogue. And, as such, I distinguish him from *Mark*, who wrote the Gospel at the Mouth of *Peter*, as Antiquity tells us; of whom mention is made, *1 Pet.* 5. 13. whom that Apostle calls his Son. So that, as the *one Mark*, whose proper Name was *John*, was the Companion of *Barnabas* and *Paul*; the other was the constant Attendant of *Peter*. (5) *Aquila* the Husband of *Priscilla*, *Acts* 18. 2. (6) *Apollos*, *Acts* 18. 24, &c. (7) *Eraustus*, *Acts* 19. 22. *2 Tim.* 4. 20. see *Rom.* 16. 23. (8) *Scpater* of *Berea*, *Acts* 20. 4. *Aristarchus*, *Ibid.* and *ch.* 19. 29. and *Col.* 4. 10. and *Philem.* ver 24. (10) *Secundus*, *Acts* 20. 4. (11) *Gaius*, *Ibid.* and *ch.* 19. 29. and *Rom.* 26. 23. and *1 Cor.* 1. 14. 3 *John* 1. (12) *Tychicus*, *Acts* 20. 4. (13) *Trophimus*, *Ibid.* (14) *Crispus*, who was before the chief Ruler of the Synagogue of *Corinth*, *Acts* 18. 8. *1 Cor.* 1. 14. (15) *Jesus* called *Justus*, *Col.* 4. 11. (16) *Onesimus*, *Col.* 4. 9. *Philem.* v. 10, 16. (17) *Epaphras*, *Col.* 4. 12. and *Philem.* ver. 23. (18) *Demas*, *2 Tim.* 4. 10. *Col.* 4. 14. *Philem.* v. 24. (19) *Archippus*, *Col.* 4. 17. (20) *Crescens*, *2 Tim.* 4. 10. (21) *Tychicus*, *2 Tim.* 4. 12. and *Tit.* 3. 12. (22) *Artemas*, *Tit.* 3. 12. (23) *Tychicus*, *Ibid.* (24) *Zenas*, the Lawyer, *Ibid.* ver. 13. (25) *Silvanus*, *1 Pet.* 5. 12. (26) *Demetrius*, 3 *John*, v. 12. (27) *Diotrephes*, who affected the Pre-eminence of an Apostle, and even that of a Superiour one to the Apostle *John* himself, 3 *John*, ver. 9, 10. (28) *Antipas*, the faithful Martyr, *Rev.* 2. 13. (29) *Epaphroditus*, *Phil.* 2. 25. who, as I shall have occasion to

to prove afterwards, was so far from being Bishop of *Philippi*, that he was only their Messenger, and probably no more than a Deacon of their Church. (30) *Euodias*, *Phil.* 4. 2. (31) *Syntiche*, *Ibid.* (32) *Clement*, *Ibid.* v. 3. (33) *Dionysius the Arcopagite*, *Acts* 17. 34. (34) *Epenetus*, *Rom.* 16. 5. (35) *Urbane*, *Ibid.* v. 9.

III. The Names of such Persons, none of which seem to have been in any Office in the Church, but only private Christians, tho most of them eminent ones, in one respect or another. And here I shall mention, not only Men, but Women, whose Names are recorded; passing by those, that are not mention'd by Name, but indefinitely only.

(1) The *Virgin Mary*. (2) *Zacharias*, and (3) *Elizabeth*, the Father and Mother of *John the Baptist*: for I do not insert that Great Man, in this Catalogue, as being an extraordinary Prophet, as well as the Fore-runner of Christ. (4) Good old *Simeon* the Prophet, *Luke* 2. 25, &c. (5) *Anna*, the Prophetess, *Ibid.* ver. 36, &c. (6) *Zachews* the Publican, *Luke* 19. 5. (7) *Nicodemus*, who came to Christ by Night, *John* 3. 1. ch. 7. 50. and ch. 19. 39. (8) *Joseph of Arimathea*, *John* 19. 38. (9) *Simon* the Sorcerer, who afterwards proved a vile Monster, *Acts* 8. 9, 13. (10) *Martha*, and (11) *Mary*, the Sisters of *Lazarus*, *John* 11. 1. (12) *Mary Magdalen*, *Matth.* 27. 56. (13) *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Joses*, *Ibid.* (14) *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, alias *Alpheus*, *John* 19. 25. (15) *Salome* the Mother of *Zebedee's* Children, *Luke* 24. 10. compare with *Mark* 15. 40. (16) *Foanna*, *Ibid.* and ch. 8. 3. (17) *Susanna*, *Ibid.* (18) *Damaris*, *Acts* 17. 34. (19) *Tabitha*, called *Dorcas*, *Acts* 9. 36. (20) *Lydia*, *Acts* 16. 14. (21) *Eutichus*, *Acts* 20. 9. (22) *Sergius Paulus*, *Acts* 13. 7, 12. (23) *Cornelius*, the Centurion, *Acts* 10. 1, &c. (24) *Jason*, *Acts* 17. 6. and *Rom.* 16. 21. (25) *Alexander*, *Acts* 19. 33. (26) *Nymphas*, *Col.* 4. 15. (27) *Carpus*, *2 Tim.* 4. 13. (28) *Onesiphorus*, *Ibid.* v. 19. (29) *Priscilla* the Wife of *Aquila*, *Acts* 18. 2. (30) *Eu-
bulus*,

bulus, 2 *Tim.* 4. 21. (31) *Pudens*, *Ibid.* (32) *Linus*, *Ibid.*
 (33) *Claudia*, *Ibid.* (34) *Mary*, *Rom.* 16. 6. (35) *Amplias*,
Ibid. v. 8. (36) *Stachys*, *Ibid.* v. 9. (37) *Apelles*, *Ibid.*
 v. 10. (38) *Aristobolus*, *Ibid.* (39) *Herodian*, *Ibid.* v.
 11. (40) *Narcissus*, *Ibid.* (41) *Tryphena*, *Ibid.* v. 12.
 (42) *Tryphosa*, *Ibid.* (43) *Persis*, *Ibid.* (44) *Rufus*, *Ibid.*
 v. 13. (45) *Asyncritus*, *Ibid.* v. 14. (46) *Phlegon*, *Ibid.*
 (47) *Hermas*, *Ibid.* (48) *Patrobas*, *Ibid.* (49) *Hermes*,
Ibid. (50) *Philologus*, *Ibid.* v. 15. (51) *Julia*, *Ibid.*
 (52) *Nerens*, *Ibid.* (53) *Olympas*, *Ibid.* (54) *Lucius*,
Ibid. v. 21. (55) *Sosipater*, *Ibid.* (56) *Tertius*, *Ibid.* v.
 22. (57) *Quartus*, *Ibid.* v. 23. (58) *Phebe*, *Rom.* 16. 1.
 (59) *Tyrannus*, *Acts* 19. 9.

Now, Reader, if the Spirit of God thought it not unworthy of the Bible, to insert these Names there; I hope it will not be thought too mean a Work, to cast them together, after this manner. I confess I go upon Conjecture only, in ranking most of them; and therefore perhaps some of those of the *first* or *second* Lists belong to the *third*, and so *vice versa*. But if I have done so, the matter is of no Consequence; nor had I any exact light to direct me, in ranking them. And yet, were it not to avoid Tedioufness, I could give some probability for ranking every one of them as I have done; and far greater probability, as to severals of them, than most Persons perhaps will believe; taken from some Characteristical Hints given, and from some other less obvious Considerations. But it is high time now, that I should go forward, to something of an higher Nature and greater Usefulness.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Third Sort of Divine Wisdom, conspicuous in Christ, viz. That Spiritual or Heavenly Wisdom, by which he manag'd himself, in relation to invisible intellectual Agents, God, Angels and Devils, in the Discharge of his Trust, with respect to Mankind and Human Affairs, in order to his obtaining, as Loganthropos, that Supreme and Universal Headship and Empire, for the obtaining whereof he became Man, and suffered in the World.

IN order to understand, how wisely Christ manag'd himself, in the discharge of this his Trust, and with respect to this End, I must beg the Reader to look over again what I said, in the beginning of the 2d Chapter; where I did not only *Sum* up the Subject of the 1st Chapter, or 1st Sort of Wisdom, treated of therein; but did build upon it a *Prudential Maxim*, by which I supposed Christ did manage himself, as a Man, in a relation to all Sorts of Men, he had to do with.

For the *same Maxim*, with *another Accommodation*, will serve to let in our Minds, to conceive, how Christ behav'd in the Grand Affair of Man's Salvation, with respect to invisible, as well as visible Agents. For to the one, as well as the other, *He behaved himself with an exact Decorum, in Relation to the Circumstances of his State of Humiliation and Trial, and with respect to the ends of his appearing thus among Men.*

And with respect to *invisible* as well as *visible Agents*, we must suppose Christ to act here, as the *Second Adam*, intrusted with the Affairs of Mankind. And therefore tho the *Union* of the *Human Nature* with the *Logos*, must ever be supposed to be that which put a Divine Value upon whatever Christ did, and rendred his Acti-

ons and Sufferings *Meritorious*: Yet, we must abstract here, as well as in the other case, from Christ's being God, or the Eternal *Logos*, and consider him as Man only, in his Conduct of himself in relation to God and Angels, whether good or bad; with respect to his having the very same Trust, for Substance, reposed in him now, which the *first Adam* formerly had, tho' different as to Circumstances. For the Apostle has taught us thus to consider Christ as Man, in this Management of himself, when he makes him the second federal Head of Men, and considers him as a Man, in contradistinction to the first Man; saying, 1 Cor. 15. 20, 21, 22. *But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first Fruits of them that slept. For since by Man came Death, by Man came also the Resurrection from the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.* And so also, Rom. 5. 19. *For as by one Man's Disobedience many were made Sinners, so by the Obedience of one many shall be made Righteous.* And ver. 15. ——— *For, if through the Offence of one many be dead; much more the Grace of God, and the Gift by Grace, which is by one Man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many.*

But, tho' Christ come to be considered, in his Behaviour thus to *invisible* as well as *visible Agents*, as *Man only*, or the *Second Adam*, abstracting from the Consideration of his being the *Logos*; and tho' also, the same Rule or *Maxim of Wisdom* was followed by him, in respect to this *Heavenly Wisdom*, as well as in reference to his *Human or Prudential Wisdom*, treated of before: Yet, as I hinted but just now, the Accommodation of this *Maxim*, by our Saviour, is as different in *this Case*, from what it was in the former; as is that of the *Nature and Circumstances* of the *invisible Agents*, from the *Nature and Circumstances* of the *visible ones*.

How he manag'd himself in relation to *visible intelligent Agents*, of all sorts, I have already said. So that it remains, that I should consider, how he acted, as the *Second Adam*, intrusted with the Affairs of Mankind, in reference to the *invisible intellectual Beings*, with whom he

he had to do. Which I am the rather concerned to do, because this is a Subject that was never distinctly treated of before, that I know of, and never so much as mention'd in our common Systems.

And now seeing the *invisible Agents* are altogether different, either in Nature and Circumstances both, as *God* and *Angels*, whether good or bad, are; or in Circumstances only, as *Angels* and *Devils* are from one another: We are oblig'd from thence, to suppose, that the *Man Christ* was under a Necessity, to carry to all these accordingly.

I might add a fourth Sort of invisible Agents, with whom Christ had to do also, *viz. separate Souls*, whether good or bad. But, seeing they belong to the Class of Mankind, and were therefore, (as well as Men alive in this World) part of Christ's Charge, tho otherwise in different Circumstances from the Living; and seeing, I shall have occasion afterwards to speak of them, and of *Hades* directly, in the 5th Book, under the Head of *Christocracy*: I shall wave all Consideration of them at present, and confine my self to the other three; which are all that 'tis proper to consider our Saviour in a relation to, in this place.

And 1st, let us begin with *God*: for to him, in this case, as in all other respects, belongs the *Priority*.

Now, seeing we consider Christ here, not as *Logos*, but as *Man*, we are oblig'd to consider God not *relatively*, with reference unto the Persons of the Trinity, but *Essentially*, as the one Supreme Being and Ruler of Mankind, and of the Man Christ.

God here is therefore to be conceived of, as the *Supreme Rector* of the World, who, as he had intrusted the *First Adam*, with the Preservation of the Dignity and Interests of Human Nature; so does here allow *Christ*, to make an Essay towards the recovery of the Dignity and Interests of human Nature again; promising that if he did so, he should recover to Mankind all that *Adam* had lost to them; providing, that they would be induc'd, upon his doing so, to renounce

the old *Adam*, and put themselves under his Conduct.

But, seeing the *Man Christ* was to act towards God, not as an ordinary Man, but as *related* to the *Logos*; therefore we must suppose, that *God the Father* did, in this Case, *sustain the Dignity of the Deity*, in a most peculiar manner. So that the *Man Christ*, in carrying himself aright to the Deity, must be supposed to eye the first Person directly, seeing the *Man Jesus*, was to be so united unto the *Logos*, as, in some sort to owe its very Personality to the second Person of the Trinity; the *Logos* being from henceforth to come under the Title and Idea of the *Loganthropos*, or the *Logos-Man*.

But in order to understand this glorious Mystery, I must lead the Reader's Thoughts backwards, or rather upwards, even as far as the first Formation and Lapse of the first *Adam*, nay and to the *Divine Counsel* too, so far as it relates to Mankind, thus considered, and as we can judge of it from Scripture. And, seeing my Thoughts upon this Head must be close and concise, I must desire the Reader, to advert the more narrowly to the Hints given, especially as to the Transitions.

In the first Place then, let us observe, that *Adam* was not made so, as to be *the very Image* or *Picture* of *God*, *absolutely* or *essentially* consider'd, but of the *Logos*. For, 1. It is impossible, that any thing finite should be the Image of what is infinite, in any propriety of Speech, unless in a very distant and imperfect respect. 2. Nor can the abstract Essence or Nature of any thing, far less of the Deity, have any thing that can bear the Name of its Image.

The *Image* or *Picture* of *God* therefore must relate to him *personally* considered, even as the *Image* of a *Man* relates to him as such. And, seeing it is not the Property of *Natures* or *Essences*, *abstractly* considered to operate, but of *Persons*: We are oblig'd to suppose, that, when *Adam* is said to be *made after the Image of God*, or *after his Likeness*, *Gen. I. 26, 27. ch. 5. 1. ch. 9. 6.* the Sacred

cred Oracles must be understood to mean this only ; That *Adam* was made after the *Image* of one of the Persons of the Glorious Trinity.

Now *Adam* was not made after the Image of the *First Person*, or the Father, (I mean that he was not expressly or immediately made after the Father's Person :) for this is asserted to be the peculiar Property of **Christ himself**, of whom alone it is said, *That he was the express Image of the Father's Person*, as well as the *Brightness of his Glory*, (n) *Heb. 1. 3.* And indeed no less is insinuated, plainly enough, in those very places of *Genesis*, that I have quoted. For Man is not said there, to be made after God's Person, or to be made the very Image of God, but to be made after the Image of God, i. e. to be a Copy taken from the First or Original Picture of God, viz. from the *Logos*. For a Picture that is taken from the Original it self, and a Picture that is only taken from that first Copy, are altogether different things. And therefore the Sense is plainly this, that *Adam* was made, at first, after the *Logos*, who was the true Image of his Father. For to be the Image of God it self, i. e. his proper and immediate Image, is so the Prerogative of the *Logos*, as that it were Blasphemy to ascribe it, in a direct or immediate Sense, even to the highest Angel. And therefore *Philo*, and the *Targum's*, and, I may say, all the ancient Fathers, do agree, that Man was made after the Image of the *Logos*. Thus (o) *Philo* says, that we are all the Sons of one Man ; for, says he, if we are not worthy to be esteemed (i. e. in an immediate Sense) the Children of God, yet we may lay claim to this, that we are the Children of the most Holy *Logos*, who is his Eternal Image ; for the most Ancient *Logos* is the Image of God. And indeed what else can that sacred ironical Derision or Sarcasm relate to, but this ? when it is said, *Gen. 3. 22.* Behold the Man is become as one of us.

(n) See *Christol. lib. 2. cap. 7. pag. 284.* (o) *De Confus. Ling. p. 267. C.*

But yet there is perhaps something higher in this Expression, than has ever yet been taken notice of. To understand which, we must remember, that tho *Adam* was made after *the Image* of the *Logos*, *personally considered*, yet he could not be made after *the Image* of the *Person* of the *Logos*. For between these two there is a vast Difference. For, the *Essence* of the *Logos* being common to all the glorious Persons of the Sacred Trinity, and being such as could have no Image, as I have said: it must be the *Logos* *personally considered*, if at all, after whose Image the first Man was made. But however, the Question still remains intire; *How Man was made after the Image of the Logos?* To which I answer, That the *Logos*, *personally considered*, comes under a twofold Relation, *viz.* with respect to his Father, and the Holy Spirit, and with respect to Creatures. With respect to the Father and the Holy Spirit, he comes under the Idea of the Eternal Son of God. But as such he is intuitively known by no Creature, but is only known by himself, and the other Persons of the Trinity. Therefore with relation to intelligent Creatures, we are oblig'd to suppose, that he did ever *assume* some *Form*, in order to be known by them. And it was certainly *after this Form*, that *Adam* was made. For it was simply impossible that he should be made after the *Person* of the *Logos*, as he was the *Eternal Son*, or *second Person* of the *Trinity*. But he might very well be made after the *created Form*, wherein Christ appeared to the Angels; which was, unquestionably, that of *Light organized in human Shape*, of which I have treated so largely already, in the Second Book, and particularly in the 7th Chapter, that I need say no more to it now. And this was *that Form of God*, wherein Christ was seen of old, and which was eclips'd or withdrawn, when he took upon him *the Form of a Servant*, of which *Paul* speaks, *Phil. 2. 5.* And, for the Restauration of this Christ prays, *John 17. 5.* when he says, *Glorify thou me, with thine own self, with that Glory, (i. e. Shechinah, or ancient Form of God, wherein I was seen before my Incarnation,*

tion, and) *which I had with thee before the World was.* For sure no Man can be so absurd as to imagin, that the *Logos* sustained any real Change, as to his *Person* or *Personality*, by his tabernacling in human Nature.

It was not therefore after the *proper Person* of the *Logos*, that Man was made, but after *his Image*, i. e. that *created and assumed Form* of the *Shechinah*, wherein he appeared and acted to intelligent Creatures; and which therefore might justly be called *the Image of God*. And it is memorable, by what I cited out of the *Sohar* and *Philo*, in the 6th Chapter of the preceding Book, that the Jews do most commonly speak of the ancient *Logos*, or *Shechinah*, as a *Man*, i. e. as One who was ever known under that *Form*.

And, if this be considered, we may see what relates to the Origin, *Primal State* and *Fall* of Man, in a clearer Light than it was ever yet set in. For which end, let us consider these Things. 1. That when God is about to make Man, He says not, *Let us make Man, as one of us*, but *let us make Man, in our Image, after our Likeness*, Gen. 1. 26. i. e. Let us make Man after that *Likeness*, which intelligent Beings call the *Image* or *Likeness* of God, as being that wherein the Son, who is the perfect *Image* of God, does manifest himself, and consequently God, to them. 2. When *Adam* therefore was made, he was made after this *Image*. For besides the *Shape* of Man, that remain'd after the *Fall*, he had at first a *Luminous Vestment* which was concreated with him. But when our *First Parents* revolted from God, that (*p*) *Luminous Garment*, (which was a *Pledge* of *Innocence*, and of their *Protection* under, and *Favour* with

(p) That this was the Tradition and Belief of the Ancient Jews, appears from the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, upon Gen. 3. 7. where we have this Paraphrase of the Words: And the Eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; for they found that their White (or Bright) Garment, with which they had been created, was gone from them. The word which I translate White here, signifies the Onyx or Alabaster, and therefore the Latin Version has it thus, *Nu-*

with the *Logos* or *Shechinah*) was taken from them ; so that they were left naked, to their Shame and Confusion, being put to that poor shift, of attempting to make up the want of their former Garment, by one made of Fig-

dati enim erant à veste Onychina, in qua creati erant : And this Garment is said to have been that to the whole Body, which the Nails are to one part of the Fingers and Toes ; but more beautiful and pliable. And this may confirm what I said, in a Marginal Note, upon the name Adam, in the first Chapter. For I do suppose, that from this glorious Garment, both Adam and Eve had the general Name of Adam, (as we see they were both called at first, Gen. 5. 1, 2.) For this Garment was, 1. Their Ornament and Glory. 2. The Badge and Pledge of their Innocence and Favour with God. 3. Their Defence against Injuries of Weather, against Accidents of any sort, and against Sickness, Pain and Weariness. 4. Their Protection against Satan ; so as he could not immediately approach them, to hurt their Bodies. 5. The Ensign and Means of their Authority over the inferior Creatures, as being Sovereigns of this Lower World. And, 6. It was that which rendered their Bodies immortal, as the Author of the Book of Wisdom insinuates, ch. 2. 23. And, as it is every way rational to suppose, that our First Parents were thus clothed and dignified, when they were created ; so I must say, that without this Supposition, I see not what rational Account can be given of the Consternation that they found themselves in, by reason of their Nakedness, immediately after the Fall. Obj. But is it not expressly said, Gen. 2. ult. that before the Fall, they were both naked, the Man and his Wife, and were not ashamed. Answ. If this be understood of an absolute Nakedness, we must have an odd Idea of their Knowledge, or rather Ignorance ; that being naked, they did not know so much. For, that they were not ashamed (if this be the Sense) was because they knew not that they were so, if we must rigidly adhere to the literal meaning ; seeing we are told, Gen. 3. 7. that as soon as they had sinned, the Eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked. Now, it is an inconceivable thing to me, that Adam and Eve should be as naked before the Fall as after, and yet be so blind as never to see this, and so ignorant as not to know it ; and that this Sight and Knowledge of theirs must be owing to their Apostacy from God. The meaning therefore of the words, Gen. 2. ult. must be this : That tho Adam and Eve had no such material Garment before the Fall, as they had afterwards, when God cloth'd them with the Skins of Beasts, Gen. 3. 21. in which Sense they were indeed naked : yet they had no reason of being sham'd, seeing they were cloth'd with such a luminous Garment, as did more than sufficiently make up that want. And, this being once allowed to be the Sense, we shall soon see how naturally all the rest of this History will come to be understood. For, their luminous Garment being removed from them, they do immediately apprehend their Misery. And thus they are said, ch. 3. 7. To have their Eyes opened,

Fig-leaves. 3. *Adam and Eve* therefore, as well as Satan, knew sufficiently what the Image of God meant, after which they were created. So that had he told them, that if they did eat of the forbidden Fruit, they should

opened, and to know that they were naked. *And therefore finding themselves defenceless, and in all respects alter'd for the worse, even as Sampson was, in point of Strength, when he had lost his Hair; they hide themselves for Shame amongst the Bushes and Trees, and twist the broad Leaves of the Fig-tree round about them (probably the Indian Fig-tree, whose Leaves are prodigiously broad) and by these, as with green Arbors, (as Mr. Le Clerc supposes, or as I rather think, with the Current of Interpreters) Aprons, they cover themselves. But having been inur'd before the Lapse, with the Company of the Luminous Angels, yea and with Converse with the Shechinah himself, who appeared as a Man thus apparel'd with Light, they dread the Appearance either of them or him now, whose Company was their greatest Pleasure and Satisfaction before. When therefore they hear the Voice of the Shechinah, as he walked in the Garden, as usually before. ch. 3. 8. it is said, that Adam and Eve hid themselves from the Presence (that is, the Shechinah) of the Lord, amongst the Trees of the Garden. But the Shechinah, who knew very well where they were, follows them, and, drawing near, says, ver. 9. Adam, where art thou? What's become of thee? or, what's the matter with thee, that thou avoid'st my Presence, when thou didst hear my Voice calling thee? So that, by the way, we are oblig'd to conclude, that the Logos did not only appear in a visible manner, but convers'd also with Adam and Eve audibly, and by an articulate Voice. And it would appear, by the Account of Moses, that when the Shechinah had a mind to converse with Adam, he order'd Matters so, that a particular Voice should be heard, which Adam and Eve knew to be his Voice from all others, as is insinuated, ver. 8. And it is not improbable, but that there might be certain times appointed for their more solemn Adoration of the Deity, and that at such times the Shechinah might either appear himself, or delegate some Angel to renew the Evidences of his Approbation. And perhaps the Cool of the Day might be one of those proper times of Worship, as being more temperate, and therefore fitter for Adam and Eve's being sub Dio, in the free Air, and under the open Canopy of Heaven, without any need of the Shade, as in the Heat of the Day. But however that was, it was at that time that the Shechinah appeared and walked in the Garden, as Adam and Eve were walking there: And therefore it gave the greater Suspicion of their Guilt (to speak after the manner of Men) that they should seek for Shade and Cover, at such a time. Now, the Logos approaching the Place where they were, and saying, Adam: where art thou? He answers, ver. 10. I heard thy Voice in the Garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid myself. The Sense of which is plainly this, O Lord, it is not now with me as formerly.*

should be like unto the Image of God, they would immediately have concluded, that the Tempter was delirious; for so they were already. When therefore he promises that they should be *as God*, ch. 2. 5. He must mean,

I did indeed bear thy Voice in the Garden, as I us'd to do : but I was not in case to appear before thee ; and therefore thy Voice, that formerly was so delightful to me, produc'd nothing but Fear and Terror in me. For alas ! I am naked, I am naked. For, tho I have made a sort of Garment to cover me, yet it is not that which formerly I was covered with. That Luminous Garment is gone, and therefore I hid my self in this Thicket from Thee. Upon which the Shechinah, tho he knew all things, makes these further Demands, ver. 11. Who told thee, that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the Tree whereof I commanded thee that thou should not eat? But, tho our Version renders the Words, as if they were two distinct Queries, yet the Hebrew seems to represent these to be but two Parts of one and the same Sentence, thus : Who told thee, that thou art naked? Is it not because thou hast eaten, &c. That is, Ha, Adam, is it come to this pass with thee? Who was it that occasion'd thy being thus naked? Was not thy own Sin produc'd this Change? And now, I leave the Reader to consider, whether the Account which I have given of this matter, be not much more rational, consistent and intelligible, than the ordinary Exposition of this Matter, as our old Commentators and other Divines have handled things. But besides, I desire it may be considered, that this Notion is what the Apostle Paul seems plainly to allude unto, and found upon as certain, in more than one place, as particularly, 2 Cor. 5. 1, 2, 3, &c. and 1 Cor. 15. 44, 45, 53, 54. In the first of those Places, it is plain to me, that the Apostle runs a Comparison between our present Body and that Vehicle, that the Souls of good Men will be clothed with, in its stead, after Death, until the Resurrection. The first He calls an earthly House of a Tabernacle, ver. 1. The second, our House which is to be given us from Heaven, and with which we shall then be clothed, ver. 2. And therefore he says, that he did not desire to be unclothed, but to be clothed upon; as a Man that casts off an old Suit of Clothes, in order to put on new and finer Apparel, ver. 3, 4. But then in the second Passage, the Apostle speaks of the Resurrection of that earthly Body, that was laid in the Grave; and so he takes occasion to shew us the vast Change wrought upon it, viz. That whereas it is now corruptible and mortal, it shall then be made a sort of spiritual Body, by being made Immortal and Glorious. Now when he says, ver. 53. This corruptible Body must put on Incorruption, and this mortal Body must put on Immortality; He seems plainly to allude to that Garment of Light, with which our first Parents were clothed in their Primal State; the being clothed with which render'd them immortal; and the withdrawing of which made them infirm and mortal. Whereas therefore, in the first of these Passages, the Apostle speaks of the Happiness of good Souls, when they

mean, and they understand, that they should be such Persons themselves from that time, as He himself personally was, according to whose assumed or external Form or Image they were made. 4. And hence that Sarcasm is easily understood, *Gen. 3. 22. Behold Man is become as one of us!* For it is as much as to say, Behold how Man is exalted! For not contented to be made after the Image of one of us, (*viz.* the *Logos*) but aspiring after a Parity with the very Person of him, after whose Image (*i. e.* *Shechinah*) he was made: Behold to what State he is brought! A Saying, which, stript of its Irony, amounts to this. Behold poor Man how he is fallen, and how he has stript himself of his Glory; the Badge of the *Shechinah* having justly deserted him, who, not contented to be his Servant, aspired to rival him in some sort, as to his very Divinity. So that Satan drew Man into the very same Sin, upon the main, that had occasion'd his own Fall; as I shall have occasion to shew afterwards more particularly.

Now, Man being thus sunk from his Primitive Excellency, God might justly have suffer'd him to continue miserable, or otherwise have extirpated him, and all his Race, in him, as he pleased. But we must suppose the *Logos* to step in here; who, touch'd with Pity for Mankind, with Indignation against Satan, and with a Sense of the Indignity done himself, resolves to take

they leave their Bodies, in respect of that Heavenly Clothing, which they will then put on, and by reason of which the Souls of such Men will be rendered not only immortal, but also capable of acting as Men. In this second Passage, he sufficiently insinuates, that when our former Bodies shall be raised again, the Luminous Vehicle or Garment that had clothed the separate Soul before, will be so framed and adapted, as to become the Vestment of the Body, and so of the whole Man; by which his Body will be rendered Immortal and perfect in its kind, as well as the Soul. So that this Opinion is unjustly ascrib'd to Origen, as the Inventor of it: for it was the ancient Opinion of the Jewish Church, from whence Pythagoras and Plato borrowed it, tho' they improv'd it too far, in their Notion of the Transmigration of Souls. However the Doctrine it self is that which Paul owns, and which therefore I believe.

upon

upon himself the Recovery of lost Mankind, as far as could be done agreeably with Mens Circumstances and his own.

Upon his Interposition, we must suppose, that a Suspension of the Threatning (made in case of Mans Rebellion) must immediately follow. But, in this weighty and divine Affair, seeing it is impossible, that we can reason otherwise than after the manner of Men, and seeing even the Scripture speaks to us, in this Dialect: We must suppose, that an Agreement or Covenant must be entred into between the Father and Son, with mutual Consent. And this is what goes under the Name of the *Covenant of Redemption*, that is supposed to have been between *God* and the *Logos*, in order to the Redemption and Salvation of lost Sinners. To conceive of which rightly, we must remember, that *God* comes under a twofold *εχέσις* or Consideration, with respect to Men, *viz.* either as an *Absolute* or *Supreme Sovereign*, or as a *merciful condescending Father*. He is conceived to act under the first Notion, in his *Decrees*, generally considered; and, in this second respect, he is supposed to act, in this *Counsel of his Peace*, in order thus to save those that were lost.

That we must suppose such a Covenant or Agreement between *God* and *Christ*, will be plain to those that shall impartially consider the following Passages of Scripture, which I shall barely cite here, for Brevity's sake, as being desirous to leave them to Mens own Thoughts. They are these; *Isa.* 29. 20, 21. *cb.* 42. *ver.* 6, 7. *cb.* 52. from *v.* 13, to the end, together with the whole 53^d Chapter, *Psal.* 40. 6, 7, 8. compared with *Heb.* 10. 5, 6, 7. *Psal.* 89. 3, &c. *John* 6. 27. and from *v.* 36, to *v.* 45. *cb.* 10. 14, &c. *Heb.* 3. 2. *Luke* 22. 22.

But, besides all these Expressions, if we consider, (1.) the Design, either of the Types of *Christ*, as particularly of the *Pascal Lamb*, *John* 1. 29. *Rev.* 13. 8. or of the Names of *Christ*, such as *Goel*, Redeemer, *Job* 19. 24. and *Μεσίτης*, Mediator, *1 Tim.* 2. 5, 6. we cannot but suppose such an Agreement; especially, if we

we consider such Expressions, as seem to be consequential upon this Supposition; such as these, which we have, *Matth. 26. 28. 1 Cor. 6. 20. 1 Pet. 1. 18. Eph. 1. 7, 14. Heb. 13. 20.* (2.) And surely the Account, which we have of the Offices of Christ, doth immediately lean upon such a Supposition; as when he is called *the Messenger of the Covenant, Mal. 3. 1. the Christ, or anointed King over Sion, Psal. 2. Acts 2. 36. the Prophet or Teacher, for this end, Acts 3. 22. the Witness, Isa. 55. 4. John 18. 37. the High Priest by Agreement, Heb. 5. 4, 5, 6. the Great Judge, John 5. 22. and he on whose Shoulder the Key of the House of David is laid, Isa. 22. 23, 24.* (3.) And besides all these things, we may easily observe all the Requisites of this Covenant hinted in Scripture. And surely, where all things necessary for matter and form to constitute a Covenant are, the actual being of it cannot be denied. Now we find in Scripture Consent of Parties; *viz. That the Father sent Christ, John 6. 40. Acts 3. 26. and that Christ accepted to be sent, John 6. 38. Heb. 10. 9. That it pleased the Father that he should lay down his Life, Rom. 8. 32. Isa. 53. 10. and that this was Christ's Choice and Pleasure likewise, John 10. 18. Isa. 50. 6.* (4.) Nay we have an account of Proposals made by God to Christ, in this Covenant, *Psal. 110. 1. Psal. 2. 7, 8. compare with Acts 13. 33. and Heb. 1. 5.* And we have an account also of Christ's Consent to these Proposals, *Prov. 8. 22, &c. Psal. 40. 6, &c.* (5.) Yea we have the Vestiges of exprefs and formal covenanting between *Jehovah* and the *Logos*; consisting, in Stipulation and Re-stipulation; in Promises and Proposals on the one part, and the accepting of them and consenting to them on the other, in many remarkable Instances. For we have *Commands with Promises* from God to Christ, *Micb. 5. 4, 5. Isa. 42. 1, 2, &c.* We have *Promises with Conditions*, *Isa. 53. 10, 11, 12.* We have *Conditions with Consent*, *Heb. 10. 5, 7.* We have *consenting with Performance*, *John 17. 4. Phil. 2. 8, 9.* We have *asking and giving*, *Psal. 2. 8.* And we have *Work with Wages*, *Isa. 49. 3, 6. John 10:*

17. *Isa.* 53. 12. *Isa.* 49. 4. *Heb.* 12. 2. (6.) Nay let me add, that as it is plain such a Covenant is, so it is not difficult to prove this *a fortiori*, viz. that it is necessary that it should be. I mean not an *absolute* and *simple* Necessity, such as there is for the Being of God; nor yet a *natural* Necessity, as if God and Christ had been obliged thus to concert Measures for our Redemption. But I mean a *Hypothetical* Necessity, upon the Supposition of a gratuitous Intention in God to save us, and of Christ's being a free Agent, who was no otherwise obliged to save us, than as his Father's Pity and Goodness, and his own, prompted him to agree to do so. Only we must ever remember, that tho' we are allowed to speak of these things *more humano*, i. e. after the manner of Men, because we can do no otherwise; yet we are ever to remember to think this, that *Counsel*, *Contract*, *Covenant*, and such like Words (together with the Ideas, which they contain or suggest to us) are not to be applied to God and Christ, in such a manner, as if there were any Dispute, Reasoning, or the like things to be properly supposed, as is here among Men.

Now this Covenant being supposed, it will naturally follow; That by virtue of this Undertaking, Christ acted as the Ruler of the World and Church, before his Incarnation, as well as since, tho' not in the same manner; and that God performed to him what he had promised and agreed to, both before and since Christ's Coming. And hence then we may easily see that on these, as the Foundation, the New Covenant is erected; and that upon the Supposition of Christ's Acquiring this Right and Power, he was allowed to erect such prior Dispensations, as might be proper for the time, and adapted to introduce the more excellent one under the Gospel.

Now, as from these Hints it is certain that such a Covenant-Transaction is supposed in Scripture, so it is necessary that we should labour to have as distinct Thoughts of this, as possibly we can. But, seeing it is

is from the Scripture alone that we can judge of this, we must keep close to the Hints given there.

Now my Notion of this wonderful Transaction, (which I think has never been yet cleared up by any Man, but rather made obscure by what has been hitherto publish'd on this Subject) I shall present the Reader with a short Scheme of, in the following Suppositions.

And, 1. I do suppose, as I have said, that the *Logos*, according to the Agreement of the Sacred Trinity, was He, that acted ever to Created Intelligent Beings, as their immediate Head, in the Name of God, essentially considered; The *Father* sustaining the Glory thereof, in the mean time, as the First Person, and therefore never acting to Creatures immediately; and the *Holy Spirit*, acting indeed, but invisibly, and by Delegation both from Father and Son.

2. The *Logos*, being Infinite, in regard of Essence, could never be seen or known, even by the most glorious created Spirits, had he not condescended to assume some created Form; such as that which the Jews call'd the *Shechinah*, or the Glory of God. And it seems plain to me, that the *Logos* appeared thus in Heaven to the Angels, as I have already said.

3. And I look upon it to be more than probable, that this assumed Image, was not barely Light, or something like a luminous Cloud; but was something likewise of a determin'd Shape, appearing as an animated Being. And I believe, from what I can judge by laying things together, that it was the exact Representation of a Man, clothed with a most glorious Garment of wonderful Light. And I make no question, but this ancient Image was the very same, with that wherein Christ appears now in Glory, excepting that he has now a real animated Body of Human Flesh, whereas before he had an Etherial one only, or one of some such sort of Composition. But, excepting this, I make no question, but that the Features and Lincaments of the one Body and the other were as exactly, and more exactly, the same, than ever any Picture was like an Original. And when

when Christ was transfigured, I believe he appeared the very same to *Moses*, that he appeared to be to him formerly, when he and the Elders of *Israel*, as well as the Angels then present saw him upon *Mouth Sinai*, (p) *Exod. 24. 1, 2, &c.*

4. After this *Original Image* of the *Shechinah*, I do believe *Adam* to have been created at first, as *Eve* to have been a second Transcript of the same, taken immediately from *Adam*, as he was from the *Original Man*, even the *Organized Shechinah*. Nor do I think it any ways incongruous, to suppose that all the Angels have *Etherial*, or some such sort of Bodies, wherein they move and act, and that these Bodies of theirs were likewise fashion'd after the *Archetypal Image* of the *Shechinah*, as well as made by him, who thus appeared ever, and will ever thus appear, without whom nothing was made that was made. But I leave my Contemplations concerning Angels to a more proper place: and then I question not but I shall be able to give such an Account of some things, in relation to them, as will be pleasing to all Men of Candor and Ingenuity.

5. *Adam* being made after the *Image* of the *Logos*; the Apostate Spirits, who could not reach the Person of the *Logos*, by whom they were thrown out of Heaven, thought that they could not serve their Malice and Revenge better, than by defacing this Copy taken from him, and so much honoured by him. And this they do not only attempt, but with such Success as totally to prevail, first with *Eve*, and then with *Adam*.

6. *Adam* turning Apostate, it was no way fit, that he should wear the Livery of the *Shechinah* any longer; and therefore the *Luminous Garment*, with which he and *Eve* were clothed, is taken away, and they are left naked. Nay, had the Sentence been fully executed, they had been cut off at the same time. For the Sentence was; that if they sinn'd, they should die. And

(p) See my Exposition of this Place, lib. 2. ch. 7. p. 313, &c.

how reasonable this was, we may easily conclude from what I have hinted. For it was not to be indur'd, that the Grand Enemy of the *Logos* should erect that into a Trophy of Victory, which was made after his Image.

7. Here then we must suppose, that the *Father*, as the First Person, was about to destroy this Pair, and to extirpate in them, this new-made Race; the Honour of the Deity, and particularly of the *Logos*, requiring this; unless some Expedient could be found out, to save Matters, as well, or better, another way.

8. The *Logos*, being most directly affronted here, but pitying Man, and not willing so much as to seem to fall short of his end, in making such a Creature, and being justly incens'd against the Arch-Rebel, steps in, and offers to come into *Adam's* stead and room, to regain what he had lost.

9 The Father accepts the Offer of his Son. And upon this mutual Agreement, comes in the Notion of what is usually called the Covenant of Redemption or Reconciliation. But, tho' this was one Act in God, yet being such a complex one, according to our Method of conceiving things, as includes many, we are oblig'd accordingly to conceive of it, especially seeing the Sacred Scripture speaks in the same Dialect.

Now the only Key, by which we can be let in to the View of this wonderful Transaction, is to consider what Christ actually did. For we may be infallibly certain of this; that Christ acted exactly that part, which he had agreed to act in Concert with his Father's Will: As we are equally certain, that the Father did carry to him, and still does, exactly according to his Restipulation to the *Logos*, upon his having undertaken to become Man. And therefore by the help of this Key, and according to this Maxim, I think we may safely lay down these following Things, as so many *Articles of Agreement*, between *God* and the *Logos*; to speak after the manner of Men, seeing we cannot speak otherwise.

And, 1st. Christ having offered himself to act *Adam's* Part over again, and this being agreed to, in the Counsel of the Sacred Three ; (whom we call Persons for want of a better Word :) We must conceive that, *ipso facto*, immediately, upon that Concert, the *Logos* comes to be consider'd, in a new Relation to Mankind, as their Head, Ruler and Patron. And therefore the Agreement is made with him, as such, *i. e.* as, virtually and intentionally, the *Loganthropos*, and not as the *Logos* or Son of God, simply consider'd. And, seeing every Divine Intention or fixed Purpose, is inclusive of absolute and infallible Certainty, as to the Event : hence he came to be look'd upon, before his Incarnation, to have been the *Second Adam*, as much, as to the point of certainty, as if he had already become Man.

2^{dly}. We suppose therefore, that the Father did require of him, 1. That he should act, as the *Second Adam*, from that time forward, and take what Methods he thought most proper, in order to reclaim Men from Satan to their Duty ; so, as might be consistent with the *Human Nature*, as *Free and Reasonable*, tho now *vitiated*. 2. That the *Logos* should, in the *Fulness of time*, assume the *Nature of Man*, and suffer therein, in order to make full Satisfaction for the first *Adam's* Offence, and thus fight and conquer Satan, in a State of Trial, by Sufferings, and under all manner of Disadvantages. 3. That the *Human Nature* that he should assume, should be so far *left to it self*, that the *Man Christ* should retrieve what *Adam* lost, the *Logos* not acting with his infinite assisting Energy, in the *Second Adam's* Conduct of himself, either in reference to visible or invisible Agents.

3^{dly}. Now these things being required of the *Logos*, as sustaining the Character of the *Loganthropos* ; we must suppose that Christ yielded to them, with all Readiness ; but still with these Provisional Demands, as relative to them. 1. That what he did for Men, before his actual Assumption of the *Human Nature*, should be interpreted and reckon'd to concern Men, as much, as that

that which he should do after his becoming Man ; and that he should have Liberty to act, by the Manifestation of his *Shechinah*, at times, as far as he should see proper ; and that he should never be de vested of it, excepting during his abode among Men, in his ordinary Management of himself, in that State of Trial and Conflict. 2. That, even during that time, he should have the *Logos* so far assisting to him, as that he might be able to make up the want of that Evidence of his being the Messiah, by other Evidences of an equivalent Nature ; and that therefore he should be indu'd with a perfect Wisdom, in knowing all things necessary to be known by him ; and with a full Power of working what Miracles he pleased, for demonstrating himself to be the Saviour and Patron of Men. 3. That, tho he was willing that he should, as Man, act the perfect Reverse of the First *Adam*, in order to retrieve both the Dignity and Interest of Human Nature ; yet he desired that this might be taken in together with his doing so, *viz.* That the *Acts* of the *Man Christ*, by Virtue of the Union of the *Manhood* with the *Person* of the *Logos*, might be ever look'd upon and reputed, as of the same Value, for the Good and Benefit of Mankind, as if the *Logos himself* (abstracting from all consideration of the *Manhood*) had been the formal and only Author of them.

And, as these things must be supposed, to be mutually demanded and granted, as far as our Conception of such Matters can reach : So I cannot, for my own part, see any thing material that wants to be added, but such as is naturally and easily reducible to one or other of these General Heads ; which I confess are very comprehensive ones ; for there is not one of them, which might not be stretch'd out into a vast Compass. But it is enough for my purpose, at present, to have suggested these things ; especially seeing I shall have (*q*) occasion to touch on this Subject again.

(*q*) In Chap. 6. when I come to treat of Christ's Patriarchal Office.

However, the last of these things, which I just now have mentioned, as agreed to between God and the *Loganthropos*, being the most immediate Foundation of that Divine or Spiritual Wisdom, that I am now to discourse of; it is necessary that I should distinctly mention it again here, because I look upon it to have been the Great *Spring* of that *Maxim*, by which our Saviour magn'd himself in relation to God, Angels and Devils, in his carrying on the great Affairs of Mankind, with which he was intrusted.

The Case was this therefore. Tho the Actions and Sufferings of the *Man Jesus Christ*, received their Value, and became meritorious, only upon the account of the Union of the *Human Nature* with the *Logos*, and so because they were the Actions and Suffering of one, who was God: Yet all the Actions, as well as Sufferings of the *Man Christ*, were to proceed from Christ, *as such*, in as far as concern'd his Conduct of himself, in the Trust of Human Affairs, with respect to God, Angels and Devils, as well as with respect to those Men that he had then to do with.

For, had the *Logos* done all, or over-ruled all that the *Man Christ* did this way, in such a manner as that the Actions (for that the Sufferings were of the *Man Christ* only, none can controvert with me) had been formally and properly the Actions of the *Logos* or *Son of God*; then must these Consequences, of necessity, follow. 1. That Christ did not act, in the least, as *Man*, or a *Second Adam*; seeing the *Logos* acted all. 2. That *Human Nature* could not be supposed to retrieve its Reputation, by Christ's Assumption of it. For what credit could it have, if all things were acted *ad presentiam ejus*, as the Schools speak, *i. e.* before it only, and not by it. And, in this case, it is supposed, not to have been active at all, but passive only. 3. Nay, in this case, there could have been no *Merit* at all, nor so much as any proper Reputation acquired, even by the *Logos* himself. For what Reputation could the *Logos* have acquired, by defeating finite Beings, by Infinite Wisdom and Power?

And

And had he done so, all Foundation of Merit had been cut off: Seeing, as nothing had been done this way but what was unavoidable, upon the Supposition of an Encounter between God and Satan; so nothing of all this Honour, (upon the Supposition that there was any) could be ascribed to *Christ Man*. 4. And, if this was the State of the Case, no Reason can justly be assigned, in point of *Satisfaction* to Divine Justice, why the *Logos* should have assumed the Human Nature at all. For to what purpose was this, if the *Logos* made the Satisfaction, abstracting from all consideration of the *Manhood* assumed by him.

If therefore we would avoid all these Absurdities, we must, of necessity, state the Case, as I have done it. For in the exact Adjustment of these two Things, which I have mention'd, stands the very central Point, so far as I can judge, of the *Divine Scheme*, as to this matter; viz. That the *Logos* should so over-rule the *Manhood*, that he was about to assume, that the *Man* or *Second Adam* should act the perfect Reverse of the *First Man*, and should be so far left to himself, in doing so, that the Actions, as well as Sufferings, should be formally *his*, and not the Actions of the *Logos*; and that, upon the Performance of this, the *Man Christ* should merit a *Headship* over *Mankind*, to rule Men as he pleased, by Virtue of the Union of the *Manhood* with the Person of the *Logos*.

And now in this Proposition, I think I have stated the Truth, as it ought to be stated; which is more than ever has been done yet, so far as I can learn. And, as I have guarded against the Error of *Popish Human Merit* on the one hand, as well as that of the *Socinian Heresy*, of supposing Christ to be no more than a mere Man: So I have set the matter in that Light, as is sufficient to put an end to that *Darkness* and *Confusion*, that our late *Protestant Divines* have run into; both in their *Mystical Treatises* of the *Covenant of Redemption* and *Covenant of Grace*; and in their ascribing every thing almost that Christ did, nay and suffered too, after his Incarnation,

to him, as *God-Man* (as they use to speak) as if the *Manhood* or *Man Christ* had acted nothing *formally*, but been entirely *passive* and *acted upon*, in the whole Work of our *Redemption*.

But, that all the Actions that *Christ* did, whilst on Earth, were *formally* the Actions of *Christ, as Man* (excepting only his Miracles, and those extraordinary and supernatural Evidences, by which he proved himself to be the *Logos*, tho now made *Man*) is as plain to me, as any thing of this kind can be. For, it was thus only that he could act, as the *second Fœderal Head of Men*, to regain the Dignity and Interest of Human Nature, which the *First Adam* had lost.

And indeed the only rational Objection, that can be made against this *Sacred Scheme* of the *Man Christ's acting the Reverse* of the *First Adam*, is this; That, it seems incongruous, that the *Man Christ* should be under the immediate Conduct of the *Logos* at all. For it may be said, If the *First Adam* was left to himself, in his *State of Trial*, why should not the *Second Adam* be so too? But the Answer is easy, if we consider, that the *First Adam*, was, tho in a State of Probation as to the future, yet under very easy Circumstances, as having nothing to do, but to continue in that Happiness, wherein he stood; which none could take from him, without his own Consent: And how improbable it was, that ever he should give this, to his own Posterity's Ruin: Whereas the *Second Adam*, was to appear and act, under all manner of Discouragements and Disadvantages; and therefore had need of something, that might so far put him upon the level with the *First Adam*, as to make up the vast difference of Circumstances to him another way. Nor do I believe, that he had more of the Assistance of the *Logos*, during his State of Humiliation, than just compensated and made up the Difficulties of his Circumstances, so as to buoy him up, notwithstanding of these, to act upon the level, upon the matter, with the *First Adam*.

And, that this was the very case with him, and that therefore the *Logos* gave him no more Assistance nor

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Countenance, than was just necessary to support Human Nature, from being exhausted, when unequally match'd, as Man, (having the whole united Powers of Hell to grapple with) had he not been thus reliev'd; appears plain to me from several things recorded concerning him. And, seeing my Account of this grand Affair may perhaps be look'd upon, by this time, by many of my Readers, as strange and novel, if not Heretical too by the ignorant and self-conceited; I shall now shew, that I have founded my Notion intirely upon the Gospel Account of our Saviour. For which end I shall produce these two following Passages, which I desire may be duly considered.

The 1st Passage, is that Account of Christ, which the Apostle gives, *Heb. 5. 7, 8, 9.* Where, after he had asserted, That every High Priest was taken from among Men, *ver. 1.* in order to be a real Man; and *ver. 4.* that every true Priest, must have a Divine Commission to entitle him to this Office, and to warrant him in the execution thereof (no Man having a Right otherwise to assume it;) and after he had shewed what sort of Priest Christ was, in the General, *ver. 6.* He proceeds to give this Account of Christ, *viz. That in the Days of his Flesh, when he had offer'd up Prayers and Supplications, with strong Cryings and Tears, to him that was able to save him from Death, (i. e. from being conquer'd by it, so as to be detain'd under it) he adds, That he was heard in that he fear'd. For, says he, Tho he was a Son, yet learned he Obedience by the Things that he suffered. And being thus made perfect, he became the Author of Salvation to all that obey him.* Dr. Whitby in his Additional Notes, wherein he rectifies, or adds to, what he had publish'd at first, retracts what he had formerly said, by way of Explanation of these Words of the 8th Verse; *tho he was a Son, yet learned he Obedience by the things which he suffer'd:* Which, he says, upon second Thoughts, he thinks are better render'd and understood thus; *tho he was a Son, yet he taught us Obedience by the things which he suffered.* I shall not dispute this Point with the Doctor now,

whither his first or second Thoughts be the most genuine. For, as I know that the original Word is sometimes used to signify *to teach* as well as *to learn*, tho neither so frequently, nor (as I humbly conceive) properly, but only by way of Accommodation : So either of these Senses will agree well enough with what I design here ; seeing the rest of the Apostles Words will bear me out in this Assertion ; That the Apostle is not giving an Account of Christ, as the *Logos*, but as *Man*. For it was *thus* only, that Christ could offer up Prayers and Supplications, with strong Cries and Tears, &c. And indeed when I consider this, I cannot but think, that the first Sense of the Verb *ἐπίδοξασαυεν*, was what the Apostle meant to express, and that he never dreamt of the other : seeing this is not only the ordinary meaning of the Word, and I think always so used in the Greek Bible, but that meaning also which agrees best with the rest of the Apostles Account. If any say, but is it not said here, *Tho he was a Son*, &c ? and does not this refer to his *Sonship* as the *Logos* ? I answer not at all. For it is not said, *ὁ υἱός*, *the Son*, but a *Son*. And Dr. Whitby himself owns on *v. 5.* and on *ch. 2. 10.* that the Father's Words to him, *Thou art my Son*, &c. relate not to his Eternal Generation, but to his being begotten again from the Dead, by his Resurrection. But, tho I agree with the Doctor, that Christ is called a *Son* here, as *Man*, and in relation to his Office ; yet I crave the liberty of dissenting from him, in refering this Title to Christ upon the account of his Resurrection. For, as it was *Christ* himself, as the *Logos*, that raised himself, as *Man*, from the Grave, as he himself assures us ; so it would sound odd, to suppose that the *Logos* gave the Designation of *Son of God* to *Christ Man*, upon this account ; or that we must thus understand the Phrase, *This Day have I begotten thee*. But besides, Christ was invested with the Office of Priest, as well as King, upon his undertaking to be the *Second Adam* ; tho he did not execute this Office, in the same manner, as he did after the Resurrection. And
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now that I have mentioned Christ's acting as the Second *Adam*, let us consider that place, which I have occasionally quoted.

The 2^d Passage therefore, that proves my Sense of this matter, is *Hab. 2. 9, 10, 11, &c.* Where the Apostle, after he had shewed, that the *Logos* manag'd the Affairs of the Old Testament by Angels, but the Affairs of the New Testament, in a quite other Method, *v. 5.* He proceeds to shew what that Method was. And for this end he quotes the words of the Psalmist, in *Psal. 8. 4.* *What is Man, that thou art so mindful of him; or the Son of Man, that thou dost so visit him? Thou madest him a little lower than the Angels, &c.* Which Passage he interprets, to relate intirely to Christ, as Man: for his words can no otherwise be understood, when he says, *We see Jesus* (i. e. as *Man* or the *Second Adam*) *who was made a little lower than the Angels, for the suffering of Death, (that he, by the Grace of God, might taste Death for every Man) crowned with Glory and Honour. For it became him, from whom are all things, and by whom are all things* (i. e. the Supreme Father) *in bringing many Sons to Glory, to make the Captain of our Salvation perfect by Sufferings. For both he that sanctifieth* (i. e. Christ, as *Man*) *and we that are sanctified, (viz. by him or thro' him) are all of one, (i. e. of one Original, as partaking of one and the same Human Nature;)* *For which cause he* (i. e. Christ *Man*) *is not ashamed to call us Brethren, &c.* And, a little after, the Apostle pursues his Discourse thus: *Forasmuch then, as the Children* (i. e. of the First *Adam*, who in this respect are all Christ's Brethren) *are Partakers of Flesh and Blood, he also took part of the same, that through Death he might destroy Death, and him that had the Power of it, that is, the Devil; And might deliver them* (i. e. from the Sting and continuance of it) *who, through the fear of Death, were all their Lives subject to Bondage.* (And in this sad State, were all Men, before Christ's Resurrection, especially the Gentiles, who had either no Notion at all, or a very confused one, of the Resurrection, and a future Life.) *For verily he took not on*
him

him the Nature of Angels, &c. Wherefore it behoved him, to be made like his Brethren, in all things; that he might be a merciful and (r) Faithful High Priest, in things pertaining to God, to make Reconciliation for the Sins of the People. For, in that he himself suffered, being tempted, he is able to succour them who are tempted. Now the whole of this Discourse of the Apostle, is so plain and full to my purpose, that I think there is no need of any further Comment upon the words, than that which I have given, in these few occasional Hints, that I have inserted by the bye, in so many Parentheses.

But, tho' these Passages are sufficient to prove what I proposed, yet it may not be amiss to take notice of some few Matters of Fact, that bear full Evidence of this Truth, if duly considered. Indeed the whole History of our Saviour is, in a manner, one continued Proof this way. But, seeing I study Brevity, in all this Discourse, as far as is consistent with Perspicuity, I shall content my self with a short, and, as it were, cursory Account of Three only.

The 1st is that Account which our Saviour himself gives us, *Mark 13. 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.* In order to understand these Words thorowly, let us observe, 1. That here are Three Orders or Degrees of Creatures made mention of, *viz.* ordinary Men, the Angels of Glory, and Christ-Man. And these are plac'd in such an Order, as may gradually increase the Wonder of Christ's Negation. *This Day and Hour is not revealed,* says Christ, *to any Man whatsoever.* But which is more strange, *the Angels in Heaven* themselves have no Knowledge of this Time. Nay, which is still more, even *I my self,* as *I am Man,* know nothing precisely or exactly of this. For the Father has hid this, at present, from all Creatures. 2. That the Thing that Christ had been speaking of,

(r) Πίστις here seems to be equivalent to ἀξιοπιστία, one worthy of our Faith, Trust, Confidence and Reliance.

was the *Destruction* of *Jerusalem*, and the *Temple* by the *Romans*, as is plain from the whole of the Chapter, compared with the 24th Chapter of *Matthew*, and the 21st Chapter of *Luke*, for which see *ver.* 20, 21, &c. But then, seeing Christ's Discourse throughout the 25th Chapter of *Matthew*, in which he speaks of the Day of Judgment, is the Application of what he had said of the Destruction and End of the Jewish Oeconomy; it is plain to me, that what Christ spoke literally, with respect to the end of that Dispensation, is meant ultimately of the End of the World in general; according to that compounded Sense of Scripture, which is almost constantly observ'd in the Jewish Prophecies, where what is spoken of as fulfill'd one way, in the Type, is spoken of as fulfill'd another way in the Antitype: which I hope to speak more fully to, in its proper place. If it be said, But was not the Destruction of *Jerusalem* known even to Men, seeing it was prophesied of by the Prophets? I answer, Yes. But no Prophet ever told, when this was to be. *Daniel* is the only Prophet that comes the nearest to this matter, in his 70 Weeks of Years, *Dan.* 9. 24, 25, 26, 27. But the End of the last Week of these Years was calculated to be just after 3 Years and an half should run out from Christ's Death; so that how long *Jerusalem* and the Temple were to continue afterwards, is left wholly undetermin'd. Now, 3. Let us observe, that Christ calls himself *Son* here, as he was the *second Adam*, and brought in his stead, who is also called *the Son of God*, *Luke* 3. *ult.* All Expositors are and must be agreed, that Christ did not call himself *Son* here, as he was the *Logos*, or eternal Son of God: for, as such, he could be ignorant of nothing. But our Divines and Commentators generally tell us, that he calls himself so, as he was *God-Man*. A Saying that, I confess, I understand not. For if he be considered as *God-Man* here, we must suppose, that his *Ignorance* of this Day is *predicated* of his *Person*, as such; especially seeing our Divines have all agreed, that the *Logos* assum'd not an *human Person*, but the

the *Human Nature* only. But let this be as Men please, which I may take notice of, and inquire into before I end this Chapter; sure I am, that Christ must speak of himself as *Man only*, and in relation to his Office, as the *second Adam*. What therefore Dr. *Lightfoot* says on this Text, tho cited and commended by Dr. *Whitby*, I approve not of, in as far as Christ is supposed to speak here as *God-Man*, or (as I have rectified that improper tho common Phrase) the *Word-Man*. For I do suppose it necessary to conclude, that so far is Christ from being thus considered here, that we are obliged to believe that the *Logos*, tho personally united to the *Man Christ*; yet did suspend his Presence with the *Human Intellect* of *Christ*, in this Particular: for otherwise it had been impossible that Christ could have been ignorant of this point. And if there was a Suspension in one respect, no doubt there was in other respects. For indeed the *Logos*, as I said, was obliged, by Compact with the Father, to afford the *Man Christ* no more Assistance, than was just necessary for his Human Management of himself, as the *Second Adam*. And by this, 4. We may be led in to understand, why it is that Christ limits this Knowledge to the *Father*, making no mention of the *Logos*. For, seeing he was united to the *Logos*, and seeing the *Father* was he that sustain'd the Place of the Whole Deity, as contracting with the *Logos*; it was his part to see, that the *Logos* should fulfil what he had promised, *viz.* to communicate nothing more to the *Man Christ*, than was necessary for his Support and present Conduct. The exact Knowledge therefore of the final Period, either of the Jewish Dispensation, or of the Conclusion of the World, being, no way, necessary to be known, at that time, by *Christ*, as *Man*, under his then present Circumstances; it was fit that *Christ* should not have that Knowledge. For, as things then stood, this Point of Knowledge fell under the 3^d of those Articles, that I suppos'd above, to have been demanded by the Father from the *Logos*; and therefore one of those Points that *the Father had reserved in his own hands*, as Christ

Christ himself does elsewhere determine concerning the Times and Seasons of memorable Revolutions, *Acts* 1. 6, 7. And seeing these words were spoken by Christ solemnly to the Apostles, after his Resurrection, and almost immediately before his Ascension to the Father, it tends exceedingly to confirm what I have said on the former Text : Seeing, by these last and parting words of Christ, he insinuates, that he was not yet indued with this Knowledge of future times, as he was Man. And this will help us to understand the Reason, why the Apocalypse has this Title given it, *Rev.* 1. 1. *The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, &c.* For, after the Man Christ was ascended to Heaven, and was there approved and rewarded for his Service, it was very fit that the *Father* should allow the *Logos* to communicate to him a further measure of the Knowledge of future Events. When therefore *John* the Baptist said, that the *Father* did not give Christ the Spirit by measure, *John* 3. 34, 35. We must not suppose, that he could be guilty of such an absurd Notion, as to think that the Man Christ, as such, was infinite ; for the *Human Nature* is not so united with the *Logos*, as to be converted into the *Divine Nature*, or so as to be infinite ; infinite and human, being, in this Sense, inconsistent. Either therefore *Christ* is spoken of here as the *Logos*, in case *John* mean that he has the Spirit given him *unlimitedly*, in a strict Sense of the Word. Or otherwise he must be understood to speak comparatively only ; (which I judge was all he meant :) for it is certain, that Christ had the Spirit without measure, whether we compare him with any, or even with all the ancient Prophets and Patriarchs.

The 2d Instance of Christ's Acting as Man only, is the whole Account of his Sufferings, in as far as it is expressive of his Agony, Perplexity and Concern of Mind, that he was under, either from the prospect or present Sense of his Sufferings. For is it possible to conceive, that *Christ* should speak or act, as he did, had he been assisted by the *Logos* to
that

that degree, that the *Logos* was capable to do? particularly then, when he was in his dreadful *Agony in the Garden*, to that degree as to sweat great Drops of Blood, *Luke 22. 24.* and when he prayed three times over, with the greatest Intenfeness, tho with Submission to the Will of the Heavenly Father, *Let this Cup pass from me, Matth. 26. 38, 39, 42, 45.* Methinks I see here, how exactly the *Logos* fulfill'd the 3^d Article, which he had promised to fulfil to his Father, as I mention'd it above. For, it is plain to any that considers this Passage, with any close Attention, especially if he collate all that is said by the several Evangelists this way, that Christ was brought to the very last and utmost Extremity, and that he had not, in the least, any assistance from the *Logos*, more than was just necessary for supporting the Human Nature, so far, that it might not be intirely exhausted at that time. For Christ was reserved to sustain more Shocks still. But, not to mind all those Brunts that he run through, before the *Jewish Sanhedrim, Pilate and Herod*, and the Affronts and Calumnies he met with, from the *People and Souldiers*; his last *Agony* deserves to be most specially considered. For it must be a very extraordinary Perplexity, Terror and Agitation of Mind indeed, that drew these strange words from him, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* For it is observed by *Matthew*, That Christ utter'd these words with great Vehemence, and therefore he is said to have cried them *with a loud Voice*, v. 46. and so says *Mark*, ch. 15. 34. Now, in order to form a genuine Conception of the dying Frame of Christ, let us consider a little more narrowly his dying words. For which purpose let us lay the Words of the three Evangelists together, (for *Mark* differs not from *Matthew*) by way of Parallel, that we may judge impartially of this matter.

Matth. 27. ver. 46.

And about the ninth Hour Jesus cried with a loud Voice, saying, Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachthani, i. e. my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me.

Ver. 50. Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud Voice, gave up the Ghost.

Luke 23. v. 46.

And, when Jesus had cried with a loud Voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit; and having said thus, he gave up the Ghost.

John 19. 30.

When Jesus therefore had received the Vignegar, he said, It is finished; and he bowed his Head, and gave up the Ghost.

Now, in order to adjust these seemingly dissonant Accounts: We must observe that *Luke*, who wrote after *Matthew* and *Mark*, supplies what they had omitted, as to Christ's dying Words; and that *John*, who wrote after *Luke*, supplies what was omitted this way by them all. As therefore *Matthew* and *Mark* say only, in the general, that Christ cried with a loud Voice the second time, as well as the first time, when he utter'd the melancholly, and, as it were, desponding Sentence, which we mention'd before: *Luke* and *John*, between them, have told us, what his last and dying Words were. And indeed it is happy for us, that these last Words are added. For, by the Account of the first two Evangelists, we might have very naturally been led to think, that Christ died with despairing Words in his Mouth: For who would not from thence conclude, that Jesus utter'd these Words, *Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachthani*, the second time, or as *Matthew* says, again, just when he gave up the Ghost. And how odd a Representation then had this been of our Saviour, had not the other two Evangelists assured us, that the Words of the second Voice, were Consolatory and Triumphant Words. But then, tho we have gained this mighty Point, this great Difficulty seems to remain behind, that Christ's dying Words, as related by *Luke* and *John*, are quite different: And, if it be said, that *John* adds only what *Luke* omitted, it will be demanded, which of their Sen-

Sentences ought to precede the other. To this I answer, that it is no-way material, which of them go before or follow after. However, seeing we may be allowed to guess here, I do suppose, that the Word $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$, *It is finished*, went before the Words, which *Luke* mentions. For *John* seems to insinuate, that this was spoken calmly and with a low Voice, in the hearing only of himself, the *Virgin Mary*, *Mary the Wife of Cleophas* and *Mary Magdalen*: Whereas his last concluding Voice seems to have been with great Vehemence, and so loud that all might distinctly hear him. And for this there was very good Reason, *viz.* That, whereas his first desponding Words were so loud as to be taken notice of, his Comfort and Satisfaction might be as eminently sounded forth afterwards. I do therefore think, that if we join *John's* Words with *Luke's*, we shall have the full Account of *Christ's* dying Words: which I think may be thus naturally interwoven and cast together.

When Jesus therefore had received the Vinegar, he said, It is finished. And, Crying ($\phi\omega\upsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$ is *Luke's* Word, which our Version renders amiss, in saying, and when he had cried) *with a loud Voice, He said, Father into thy hands I commend my Spirit. And having said this, he bowed his Head and gave up the Ghost.*

Now the first Expression, *viz.* *It is finished*, did certainly relate to the Work, that he came to accomplish on Earth, with relation to all his preceding Management of himself and it. And it doth also, as certainly, denote his intire Conquest of Satan, in his having laid a Foundation for the Restauration of Mankind. And having obtain'd this Satisfaction, he had nothing else to do, *but to breath forth his Spirit*, (as he does here in the second Expression) with full Assurance, into the Bosom of his Father; before whom, as his Judge, he was not afraid now to appear, seeing he had perfectly acted the Reverse of the old *Adam*. But however, by comparing these last Words of our Saviour, with his

his former desponding ones, we cannot but observe, that our Saviour had, as I said before, no more assistance from the *Logos*, than was just necessary to support human Nature, in this last Conflict. And here I cannot but observe, how unaccountably they speak and write, nay how inconsistently with themselves as well as with the Truth; who deliver this as necessary Christian Doctrine, *viz.* that *Christ, as God-Man, suffer'd thus*; and that *the Cause of this was the Wrath of God, which he was now the Object of, by reason of our Sins being imputed to him.* How gracious is God, to accept of well-meant Endeavours; passing by, at the same time, and (as the Apostle in another case) *winking* at such Ignorance and Error. For, to say nothing now of the Modern Notion of *Imputation* (which I shall consider in its proper place;) how strangely absurd is it, to assert, that Christ could suffer, or be deserted by God at the same time, that he was considered under the Idea of *God-Man*. But to talk of his being *thus* the very Object of God's Wrath, (whom his Father ever own'd as his beloved Son) is one of the strangest Monstrosities, that ever crept into the World under the Name of Christian Doctrine, nay and fundamental Doctrine too. And therefore I hope the Reader will see, by this time, the Necessity and Importance of what we are pursuing here, *viz.* " That *Christ* was left to himself, *as Man*,
 " both in his Actions and Sufferings, and no further
 " assisted by the *Logos*, in either of these (notwith-
 " standing the Union of the *Logos* with the *Man Christ*)
 " than was just necessary to support Human Nature,
 " that it might not be exhausted by the united Force
 " of Hell: Excepting then, when it was necessary or
 " convenient, to give super-natural and miraculous At-
 " testation, that he was not a mere Man, but such a
 " one, in whom the *Logos* was resident, and with whom
 " he was present in an extraordinary Manner; in or-
 " der to his being thus believed and submitted to, as
 " the true *Messiah*.

And now, that I have again stated the Case of our Saviour, with respect to his Circumstances, as the *Second Adam*, and as intrusted with Human Concerns; I must desire the Reader carefully to distinguish between the Actions of Christ, as *Logos*, as *Loganthropos*, and as *Anthropos* or *Man*. And, 1. Christ acted as *Logos*, in all he did, before his assuming our Nature. And yet we must remember, that he acted as the *Second Man*, even, by Virtue of his Agreement this way with the Father. However, seeing he had not then actually assumed the Human Nature, there is a just Foundation of a necessary Distinction, between his Actions before his forming to himself a proper human Body, informed and animated by a proper human Soul, and the Actions performed by him after this. But then there is as necessary a Distinction to be made, between those Actions that were performed by him as *Loganthropos*, and those that were done by him, as *Man* only. Therefore, 2. We are oblig'd to suppose, that he acted formally as *Man* only, in all his Converse with Men of all Sorts, and in his Management of himself in reference to spiritual and invisible Agents, in the manner I have said. All therefore that the *Logos* did for him, was so far only to take his part, that his Trials and Warfare, undertaken to God, for *Man*, and against the infernal Powers, might have a fair Course; as being a Trial of Skill for Mastery, in a way of Wisdom, Virtue and Bravery, so as Spirits must be supposed to encounter one another. So that, 3. Those Actions only are to be ascribed to Christ, as *Loganthropos*, which were miraculous, in their own Nature; and such were, in a word, all his Miracles, and what ever was properly supernatural: But of these we are not now inquiring. To return therefore to the second Sort of Actions, and to the Consideration of Christ as *Man*, I shall mention but one Passage more, to prove how far Christ was left to himself, by the *Logos*, in his acting as *Man*.

The 3^d and last Passage therefore, is what I thought fit to reserve to be distinctly taken of notice by it self, (which

(which otherwise might have been inserted under the former General one;) because it is so Apodeictical, as is impossible to be eluded or shifted off, as to its Force and Cogency to my purpose. It is what *Luke* has recorded, *Chap. 22. 43.* *That, when he was in the midst of his Agony, there appeared to him an Angel from Heaven, strengthening him.* And yet it is immediately added, *v. 44.* *And being in an Agony, he prayed more earnestly, and his Sweat was as it were great Drops of Blood falling down to the Ground.* As the Words immediately preceding are these, *ver. 41, 42.* *And he was withdrawn from them, about a Stone's Cast, and kneeled down and prayed, saying, Father, if thou be willing, remove this Cup from me; nevertheless, not my Will, but thine be done.* I have thus set down the Words both that precede, and follow after the Account of the Angel's appearing to him, that we may be the better able to apprehend the State and Condition of our Saviour at this time. For, from hence it appears plain, *1st.* That our Saviour was reduc'd to the greatest Extremity, before the Angel's coming. *2^{dly}.* That, even after his Coming, his Agony continu'd to a very great degree. *3^{dly}.* That therefore all that the Angel could be supposed to do, when he is said to strengthen him; was (besides comfortable and encouraging Advice, and Assurance, from God, of the Reward promised, if he did hold out to the last) to take care, that the *Prince of Devils*, who attack'd him at this time, might not take the Advantage of his having a mortal Body, by doing Violence to that, in order to prevent his being offered up a Sacrifice for Men upon the Cross: For, could Satan have effected this, so as to have kill'd himself; the great End of Christ's Coming into the World had been frustrated, and the whole of the Scheme of the *Logos*, in recovering Mankind, as well as that of Christ's Prudential Conduct, had been intirely defeated and fallen to the Ground. As therefore it was the only Game Satan had then to play, to destroy Christ's Life, seeing he could not tempt him, any way, to dishonour himself, or break his

Trust, by any manner of Insinuation ; he became enraged at last, to that degree, as to bear in upon him, with all the Force of Hell, that he might kill him on the Spot, and so prevent his further Proceedings against his Kingdom. This, I am satisfied, was the Cause of Christ's Agony at this time, and the occasion of the Angel's being sent to strengthen him, by obliging Satan to abstain from that Violence, which the Human Nature of Christ had otherwise been unable to resist. And I make no question, but that *Satan* appeared to him *visibly*, in the most terrible Form he could put on ; even as he had formerly appeared visibly to him, for 40 Days together, when he tempted him in the *Wilderness*, *Luke 4. 2, &c.* If any Man will object, that our former Divines used to give another Reason of Christ's being in an Agony, *viz.* that *he was then under the Sense of God's Anger* ; I need only tell such an Objector, that as I have already shewed the Absurdity of this Notion, so I need go no further than our present Text to do it again unanswerably ; seeing, besides his calling God by the familiar Title of Father, the Mission of the Angel or Angels (for I do suppose, that the Angel mention'd was at the Head of many more, even as the Prince of Devils was at the Head of his Hellish Army) to strengthen him, was certainly an Evidence of Love. However, this leads me to observe, in the 4th Place, what I principally design here, by the Citation of these Words, *viz.* That *Christ* acted here as a *Man only*, and not as *Loganthropos* ; nay, that the *Logos* was so far from acting in and by the *Man Christ*, that he was intirely gone from him, by a total Suspension of Assistance ; excepting, that, besides the continuance of the Relation and Union, which was ever indissolvable, he took care that the Devil should not have power to invade the Human Nature, by any further Attack, than it was able just to support it self against. For, had not this been the Case, how monstrous would it appear to be to all Reason, that the *Logos* stood in need of *one created Angel*, or an Army of them, to assist him to protect his
 own

own *Human Nature*, against another created *Angel*, tho at the Head of all the Devils united. But as we explain the Words, there is nothing at all indecorous in this matter. For, if the *Logos* had now withdrawn his Influences from the *Man Christ* (which he was oblig'd to do, according to his express Agreement with the *Father*, as I stated the Case above) and if then (as it necessarily follows) *Christ* was left to himself, *as Man*, to act the best he could; it was no way indecorous for him, who, *as Man*, was made a little lower than the *Angels*, to need the Assistance of an *Angel*, when he was encounter'd and attack'd, under innumerable Disadvantages, by the Greatest of all the *infernal Spirits*, at the Head, no doubt, of the strongest *Army* that ever *Hell* sent forth. Now, had *Christ* acted here as *Loganthropos*, as he did a little after, when he tumbl'd the whole band of *Souldiers* to the Ground, all at once, with a word, *John* 18. 6. there had been no need of any *Angel* either to comfort or strengthen him. It was therefore necessary, that *Christ* should be left to himself, *as Man*, in this grand Conflict. For which purpose, his Words to *Peter*, upon his cutting off the Ear of *Malchus*, deserves special Consideration, *Matth.* 26. 53, 54. *Thinkest thou, that I cannot now pray to my Father* (or as I should chuse to render the Words, in a reference to the former, *ver.* 52. *Dost thou think, viz.* that there is need of making use of the *Sword*, *as if I cannot pray now to my Father, &c.*) *and he shall presently send me* (upon such a Demand) *more than 12 Legions of Angels, i. e.* I could have them, if I did act as *Loganthropos*. But that cannot be, in this Case. For how then shall the *Scriptures* be fulfilled, that thus it must be, *viz.* such *Scriptures* as *Isa.* 53. 10. and *Dan.* 9. 26.

And now, by this time, I hope the Reader will see, how justly I have ascribed the Actions, as well as Sufferings of *Christ*, to the *Man Jesus*, and not to the *Logos*, even consider'd formally as *Loganthropos*.

But here I foresee, that it will be objected, that this Proposition of mine seems to be subversive of *Christ's Merits and Satisfaction*, seeing we cannot suppose that

a mere Creature could ever merit any thing at the hand of God, or do any thing that could be look'd upon to be a just Satisfaction to Divine Justice, for the Sins of Mankind. To which I answer, 1st. That I pre-occupied this Objection before, in asserting; That, tho *Christ* did and suffer'd so and so, not as *Loganthropos*, but as Man; Yet the Actions and Sufferings of the Man *Christ*, drew their Virtue, Efficacy or Value, from the Consideration of the *Union* of the *Man Christ* with the *Logos*. And therefore I laid down this, as the third Article, insisted upon by the *Logos*, in his Contract with the Father, and agreed unto by him. But then, in the 2^d Place, in order to corroborate this, let us consider, that had the Actions and Sufferings of the *Man Christ*, been formally the Actions and Sufferings of the *Logos*, tho considered as under the Notion of *Loganthropos*, or as united to the Human Nature, (supposing but not granting the possibility of his Suffering this way) there had not been any room left for Merit at all, in any Propriety of Speech. For what Merit could it be for one Infinite in Wisdom and Power, to overcome an Enemy, such as *Satan*, who is, in all respects, finite. This had been so far from laying the Foundation of Satisfaction, that it had been below the *Logos*, to have fought one infinitely his Inferiour. And, the addition of *Man* to the *Logos*, or the Consideration of *Christ* as *God-Man*, will not salve the matter here, especially to those that make the Objection; seeing it is taken for granted by all our Divines, that the *Logos* did not assume a *Man*, into *Union* with himself, i. e. a human Person, but only the Human Nature. So that, according to this Position, whatever *Christ* did, was formally done by the *Logos personally considered*, notwithstanding of the *Union* of the Human Nature, with the Person of the *Logos*: for certain it is, that the Actions of an intelligent Person or Subsistence, must relate formally to him as such, and not to his Nature, abstracting from all Consideration of his Personality: For if we abstract from this, so as that his Actions be not supposed to proceed from him, as a Person,

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it must follow that we do disown him to be a Person at all.

But I must own, that when I consider this matter closely, I cannot but suspect the Truth of this commonly received Notion, of the *Logos* his assuming into *Union* with himself, not a *Human Person*, or a *Man*, but a *Human Nature devoid of Personality*: and therefore I must say of it, as before, that it favours more of the *Schoolmen* than the *Bible*.

I know very well, what has made our Divines universally run into this Notion, *viz.* the supposed Monstrosity of asserting Christ to be *two Persons united*, and the hard name of *Nestorianism*, as well as the hard Usage of that poor Man of old. But, why may not Christ as *Logos* be considered as *one Person*, and as *Man* another Person; and yet be justly spoken of, and look'd upon to be but *one Person*, in another and more general Sense, as *Loganthropos*, upon the Account of the *Union* into which the *Logos* has assumed the *Man Christ*. And in this Sense (the only Sense that is both intelligible and Scriptural) I assert Christ to be *one Person only*, *viz.* when considered at *Loganthropos*, or *the Logos and the Man Christ united*. For, as this agrees with Scripture, so it is no more inconceivable, than that *Adam* and *Eve*, who were certainly two distinct Persons, should be spoken of, and look'd upon, in another Sense, as one and the same Man or Person, by reason of their intimate *Marriage-State*? And yet, God speaks of them in this Dialect, *Gen. 1. 27. God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him; Male and Female created he them.* Nay he determines them to make up one Man between them, and teaches *Adam* to own this as true Doctrine, and to speak in this Dialect, when he says, *ch. 2. 24. They shall be one Flesh, or one Man.* And therefore *Moses* tells us that the very Name of *Adam* was, in a General Sense, common to the Woman as well as the Man, *Gen. 5. 1, 2. This is the Book of the Generations of Adam, in the day that God created Man. In the Likeness of God made he him, Male*

and Female created be them, and called their Name Adam, in the Day when he created them.

And indeed, it seems to me to be altogether unintelligible and more dangerous, to assert the Union of the *Divine* and *Human Nature*, in their Sense, under the cover of *one Person*, than two; seeing to suppose an immediate Union, between the Infinite Nature of God, which is *common* to all the *three Glorious Persons* of the Trinity, and the finite Nature of Man, in such a manner, as that the *Human Nature* partakes equally in the Character of the *Personality* of the *Logos*, as the *Divine* does; seems to raise the *Human Nature* too high, to be accounted such any longer, seeing its Actions must henceforth be reckon'd the Actions of the *Logos*, as a *Person*; the *Human Nature* being considered here, as having no *Personality* else at all.

And sure I am, that the Scriptures speak of Christ, to be as much and as really $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$, a *complete Man* (as the Council of *Constantinople* determin'd of old against the *Apollinarians*;) as they do agree, that he is, in another Sense, the *Logos*, or *Eternal Son of God*; and, as such, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, *truly and properly God*, as the Synod of *Nice* concluded, in opposition to the *Arians*. Now how Christ can be a *complete Man*, or indeed a *Man at all*, in any Propriety either of Speech or Sense, unless he have a *Human Personality*, I confess, is beyond my reach to apprehend. For without this, a *Human Nature*, in an abstracted Sense, can never be said to be a determinate *Man*: and indeed is so inconceivable a thing, that I can as little form an Idea of it, as of *Forma substantialis*, *Universale à parte rei*, or such like Gibberish of the *Schoolmen*. And, if, to make the *Human Nature* a *Person*, we must suppose it to partake of the *Divine* and *Eternal Personality* of the *Logos*, and yet so as to partake of this, in *time only*, and in a *finite Sense*, so as to become a *Person*, without being, as such, either a *Human Person* at all, or a *Divine Person*: I say, if we must suppose these unintelligible Inconsistencies, I leave these *Orthodox Gentlemen*, that talk thus, to please

please themselves with them ; for I do not suppose others will envy them this Sort of Satisfaction. Only, I would beg them, to condescend to far to others, as to let us know, whether, by this Position, [*viz. that Christ assumed Human Nature, without a Human Personality,*] they mean, that Christ assumed *universal Human Nature*? or a *determinate and particular Human Nature*? If the former, then it follows, either, that all Men besides were only *Entia Rationis*, i. e. Personalities, without any share in the Human Nature ; or otherwise, that, tho other Men did partake of the Human Nature, as well as Christ, yet Christ had all still ; which is, I confess, *universale a parte rei*, with a Witness. But, if they understand their Position, in the *second Sense* ; then they and I differ in words only. For I defy them to give me any other *Idea* of a *Human Person* than this, *viz. One who partakes of the Human Nature, or one, in whom the Human Nature is determin'd so, as to specify him to be such or such a Man or Human Person.* And if the *Logos* did thus assume the *Human Nature*, they must mean what I assert here, whether they will or not ; tho perhaps they will not see this, through a Prejudice at the Words *Person*, and *Personality*, in this case ; tho as innocently used here, as upon any other occasion.

Seeing therefore, I am necessarily obliged to speak and think after this manner ; I hope none will look upon me as *Heretical*, in keeping by the *Form of sound Words*, which the Spirit of God has taught me ; without regarding the Authority of those Great Men, who, inur'd to *Aquinas* and such like old Monkish Authors, have spoken they knew not how, from the fear of I know not what phantastical Errors, in case of supposing that the *Logos* united to himself, for his own Purposes, the *Human Person* of him, that was born of the *Virgin Mary*, and suffered at *Jerusalem* under *Pontius Pilate*.

If any ask, but what Sort of Union can we suppose that to be between the *Person of the Logos*, and the *Person of the Man Christ*? I answer, I know not ; nor is it needful that any should know. But, because I comprehend

prehend not the *δύοτι*, i. e. the *Modus*, or how it is, must I therefore deny the thing? I suppose those that put the Question, do not pretend to tell, how the Divine and Human Nature are united, in the Person of the *Logos*; upon the Supposition, that any that reads this, doth still persist in that odd Opinion. And therefore the Difficulty is at least equally unanswerable the one way, as well as the other. Shall I deny that the *Three Glorious Persons* of the *Trinity* are united, because I am not able to understand what Sort of Union it is, by which they come to be united so, as to be, in a proper Sense, one, as well as in another Sense, three? And, why then should I deny the *Union* of the *Divine* and *Human Person*, in *Christ*, as *Loganthropos*; more than that of the *Union* or *Unity* of the *three Persons* in the *Deity*? Is there any *Man*, that can pretend to know the Nature of all possible Unions? or indeed of all Actual Ones, or such that really are? The *Union* between the *Persons* of the *Trinity*; the *Union* between *Christ* and the *Church* in general; the *Union* between him and a particular *Believer*; are all real Unions, in their kind, and not imaginary things: And yet they are all different Sorts of *Union*. And why then should we deny this *Union* between the *Logos*, as a *Divine Person*, and the *Man Christ*, as an *Human Person*; tho it be a different kind of *Union*, from all the rest? Nay, are we able to unriddle the Nature of the *Union* of the *Soul* and *Body*? or can we conceive how *Angels* were united with *Bodies*, assumed for a time? wherein yet they acted, walked, discours'd, eat and drank, and were not only seen, but sometimes even felt too. Nay who is that *Man*, that can pretend to know what the Nature of abundance of material Unions are; such as those, that lay a *Foundation* of different and opposite *Sympathies* and *Antipathies*, that are commonly observ'd among *Men*, as well as other *Creatures*.

But, tho we are not able to tell the Nature of this *Union*, by which the *Logos* and *Man Christ*, come to be look'd upon, in a general Sense, to be one and the same

Person,

Person, under the Notion of *Loganthropos*; at the same time, that, in *other respects*, they are considered and spoken of as *two Persons*: Yet, there is perhaps no *Union*, that we are more oblig'd to believe than this, if we own the Scriptural Revelation at all. And the Reason of this my Assertion is; because, without this, it is impossible to form any Conception of Christ's Acting as the *Second Adam*, or second *federal Head of Men*; or indeed to believe the *Satisfaction* of Christ; or so much as the Verity of Matters of Fact, recorded in the Gospels.

I hope therefore, that by this time the calm and inquisitive Reader, will either be altogether of my mind, or otherwise see reason to suspect the Common Notion that has so long and so generally obtain'd in the Church. But that I may put this point beyond dispute for the future with impartial Men, (tho I pretend not to be capable of putting that, or indeed any thing beyond the Cavils of some Men) I shall yet say something more upon this Head, before I proceed further, by proposing five Questions.

Quest. 1. Was not Christ, in one Sense, as really and truly *the Son of Man*, as he was, in another Sense, *the Son of God*? If he was; then I ask again, whether a *Human Sonship* can be conceived of, without involving in it the Notion of a *Human Personality*, any more than a *Divine Sonship* can be supposed without involving in it the Notion of a *Divine Personality*? If it cannot; then I enquire further, whether *Christ* can be conceived of as the *Son of the Virgin Mary*, or understood to speak Sense himself, when he so commonly calls himself the *Son of Man*, unless my Notion of Christ as Man, be embraced.

Quest. 2. Whether it be not peculiar to the Persons of the Glorious Trinity to be so united in Nature or Essence, as to have it common to them only, and incommunicable to any Creature whatsoever? And whether then it be not both inconceivable and unscriptural, to assert *such a Hypostatical Union* of the
Human

Human Nature, with the *Divine*, as to have all its Actions look'd upon to be the *proper Actions* of the *Person* of the *Logos*?

Quest. 3. Whether there be any one Expression, in all the Bible, that does so much as necessarily insinuate or suppose, that the *Logos* assumed the *Human Nature*, without a *Human Personality*? I can, for my own part, think of none, (s) nor find any assigned, that can be, so much as probably interpreted this way, unless the Words of the Apostle should be supposed to look this way, *Heb. 2. 16.* When he says, that *Christ took not upon him the Nature of Angels, but the Seed of Abraham.* But so far are these words from favouring the old Opinion, that they do indeed overturn it, by saying that *Christ took upon him*, or took hold of the *Seed of Abraham*, i. e. form'd to himself a Man thereof, so as to become a *Son of Abraham*, and, in this Sense, to be as really a Man, as any of us are. And therefore, it is immediately added, *ver. 17. Wherefore, in all things, it behoved him to be made like unto his Brethren.* And now that I have mention'd this, let me form a new Query from it.

Quest. 4. Whether what the Apostle asserts here, be not false, in case the ordinary Notion be true? seeing if *Christ* assumed the *Human Nature*, so as not to be a *Human Person*, he must be supposed to be really and essentially *unlike* all his Brethren. And, it will be in vain to elude the Force of this Reasoning, by assigning other Senses of *Likeness*; seeing the preceding Verse nails it down so, as to put it beyond doubt, that the Apostle meant it of the thing, that the *Son of God* assumed, essentially considered: So that it must be a *Man*, or *Human Nature*, so and so determin'd in particular, and not an unintelligible *individuum Vagum*, or

(s) All this is usually said, on this Head, is to present us with a Simile (instead of Reason) drawn from the Union of Soul and Body; which is as easily rejected as adduced.

Human Nature, in such a *lank Sense*, as is inconceivable to all Reason, unless it be as an Absurdity. And therefore once more.

Quest. 5. Supposing, that it had been possible, that the *Logos* could have assumed a *Human Nature*, without a *Human Personality*; yet How could Christ have been, this way, a *Man* at all, in any Propriety of Speech? Could he be a *Man*, that was not a *Human Person*? This were in other Words to say, that he was a real *Man*, at the same time that he was not a real *Man*. So that unless we run into the greatest Absurdity and grossest Contradiction, we must quit this old, and I hope by this time obsolete Notion, as equally unscriptural and unphilosophical.

I might say much more on this Head. But I hardly think, that any intelligent *Man*, after this, can ever suppose, that the Apostle ever dreamt of our late Philosophical Notion, which I have shew'd the Ridiculousness of. Did the Apostle think of this, when he says, *Rom 5. 12* — — *15, &c. Wherefore as by one Man Sin entered into the World* — — — *So the Grace of God, and the Gift by Grace, hath abounded by one Man Jesus Christ.* But I forbear to add more now.

If any say, But I must not determine what is possible or impossible to God. I answer, I am far from doing so, in a true Sense. But this Objection, as made against me here, is no other, than that old senseless one of the Papists, in favour of *Transubstantiation*. And therefore, as the Protestants have answered a thousand times over, in that case, so do I in this; *viz.* that I do determine no further, as to this Point, than in those things, that are in their own Nature impossible. If it be impossible for God to lie, as the Scripture justly asserts; it is no less impossible, for God to make two parts of a Contradiction to be equally true: For that were to suppose, that one and the same thing could so be made as to be equally at the same time, and in the same respects, both true and false. There is not one Principle of Philosophy

or Reason, more certain than this; *That a thing cannot be, and not be, at the same time.* And I never heard of any Sceptick, that ever call'd this in Question. And yet such is the Absurdity of this old confused and confounding Opinion; that it supposes *Christ to be really and properly a Man, at the same time that he is really and properly no Man.* I am far from charging any Man, that has held this Opinion, with this Absurdity: For I am apprehensive, that this was, as many other things, never exactly consider'd before; and I am ever careful to keep close to this Rule, *to charge no Man with any thing, as his Opinion, which he does not hold formally and in terminis to be such, however naturally it may be deduced, by way of Consequence, from what he owns to be his Opinion.* And I readily own, that I thought and spoke the same way, that others have done hitherto, until God was pleased to enlighten me further, whilst I was pursuing the Thread of the present Subject. But tho' I do as little reflect upon others this way, as upon my self; yet I hope I may charge the Opinion it self, when narrowly considered, with involving the Absurdity, which I have, I think, prov'd it to involve.

But, in case, after all I have said, I be judg'd by others to be mistaken, I hope they will act by the same Rule to me, by which I act towards them; and therefore that they will not load me, with holding any strange unscriptural, or absurd Opinion, by Consequences drawn from what I have said, which I never dreamt of. But, lest Ignorance and Prejudice (the only Enemies I fear in this Case) should misrepresent me, as if I had some other Notion or Design, than I have, in this part of my Discourse; I shall subjoin a summary Account of my Faith, as to the Grand Article thereof, agreeable to the Sentiment of the ancient Christian Church, according to the Determinations of the General Councils, and particularly (†) *that of the Synod of Chalcedon.*

(†) Syn. Chalc. Art. 5. p. 340.

And, 1. I believe, with the *Council of Nice*, in opposition to the Opinion both of the *Arrians* and *Socinians*; That Christ is ἀληθῶς Θεός, truly and properly God, as he is the *Logos*. And I hope I may be allowed to say, that no Man has set this matter in a clearer Light, than I have done, in the preceding Book.

2. I do as firmly believe, That our Blessed Saviour, is τελεῖον ἄνθρωπον, truly and really Man; as the *Council of Constantinople* agreed, in opposition to the *Apollinarian* Heresy.

3. And, in Case *Nestorius* and his Followers were guilty of the Error of denying the Union of the Divine and Human Nature of Christ, I do as readily as any Man, condemn this as an Error. For I own, with the *Council of Ephesus*, that the two Natures are united, in the Person of Christ, ἀδιχρήτως, i. e. without Division. Nay I do not only assert, that the two Natures are united, so as never to have been actually divided; but I readily approve of the further cautionary Word added by the *Council of Chalcedon*, that they are united, ἀχωρίστως, i. e. inseparably: For I make no question of the Eternity of this Union, by what account the Scripture gives us of this matter.

4. I do believe the *Eutychians* to have been grossly mistaken, when they talk'd of such a Union as denoted a Mixture of the Divine and Human Nature in Christ, as if they had been blended or confounded together; or, according to the Dialect of others, that the two Natures were converted or changed the one into the other, in which they seem to have been at mighty odds among themselves (as is common in all such confused and wild Errors) some supposing, that the Divine Nature was changed into the Human; and others, that the Human was changed into the Divine. And I do therefore readily own with the same *Synod of Chalcedon*, that the Divine and Human Nature of Christ, were united, ἀσυνχύτως and ἀτρέπτως, that is, without Confusion as to both, and without Conversion, i. e. of either of them into the other.

If any say, but how is the 3^d Article of this Confession consistent with what I said before, when I denied an *Union of Natures*, and asserted an *Union of Persons*? I answer, that if what I said before be duly considered, there is no Difference at all. For I know no Difference between a *Human Person*, and the *Human Nature*, as it is specified and determin'd to denote this or the other Man. My Design was therefore to shew the Unaccuracy and Confusion of the Common Opinion, as it is usually explain'd, or rather asserted. But, as I love not to speak in the dark, so I love not to quarrel about words, when Truth is once secured. And therefore, if by that *Human Nature*, which was united to the *Divine*, in the *Person of the Son of God*, we understand that determinate *Human Nature*, which denominated him the *Son of Mary*, and thus the *Son of Man*, and upon the account of which he is called the *Man Christ Jesus*, 1 Tim. 2. 5. I am fully agreed to speak in the usual Dialect of Christians, since the Days of *Nestorius* and *Cyril*. For, as I firmly believe Christ, to be both the *Son of God* and *Son of Man*, in different respects; so I do as firmly believe, that the Union of these is such (tho I pretend not to comprehend it, as being an Article of Faith and not of Science) that we can conceive of Christ, as he is *Loganthropos*, or the *Logos* made Man, no otherwise than as *one Person*; at the same time, that, abstracting from this Consideration, it is impossible to conceive of a *particular Human Nature*, destitute of a *Personality*, to be united to the *Logos*; any more, than it is possible to conceive that the *Man Christ* could be united to the *Divine Nature*, as determined to the *Second Person* of the Trinity, rather than to the first and third; and suppose, at the same time, that the *Divine Nature*, as thus determined to the *Second Person*, was destitute of its proper or specifick *Personality*. And I must, for ever, abandon all Pretence to Thought and Reason, if we have not an equal Ground, and as necessitating an one too, for our asserting the one, as for our asserting the other. For, if we are obliged to assert this; That the *Person* of the

Logos

Logos was united to the Man Christ, and not the *Divine Nature*, abstracting from this *Determination* to the *second Person*, or *Personality* of the *Logos*; seeing otherwise we must suppose, that the *Father and Holy Spirit* were equally united with the *Manhood*, as the *Son*: Are we not, upon the account of the same *Idea*, applied the other way, equally, and as much oblig'd to assert, that the *Man Jesus Christ*, as thus specified and distinguish'd from all the rest of the *Individuals* that partake of *Human Nature*, was united to the *Logos*? seeing otherwise, we must either speak the grossest and most palpable *Contradiction*, or assert, that all Men that ever liv'd or are to live, are equally united, as Christ was with the *Divine Nature* of the *Logos*, in as far as they partake of the same *Common Human Nature*, that Christ did partake of. And, if this be once allowed of, all *Christianity*, as well as *Ratiocination* upon such *Points*, is enervated at once. For then, we must suppose that every Man is equally united to the *Logos*, as *Christ* was; and that every Man (even *Cain* and *Judas*) is as highly exalted, in a relation to God, as *Jesus*; yea, and as much the *Author* of *Salvation* as he was. Nay, even the *Error* of *Eutiches* and his *Followers*, with the *Absurdities* that follow the same, must be supposed to be true, unless what I have advanced be received. For it is impossible to conceive that the *Human Nature*, without any *Personality* of its own, can be immediately united to the *Divine Nature*, so as to partake of its *Personality*; and avoid, at the same time, all hazard of concluding, that these *Natures* must therefore reciprocally partake of one another's *Properties*. So that it needs be no wonder, that *Eutiches* run into such an *Error*, by attempting to explain and defend what was incapable of either *Explication* or *Proof*; when he pretended to demonstrate, that the *Virgin Mary* was the *Mother* of *Christ*, as he was *God*, in opposition to poor *Nestorius*, who never denied, that I can find, that *Mary* was the *Mother* of *God*, if the *Phrase* was rightly explained, but only taught that the

Sense should be given thus, *viz.* (u) that the Virgin *Mary* was the Mother of Christ, not as he was God, or the Son of God, but as he was Man only, *i. e.* the Man who died at *Jerusalem*. But whatever the Controversy was then, between *Nestorius* and *Cyrellus*, (who was a hot and violent Man, and was perhaps his Enemy, from (w) a Design to get his fat Archbishoprick of *Constantinople*,

(u) *That I speak nothing in this, without Authority, I need only refer the Reader to consider what Socrates says of Nestorius and his Opinion, and the Contentions that rose upon that account. And we may believe him the more, because he seems to be exceedingly prejudic'd against him, (tho he would persuade us that he was not) calling him a weak, ignorant, conceited and arrogant Man. And yet, when he comes to give us an Account of his Heresy, Eccl. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 32. He owns, that he was unjustly censur'd by those, who reckon'd him to hold the same Opinion with Paulus Samasatenis and Photinus, who held, That Christ was a mere Man only. But, says he, I have read his own Writings, and I find, that his whole Error was this, that he was afraid to call the Virgin Deiparam [*θεοτόκος*] the Mother or Bringer-forth of God. But in what Sense Nestorius scrupl'd to use that Expression, we may learn from Evagrius Scholasticus, Lib. 1. cap. 7. who, tho a most bitter and inveterate Enemy of his, calling him constantly an impious Fellow, a vile Heretick and Blasphemer; yet produces nothing against him, but the same Scrupulosity, in using that Phrase, in a proper Sense, which it seems then was a main Article of Faith. Now to fix the greater Odium upon him, on this Head, he cites several Passages out of the Letters which poor Nestorius sent to some Great Men then, in order to beg that the Persecution against him (which was barbarously severe) might be, at least mitigated. And amongst those Passages, there is this memorable one, wherein Nestorius writes, That finding the Church split unhappily into two Parts; one Party asserting, that the Virgin Mary was only *ἀνθρώποτοκόν*, the Mother of Christ, as a mere Man; and the other Party asserting, that she was *θεοτόκον*, the Mother of God, as such; I was, says he, afraid, to use either Expression, lest I might either sink her Character too low, or raise it too high, and therefore I call'd her *χριστοτόκον*, the Mother of Christ. Now this modest Account of Nestorius, is censur'd by Evagrius, as a bold Defence of his Blasphemy. But let the Reader judge how subtle Men were then, to find Blasphemy in these Words.*

(w) *If any ask, Why I suspect Cyrellus so far as this comes to? I answer, because I cannot otherwise imagine, how a Man of his Learning, Parts and Character, should have acted so furiously against Nestorius, and in so intriguing a manner. For, 1. It is plain from all the Accounts of the Synod of Ephesus, that condemned Nestorius, (tho we have no other*
Accounts

stantinople, if not for himself, yet for some Friend) I am perswaded, that what I have said on this Head will be unwelcome to none, but such as are either sottishly ignorant, or unaccountably prejudic'd.

And now, seeing not only how true our Assertion is, but of what Importance likewise; I shall return, and take some Notice of Christ's Satisfaction to Divine Justice, for Mens Sins, as he was Man, by Virtue of

Account than that which his bitter Enemies have given us) that Cyrillus acted an intriguing and false Part there; in precipitating the Sentence before the Arrival of the Eastern Bishops; as even Valelius owns, in his Annotations on the 34th Chapter of the 7th Book of Socrates. For the Story is, in short, this: Cyrillus and his Party push on the Sentence against Nestorius, before the Synod was fully met; and send him the Copy of his being deposed from his Office and Benefice. Nestorius sends this to the Emperor, with a Complaint of his Enemies, both as to their Fraud and Violence, and representing the Injustice of the Sentence, as being past, before the Arrival of the Eastern Bishops. And ten Bishops sign this Relation of Nestorius, as containing the very Truth of this Matter. Five Days after this Sentence, John Bishop of Antioch, with the Eastern Bishops, arrives; who detesting this unjust Proceeding, calls a Council of the other Party, and deposes Cyril and Memnon; as Cyril again deposes him. The rest of the Story is tedious. But Cyril prevails with the Emperor, and so Nestorius fell by the Secular Arm, and was most cruelly used afterwards. 2. Certain it is, that Nestorius did tax Cyrillus with some such Design: For so Evagrius insinuates, Lib. 1. cap. 7. and he undertakes to vindicate Cyrillus; but does it so lamely, as increases my Suspicion. For indeed all he does is to magnify the one, and rail at the other, without giving one Reason for his so doing. Only he is pleas'd to call the terrible Persecution against Nestorius, by the Name of God's punishing him for Heresy; and to confirm all, he says, that he read in a certain Author, that Nestorius his Tongue was eaten away by Worms, and that then he went to Hell. He was, I suppose, ashm'd to name his Author. And I am sure, he might have equally been ashm'd to write so scurrilously as he does; which is so little either like a Christian or Historian, that a Heathen could hardly have allowed himself to have acted such a Part. 3. I suspect this the rather, because the Ecclesiastical Historians, tho they were too much Cyril's Friends to mention his Name, yet insinuate that his Party kept out Proclus from succeeding Nestorius, by trumping up an old Canon against the Translation of Bishops, he being then Bishop of Cyzicus. Now, whether the Canon was mistaken, (as Socrates contends) by the Party, or whether there was really such a Canon (as Valelius says) is nothing to my purpose. Tho, by the bye, I wonder how Valelius comes to insist upon this so much, seeing the Pope was

of

the Union of the Person of the *Man Christ*, with the Person of the *Logos*. For tho, according to the Rule I have laid down to my self, (*viz.* not to treat professedly of any Head, that has been fully cleared up already) I am not to discourse of the Satisfaction of Christ largely: Yet I cannot altogether omit this weighty Point. And yet I hope the Reader may find that Advantage, by what I shall say on this Head, (tho touch'd upon, as it were, by the bye) which he will not easily meet with in some, even of those Authors, that have made it their Business to treat of this Subject particularly and fully. But, to proceed; let these things following be duly considered here.

1. That, when the *Logos* had formed to himself a *Man*, partaking of the *Common Human Nature*, and had united *this Man* to himself; it follow'd in course;
1. That this *Man* must be innocent and sinless; and,

of another Mind, as Socrates relates, Chap. 40. However I cannot but take notice how cunningly the Party of Cyrillus trump up this Canon, to keep out a Man of the fairest Character of all the Bishops of that Age; in order to get in Maximianus, a poor superstitious fool of a Monk: For this is the best that Socrates has to say of him, tho he do it in softer Words. But he dying in a little time after, Proclus, who it seems was aware of Cyrillus, got the Roman Bishop to write to him not to oppose his Election; and the Emperor favouring his Election likewise, I suppose Cyril was too politick to meddle any more. If then any ask, Why I suspect Cyril to have opposed Proclus at first? I answer, because, as I said but just now, the Roman Bishop wrote to him not to oppose him now; which supposes that he had done so before. But, if the Question be, Why Cyril was his Enemy? I answer, because he knew Proclus would never be his or any Man's Tool, in persecuting those of different Sentiments; for this was his professed Opinion, that it was unjust to do so, and accordingly his Practice was a Resutation of the violent Methods of Cyril and his Party. See his Character this way, in Socr. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 7. cap. 41. — But, after all, in case any should think me too favourable to Nestorius, I do declare, that I have no great Opinion of the Man. For I think he deserv'd all the Severity he met with, from the hands of God, upon the account of his barbarous Persecution of the Macedonian Hereticks; for which Socrates does justly censure him, Lib 7. cap. 31. Only I think he was as unjustly persecuted by Cyrillus and his Party, upon the Reasons already assign'd. And had we any account of this Affair from an impartial Historian, I question not, but that what I propose here conjecturally, would appear to be no more than the Truth.

2. That,

2. That, by virtue of his *Relation* to, and *Union* with the *Person* of the *Logos*, what he did bore a Character more than Human; and (upon the Supposition of a previous *Agreement* between the *Father* and the *Logos* this way) his Performance came, by Virtue of the same *Relation* and *Union*, to be *meritorious*, and of *Divine Value* and *Efficacy*.

2. That, seeing the *Logos* assumed the *Man Christ* into *Union* with himself, in order to defeat Satan, and to destroy his usurped Dominion over Men; and thus to lay a Foundation for their Salvation; It was necessary, 1. That the *Man Christ* should be in a *state of Trial*, during the time of his *Converse* among Men; 2. That he should act (as I have formerly said) the *very Reverse* of that Part, which the *First Man* acted. As therefore, he must be supposed to be under the greatest Engagements, to defend himself, so as to *sustain* all the Attacks of Men and Devils, without any Dishonour to himself, or Prejudice to the Cause which he espoused: So, likewise, to be animated with that Vigour and Resolution, as to act offensively against his Enemies, and that with such Glory to himself, as to defeat them intirely, notwithstanding of all the Disadvantages he himself was under. Hence it was, (x) that he *conquer'd Death by dying*, (y) and *led captive Principalities and Powers*; (z) making thus an open shew of 'em, as the Apostle says, *even upon the Cross*.

Therefore, 3. We must conclude likewise, that our Saviour, was a *publick Person*, and oblig'd to act as such in the stead and for the sake of others. For this is the very essential and principal Notion of the *Man Christ*, in this present Relation; That he was put into the room and place of the *First Man*, and consequently represented all Mankind as he had done; in order not only to *render all Men salvable*, so as *fallen Angels* were not; but likewise *actually to save all such*, as, renouncing the *Old Adam*, should come and put themselves

(x) 1 Cor. 15. 54. (y) Eph. 4. 8. (z) Col. 2. 15

under his *Patronage*, with a concern to act as his spiritual Children, in order to attain thus to glorify and enjoy God.

But, † In order to obtain this Power and Authority as Man, it was necessary that he should *merit* this *Supream Headship* over Mankind, in order to reach the ends I just now mention'd. And, he could not otherwise *merit* such Favours for *Lapsed Men*, but by being a *vicarious* and *substitute Sacrifice* of *Attonement* or *Propitiation* for us, and in our stead. And that he was so, is asserted plainly, and over and over again, in Scripture. He tells us himself, to this purpose, *Matth. 20. 28.* that he gave himself *λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν*, a *Ransom* for many; or, as the Apostle words it, *ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων*, a *Ransom* (or a vicarious Ransom, as the Word denotes) for all, *1 Tim. 2. 6.* Which Expressions we may properly enough join together, and call Christ (with relation to his Satisfaction) *λύτρον ἀντίλυτρον*, *i. e.* a *vicarious Ransom*, or a *Ransom given and accepted in the lieu and stead of that Ransom, which was owing by us to Divine Justice, or (in case of failure) of that Misery that we were bound over unto, and was intail'd upon us, without such a Proviso.* For, as we are told, *1 John 2. 1, 2.* *Christ the righteous, is not only the Paraclete* of sinful Men, but also *ἱλασμος*, the *Propitiation* for our Sins, and not only for our Sins, but also for the Sins of the whole World. For, says the same Apostle, *Chap. 4. 10.* God sent his Son for this very end, that he might be a *Propitiation* for our Sins.

Were I to treat of Christ's Satisfaction here, I would, (1.) In the general, consider and prove, that Christ did truly and really, tho in a Spiritual Sense, execute the Office of a Priest; and then, (2.) More particularly treat of Christ's making Satisfaction to Divine Justice for us, for the Breach of God's Law, and the Affront thus done to his Authority. And in doing this, I should be obliged to consider these three Things distinctly; *viz.* *First*, The Matter of this Satisfaction, or that by which Satisfaction was made, *viz.* Christ's Obedience, both

both active and passive. *Secondly*, The Nature of this Satisfaction, in its Properties: (where three Things would occur to be cleared, *viz.* its *Necessity*, its *Verity*, and its *Perfection*.) And then, *Thirdly*, Its Object, where what I hinted before, as to the stating of this Controversy, would properly fall in to be cleared. But all these things have been copiously discoursed of by others, and therefore I shall chuse to wave them.

Only there is one thing, the Misunderstanding of which has occasioned many Mistakes and Errors, which I shall briefly touch here. And this is, in what respect Christ is said to die for us, and in our stead. Which turns upon this one point, so far as I am now concerned to answer it; *viz.* Whether Christ paid the same individual Price, which we ought to have paid, according to the Tenour of the Covenant of Works, or Law of Innocency, which *Adam* broke; or whether he paid only what was a sufficient and full Equivalent, to that which we were otherwise obliged to have paid. Many Learned and Pious Divines have held the former. But others, who have look'd more narrowly into things, assert the latter only. And indeed sad Experience has let us see, that the former Opinion, tho' no doubt honestly and piously meant, is unscriptural and besides the Truth. For besides, that this has given rise to wild Antinomian Conclusions; that seeing Christ has paid the very same Price, we have nothing at all to mind, as to Repentance, Faith and Obedience, which to mind were to impeach Christ's Merits and Satisfaction as imperfect: I say besides this, it will be found impossible for us, upon this Supposition, to stand our ground against the Socinian Arguments, brought from the Impossibility of Christ's paying the very same individual Price we were obliged to, because our Penalty was eternal Death and Misery, which Christ could never undergo. For Christ's Sufferings were not the *Idem*, but the *Tantundem* of what was threatned against *Adam* and his Posterity, in case of Disobedience. Besides, that it was we and not Christ that were then threatned. So that when God

accepted Christ's Sufferings for a limited time, instead of ours for Eternity ; it is plain, *dum alius solvit, aliud solvitur*, that the change of the Person suffering includes another thing paid in lieu of our Suffering for ever. And tho Sin be represented in Scripture sometimes as a Debt, yet that is not the only nor principal Consideration it comes under. For it is most properly the Violation of God's Law, as the Apostle defines it (a): So that God is to be considered here, not so much as a Creditor, as a Legislator and Judge, requiring Satisfaction for the Transgression of his Law, without which he threatens to inflict the Punishment due to such Transgressors, according to the Letter and Rigour of the Threatning. Christ's Part therefore here was not so much that of a Surety, (tho that word be used to shew us that he was not properly the Debtor) as that of a Mediator, expiating Guilt, and making Reparation to Justice, some other way than by the Execution of the Law upon Offenders, according to the Threatning, considered in its proper and literal Sense.

Now since the Case is thus, we may easily discern the Invalidity of the Grounds, upon which the former Opinion is founded. Therefore when they say, *First*, That the Dignity of the Person of Christ makes up, what was wanting as to the Kind or Degree of the Punishment : This answers it self, and militates against them ; since it is a plain Confession, that Christ suffered not the very same thing that was threatned against us, but something equivalent to it, which by reason of his Dignity and Worth, was as much as all our Sufferings for ever ; nay, I shall add infinitely more, seeing upon this account he merited Salvation for us, which the Eternal Sufferings of all Sinners could never possibly have done. And therefore this suggests *another* Reason to shew that it was not the *Idem* that Christ suffered, seeing he merited by what he suffered. Which, by the

(a) 1 John 3, 4.

way, lets us see the Absurdity of supposing that it was not Christ personally considered, but mystically, that suffered, as the Head of his People, in such a Sense, as if they actually suffered and merited in him. An Opinion monstrous in it self, as raising us up to a share in the Honour of Christ's Satisfaction, (when we are sure, that he trod this Winepress alone;) and dreadful in its Consequents; which are such as these, *viz.* That the Elect are as Holy and Righteous as Christ himself; that all their Sins were actually pardon'd at Christ's Death (nay some have been so absurd as to carry this up as high as Eternity, wisely jumbling the Decree to Pardon, and actual Pardon, together in one and the same Idea;) and that Christ did believe, repent and obey for them, so that there is no need for them to mind any of these, &c. But to return, *Secondly*, We are told in favour of this first Opinion, that Christ must have undergone eternal Death, had he not been able to free himself from it: It is plain from this also, that Christ did not pay the very same thing, which we were to pay. And again, *Thirdly*, When we are told, that if it was not the same thing actually, yet it was the same thing by Imputation: It is still plain, even from this Supposition of theirs, that it was not the very thing, which we were threatned with, that Christ suffered.

But, 5. (to go one step further) We must suppose, that what *the Man Jesus Christ* did and suffer'd, could never have been meritorious or satisfactory, had not Christ acted with that Wisdom and Exactness, in relation to *God Himself*, as the Party offended, which the *Logos* had agreed and promised, he should do; and that to that degree, as to agree, that his Father should himself be Judge and Umpire in this Affair.

And now, that I am come to this last concluding Head, of my Preliminary or Foundation-Work, in order to our understanding how *Christ* manag'd himself as the *Second Adam* or *Federal Head of Men*, during his *State of Probation*; in order to his obtaining the same
more

more fully, in Point of supreme Agency, in a *State of Exaltation*: I need only desire my Readers to recollect what I have said, and to carry along with them the Sum and Connexion thereof; which I hope I need not abridge now, as not being willing to detain the Reader any longer, than mere necessity requires.

For I am sure, that if the Reader do but apprehend the *Sum* and *Connexion* of what I have said, he will readily see, that I did justly suppose the *Maxim*, mention'd in the beginning of this Chapter, to have been that by which our Saviour, *as Man*, manag'd himself, in reference to *invisible Agents*, and consequently to the *Supream Father* of all, in the first place. For to him, he stood in a most special *Relation as Son*, both by reason of his *Union* with the *Logos*; and upon the account of his *Office* as the *Second Adam*; as well as because of his *miraculous and extraordinary Conception and Birth*.

Now, by our *Lord's* exact Management of himself, according to the *Maxim* laid down, he obtain'd to have this Approbation from God; That *he had done all that was expected or desired, and all that a Man could do, for Mankind, under the Circumstances wherein he was stated; and that therefore he had merited to be their Head, to govern and judge, and to reward or punish them, as he saw fit; upon Condition of his being responsible for all he did this way, at the end of time, and of his being thus subject to God, upon his giving up the Mediatorial Kingdom to the Father, that God may, after that, be all in all, as the Apostle tells us, 1 Cor. 15. 28.*

That this was the *Rule* of our Saviour's Management, in relation to God, does not only appear from all that has been said, but from this also; *That he could not act either a lower or higher part.* For, to have acted *below* this, had ruin'd the whole Work he came about. And, to act *higher* than the *Sphere* of a perfect and innocent Man, was simply impossible, unless the *Logos* had acted for him, which neither could have been reckon'd the Doing of the *Man Christ*, nor have been consistent with the *Covenant of Agreement* between the Father
and

and the Eternal Son. Nay, for the *Man Christ* to have so much, as attempted to act beyond the *Sphere* of his Activity, had been a Sin; and such a one, as must be supposed to be, at least, very near a kin to that of the *first Adam*.

Nor could *God the Father* require more of him than an exact Management of himself, this way. For, besides what I have said, as to the *Covenant of Redemption*, by which *God* had gratuitously tied up himself so, as to require no more; We are oblig'd to conclude, (from all the Ideas we have of things, and from all the Rules of Reasoning) that *God* could not expect more from a *Creature*, than its Nature and Circumstances would allow of.

The nice and critical Part therefore, that *Christ* had to act as *Man*, and as intrusted with human Concerns, was; To keep closely by the Rule mentioned; without either sinking, in the least, below this Character and Trust; or attempting to soar above it, by interfering with that Part that did formally, properly and immediately belong to the *Logos*, as such, under whose peculiar Guardianship the *Man Christ* was, by reason of the close and indissoluble Union which he had with him.

And, in order to act this Part, we must suppose, that the *Man Christ* was under the most deep Impressions of these things following; from a distinct View of which, and with the most fervent Zeal, and Concern for which, he acted and behav'd, in all he did and suffer'd, from first to last; viz. 1. That the *Logos*, who had undertaken for him, and engag'd his Honour this way, might not suffer any thing, like an Affront, by any Indecency in his Conduct. 2. That the *Supreme Father*, who was Judge and Umpire of his Procedure, in all he did, might not see any just Cause, to pass Sentence upon his Performance, otherwise, than in his Favour, and consequently in the Favour of Mankind. 3. That *Men* might not be Losers, but Gainers, by this his Undertaking. For, as now he has regain'd what the *First Adam* lost; had he failed, he had rendred our State

State yet more desperate ; seeing no other, after this, could have pretended to have been capable of retrieving Mankind and Human Affairs. 4. That *Angels* might have a new Incouragement to continue faithful, and be deterri'd from any thing like that, which had precipitated their former Equals into Misery, and had been so fatal to Men, as to be no other way salvable, but by this strange Method ; which they could not, in reason, expect would ever be acted over again. And, 5. That *Satan* might not have any reason, to boast of his Conquest over *him* that was made after the *Image* of the *Logos* ; but might be defeated, even by *Man* ; tho he had been the occasion of his losing the *Image* of God, and consequently his Favour by precipitating him into Sin. For, in order to the *Devils* greater Disgrace and Consternation, the *Logos* would not degrade himself so low, as to conquer him, by his great Power, or by himself immediately. No, no, this had been *impar Congressus*, an unequal Match, by which *Satan* had gain'd some Reputation ; seeing this would have led *rational Creatures* to suppose, that he could not be conquer'd otherwise, than by *infinite Power*, immediately put forth against him. Therefore, the *Logos* took a quite other Method, and formed to himself a *Second Adam*, that should conquer him, even under all the disadvantageous Circumstances, that an *innocent Man* could be supposed to be in. And, this he performed, without apparelling this Man with the *Luminous Garment* of the *Shechinah*, which *Adam* was cloathed with (as I said) before the Fall, but without this or any such appearance, whilst he was engag'd in fighting Satan. For the *Man Christ*, during all the time of his State of Humiliation (excepting then when he was manifested thus to select Witnesses, in order to be known to be the *Messiah*,) appeared and conversed, as an ordinary Man only, being destitute of any such Pledge of the Presence of the *Shechinah* with him. So that, tho he was really innocent and without Sin, he appeared on Earth all along, in this respect, *with Sin*, i. e. as if he had been a sinful

sinful Man; and, as if he had been such a one, he suffered, in the Opinion both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*; becoming thus our Substitute, as *being offered to bear the Sins of many*, as the Apostle says, *Heb. 9. 28.* adding immediately, *But unto them that look for him he shall appear the second time without Sin*, i. e. with the Glory of the *Shechinah* upon him. So that by the Antithesis of these two, *viz.* his appearing the time first *with Sin*, and his appearing the second time *without Sin*, we are led to understand the Apostle's full Meaning in both: Which, I humbly conceive, was never clearly explained before. For, if *Christ's appearing the second time without Sin*, doth denote his Appearing with the Glory of the *Shechinah* upon him (as certainly it must :) Then it is certain, that by *Christ's Appearing with Sin the first time* (which, tho not express'd here, is yet necessarily supposed) we must understand, not only his being a *Sin-offering*, but his appearing, as an *ordinary Man*, and his suffering Death accordingly, (and by the Suffrage of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, as a *Malefactor* too.) For, had he had the Badge of the *Shechinah* upon him, he could not have been obnoxious to Death. As therefore the withdrawing of the *Shechinah* from *Adam*, was a Mark of his *Mortality*; so *Christ's* being, without this, represented him as one that was to die too. And hence we may perceive the Strength of the Apostle's Reasoning, by the Connexion of *ver. 27,* and *28.* *And, as it is appointed unto all Men once to die,* (but after this the *Judgment* :) So likewise *Christ was once offered to bear the Sins of many; but unto them that look for him, shall he appear the second time without Sin.* For the Sense and Design of these Words, is plainly this; That, as the State of all Men, since the Fall of *Adam*, is such, by the Divine Appointment, that they must die, and then afterwards give an account of their Conduct, whilst in this World, to the Supreme Judge, at the last Day: So even *Christ* himself, by reason of his being a Man, was oblig'd to undergo Death too; and that, in a publick manner also, as a propitiatory Sacrifice for
Men,

Men, by reason of his being the Second *Adam*, and thus under a general Character, and in a Publick Station, in relation to Mankind as their Fœderal Head. But then, says the Apostle, Christ did so act his part, in all that he did and suffered, that tho he appeared in all this, as if he had been no more than an ordinary Man, he will certainly appear the second Time, in all the Glory of the *Shechinah*, to the Joy and Comfort of all that give up themselves to his Conduct, in the Faith of this.

But now, to return; so exactly did Christ act, as Man, with respect to the Purposes he had in View, that he did perfectly carry on all that the *Logos* had undertaken to his Father, to do by him. And thus, 1. The *Logos* came off with the highest Honour before his *Father*; And, 2. The *Father* saw his Justice satisfied, to the utmost of what he demanded, so as to have reason to trust the *Loganthropos*, for the future, with the Management of the World. 3. Men came this way to be salvable, and to have a solid Foundation laid, in order to their being sav'd actually, and that for ever, from Sin and Misery. 4. The Angels of Light came thus to have new Views of God's Wisdom, Greatness and Goodness, and to have new Incouragement, and Incitements to mind their Duty and Interest. 5. Satan saw himself out-witted and conquer'd, and his own State, and that of his Fellow-Rebels, rendered further miserable and desperate.

And to all these things I must add this further, in the 6th and last Place, *viz.* That this way the *Man Christ*, who was united with the *Logos*, came to have this Union seal'd and ratified by obtaining that Reward, or, as the Apostle calls it, *Joy that was set before him*; for the obtaining of which, *he endured the Cross, despising the Shame, and is therefore now set down at the Right Hand of the Throne of God*, Heb. 12. 2. So that, as a further Reward of his Faithfulness and Conduct, he is now seated at the Head, not only of Men, but of Angels. For this the Apostle expressly asserts, Heb. 2. 9. *We see*

see *Jesus*, who was made a little lower than the *Angels* (so that here he is considered formally as *Man* only) for the *Suffering of Death*,—crowned with *Glory and Honour*. Now what the *Subjects* of this *Crowned King* are, we may see by comparing, *ver. 7.* with *ver. 8.* and both with *ver. 9.* *1 Cor. 15. 27.* For the *Apostle* says, *That every Being is subjected to him, excepting him only, that put all things under his Feet, i. e. excepting God only.* So that certain it is, that all the *Angels* are now subject to *Christ* as *Loganthropos*, in such a manner, as that the other *Men*, that are glorified, can be only reckon'd their *Equals*; yet the *Man Christ* is raised above them, by *Virtue* of his *Union* with the *Logos*.

And now, that I am enter'd upon the *Relation* that the heavenly *Angels* stand in to *Christ*, I find my self insensibly brought upon the second *Thing* which I propos'd to consider in this *Chapter*.

Therefore in the *II^d Place*, Let us consider *Christ's Management* of himself in reference to the *Angels*.

Were it proper for me, to run out upon the *Consideration* of *Angels* here; what I am about to say upon this *Head*, would appear in a clearer *Light*, than it can be at present. But I must be content to represent the matter now as I can; seeing I shall be oblig'd to speak of this sort of intelligent *Beings*, in a more proper *Place*.

Let it suffice therefore, at present, to remember;

1. That *Angels* are finite and depending *Creatures*, as well as *Men*; and that consequently they know but in part, and worship and serve *God* accordingly.
2. They are all of them *minist'ring Spirits*, sent forth to minister for them who shall be the *Heirs of Salvation*, which is the highest *Description* the *Apostle* gives of them, *Heb. 1. 14.* And therefore,
3. In as far as they are *Servants*, and have such a *Service* to accomplish, they must be supposed, in some *Sense*, to be in a *State* of *Trial*; seeing further *Service* and a further *Reward* suppose

suppose one another: Tho' their State of Trial is not such, as that of Men, in this present World. 4. And we must not suppose, that they know perfectly all the Ends of God, even in those things that they are employed about as Servants: For this is neither necessary, nor (in some Sense) possible. Our *Saviour* assures us, that they knew not the time of the *Destruction* either of *Jerusalem* or of the *World*, *Mark* 13. 32. And *Peter* tells us, that they are *Learners* and *Students* still, even of the *Mysteries of the Gospel*, *1 Epist.* 1. 12. And so does *Paul* also, *Eph.* 3. 10.

How far then the *Angels* were acquainted with the Design of God, in the Incarnation of *Christ*, cannot certainly be determin'd. That they knew, that this would bring new Glory to God, and be of general Advantage to Men, is certain from their *Genethliacum* or Congratulatory Song of Praise upon the Occasion and Subject of *Christ's Birth*, *Luke* 2. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. But, how these ends could be thus brought about, seems to have been rather a matter of Astonishment to them, than any way seen thro' by them, either at that time, or for some time afterwards; if we may judge of the meaning and scope of the Expressions, *1 Pet.* 1. 12. and *Eph.* 3. 10. And therefore, the Apostle might justly reckon this, as one of the Articles of the Mystery of Godliness, *1 Tim.* 3. 16. that *Christ was seen of Angels*. For what could be more astonishing to them, than this, *viz.* to see the *Logos*, who had been manifested to them in Heaven, in the Glory of the *Shechinah*, which was to them *the visible Form of God*; I say, to see the *Logos* now, *born of a Woman*, and become a Babe, to run thro' the several Ages of Infancy, Childhood and Youth, &c. up to Manhood; and then to be cut off, by the violent Hands of Men. The several Steps of this could not be otherwise, than most amazing to them, that were oblig'd to believe that God had the greatest Design in View this way; especially if they were Strangers, at the same time, to the Secrets of this wonderful Design, as I think it more than probable they

they were, from the Passages already cited. For, tho they knew, that the *Logos* was incarnate, for the greatest and best of ends ; they were ignorant of the *Modus* or *Method* of God's Proceeding this way ; and therefore, as *Peter* says, *they were desirous to look into these things* that were then a doing ; that they might, by a critical and nice Observation of them, attain to know, what God had not thought fit directly to reveal to them, and perhaps for this very reason among others, that they might be incited to study this Mystery the more closely, and thus have a new Task put upon them. For besides, that this Contrivance was so great, that even *Angels* themselves could not understand it, without much and close Study ; we are oblig'd to think, that it was a *new Trial* they were put to this way, *viz.* being oblig'd to serve in those things, the Design of which was kept a Secret from them : Tho, at the same time, we may well conclude, that this Trial was made easy to them, from the Complacency they had to do the Will of their God ; which must ever be supposed to be the greatest Pleasure next to (or rather jointly with) that of enjoying him, that an innocent rational Creature can be supposed to be capable of.

But, that which deserves most specially to be considered here, is, how or in what respect the Gospel was a Mystery to the Angels ? In answer to which, I shall only say one thing (because I would be cautious of running too far upon so dark a Subject) *viz.* that the great Strait and Difficulty with them was, no doubt, this ; *Whether the Logos did intend to satisfy the Father, to conquer the Devil and his Angels, and to recover Mankind, by a full and plenary exerting of himself this way ; or, by the Man Christ, whom he had form'd to himself, and taken into so special an Union with himself.* For, as in this case, no third Supposition can be made, so the Difficulties seem to be equally unsurmountable, upon the Supposition of either of these, if we reason abstractly this way.

For, if the *Logos* was to do all, by his infinite Energy, then might the *Angels* justly reason consequential-ly thus ; 1. Why should the *Logos* assume the Human Nature at all? For, if he do nothing by it, to what purpose is all this done that relates to its Assumption? 2. And, is it any great matter, for the *Logos* thus to overcome the *Devil*, and save Mankind from his Power for the future? Seeing, what more unequal Match, than that of Infinite Wisdom and Power, in its Encounter with Finite Beings?

But, if upon the other hand, there be a necessity, in order to the Ends mention'd, that the *Logos* should unite a *Man* to *himself*; then either the *Logos* must do part of the Work, and the *Man Christ* do part; or the *Man* must do all. And either of these, no doubt, was full of difficulty to them. For, 1. If *each* must do his part, the *Adjustment* of these must needs have been an unfathomable Mystery to them; as it is still to us, when we reason, in an abstract manner, upon these Points. But I hope what I have said already, with respect to the Covenant of Redemption, will be a safe Clue to our Thoughts, thro' this Labyrinth. But, 2. Upon the Supposition that the *Man Christ* did all; the Mind of *Angels* might well recoil, with the Thought of the Impossibility of this; that a *mere Man*, tho' innocent, and as perfect as such a Creature could be, should be able to act so critical and hard a part.

Let us but consider *one End* of *Christ's* Incarnation, *viz.* to conquer the *Devil*; and we cannot but see how embarrass'd the Angelical Intellect must be supposed to be, in reference to this single point. For the Strait with them, lay here, *If the Logos exert himself fully against Satan, there is no Difficulty for him to overcome Satan, in what way he pleases: For he that made him out of nothing, can again reduce him to nothing, if he have a mind. But if the Logos do not exert himself thus, how is it conceivable that one single Man can resist all the united Powers of Hell, so as to disarm and conquer them.*

Now,

Now, what reason have we to praise God, who has given us such Satisfaction in a matter of such Consequence, as this is! For, by what I have said above in this Chapter, we cannot but apprehend how exactly all Difficulties are adjusted, by the Method that Divine Wisdom has fallen upon, in order to the Salvation of Sinners: Tho' we must own, that it is impossible for any finite Mind to comprehend the exact Adjustment of all things relating to this, in a perfect Manner.

However, as we see, in some measure, how the *Man Christ* manag'd himself in reference to God, we may also form some Idea of the Method of his Conduct in relation to the Angels. For his Concern, with respect to them, stood chiefly in these things; 1. To act so, as that they might see no Imperfection or Indecency in his Conduct; but, on the contrary, such an exact and perfect Discharge of his Duty, as became one under his Character, and in his Circumstances. 2. To give them *some such Discoveries* of his Design, as might gradually let in their Minds to understand the Intention and Scope of the *Logos*. 3. To lay a Foundation thus of his *Headship* over them, as Man. For, if they were thus forc'd, as it were, to go to School to him, whilst in a State of Humiliation; they could not think it incongruous to submit themselves to him, when they should afterwards behold him actually possess'd of the *Shechinah* in Heaven, and thus made the *Medium* of their Intercourse and Communion with the Deity. And, it is hence, that we may attain to conceive, how the *Angels* will attend *Christ*, even *as the Son of Man*, when he comes, at the last Day, to judge both Men and Angels. For, as he himself has assured us, *John 5.27. He hath given him Authority to execute Judgment, even upon this account, i. e. because he is the Son of Man.* 4. And this, no doubt, our Saviour had in his eye further; *viz.* the laying a new and permanent Foundation of the *Union of Angels and Men*. For, as he was about to break the *Confedera-*

cy between *Hell* and *Earth*, and free Men from their Servitude and Misery under the Tyranny of Devils: So he took care to act so, that he might become *Centrum & Vinculum Unionis Angelorum & Hominum*, the Center and Cement of the Union of Angels and Men. And, as Christ merited this, so it was no small Encouragement to Angels, to love the Society of Men, and to assist them Heavenward, for the future, as ministering Spirits, sent forth for their Good; when they saw, in the Conduct of the *Man Christ*, what Human Nature was capable of, and might be brought to. And, seeing *Angels* and *Men* were to be, for the future, united under one *Common Head*, and he a *Man* too; a kind of Spiritual Sympathy must be supposed to be begot, this way, in the Breasts of the Celestial Inhabitants, to do their utmost, in their way, in order to harmonize with the Design of the *Logos* his becoming Man, by encouraging, inciting and assisting Men in coming in to him, and in their way to Heaven.

And as these were, at least, some of Christ's Views in relation to Angels; certain it is, that he has now obtain'd his end, in these, as well as all other respects. For, as the Apostle says, *Phil. 2. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.* That because he took upon him the Form of a Servant, and was made in the Likeness of Men; and because, being found in Fashion as a Man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto Death, even the Death of the Cross: Therefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name, which is above every Name, (*viz.* the Name of *Loganthropos*, which is above all Names, that were ever appropriated to any Creature or Finite Being;) that at the Name of *Jesus* (as he is *Loganthropos* or a Divine Prince and Saviour) every Knee should bow (*i. e.* all Beings should obey him, as their rightful Sovereign) of (those who are) in Heaven, and of (those that are) in Earth, and of (those that are) under Earth (*i. e.* that the *Angels* in Heaven, and *Men* on Earth should pay their Homage to him, and even *Devils* too, whither they would or not) And that every

every Tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the Glory of God the Father.

And now I hope the Reader may be assisted to understand the Relation that there was, between *Christ Man*, and the *Angels*, during his State of Trial on Earth, and how and from what Views he manag'd himself with respect to them.

I proceed therefore, in the III^d Place, to consider what Part he acted, with respect to his Grand and Invisible Enemies the *Apostate Angels*, as they were led on by the Great Apostate, the Prince of Devils, who, by way of Eminence or Peculiarity, is commonly called *the Devil* or *Satan* in Scripture.

And here I must say the same thing, that I said, when I entred upon the last Head ; that were it proper, to run out upon the first Apostacy of the Fallen Angels, and what relates to their Government, State and Acting ; it might tend very much to illustrate what I have to say on this Head. But, seeing this would carry me out too far at present, and seeing I purpose to treat of *Devils*, as well as *Angels*, in a more proper place ; I must be contented to say no more now, on this Head, than is just necessary.

Let it suffice therefore, at present, 1. To recollect what I said already, in relation to the Design of *Satan*, in drawing *Adam* over, from the *Logos*, to his own State and Party ; together with what I hinted concerning the Undertaking of the *Logos*, to recover Mankind again. And then, after the Reader has carried along with him the Chain of the Thoughts laid down, pursuant to the Undertaking of the *Logos* ; Let him, in the 2^d Place, remember, That ever after that, down from the first Promise, made concerning the Seed of the Woman (which, by the way, was the Foundation of Man's Salvation, as it was a Declaration of Mens being salvable) until the Fulness of time came, when *Christ* was made of a Woman ; That I say there was, all that time,

(viz. for 4000 Years) a constant War carried on between the *Logos* and the *Devil*; the one pursuing the Good, and the other the further Ruin of Mankind and Human Nature. Now,

In order the better to conceive how this War was manag'd, we must remember, 1. That the *Logos*, upon his undertaking the Patronage of Mankind, in order to their Recovery, was look'd upon, under the Character of *Loganthropos*, as being virtually such, as I said above. 2. That therefore the *Logos* was tied up from acting formally as the *Logos*, in a way of Omnipotent Energy or Force, as being oblig'd, by Ingagement, to seek the Recovery of Men, in such *Methods* only as should be consistent with *Human Nature*, considered as *Free* as well as *Reasonable*; that as *Adam* sin'd out of Choice, his Posterity might chuse whether they would be saved or not. For this was what the Father demanded, in the *first Article* mention'd, and what the Son agreed to, tho with this *Proviso*, that He might appear and act as the *Logos*, when there was just Reason to give Evidences of his being such, when Men could not otherwise be supposed to have sufficient Ground to believe in him, as the Divine Patron of Men. However, we must remember, 3. That the ordinary Method, that the *Loganthropos* was to proceed in, was that of Wisdom, both in order to incounter and overcome *Satan*, and to ingage Men to fall off from Sensuality and Wickedness, in order to their intire Salvation and returning to God.

Now, from the Consideration of these things, it follows, that we ought to observe these two things: 1. That *Satan* had a great many Advantages on his side, which the *Loganthropos*, or Second *Adam*, as thus tied up, had not. For, tho the *Loganthropos* had the true Interest of Man, and right Reason, for him: yet Men were so vitiated by the Fall, that it was no easy matter, to make them either understand their true Interest, or to induce them to prosecute it, even upon the Supposition of their understanding it. And such was the *moral Impotency* of the *Human Nature*, by reason of Sin and
Temp-

Temptation, that it did not seem easy to make so much as a Head against these, even after satisfying Mens Reason, that a Course of Holiness was to be prefer'd before a Course of Wickedness. Whereas *Satan* had all the corrupted and vitiated Passions and Inclinations of Men to work by ; which he labour'd to ferment and boyl up perpetually, by all the Insinuations and Perswasives, that could be contriv'd. And there is no Man, whose Experience does not tell him, how strong these are, and how hardly they are overcome. And hence it came to pass, that the Generality of Men remain'd Proof against all the Methods which the *Logos* used to reclaim them by ; as appears fully from the Scripture-History. And there is no arguing against such plain *Matters of Fact*, from *fancied Theories* or *Schemes* of our own Invention, which are inconsistent with the sacred Account of Things. Therefore, 2. We must conclude, from the Scripture-History, as agreeable with the Account I have given of the Contract between *God* and the *Logos* ; That the *Logos*, being thus tied up, as I have said, was oblig'd to try one Method of Wisdom after another, in order to reclaim Men, as often as the former had proved ineffectual, through the Folly and Wickedness of Men. Of these Methods I may have a more proper Occasion to treat afterwards : and therefore I shall not digress upon them here. However we may observe something in the general, in relation to these, by the bye ; which a transient Review of the History of the Bible will help us to. The banishing *Adam* and *Eve* out of *Paradise* was one Method to make Men sensible of their Folly and Misery. The *Mark* put upon *Cain*, (whatever that was) was another. The successive Labours of the good Patriarchs was another, particularly the holy Life and Translation of the Great *Enoch*. But, when all these, and the like Appearances of *God*, proved ineffectual, the *Deluge*, one would have thought, might have been a means to rectify the Posterity of *Noah*. But notwithstanding of this, and the Defeat of *Nimrod* and his Followers at *Babel*, the Destruction

tion of *Sodom* and her Sister-Cities, and the Longevity, Authority and Labours of *Shem* or the *Mylchisedeck*, still Men grew worse and worse. A new Family therefore is miraculously raised up from a decrepit *Abraham* and a barren *Sarah*, in order to be made use of to preserve Religion in. But what various Methods the *Logos* was oblig'd to use, to keep even them right, I need not say; seeing the History of the Old Testament is full this way. And indeed, should we confine our selves only to what happen'd in the *Wilderness*, we might see sufficiently, as in a Glass, what the Method of the *Logos* has ever been with Men, as such, and how prone Mankind is to rebel against God, notwithstanding of all that can be done, in a way of Wisdom to reclaim them. For, as the Psalmist says, by way of Admiration, as well as Question, *Psal. 78. 40. How often did they provoke him (or rebel against him) in the Wilderness, and grieve him in the Desert?* And, if we descend lower, and run through the rest of the History of that Nation, we shall find, that it is impossible for the Wit of Man to think of any one Method, that could be used to cure a Nation of Wickedness, which the *Logos* did not try successively, with respect to that People. And yet after all, *Satan* had gain'd so much ground over them, as well as the Generality of the World besides, that when Christ was born, there was hardly any true Religion to be found, either at *Jerusalem*, or any where else among the Jews.

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The last Method therefore, that was reserv'd to be made use of, in order to reclaim Men, was that of *Christ's Coming* into the World, to die for Sinners, and to give forth a new and divine Edition of Religion. And seeing the Jews, and indeed the Generality of Men besides, were big with the Expectation of the Coming of such a Prince, as should conquer Satan, and destroy his Works; we may be sure, that He was not ignorant of this himself, seeing he knew how often, and how much the Prophets had predicted his Coming, together with the Consequents thereof.

But

But how sagacious soever *Satan* be, yet as he is neither Omniscient nor Omnipotent, so we may justly suppose, that he was in doubt for some time, whether Christ was the true *Messiah* or not. For as the Jews expected that he would come, as a glorious Conqueror, such as *Cæsar* or *Augustus*: so perhaps even *Satan* himself thought, that He would come in some more extraordinary and splendid way, than that wherein he appeared. And seeing *Satan* could only judge of this matter, by consequential Reasoning; we may well suppose that he was in Suspense, for a while, what to conclude. For, upon the one hand, the *Angelical Song* at Christ's Nativity, the Message of the *Eastern Sages*, the Determination of the *Sanhedrim*, as to the place of the Nativity of the *Messiah*, with such other concurring Circumstances, did seem to determine, that he was the *Messiah*. But other things seem'd to render the Belief of this difficult, for a while; such as the Meanness of Christ's Appearance, and the Poverty of his Parents, and the Improbability therefore of his being capable to overturn that Kingdom of Ignorance, Idolatry and Wickedness; which was at that time so universal, and had taken such deep Root in the World, after so long a Possession thereof, for many Ages; and which had the Advantage of having the Bigottry of the Jews, the Wisdom of the Greeks, and the Power of the whole Roman Empire to patronize and secure it.

But, if indeed *Satan* did conclude that Christ was the Promised *Messiah*, yet we may well suppose, that, for some time, he might remain doubtful and pendulous, whether the *Messiah* was to be any more than a Man, tho an extraordinary one. For, tho some Expressions of the Prophets seem'd to assert, that he was to be more than a Creature, yet others seem'd to represent him as a Man only. As therefore, at some times he might doubt whether any of the great Expressions of the Prophets concerning him, amounted to any more than noble and elegant Flourishes, in order to beget high Thoughts of him, in the Minds of Men: So, at other times,

times, he might be apt to think, that none but one that was greater than any Creature, could do what the Prophets gave Assurance of, as that which the *Messiah* would certainly accomplish.

Now, whether *Satan* was doubtful at first of both these Points, or of the latter only, I cannot determine: but, that he was in some sort of Doubt, at least, who or what sort of Person Christ was, appears to be more than probable, from the Account given of the Conflict between our Saviour and him, in the Wilderness. And now, that I have mention'd this, let us observe these Particulars concerning it. (1.) That Christ's Temptations by *Satan* in the Wilderness, were immediately upon the back of God's owning him so eminently to be his Son, when he was baptized by *John* in *Jordan*. For so *Luke* tells us, chap. 4. 1. that as Christ returned from *Jordan*, after his Baptism, he was led by the Spirit into the Wilderness. (2.) That Christ had a greater measure of the Presence of the Spirit, after he was own'd so wonderfully to be the Son of God, than he had before; for *Luke* observes, that upon his being baptized by *John*, and his having the Holy Spirit descend visibly upon him, he was full of the Holy Ghost. And there was just Reason, that he should have more of the Divine Presence now than before, when he liv'd a private and retired Country-Life with *Joseph* and *Mary*. For, when he was baptized by *John*, he was about 30 Years of Age, and was now ready to enter upon his publick Ministry, which he was to begin, as he was to end it, with a hot Fight and Conflict with *Satan*. (3.) The *Logos* having thus honoured the Man Christ, and qualified him for his future Conflicts and Service, sees fit now to expose him to the brunt of *Satan's* Temptations. And therefore he so orders Matters, that our Saviour should be diverted from his intended Journey homeward, and carried, as it were, by force, into the Wilderness, as seems to be plainly insinuated by the Words of *Luke*, ch. 4. 1. And Jesus being full of the Holy Spirit, returned from *Jordan*, ἐκ τῆς ἰορδάνης, and he was led, or rather,

ther, as the Word sounds, *was driven by the Spirit into the Wilderness.* And, that this must be the Sense, seems plain from the word that *Mark* has made choice of, to express this by, when he says, *Chap. 1. 12. That the Spirit, αὐτὸν ἔκβάλει, drove him, or forc'd him, into the Desert.* And it is not improbable to me, but that *Christ's Body* was carried through the Air into the Wilderness, even as it is said of *Philip*, that after he had baptized the Eunuch of *Ethiopia*, *the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip*; and, as it seems, set him down at *Azotus*, *Acts 8. 39, 40.* For thus God used sometimes to act in relation to his Prophets, as we see, *1 Kings 18. 12.* and *2 Kings 2. 16, &c.* (4.) What *Wilderness* it was, into which he was carried, is not expressly told us. But, for my own part, I make no doubt, but that it was the *Wilderness of Sinai*; seeing it is emphatically called the Wilderness, without the Addition of any thing to particularize it otherwise. And, it is consonant to Reason to think, that *Christ* should be led into no other Wilderness to fast for 40 Days, than that wherein *Moses* and *Elijah* fasted before him. And as the Number 40 does unquestionably bear a relation to the 40 Years Journey of the *Israelites* through that Wilderness; there is all Reason to believe, that the Place where all three fasted, as well as the Number of Days, was the same. And what more proper Place could be supposed to be made choice of for this great and long Conflict, than that wherein the *Logos* had given that same Law, of which *Christ* was to be the Completion, in order to its Abolition. And hence we may perhaps have some light, as to the Nature of those Temptations, at least some of them, wherewith Satan assaulted *Christ*, during the 40 Days of his Abode there. For, may we not probably conjecture, that the Devil, (besides the captious and puzzling Queries, which he did probably muster up, in relation to the Mysteries of Creation and Providence in general) might take occasion, from the very place, whither *Christ* was brought to try him, with abundance of captious Questions, in relation to
the

the *Old Law* given from *Mount Sinai*, and such things as related thereunto; as why God kept *Israel* so long in that place? Whether it was the supreme God, or not, that spoke, with an audible Voice from *Mount Sinai*? How it was consistent with Divine Wisdom, to enjoyn so many things, as were so very burdensom, and of so little Use? Why he grudg'd the *Israelites* the Use of so many wholesom Meats, which other Nations fed upon? Why he was at such Pains to institute things, that were to be abolish'd? And, when would the Abolition of them be? And in what way? &c. For we may justly suppose that Satan having so long a time with Christ alone in the Wilderness, would rack his Invention to the uttermost, in order to try whether he could insnare Christ in any thing. But let the kind of the Temptations be what Men please, still we are sure that Satan ply'd our Saviour hard all that time; seeing both *Mark* and *Luke* tell us, in plain Words, that *he was tempted in the Wilderness by Satan for 40 Days*. And it is probable, that amongst other things that the Devil might make use of, with a Design to terrify him, one was, the hounding of wild Beasts upon him; seeing *Mark* has told us, *ch. i. 13. That he was with the wild Beasts.* (5.) We are to observe, that Christ was not hungry, until after the 40 Days were expired, as *Matthew* and *Luke* assure us. And it was upon Christ's being hungry, that Satan sets upon him with new Vigour, and with new Temptations; being permitted to have Power over Christ's Body, so as to remove him from place to place, in order to render his Temptations the more formidable. And it is of *these last Temptations only*, that the Spirit of God has thought fit to give us any particular Account. For the *first Temptation* mentioned, is occasion'd by *Christ's being hungry*, to such a degree as to be observ'd by Satan; and therefore he desires him, to evidence his Power, by *turning the Stones*, that were next him, *into Bread*, *Mat. 4. 3*. But tho both *Matthew* and *Luke* make this Temptation, to have been the *first* of the three last; yet they differ as to the Order of the *other*

two; *Matthew* relating that as the *second*, which *Luke* supposes to have been the *third*. Which, by the way, lets us see, that as these two Historians did not write by Collusion, so it is a very precarious Notion and indefensible, to carry the point of the Inspiration of the Sacred Penmen so high, as those have done, who have asserted, that the Holy Spirit directed and moved them so, as to indite every Circumstance of their Writing, in such a manner as if they had been equally conducted this way, as the Pen was by their hand, when they wrote with it. But to proceed;

(6.) Let us observe, that Christ was, all this while, left to himself *as Man*, without more of the Presence of the *Logos*, than was just necessary to preserve him, from being injur'd by Satan: which confirms what I have again and again mentioned before. For, had the *Logos* exerted himself fully with him and for him, it had been impossible for him to have been *hungry* at all? Nor had it been possible for *Satan* to have had such Power over his *Body*, as to carry him at one time up to a *Pinnacle* of the *Temple*, and at another time to the top of an *High Mountain*. But in the (7th) and last Place, Let us come to that Observation, which principally concerns my purpose as to this place; *viz.* that Satan was all this while under some doubt, with respect to Christ. For every one of his Temptations is probatory this way; *If thou be the Son of God, do so or so?* For we must remember, that Christ had not as yet done any Miracle, as not having entred upon his Publick Ministry. And therefore, tho the *Angel* told *Mary*, that Christ should be called the *Son of God*, because of his *Miraculous Conception*: Yet *Satan*, in case he knew what the *Angel* said, might doubt, whether, in case this was the *Messiah*, he ought to carry the Notion of Christ's being *the Son of God*, any higher, than that of *Adam* and the *Angels*, who, because immediately and extraordinarily created by God, are called *his Sons* in Scripture. And tho God own Christ to be *his only begotten Son*, when he was baptized; yet I have shew-

ed (b) before, that these words were heard by *John* the Baptist only. 'Tis true, that tho' *John* was the only Man that heard them; yet this does not hinder, but that *Satan* might understand what was said. But, tho' this might have been so, it is more probable, that even *Satan* might be kept a Stranger to this Truth for some time. Were the Authority of *Ignatius* that with me, that it is with many others; it might be corroborative of this Supposition, seeing he has (c) asserted, *That Mary's Virginity, Christ's Deity, and his Death, were three Things which were concealed from the Devil, as Mysteries.* But, without regard to his Authority, I do think, that the second and Third of these might be unknown to *Satan* for some time. And, as to the Second, I cannot but observe with (d) *Origin*; that in none of *Christ's* Answers to *Satan's* Temptations, he owns himself to be the Son of God. Nay, tho' *Satan* was baff'd, in all his Attempts against our Saviour, we find that he went away, with a Design to try him again, for so *Luke* insinuates, when he says, Chap. 4. 13. *That he departed from him, for a Season only.* I suppose he was exhausted in point of Topicks of Argument, and thought it proper to retire, and call together the *Black Legion* of Hell, to give his Counsellors an account of what had past, and to desire their Thoughts of what was most proper to be done for the future. And, if he was tyr'd with so long a Conflict, so as to be willing to retire for some time, we may well suppose that *Christ Man* had need of some Relief, after a *Fast of above 40 Days*, and a close Intention of mind all that time, in order to give proper Answers to all *Satan's* Questions. And therefore it was convenient, that the Body of *Christ* should be recruited, after such an expence both of the Animal and Vital Spirits. Accordingly we are told, *Matth.* 4. 11. *That when the*

(b) See Lib. I. pag. 97.

(c) Epist. ad Magn. S. 19.

(d) Hom.

6. in Lucam.

Devil left him, behold Angels came and ministred unto him; i. e. they came to administer Food to him, and whatever was necessary for his Refreshment. So that, if all things be considered, we must suppose that Christ was much longer than 40 Days in the Wilderness. For, it was not till after the Expiration of these, that Christ was an hungred; and Satan was sensible of his being so, before he began with those violent Temptations, that are made mention of. And besides, Satan could not carry the Body of Christ, thro' the Air, from the Wilderness to a Pinnacle of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and from thence to the Top of that High Mountain, according to *Matthew's* Account, or, *vice versa*, to the High Mountain first, and to the Temple afterwards, according to *Luke's* Relation; I say, these Journeys could not be performed in a few Hours, because Christ's Body must be supposed to be carried no more swiftly, than was consistent with his Breathing and Living. Nor could the Angels so minister unto him, but that it must take some time, for him to eat and drink, and be refresh'd, in order to his Great Journey, back from the Wilderness into *Galilee*; if indeed he was not brought from thence through the Air, in the same manner as he was probably carried thither. But however this was, certain it is, That he returned in the Power of the Spirit into *Galilee*, *Luke* 4. 14. For, upon this Illustrious Victory over Satan, he had it, as a Reward, to be endued with the Presence and Gifts of the Holy Spirit, in an extraordinary manner, in order to be fitted for his great Ministerial Work; which he entred upon immediately after his return from the Wilderness, as we see *Luke* 4. 14, 15. Now, if we may be allowed to reckon from Congruities (as I see no reason, why we may not, in case we propose things by way of a rational Conjecture only, without any thing like Assertion or Positiveness) I should think, that as there were just 50 Days, from our Saviour's Resurrection, to the Day of *Pentecost*, upon which the Holy Ghost was given: So there were just 50 Days between Christ's first Arrival in the Wilderness,

derness, when he began to be tempted, to the Day of his Return into *Galilee* full of the Spirit, and his first Preaching there. For thus his *First Period of Trial*, will exactly harmonize with his *First Period of Honour and Exaltation*. I shall have occasion to speak of this last Period of 50 Days more particularly and exactly, in the next Chapter; wherein I shall shew, that Christ continued 40 compleat Days on Earth after his Resurrection, and consequently ascended to Heaven on the 41st Day from his Resurrection; and, that as his *Crucifixion* was on a *Friday*, so was his *Ascension* on another; even as both his *Resurrection* and *Mission of the Spirit* were on *Lord's Day*. And, as these are Congruities, that seem to bear the Character of Divine Wisdom: So it seems consonant to the same, to suppose, that Christ was baptized upon a *Saturday*, being the *Jewish Sabbath*, and that he was the next day, being *Sunday*, hurried into the Wilderness, where he continued for 40 compleat Days to be tempted of Satan; and that after the Expiration of these, which was on *Friday*, he came to be hungry, and was then attack'd the remaining part of that Day, and all the Sabbath Day following, even as he lay in the Grave afterwards, during the same length of time. And, if so, then it will be equally probable, that Satan left him early on *Sunday Morning*, about the same time, whereupon he did afterward rise from the dead, and that, upon this Conquest, the Angels came and ministred unto him, the same being the 43^d from his Arrival in the Wilderness, and that having afterward arrived in *Galilee* on the *Friday* following, he entred the next Day into some of their Synagogues, on their Sabbath Day; where we may suppose that he made his first Publick Appearance, seeing we are told, *Luke 4. 14, 15. That Jesus returned (viz. from the Wilderness) in the Power of the Spirit into Galilee, and there went out a Fame of him thro' all the Region round about, and he taught in their Synagogues, being glorified of all.* Now, if he made his first Publick Appearance, in some Synagogue, the first Sabbath Day, i. e. *Saturday* after his Return;

Return ; we may well suppose, that a Great Conflux of People would come about him the next day, being Sunday, and the 50th Day from his going into the Wilderness, and that then he would take occasion to signalize himself, both by preaching and working of Miracles, which would increase his Fame. And here if this Conjecture be reasonable, we may, from hence as a *Postulatum*, calculate about what time of the Year this happened ; in case, we can find out, when Christ began his Publick Ministry. Now I shall make it appear to be probable, by what I have to say in the next Chapter, that Christ began his Publick Ministry the 5th Day of October, or at least near that time. Supposing therefore at present, that the *first Lord's Day*, wherein Christ made his Publick Appearance, was the 50th Day from the beginning of his being tempted in the Wilderness ; and supposing, that this *Lord's Day*, or *Sunday*, was the 5th of October : It will then follow, that the *first Day* of Christ's Temptation was *Sunday* the 10th Day of August ; and that consequently, if he was baptized the Day before, it was upon the Ninth of August, being *Saturday*. So that whether we reckon from the Day of his Baptism, to the Day of his Preaching first in the Jewish Synagogues, or from the first Day of his being tempted, to the first Sunday of his Publick Ministry ; we have just 50 Days. And, in both the Beginning and Ending of each of these Calculations, it is observable, that the *Saturdays* are preparatory to the *Sundays*, in such a manner, as if calculated, to lay a Foundation for the bringing in of the *Christian Sabbath*, in the room of the *Jewish*. But enough of these Conjectures at present. To return therefore :

We have no particular Account of *Satan's* encountering *Christ* again, until towards the End of his Life ; and then indeed he attempted him *twice* ; *viz.* in the Garden, and upon the *Cross*. But of both these I have said enough already, when I gave the continued History of these, as the 2d Instance of *Christ's* Acting

as Man, in a Reference to God. And I am not willing to be tedious, by saying more now, than is just necessary.

But, tho the Evangelists speak nothing directly of any other Fight between Christ, than these three famous ones; *viz.* the Conflict in the *Wilderness*, the Combat in the *Garden*, and the last and decisive Battle upon the *Cross*, wherein he spoiled the *Principalities and Powers* of Hell, and made a *Shew* of them, triumphing thus over them, *Col. 2. 15.* I say, tho these be the only Fights, that are described: Yet I am apt to think that as Satan lay at catch continually, to see if he could insnare him, in any respect; so there are some Passages, that seem to suppose and insinuate some such thing. And, (1.) Some such thing seems to have been the occasion, at least in part, of our Saviour's going out into a desert Place, so early in the Morning, as we read he did, *Mark 1. 35.* For the Cause seems to have been this. Our Saviour having demonstrated himself to be the true Messiah, by abundance of Miracles, and particularly by casting out Devils from Persons that were possess'd, and that with such Authority, as *not to suffer them to speak, because they knew him*, or (as the words may as well be render'd) so, as *not to suffer them to tell, that they knew him*, ver. 34. He thinks fit, to rise up early in the Morning, a great while before day, to go out and depart alone into a solitary Place, in order (as would appear from the Connexion of these two Verses) to evidence himself to have Courage to attack Satan there, in the Night, as well as elsewhere, in the View of Men, in the Day. Whether the ejected Devils gave him any Challenge this way, we know not. But there is reason to think, that Satan would not be idle, now that he had Christ in a solitary Place, in the dark Night; and probably he might appear to him, in a frightful manner; which might put our Saviour upon fervent Prayer. And it is remarkable, that the Evangelist does not say, *that he went into a solitary Place, to pray*, but *that he went into a solitary Place, and there prayed.* For, I suppose that his Disciples

ciples found him in that Posture, when they came up to him, *v.* 36, 37. But, (2.) It seems not to be improbable, that he might have been in some struggle of this Sort, when *he retired into the Mountain to pray, having dismiss'd the Multitude that he had miraculously fed, and constrain'd his Disciples to enter into a Boat, in order to cross the Sea of Tiberias, Matth. 14, 22, 23, 25. Mark 6. 45, 46, 47.* For, tho' the occasion of this his Retiring from the People, was to avoid their proclaiming him King, as we see, *John 6. 15.* Yet we may well think, that *Satan* would not let such an Opportunity slip. But, as I propose these things conjecturally only : So, whatever the Spiritual Exercise of Christ was, at these times, still it is certain, that the whole Life of Christ on Earth, was fill'd up with Difficulties, Temptations and Trials, and that in the most eminent manner. And we are sure, that it is comparatively but a little part of the Life of Christ, that is related by the four Evangelists ; seeing *John* assures, *Chap. 21. ver. ult. That there were so many things done by Christ, which were not committed to Writing, that, were they all enumerated, the World would not be capable to contain the Books.* And I do not in the least question, but that those things that were kept secret from the World, were equally considerable, as those things that are related, and particularly his Conflicts with *Satan*, and Prayers to God when retired from the View of all Men, even his own Disciples, as well as others ; and which therefore they were not capable to give any account of.

From this silence of Scripture, it proceeds ; that we are in a great measure, at a loss, how to judge of our Saviour's Conduct, in abundance of respects, and particularly, how and in what way he fought *Satan*, and conquer'd him. However, the *Maxim* I supposed him to act by, seems to be equally accommodable in this Case, as in the others I have mention'd. And by an Accommodation thereof, to the Circumstances of our Saviour, and those of

the Devil and his Associates, I think we may very rationally suppose these things. (1.) That it was very proper, that our Saviour should act chiefly a *defensive Part*; that Satan might be the more incited and encourag'd to attack him, and thus play the same Game with the *Second Adam*, as with the *First*, in hopes of the same Success. (2.) That Christ should behave so, as never to detract any Engagement of this kind; and that therefore he should yield himself to fight Satan, as long as he could himself desire. And hence it was, that he continued so long in the Wilderness with him, till Satan himself found it necessary to leave the Field; and consequently own'd himself foil'd and conquer'd for that time. (3.) That this Dispute between *Satan* and the *Man Christ* was manag'd on Christ's Part, in a way of *fair Argument*, so as an *intellectual Being* only ought to contend, *viz.* for the *Conquest of Truth*. And, that *Satan* was, by an over-ruling Providence, oblig'd to fight the same way, in the main; tho he manag'd it, in a way of *sophistical Reasoning* only, seeing his Business was, to oppose the Discovery and propagation of Truth. (4.) That *Satan's Attempts* upon our Saviour, in the *Garden* and upon the *Cross*, were manag'd in a way of Violence, with all the unfair and base Methods he could make use of; in order to destroy his temporal Life, if possible, or otherwise to discompose his Mind, so as to disperse and sink his natural and animal Spirits, in order to unfit him for the great and difficult part, which he had to act in his last hours. And that therefore, as I have said, it was absolutely necessary, that he should be repuls'd so far, by Violence also, as that Christ's Life might be preserved, as long as it was necessary that he should live; that our Saviour might have it so far in his own disposal, as to breath out his Soul neither sooner nor later, than at the exact and critical Hour, wherein he was to finish his Work; that thus his Work and Temporal Life might be concluded together. (5.) That, by these last violent Assaults, which Satan made upon Christ, the *Devil* lost both his

Honour and *Interest*, so as he had never lost them before. For this was a Publick Indication of Satan's Despair, and that he was satisfied of the Impossibility of being capable to fight Christ any more, in a way of Reasoning: as it was also an Evidence of the greatest Cowardize and Baseness, to attempt to murder the Body of him, that had done no more, on his part, than to convince him of the Truth. (6.) That, when *Satan* had so far out-shot himself, as to get *Judas* to betray Christ, and the *Jewish* Rulers to agree to destroy him; and that he saw his Design to destroy Christ's Life, in the Garden, defeated by the *Logos*, thro' the Administration of one or more Angles: He falls upon a new Plot of a different kind from the former. For, seeing he could not, by force, prevent his being offered up upon the Cross, as a Sacrifice for Men; which he had done effectually, could he have slain him, in the Garden, as he attempted to do: He falls upon a new Project, to see if he could divert the Rulers, from putting him to Death at all; as finding, that he had fail'd in his Politicks, in driving Things so far as he had done. And, 1. seeing the *Jewish* Rulers were the first Actors, in pursuing Christ, he labours to divert them from their Design, by cutting them short of their main Evidence against him. The Testimony of *Judas* was likely to be used by them, as a great Argument with *Pilate*, to pass Sentence upon him. And therefore *Satan*, who had entred into *Judas*, after the Sop which Christ had given him, *John* 13. 26, 27. (and who therefore could use him, as his proper Tool, ever after) broiles and teizes the Conscience of that miserable Wretch; so that he had no Rest, untill he went to the Priests and Elders, and retracted what he had said against Christ, giving Evidence of his Master's Innocence, and his own Wickedness; which he evidenceth, by restoring the Pieces of Silver, which was so much the more remarkable, because he was notoriously covetous. For that *Judas* his Repentance, was not true, all are agreed; seeing the Scripture is plain in this Case,

if we consider Christ's Words, *Matth.* 26. 24. and *Peter's* Words, *Act.* 1. 18. and the Words of all the Apostles in Prayer, *ver.* 25. And, seeing his Repentance was not saving, and that he was possessed by Satan, and was a little while after (Satan having no more Service for him) hurried and agitated with such Terrors, as to murder himself; I cannot but think that the Devil made use of him, to see if he could, by this means, divert the Priests from pursuing Christ to death. For, seeing he was not permitted to murder him himself, and seeing he understood that the *Messiah* must be cut off, and made thus a Sacrifice for Men; and seeing also, he could not but foresee, that this would be extremely detrimental to his Interest: Hence, it was very rational in him, to labour to divert the *Jews*, all he could, from taking away Christ's Life. For could he have done this, by turning that into Banishment, or any other Punishment of another Nature; he thought he might enervate the Designs of God, prove the Scripture-Prophecie false, and obstruct the Good of Men, and the further Misery of Devils. But he had before so boyl'd up the *Jewish* Rage, that he could not reach his End. And indeed it was a strange Answer they gave to *Judas*, *Matth.* 27. 4. *What is that to us? Look thou to it.* 2. Satan having miss'd his End, this way, attempts it by another Method. For when he saw that he could not alter the Intention of the *Priests* and *Elders*, from pursuing Christ to Death; he bethought himself, whether he might not divert *Pilate* from passing Sentence upon him. And for this end, as we see, *Matth.* 27. 19. He impresses *Pilate's* Wife with an odd Dream, that very Morning that *Pilate* was gone to the Judgment-Hall, she being, as it would seem, asleep after her Husband rose. And the Impression was so strong, that she could not forbear instantly to send a Messenger to *Pilate*, upon this Head. Some may say, this is an odd Notion; when the Current of the Interpreters have supposed, that this was a Divine Dream. I answer, I cannot help it, if I am forced to differ from others, in this, as well

well as other Things. I question not, but that God over-ruled this, as well as all other Matters. But that it was (thro' the Permission of God) done by Satan, as the immediate Agent, is what I make no question of, when I consider, that had he reach'd the end of this Dream, it had made exceedingly for his Interest. But besides, there are two things in the Account which *Pilate's Wife* her self gives of this, that determine me this way. The *first* is, that she dreamt of Christ diminitively, as a *just Man only*; whereas had a good Angel form'd the Dream, something of Christ's peculiar Character, as the *Messiah, Son of God, &c.* had been, no doubt, given. *Secondly*, because her Dream was not calm, serene, or like a divine Dream, but terrifying, impetuous, and like a Diabolical Dream: For so her Words shew; *I have suffered many things, this Day, in a Dream, &c.* (7.) That, by all this unfair, base and *unspirit-like Management*, Satan did not only fall under the *greatest Disgrace*, but procur'd to himself a *new Degree of Punishment*, by becoming the *Trophy* of the Conquest of the *second Adam*. And we may justly suppose, that this Conquest did put him out of all hope of ever being pardoned; which perhaps he might, before this, fondly dream of, as that which was, at least, possible. For, this seems to have been the last Probation, under which Satan was brought. And his Carriage under it was plainly such, as the Sin of those is represented to be, who are guilty of sinning against the Holy Ghost. For *Satan* either did know who Christ was, especially after he had wrought so many Miracles; or if he did not, it was his own Obstinacy that was the Reason of his Ignorance this way; so that let the Case be supposed either way, still it is certain, that his Impudence and Malice were demonstrated this way to be the greatest that possibly could be. And if he was so far from doing any thing that savour'd of Repentance, Submission, or a Concern to be reconciled to God, as that he acted, with a high Hand, the other Way; we have all Reason to conclude, that his State was neither so miserable,

nor desperate, before Christ's coming, as since that Time. (8.) That *Christ*, by a fair Conquest over *Satan*, in a way of *just* and *exact Reasoning* and *rational Acting*, brought such a *Credit* and *Reputation* to *human Nature*; as it never had before: seeing, as *Man*, he out-witted and defeated all the *Cunning* and *Subtilty* of the *Old Serpent*. And by this he regain'd to Mankind that Honour that *Adam* had lost, and brought back the *Spoils of Men*, which *Satan* had so long boasted of and erected, as so many *Trophies of Conquest*. (9.) That therefore *Christ* justly *merited* to be set at the *Head* of the *Human Race*, as their true *Hero* and *Saviour*. Whence we may easily understand the *Connexion* of the *Apostle's Words*, *Phil. 2. v. 7, 8*, with *v. 9, &c.* And not only did *Christ*, this way, *merit* to be made the *Head* and *Prince of Men*, whose *Interest* and *Honour* he had retriev'd, but likewise to have *Dominion* over the *Infernal Spirits*, in *Right of Conquest*, as *Prisoners of War*, to dispose of them as he pleased. (10.) That our *Blessed Saviour*, pursuant to his *Conquest*, and by *Virtue* of his justly *purchased Headship* over *Men*, has erected a *New Covenant* and *Dispensation*, of a *Nature* that is *rational* and *easie*; *inviting* and *ingaging* all *Men* to come in, by the most powerful *Persuatives*, and the *Proposal* of the most kind and *condescending Terms*. What this *New Covenant* is, I shall have *Occasion* afterwards to discover more particularly. In the mean time, we have the *Sum* of it propos'd to us, *John 5. 24. Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that beareth my Word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting Life, and shall not come into Condemnation, but is passed from Death unto Life.*

And hence we see, 1. what just Reason all Men have to come unto, and put themselves under the *Protection* and *Conduct* of this *Glorious Saviour* and *Conqueror*; without whom it is impossible for *Men* to be happy. 2. We see whence it is, that a *Christian* may attain to a *Certainty* and *Plerophory*, as to his being happy, upon his *devoting* himself thus to *God* in *Christ*; seeing we are assured, 1 *John 1. 9. that if we confess*

confess our Sins, God is just and faithful to forgive them: Just, because Christ has offered himself a Sacrifice for Sin, pleadable by such as do so; and Faithful, because God has given his Promise and Word of Honour to such Persons. For, as the Apostle says, Rom. 8. 1. There is no Condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, i. e. to them, that walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit. 3. Hence Christians are oblig'd to evidence the Truth of their Christianity, by a thorow Concern to walk holily, humbly, and inoffensively, and to have no Interest separated from that of their blessed Master and generous Benefactor. And, (4.) hence we are taught, in Prayer, to appeal from the Throne of rigid Justice, and the Sentence of Severity, to God's Court of Equity, that is erected in Christ, for the Benefit and Solace of all penitent and returning Sinners. So did the Psalmist of old, Psal. 130. 3, 4. If thou Lord shouldest narrowly mark Iniquity, O Lord who shall stand? But there is Forgiveness with thee, that thou mayst be feared. See also, Psal. 143. 2. and Rom. 8. 33, 34, 35, &c.

C H A P. IV.

The Time wherein our Saviour was born into the World, considered, as it was the Fulness of Time. Together with a short Hint concerning the last Days.

HAVING touch'd upon the Subject of Christ's Coming into the World *in the Fulness of time*, in the first Chapter of this Book, and having there insinuated my Design to discuss this point more distinctly and particularly afterwards; I come now accordingly to treat of it here. For, tho I am not ignorant, that some very learned and ingenious Men have taken notice of this professedly: Yet I think there is still room for further
 Inquiries.

Inquiries. And, in case I should not be able to say any thing new on this Head; yet I hope what I am about to propose, will not be useleſs, if it were only, upon the account, that I hope I may be capable to bring in ſome further Light, with reſpect to our ſeeing the Wiſdom of God more clearly diſplaying it ſelf, in the choice of the time, wherein he brought his only begotten Son into this World of ours, and in the adapting of the Circumſtances that attended that time of his Publick Appearance.

The Expreſſions of Scripture, that I would explain here, or rather found upon, as to what I have to propoſe in reference to this Head, are principally theſe two, Gal. 4. 4. and Eph. 1. 10. In the *Fiſt* of which it is ſaid, *That God ſent forth his Son, made of a Woman, and made under the Law, juſt as τὸ πλήρωμα τῶ χρόνου, the Fulneſs of the Time came, or was come, as our Verſion words it.* And in the *ſecond* Text, the Apoſtle ſays, *That God did, in the Diſpenſation (or Oeconomy) τῆς πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν, of the Fulneſs of the Times (or Seasons or Opportunities) ἀναμειφαιώσασθαι, Gather together in one (as under one Common Head) all things in Chriſt, both the Things which are in Heaven and which are on Earth, even in him, or under him.* Now, in order to the joint Explanacion and Illuſtration of both theſe Paſſages, and in order to our Underſtanding the Myſtery of Godlineſs, and the Wiſdom of God diſplayed therein more exactly and diſtinctly, in this *Great Central Point* of Revealed Religion, with reſpect to this Great and neceſſary Circumſtance of the Time of Chriſt's Appearance; I ſhall give an account of my Thoughts upon this Subject, in ſome material and weighty Obſervations, beſides thoſe Hints that I gave this way before, in the *Fiſt Chapter*, which I need not mention again in this place.

And, *1ſt.* I obſerve, That the *fiſt* Expreſſion ſeems not obſcurely to allude to a *Woman with Child, that goes out her full time, and then is happily deliver'd*; ſeeing it is ſaid, that *in the Fulneſs of Time, Chriſt was made or born of a Woman.* For we know, that as there is a proper

proper and appointed Season, as for every Seed, Flower and Fruit to ripen in ; so more specially for the Fruit of the Womb. And therefore we read of *Rebekah*, that she brought forth her Twins, *Esau* and *Jacob*, just as her Days to be delivered were fulfilled, Gen. 25.24. Now Time had been all along pregnant with a Saviour, in the Womb, of which Christ was conceived, immediately after the Fall, in the first and radical Promise, which we have Gen. 3. 15. But the longer Time run on, the Bigger it grew this way. The Promise made to *Shem*, and the handing this over to *Abraham* and his Seed, but especially the Erection of the Jewish Church and Nation under *Moses* and *Joshua*, gave evident Signs of Times being Big with a Saviour, and of its gradual Ripening towards its being deliver'd of a Man-child, that was to rule the World and Church : The seeing and injoying of whom was the rational desire of all Nations (who groaned under the sad and felt effects of Sin and Slavery) as Christ is called, Hag. 2. 7. and concerning which I said something in the first Chapter. It were a pleasant and useful Study, to observe, in this place, how full the Old-Testament-Saints were of Hope and Expectation, as to the coming of the *Messiah*, and what Hints we have this way, several of which have been very little minded hitherto. But, as this would lead me too far, I shall let it alone at present ; and the rather, because I have said something considerable this way already, in the *Second Book* of this *Work*. Therefore to proceed ;

2dly. I observe, That our Saviour's Coming into the World, was, at last, become a Matter of real necessity. All other Means and Methods had been tried to reclaim Mankind, and bring them back to God ; but all proved ineffectual ; and therefore it was necessary, that Christ should come himself at last, to make an Essay of a new kind. This I do suppose our Lord himself does insinuate, in the Parable of the Lord, and the Husbandmen and Vineyard, Luke 20. 9, &c. For what else mean these words, ver. 3. Then said the Lord of the Vineyard, What shall

I do? I will send my beloved Son: It may be, they will reverence my Son.

But the main thing that I would have observed, is the necessity of his being sent at that very time, and neither sooner nor later. I mean not an *absolute Necessity*, or a Necessity in the *Abstract*, as the Schools speak; but such a *Necessity* in the *Concret*, as arose from the Concurrence of such and such Circumstances and Congruities of Providence; which made it fit and proper, and consequently necessary (in relation to the Harmony and Order of the Divine Oeconomy in ruling this World, and to the Design of the Supreme Wisdom therein) that Christ should neither come sooner nor later into the World; and that therefore he should come at that very time and no other.

And, (1.) I shall shew, that it was not fit, that he should have come *sooner*, from these Considerations.

1. Because it was congruous to all methods of Wisdom, that all other *Means* should be made use of first, according to the Scope of the Parable mentioned. For, if God could have reclaimed Men, by common Servants; why should he have sent his Son? Had he sent his Son therefore immediately after the Lapse, Men could not so well have fathom'd the Reason: For they would have been apt to think that other Methods might have done as well.
2. Because it was fit, Mankind should have *full Proof* of their distemper'd and desperate State, before this *Divine Physician* should come; that they might be the better appriz'd of the Necessity of his being sent, from the Sense and Experience they had of their absolute need of him. And therefore it was fit that they should be sensible of the dreadful Nature and horrid Effects and Consequents of Sinning. And that for this end many Ages should run out; that the Universality of the Contagion should be known and own'd by all, by their seeing and experiencing the general Prevalency of innumerable Diseases and other Sorts of Miseries, such as Proverty, Famine, desolating Wars, Tyranny, Oppression, Massacrees, inhuman Sacrifices, unnatural

unnatural Lusts, &c. 3. Because the World must first be *universally and fully Peopl'd*, that the *Scene* may be large and wide enough for such a *Divine Hero* to act upon, with respect to a more diffused Usefulness. And, tho we have not an exact Account of things, yet I am apt to believe, that the World was never so universally full of People in any preceding Age, as it was towards the latter end of the Reign of *Augustus*, and the beginning of that of *Tiberius*; seeing *Augustus* alone reigned 56 Years, without almost any thing that could be called War, or any thing else that brought any general Mortality along with it. And I find not that ever there was such a time since, wherein so few were cut off. So that I question much, whether ever the World had so many Inhabitants in it together, as were at that time, not only before, but even since. 4. Because it was decorous to all Management that *so great a Prince* should not come into the World, until a great many things should go before, by way of *Premonition* and *Preparation* for his coming; and that with such Variety, as to raise the Minds of Men, with greater Concern for, more Desire after, and stronger Expectation of this glorious Person and his Appearance.

But in order to understand more clearly, that it was altogether improper for Christ to have come into the World sooner, let us take a View of the several Periods of time, that elapsed before his Birth. The *1st Period* of time after the Lapse, was that long one of 1656 Years, before the Deluge. Now it was not proper, that Christ should be born then; seeing Divine Providence had in prospect, the Extirpation of that whole Race of Men, by the Flood, excepting one Family only. Besides, that this was not so necessary as to the time; upon the Account of the *Longevity* of the *Ante-Diluvians*: For by this they had a full and exact Account of the Creation, of the Primoval State of Innocence, and of the Fall of Man from thence, by such an easy Tradition as was unquestionable. For if we divide the Age of the *Ante-Diluvians* into two Periods; the

first

first takes in 930 Years of the 1656, *viz.* all the Years of *Adam's* Life, *Gen.* 5. 5. during which all Men might have an account of things from *Adam* himself, if they pleas'd; and had it materially from him, whether they would or not. And, as for those that were not come to Years of Understanding, or that were not born then, and so liv'd in the *second* Period, they had no doubt many to converse with, for at least the greatest Part of the remaining 726 Years, that had an intimate Knowledge of, and Conversation with the *First* Parent of Men. And, if there was no other, *Methuselah* alone might have satisfied all Men this way; who was born in the 687th Year of the World, *Gen.* 5. 21. and so was *Adam's* Contemporary for 243 Years, during the far greatest part of which we may be sure that *Adam* would take care to instruct one, that was born and appointed the Head and Prince of the *Sethites*, and the rather, because of the Apostacy of the *Cainites*. And we know that this same Person died not before that very Year, wherein the Flood came, *viz.* *A. M.* 1656, in the 969th Year of his Age, *Gen.* 5. 27. And, in case any should say, that whatever *Methuselah's* Authority might have been, he was probably so far super-annuated, and perhaps doting long before he died, as to be incapable to teach and instruct others; I answer, tho this be but a precarious Supposition, yet granting that it was really so, still the *Ante-Diluvians* had those that were vigorous and strong enough to supply this Defect. Such surely was *Noah*, the Preacher of Righteousness, who was born *A. M.* 1056, *Gen.* 5. 29. *i. e.* 600 Years before the Deluge, during all which time he was *Methuselah's* Contemporary; and for the most part of which he had Opportunity of an intimate Conversation with him, nay and with many that were born before him, for a considerable Number of Years. For tho he was born not only after the Death of *Adam*, the Translation of *Enoch*, and the Decease of *Seth*; yet he was Contemporary with all the rest of the Patriarchs, for fewer or more Years. For, if we
consult

consult the Hebrew Chronology, we will find that *Noah* was Contemporary with *Enoch*, the Son of *Seth*, and Grandson of *Adam*, for the first 94 Years of his Life; with *Cainian*, the Fourth from *Adam*, for 179 Years; with *Mabalael* the fifth Patriarch, for 234 Years; with *Fared* the sixth Patriarch, for 476 Years, and with his own Father *Lamech*, for 595 Years. So that never was there any People more inexcusable, in their Apostacy from God, and universal Wickedness, than the *Ante-Diluvians*; who had such Means to keep them right, and to deter them from sinning, who knew so well the effects of it, since *Adam* and his Posterity were both thrown out and kept out of Paradise. The 2d Period was that, which commenc'd with the Cessation of the Deluge, and ended with the calling of *Abraham* out of his own Country into the Land of *Canaan*. Now seeing *Shem*, according to Dr. *Usher's* Calculation, died in the Year 2158, and *Abraham* surviv'd him but 25 Years, as dying *A. M.* 2183, it is easy to conceive what an exact Account Men had, during that Period, not only of the first Ages, but of the Destruction of the old World by the Deluge; *Shem* being 90 Years old when the Flood came. So that the same is to be said for this Period, as for the former, that things were not yet come to that pass, as to require the hastning of Christ's coming. Nor was it more necessary during the 3d Period, which I reckon from *Abraham's* Vocation and Coming into *Canaan*, to the People of *Israel's* going out of *Egypt*. For *Abraham* liv'd till *Jacob* was 15 Years of Age, and *Isaac* till he was 100 and eleven Years old. So that there was an easy Conveyance of the Knowledge of God's Dispensation to *Jacob's* Posterity, down to *Moses* his Time, especially considering the Longevity of many of the twelve Patriarchs, and of their immediate Posterity, who were acquainted with *Jacob* himself. For *Jacob* died not till the Year 2315, *Gen.* 48. and *Levi* not till the Year 2385, *Exod.* 6. 16. whose Daughter *Jocebed*, being married to *Anram* his Son's Son, the she was his own Aunt, *Exod.* 6. 20. bare

to him *Aaron* and *Moses*. Now *Amram* living just as long as *Levi* did (who was both his Grandfather and Father in Law) viz. 137 Years, could not die long before *Israel's* going out of *Egypt*. Seeing therefore *Moses* was 80 Years of Age, when he stood before *Pharaoh*, with his Brother *Aaron* (who was the Eldest by 3 Years) *Exod.* 7. 1—13. which was in the Year 2513, according to *Usher*: Hence we may justly conclude, that *Moses* had a particular Account both from Father and Mother, and perhaps probably from many others that out-liv'd them, of all those things that had pass'd in the World, down from *Abraham's* time, as well as before. All which he has summarily given us an Account of in *Genesis*, and the first Chapters of *Exodus*. And now, 4. Let us come to *the times*, that followed the People of *Israel's* going out of *Egypt*, until their Captivity in *Babylon*, and return from thence. For I shall reckon that whole Time, as one Period, for Brevities sake. Was it proper that the *Messiah* should appear to that People, whilst they were but a framing into a Body Politick? Not at all. They were then *rudis indigestaque moles*, a rude and uncultivated People. It was fit therefore that they should be under the Rudiments of Knowledge only, and have a strong and severe Fence about them, to preserve them, if possible, from Idolatry. They were as unfit to receive or understand Christ's pure, rational, spiritual and sublime Doctrine, as a Boy, that has not got his *Accidence*, is for the Study of *Algebra*, or the abstruser Parts of the *Mathematicks* or *Metaphysicks*. Nor were they much riper for the Reception of the Gospel afterwards, during the Continuance of that pompous, but severe ritual Dispensation: Which was only design'd to be subservient, to and typical of the better Oeconomy. Nay, so far were they from being even kept in this way, that God was oblig'd, as it were, at last, to send them Captives to *Assyria* and *Babylon*, to cure them of Idolatry, which they were so frequently guilty of. And, upon the whole, I need not say, how unfutable it was for
Christ

Christ to appear, to appoint a Worship, which was commanded for this very end, to be Typical of his Appearance: For the real and personal Appearance of the *Antitype*, was inconsistent with, and subversive of the Use of the *Types*. So that *the Law was added because of Transgressions*, and for a time only, even till the coming of the *Promised Seed*, to whom the Promise was made, Gal. 3. 9. upon whose coming it was virtually vacated and null'd. During the Continuance therefore of the Jewish Dispensation, it was enough; that God expressed his Care sufficiently for this People, by sending all his Servants, the Prophets, one after another, and sometimes many together, daily rising up early and sending them (a memorable Expression;) tho' with so little Success, that it is added of that People, that yet they hearkned not unto him, nor inclined their Ear, but hardned their Neck, Jer. 7. 25, 26. And, as it was improper, that Christ should appear, during the continuance of that Erection; so it was much more improper, that he should be born, whilst they remained Captives in *Babylon*: Seeing they were not at that time so much as a Free People, or in a National State to receive him. Let us therefore consider the 5th and last Period of the Old Testament-Church. This, in a large Sense, I may well reckon to reach from the Returning of the Jews from *Babylon* to their own Land, and their rebuilding *Jerusalem* and the Temple, to the Final Destruction of both, and consequently of their whole Polity and ritual Law, by the *Romans*. During this Period, it was necessary indeed that Christ should be born; but not till towards the Expiring of it: because one end of Christ's coming was to vacate the old Law, and indeed the whole Constitution and Polity of the Jews: For, it was necessary that the first Covenant should be made void, by the bringing in of a better Testament. The Jews were indeed cur'd of Idolatry, by their Captivity in *Babylon*. But their other Sins were so many and heinous, that it was necessary that they should be punish'd and oppress'd sometimes by the Kings of *Egypt*, and sometimes by the Kings of *Syria*, and last

of all, that they should be inflav'd by the *Romans*; that, by these severe Dispensations, they might be the better dispos'd to receive their *Messiah*, when he should come. Tho' alas! their Wickedness made them to turn their Food and Medicine both into Poison. However the Train of Divine Procedure, in all this, is admirable. Besides, that it is to be observ'd, that the Ceremonial Law ceas'd to be of further use, as to one great End of its Institution, after that the Jewish Nation was cured of Idolatry. So that it was proper that Christ should come at last, as for other ends, so for this, *that he might nail that old Hand-writing of Ordinances, that was, as Paul says, contrary to us, to his Cross, with a Design to bring in true Peace, or a true peaceful Erection in its stead.* And now from all these Considerations we cannot but see, that it was incongruous that Christ should have come sooner than he did. See *Heb. 1. 1, 2. Gal. 4. 3, 4.*

But, (2.) It was no less incongruous, that Christ should have come *much later.* For, 1st. It was proper, that his Coming should co-incide with the Height and Grandeur of the *fourth and last Universal Monarchy* (as it is usually call'd) of the *Romans.* For he was to encounter it, when it was in the very Top of its Power and Glory, and so lay the Foundation of its Ruin, by the very same steps that he took to lay the Foundation of his own Kingdom. Now as our Lord died towards the latter end of the Reign of *Tiberius, i. e.* about five or six Years before the Death of that Prince; so we may well conclude, that Christ's Death was exactly in the *Vertical Point* of that Empire, which seems to me to have begun its Declension from that Year; which is generally supposed to have been the 18th Year of *Tiberius.* And I am apt to think, that that strange Qualm and Terror that seiz'd *Tiberius* that very Year, was ordered by God, to the intent, that he might be a kind of Emblem, of the Enemies of Christ and his Church, and of the way that God was to take, from that time forward, to destroy, by degrees, the Roman Power, by an inward Consumption, wherein God's hand should

be felt and own'd. The Passage I refer to, is that memorable *Letter of Tiberius* to the *Senate*, wherein he confesses his Terror and Misery, in Words that shew him to have been really mad and distracted at that time. And it looks to me to be a very remarkable Providence, that two of the most celebrated Roman Historians should both give us his own Words, without any Difference; I mean, (c) *Suetonius* and (d) *Tacitus*. The Words are these; *Quid scribam vobis Patres Conscripti, aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore; Dii me Deaq; pejus perdant, quam perire quotidie sentio, si scio: That is, What I shall write to you, Senatorian Fathers, or how I shall write, or what I shall not write, at this time; may the Gods and Goddesses torment me worse, than I feel my self to perish every Day, if I can tell you.* Thus it was then with *Tiberius*; who, I think, was over-acted by God, in a super-natural way, (especially considering his strange and reserved Temper) to write his Mind in this publick manner, upon the Account mention'd. And sure I am, that, from this very time, we may date the Declension of the Roman Empire; For, as a little before, *Tiberius* had murder'd many brave Men; so he rag'd with more Fury after this, not only by destroying the Flower of all the Roman Nobility and Gentry, but by overturning the very Constitution of *Rome*, and any Branches of Liberty or Privilege that yet remain'd among them. And, as *Tiberius* laid the Foundation of the Declension of *Rome*, so *Caius*, and the succeeding Emperors carried it on. So, that tho some good and brave Emperors labour'd to restore it to its pristine Glory, such as *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, the *Antonines*, *Probus*, &c. yet it is certain, that it never arriv'd to that Pitch, wherein *Augustus* left it. Had our Saviour therefore come but a little later than he did, the Roman Empire would have been in its Declension before; whereas it was by his Doctrine and Sufferings, and the Sufferings of his Followers, that the Empire was to re-

(c) In *Tiber.* cap. 67.(d) *Annal. Lib. 6. cap. 6.*

ceive its several Shocks, and its Ruin at last. But, 2. Our Saviour's Coming could not be longer delay'd, with Congruity to the *Jewish State and Law*. For he was to come, before either of these was at an end; seeing his Coming was the very Cause of their Ruin and Destruction, all Circumstances being consider'd. And therefore the Apostle, when he had said, that *God sent his Son in the Fulness of time, made of a Woman*, adds immediately, *made under the Law*, i. e. while the Jewish Law was in full Force; for Christ was not only, as *Man and Redeemer*, made *under Law*, but subject to that Law, which the Jews call'd, by way of Eminence, *The Law*, i. e. the *Mosaical Law*. Seeing therefore *Jerusalem* and the *Temple* were destroyed in the 70th Year after Christ's Birth; it is not conceivable, how our Lord could have come later than he did. For, being cut off in the 33d Year of his Life, the rest of that time was little enough to settle the Christian Church in the Provinces of the Roman Empire, and to fix the difference between the *Christian Religion* and *Jewish*; that the *Christian Jews* might not be involv'd in the same Quarrel with the unbelieving Part of that Nation, nor consequently in their Ruin. It was not therefore before the 41st Year of our Lord, that *Peter* preach'd first to *Cornelius*, and other *Gentiles*. Nor was it sooner than the Year 52, that the Apostles agreed, to dispense with the use of the Ceremonial Law, to those that were *Gentiles*. Nor was the Christian Religion properly brought so far as *Rome*, until *Paul* arriv'd there in the Year 62, where he continued a Prisoner at large, at least two Years. And yet it was necessary that the Christian Religion should have taken deep Root in the Empire, and have spread it self far, before *Jerusalem*, the Mother-Church, should be cut off. If therefore it was not before the Year 65, that the Christian Religion was fully known in *Rome* it self, if indeed it was fully known there so soon; it could not be till 5 Years after, that it came to be much, if at all known on this side the *Alps*. So that if *Jerusalem* was to be finally destroyed, *An. 70*, and the Jewish Nation expell'd from thence

thence the same Year ; we cannot suppose that Christ could have delay'd his Coming longer than he did, with Congruity either to the putting an end to the Jewish Law, and Oeconomy, or to the Security and Settlement of the Gospel-Kingdom ; or indeed with any Decorum at all, to the Circumstances of things, and the time that they take, in ripening so as to draw to a proper periodical Conclusion. And there seems to be something observable, in this precise Period of 70 Years ; as harmonizing with the 70 Years Captivity in *Babylon*. For, if the first 70 Years serv'd to cure the Jews for ever of their Itch after Idolatry, and that so as to render them fit to be trusted with a new Lease of their Law and Religion ; were not 70 Years enough likewise to convince them, that Christ was the *Messiah*, under such innumerable and extraordinary Manifestations of God's owning him as such ? If then they were not ripen'd by that time for the casting off their own shadowie Law, of their own Accord, in order to embrace the Gospel ; it was high time to cast them off, and their Law with them, in order to the better Propagation of the Gospel. And yet how many Warnings had they of their approaching Fate, if they would have minded them ? For, besides many other things that might be minded, let us remember, that it was by *Nero's* Order, that the War was first commenc'd against them, of which *Vespasian* had the Charge only as General. Now not only *Nero* died a little after, but *Galba*, *Orbo*, and *Vitellius* ; so that they had many fair Opportunities to have sav'd themselves, especially by concurring with other Eastern Nations, in assisting *Vespasian* to gain the Empire ; who was not a Man that delighted in Oppression, as neither his brave Son *Titus*, who courted Opportunities to save them. But their own Wickedness drew down Ruin upon them, and the Hand of God was manifest even to (e) *Titus*, as

(e) See for this what I cite and observe from Philostr. in *Vita Apoll. Tyrann. Lib. 6. Cap. 14.* Page 305. A. in my Discourse concerning God's Dwelling with Men, pag. 43.

to this matter. I grant that the Time between the Death of *Nero*, and the first Year of *Vespasian*, was not long; but, as it was one of the most remarkable Periods, for strange Changes, Revolutions, and Events, that was almost ever in the World, so it was long enough, and afforded Handles and Opportunities enough, for the Jews to have secured themselves from Ruin, if they had not been most strangely infatuated. And here, by the bye, it may not be amiss to mark this Period particularly, as we find it set down by (f) *Ziphilius*. *From the Death of Nero to the Reign of Vespasian, there interven'd only one Year and two and twenty Days. And this I write, least any should reckon amiss. For they, (i. e. Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian) did not strictly succeed one another, but one reign'd in the time of another; so that their Years are not to be counted from their Succession one to another, but according to the exact course of time it self.* And by this it is plain, that *Dio* did not reckon *Vespasian's* Reign from the time of his coming to *Rome*, nor from the Death of *Vitellius*, but from the time that he was proclaim'd Emperor by the Armies in the East, which was in *July*, whereas he came not to *Rome* till long after. And (g) *Josephus* reckons the same way, and therefore says, that *Jerusalem* was taken by *Titus*, in the second Year of *Vespasian*; for it was taken in the *September* Twelve-month following, *i. e.* about a Year and two or three Months after that the Eastern Armies had own'd him Emperor, and sworn to him as such. But to proceed, I add this Observation in the 3^d Place; that as our Saviour could not come later, in Congruity with the Relation that he stood in, either to the *Roman Empire*, or to the *Jewish Nation*, as both of them were constituted at that time; so he could not have come later, in relation to the *World in general*, and that *Time* that is allotted for its Duration, down to the *Last and Concluding Period* thereof. I would

(f) *Epit. Dionis Cassii*. Edit. *Henr. Steph.* pag. 223. (g) *De Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 47.*

not be positive here, but I am still of the Mind I was, when I publish'd my *Apocalyptical Discourse*, with some more. I took Notice (b) there of the Ancient Jewish Tradition, called that of the *House of Elias*; viz. that, as there were *Two Thousand Years from the Creation to Abraham*, without a written Directory of Religion; and *Two Thousand from thence to Christ*, under the Oeconomy of the Law; so there would be *Two Thousand Years more under the Messiah*: which they express concisely thus; *2000 Years Emptiness, 2000 Years the Law, and 2000 Years the Days of the Messiah*. Now, according to the *Usserian Chronology*, *Abraham* was born, *A. M. 2008*. going upon this Supposition, that *Abram* was *Terah's* youngest Son. But tho I do grant that *Haran* was the eldest Son by far, as being born in the 70th Year of *Terah's* Age; yet I see no Reason to make *Abram* the youngest of all the three; for as *Moses* names *Abram* first, *Ch. 11. 29*. so does *Laban* afterwards, *Ch. 31. 53*. which I do not think he would have done, had he own'd himself to be descended from the elder Brother. Nor do I see any Reason in what is said, that because *Terah* died in the 205th Year of his Age, *Gen. 11. 32*. and *Abram* is said to leave *Haran* after his Death, and to have been 75 Years old, when he did so, *Gen. 12. 1, 4*. we are obliged to conclude, that therefore *Abram* was born in the 130th Year of *Terah's* Age: For tho it be positively said, *Ch. 12. 4*. that *Abram* was 75 Years old, when he left the Country or Town, which *Terah* had called *Haran*, to preserve the Memory of his eldest Son; yet there is nothing to determine, how long it was after *Terah's* Death, that *Abram* did actually leave that Place. Nay, so far is it from this, that the contrary seems to be more probable, from the Silence of *Moses*: For when he had told us, *Ch. 11. 32*. That *Terah* died in *Haran*, being 205 Years old, he immediately adds, *Ch. 12. 1*. Now the Lord had said unto *Abram*, Get thee out of thy Country, &c. which

(b) Page 34.

he did indeed in Company of *Lot*, ver. 4. but when, is not said ; excepting that his Age is specified, when he left *Haran*. I should therefore guess, that *Abram* left not *Haran*, till several Years after his Father's Death. And perhaps he might have Work enough, even for several Years, to adjust Matters with his Brother *Nabor*, (who, if he was such a Man as his Grand-son *Laban*, and even *Rebecka* too, *Laban's* Sister, was a cunning Man, as to the World) with Respect to the Inheritance of their Father *Terah*. For *Lot* being the eldest Brother's Son, and *Abram*, as I conjecture, the second, they must be supposed to have their Share in Money, Goods, and Cattle, seeing they were to leave *Nabor* the whole Inheritance, as to Houses and Lands. So that, seeing we can only guess here, I should think, that Providence did so order it, that *Abram* was born in the 122d Year of *Terah*, and so exactly, *A. M.* 2000. by which this illustrious Patriarch was born just 2000 Years before Christ. Let us suppose then that there were just 2000 Years before *Abram's* Birth, and we find, according to the *Usserian* Chronology, that there were just 2000 Years more to Christ's Birth ; the Central Year between those being remarkable also for the building of *Solomon's* Temple, which was finish'd, *A. M.* 3000. in the beginning of it, viz. in the Month *Bull*, which answers to our *October* and part of *November*. But it will be said, if Christ was born, *A. M.* 4000, or 4001. and there are to be 2000 Years only under his Government, how can Christ be said to be born in the Centre or Fulness of Time, with Respect to the World's Duration ? I answer, (as I said formerly in the Discourse referred to) That I look upon the *Two Thousand Years* immediately following Christ's Birth, not to be the whole of the *Last Times*, as the Jews call'd all that Time, that was to follow the Appearing of the *Messiah* ; but only to contain the Time of the Struggle of Christ and his Kingdom with all manner of Enemies, until these be entirely conquer'd, and the *Millennium-Government* be erected in its stead. And what my Notion of the *Millennium* is, I have told the World in my

(i) *Apocalyptical Discourse.* However, seeing that Discourse may not be in every Man's Hand, that may cast his Eyes upon this, I shall give my Thoughts of the succeeding Periods of times again, after this manner: 1. As there were *Two Thousand Years* from the Creation to the Birth of *Abram*; so I do conclude, (according to the particular Calculation made in that Apocalyptical Discourse) that in or about the Year 2000 from Christ's Birth, the *Papal* and *Mabometan Antichrist* shall be destroyed, and the glorious State of the Church begin; which is known by the Name of the *Millenary Reign*. And perhaps the *Israelitish Nation* may be in this a Type of the *Millennium*; that as from *Abraham's Birth* to the going of *Israel* up out of *Egypt*, there were about 500 Years; so there may be about the like Number, from the first Foundation of that *Happy State* of the New Testament-Church, to the Full Erection thereof into a Body Politick, under the Law of Christ fully and perfectly settled. And, as *Solomon's Temple* was the very Centre of the Continuance of the *Abramitical Nation*, and indeed its Glory; and yet such, as just after its being finish'd, that People began to decline; first, by Reason of *Solomon's Apostacy*, *Idolatry*, and *Oppressing the People with Taxes*, and then by the *Revolt of the Ten Tribes* from his Son and Family: So we may suppose, that when the *Millenary Reign* has come to its Perfection, *A.C. 3000.* there will quickly follow a Declension and Defection. 2. Whereas 1000 Years run out from the finishing of *Solomon's Temple*, to the first Coming of our Saviour; it is no incongruous Conjecture to imagine, that there may be 1000 Years to run out also, from the Completion of the *Millennium*, to Christ's second Coming to judge the World, or (as I conjectur'd formerly) to the Conclusion of those Last and most Glorious *Affixes*. Now, seeing we read that after the Expiration of the *Happy Millenary State*, Men will begin generally to

(i) See Page 91, &c.

Apostatize from Christ, and that so universally at length, as to gather themselves together under the Character of *Gog and Magog*, from the four Corners of the World, *i. e.* from all the Quarters and Regions of the four Parts thereof, *Asia, Africa, Europe, and America*, (which vast Armies, after they have brought the Church to the last Extremity, are to be destroy'd, as *by Fire from Heaven, i. e.* by the Eminent Appearing of Christ the *Shechina* from Heaven, *Rev. 20. 9.*) We cannot but think that these Events will rake up a long Tract of Time, and that that *Destruction of them by Fire from Heaven*, doth denote *the General Conflagration* of the World, mention'd, *2 Pet. 3. 10, &c.* which will be followed with the general Resurrection, and Christ's summoning all Men, and Devils too, before him unto Judgment. And certain it is, that Period of time, called *the Day of Judgment*, will be a very long one; seeing the Words and Actions of all Men (to pass by the Judgment of Apostate Spirits) must be publickly discover'd, and laid open to the Satisfaction of every Man singly, and of all of them jointly, that *(k) God may be own'd to be clear and just when he judgeth, and so acquitted by the Sentence of Mens own Reason and Conscience*; which I think is impossible to be done, in a Day or Year, nay in a Century of Years: For we must not have recourse to the Absolute Power of God here, no more than in the Government of Men in this World, but to his Ordinate Method and Rule of Procedure; by which we must suppose him necessarily to act to Men as Men, and according to the Faculties and Powers he has given them. And therefore seeing the Apostle Peter, *2 Ep. 3.* says, *that 1000 Years and one Day are the same thing in divine Reckoning*; and seeing we are sure that he speaks this in reference, not only to the seeming Delay of Christ's second Coming, as the Connexion of *ver. 8.* with *ver. 9.* shews; but also in Reference to *the Period of the Last Judgment* it self, as the Connexion

(k) Psal. 51. 4.

of the same, *ver.* 8. both with *ver.* 7. and with *ver.* 10, 11, 12, &c. shews us; therefore I am apt to believe, that the Period of the Last Judgment will be that of 1000 Years. And if so, the intermediate Period may take in 1000 Years too. And thus there will be 4000 Years from Christ's first Coming to his second Coming. For first there will be *Two Thousand* under a *State of Warfare*, i. e. with the *Jewish Religion and Nation* first; with the *Heathenish Roman Empire*, and its *Idolatry*, and *Superstition*, next; and with the *Popish and Mahometan Errors and Usurpations* in the third Place. All which being subdued, the happy *Millenary Period*, (which is the *3d Period*, if we compute by *Millennaries of Years*) succeeds, wherein all Nations and Princes will yield themselves willing Subjects to Christ and Christianity. But this long Peace and Prosperity will at last end in a general Defection. So that the *Fourth Period* of 1000 Years more, wherein Satan is to get loose, in order to play a new Game, will be a new State of Trial to the Church of God, and proceed to that Height, as to threaten a total Extirpation of Christianity and Christians, which is represented by *John*, under the Emblem of *besieging the Camp of the Saints*, and the *beloved City*, i. e. *Jerusalem*, or the Church, *Rev.* 20. 9. And then, in the nick of Extremity, comes the decisive Blow from Heaven; upon which the Resurrection and final Judgment come to commence and take place. Now the Trial of the Church, during the last Thousand Years, will, I believe, neither be *Idolatry* nor *Superstition* of any sort, but open and bare-fac'd *Atheism*, or rather *Infidelity*, which some call *Deism*; i. e. an open Rejection of the Bible and Christianity, and all Revealed Religion; for so *Peter* tells us, 2 *Epist.* 3. 3, 4, 5. that the Church will be undermin'd and run down, by a Generation of *Scoffers*, who will proudly and arrogantly, with *Scoffs and Jest*s, ask, *When do you expect your Jesus?* &c. And all this Infidelity will be promoted and defended merely to patronize a lawless and wicked Course of Living: For *Peter* calls them *Scoffers*, that shall walk after their own Lusts, and such as

are,

are, from Designs of this kind, resolutely, or, as he speaks, *willingly ignorant* of the Evidences and Proofs that God has given Men, in order of their being assur'd of the Verity and Divinity of Christ, and his Reveal'd Religion. And our Lord himself has told the same thing, when he assures us, that when he shall come the second time, *he will not find Faith on the Earth*, i. e. he will hardly find any Faith or Profession of Revealed Religion, *Luke 18. 8.* And he tells us further, that the State of Mankind will, at that time, be equally degenerate, with respect to Life and Morals, as with respect to the Belief of Revealed Religion, and that it will be just so then, as it was with the *Ante-Diluvians*, amongst whom there was hardly left any more than one Religious Man and Family. For thus he speaks, *Mat. 24. 37, 38, 39.* *As the Days of Noah were, so shall the Coming of the Son of Man be. For, as in the Days that were before the Flood, they were eating, and drinking, marrying and giving in Marriage, (i. e. dissolv'd in Luxury and Wickedness, making poor Noah, and his Ship built on dry Land, the Subjects of their Scoffs and Sonnets, in the midst of their Cups and Debaucheries,) until the day that Noah entred into the Ark; and knew not until the Flood came, and took them all away: so shall also the Coming of the Son of Man be; (i. e. his second Coming will be the Subject of their Mirth and Derision; and as surprizing, and therefore as terrible to such Infidels, Sots, and Debauchees, as the Flood was to the former; nay, and much more so.)* Now after all this, have I not Reason to think it probable at least, that the *First Days* or *Times*, i. e. those that preceded Christ's first Coming; and the later Days or Times, that follow his *First Coming*, and end at his *Second Coming*, (for into these two Great and General Periods the Scripture divides the whole Duration of Mankind in this World:) I say, have I not Reason to reckon them to be equal, as to Extent? As therefore the World was made in *Six Days*, and then followed the *Sabbath*, or Day of Rest; so the World, in a proper State of Trial and Probation, will probably continue till *Six Thousand Years* be expired, (a Thousand Years answering to a Day,

Day, according to *Peter*) and then will the *Sabatical Period* of the *Millennium* come. After which, and the eminent Discoveries given then, it seems consonant to Divine Procedure, to enter Men into a new State of Trial again. But this being entertain'd so ill, God will be so provok'd, towards the Expiration of another thousand Years, as to cut Men short of their Hopes of extending Posterity further. And thus the Day of Judgment will be hastened. For as the *Jewish Oeconomy*, (as well as the *Ante-Diluvian one*) came to an end only, through the Mismanagement of themselves: So will it be with those Men, that live after the *Millennium*.

And here, I cannot but desire the Reader to compare two other Expressions of Scripture, with these two, concerning *the Fulness of time*, or of *the times*, which I am discoursing of. The 1st is, *Heb. 1. 2.* where the Apostle says, that Christ appeared so as to speak to Men, *in these last Days*. For tho he was born in the Conclusion of the *first Days*, or Old Testament-Times; yet all his Publick Appearance was in the *last Days*, *i. e.* after the first Millenary was begun. The 2^d is, *Heb. 9. 26.* where the Apostle says, That Christ's Appearance was *ἐπι συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων*, which we corruptly render, *in the end of the World*, but which ought to be rendred, in the *Consummation of time*, or in its *Perfection*, or in its full *Maturity*; for so the Word is commonly used by the best Authors. So that it does indeed denote the central Part of Time, or the full Completion thereof; in the same Sense, which I have given already, and am about to clear up further.

And now I hope I have said enough to shew, that according to the Scheme which God had laid down as to the Duration and Government of the World, our Lord could not have come either sooner or later than he did. To which let me add this one *Observation* further; That, seeing we find that before *Christ's second Coming*, Infidelity will generally prevail, and the Bulk of Men degenerate into wicked *Scoffers*; it was necessa-

ry, that Christ should come no sooner than he did. For had he come a thousand, or two or three thousand Years sonner; those that may now perhaps think he came too late, would have been apt to clamour at his coming too soon. What would Men not have said, upon this Head, against Christianity, had Christ been born before the Days of *Cyrus* the Great? Which all the Gentile Authors look upon as the fabulous Age or Time of the World; as indeed it was to them, for want of History. But had he come, before *Moses* his time, the Clamours and Cavils would have risen to a much greater Height. So that even upon this Account, that all just occasion might be taken away from Scepticism, in a point of this Consequence; we may see and admire the Wisdom of God, in ordering the time of Christ's Birth so, that it is as easy, if not more easy to deny that such a Man as *Augustus* liv'd in the World, than to deny that *Christ* was born at that time and in that Age. So that in this respect also, Christ may justly be said to be born in *the Fulness of Time*.

But, 3^{dly}. I proceed to another *Observation*, with respect to the Congruity of that time wherein Christ was born, which denotes it yet further to be indeed *the Fulness of time*; viz. that Christ's Birth answers exactly to the Time, that was mark'd out for it, in the ancient Prophecies, that gave an Account thereof.

Could I satisfy my self here, as abundance of *System-makers* and *Commentators* do, I should quickly ease my self, and dismiss the Reader, by saying, that this was *the Fulness of time*, in relation to *the Decree and Appointment of God*. A true Assertion no doubt: But such a one as is altogether impertinent here, and nothing to the purpose. For do not all things fall out, according to God's Determination; and consequently, in relation to that, *in the Fulness of time*? Were this to explain the point; *the Fulness of time* must be all time or every point of time? For thus both the beginning and the end of time, nay and every Period of it, are *the Fulness of time*. So that we should, at last, come to
this

this Supposition, that the Spirit of God did, by this Expression, say nothing at all, in relation to Christ's Death, that was peculiar or proper, or that was indeed Sense.

As therefore I have taken some pains already to shew the Emphasis of this Expression, and the Wisdom of God therein; that we may see, not only what a Relation *Christ himself* bears to the *System* of the World, considered as to his *Person* and *Office*; but what relation also the *time* of his *appearing* bears to the *Flux* or *Course* of of the *World's Duration*: So I shall observe further, how exactly this time agrees, with the Scheme of Divine Wisdom laid down this way; by considering how exactly Christ's Birth, Appearance among Men, and Sufferings, did fall in with the Predictions that were publicly given out, this way, and for this end, of old. For this will not only be of use to convince Jews and Infidels, if they will impartially consider Matters; but to strengthen and confirm us likewise in the Faith; both with relation to the Truth of Scripture-Revelation in general, and of Christ's being the true and only Messiah in particular.

And here I shall confine my self to *three Prophecies*, tho I confess the most material and express ones to this Purpose, *viz.* *Jacob's Prophecy*, concerning *Christ's coming*, during the *Continuance* of the *Jewish Nation*, Gen. 49. 10. *Haggai's Prophecy*, of *Christ's coming*, during the *Continuance* of the *Second Temple*, Chap. 2. 7, 8, 9. and *Daniel's Prophetical Account* of the *precise time* of his *Suffering*, according to the *Period* of *70 Weeks* of *Years*, Chap. 9. 24, 25.

And, (1.) I begin with the Prophecy of *Jacob*, Gen. 49. 10. which our Version renders thus; *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his Feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the People be.* The literal Version of *Arius Montanus*, represents the Hebrew thus: *The Rod shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his Feet, until Shiloh come, and the Nations yield Obedience to him.* The Sept.
Version

Version gives this Sense : *A Prince shall not cease from Judah, nor a General from between his Feet, until those things come to pass that are laid up in store for him.* The *Samaritan Text* runs thus : *The Scepter shall not be taken from Judah, nor a General from his Standards, until the peaceable One (i. e. he that is so by way of Eminency, or the Prince of Peace) shall come, and to him shall the Nations be gathered together.* The *Syriac Version* renders the Words after this manner : *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor an Interpreter from between his Feet, until he come whose Right it is, and the Gentiles shall wait for him.* The *Arabic* renders it, after this Sort : *The Rod shall not go over from Judah, nor a Legislator from between his Feet, until he come, whose even he himself is, (i. e. under whose Government even Judah himself is, with all his Posterity) and to whom the Nations shall be gather'd together.* The *Vulgar Latin* runs thus : *The Scepter shall not be taken away from Judah, nor a General from his Thigh, until he come who is to be sent, and he shall be the Expectation of the Gentiles.* Having thus set before the Reader, the various Readings or Senses of this, according to all the most ancient and famous Versions ; I cannot but add the three Jewish Paraphrases of the same Text. That of *Onkelos* runs thus : *The Prince shall not be taken from Judah, nor the Scribe from his Sons Sons, even for ever ; until the Messiah come, whose is the Kingdom, and to whom the Nations shall become obedient.* The *Jerusalem Targum*, gives us the Sense after this manner : *Kings shall not cease from the Family of Judah, nor skilful Doctors of the Law, from his Childrens Children, until that Time wherein the King Messiah shall come, unto whom all the Kingdoms of the World shall at length come to be subject.* The *Targum of Jonathan B. Uziel* gives the words thus : *Kings and Governours shall not cease from the Tribe of Judah, nor Scribes to explain the Law from his Seed, until that time, that the King Messiah, the youngest of his Sons, shall come, and because of him the People shall be dissolved.*

I shall not trouble the Reader, by a nice or critical Comparing of these several Versions and Paraphrases ;

phrases; for this would carry me too far. Nor shall I so much as inquire into the proper meaning of *Shiloh*; whether it signify $\omega \acute{\alpha}\pi\theta\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, *him for whom is laid up*, viz. the Scepter and Government; or whether it do rather denote *the sent*, or *the to be sent*, i. e. the Person to be sent from God into the World; or whether it do denote *the Pacifick Person*, or Original or Prince of Peace, as if the Word came from *Shalam*, to render quiet, or to bring in Peace, (for which consider *Psal.* 122. 6.) Or, whether the Sense be, as much as this, *the Saviour*, or the Procurer of Salvation, as if the Word came from *Shalah*, he sav'd, or was made safe, or did bring in Safety, (as the Word signifies, *Job* 3. 26.) Or whether lastly, it do denote, *to be happy*, or *to make happy* or prosperous (for which consider, *Psal.* 30. 6. *Jer.* 12. 1. *Lam.* 1. 5.) For let the word signify any, or all these things (as I am inclin'd to think) still there is enough, that all Interpreters are agreed in, that will serve my purpose here. For all Interpreters, ancient and modern, agree in these three main Points here. 1. That *Shiloh* denotes the *Messiah*; 2. That the *Tribe of Judah* should be continued in a *National* and *Church-State*, govern'd by *particular Rulers* of their own, and by *Doctors of their Law*, that should be *Jews* by *Descent*, as well as *Profession*, until that Time, wherein the *Messiah* should appear; and, 3. That after the *Coming of the Messiah*, an end should be put to their Government, and that yet the *People* or *Gentile Nations* should submit themselves to him.

All therefore, that is the subject of Controversy here, is only the Truth of the second Point. For, seeing *Herod the Great* was an *Usurper*, and, in a proper Sense, an *Alien*, and not a *Jew*, far less descended of the Family of *David*; in him certainly the *Scepter* was departed from *Judah*, long before *Christ* was born. And therefore, it is *query'd*, How it is consistent with Truth, that *Christ* came before the *Scepter* departed from *Judah*; seeing he was born long after *Herod* began his *Reign*? I answer, That were I to follow the Version of

Tremellius, an easy Solution might be given to this, by understanding the Hebrew Word *Sheber*, to signify, in this place, not a *Rod* or *Scepter*, and therefore not a *Ruler* or *Prince*, figuratively denoted by that Badg of Authority; but the *Family* or *Tribe*. For then the Sense would be this, *The Tribe shall not cease from Judah, or Judah shall not cease to be a Tribe or Nation, govern'd by its own Legislators and Laws, until the Messiah come, unto whom, upon the Jews rejection of him, shall the Gentiles be called and gathered in.* And certain it is, that *Sheber* is frequently taken in this Sense, to denote a *Family*, *Nation* or *Tribe*, as any Person may be satisfied that will cast up the Hebrew Lexicons, but especially Concordances. So that I should readily fall in with this Interpretation, were it not for the Deference I pay to the ancient Versions and Paraphrases which I have quoted; who do all concur in the other Meaning of the Word. And therefore I must see, how the Difficulty mentioned can be surmounted, even upon the Supposition, that this is the only Meaning of the Word *Sheber*. The Common Answer is, that *Judæa* was not made a *Roman Province* properly, till towards the End of the Reign of *Augustus*; for that tho both *Pompey*, *Sofius* and *Anthony* subdued them, yet they left them under their own Rulers and Laws, and that, tho *Herod* was no Jew properly, but a Foreigner, yet since he became a Jew, in point of Religion, and suffered the Jews to be ruled by their own Judicial or Civil Laws, as well as Ecclesiastical; Therefore *Judæa* might well be said to be ruled by their own Princes, all the time of *Herod*, and for some time after, until *Augustus* did tax *Judæa*, which was that very Year that Christ was born, as we see *Luke* 2. 1, 2, &c. especially seeing, that a few Years after this, viz. upon the Death of *Archelaus*, *Augustus* order'd that none should rule *Judæa* afterwards as *King*, but that it should be govern'd by *Roman Deputies* or *Proconsuls*, to be sent thither from time to time; after which the Jews learned to say, *We have no King but Cæsar.*

I confess this is a very plausible Answer. But how speciously soever it be set out by Learned Men, I look upon it to be rather an Evasion, than any Solution of the Difficulty. For the Objection supposeth, *that the Jews were to have natural-born Princes and Law-givers to rule them, until the coming of the Messiah.* So that let the Jews have been never so free and independent a Nation during *Herod's* Reign, still the Objection remains in full Force, in case he himself was either an *Alien* or *Usurper.* And it is very certain, that *Herod* was both. For he was an *Idumæan* by Birth, and forc'd upon the *Jews* by the *Romans*, to the Prejudice not only of *David's* Family, but even of that of *Hyrcanus* too, that had reign'd for some time, and was a *Jew* by Birth and Descent. Therefore we must not, we cannot deny, but that the *Scepter* and *Regal Dignity* was departed from the Posterity of *Judah*, in this Sense, when *Herod* was impos'd upon them by *M. Anthony* and *Augustus*, who obtain'd a Decree of the Roman Senate for this end, and set him over the *Jews*, not by virtue of their Call or Choice, but by a Hostile Invasion, and Military Force.

To answer the Difficulty therefore, we must take a more narrow View of the Text. And *first*, let us consider the Sense of the Phrase, *from between his Feet.* This I do readily own, with the Current of Interpreters, to denote proper and natural Posterity or Descendants. The Phrase is allusive to the Custom of Parents, between whose Feet Children, when young, do usually stand. Thus *Joseph* brought forth his two Sons from between his Feet, to have them bless'd by *Jacob*, Gen. 4. 11. See also, *Deut.* 28. 57. But now let us consider, in the next Place, to whom this Character is affixed. The vulgar Notion, that has hitherto obtain'd, is, that it is affix'd to the *Civil Princes*, that were to rule them, as well as to the *Doctors of their Law.* As if the Words had run thus; *Princes and Doctors that come from between the Feet of Judah, shall not cease till Shiloh come.* And had the Words run thus, then I do readily confess, that they would necessarily have afforded us this Sense; *Judah shall not be under the Government, either*

of Princes or Doctors, that shall be Aliens or Foreigners, but of such as shall be his own natural Offspring, until the time of the Messiah. But, so far is it from this, that the Text, in the Original, will not so much as admit of this Construction; and consequently can hardly be supposed to carry any such Sense along with it. For it does not speak of the Persons of Civil Rulers, as it does of the Persons that were to expound their Law; but uses the Word *Shebet*, that signifies only a Rod or Scepter. By which Precaution, though we are obliged to conclude, that the Jews should never want those of their own Nation to be Expositors of their Law; yet, we are so far from being oblig'd to interpret the *first Clause* so, that relates to Civil Rulers, that the very contrary seems to be insinuated, *viz.* that their King, or Civil Ruler, should not be a Jew, but an Alien, when the Messiah should come. It is true, it is asserted, that the Scepter should not depart from Judah, as from the other Tribes, till the Messiah should come: But all this is no more than to say, that whereas all the other Tribes should be ruin'd and scatter'd long before the Coming of Christ; yet Judah should have this Privilege, peculiar to himself, that his Posterity should be continued in a national State, under a Regular Administration of Princes of their own, (whether Natives or Aliens) that should rule them, as a national and establish'd People: And this is all that the *first Clause* asserts. But the *Second* superadds more. For, it does not only say, that the Jews should have Doctors of their Law, as well as Civil Princes; but gives us this further Notion, that these Doctors should be *natural-born Jews*.

Now, this being to me the true Sense of the Text, I cannot but desire the Reader to observe and admire the nice ballancing of these Words; wherein I do plainly see, as through a Ray of Cœlestial Light, with what Wisdom these very Words, that Jacob utter'd, and Moses has preserv'd to us, are chosen and connected.

And sure I am, the Wisdom is most admirable and surprizing, in adjusting the time of Christ's Coming, according to that Sense of the Text which I have given; which,

which, I am bold to say, is as *solid* as *new*. For, 1. Had Christ been born before *Herod* began his Reign, the first Clause of the Text would not have had that Emphasis it seems to carry along with it, as I have already observ'd in explaining it; seeing *Hircanus* and *Antigonus*, his Predecessors, were *Jews* by Nation. 2. Had Christ come in the beginning of *Herod's* Reign, he must have died likewise before the end of it, seeing he reign'd 37 Years from his first obtaining the Kingdom at *Rome*, and 34 Years from the Slaughter of *Antigonus*; and then the Words would have had no Emphasis at all, when they say, That the *Scepter* should not depart from *Judah*, till the *Messiah* come; when we should be oblig'd to interpret them, not in relation to his Birth, but his Death; the meaning being then, *the Scepter shall not depart from Judah, till the Messiah die and go out of the World*. Besides, that had *Christ* suffer'd in the Reign of *Herod*, the *Roman Government* would have had no Hand in his Death, which yet must be according to the Scheme God had laid down, that he might suffer jointly by *Jews* and *Gentiles*. 3. Had Christ been born never so few Days after *Herod's* Death, the Prophecy had been not only without any Emphasis, but false as to the first Clause of it. For after *Herod's* Death, *the Scepter was taken from Judah*. It is true, *Herod* had a Grant from *Augustus* to nominate his Successor; but it is as true, that the Person nominated was not to be own'd King, until *Augustus* had approved of it. And therefore (k) *Josephus* tells us, that *Archelaus*, who was nominated King of *Judæa* by *Herod's* Will, was advised by his Friends to abstain from the Title of King, seeing that depended intirely upon the Will of *Cæsar*; which he agreed to with that Niceness, that he refus'd to comply with the Desire of the *Army*, who offer'd to *Crown him King*, as his *Father* had been. And when afterwards he and his Brother *Antipas* plead'd their several Pretensions to that Dignity before *Au-*

(k) Antiq. Lib. 17. Cap. 10.

Gustus, the Result was this, (l) that *Augustus* determin'd, that *Archelaus* should succeed to the half of *Herod's* Government, under the Name of *Ethnarch* or *Governour*, but that he should never pretend to be *King*, or assume that *Title*; and that the other half of his Father's Dominions should be divided between his two Brothers, *Philip* and *Antipas*. (m) So that, in propriety of Speech,

(l) See *Jos. Antiq.* l. 17. c. 13. (m) In order to set things relating to the *Herods*, in a clear Light, it is fit that I should present the Reader with the Sum of their History; which I shall give thus Herod the Great had six Sons that came to Mens Estate, viz. *Aristobulus*, *Alexander*, *Antipater*, *Archelaus*, *Antipas*, and *Philip*. Of these the Three First were put to Death, by his own Order, before his Death. *Joseph. Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 17, 21* and the other Three, as I have said, survived their Father, and contended before *Augustus* for their Father's Authority and Dominion. *Archelaus*, the elder Brother, having govern'd *Judæa* for nine Years, tho' not as *King*, but as *Deputy* only. is, after nine Years, banish'd to *Vienna*, where he dies. *Joseph. Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 6.* In his stead *Pontius Pilate* is sent *Governour* into *Judæa*, who was a Roman; in whose Days our Saviour was crucified: See *Jos. Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Chap. 8.* *Antipas*, who is commonly call'd *Herod*, and his Brother *Philip* being continued in the Government of their distinct *Tetrarchies*, according to the first Order of *Augustus*; *Antipas* being *Governour* of *Galilee*, and *Philip* of the adjacent Country, call'd *then* *Trachonitides* and *Auranites*; *Judæa*, *Idumæa*, and *Samaria*, which had formerly been assigned to *Archelaus*, being now committed to *Pilate*. And hence it is easy to understand, that it was *Herod Antipas*, who killed *John the Baptist*, and to whom *Pilate* sent *Christ*. *Euz.* during his Government, it happen'd, that *Herod Agrippa*, the Son of *Aristobulus*, who had been imprison'd by *Tiberius*, had so got into the Favour of *Caius*, that he was by him declared Successor to *Philip*, who happened to die about this time. And was honour'd also by him with the Title of *King*; not of *Judæa*, but of that *District* or *Territory*, which had formerly belong'd to his Uncle *Philip*. And not only so, but he did also give him *Galilee*, banishing *Antipas* from thence into *Spain*, where he died. *Jos. Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 8.* Nay, besides all this, *Claudius Cæsar* gave him Dominion over all *Judæa* and *Samaria*, which had formerly belong'd to *Archelaus*. So that all the Dominion of *Herod* the Great did at length return to him, for three Years more, if we may believe *Josephus*, *Antiq. Jud. Lib. 19. Cap. 7.* And this is that *Herod*, who affecting to be own'd to be the *Messiah* or *Shechinah*, or, at least affecting (by a vain Attempt of imitating him) to appear like him, was struck immediately by *Christ's* Order, by an Angel, as we read, *Acts, ch. 12.* and *Joseph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 19. Cap. 7.* as I observ'd in the 2d Book of *Christology*, Ch. 7. Pag. 300. To which Observation,

Speech, none ever wore a *Crown*, or sway'd a *Scepter* in *Judæa*, after *Herod the Great's* Death; tho' some of his Successors obtain'd that Name and Title afterwards; unless we make *Herod Agrippa* an Exception to this Rule. And as for *Archelaus*, he had not govern'd ten Years compleat, from *Herod's* Death, until he was recall'd to *Rome*, and banish'd to *Vienna* in *France*, where he ended his

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Observation, let me add this, That the Messiah being now come, it was High Treason against him, who was the true King of the Jews, (according to that faithful Witness, which Christ witness'd before Pilate) for any Man, but especially a Jew, to assume the Title of King of Judæa. Herod Agrippa therefore, who had killed the Apostle James, and attempted to kill Peter, having sufficient Advantages to know that Christ was the Messiah, was so much the more guilty, in usurping this Title and Office, which appertain'd to none other, according to Jacob's Prediction, now that Christ the Shiloh of God was come. Hence our Lord had just Reason to punish him in that publick and remarkable way, that the Jews might see, that their ancient Shechinah acted still as their King; and so might be led to think of Christ, whom the Christians own'd as Messiah. So, tho' tho' this Herod was indeed constituted King of Judæa by the Roman Emperor; yet seeing this was for three Years only, and seeing he was declar'd, by this exemplary Punishment, to have been a mere Usurper, therefore I had Reason to say, That none was properly King of Judæa, after Herod the Great, unless Herod Agrippa be made an Exception to this Rule. And how, and in what Sense he may be reckon'd an Exception, I have now said. If any say, but was not his Son Herod Agrippa as much King as his Father, seeing he is called so constantly, both by Paul and Festus, Acts, ch. 25. and ch. 26. as he is also constantly spoken of under this Title by Josephus? I answer, not at all. For, tho' this younger Herod Agrippa, (who is simply called Agrippa in the Book of the Acts, as his Father is simply named Herod, for Distinction's Sake) is said, by Josephus, to have been constituted King over his Father's Dominions, by Claudius Cæsar. Bel. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 11. Yet when this Author explains this General Assertion, by giving us a more particular Account of this matter; he tells us, that Agrippa, (who, it seems, came not from Rome to take Possession of his Kingdom till long after Claudius's Death) was abridg'd of this Dominion by Nero; who allowed him indeed to govern all the other Dominions that belong'd to Herod the Great, but suffer'd him not to have any immediate Authority in Judæa itself. Bel. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 12. So, that tho' he was King of Galilee, and some other Countries, he was not properly King of Judæa. Indeed he was invited to it for a while, during the last Year or Years of Claudius's Reign. But having never left Rome all the time that he enjoy'd this Title, he was consequently never invested or inaugurated as such by the Jews. Nay, which is

his Days. After whom *Judæa* was never trusted to a *Jew*, but to a *Roman Governour*.

From all these Observations, have we not Reason to admire the punctual and critical Accomplishment of this Prophecy; especially if we suppose that Christ was born

Yet more considerable to my purpose; we are told by Josephus, That Claudius being dissuaded by his Friends from intrusting Judæa to so young a Man, did indeed give Agrippa the Title of King of Judæa, but nothing of Authority or Power with it; this being intrusted into the hands of Culpinus Fatus, with the Title of President of Judæa. L. Antiq. Jud. l. 19. c. ult. Upon which accounts, and Nero's taking Judæa wholly from him, and placing Felix Governour there in his stead, and after him Festus (of both of which the Acts make mention, as well as Josephus) I see not how he can, in any Propriety either of Speech or Sense, be reckon'd King of the Jews; seeing he never ruled them actually as his Father did; who yet was not properly King of the Jews neither, as I have said. And it ought to be remembred, that if we should grant that both the Agrippa's were indeed successive Kings of Judæa; yet it must be own'd that they were titular ones only, that never had Power or Authority lodg'd in them, as Herod the Great had. And this is plain from the Account which Josephus gives us, Bel. Jud. l. 2. c. 11. That there was constantly a strong Guard of Roman Soldiers in Jerusalem, and that when the Jews came thither to the Passover, and upon other Festival Occasions, the Roman Guards were ever in Arms round the Porch and Avenues of the Temple, to prevent, says he, any Tumult, or any thing that might occasion the Jews to draw to a Head. And then he proceeds, to relate a particular Tumult, and how the Romans treated the Jews as Rebels on this Occasion, both in killing a great many of the Commonalty upon the Spot, and in remitting so many of their Princes and great Men to Rome; where their then titular King Agrippa. did indeed plead their Cause, all he could, but could hardly obtain so much as the Mitigation of their Punishment. Nay, so little was the Power of the former Herod Agrippa, that Josephus tells us, that when some petty neighbouring Princes, who were just such Kings as himself, came to pay him a visit, Marcellus the Roman Proconsul of Syria, suspecting this Congress of titular Kings, commanded them immediately to separate and go every Man to his own home; which Orders they durst not contradict; who Herod took it so to Heart, as never to be easy in his mind afterwards. By all which (and much more might be said) it is plain, that neither the one nor other of the Agrippa's were any more, than bare Titular Kings of Judæa, and that for a little while only, without any real Authority or Power, in the least. So much I thought it proper to say, upon this head, both to clear up this part of the Jewish History, and to prevent People from imagining that the Posterity of Herod, at least some of them, were as properly Kings of Judæa as he was: For unless we understand this Piece of History well, we may easily be drawn aside

born but about a Month before *Herod's* Death, as (n) Mr. *Whiston* says; who thinks it probable, that this happen'd exactly that Day Month, that preceded his Death. And though I differ a little in this from him, as I shall shew afterwards; yet I observe here, that had *Christ's* Birth been deferr'd much longer, *the Scepter had been departed from Judah*, before he came. And indeed, a Month's time before his Death, was full short enough, in order to fulfil the Propheſie; because the Publication of *Christ's* Birth to the Country People by the Shepherds, and to *Herod* and the Court by the Eastern Sages; together with the Consultation of the Sanhedrim on this Head, and their Opinion given, and the Slaughter of the Infants occasion'd this way, as well as the Flight of *Joseph* into *Egypt*, were all to fall within this Month, according to Mr. *Whiston*. And yet he thinks that all these might have happen'd within that time. But, tho' I do think, that the Interval was much greater, yet I cannot but observe, that never were there so many concurring Circumstances, so memorable, as then, in order to point out the Wisdom and Veracity of God, in *Christ's* Coming just when he did. And amongst others, is it not memorable, that *Herod*, when he caus'd murder the Infants, did not spare even

to imagine, from the Ambiguity of the Word King, that the *Agrippa's* were as properly Kings of *Judæa*, as *Herod the Great* had been. I shall only take occasion to observe one thing further, that of all the *Herodias* Family, the Young *Agrippa* seems to have been, by far, the most worthy Person. For of all the rest, excepting *Philip* only, it is hard to say, who was the worst Man. For, excepting his incestuous Marriage with his Sister *Berenice*, (which he allow'd himself in, from the Licentiousness of the *Romans*) he seems to have been a Person of Great Excellency, from the Account which *Josephus* gives, but especially from *Luke's* Relation of his Conduct in the Affair of *Paul*, *Acts* 25. and of *Paul's* Commendation of him, *Acts* 26. 1, 2, 3, &c. And indeed, as he was almost perswaded to be a Christian, by *Paul*, as he says himself, ver. 28. So I know not, but that he might continue so ever after. However, such an account of his Wisdom, Prudence and Love to his Native Country, and Veneration for God and his Religion, may be seen in *Josephus*, as is rare to be found in Princes. See *Bel. Jud.* l. 2. c. 15; & 16. (n) *Chron.* p. 50, &c.

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his own Son, lest in him the Prophecy might take Place, and so the Order of the Succession, (which he was then settling in his last Will) come to be broken: 'This (o) *Macrobius* has assur'd us of, telling us, " That when "*Augustus* heard, that among the Infants, under two "*Years of Age*, which in *Syria Herod* the King of the "*Jews*, had order'd to be kill'd, his own Son was slain "*likewise*; he said, '*Tis better to be Herod's Swine than "*his Son. But by the Account that *Josephus* gives us of *Herod's* Death, and his Conduct a little before it, it would appear that he was in a Fury, that carried along with it a considerable Degree of Madness. For what could it be else that mov'd him, not only to kill the Infants at *Bethlehem*, but his own Child? What made him attempt to murder his Son *Archelaus*, and settle all upon *Antipas*; and then change his Mind again so suddenly, and declare *Archelaus* his Successor, as to the Kingdom of *Judaea*? Nay, what made him attempt to (p) murder himself, upon a Message from *Augustus* that was grateful and pleasing to him? But enough of this. To proceed then,

(2.) The next Prophecy, which relates to the Time of *Christ's* Coming, is that of *Haggai*, Chap. 2. ver. 6, 7, 8, 9. Thus saith the Lord, of Hosts, yet once more, it is a little while, and I will shake the Heavens, and the Earth, and the Sea, and the dry Land; and I will shake all Nations; and the Desire of all Nations shall come; and I will fill this House with Glory, saith the Lord of Hosts. The Silver is mine, the Gold is mine, saith the Lord of Hosts. The Glory of this latter House shall be greater than that of the former, saith the Lord of Hosts. And in this Place will I give Peace.

Not to spend time in Criticisms upon these Words, I shall confine my self to a material Consideration of what they do principally denote and point at. And in order to this, I premise these three things as preliminary.

(e) Saturnal. l. 2. c. 4. (p) See Joseph. l. 17. c. 9.

1. That this Prophecy was occasion'd, by Reason of the vast Disparity that was between this second Temple and the First. For, as the Ancient Men, that had seen *Solomon's Temple*, wept with a loud Voice, at the same time that the young Men rejoiced, when the Foundations of the second Temple were laid, *Ezr. 3. 12, 13. 50*, it seems, that when *Zerubbabel* had finished his Temple, the Ancients of the People, who had seen the former Temple, did not cease secretly to vilify it, to the Discouragement of *Zerubbabel* the Governour, and *Joshua* the Son of *Josedech* the High-Priest. Therefore is this Prophet sent to them with this encouraging Prophecy; wherein he tells them and the Ancients, That, if indeed they did measure the Excellency of the Two Temples, by material Riches and external Splendor, the First Temple did vastly exceed the Second; *in comparison of which, this was as nothing*, ver. 3. But, that notwithstanding this, God would honour this Temple above the former, and make it exceed it in Glory, another way; as the Words I have cited assure us. And therefore, it is certain, that this must denote the Days of the Messiah, and the Introduction of Christianity into the World, in the room and stead of the Temporal Oeconomy of the Jews.

2. When therefore we read of a General Concussion of Nature, we must understand the Erection of Christianity, and the Subversion of the Nation, City, Temple, and Law of the Jews; for so the Apostle explains the Words, *Heb. 12. 26*.

3. Therefore by *the Desire of all Nations*, as I have formerly observ'd, we can understand nothing to be meant, but *Christ himself, and that happy Constitution of Affairs which he was to bring in*.

These things being premised, I see not how it is possible to understand the Words otherwise, than according to the Import of this Paraphrase of them, (I mean as to the Sum thereof) which I do here subjoin; not so much according to the Words, as according to the Scope and Sense.

“ O *Zerubbabel* and *Joshua*, The Lord of Hosts sends
 “ this Message to you, and to all the rest of the Peo-
 “ ple, that are returned out of Captivity. The Tem-
 “ ple is now finish'd, which is matter of great Joy to
 “ you, tho, at the same time, it must be own'd, that
 “ it falls vastly short of the former, both as to *Riches*
 “ and *Glory*. But be not discourag'd at this : For, as
 “ to *Riches*, remember, that all the *Silver and Gold* in
 “ the World is God's ; (see *ver. 3.*) And, as to the
 “ more proper *Glory* of the Temple, the visible Presence
 “ of the *Shechinah* in light and bright Clouds ; what
 “ though that be wanting also, together with those
 “ Pieces of sacred Antiquity, which your Nation has
 “ hitherto set such a Value upon ; *viz.* The *Ark*, the
 “ *Two Tables of Stone*, whereon God himself had written
 “ the Ten Commands, the *Pot of Manna*, *Aaron's Rod*
 “ that budded, and the *Autograph* of the *Law of Moses*.
 “ These indeed may seem to be great Defects in this
 “ Temple ; besides that the *Pectoral* of the High-Priest
 “ is wanting also, and consequently the *Urim* and
 “ *Thummim*, the Great Oracle of Old. Nay, what if
 “ the *Spirit of Prophecy* be taken away also, in a little
 “ time ? Well, let all these things be so : yet, thus saith
 “ the Lord of Hosts ; As I did so lately shake both
 “ your Temple and City out of its Place, and with
 “ these your *Heaven and Earth*, i. e. your Religious and
 “ Civil Constitution ; so will I do again in a little time,
 “ in order to bring in a better and more spiritual Dis-
 “ pensation. It is enough to you, that I do substan-
 “ tially make good the *Word that I covenanted with you*,
 “ when I brought your Fathers out of Egypt : for accord-
 “ ingly my *Spirit*, i. e. my spiritual Presence remaineth among
 “ you ; and therefore fear ye not ; (see *ver. 5.*) For, so
 “ much is your State better than that of your Fathers,
 “ under the old Temple ; as it is more freed from those
 “ external Symbols, that they were apt to idolize and
 “ put in my room. And besides, by the want of these
 “ your State will be more adapted unto that rational
 “ and heavenly Kingdom, that the *Messiah*, (who is the
 “ rational

“ rational *Desire of all Nations*) will bring in, a few
 “ Ages hence : He is the *true Glory* of the Temple ; and
 “ *this Temple shall therefore exceed the Glory of the first Tem-*
 “ *ple, because it shall last till he himself come, with*
 “ *whose Presence it shall be honour'd.* And thus will I fill
 “ *this House with Glory, i. e. with the Shechinah made*
 “ *Man, visibly appearing in it, and teaching therein*
 “ *the Doctrine of Salvation and Peace : So, that in*
 “ *this Place will I give Peace, (says the Lord of Hosts,)*
 “ *i. e. in this Place shall the Prince of Peace appear, and*
 “ *in this Place shall he give forth the Gospel of Peace to*
 “ *Men.*

Object. But, how can this be true, when (p) *Josephus*
 tells us expressly and particularly, that *Herod* pull'd this
 Temple down to the very Foundations, and built up
 another, much more glorious and magnificent ? For,
 this being before *Christ's Birth*, it is certain that he ne-
 ver saw the second Temple, but the Third.

Answer. It is very true, that *Josephus* writes so. But
 it is as certain, that he either was deceived himself, by
 some lying *Herodian*, that had a mind to magnify the
 memory of *Herod* ; or that he wrote what he knew to
 be false, to flatter and please some of the Posterity of
Herod, and to endear them to the Jews of the Disper-
 sion, by telling this Story. For that *Herod* never built
 the Temple from the Foundations, I am able to prove :
 Tho I grant, that he did repair it, and add some Orna-
 ments to it, in order to please the People, and this way
 to secure his usurped Power and Authority over that
 Nation. Now, in order to shew the falsity of what
Josephus says, I need only alledge his own Words, in
 the same place where he speaks of *Herod's* building the
 Temple from the Foundations. For he says, that from
 the Beginning of that Work, to its full Completion,
 there were just 9 Years and an half ; the Bulk of the
 general Fabrick is self, having taken up 8 Years ; and

(p) Antiq. Lib, 15. cap. 15.

the holiest Place, being finish'd by the Priests, in a Year and an half afterwards. This could not therefore be the Building of the Temple, which was in our Saviour's Days, but only the repairing of it; seeing we are told, *John 2.21.* *That the Building of it had taken up no less than 46 Years.* I know very well, that abundance of Interpreters, and even *Dr. Whitby*, do understand these words, in relation to *Herod's Temple*, as if the meaning were, that it was now 46 Years since *Herod* began to build the Temple. For, say they, *Herod*, according to *Josephus*, began to build the Temple, in the 18th Year of his Reign, in the 35th Year of which Christ was born, who was now entering upon his 30th Year; so that between the 18th Year of *Herod*, and this 30th Year of Christ, there were 46 Years compleat. But the Words are not, *It is now forty and six Years since the Temple began to be built*, but *forty and six Years was this Temple in Building*, as our Version justly renders the place. Nor was it possible that the Jews could mean any thing else, with reference to Christ's saying, *That he would build up the Temple again*, when destroy'd, *in three Days*. What! say the Jews, *Wilt thou build that in three Days, which cost 46 Years a building?* And, in this Objection, had their Supposition been good, they spoke Sense. But I am sure it would have been very impertinent in them, to have spoken, not of the building of their Temple, but of its Duration from the time of its being begun to be built; when this could have had no relation to Christ's Words; who did not so much as insinuate any thing in relation to the Duration of that Temple, after it should be reared up, which he was to raise up in three Days.

We are oblig'd therefore to suppose, that they spoke of the Temple of *Zerubbabel*, which might very probably be 46 Years in building. For, it was begun to be built, in the 1st Year of the Reign of *Cyrus*, as we see *Ezr. 1. 1, 2, 5.* From which time it went on, till interrupted by *Darius*; and did not revive again until the Reign of *Darius the First*. When therefore the Builders them-

themselves said in the 2^d Year of that King's Reign, *Ch. 4. 24.* (as their Words are represented by *Tatnai* and his Companions to that Prince, *Chap. 5. 16.*) *since that time, even until now, (i. e. from the 1st Year of Cyrus, to the 2^d Year of Darius) hath it (i. e. the Temple) been in Building, and yet it is not finished; we must understand, that they were cautious of mentioning the Edict of Artaxerxes, lest it might have been improved against them; and therefore they wisely refer themselves to the Edict of Cyrus. But upon the encouraging Manifesto of Darius, in favour of this Work, pursuant to that of Cyrus, the Work went on so fast afterwards, that we are told, *Chap. 6. 15.* that the House was finished in the 6th Year of the Reign of Darius the King. But tho' the Shell of the Temple was then finish'd; yet it does not appear, that it was wholly brought to Perfection till long afterwards; insomuch, that *Ataxerxes* is represented, as giving the last and finishing Stroke to this Work. And therefore tho' it is said, in the place just now cited, that it was finish'd in the 6th Year of *Darius*; we read in the Words immediately preceding, *ver. 14.* That the Elders of the Jews built and prospered——according to the Commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the successive Decrees of *Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes, Kings of Persia.* Now the order of the Names of these Kings, but especially the Truth of History, obliges us to conclude, that this *Artaxerxes*, that is mention'd after *Darius*, was not that *Artaxerxes* who was his Predecessor, but he that was his Successor. For the former was so far from giving forth any Decree for the building the Temple, that he gave one forth, to put a stop to its being built; which took such effect, that we are told, *That the Work ceased all his time, and was not renewed until the second Year of Darius, Chap. 4. 6, 24.* But this latter *Artaxerxes* exceeded all his Predecessors, in favouring and encouraging the Jews. For, 1st. In the seventh Year of his Reign, he sent *Ezra* with an ample Commission, to finish the Work of the Temple, as we see, *Ch. 7. 1, &c.* 2^{dly}. In his 20th Year, he sent *Nehemiah*, with as ample Orders*

to repair and fortify *Jerusalem*, *Neb. 2. 1, 9, &c.* Concerning which, none of the preceding Kings had given any Order in the least; having limited the Jews to the Building of their Temple, and what related to the Worship thereof. 3dly. In his 32d Year, he sent *Nehemiah* again, to establish and perfect the things which he had begun, *Neb. 13. 6.* But we have nothing at this time to do, as to the *second* or *third* of these Orders of *Artaxerxes*, because they did not so properly belong to the Temple, as to the City. But, as for the *first* Order, we are sure it related to the Work of the Temple principally, if not altogether. For *Ezra* was not only sent with Gold and Silver, to buy Sacrifices for the Temple, *Chap. 7. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.* but with Vessels for the Temple it self, *ver. 19, 20, &c.* And that these and the rest of the Money, which he had Authority to demand of the King's Treasurers, *ver. 21, 22.* did relate to the Temple, is plain both from the King's own Words, *ver. 23.* where he says, that all was to be done, in relation to the House of the God of Heaven, &c. and also from those of *Ezra* himself that follow, *ver. 27.* *Blessed be the Lord God of our Fathers, which hath put such a thing as this in the King's Heart, to beautify the House of the Lord, which is in Jerusalem.* As therefore in the 6th Year of *Darius*, the Shell or external Part of the Temple was finish'd, so it was not till the Days of *Artaxerxes*, that it was beautified, as *Ezra's* Word is, *i. e.* finish'd within, as to those Ornaments and Utensils, that were proper for it. And therefore, till then, it cannot be said; in a proper and full Sense, to have been finish'd.

These Matters of Fact being thus adjusted, we shall find, as near as a thing of this Nature can be trac'd, that the Temple of *Zerubbabel* was just 46 Years in building. For, according to the *Astronomical Canon* of *Ptolomy*, (which is the best, if not only general Rule, we have to go by, as to the Reigns of the *Persian Monarchs*) *Cyrus* reigned 9 Years, his Son *Cambyses* or *Artaxerxes* 8 Years, *Darius* 36, and *Artaxerxes* his Successor 41. Now the Work of the Temple being
ob-

obstructed in the Beginning of the Reign of *Cambyfes*, and not renewed until the 2d Year of *Darius*, because the Death of *Cambyfes*, in all probability, was not heard of at *Jerusalem* sooner; we may justly suppose, that it was not until the 2d Year of *Cambyfes* that the Work of the *Temple* was obstructed; for it was not until first an Accufation was sent to him against the *Jews*, nor until Search had been made into the Records, whether the Ground of the Accufation was relevant; nor yet before the King's Order, after this was sent to the Governours of the Neighbouring Provinces, and by them remitted to *Jerusalem*. So that we may justly suppose, that the Work of the *Temple* was interrupted exactly 8 Years, or thereabouts, *viz.* from the 2d Year of *Cambyfes*, to the 2d Year of *Darius*. If then, the *Temple* was begun to be built in the 1st Year of *Cyrus*, and if he reigned 9 Years, *Cambyfes* 8, and *Darius* 36; and if we are oblig'd to cast off 8 Years, wherein the Work of the *Temple* was wholly laid aside. We are also obliged to conclude, that 45 Years did run out from the Edict of *Cyrus*, to the Death of *Darius*, and the beginning of *Artaxerxes* his Reign. But, there is another Consideration, that I must take notice of here, *viz.* that the *Scripture* follows another *Epocha* of the Years of *Cyrus* his Reign, than either *Ptolomy*, or any of those Authors he founded upon, ever did. For, whereas all other Authors date the Reign of *Cyrus*, from the taking of *Babylon*, over-looking his Uncle *Darius* the *Mede*, whom *Zenophon* calls *Cyaxares*, and tho even *Zenophon* himself owns that he gave his Unkle the Chief Title and Dignity, whilst he liv'd; the *Scripture* does not date *Cyrus* his Reign sooner than his Uncle's Death. Now tho *Ptolomy* reckons *Cyrus* to have reigned 9 Years from the taking of *Babylon*, yet (q) *Zenophon* reckons that he reign'd but seven Years. However let it be

(q) *In κ'ρα παιδ.* Lib. 8. Pag. 138. Lin. 12. Edit. 2. Henr. Steph. 1581.

the one or the other, the Scripture does not reckon his Reign sooner, than from the Death of his Uncle. Now whether *Zenophon* or *Ptolomy*, be most to be depended upon, I shall not pretend to determine; but it seems to be probable, at least, to me, that *Cyrus* survived his Uncle but 3 Years, by comparing, *Dan.* 10. *ver.* 1. with *ver.* 13, and 20. For, as there *Daniel* sets himself to Fasting and Praying, in the 3d Year of *Cyrus*, *ver.* 1. So I cannot understand, that any other thing gave Rise to it, than the foreseen Interruption of the building of the Temple, which was not till the Death of *Cyrus*. Now the Angel tells him, that *the Prince of the Kingdom of Persia withstood him*, *ver.* 13. *i. e.* withstood the Work of the Temple; but that he *would go forth and fight with the Prince of Persia*, and that by this Obstruction which *Cambyfes* should give to the Work of God, a Foundation should be laid of ripening *the King of Grecia*, to be an Over-match for that of *Persia*, in due time, *ver.* 20. Of which more is said in the 8th and 11th Chapters. Who then can be supposed to come under the Character of the *wicked Prince of Persia*, but *Cambyfes*, who oppos'd God, and suppress'd his Temple-Work all his days. Therefore by laying these things together, I conclude, that *Cyrus* died in the 3d Year of his Reign, according to the Scripture *Epocha* in this Case. And if so, then the Jews had but *Three Years* to build the Temple in, from the beginning of *Cyrus's* Reign, to that time, wherein *Cambyfes* put a Stop to them. So that, by cutting off 6 Years from the supposed 9 Years of *Cyrus's* Reign, we must be obliged to reduce the 45 Years, which we mention'd before, to 39. Now we are assured from *Ezra's* Account, *Chap.* 7. 7, 8. That *Artaxerxes's* Order to compleat and beautify the Temple, and to perfect what related to his Worship, came out exactly in the 7th Year of his Reign; so that if we lay all things together, we come to see (as far as can be expected in a matter of this Intricacy) that the Temple was just 46 Years in building. For, if to the *three Years* of *Cyrus*, we add the *first Year* of *Cambyfes*, (wherein, I suppos'd before, that they

they still went on with their Work,) and all the Years of the Reign of *Darius*, excepting the *first*, i. e. *thirty five Years*, and then add to all these the *first seven Years* of the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, who, in his *seventh Year*, gave the finishing Stroke to the Temple-Work; I say, if we lay all these things together, we find, that the Jewish Computation of the time, that this Temple took to be built in, was exactly 46 Years; for this is the Total Sum of 3, 1, 35, and 7, when added together.

I hope the Reader will pardon my nice Inquiry into this matter; seeing besides that this lets in some further Light into that part of *Chronology*, than I think was ever before; it is also sufficient to put an end to all further Controversy, as to what Temple the Jews spoke of, *John 2. 21*. And this being gain'd, we see the Mistake or Error of *Josephus*, in asserting that *Herod* pull'd down all the *Second Temple*, and built another from the Foundation; so that I hope no Doubt will remain after this, but that *Zerubbabel's Temple* was that which was standing in our Saviour's time, and that which was afterwards destroy'd by the Romans, *Herod* having only repair'd it, by amending its Cracks and Breaches, and by beautifying and adorning it, &c.

And thus I have gain'd two memorable Points, in relation to the essential Characters of that peculiar time, wherein the *Messiah* was to appear; viz. that he was to appear *before the Scepter departed from Judah*, and *while the second Temple stood*. And now, that both these are gone, and have been so for many Ages, one cannot sufficiently admire the Obstinacy of the Jews, in rejecting the true *Messiah*.

(3.) I proceed now to the Third Prophecy, which is that of *Daniel*, Chap. 9. 24, 25, 26, 27. *Seventy Weeks are determin'd upon thy People, and upon thy holy City, to finish Transgression, and to make an end of Sins, and to make Reconciliation for Iniquity, and to bring in everlasting Righteousness, and to seal up the Vision and Prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy. Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the Commandment to restore and to build Je-*

Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven Weeks, and 62 Weeks, (the Street shall be built again, and the Wall, even in troublous times.) And after 62 Weeks shall the Messiah be cut off, but not for himself. And the People of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the City and the Sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a Flood: And unto the end of the War Desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the Covenant with many, for One Week. And, in the midst of the Week, he shall cause the Sacrifice and the Oblation to cease: and for the over-spreading of Abominations he shall make it desolate; even until the Consummation, and that determined, shall be poured on the desolate.

As Jacob's and Haggai's Prophecies give us the exact Characters of the Time of Christ's Birth and Appearing among Men; so this specifies the Time of his Death. And if the two former be so considerable, surely this last is much more so. And therefore I cannot but again say, that one cannot enough wonder at the Stupidity of the Jews, in continuing to assert, that Christ was not the promised Messiah. For, though we should not be able, by reason of the Defect of History, to adjust the Years of the Persian Monarchs, and of Alexander, and the times that followed to the Reign of Augustus; yet the Jews must allow, that Christ suffered about 490 Years, after the rebuilding of Jerusalem, in the days of Nebemias and Artaxerxes Longimanus.

And now that I have mentioned this Monarch, certain it is, that the 70 Weeks cannot be dated sooner than the 20th Year of his Reign, mention'd, *Nebem. 2. 1—10.* For the Edict of Cyrus related only to the building the Temple, *2 Chron. 36. 22, 23. Ezr. 1. 1, &c.* and *5. 13.* Nor was that of Darius Hystaspes any more than a Renovation of that first Edict, *Ezr. 6. 1, 2, &c.* As neither went the first Edict of Artaxerxes Longimanus, which was in his 7th Year, any further, *Ezr. 7. 1, 6, 7, 8, 11, &c.* But when we have found the beginning of these Weeks of Years, we are still at a Loss to find what Year of the World the 20th of Artaxerxes was. Usher places it, *A. M. 3550,* in the 4259th Year of the Julian

Julian Period ; *Whiston* ten Years later, viz. *A. P. J.* 4269. and (*r*) *Lydiat* (who took a great deal of Pains to adjust this Epocha, and did certainly discover the Mistake of 6 Years in those that went before him) places it, *A. M.* 3553 $\frac{1}{2}$. Now which of these great Chronologers shall we follow ? For my own part, though it were Presumption in me to compare my self with any of them ; yet I must be so bold as to say, in the present Case, that all of them, (and therefore all others much more) have shot wide of the Mark.

To evince this, I shall lay down these three Postulata.

1. That the 70 Weeks in *Daniel* are Weeks, not of Days, but of Years. This is what all Chronologers agree in ; so that I have no Difficulty at all upon this Head. And it is well observ'd by (*s*) *Mr. Whiston*, that these 70 Weeks have an Allusion to the 70 Years of Captivity.
2. That the *Prophetical Years* of *Daniel* are to be reckon'd according to the most Ancient Standard of 360 Days to a Year, as fully appears by *St. John's* Explication of the Stile of *Daniel* in the *Revelation*, Ch. 11. 2, 3. and Ch. 12. 6, 14. where 3 Years and an half are the very same with 42 Months, and 1260 Days. This (*t*) *Mr. Whiston* also lays down as certain : Wherein I am very glad to have his Approbation as to what (*u*) I had demonstrated before his Book appeared. For, tho I do not say, that *Mr. Whiston* had this from me or any Man, but from his own Thoughts ; yet seeing my Apocalyptical Discourse bears Date from *Jan. 1. 170-* and was publish'd not many Days after, whereas *Mr. Whiston's* did not appear till, at least, a Year after that time. I neither do him nor any Man any Prejudice, when I say, that I was the first that clear'd up this Point, so far as I could ever yet learn.
3. That *Jesus Christ* was born in the Year 4000 from the Creation of the World, and very probably in

(*r*) See his *Can. Chron.* 8. pag. 55, 56, &c. (*s*) *Harmony of the Gospels*, p. 199. (*t*) *Ibid.* (*u*) See my *Discourse concerning the Rise and Fall of the Papacy*, p. 19, &c.

the beginning of the Year, reckoning it from the Autumnal Equinox.

Now the *First* of these Postulata being granted by all, the *Second* being demonstrated by my self; all I have to do is, to prove the *Third*; seeing herein I differ from Mr. *Whiston*, a whole Year, and from others much more. And truly here I should have an unweildy Task, were I under any Necessity of Criticalness or Exactness; for I must then publish a whole Volume of *Chronology*, or, at least, a compendious Summary of it, as Mr. *Whiston* has done. The Difference of a Year is no such great matter, as to oblige me to tire either the Reader or my self. All therefore that I shall do here, shall be to lay before the Reader the Scheme I go upon, as to this Point in the general. And, 1. I think it was equally convenient, that the whole of the *First Days*, or *First Times*, (as the Scripture-Phrase is) should not be gone before the *Messiah* came; as it was convenient, that the *Scepter* should not depart from *Judah* before his Coming. And as I shall make it highly probable that Christ was born, at least, a Year before *Herod's* Death; so I think it no small Congruity, and to look like Divine Wisdom, that Christ should be born also about a Year before the Old Testament Times did expire: for, upon this Supposition, the *First Times*, and the *Scepter of Judah*, expired together. 2. By this Account, Christ will be found to have liv'd exactly 33 Years and an half in all, to have spent 3 Years and an half in his publick Ministry, and so to have died exactly in the Centre of the 70th and last of *Daniel's* Weeks, that Year being the Current of the Christian Æra: All which are Congruities that make this Calculation preferable to all others. 3. And by this the vulgar Christian Æra of *Dionysius*, as to its beginning, will be found to be more exact than has been imagin'd hitherto; which Consideration will facilitate our Reckoning afterwards.

Having therefore laid down *this*, as well as the *other Postulata*, as highly probable to me, to say no more; let us now proceed to reckon the 70 Weeks, or 490

Years

Years of this famous Prophecy. And here let me begin with the *last*; for I find no other certain way to adjust the Years of the *Persian Monarchs* in particular, especially as to the broken Years, that are precariously run upon by most; to adjust their Numbers of Years to their several Schemes and Designs. For the Heathen Accounts are various and uncertain; nor have we any Scriptural Account from *Nehemiah* to *Christ*, except that of the *Maccabees* be reckon'd so; which treats only of a part of that Period of Time, with very little notice of Times or Years. And, as for *Josephus*, tho he be exact enough as to the last Times of the Jews, down from *Pompey* and *Julius Cæsar*, yet we cannot equally depend upon him before that, as to the Period between the Captivity and that time, especially as to the Years of the *Kings of Persia*, (w) as he himself does materially own.

And therefore the only certain way of reckoning here, is to go backwards from our *Saviour's* Time to the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and not to count downwards from thence to *Christ*. For though both Reckonings may be equally difficult, were we to seek out the particular Year, when each of the *Persian* and *Grecian Princes* began their Reigns; yet we shall easily this way attain to fix the beginning of the 70 Weeks in general, by knowing when they ended.

For this end let us, in the *first Place*, take a view of the Account of the 70 Weeks, as it is represented to *Daniel* by the Angel *Gabriel*. Where let us observe, that he divides the seventy Weeks into three very odd and different Parts or Sections, and not at all proportionable ones, if time only be regarded. For he divides them into 7, 62, and 1.

First then, we have 7 Weeks of Years, which make 49 Years.

(w) Contra Apion. L. 1. From the Death of Moses down to Artaxerxes (Longimanus) King of Persia, the Prophets writ the Times and Series of things done, in 13 Books. But from Artaxerxes to our time, tho we have indeed an account of things, yet not with the same Faithfulness, because there was no certain Succession of Prophets afterwards.

Secondly, We have 62 Weeks, or 434 Years, which end with the time that was to precede the publick Appearance of Christ.

Thirdly, We have one Week, and the last of the seventy, *i. e.* 7 Years; in the midst of which the Messiah was to be cut off.

Now, these being the Divisions or Parts of the 70 Weeks, as given by the Angel, let us now in the *next* Place, inquire when they began. That this was the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes*, none doubts. But the Question is, with what Current Year of the World's Duration, was that coincident? To answer this, I say, as before, that we must count upwards first, in order to come down again.

If then Christ was born in the beginning of *A. M.* 4000; and if Christ was about 30 Years of Age, when he was baptized by *John*, as *Luke* assures us, *Luke* 3. 23. *viz.* when he was 29 Years old, and just entring upon his 30th Year, as *Dr. Whitby* understands the Words. And if, lastly, as all do agree, Christ entred upon his publick Ministry not very long after that publick Appearance of his; and that from thence we are to compute the 3 Years and half Year of his Ministry to his Crucifixion; by which we are led to this Conclusion, that Christ suffer'd when he was 33 Years and a half old, which was *A. Era Christ.* 33. in the midst of that Year. According to which, adding 3 Years and an half more, we are necessarily led to the beginning of the Year 37, from our Saviour's Birth, *i. e.* to *A. M.* 4037. as the Year wherein the 70 Weeks of *Daniel* run out: I say, laying all these things together, we may easily reckon upwards from thence, so as to find with what Year of the World the 20th of *Artaxerxes* did coincide, and consequently when the 490 Years of *Daniel* began. For, if they end in *A. M.* 4037. the Year 3547 must be the first.

I can foresee nothing that can be objected against this Calculation; unless it should be said, that we ought to adjust these Years to the *Julian Period*, as is common,
and

and cast them into *Julian Years*, as (x) Mr. *Whiston* has done. But I confess that I understand not, upon what Reason Mr. *Whiston* (as well as others) follows that Calculation, in this Case. To adjust the *Julian Years* and *Prophetical*, according to the *Julian Period*, for Speculations sake, and for a general use, is one thing; but to reckon the 490 Years of *Daniel* so, as to curtail the total Sum, in order to the finding out the Birth or Death of our Saviour, (not by the Years that the Angel calculated by, but by others introduced since) is quite another thing. If then 69 times 7 Years, or 483 Years of 360 Days a piece, are just 476 *Julian Years*, and 21 Days, (as Mr. *Whiston* computes) must we therefore reckon the Angels Meaning to be this; that the 69 Weeks are to be so reckon'd, as to contain only 476 Years or thereabouts? since the confining the Years to septenary Numbers, or Weeks of Years, directs us to reckon 483 Years to the 69 Weeks, and 490 Years to the whole 70 Weeks. Which is so certain, that Mr. *Whiston* grants this in the Page immediately preceding; tho he calculates so here, as makes me think that he had forgot it again: which yet is no Reflection upon his peculiar Exactness in other Respects; for it is rather a Wonder that he did not miss in so many other things, than that he did so once. However (to speak to this only) I say, that if the *Julian Years* had obtain'd down from *Daniel's* time to our Saviour's, there had been the same Reason to adjust these *Prophetical Years* in this Case, as there was in mine, when I wrote my *Apocryphical Discourse*, when I was concern'd to adjust *John's Prophetical Years* with the *Julian ones*; according to which Historians, since Christ's Coming, have reckon'd Time. But, seeing we have no certain Rule to go by, in adjusting the times preceding Christ, as far as the History or Prophecy of the Old Testament goes, unless we reckon by their Account of Years; and seeing all the Years, by which *Moses* and other Scriptural Authors do reckon, are Years of 360

(x) Page 200.

Days a piece, (of which I wonder that (y) Mr. *Whiston* or any Man should doubt:) I say, these things being considered, I reckon it certain, that we must account all the Years from the Creation to our Saviour, and particularly this last Period of 490 Years, to be prophetic or Judaical ones of 360 Days. I cannot therefore see, why Mr. *Whiston* should calculate the 490 Years, as he has done, unless it should be from the Veneration he professes elsewhere to have for the *Astronomical Canon of Ptolomy*. But, tho I shall be far from detracting from that, as useful; yet, if we can find out times, by the more sure word of Prophecy, without any such help; I see not, why we should go any further, in order do adjust our Calculations. And I think, in this case the 490 Years need no other Rule than themselves, if once we know either the Year of Christ's Birth or Death.

Now these things being premis'd, I must again say, that if the 490 Years ended, *A. C.* 37. And if *A. C.* 37. was *A. M.* 4037. then it follows of course that the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes*, when the 49 Years began, was *A. M.* 3547. And this being gain'd; let us consider, what may be look'd upon as the *Rationale* of this Division of the 490 Years into such unequal Parts and Sections, as 7, 62 and 1.

As to the 1st Section, *viz.* that of 7 Weeks or 49 Years, the Defect of History makes it difficult, so much as to conjecture, what the reason may be; unless it be to mark out the Perfection of the Number 7, and particularly here, as it is the Fundamental Number both of the 70 Years (which was the Period of the Captivity) and of 70 times 7 Years, or 70 Weeks of Years, (which was to be the Period, that reach'd down to the Redemption of the World; and, during which, the Captivity of the World in general, under Sin, Satan and Ignorance, was to continue.) And he that is acquainted with the Mysteries that the Ancients plac'd in Numbers, and that even the Sacred Oracles seem to have

(y) See Page 15, 36.

run much upon these, will not think this Observation altogether precarious. But I presume to conjecture further, that it was not before the Year of the World, 3596, which was the *last* of the 49 Years, that the Jews came to be fully and intirely fixed in their own Country, and that therefore the Holy Spirit would mark out these 49 Years compleat, as a *Jubilee Period*, which made up the *last part* of a *Centenary Revolution*, which began with the miraculous Delivery of *Israel* from *Haman's* Conspiracy, which was in the Year of the World 3496, (as *Usher* reckons) exactly a hundred Years before.

Now, as for the 2d Section of the 70 Weeks, *viz.* that of 62 Weeks, or 434 Years, it is easy to see, that they begin after the Year 3596, and reach down to the Year 4030; which was the Year of *Christ's* Baptism, and his entring upon his Publick Ministry. And therefore that Period of 434 Years, takes in all the time of the Jewish Nation, from its full Settlement and begun Corruption, by reason of long Peace and Prosperity, which was towards the End of the Reign of *Darius Ochus*; down through the Reigns of the remaining *Persian Monarchs*, *viz.* *Artaxerxes Minemon*, *Artaxerxes Ochus*, *Arses*, and *Darius Codomanus*; and then thro' the times of the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* and his Successors, especially those of the *Selucian* and *Lagian* Families, with whom they had very various Struggles and Successes; and lastly, thro' the times of the *Romans*, particularly *Pompey*, *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*.

The whole 69 Weeks then, or 483 Years, beginning with *A. M.* 3547, and ending with *A. M.* 4030. If we cut off the 4 last Weeks, *i. e.* 28 compleat Years, and cast up the remaining 65 Weeks only, we shall find that our Saviour was born toward the end of the 65th Week, *i. e.* *A. M.* 4000, and to this again, if we add the 4 last Weeks of this 2d Section, or 28 compleat Years, and take in the preceeding Year, in the beginning of which *Christ* was born, we are brought down again to the Year 4030, and the beginning of it, as the time of our Saviour's first Entry upon his Ministerial Work on Earth,

There-

Therefore, *3^{dly}*. We must conclude, that the 70th and last Week of Years, began with Christ's Publick Appearance, *A. M.* 4030, and the 30th Year of Christ's Life, and ended with his 37th Year, begun, *i. e.* *A. M.* 4037, reckoning the beginning of both from the *Autumnal Equinox*.

And seeing Christ's Publick Ministry, from his Baptism to his Crucifixion, took in 3 Years and an half, according to the best Accounts, as almost all are agreed; we must suppose, that Christ's Death was, as near as could be, in the middle of the 70th Week, *i. e.* when Christ had compleated his 32^d Year of Age, and was going in his 33^d Year, and therefore this must be in the midst of the Year of the World 4033. For, if Christ was born in the beginning of *A. M.* 4000, and was entring upon his 30th Year in the beginning of 4030, and suffer'd 3 Years and about an half afterwards; He must have suffer'd about the middle of 4033, reckoning its beginning from the *Autumnal Equinox*. And here I cannot but admire, upon what Foundation Mr. *Whiston* reckons that Christ dyed, not in the midst of the 70th Week, but in the 1st Year thereof; when the Hebrew Text, and all Copies say expressly that the *Messiah* was to be cut off, in the *midst* of that Week.

The other half therefore of the last of the 70 Weeks, must end with the beginning of *A. M.* 4037. or with *A.* 37. of the true Christian *Aera*. And, as in the former part of this Week of Years, Christ had confirmed the Covenant, by his Discourses, Miracles, Life and Death; so in this latter part of it, he confirm'd the same Covenant, or new Constitution, by his Resurrection, Converse on Earth for 40 Days, Ascension to Heaven in the Sight of his Apostles, Mission of the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost, Miracles wrought by the Apostles, Conversion of Thousands to the Faith, Martyrdom of *Stephen*, the begun Manifestation and Proclamation of the Gospel, beyond the Limits of *Judea* and *Galilee*, by the preaching of *Philip* first, and

Peter:

Peter and *John* afterwards in *Samaria*, by the Baptism of the *Ethiopian Eunuch*, and by the Conversion of *Saul*, who was the Chosen Vessel to carry on the Gospel among the Gentiles. And with this commenced the Year 37, in which the 490 Years of *Daniel* run out. After which Foundation laid, in that last remarkable Week of Years, the greatest that ever was in the World, the Superstructure began to be rear'd up, from thence, in *Peter's* preaching to *Cornelius*, in the Abrogation of the Ceremonial Law, by the Sentence of the Apostles, Evangelists and Brethren met together upon this Head, in the Success of the Gospel among the Gentiles, by the Ministry of *Barnabas* and *Paul* first, with many more, and of others afterwards; and lastly, in the Subversion and Ruin of the Constitution of the Jews, both in Church and State, in the Year 70 from Christ's Birth, that is in the space of 33 Years, which is the very same number of Years with those that Christ liv'd on Earth; his time of Conquest and Triumph over his Enemies the Jews, being thus the very same with that of his Humiliation on Earth: A Congruity that deserves to be particularly consider'd. And thus we see, how exactly Christ came and appeared, and suffered in the fulness of time, with respect to this exact and memorable Prophecy.

And here, before I leave this Head, I cannot but return God thanks, that has cast my Lot in an Age of so much Light, even in this respect, and I think we ought to have a grateful Remembrance of all those worthy Persons, by whose successive Labours and Pains, the Account of time is, at last, come to so great an Exactness and degree of Certainty.

I quarrel not with the excellent *Brian Walton* and the learned *Isaac Vossius*, who reckon that the present Septuagint Version ought to be prefer'd before the Hebrew Text, in the Calculation of the Years of the World, by which they suppose the Flood to have happened many hundred of Years, after the time that the Hebrew Text says it came. Their Veneration for the Fathers, and particularly

cularly for the elaborate *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, might thus mislead them. And I do less quarrel with the Fathers, who not understanding the Hebrew, and acting from a Veneration for the Greek Copy (which even the Apostles did follow, if not in all, yet many things) did conclude the Account of Times, which they found there, to be altogether sacred. But the successive Labours of those learned Men, that have vindicated, as well as follow'd the Hebrew Text, have at length cleared up the Truth, even above what could have been expected by those that liv'd above two Ages ago. And here let me present the Reader, with a short Synopsis of those, to whom we are thus oblig'd, and the Sum of their Calculations, with respect to the Nativity-Year of our Blessed Saviour.

Beroaldus, *Broughton*, and *David Pareus*, reckon'd that Christ was born *A. M.* 3928. From whom *William Nisbet* differs little, in his *Golden Chain of Time*, &c. who argues that Christ died *A. M.* 3960, being just 33 Years of Age.

Jerom reckon'd that he was born, *A. M.* 3941.

Robert Baillie reckon'd it to be *A. M.* 3945.

Joh. Henr. Alstedius reckons that Christ was born, *A. M.* 3947.

Joseph Scaliger, *Helvicus*, *Calvisius*, *Ubbo Emmius*, *Nic. Mulerius*, &c. reckon to Christ's Birth 3949 Years.

Beda, and some others that follow him, 3952.

Ph. Melancton reckons 3961 Years.

Henr. Wolfius and *Phil. Lansbergius*, 3958.

Gerh. Mercator, 3966.

Henr. Buntingius, 3967.

Abr. Bucholzerus, 3970.

Theod. Bibliander, 3979.

Dion. Petavius, 3983.

Henr. Harvillæus and *Jac. Cappellus*, 4000.

Will. Whiston, (and before him *Gordonus*) 4003 Years.

James Usher and *Fred. Spanheim Fil.* 4004 Years or thereabouts; *Spanheim* reckoning 3 Years and 9 Months difference between the *Dionysian* and the true *Aera*, so that

that there are not 7 Months difference between *Spanheim* and *Whiston*.

Mons. Bern. Lamy differs not much from *Usher*. See pag. 47 and 90.

Thomas Lidiat reckons that Christ was born *A. M.* 4007.

Aug. Tornellus, Jac. Salianus, Henr. Spondanus, Phil. Labbeus, reckon that Christ was born 4051, or 4053, or 4054; for they differ so far one from another.

And lastly, *Gilb. Genebrardus* (for I think it needless to inquire after other more obscure Authors and their Notions this way) reckons, that Christ was born, *A. M.* 4089.

Of all these Opinions, that of *Harvillæus* and *Capellus* seems to be the most probable to me; And Mr. *Whiston's*, Dr. *Usher's*, *Spanheim's*, *Lamy's* and *Lydiat's*, to come next to it. Nor does Cardinal *Noris* differ so much from *Harvillæus* and *Capellus*, as even they do. For if Christ was born, according to him, when *Aug.* and *Sulla* were Consuls, and if this was *A. M.* 4000, as I think *Lydiat* calculates justly; then *Noris* and they do agree, as to the Year of the World. But indeed the difference is so small, amongst all these Learned Men, as hardly to deserve to be taken notice of, far less to be the Subject of Contention.

But seeing all these adjust their Years to the *Julian Period*, and run upon *Julian*, not *Judaical Years*, I must venture to say, that, in my humble Opinion, they have mistaken as much, in the whole Calculation, as the *Julian Year* differs from the *Judaical*. For I am sure, that the Sacred Writers, both Historians and Prophets, reckon'd their Year to consist of 360 Days only. And therefore I humbly think, that the *Julian Period* is of no proper use, in reckoning these, any farther, than that by a reduction of the *Judaical Year* to the *Julian*, we may see what the real Flux of time was, as far as can be, and what Variation there is between the ancient reckoning, in this respect, and that which has obtain'd since the time, that *Julius Cæsar* rectified the *Calendar*. But, as for the
Flux

Flux of time, in the general, seeing the Sacred Writers reckon not by *Years* of 365 *Days*, and so many *odd Hours*, with additional *Minutes*, *Firsts*, *Seconds*, &c. I see not, that we need to reckon the *Canonical Periods*, by other *Years* than they did. *E. G.* We are sure that, according to the Hebrew Account, *Moses* reckons 1656 *Years* from the *Creation* to the *Deluge*, and neither more nor fewer. The *Question* then is, What *Years* these were? I say *Judaical Years* of 360 *Days* a-piece: And I suppose none will dispute this point with me, unless he can prove that *Moses* reckon'd another way, than the *Prophets* did afterwards, and therefore no doubt the whole *Jewish Nation* also. And if then we should suppose, that from the *Creation* to the *Beginning* of the *Christian Era*, there were just 4000 *Judaical Years*; we must suppose a vast difference would arise, in that tract of time, by the *Addition* of 5 *Days* to each *Year*, tho we should omit the *odd Hours*, as well as *Minutes*: For the *Difference* would be about 70 *Years*.

And therefore I cannot reckon the *Time* of the *World's Duration*, by any other *Years*, than the *Sacred Writers* run upon. And according to the best *Calculation* I am able to make, I do think it very probable, that our *Saviour* was born *A. M.* 4000, of the *Judaical reckoning*, towards the *Beginning* of that *Year*; tho I am far from pretending to certainty this way, either as to the *precise Year*, or *Time* of the *Year*, and far less as to the *Month* or *Day*.

And here, seeing this *Discourse* may fall into the hands of those who understand but little of the *Grounds* of *Chronology*, I shall for their sakes, speak something that may assist them to understand the *Calculations* of *Years*, which now obtain in the *World*.

They are to know then, That when *Julius Cæsar* did first settle the *Calendar*, which afterwards obtain'd; the *Year*, which from him was called *Julian*, was computed to consist of 365 *Days* and 6 *Hours*. In order therefore to adjust these 6 additional *Hours*, they added them together,

together, when they amounted to 24, seeing thus they compos'd an intire Day, which was every 4th Year. Hence, as three Years successively were reckon'd to consist only of 365 Days; the 4th Year was always reckon'd to be made up of 366 Days, and was, upon this account, called *Bissextile*, and by us *Leap-Year*.

But the *true solar Year* consisting only of 365 Days, 5 Hours, 49 first Minutes, and 16 Seconds, or thereabouts; there was an over-reckoning of 10 Minutes and 44 Seconds, in that ancient Reckoning. And therefore, it came to pass, that for every 134 Years, that elapsed from the time when this Calculation was first settled, there was a Variation of one intire Day. And thus the Variation has run on so far, that whereas the Sun's Entrance into *Aries* was upon the 24th Day of *March*, in the Days of *Julius Cæsar*, it is now reckon'd to be upon the 10th Day of that Month.

This being taken notice of, by Astronomers of After-ages, *Pope Gregory the 13th* set himself to rectify the Calendar, which he accomplish'd, *A. C. 1582*, by omitting 10 Days that Year, and so on; ordering that the 5th Day of *October* should be called the 15th of *October* that Year, and that all Months and Days should run on accordingly for the future. And thus began that which is called the *New Stile* or *Gregorian Stile*, which has been ever since generally follow'd, and I think, universally in Popish Countries, as in some Protestant Countries likewise. So that, whereas the *Vernal Equinox* was computed to be on the 11th Day of *March*, according to the *Julian Account* or *Old Stile*, it fell now upon the 21st Day, according to the *New Stile*.

But since that time, *Pope Innocent the 12th* has been oblig'd to alter the Calendar further, by the Addition of one Day more. So that, whereas the Difference between the *Old* and *New Stile*, was only that of 10 Days before the 29th of *February*, *A. D. 1700*; it has now arisen since that time, to *eleven* Days: and therefore,

whereas our 11th Day of *March* was only their 21st Day, it is now their 22^d, and so on.

But here, it is to be remembred, that the *Gregorian Reformation* of the *Calendar*, went no farther back than to the *Council of Nice*, which was held *A. Ch.* 325; whereas *Julius Caesar* had instituted his *Computation* 45 Years before *Christ*. And therefore there are no less than 370 Years over-look'd; and by consequence 2 *intire Days*, and the far greatest part of a *third* omitted. By all which it is plain, that there is need of a new *Reformation* of the *Calendar*. And I wonder, that this has never been attempted by the *Mathematicians* and *Astronomers* of *Protestant Countries*. For I do humbly suppose, that this is a matter of that *Importance*, that it would not be below the greatest *Prince* to encourage such a *Design*; by summoning together all the most famous *Astronomers*, *Chronologers* and *Mathematicians* of the *Age*. But to proceed.

Seeing *Chronologers* do not only inquire into the *Year*, but into the *Month* and *Day* also of *Christ's Birth*; it is fit that I should take notice of this *Point* of *Chronology* likewise.

And here I find our *Chronologers*, as much at a loss, as in any thing. But I shall not take notice of all differences this way; but only of the *Variation* that is between those that are of the great *Esteem* with me.

Scaliger supposeth that *Christ* was born towards the latter end of *September*.

Usher and *Spanheim* suppose, that it was in *October*; but neither of them venture to specify the *Day*, nor so much as the time of the *Month*, as to either beginning, middle, or end.

Whiston reckons it probable that *Christ* was born the 25th Day of *October*.

The *Vulgar Opinion* is, that his *Birth-Day* was the 25th Day of *December*.

Mr. Lamy seems to insinuate (tho he was afraid to speak out, because of the pretended *Infallibility* of his *Church*) that the true *Christmass-Day* was *Jan. 6*.

And

And *Lydiat* (for I shall mention no more) is of opinion, that Christ's Birth Day was the 20th of *May*.

All these Opinions are, at best, but conjectural; and therefore we are left to follow which of them we please, or reject all, in case we can guess with more probability our selves.

Why may not I then propose mine, as others have done theirs? I do therefore say, 1. That I agree with the Bulk of all Chronologers, that the vulgar Opinion is absolutely false. 2. That I look upon *Lamy* to be further from the Truth than the rest, excepting *Lydiat* only, who seems to have mistaken in this, yet further. 3. That I look upon Christ's Birth-Day, to be hidden by Divine Providence, as to the certainty of it, on purpose, that none might religiously observe it, and that upon the reason I have else-where assigned, *viz.* that Christ was, in this, as in all other things, to be the Reverse of earthly Princes, and to act the opposite part to that which worldly Politicians fall in with. 4. That I applaud the Modesty of *Scaliger*, *Usher* and *Spinnheim*, in this point, in not specifying the particular Day of Christ's Birth; without detracting from the other Learned Men, who specify it indeed, but without pretending to Certainty. And therefore if I propose mine, it is as a Conjecture only, and with all Modesty and Deference to greater Judges than my self.

My Notion then is, that Christ was probably born in *October*; but not that Year wherein *Herod* dyed, but the Year preceding it.

The Suppositions I go upon for this, are these. (1.) That, if it was proper that Christ should be born, soon after the Autumnal Equinox, that he might be born as near as possible, to the Center of the time of the World's Duration; it seems to be more congruous to this, to place Christ's Birth nearer the Equinox, than more remote from it. May we not think then, that it was convenient that Christ should be born as near this, as was consistent with his being born in the Year 4000, and not in the Year 3999, *i. e.* in the very

Conclusion of the latter Days or Times. (2.) That this will render that more probable, which Mr. *Whiston* does so earnestly contend for; *viz.* that Christ was born not long before *Herod's* Death, at the same time that it contradicts what he advances, in limiting this to a Month. For the only difficulty against that Position is this; that it seems to be very improbable, that so many things should fall out in so few Days, as make a Month. And indeed, tho I agree with him, that *Herod* did not survive Christ's Birth very long. Yet I can see no Ground for limiting this time to a Month; unless Mr. *Whiston's* Conjecture pass for such, *viz.* what he says, as to the Ancients mistaking the 25th of *October* for the 25th of *December*, by confounding the *Nominal Tenth Month*, or *December*, with the *real Tenth Month*, or *October* (for so *October* is, according to the *Julian Year* :) an ingenious Conjecture, I confess; which I am very willing to agree with him in, as to the Month, tho not the Day, far less the Year. But seeing Christ's Nativity-Day, was not observed in the Apostolical Age, nor long afterwards, I think there is no reason to wonder, if they who first began this Custom had forgotten both Month and Day, and fixed it to the 25th of *December*, by mere Chance. For *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who is the first Christian Writer that takes notice of it, represents himself and the whole Church likewise, to be at a mighty loss about it, and (2) tells us, *That some ingenious Persons, who curiously search'd after the Year and Day of Christ's Birth, affix'd it to the 25th of the Month Pachon, which Lydiat reckons to have been that Year the 20th Day of May; or, as others reckon, the 16th Day. But he adds, (a) That others supposed Christ to be born on the 24th or 25th of the Month Pharmuthi, that is, upon the 16th or 17th of our April, as I reckon. At such an uncertainty therefore were the Ancients, that I find not, that the Christian Church did ever attempt to celebrate any*

(2) Strom. Lib. 1. p. 340. Edit. Paris: (a) Ibid. p. 340.

Day at all, upon the Account of Christ's Nativity, in either the first, second, or even third Century; inso-much, that *Origen*, in that (b) very place, where he mentions the Feast-days observed in his time, has not one Syllable of *Christmasts*, as this Day has been since called. And therefore, whoever was the first Proposer of the Observation of this upon the 25th of *December*, was a very weak Chronologer, and perhaps such a one as later times produc'd many, who made up the want of Learning, by a Pretence that such or such an Angel or Saint had appeared to him in some Dream or Vision, and reveal'd that this and no other was the Day. But to return, I must say, that it is hardly probable, that so many things as *Mr. Whiston* reckons up could have fallen out within the Compass of a bare Month, *i. e.* from the 25th Day of *October*, on which he supposeth Christ to have been born, and the 25th of *November*, upon which *Herod* died. For, supposing it certain, that the Slaughter of the Infants was but 5 Days before *Herod's* Death, as I confess to be more than probable, from what *Mr. Whiston* quotes out of (c) *Josephus*: Yet other things preceeding that, must have required time, and I think more than several Months, and therefore much more than one intire Month. For, 1. Seeing the *Magi* saw the Star in the East, not as a Sign of his being to be born, but of his *having been born*, as they expressly say, *Matth. 2 2.* we conclude necessarily, that Christ was born some time before they left their own Country. 2. We cannot suppose, that those wise Men, tho they had known the meaning of this extraordinary Sign, at the very first Sight, would leave their own Country immediately upon the hurry, without serious and mature Consideration, and mutual Consultation, as well as with a due Preparation against the Injuries and Fatigues of a long Journey. 3. Seeing they are said

(b) *Contra Celsum*, Lib. 8. 392. (c) *Antiq.* l. 17. c. 10. and *De Bello*, l. 1. c. 21. See *Whiston*, p. 160.

only, in a general way of speaking, to come from the East, without specifying any particular place, far less City; I think it is a vain dispute, whether it was *Chaldea*, *Media*, *Persia*, *Mesopotamia* or *Arabia*, that was their Country, and that it is much more reasonable to conclude, that they were gather'd together from all these places, and perhaps many more. For being the renowned Men, in the several Countries where they liv'd, it is highly probable, that they consulted one another, concerning this new Phenomenon of Nature; and that after various Messages from one to another, some propos'd, that a select number should be made choice of, and deputed to go to *Judæa*, in order to be satisfied in this point. Nay, it is rational to think, that before they undertook this Journey, they had imparted the result of their Disputes and Conferences, to their respective Princes or Governours, and that they were armed by a Commission from them, to go to the *Metropolis* of *Judæa*, and to *Herod* the King thereof, in order to know the certainty of this matter. Had not there been something of this kind in their having undertaken such a Journey, I cannot see, why *Herod* should have been so deeply concerned in this matter, and all *Jerusalem* with him, as to call all the Priests and Doctors together to consult upon this Head: For these *Magi* might otherwise have been look'd upon, as a Parcel of Star-gazing mad Men, and been the Subject of the Derision of the *Jewish Rulers*, instead of being the occasion of their Concern. 4. Their Journey could not be supposed to have been in post haste, but to have taken up considerable time. *Judæa* it self was all mountainous and rocky, and incapable of being rid thro' otherwise than upon *Asses*, or *Camels* and *Dromedaries*. And tho we read of (d) *Swift Dromedaries* in Scripture, yet their Motion is so well known now to be extremely slow, in comparison of Horses, and their Motion in our

(d) Jer. 2 23.

Countries; that it is only a comparative Swiftneſs, that is aſcribed to them, in relation to ſlower Animals, ſuch as Affes, or ſlower Creatures of their own kind. And therefore, tho they had all come from *Arabia Felix* only, or thoſe places that were next adjacent to *Judæa*, we cannot well aſſign leſs than a Months time for their Journey, from the time of their firſt ſetting out until they arriv'd at *Jeruſalem*. And if they came from remoter Countries (as to me it is highly probable ſome of them did) their Journey muſt have taken up much more time. I remember *Joſephus* ſomewhere ſays, that thoſe that came from beyond *Euphrates* to *Jeruſalem*, did uſually take up five Months in their Journey. We cannot but think that *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, who were the Favourites of *Artaxerzes*, and were ſent to *Jeruſalem* by his expreſs Order, were as well equip'd for their Journey as any others, and that their Zeal for the Publick Good, as well as Regard to their own Safety, (conſidering the danger they were in by the way, from the Enemies of the Jews) did prompt them to make all the haſte and diſpatch that was poſſible; and yet *Ezra* was four compleat Months on the Way, from *Babylon* to *Jeruſalem*, Ch. 7. 9. nor can we ſuppoſe that *Nehemiah* came in much leſs time. 5. Nor can we think, that the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim* agreed to return *Herod* the Answer they did, till after mature Conſideration, if not many Diſputes previous to this alſo: and we know that the very Formalities of all National Councils makes them move ſlowly. 6. And beſides all theſe things, we cannot think, from the ſhort hint given by *Matthew* this way, that *Herod* did diſmiſs the *Magi*, without a great many ſolicitous Queſtions and various Meetings with them, as well as his Privy Counſellors and Officers of State: For his Charge to them is plainly the reſult of ſomething of this kind, conſidering both the Solemnneſs of the Charge, and the Cunning of the Reaſon annexed. 7. Nor could *Herod* take up the Reſolution to murder the Infants, far leſs put it in execution, till ſeveral Days, at leaſt, after he had diſ-

miss'd the *Magi*; because their Journey to *Bethlehem*, their Continuance there, and Departure from thence, upon a Revelation from God, was not all done in a hurry. Nor did *Herod* know of their Departure, till both they and *Joseph* too, with the *Virgin* and *Christ*, were all out of his reach, and even the reach of Pursuers. 7. Besides all this, we ought to remember, that the noise which the Shepherds had made not only in *Bethlehem*, but in all the adjacent Country, as *Luke* says, *Chap. 2. 17, 18.* was such, that had *Herod* at that time sent to kill the Infants, the concern that the Parents had for their Children must have incited them, to have told *Herod's* Officers the Story of the Shepherds, as well as that of the *Magi's* Presents to *Christ* (neither of which could be hid) in order to save their own poor Children. *Christ* must therefore have been long removed from *Bethlehem*, and forgotten there, or thought to be dead, before the Slaughter of the Infants happened. And, 8. How facile soever *Mr. Whiston* reckons the Solution of the Difficulty, in reconciling the Account of *Matthew, ch. 2. 19, &c.* with the Account that *Luke* gives us, of the 40 Days of *Mary's* Purification, *Chap. 2. 39.* upon his Principle; I cannot see, that he solves it in the least; and therefore *Dr. Whitby*, tho he has labour'd industriously to accommodate this, upon the same Supposition, does sufficiently insinuate, that the matter is still dubious, and, as I think, unfurmountable. 9. The Scripture is positive, *Mat. 2. 19.* that it was not till after *Herod's* Death, that *Joseph* was advertiz'd by the Angel to return back to *Judæa*: So that he must have been in *Egypt* for some time at least before *Herod's* Death. And, 10. I cannot but think there is a peculiar Emphasis, upon *Herod's* giving order to slay all the Children under 2 Years of Age, or as *Dr. Whitby* explains the Phrase, all Children that had not attained to be much above a Year old, which I look upon to be a more subtle than certain Criticism. But let it be the one or the other, still the reason added deserves special Consideration, *Mat. 2. 16.* when it is said, that *Herod*

gave

gave this order and limited it after this manner, from the exact Information which the *Magi* had given him of the time when they first saw the *Star*; or as the Words run, *according to the time, that he had diligently inquired of the Wise-men.* An Expression so clear and positive, that it is not to be enervated or shifted off, by little Evasions or specious Suppositions. And therefore, I do reckon it to be no less than certain, that *Herod* survived *Christ's Birth* many Months, and I think more than a Year.

I come therefore now to examine the time of the Year, wherein *Christ* probably was born. (e) Mr. *Whiston* goes upon the Account in *Luke* of the *Baptist's* Conception and Birth, *Ch. 1. 24, 25, 26.* And indeed that Computation is infallible, with respect to the Interstice of time between *John's* Conception and *Christ's*, that it was 5 compleat Months, and probably the half of another, seeing the *Angel* tells *Mary*, *ver. 36.* that *Elizabeth* was then going in her 6th Month; tho I know not, why the words may not be interpreted the 6th Month compleat, for the Greek runs thus, $\eta\ \xi\tau\omicron\ \mu\omega\ \epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$, and this Month is the sixth to her. However, let it be either her sixth Month compleat, or current only; it enervates Mr. *Whiston's* Reckoning. For if, according to him, the *Baptist* was conceived in the beginning of *September*, and our Saviour about the latter end of *January*, (which the *Angel* speaks of as a Futurity only to the *Virgin*, *ver. 34, 35.* at the same time that he asserts that it was then the 6th Month with *Elizabeth*) five compleat Months cannot be reckon'd to have been between the one and the other, (unless by the indefinite Terms of the beginning and ending of these Months, he mean the 1st Day of the former, and the last Day of the latter, nay and the first and last Hour too of these.) So that *Elizabeth* was only in her 5th Month, even according to him. Besides, when *Mary* is said to have gone to see her Cousin, and to have staid with her 3 Months, *ver. 56.* we cannot

(e) Pag. 158.

otherwise suppose, but that she stay'd till she saw *Elizabeth* safely delivered, if she staid no longer with her; and I suppose she is included in the general Name of *her Cousins, that rejoiced with her, ver. 58.* And therefore we must of necessity suppose, that the *Baptist* was conceived some time before, in the Month of *August*, and probably towards the beginning thereof. If indeed we had any certainty, how and in what order *Judas Maccabæus* restored the Courses of the Priests, as to their officiating, we might reason to better purpose on this Head. But *Scaliger's* Reasoning is a mere guess, and as easily rejected as offered. For, if he think, that he must begin with the *first Family*, at the time of restoring this Order; we may with as much, if not more appearance of Reason, suppose, that he would have that regard to the old Institution, as it had run down from *David's* time to the Captivity, as to have made a Calculation of the time elapsed from thence to his own Days; that so *that Family*, (which soever it was) whose course it was, by the flux of time, to officiate, might begin a-new, in its proper turn. However we see, that granting *Scaliger's* guess to be true, it does not answer *Mr. Whiston's* Design. And therefore, being oblig'd to quit this Supposition, we are at liberty to seek for another.

In order to this, seeing Christ was baptized when he was 29 Years of Age compleat, and so entring on his 30th Year, as I observed above; we are now to enquire, how long Christ liv'd after that time. And to understand this, we have but one way left, *viz.* to inquire into the *number* of the *Passovers* that our Saviour was present at, after his Baptism, to his Death. And in this I find our Chronologers vary, as in other things. *Mr. Lamy* contends, with great earnestness, that our Saviour was present only at 3 *Passovers*; at the last of which he himself, as our true *Passover*, was sacrificed for us. *Alstedius* of old, and *Mr. Whiston* lately, make our Lord to have seen 5 *Passovers*. But *Dr. Richardson*, whose accurate account of this matter *Dr. Usher* inserts in his *Annals*, as that which he himself agreed

greed with, keeps the Medium between these as Extremes, and reckons Christ to have seen 4 Passovers, and neither more than fewer. I am loth to run out upon this Head; and therefore I shall satisfy my self to refer the Reader to (f) Mr. *Lamy*, for the Refutation of Mr. *Whiston's* supposed third Passover, which he thinks is mentioned *Mat.* 12. 1. and *Mark* 2. 23. and by *Luke*, Chap. 6. 1. under the Name of *τῆς δευτέρας περὶ τῶν*, i. e. *the second Sabbath after the first*, as our Version has rendred it, or as Dr. *Richardson* and Dr. *Usher* interpret it, *the First-Sabbath of the new Year*, reckoning, not from the *Autummal Equinox*, or the beginning of the *Civil Year*, but from the *Vernal Equinox*, or the Month *Nisan* or *Abib* (which answer'd to part of our *March*, and part of *April*) from whence they dated their *Ceremonial Year*, viz. from the time wherein *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. This I look upon to be the exact Truth; and see not the least ground for Mr. *Whiston's* calling it, *the first Sabbath after the second day of the Passover*.

But I am agreed with Mr. *Whiston*, that the Feast mentioned *John* 5. 1. was the Feast of the Passover. Nor is it any Argument against this, that *John* does not particularly mention the Passover; seeing *John* was not concerned much to mention it, considering that he wrote his Gospel, after that all the Jewish Festivals were at an end, viz. after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; so that it was no wonder, if he spoke of this Feast so indefinitely, and with such Indifference. As for the other Arguments of *Lamy* against this Feasts being the Passover, they are so weak, as to need very little Refutation. For they are all drawn from *John* 4. 35. where Christ says, *that there were yet four Months to the Harvest*. Which is to say nothing at all, to the purpose. Seeing it is easy to see, that Christ utters these Words upon his

(f) See his Appar. Chron. p. 199. and here it is odd that Mr. *Whiston* should refer to this very Page, in his Book, p. 141. without answering any thing to what the Author had said, in refutation of his Opinion.

Departure from *Jerusalem*, when he was at *Sychar*, a City of *Samaria*, in his way to *Galilee*; where tho he stay'd not long, upon the Reason insinuated, *ver. 44.* yet he stay'd some time. So that he left that place again, to be present at the *second Passover*, which *John* calls indefinitely a *Feast of the Jews*, which *Jesus* went up to observe, *Chap. 5. 1.* Nor is the Insinuation of *Lamy* of any Consequence against this, when he says; that had this been a *second Passover*, no doubt but *Christ* did a great many things in the Interval; and, if so, *John* would not have pass'd them all by in Silence. For indeed *John* does not pass them all by, as we see, *Ch. 4. 45.* to the end. But had he said nothing at all; the other *Evangelists* supply that Defect: Nor does *John* relate any thing again, that they had industriously spoken of.

So that, upon the whole View of this matter, I do agree with *Dr. Richardson* and *Dr. Usher*, that there were exactly *four Passovers* between *Christ's* Baptism and his Crucifixion; the *1st* mentioned, *John 2. 13, &c.* The *2d* insinuated, *John 5. 1.* The *3d* expressly named, *John 6. 4.* And the *4th*, that at which he himself suffered, as our true *Passover*.

Now seeing *Christ* was cut off exactly in the midst of the *7th Week* of *Daniel*, and so just after 3 Years and an half from his Baptism; and that all agree, that *Christ* was crucified on *Friday* (which *Longius* was the only Man to call in question, that I ever heard of) being the *15th* of *Nisan*, and the Day of the *Passover*: let us hence deduce the beginning of our remaining Calculation.

And here I must say, that the World is peculiarly oblig'd to the Learned and Curious (*g*) *Mr. Lamy*, who has been at a prodigious deal of pains, to calculate the several *New-Moons*, for some Years before and after the Year of *Christ's* Death, reduc'd to the Meridi-

(g) *Apparat. Chronol. P. 115, 116, 117, 118.*

an of *Jerusalem* ; by which *Astronomical Calculation*, we find that the New Moon fell upon the 15th day of *Nisan*, in *A. D.* 33. according to the *Julian Year* (which began with *January*) of the *Vulgar Era*, and in no other, for some Years before and after, and that the 15th Day of *Nisan* that Year, was a *Friday*, which was not the case of the Years before or after, which he mentions. And (b) Mr. *Whiston* reckons this Calculation so considerable, that he follows it exactly.

If then the 15th of *Nisan* was a *Friday* that Year, and answer'd to the 3^d of *April*, as all are agreed ; we might trace upwards the Day and Month of the Year wherein our Saviour was born ; upon the Supposition, that he liv'd exactly three Years and an half. But, seeing this would require too much time, as well as take up too much room ; and seeing likewise it is a matter of no great Consequence to me, to know certainly, on what Month or Day our Saviour was born ; I shall therefore forbear any tedious Calculation of this sort. However, in case any Person should suspect the possibility of such a Calculation as this ; I shall not grudge to satisfy the Reader so far ; as to present him with a Specimen thereof, by calculating the Days of the last half Year of our Saviour's Life on Earth. Now in order to understand this, I propose the following Adjustment of the Jewish and Julian Months.

(b) Pag. 195, 196.

Anno Dom. xxxiii.			Marbeshuan or Bull.	
Tisri or Etbanim	Septem- ber	Days of the Week		
1	21	Sunday	1	21 Tu.
2	22	Monday	2	22 W.
3	23	Tuesday	3	23 Th.
4	24	Wednesday	4	24 F.
5	25	Thursday	5	25 S.
6	26	Friday	6	26 S. D.
7	27	Saturday	7	27 M.
8	28	S. D.	8	28 Tu.
9	29	M.	9	29 W.
10	30	Tu.	10	30 Th.
			11	31 F.
	October			Novem.
11	1	W.	12	1 S.
12	2	Th.	13	2 S. D.
13	3	F.	14	3 M.
14	4	S.	15	4 Tu.
15	5	S. D.	16	5 W.
16	6	M.	17	6 Th.
17	7	Tu.	18	7 F.
18	8	W.	19	8 S.
19	9	Th.	20	9 S. D.
20	10	F.	21	10 M.
21	11	S.	22	11 Tu.
22	12	S. D.	23	12 W.
23	13	M.	24	13 Th.
24	14	Tu.	25	14 F.
25	15	W.	26	15 S.
26	16	Th.	27	16 S. D.
27	17	F.	28	17 M.
28	18	S.	29	18 Tu.
29	19	S. D.	30	19 W.
30	20	M.	Cisleu.	
			1	20 Th.
			2	21 F.
			3	22 S.
			4	23 S. D.
			5	24 M.

6	25	Tu.			January	
7	26	W.		13	1	Th.
8	27	Th.		14	2	F.
9	28	F.		15	3	S.
10	29	S.		16	4	S.D.
11	30	S.D.		17	5	M.
	<i>Decemb.</i>			18	6	Tu.
12	1	M.		19	7	W.
13	2	Tu.		20	8	Th.
14	3	W.		21	9	F.
15	4	Th.		22	10	S.
16	5	F.		23	11	S.D.
17	6	S.		24	12	M.
18	7	S.D.		25	13	T.
19	8	M.		26	14	W.
20	9	Tu.		27	15	Th.
21	10	W.		28	16	F.
22	11	Th.		29	17	S.
23	12	F.		30	18	S.D.
24	13	S.		<i>Shebeth.</i>		
25	14	S.D.		1	19	M.
26	15	M.		2	20	Tu.
27	16	Tu.		3	21	W.
28	17	W.		4	22	Th.
29	18	Th.		5	23	Fr.
30	19	F.		6	24	S.
<i>Tebeth.</i>				7	25	S.D.
1	20	S.		8	26	M.
2	21	S.D.		9	27	Tu.
3	22	M.		10	28	W.
4	23	Tu.		11	29	Th.
5	24	W.		12	30	F.
6	25	Th.		13	31	S.
7	26	F.			<i>Februar.</i>	
8	27	S.		14	1	S.D.
9	28	S.D.		15	2	M.
10	29	M.		16	3	Tu.
11	30	Tu.		17	4	W.
12	31	W.		18	5	Th.

19	6	F.		21	10	Tu.		
20	7	S.		22	11	W.		
21	8	S.D.		23	12	Th.		
22	9	M.		24	13	F.		
23	10	Tu.		25	14	S.		
24	11	W.		26	15	S.D.		
25	12	Th.		27	16	M.		
26	13	F.		28	17	Tu.		
27	14	S.		29	18	W.		
28	15	S.D.		30	19	Th.		
29	16	M.		Nisan or Abib.				
30	17	T.						
Adar.				1	20	F.		
1	18	W.		2	21	S.		
2	19	Th.		3	22	S.D.		
3	20	F.		4	23	M.		
4	21	S.		5	24	Tu.		
5	22	S.D.		6	25	W.		
6	23	M.		7	26	Th.		
7	24	Tu.		8	27	F.		
8	25	W.		9	28	S.		
9	26	Th.		10	29	S.D.		
10	27	F.		11	30	M.		
11	28	S.		12	31	Tu.		
March.				April.				
12	1	S.D.						
13	2	M.		13	1	W.		
14	3	Tu.		14	2	Th.		
15	4	W.		15	3	F.		
16	5	Th.		16	4	S.		
17	6	F.		17	5	S.D.		
18	7	S.		Christ crucified				
19	8	S.D.						
20	9	M.				Christ's Resur- rection.		

And now, that I have brought my Calculation down to the Day of our Saviour's Resurrection from the Dead, I cannot forbear a Continuance of this for 50 Days longer,

longer, viz. to the famous Day of *Pentecost*, when Christ sent down the *Paraclete* from Heaven, in that remarkable manner, which we have an account of, in the 2d Chapter of the *Acts*.

<i>Nisan</i> or <i>Abib.</i>	<i>April</i>	<i>Days of</i> <i>the W.</i>	<i>Num. of</i> <i>the 50 D.</i>	12	30	<i>Tb.</i>	26
17	Christ rose	<i>S. D.</i>	1**	13	1	<i>F.</i>	27
18	from	<i>M.</i>	2	14	2	<i>S.</i>	28
19	the	<i>Tu.</i>	3	15	3	<i>S. D.</i>	29*
20	Dead.	<i>W.</i>	4	16	4	<i>M.</i>	30
21		<i>Tb.</i>	5	17	5	<i>Tu.</i>	31
22		<i>F.</i>	6	18	6	<i>W.</i>	32
23		<i>S.</i>	7	19	7	<i>Tb.</i>	33
24		<i>S. D.</i>	8*	20	8	<i>F.</i>	34
25		<i>M.</i>	9	21	9	<i>S.</i>	35
26		<i>Tu.</i>	10	22	10	<i>S. D.</i>	36*
27		<i>W.</i>	11	23	11	<i>M.</i>	37
28		<i>Tb.</i>	12	24	12	<i>Tu.</i>	38
29		<i>F.</i>	13	25	13	<i>W.</i>	39
30		<i>S.</i>	14	26	14	<i>Tb.</i>	40
<i>Ijar.</i>				27	15	<i>F.</i>	41
1		<i>S. D.</i>	15*	28	16	<i>S.</i>	42
2		<i>M.</i>	16	29	17	<i>S. D.</i>	43*
3		<i>Tu.</i>	17	30	18	<i>M.</i>	44
4		<i>W.</i>	18	<i>Sivan</i>			
5		<i>Tb.</i>	19	1	19	<i>T.</i>	45
6		<i>F.</i>	20	2	20	<i>W.</i>	46
7		<i>S.</i>	21	3	21	<i>Tb.</i>	47
8		<i>S. D.</i>	22*	4	22	<i>F.</i>	48
9		<i>M.</i>	23	5	23	<i>S.</i>	49
10		<i>Tu.</i>	24	6	24	<i>S. D.</i>	50**
11		<i>W.</i>	25				

I foresee no Objection against this Calculation, excepting this; viz. that I do groundlessly suppose, that all the 12 Months of the Jewish Calendar did consist of just 30 Days a-piece, whereas the Jews themselves reckon

reckon no more than 29 to 6 of them ; for thus we find they adjust them.

	Days.		Days.
1. Tisri or Ethanim,	30	7. Nisan or Abib,	30
2. Marbesuan or Bull,	29	8. Ijar,	29
3. Cisleu,	30	9. Sivan,	30
4. Tebeth,	29	10. Tammuz,	29
5. Shebet or Shebeth,	30	11. Ab.	30
6. Adar,	29	12. Elul.	29

But I answer ; That tho the Jews have given us this *Calendar*, in order to adjust their *Holy Days*, and the *Courses* of their *Priests* ; yet I think that *Scaliger*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Mr. *Lamy*, and all those that make use of this, in order to find out and adjust the Flux of Time it self, do exceedingly mistake and go upon a very false Bottom ; seeing from what I have said already upon this Head, it is no less than demonstrable, that the Sacred Writers did reckon their Years to consist of 12 Months, and each Month to contain 30 Days a-piece ; and that they kept exactly to this Reckoning, both in History and Prophecy. It was very fit indeed for the Priests, who were to reckon their Courses by the *Hebdomadal Revolution* of Days, and therefore by *Lunar Months*, to use such a reckoning as this, which came nearer to the true *Lunar Months*, than the other Calendar. But the Prophets never follow'd it, in writing the Series of Times and Transactions. So that I had nothing to do here with the *Temple-Calendar*, but with the *Civil* or *State-Computation* of things ; as being in search after *Matters of Fact*.

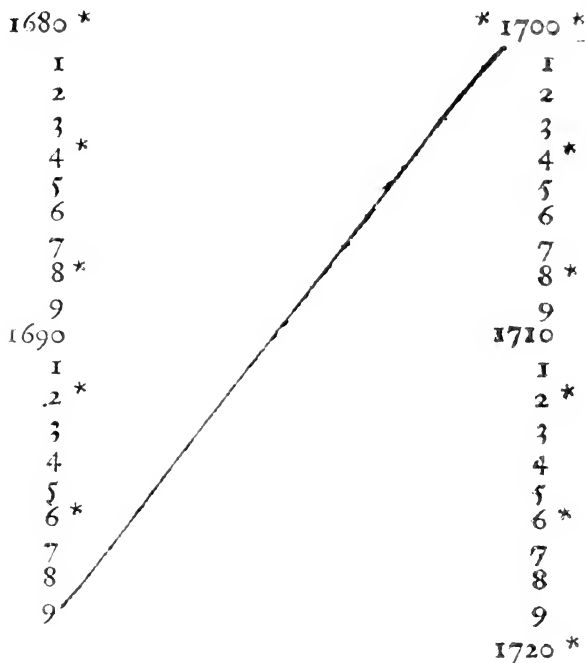
I am not ignorant of what *Scaliger* (b) says, when he gives us an account how the Jews did intercalate a whole Month, of 30 Days, after the Captivity, which they cast before *Adar*, and call'd *Veader* : Which

(b) Lib. 3. Canonum Ifagogic.

Month they added after the end of every 120th Year ; which was, in effect, the adding of a day after every 4th Year. But, supposing the Truth of this, it does no way affect my *Hypothesis* : seeing the same *Scaliger* owns, not only that this was not done until after the Captivity, but that they never made any use of it, in their Civil Computations, nor in relation to Historical Matters ; infomuch that even their Civil Judicatories did never meet or judge at that time ; whence the Jews us'd to call their intercallary Months by the Name of a *Minute of Time*. So that they seem to have been only used as a mere speculative Curiosity.

If any should say here ; But how do I know, whether the Year 33 was not Leap-Year, seeing in the Calculation above, I reckon but 28 Days to *February* ? I answer, that I have a Demonstration to secure me from mistaking Leap-Year for another Year, in my Reckoning of the *Julian Months*, even as high as the first Institution of them, and (upon the Supposition of our being curious to carry the thing higher) even as far back as the Creation of the World, and to the beginning of that *Proleptick* or *Suppositious Time* of 709 Years before the Creation, as *Usher's* Calculation is, with which the *Julian Period* is supposed to begin ; according to the Supposition of *Dionysius Exiguus*, of old, who laid the first Foundation of this Invention ; but which was improved and perfected by *Joseph Scaliger*. Now, because this Demonstration of mine, may be of common Benefit, I shall here give it the Reader : For, tho it may be no Secret to any Learned Chronologer ; nay, and be look'd upon by them, as too mean to be mentioned at all ; yet, having never met with it in any Author, and considering that it may be of some use to *Common Readers* ; I know not but I may gratify the Publick this way. Let then the Reader but fix upon *one Leap-Year*, and he may from thence calculate all such Years backwards or forwards, as to time past or time to come, with great ease ; if he will but observe this one Rule, That a *Leap-Year* ever did, and ever must, fall upon

a Number that ends with a *Cypher*, or with one of these four Figures, *viz.* 2, 4, 6, or 8 ; and that therefore, it can never fall upon an *odd Number*, nor consequently upon any Year that is mark'd with a 1, a 3, a 5, a 7, or a 9th Figure. To exemplify this, let us take the Year 1700, as the *Leap-Year*, from whence we would reckon backwards and forwards, and we shall find the Rule certain. And that the Reader may see this by ocular Demonstration, I desire he may consider the following Column of Years ; wherein 1700 is plac'd in the Center of 40 Years, *i. e.* between 20 Years that run out before it, and 20 Years that are to run out after it. For by this we see objected to our eye, that as in 1700, the *Leap-year* fell upon a Number ending with a *Cypher* ; so, in going *upwards*, the *Leap-Years* were mark'd by the Numbers I have mention'd, running still in this Order, *viz.* 6, 2, 8, and 4, till they come to a *Cypher* again : and that likewise in counting *downwards*, the *Leap-Years* are mark'd by the same Numbers, but in this order (the very Reverse of the former) *viz.* 4, 8, 2, and 6. All that I need say further, is, that the *Leap-Years* here are mark'd with an Asterisk, and the Central *Leap-year* with two.



By this Rule then, it is evident, that, according to the *Julian Calculation* of Years, Months and Days, no *odd Year* could ever be a Leap Year; and consequently, if our Lord was crucified, *A. M.* 4033; he was not crucified in a Leap-Year; tho, if he was born, *A. M.* 4000, he was born in one.

Now from all this we find, that as Christ rose from the Dead on the 5th of *April*, being a *Sunday*, (but which changed its name among Christians afterwards to that of the *Lord's Day* :) So the last half Year of his Ministry began exactly the 5th of *October*, which was a *Sunday* too. If then Christ liv'd 33 Years and an half; we may suppose it to be probable, that he was born *A. M.* 4000, on *October* the 5th Day. So that here we are thus led to reckon;

1. That Christ was born, *Oct. 5.*
2. That he began his Publick Ministry, *Oct. 5.*
3. That he began his last half Years Ministry, *Oct. 5.*
4. That he ended his whole Work of Humiliation, by rising from the Dead, *April. 5.*
5. That, after he had continued 40 compleat Days on Earth, he ascended to Heaven, *May the 15th,* being a Friday. So that as he was crucified and died on a Friday; he began his Exaltation also on the same Day of the Week.
6. That he sent down the Paraclete on the 24th of *May*, being Sunday.

And if, as is probable, the two first as well as the two next memorable 5th Days were Sundays; then we have a secret Reason why his Birth-Day was not to be celebrated; seeing that is really observ'd in our celebrating his second Birth-Day, *viz.* that of his reviving and coming forth from the Womb of the Grave. And this is so much the more memorable, because that the Day of *Pentecost*, upon which Christ sent down the Holy Spirit, was a *Sunday* likewise. So that the Lord's Day comprehends all that relates to our Saviour, in regard of the Commemoration of him, in point of Time; and was therefore, without doubt, design'd so as to cut off all Pretences of instituting *Annual Holy Days* for the future; which the Scriptural Account of Christianity gives not the least handle for. So that in observing *Sunday*, we observe all that, which *Easter*, *Whitsunday* or *Pentecost*, and *Christmas*, were instituted afterwards for, as well as *Epiphany*, in commemoration of Christ's Baptism, which the *Basildan Hereticks* were the first Institutors of, as (*i*) *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us.

And from hence we see, what just reason our Saviour had to institute this one *Holy Day*, instead of all others. For, seeing he was to put an End to all *Ceremonial Fast Days* and *Feast Days*, that in this (as in all other

(i) Strom. Lib. 1. p. 249.

things, as I have said once and again) he might act the perfect Reverse of worldly Princes and Politicians: He did therefore think it proper; as to institute but one *Feast*, viz. that of the *Supper*, in commemoration of his Sufferings; so to appoint one *Holy Day* only, in commemoration both of his *Humiliation* and *Exaltation*. For the *Lord's Day*, wherein he rose from the Dead, looks *backwards* upon the *one*, and *forwards* upon the *other*; especially seeing it was to be Divinely ratified and confirmed, 50 Days after, by the Descent of the *Paraclete* the same Day: Which, upon this account, may well be look'd upon, as the *Christian Jubilee-Day*, to be *Hebdomically* observed for ever.

And, because of the *Uncertainty* of *Annual* and *Monthly Calculations*, considering the innumerable *Meridians* of the World; and that even the *Annual Course* of the *Sun* is not (k) a perfect Measure of the Flux of Time; and that likewise (besides the Variation of Reckonings this way or the other) one *Annual Holy Day*

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(k) That I speak not this without just reason, it might be sufficient perhaps to appeal to all that deserve the Name of Chronologers; seeing there is no Man, that has look'd into the Grounds of Chronology, so as to adjust them with Astronomical Observations, but must own the Truth of this. But, seeing others may be start'd at this Assertion, and ask; what, Is not the Course of the Sun an exact measure of Time? Does not Moses tell us this, when he assigns the use of the Sun and Moon? And did not God declare, that this his Work, as well as all others, was good? I answer in the general; That, as all God's Works are perfect, in their kind, so this is to be sure. But then, I hope none can be so absurd, as to suppose, that any Creature can be absolutely perfect, in any respect whatsoever. And therefore, it is enough for the Sun, that it was made to be as exact a Rule of Time, as was needful for Men, as to all the Conveniences of Life; at the same time, that it was perhaps as necessary, that it should not perfectly measure the Flux of Time; that it might be own'd, (if it were only upon this account) to be no Deity or Divinity, (as the Generality of Heathens look'd upon it to be) but a meer Creature, made to be subservient to Mens Occasions; tho' it might be appointed for other ends also, for any thing I know, particularly in relation to other Planetary Worlds. But however, there is no disputing from pretended Theories or Schemes, against certain Experi-

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had not been enough to preserve and propagate Christianity : Therefore he did wisely appoint the continuance of the *Hebdomadal Sabbath*, with no other Alteration

ence, founded on critical Observations, as to Matters of Fact. And it cannot easily be supposed, that all those that have successively inquired into things of this kind, should be mistaken wholly and so plainly this way. And I believe, there is hardly one eminent Artificer in Clock-work, ever since the Invention of the Pendulum, who will not attest the Truth of this. And I know that the famous Mr. Tompion has been so nice in the observance of the difference between the Best Sun-Dials, and his Standard-Pendulum Clocks, as to have ofner than once drawn a Table of the Equation of Natural Days; by giving us an Account of the difference of these, according to the best comparison could be made from these two Sorts of Indexes of the Motion of Time. Two of these Tables I have now by me, the first in English, calculated in the Year 1684, the other in Latin, calculated in and for the Year 1600, according to the New Stile. This last I look upon to be by far the exactest Calculation. And therefore, tho I am not willing to tire either the Reader or my self, with copying it out here; yet I shall not grudge to give a little Specimen of it, that, what I have asserted, may be the better understood.

Jan. 1. 1690. The Pendulum Clocks were faster than the Sun-Dials, by 4 Minutes and 42 Seconds.

They continued increasing in Swiftness above them, until the 14th Day of Febr. on which day the difference was no less than 14 min. 49 sec.

On Feb. 15. they began to decrease, being only 14 min. 38 sec. swifter than the Sun Dials.

They continued decreasing, until the 14th Day of April; on which Day, the Pendulums were just one Second slower than the Sun-Dials.

And from thence the Sun-Dial went faster, more or less, until the 17th Day of June, on which day, the Pendulums had gain'd 10 Seconds.

They continued gaining more or less (i. e. by increasing for some time, and losing ground afterwards by Degrees) until the last Day of August. On which Day the Sun-Dials had again gain'd upon them 14 Seconds.

From thence the Pendulums continued to fall short of the Sun's Shadow on the Dials, variously; (being 16 min. and 1 sec. slower on the 1st Day of Nov. and on the 22d of Dec. but 18 seconds only) until the 23d of Dec. On which Day, the Pendulums gain'd 12 seconds again; until they had gained 4 min. and 7 sec. the last day of December.

So that we may conclude that the next Day, being Jan. 1. 1691. the Difference was almost the same, as it had been that day the Year before.

Now, tho neither Clocks nor Sun-Dials can be supposed to be absolutely perfect: Yet it is impossible that such considerable Changes, from swifter to slower, and so backward again, could happen, again and again, with such Niceness and Regularity; if the Motion of the Sun were not swifter sometimes than at other times. Which, in my humble Opinion, is no small Evidence

tion, but that of turning the *last Day* into the *first Day* of the *Week*.

And therefore should all I have said concerning the *Year* and *Month*, and the *Day* of the *Month*, of *Christ's Birth*, *yea* and *Death* and *Resurrection* too, be false, it would be no matter of Concern to me, seeing it is no real detriment to *Christianity*. For, seeing the *Church* has observed this *Hebdomadal Holy Day*, (which we call the *Lord's Day*, and which was called *Sunday* by the *Heathens*, and the *first Day* of the *Week* by the *Jews*) for near 1700 hundred *Years*, without *Interruption*; all the *Ends* of *Religion* are secured, as to the *Verity* of *Christ's Death* and *Resurrection*, the *Propagation* of its *Truths*, the *Preservation* of its *Worship*, and the *incitement* of *Men* to observe its *Rules* and *Institutions*. Nay, let *Christ* be supposed to have been born a hundred *Years* or more, either before or after the *Year* 4000 from the *Creation*; yet still we are to believe, that he came in the *Fulness*, and therefore in the *Center of Time*; tho we were not able, in the least, to offer any thing like an *Adjustment* of this *Matter*. For (l) *Justin Martyr* says, *That on Sunday the Christians assembled together, because it was the first Day of the Week, upon which God made the World, out of the confused Chaos; and that Day on which Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the Dead, &c.* And (m) *Origin* says, that on that *Day* they commemorated *Christ's Passion*, which ended that day; adding, that they did it not only annually, but once every seven *Days*. So that, in his *Days*, the *Annual Celebration* of it seems to have been observed; of which none of the *Writers* before him insinuate any thing.

I shall only, by way of *Coronis* to this 3d *Observation*, observe two things, 1. That it is not incredible, but that that strange and extraordinary *Bird* which was seen

dence of a *Divine Wisdom* in guiding its *Motions*. For the ingenious *Mr. Newton* has not only shew'd, in his late *Book*, that the *Course* of the *Sun* or *Earth* is not perfectly *Orbicular* or *Circular*; but improved the *Observation* this way also. But it is time for me to put an end to this *Marginal Note*.

(l) *Apol.* 2. p. 99. (m) In *Isaiam*, *Homil.* 5.

in *Egypt*, mentioned by (n) *Tacitus* and (o) *Dio Cassius*, and called by them the *Phœnix*, might first make its Appearance the Year wherein our Lord died and rose again; tho perhaps the notice of it came not to *Rome* till afterwards, which makes them cast the Account something later. I am not alone in this Conjecture: For the Learned (p) *Lydiat* thought so before me. And whatever were the Dreams of old, concerning the *Phœnix*, yet we cannot doubt of this matter of Fact, related so positively, and with such Circumstances, by two of the most accurate and eminent *Roman Historians*. And, seeing they wrote a considerable time after this happen'd, it confirms us that this Story had made a mighty Noise in the World, and been universally believed in that polite and learned Age, wherein it is said to have happened; at the same time, that it gives us ground to think, that tho they could not forget the material Account of this, yet they might have mistaken as to the Circumstance of Time, when this happened. But, 2. There is another thing, both more certain and more memorable, that happened just when Christ died, viz. that extraordinary and supernatural *Darkness*, which was at that time accompanied with a strange and preternatural *Earthquake*. Of this preternatural *Darkness* the sacred Historians take particular notice, *Matth.* 27. 45. *Mark* 15. 33. *Luke* 23. 44, 45. And of the *Earthquake* that accompanied the same, we have an account, *Matth.* 27. 51, 52, 53, 54. And, as that *Earthquake* began exactly with Christ's last and loud Cry, with which he expired, as we see by comparing the 50 and 51st Verses of that Chapter; so there was a new Shock thereof (and the last, as far as can be collected) just as our Lord rose from the dead, as we see *Chap.* 28. 2. And it is memorable, that the

(n) *Annal.* Lib. 6. cap. 28. Com. 1. (o) Lib. 58. pag. 732. Edit. Steph. (p) *Lyd. series sum. Magist. & Triumph.* Rom. p. 59.

ancient and famous *Pblego Trallianus* took notice of this, in his *Chronological Account of the Olympiads*, as (q) *Eusebius*, (r) *Origen*, and (s) *others* assure us, who cite the Passage thus: *In the fourth Year of the 202d Olympiad, an Eclipse of the Sun happened, the greatest of all that were ever known. For Night broke up at the 6th Hour of the Day; and that to such a Degree, that the Stars of the Heaven were visible. And at the same time there was an Earthquake, which was particularly felt in Bithinia, and threw down the greatest part of the City of Nice.* This is exactly the same account, that is given in the Gospel-History, and agrees in the Circumstance of the time, when the Eclipse began; *viz.* at the 6th Hour. Only the three Evangelists add, that it continued until the 9th Hour. And were there nothing else but this said of it, it were enough to demonstrate that this was not a natural Eclipse. For a natural Eclipse of the Sun is occasion'd by the Interposition of the Moon, between that Luminary, and that part of the Earth, above which the Moon is Central, in a right Line, between the Eye and Sun. But this never lasts long, because the Moon's Motion soon makes it alter its Position. So that, if this Eclipse was a natural one at first, yet it was miraculous, that these Luminaries should be continued in this fixed Position, and without any Motion for 3 Hours. But that this Darkness was altogether miraculous, and in no respect natural, appears plainly further from these Considerations. 1. Because, tho there may be a *Total Eclipse* of the Moon, yet there can never be a *total Eclipse* of the Sun, in any Propriety of Speech; tho, comparatively we may call some Eclipses *Total*. For the Moon being a less Body than the Sun, there are always some Shootings or Rays seen round it, that give some small Light, even

(q) In Chron. ad An. Tib. 18. (r) Contra Celsum, Lib. 2. p. 80. (s) Philop. de Creatione, Lib. 2. C. 21. & Chron. Alex. p. 520.

when the greatest *solar Eclipse* happens. But this seems to have been such a one, as that Night was as fully brought in, and the Stars seen as clearly, as at Midnight, when both *Sun* and *Moon* are under the Hemisphere. 2. It was an *Universal Eclipse*, as least over the *Roman Empire*, by what *Phlego* says, that it was so in *Bitinia*. Now had it been total in *Judæa*, it must have been but a partial one in *Bitinia*, considering the distance of the Places, had it indeed been only a natural Eclipse; as all that understand *Astronomy* and *Geography* must own. And I am therefore of their mind, (†) who think, that the Evangelists mean the whole known World, when they say, that this Darkness was over $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\upsilon\ \gamma\eta\upsilon$, *all the Earth*, as *Matthew* has it, and *Mark* and *Luke*, with no other difference, but that they use the word $\epsilon\lambda\eta\upsilon$, instead of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$, which is of an equivalent Signification, *over the whole Earth*; which I see not why we should restrict to *Judea*, and render it, as our Version does, *over all the Land*. But then, 3. It does further appear, that this *Darkness* was not occasion'd by any proper *Eclipse*; because it fell out in the *Full Moon*, when it is impossible in Nature that there should be any *Eclipse* of the Sun at all, as all Astronomers agree: For all *solar Eclipses* happen in the time of the *New Moon*. All these things therefore being laid together, we must conclude, that this *Darkness* was altogether super-natural and miraculous; and therefore it is not incredible, that an observing *Astronomer* might cry out, at that time, as one is said to have done, *viz. Dionysius*, then a Heathen Philosopher, in company of *Apollephanes*, another Gentile Philosopher, as the Story is related by *Suidas*; $\eta\ \tau\acute{o}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\epsilon\iota$, $\eta\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\mu\pi\acute{\omicron}\chi\epsilon\iota$, *i. e. either the Divinity it self suffers, or does, as it were, suffer in something that is now a suffering*. The Sense of which abrupt and concise Saying, I take to

(†) See *Bibl. Crit.* in *Mat.* 27. 45.

be this; that either the Deity or God himself had suffer'd some Change, seeing the ordinary Course of Nature was at that time alter'd; or otherwise, that some strange and extraordinary thing was a doing, which God thought fit to give evidence to, and call Men to remark, by a miraculous and super-natural Method of Proceeding, in altering and inverting the settled Law of Nature, for a time. And indeed all Nations of old look'd upon *Eclipses*, especially *solar ones*, if great and unusual, as Signs of Divine Displeasure and Premonitions, and Prefages of extraordinary Revolutions in the World. So did even the Prophets of old, as we see, *Jer.* 15. 9. *Ezek.* 32. 7, 8. *Joel* 2. 10, 30, 31. and 3. 14, 15, 16. And so did all wise Nations besides, as well as Barbarians. Hence (u) *Seneca's* Saying, ——— *Tuq; siderum caput, Radiate Titan, tu nefas stirpis tuæ specularè? Lucem merge & in tenebras fuge: O thou bright Sun, the Ruler of all the Stars, behold the Villainy of Men, that boast themselves to be sprung from thee; and testify thy abhorrence thereof, by drowning thy Light, and obscuring thy Brightness, with Darkness.* And to the same purpose, is that memorable Expression of his (x) elsewhere. *O nos dura sorte creatos! seu perdidimus solem miseri, seu expulimus.* *Ob, how hard now is the lot of us Creatures! For either we are miserable, by having lost the Sun, or by banishing it from us, i. e. by provoking God to take its Light and Influences from us.* An Expression, that may very well be accommodated unto this extraordinary Darkness, which accompanied Christ's Death; and which did certainly speak forth the Folly and Wickedness of Men, in pursuing Christ to Death, and which Nature it self did accuse, by putting on universal Mourning, when the God of Nature suffer'd.

But it is high time, to put an end to this 3^d Observation, which has led me so far into the Mazes of *Chronology*, and to proceed to something further on this Head. And therefore,

(u) In *Phædra*. (x) In *Thyest*.

In the 4th and last Place, I add this *Observation*, *viz.* That the *Time* of *Christ's* coming was the *Fulness* of *Time*, with respect unto the *concurring* *Circumstances* thereof, both as to *Men* and *Things*; which were such as never occur'd before, nor since, if all these be considered together. In order fully to understand this, I beg the Reader duly to consider these weighty Particulars following.

And, 1. The time wherein *Christ* appeared in the *World*, was the *fittest* that ever was, if we consider the *State* and *Circumstances* of the *Jewish* *Church* and *Nation*. For, not to mention the general *Expectation* they had of *Christ's* being about to come at that time; nor yet the *Variety* of *Methods* *God* had used before to reclaim them (of both which *Remarks* I made mention before :) there are other things to be considered here. 1. The *Jews* were now enslaved both to *Herod* and his *Family*, and to the *Roman* *Emperors*, and their *Deputies* and *Laws*. And therefore one would have thought, that they should have been fond of their *Messiah*, at any rate, when he came and manifested himself to be such. 2. They were split into *Factions*, both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*. For some of them were (right or wrong) for *Herod*, and were called from thence *Herodians*; whilst others hated him, and were weary of his *Yoke*, as breathing after their ancient *Government* and *Liberty*. And, as to the *Church-Government* and *Governours*, as we usually call them, they were yet more divided, as being split into the *two* *grand* *Factions* of *Pharisees* and *Saducees* (not to mention the *Essenes*) who differ'd in essential *Points*, as well as about lesser *Matters*, and that with dreadful hatred and animosity, without the least prospect of *Accommodation*. So, that one would have thought, that the whole *Nation* had the justest *Reason* to have embraced the *Prince* of *Peace*, if it had been only, that their *Divisions* and *Animosities* might have been cured. 3. The *Jews* were, at this time, sunk into an *Abyss* of *Wickedness* and *Prophaneness*. *Religion*, as to the very *Theory* of it, was almost gone; and much more, as to its *Practice*.

Practice. Under this General Infection and Plague that People was then. And therefore, what more proper time could there be, than this, for the universal and glorious *Physitian* to make his Appearance.

4. Nay, it is plain from the Evangelical History, that *Diseases of Body* did bear some Proportion, at that time, to the Distempers of Mens Souls. So that as God shew'd his Displeasure this way, with respect to that Nation, he gave our Saviour abundant Opportunity to evidence himself to be the true *Messiah*, by innumerable charitable Cures miraculously wrought upon poor diseas'd Persons. 5. Yea, such was the State of that People then, that they seem to have been, in a great measure, given over to *Satan* and his evil Angels, as a Punishment for their Apostacy from God. And thus also, Christ had an Opportunity, both to shew his Hatred to the *Infernal Kingdom* (as well as his Love to Mankind) and his Authority and Power over it; by driving the Evil Spirits from those that were possess'd by them, not by Spellis, or any thing like Collusion with them, but in a Method wholly Divine. I add, 6. That Christ came, after that the *Mosaical Law* had continued so long in the World, as to have had full time to give Evidence of its fitness or unfitness for reforming Men. For it had lasted from the time of its being at the height of its Glory in *Solomon's* Time, for a compleat *Millenary* of Years, and for 520 Years more, if we compute the time from the giving the Law from Mount *Sinai*, (according to *Usher's* Chronology) to the 30th Year of Christ, when he began to publish the Gospel. But, if we reckon the time that elapsed from the calling of *Abraham*, there were no less than 1950 Years run out. Now had there been any true Perfection in the *Judaical Law* and *Constitution*, surely it had been brought in by this time, as the *Apostle* argues concerning the *Levitical Priesthood*, *Heb. 7. 11.* But seeing nothing of this could be observed, but rather the contrary; it was high time to destroy that *Erection*, and to bring in a better *Constitution* in its stead. Upon which account the *Apostle*

calls

calls the *Mosaical* Institutions, *weak Rudiments*, Gal. 4. 9. that were only designed to prepare Men for the *nobler Constitutions* of Christ. And yet our Saviour allowed the *Jewish Law* to continue (as it were for a further Trial, in order to discover its Emptiness and the necessity therefore of its Abolition) for 46 Years after his publick Appearance : for so many Years there were to the last Destruction of *Jerusalem*. So that the Jews had the same Number of Years allotted them, to conclude and wind up the Duration of their State and Church with, which their Ancestors had to wander and die in the Wilderness : that as that ancient Infidel Generation was excluded *Canaan*, the last Infidel Generation should be rendred incapable of becoming a National Christian Church.

2. Christ came in *the Fulness of Time*, as the Time of his Appearing was the *fittest Time* for the *Gentile World*, as well as for the *Jewish Nation*. For, 1. The *Gentile World* had been long concluded under *Darkness* and *Blindness*; which had grown upon Men proportionably to their living at a greater Distance from the Origin of the World, and consequently from the distinct Knowledge of the things God had done. *Tradition* was degenerated into *Fable*; so that *Historical Facts* were so miserably represented under *Romantick* and *silly Stories* of *Gods*, *Heroes*, and *Monsters*; that the wiser and more learned Men, were forc'd to put an Emblematical Gloss upon them, having no certain *History* to unriddle them by. And thence arose their *Mythology*; which only tended to confound Mens Minds more, and help'd to destroy all the *Remains* of *Traditional History*, as to the first times, out of the World. As therefore, in the course of Nature, the darkest time of the Night goes immediately before the Dawn of the Morning-Light : So it was here, by Christ's appearing, just as *Traditional Knowledge* had been exil'd from among Men, by *Mythology* and *Scepticism* that follow'd upon it; by which Men began to dispute, and turn into Burlesque the *Creation* of the *World*, and the *Being* of *God*, as well as *Providence*,

vidence, as appears from the Prevalence of *Epicureism*, which *Lucretius* had, a little before Christ's coming, recommended to the World, with so much Wit, and in such an elegant Strain of Poetry, as was enough to corrupt and intoxicate all the Youth, that were educated so, as the Roman Grandeur and Luxury gave Encouragement for; and who must therefore be supposed to be extremely taken with such a plausible *Philosophical Poem*, so adapted to their Pallat and licentious Inclinations, and so fitted to lay a Foundation of innumerable Plays and Comedies, to be sung according to the same Tune. 2. And as *Ignorance of ancient Times*, accompanied with *Scepticism* and *Atheism*, was the Bane of the *Beaus* and the *Wits*; so *Idolatry* and *Superstition*, which help'd on these, were at their Height and Elevation with the Generality of Men. The *Romans* were now universal Masters of the known World. But so sottish they were, that where-ever they conquer'd the Inhabitants, they still carried the Idolatry of that City or Country to *Rome*. So that upon every new Conquest, there was a new *God* or *Goddeſs* added to the old Catalogue of their *Deities*; and every new *Deity* must have one or more *Images*, in order to lay the Foundation of a new sort of Worship; and therefore there must be a new Institution of *Priests* or *Priestesses*, with such or such a sort of *Trinkets* and odd *Rites* and *Festivals*. This might, I confess, be look'd upon then, as a cunning *Maxim of State*, as being design'd to ingratiate themselves and their Government, with their *new Subjects*, seeing they run shares with them in their Devotedness to their Idols. But then it is easy to think, that they who knew this secret *Maxim*, must have a very mean Opinion of all the *Deities* together, and consequently of all Religion. However, as the Mob make always the greatest Bulk, in all Ages and Countries, we may well conclude, that by this Method, *Idolatry* and *Superstition* had spread themselves deep and wide in the World. It is reported of *Tetzellius*, who was sent into *Germany* to sell *Indulgences*, (which gave rise to the Re-

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formation) that as the People where-ever he went crouded about him, to buy the Pope's Pardons, and to get the Nuncio's Blessing, he wav'd his Hand over their Heads, making the Sign of the Cross in the Air, again and again; repeating these Words syllabically (but with such a long-winded *Cathedral Tone*, as drown'd the proper Sound of the Words, even to them that understood Latin) *Qui vult decipi decipiatur, Qui vult decipi decipiatur, &c.* which he canted forth thus, (with an affected Gravity of Countenance, and Eyes lifted up to Heaven; *Q—u—i v—u—l—t de—ci—pi de—ci—pi— a—t—ur*: The meaning of which is this, in English; *He that will be deceived, let him be deceived*: or thus, *If thou wilt be deceived, be thou deceived.* Which the poor People took for a zealous and affectionate Prayer over them, and an effectual Blessing upon them. And this is the more credible, because *Thuanus* himself does not stick to report the same thing, of a certain famous Cardinal, who came to *Paris* in the Character of *Nuncio*, long after the Reformation began. I think it was one of the *Barberini's*; but the Book is not now by me. But to return; may we not well think, that when *Julius Cæsar* (and other great Men) officiated as *Pontifex Maximus*, High-Priest, he would secretly laugh to see the Sottishness of a Bigotted Mob, that were gaping for his doughty Blessings? Was it not then high time, for the great *Patron* of *Mankind* and *Truth*, to make his Appearance in the World, in order to lay open the Cheats and Impostures of Men, to detect the Folly and Wickedness of Idolatry, and Superstition, and to destroy thus *the Works of the Devil*. But, 3. As Ignorance, and Scepticism, and Superstition, and Idolatry, were now arriv'd at their *âµµ*, their Height and Elevation: so Wickedness was bare-fac'd and rampant in the World. Men lay drown'd in Sensuality and Luxury. Unnatural Sins were now modish and fashionable. This was therefore the fittest time for Christ to make his publick Appearance. For it made for his Honour, to conquer Satan and dethrone him, when he

was at the Pinacle of his Authority and Power. And it manifested the greatest Love and Mercy to Mankind, to bring Salvation to them, when Satan was leading them universally in Triumph after him. Our Saviour therefore chose to come then, when Wickedness was most prevalent, and Mankind most miserable that way; that he might the more illustriously manifest his Power, in bringing in Reformation into the World, and so fulfilling the (y) ancient Prediction of *Noah*, to the Posterity of *Japhet*, that God would come at last, and act as the Sovereign of Men; and thus, by his own hand, and in a way wholly divine, *inlarge* his enslaved and miserable *Posterity*, and make them *inhabit the Tents of Shem*, and thus inherit the Blessing of that great Patriarch, the most illustrious of all the Types of Christ, as we shall afterwards show. 4. And yet, as corrupted as the State of the World then was, there was something even in the *Gentile Religion* it self, that laid a Foundation for Mens imbracing the *Christian Faith* more readily. For it could be no incredible thing, that *Christ* was the *Son of God*, to those that believ'd any thing of *Gentilism*; seeing their Religion was all founded upon Notions of this kind, even in a gross Sense, and in the same Propriety of Speech, as Men are said to have Children. For nothing was more known and own'd by them, than that their *Gods*, even those that they own'd as *Immortal* ones, did propagate their Kind, and had *Sons* and *Daughters*. Nay, this was so common, that all their great *Heroes* pretended, one way or other, to be descended from their *Immortal Gods*. So that they could not pretend to ridicule Christianity, in any Sense, without owning their own Religion to be much more absurd. Nay, they could not but see, that the Notion of *Christ's* being the *Son of God*, was consistent with the most elevated Strain of true Philosophy; whereas their Notion of their *Gods* generating and propagating their Kind,

(y) Gen. 9. 27.

was altogether unphilosophical, and indeed grossly absurd; and, in many respects, obscene and blasphemous. However, we may observe how remarkably Divine Wisdom did out-shoot the Devil in his own Bow, as the usual Saying is; in permitting Satan, for a time, to bring in such odd Notions into the World; which Satan, no doubt, thought would destroy all *Theism* at last; but which God over-rul'd so, as to serve even the Cause of *Christianity* by it. Nay, besides this Notion of *Jupiter's* having Sons; that also of *Sacrifices*, and the Acceptableness of them to the Deity, laid a Foundation of their falling in the more readily with *Christianity*; even that of *Human Sacrifices*, how horrid soever their Notion and Practice this way was. We read of some that devoted themselves to Death for a publick Good, and it was the constant Tradition of the *Romans*, that (2) *M. Curtius* did so, for the Safety of *Rome*, to fulfil the Will of their Gods, in a very strange manner. So that it was no odd or incredible thing with them, to be told of a *Hero*, that offer'd up himself a *Sacrifice* for the Good of Men; nor yet, that a publick Benefit should redound to Men, upon this account. 5. This was the fittest time likewise, with respect to the World, because it was the time that abounded with the greatest Genius's, considering the Number of them, that had ever been in the World at once. For *Augustus* his long and prosperous Reign had nurs'd them up, and given them Advantages that former Ages had not, by reason of Wars and other desolating Calamities; and every one knows what a Patron and Encourager of Learning he was. And it was decorous to our Saviour's Character and Design, and congruous to Divine Wisdom, in reference to him and his Gospel, that he should propose his Philosophy, not under shade and cover, in an Age of Barbarity, or to an uncultivated People: But that he should propose it above-board and fairly, to the Search and

(?) Tit. Livii, Lib. 7.

Inquiry of the most nice and learned of the World, as knowing it could indure the strictest Search, and would ever gain ground by its being known. 6. And this is further observable here, that Christ did not propose his Philosophy, until all other Philosophies had taken place, and been cry'd up, and decry'd by turns. The World had try'd, how far the Line of their own Reason would go, and had stretch'd it to the utmost Extent. But the more they search'd, the more they were at a loss. True Reasoning was degenerated into Sophistry and Quibbles: *Natural Philosophy* into airy and uncertain Schemes, contradictory to one another. And *Divinity* was lost in Metaphysical Stretches and empty Speculations, which serv'd no practical End. Or, if any Man had attained to conceive Truth, to any purpose, he durst not speak out, for fear of being hounded down by the Priests, whose Maintenance depended upon their Idolatry and Superstition, and the keeping Men in Ignorance. When therefore the World was so far from being better'd by all the Philosophies, that had been vended and broach'd, that its State grew worse and worse this way, or as the Apostle elegantly words it, *when the World through Wisdom knew not God*; it was a proper time for Christ our truly Divine Philosopher to appear, to rid the World of the Burden of so many empty and troublesome Philosophies, as serv'd for no other Use than to swell Mens Heads with Pride and empty Notions, and to set the World by the Ears in frivolous and contentious Disputes.

3. And besides these things, there was a *peculiar Concurrence of Circumstances*, that never were, all of them, nor with equal Degrees, to be found in any other time; that were advantageous for the Propagation of Christ's Gospel, and mark'd out this time, as every way the fittest for Christ to make his Appearance in, and consequently, in this Sense, *the Fulness of Time*: As, (1.) It was certainly proper, that the *Prince of Peace*, should come in a time of Universal profound Peace, that Men might be at leisure sedately to inquire into

things, without having their Minds confounded or disturbed, as Men generally are, when the World is convulsed with Wars, Tumults, Insurrections, Invasions and Devastations. And such a time certainly was that, wherein Christ was born; there being no Wars, nor so much as Fear or Rumour of War, but all things in the most profound Peace that could be, every Man injoying himself, and his Property, securely, and without any Disturbance, or the least Apprehension of any. The *Temple of Janus* was then shut for a much longer time, than ever it had been before, or ever was afterwards. And as a Testimony of this, there is yet extant a (a) Roman Inscription that was made on this occasion; which is as follows.

IMP. CÆS. DIVI. F. AUG. PON. MAX.
 COS. XII. TRIBUNIC. POTEST. X. IMP. VIII.
 ORBE. MARI. ET. TERRA. PACATO.
 TEMPLO. JANI. CLUSO. ET. REP. PO.
 ROM. OPTIM. LEGIB. SANCTIS.
 INSTIT. REFOR. — — — — —

The Sense of which is this, in English. *The Emperor Augustus, Son of Divus Cæsar, (i. e. of Julius Cæsar who was Deified, according to the Pagan Mode that the Romans follow'd) High Priest, 12 Times Consul; Possess'd of the Tribunician Power the 10th time; Confirm'd in the Imperial Command the 8th time; having establish'd Peace thro' the whole World, both by Sea and Land; the Temple of Janus being shut, and the Republick of the Roman People being reform'd by the best Laws, and most Holy Institutions, &c.* At such a time as this our Saviour made his Visit down to the World, there being nothing to hinder Men from sober and sedate Consideration. And indeed, (2.) As there was nothing then to hinder Men to think, so there seems to have been then an universal Disposi-

(a) Apud Gruterum, p. 149.

tion this way. For the long and dismal Wars, Murders and Devastations that had been before, especially during the intestine Struggles and Convulsions of the several Factions of *Sylla* and *Marius* first, of *Pompey* and *Julius Caesar* next, of *Brutus* and *Cassius* with the *second Triumvirate* after that, and of *M. Anthony* and *Augustus* last of all; I say these calamitous Wars had made all Men fond of Peace, and pleas'd with the easy sway of *Augustus*. And the former want of the Advantages for Improvement, in point of Knowledge, was so sensibly felt, that all Men were careful to inform themselves, as to all things valuable and useful, the best way they could. (3.) And it was the easiest time that ever was, for travelling, in order to know Men and Things, seeing the greatest part of the known World was become, in some sort, one Nation, by reason of being under one Prince and Government, and under one and the same Civil Law. Upon which account our Saviour's Miracles, Death and Resurrection could not be hid, but must be supposed to be universally known. And by reason of this, the Apostles could travel with the same ease and safety, through all Nations subject to the Romans, as we can now in this Island of *Great Britain*, through its several Counties or Shires: which was a mighty advantage towards the more facile Propagation of the Gospel every where. (4.) And if it was easy upon this account, to travel thro' the World, there never was any time perhaps, wherein there was such care taken, in order to have speedy and certain Intelligence of Matters of Fact, especially if they were of a Publick Nature, and related to the Government, as there was during the Reign of *Tiberius*. For the jealous and suspicious Temper of that Prince, was such, as he has no parallel that way, in any History. And his Policy and Cunning, being proportionable, we may well suppose that he had his Intelligencers and Spies every where. This was so well known at *Rome*, that every Man was afraid of another, as finding, by sad Experience, that the Emperor had notice given him almost of every

thing that was said or done. So that we may be sure, that *Tiberius* and the *Senate* had a full and particular Account of Christ's Actions. Nay (b) *Tertullian* sufficiently assures us of this, and appeals to the Publick Register of the Senate for several things of this kind ; giving this memorable Account ; *That Tiberius having receiv'd a Relation from Palestine in Syria (I suppose from Pilate) of Christ's Actions, Death and Resurrection, upon the Account of which many believ'd his Divinity ; was so mov'd with it, that he laid the Account before the Senate, and desired that Christ might be enrolled into the number of those that they worshipp'd as Gods, by a Decree made for this purpose. The Senate, says Tertullian, did not agree with the Proposal : (and there was a wise Providence that they did not, for it was not for Christ's Honour to be rank'd with their Idols, nor consistent with that Divine Method, that Christ was to take to carry on the ends of his Religion, which was to have nothing in it, that did favour of Human Policy, or even Human Assistance ;) But the Emperor continued in his Sentence.* So that, by the Sentence of *Tiberius*, Christ was to be look'd upon and own'd as a God. And this was enough to put all Men upon a narrow Search and Enquiry, as to every thing that related to Christ, as to his Birth, Life, Doctrine, Miracles, &c. Besides, it deserves our serious Consideration, that this Opinion and Declaration of *Tiberius*, with respect to Christ, was of great use, to give a check to those, that might have had a mind to extirpate all those that made it their Business to propagate Christianity ; which might have been done more easily, while it was in its bud, (when the number of Christians, Apostles and all, were but about 120, and were all together in one place) than afterwards, when the Number of Christians was not only vastly increas'd, but divided into innumerable distant Countries. (5.) This therefore leads us to ano-

(b) Apologet. adv. Gentes, Cap. 5.

ther Remark ; *viz.* that our Saviour came and made his Appearance in a time, when there was no *Disposition* in the *Government* to *persecute* any Man upon the account of mere Opinions. In *Augustus* his time, there was an universal *Toleration* this way. And *Tiberius*, how wicked, cruel, and distrustful soever, was of the same *Disposition*, in this respect : For it was not *Philosophers* : he was distrustful of, but *Statesmen*. Nor was *Caius*, *Claudius*, or even *Nero*, any otherwise minded, in this Particular. For, tho' *Nero* used the Christians barbarously, yet this was not out of a hatred to their Doctrine ; but merely to skreen and cover his own Wickedness in having burn *Rome* ; by casting the *Odium* of it, off himself, upon them, that were at that time the most despicable sort of People, of any others, in the eye of the World. And tho' there was some *Persecution* against the Christians afterwards in the Days of *Domitian*, and in the Reigns of *Trajan*, the *Antonines*, and *Maximianus* ; yet there were only provincial ones, and for a little time ; there being no universal *Persecution* until *Decius* began his Reign, which was not before *A.D.* 250. So that the Wisdom of God is eminently seen, in bringing Christianity upon the Stage of the World, and nursing it up so long, that it might be too strong and diffused against that time, that the Roman Government attack'd it in good earnest, in order totally to extirpate it. But, (6.) Besides all these things, it is to be considered, That the *Greek Language* was almost *universal* then in the World, especially amongst Men of Sense and Breeding : So that what was written in *Greek*, was written not to a particular Nation only, but to the whole World. So that the sacred Penmen, by writing in this Language, took a Method to make all Nations acquainted with the Gospel, even in the very Words and Phrases which they were inspired to use, and therefore with the greater advantage. Besides, that the very *Expressiveness* of that *Polite Language*, almost above all others (as having been admirably cultivated and refin'd, by so many Orators and Philosophers, in a constant Succession,

cession, for a great many Ages before) was no small advantage to the better reception of the Gospel. It is true, the Apostles had the Gift of speaking and understanding all Languages : But as this was to continue but for a little time, so it was fit that the *Original Copies* should be in one Language only ; for to have written in all Languages, would have been endless, and bred Confusion ; and there was no one Language so proper to write in as the Greek, that by this Standard all after-Copies might be adjusted. (7.) As the *Greek Language* was then universal, so the *Grecian Learning* was flourishing, and in its highest Elevation, and universally studied by all Persons almost, especially the great Men of the World, that had Money and Time at command, and were not in necessitous Circumstances ; tho' the itch after Knowledge was so great and common, that even *Slaves* got so much of it sometimes, as to prove eminent Philosophers, as was the case of the famous *Epictetus*, not long after this time. Now it was in this age of Light and Learning, that the true Light came into the World to enlighten all Men. And therefore our Saviour gives this as one great Evidence of his being the *Messiah*, to *John*, that the *Poor* had the Gospel preach'd to them, as well as the *Learned and Rich*. This was contrary to the Politicks both of the *Jewish Rabbi's* and *Gentile Philosophers*, who kept their most valu'd Notions, as so many *Arms's* or *Secrets*, from the Common People, and reveal'd them to none, but to those that had Money enough to pay them well. But our Saviour, who came to propagate Truth, as far as it could go, scorned this selfish and mercenary way ; and therefore, not being afraid of Light and Inquiries, but desirous of these, he propos'd his Doctrine in a plain manner, and to all, not dress'd up in Mystical Cloathing, or set off with eloquent and soft Words and Periods, or in an artificial manner, as those do that set off their course Wares to the best advantage, to make them pass. For nothing more was needful to Mens embracing the Gospel-Truth, but to know it : as

(c) *Tertullian* said justly of old, *That it desir'd but one favour of Men, That it might not be condemned, without being known.* It was fit then, that the Gospel should be first made known to the World, in a learned Age, and so, as to challenge the most nice and critical Examination and Scrutiny of the most scrupulous and strictest Inquirers; that there might be no Reflections upon our Lord's Conduct afterwards; as if he had acted in the dark, or as one afraid to have his Doctrine come under the Test of Reason and Learning. (8.) And, as Learning in general was useful to Christ's Design, as to the spreading thereof in the World: So there was a peculiar Itch, as to Novelties, at that time in the World. Men seem'd to be conscious, that all the Philosophers, with their various Schemes and Notions, had rather involv'd Truth than discover'd it, and made it darker rather than explain'd it. And therefore, as they were all upon the hunt after it; so they seem'd to be under an Impression (as I shewed in the first Chapter of this Book) that a new and more Divine Philosopher would appear about this time, than the World had ever known, and that Truth would at last be set in its native Light. *Athens* was then, and had been for many Ages before, the main Seat of Learning, from whence Knowledge run down to the rest of the World. And the Character of that Place is too well known to be insisted upon. *Cicero* calls it, as I remember, somewhere, *the Place, (d) from whence Humanity, Learning, Religion, Husbandry, Human Rights and Laws, had their Original;* and, in another place, (e) he calls *Athens the Inventrix of all Learning.* And *Luke* says, *Acts 17. 21.* that *all the Athenians and Strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing; i. e.* their Learned Men were perpetually racking their In-

(c) *Apol. cap. 1. unum gestit interdum, ne ignorata damnetur.*

(d) *Unde Humanitas, Doctrina, Religio, Fruges, Jura, Leges ortæ.*

(e) *Omnium Doctrinarum Inventrices Athenas.*

vention to find out and propose something new, in this or the other part of Learning, and their Scholars, whether Natives or Strangers (who were there in great Multitudes from all Parts of the World) were taken up in hearing these new Inventions, and in passing their Judgment upon them. Now this was a great Advantage to Christianity, that there was such an universal Curiosity, at that time in the World, and particularly among the more polite and ingenious Men, to examine and inquire into new Notions and new Philosophies. And therefore *Paul* took the advantage of this prevailing Temper of the *Athenians*, when he address'd the Learned Men there, as we find he did, *Acts 17. 19, &c.* when Providence presented him with an Opportunity. Our Version does not seem to hit the exact Design of the Apostle, when it represents him as using an irritating Expression, *ver. 22.* in calling them *too superstitious*: For, tho' the Apostle might tacitely mean this, yet, besides that the *Greek* Word, that we render so, may be taken in another and milder Sense, the Particle *ὡς* was certainly cast in to soften it, as any that knows the *Greek* Language must own it to be in this place. In order therefore to set this matter in a true Light, let us remember, that the Case stood thus. *Paul*, out of an heroical concern, to see a place, so Learned in other respects, to be yet so besotted with Idolatry, *ver. 16.* took occasion, not only to dispute with the *Jews* in their *Synagogue*, and with the *Devout Persons* of the *Gentiles*, who were *profelyted* to the *Jews*, at least so far, as to be *Profelytes* of the *Gate*; but to reason the case also *with them that met with him, in the open Market-Place, i. e.* with the *Gentiles* themselves, whether Natives or Strangers, Doctors or Scholars, *ver. 17.* So that it is plain that he did, in a prudent insinuating way, offer himself publickly to dispute with them, and give them a fair Challenge this way. Upon this some *Philosophers, both of the Epicurean and Stoical Opinion, encountred him*, and that with some sort of Contempt, as looking upon him to be no proper *Philosopher*, and so

not an equal Match to them, as not being a Master of their University Learning. And it is well known, that the *Greeks* reckon'd all Men *Barbarians*, in comparison with those of their Country, as thinking it impossible for any to be either Learned or Eloquent, besides themselves, or those that had been their Scholars. And yet they act as Men of better Breeding, than our Version would represent them, when they render their Inquiry, as to *Paul*, thus; *What will this Babler say?* For, tho I know that *σπερμολόγος* is not unfrequently us'd in this Sense, and tho I question not, but that they spoke with Contempt enough; yet, I am apt to think, that they had too much regard to their own Character, to use a mere *Billingsgate* Word, as we call ungenteeled and scurrilous Expressions. (f) *Aristotle* calls those *Birds* by this Name, that pick up scatter'd Corn or Grain, and so get their living by pilfering, and not in a way of Industry; and *Gellius* and (g) *Eustatbius* in *Homerum*, say, That from hence such Men used to be called *σπερμολόγοι*, that pretended to Learning, by having gather'd together some Scraps of Things and Notions from other Men, that had never gone to the bottom of Things, nor had either Parts or Learning to produce any new Invention of their own, to promote Learning by, tho they had the Confidence to be Pretenders this way. And *Eustatbius* says likewise, that the *Atticks* call'd them by this Name, who were conversant in the Markets and Places of Merchandize. So that I take the Expression to be equivalent to this, in our Modern Dialect, *What bath this Haranguer or Holder-forth to say?* or, more literally, *What new Doctrine does this Grain-gatherer pretend to advance?* And seeing *Paul* and they were now in the Market-place, which perhaps used to be haunted by Fowls to pick up scattered Grain, this word might be design'd as an *Athenian Punn* or *Witticism*. However, whatever

(f) See *Steph. Lexicon.* (g) In *Odyss.*

the Question was ; others reply, that as far as they could understand Paul, he seem'd to them to be a *Newsmonger, Herald, or Setter-forth of Foreign Dæmons, i. e. Semi-Gods* ; (for so *δαίμων* properly signifies, not the Supreme God, but a *Genius, Deified Hero, Tutelar Spirit, or Inferiour Deity.*) And the Reason no doubt which they went upon was, *because Paul had preached Christ and the Resurrection, as Luke adds, i. e. had been discoursing of Christ's Miracles and Death, and how he was raised from the Death, and ascended visibly into Heaven.* Upon this, these *Philosophers* took him with them from the *Market-Place*, where they thought it no way decorous for them to dispute formally, and brought him unto the famous Court of the *Areopagus* (which our Version renders unaccountably, when they call it *Mars-Hill*) which was the Highest Court in *Athens* ; where they harangue him, to this purpose. “ We have heard that thou hast preached very odd things, which we know not well what to make of. And therefore we have brought thee hither, to know our selves from thy own Mouth, what thy Doctrine is. For, as we are curious to know all things that are new, and are more proper Judges this way, than the common People ; so we presume thou wilt give us the same account of that which thou art so zealous and forward to advance and propagate, that thou hast hitherto given to those that are less capable to understand speculative Points. To which Paul returns that memorable Answer, which Luke has preserved to us, as to the Sum and Substance thereof. Which I hope I may be allowed to paraphrase thus : “ Then Paul stood in the midst of the *Areopagus*, and said, Ye Men of *Athens*, I can form to my self no truer Idea of you, than as a People, (b) that are over-much religious in your worshipping

(b) Pausanias in Attica, says the same thing of them, viz. that they worship'd more Gods or Idols than any other People.

“ so many *Deities*. As an Evidence of this, while I
 “ pass’d thro’ your City, and observ’d your Sacred Rites
 “ and Worship, I could not but take notice of an *Altar*,
 “ which had this *Inscription*, *Αγνώστο θεῶ*, to the
 “ *unknown God*: which led me to this Thought, That,
 “ tho ye own and worship so many *Dæmons*, *Genii*,
 “ *Deify’d Hero’s*, or *Inferiour Deities*, as ye call them;
 “ yet ye are both so religious, in your way, as to
 “ worship the *Supreme Being*, under any manner of De-
 “ signation, rather than neglect this altogether; and
 “ so ingenuous at the same time, as to profess and
 “ own your Ignorance of him. I thought it not amiss
 “ therefore to discourse to you upon this Occasion
 “ and Subject, in order to declare to you whom it is that
 “ ye worship, tho ye know him not: For thus I think we
 ought to render the Greek, and not in that grating
 way, wherein our Version gives us the meaning, *Whom*
therefore ye ignorantly worship.) And then Paul goes on,
 with the main of his Discourse, ver. 24, &c. which I
 leave to the Reader’s own Thoughts. The Conclusion
 of the whole was; That, as *some mocked* (probably the
Epicureans, who believed no Resurrection) so there
 were others (probably of the Sect of the *Stoicks*, who
 had some Notion of a Resurrection and future State)
 that thought the Discourse and Subject so considerable,
 as to promise to bear Paul again of this matter, and in the
 mean time to think upon what was said by him; whilst
 at the same time *Dionysius*, one of the Doctors or Jud-
 ges of the *Areopagus*, was converted by this Discourse,
 with some others. *Eccl.* (9.) We may observe further,
 that the Providence of God had so pre-dispos’d Matters,
 that tho the Philosophies that then obtained in the
 World, were so very different, yea and opposite to one
 another in most things; yet that there was something
 interwoven in them all, what tended, at least, to make
 the *Votaries* of them willing to give Christianity a fair
 hearing, before they did condemn it. For, 1. The *Pi-*
thagorean Philosophy, taught Men to be long silent and
 thoughtful, given to hear and inquire, rather than to
 speak

speak or to be positive ; and this certainly was useful to Truth. Their Profession was rather that of φιλοσοφίας, *Lovers of Wisdom*, than σοφει, *Wise-men* : and this Modesty laid a Foundation for their inquiring soberly into things, before they either assented to a Doctrine, or condemn'd it ; and this was all that Christianity did at first require of Men. They held the Immortality of Souls, in some Sense at least ; upon which account they could not but value the Christian Doctrine. And, tho they held the *Transmigration of Souls* into other Creatures, as well as Human Bodies, (upon which they abstain'd from eating any thing that had Life in it :) Yet this was but the effect of their Ignorance of the State of Souls after Death ; which they might be rectified in from the Christian Doctrine. And, seeing also they plac'd the very Essence of their Philosophy, in the Harmony of Numbers ; they must be suppos'd to have a due Veneration for the Bible, when known, which runs pretty much in the same Strain. 2. The *Aristotelians* or *Stragerites*, seem'd only to have refined the *Pythagorean Principles* ; and to have been chiefly concern'd to teach Men to reason accurately and subtilly upon things, and to try all things closely and narrowly before they assented to any thing as Truth : and therefore they took Men off, from founding upon Human Authority, tho never so venerable for Antiquity. And this also favour'd Christianity. 3. Even the *Pyrrhonians* or *Sceptic's* favour'd it extremely, by undermining or rendring suspected the whole of the *Pagan Religion* and Worship ; and so rendring Mens Minds more susceptible of Christian Principles. 4. The *Epicureans* themselves, tho the most directly contrary to Christianity of all others ; by denying the World to be either created or govern'd by Providence, with other gross Errors ; yet had two things, that occasionally help'd Christianity, so far at least as to deserve to be considered. The one was, that they placed the chief Good of Men in Pleasure, and suppos'd that their utmost Misery did consist in Pain : Neither of which, if rightly explained,

was much dissonant from the Christian Notion ; seeing these two were supposed to contain, in a manner, the Fundamental Notion of Heaven and Hell. Their *other* Notion was, that the Gods were of human Shape, which, tho' gross in an abstract View, yet serv'd to lay the Foundation of a sufficient *Argumentum ad hominem*, *i. e.* home-Argument, in defence of Christ's being God, tho' in the appearance of a Man. But, 5. The *Platonick Philosophy*, which did not only teach that God was an Infinite and Eternal Being, who had made, and did govern, and would judge the World, but which gave some account of a *Trinity* in the Divine Nature ; was that which came nearest to the *Theory* and *Doctrine* of Christ. And therefore there was an easy change from Platonism to Christianity. And, 6. As for the *Stoicks*, their Notion of *Fate* seem'd not to be so far distant from that of Providence, but that the one might be easily rectified by the other. But their *Doctrine* of Virtue, the Subjection of their Passions to their Reason, and their Rules as to a virtuous Life, were yet more accommodable to Christian *Ethicks*. So that there was no Philosophy, but had something in it, that tended to help on the Design of Christianity. In which respect therefore also, Christ came *in the Fulness of Time*. But, in the (10.) Place, there was yet another thing, that tended exceedingly to advance Christianity, *viz.* that the *Scriptures* of the *Old Testament*, had now, for a long time, been translated into the *Grecian Language*, and consequently the *Doctrines* thereof publish'd so far in the World, as to be tolerably known to inquisitive and learned Men, even to such a degree that the Poet (*i*) *Ovid* (not to mention others spoken of by (*k*) *Eusebius*) sufficiently discovers, how well he was acquainted with the Writings of *Moses*,^f by what he says of the Creation of the World, the old Chaos, the Formation of Man, the Paradisical State or golden Age, the Wicked-

(i) Lib. 1. Metamorph. (k) In Prep. Evang.

ness that followed, the universal Deluge, the Preservation of *Noah* (and his Wife) whom he calls *Deucalion*, in a small Ship, and the War of the *Giants* against Heaven, &c. Where it is remarkable, that he mentions *Japhet* by Name. And no wonder, if the Doctrine, and especially the History of the New Testament, was well known in the Days of *Augustus* and *Ovid*, when the Translation of the prophetic Writings, at least the Pentateuch, had been in the World, for 270 Years at least, before Christ's Birth, and therefore 300 Years before his Death, as having been translated by the order of *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*, in the 7th Year of his Reign, which *Usher* reckons to have been 277 before the *Christian Era*. And it is well known, that the *Egyptian* and *Alexandrian Jews*, had so generally forgotten the Hebrew Language, that they contented themselves with that Version, both in their Schools and Synagogues, as is plain from the Writings of *Philo*. And we have just Reason to suppose, that the Jews in *Greece*, and indeed almost in all other Countries, used no other Bible. So that there must have been as many Copies thereof, at least, as there were Synagogues of such Jews. By which it is easy to imagine, how generally known the Sacred Antiquities of that Nation must have been, and consequently how ancient the Expectation of the Coming of the *Messiah* was, and what that Doctrine and State of Affairs which he was to bring in.

I might run out yet further upon this Subject, by considering other things, that tended naturally to advance Christianity; such as the Miracles wrought by Christ and his Apostles, the Holiness of the First Christians, their successful Preaching, their heroical Sufferings, the Judgment of God upon eminent Persecutors, the Cessation of the Heathen Oracles, &c. But, as these are something more remote, from the peculiarity of the Circumstance of the time of Christ's Appearing: So they would carry me out too far. And therefore, I think it is high time, to put an
end

end to what I propos'd mainly and principally to treat of in this Chapter.

But, seeing I propos'd to my self, to add something, in order to clear up the meaning of that *General Time* or *Period of Time*, which is so frequently made mention of under the Name and Designation of *the last Days*, or *last Times*; I must fulfil my Promise, in taking some notice of this Subject likewise, before I proceed to a new Chapter.

Now my Notion of this Phraseology, as I have hinted again and again, is this; That by *the last Days*, we are to understand, in the General, that part of the Duration of the World and Church, which was supposed to begin with the *first Coming* and Appearance of the *Messiah*, and was to conclude with his *second Coming*, and so with the end of the World. In this general Sense certainly the Prophets are to be understood, as *Isaiah*, Chap. 2. 2, &c. when he prophesies of the Propagation and Increase of the Church and Kingdom of God among Men, even the *Gentile Nations*, as that which was to be *in the last Days*. And so does *Micah*, Chap. 4. 1, 2. in the same Sense, and in the same words, almost without Variation. To the same purpose *Isaiah* prophesies of the pouring out of the Spirit upon the Apostles, and of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, with the Signs and Prodigies that should go before it, as we see, Chap. 2. 28, &c. compared with *Acts* 2. 16, 17, &c. where the Apostle *Peter* cites and applies it.

There is therefore one place only, that seems to denote the Old Testament-Times, *viz.* *Gen.* 49. 1. where *Jacob* desires his Sons to come to him, that he might tell them, what was to happen to them in *the last Days* or *latter Days*. But seeing that Prophecy relates to the State of *Israel*, even down to the Coming of the *Messiah*, and to the Conversion of the *Gentiles*, his meaning seems to be, that he was to tell them what was to happen to him, even *to the last Days*, or *until the last Days should come*. However the Prophets did certainly use the Phrase afterwards in the Sense I have mentioned.

And,

And, in the same Sense, do the New Testament-Writers understand this Phrase. Thus the Apostle tells us, that God had spoken to us by his Son, *in these last Days*, *Heb. 1. 2.* And this may be a Key to us to understand other places, where this Phrase is used. When therefore we read *2 Tim. 3. 1.* that *in the last Days* perillous times shall come; the meaning is, That in the Gospel-Days, or during the Continuance of the New Testament-Dispensation, perillous times should come. And to the same purpose, are we to understand *Peter's Prophecy*, *1 Ep. 3. 3.*

Thus also are we to understand the other Phrase, *viz.* that of *the last time*, *1 Pet. 1. 20.* *Jude 18.* as wholly synonymous with the former, and of the same import.

And, if any Person doubt of this, and suppose, that the Apostles understand by this Phrase, at least sometimes, the last Age or Ages of the Duration of Christianity, in opposition to their own Age, as the *first time* or *times*, or first days; and therefore not in that general Sense I have mention'd: I need only refer my self to the Apostle *John*, for the Refutation of this Objection, and the Confirmation of my Notion, for he has twice in one Verse asserted, (*viz.* *Epist. 1. 18.*) that his own Age was part of the last Days or last time, saying, *Little Children, it is the last time, and* ——— *we know that it is the last time.*

And from hence we may see, how justly, with a reference to this Phraseology, the *Period* of the *General Judgment* is called the *last Day*, *John 6. 39, 40, 44, 54.* *John 11. 24.* *John 12. 48.* *Jam. 5. 3.* For it is not called so, because it is to be no more but one solar or natural Day (the contrary of which I have elsewhere demonstrated) but with respect to that *Second General Priod of time*, which is dated from Christ's first Coming, and is to continue until the Consummation of all things. In which respect, the Age that will run out in judging Angels and Men, is called *the last Day*, that is, *the last of the Ages or Times*, which the *Jews* call'd the *last Days*.

The End of the Fourth Chapter.

THE

Four Remaining

CHAPTERS

OF THE

Third BOOK

OF

CHRISTOLOGY;

BEING A

Second PART or SECTION
of the said BOOK.

Advertisement.

SEEING this 3d Book of Christology has arisen to such a Bulk, as to be divided into two Parts; I would only have the Reader observe, That it is not incongruous, to look upon the four first and the four last Chapters, as making Two Parts or Sections of this 3d Book of Christology: not so much upon the Account of the Bulk of the whole, and the equal Division of the Book, as to the Number of Chapters that appertain thus to each part; But upon the Account of the Difference of the Subject-Matter of the four first Chapters, from that of the four last. For, tho Christ, considered as Loganthropos, be equally the Subject-Matter of all the Eight Chapters; yet the Respect wherein he is considered in the four first Chapters, is very different from that, in which he is considered in the four last Chapters. For, whereas in the four first Chapters, I insist wholly upon Divine Wisdom, in reference to the Loganthropos. (1.) As to the Plan of his Appearing and Acting, in Chap. 1. (2.) As to his Conduct to visible Agents, in Chap. 2. (3.) And to invisible ones, in Chap. 3. And, (4.) As to the Time of his Coming, in Chap. 4. — I proceed in the four last Chapters, to treat more immediately of the Loganthropos Himself; by considering him, (1.) In his Person, in Chap. 5. (2.) In his Office, in Chap. 6. (3.) In his Relation to us, in Chap. 7. And, (4.) In the Obligation, which he has brought us under to himself, in Chap. 8.

The Four Remaining CHAPTERS
of the Third BOOK.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the Loganthropos, Personally considered: Wherein, a New Account is given of his Incarnation; together with several important Thoughts, and some of them very peculiar ones, in relation to his Sufferings first, and his Exaltation afterwards

TH O I have materially treated of *Christ*, as the *Loganthropos*, in all I have said, in the preceding Chapters; yet it may justly be expected, that I should consider him *thus* more directly and formally. And therefore, tho I shall studiously avoid to discourse, at least largely, of those Heads, that every System, Confession of Faith, and Catechism, insists upon; yet it cannot be expected, that I should altogether pass by these, at least the most weighty and important of them; especially seeing I do humbly suppose, that I have something that is new to offer upon many, if not all, of them.

I proceed therefore to treat of *Christ* as *Loganthropos*, more directly and particularly than I have yet done, tho with a resolved concern to be succinct and brief in all I shall say: Which I shall do in a fourfold Respect, *viz.* by considering him, in his *Person* and *Office*, and in the

Relation he stands in to us, and the *Obligation* he has brought us under to serve and honour him.

I begin with the First of these, in this Chapter: Which I propose to do, 1. By contemplating Christ's Incarnation; and, 2. By observing the other most considerable Things concerning Christ, after his Incarnation, in relation to his *Sufferings* first, and *Exaltation* afterwards; I mean such things as did not fall so directly in my way, in the preceding Chapters.

I. Concerning the Incarnation of the Logos, or his becoming the Loganthropos.

I have here one of the most wonderful Subjects before me, that ever God revealed to Men, and indeed the most wonderful of all, excepting only that of the Trinity. But seeing it is now revealed, and is of the vastest Importance to be believed; We are allowed, nay and required to consider it, and that with the closest Application of Mind too, in case we do it with due Humility.

And here, I hope, I may take it for granted, (after what I have said, both in the 1st and 2^d Books, and in the preceding Chapters of this 3^d Book) That the *Logos* did, in the Fulness of Time, actually become Man, by assuming the Man Christ into Union with himself. And therefore I have only two things to inquire into; 1. What the *Congruity* may be supposed to be, why the *Son* should be *Incaruate*, rather than the *Father* or *Holy Spirit*; 2. How far the Holy Scriptures lay a *Foundation* of our understanding this wonderful and mysterious Truth. And when I have done with these Inquiries, I shall proceed, 3. To make some Improvement of this great Article of Faith, by adding some *Practical Thoughts* in relation thereunto.

And, 1st. I am to inquire into the *Congruity* of the *Incarnation* of the *Son*, rather than of the *Father* and *Holy Spirit*.

Now, the *Congruity* of this will appear in a clear and full Light, if we can demonstrate two things,

1. That

1. That whoever was to be our Saviour must be both *God and Man*, in a true and proper Sense; 2. That it was incongruous for either the *Father* or *Holy Ghost* to become Man, and that consequently the *Son* must do this Service of necessity, upon the Supposition that it was to be done at all. The *first* of these is a necessary Preliminary, towards our answering the Question. The *Second* is the formal Answer of the same. And here then,

(1.) I shall shew, That *whoever was to be our Saviour, must be both God and Man, in a true and proper Sense.* Which I shall do, by a Gradation of the three Steps, which the Query does suppose, and which are therefore necessary to be followed, in answering the same.

And therefore, 1. I say, That it was necessary, That *He that was to be our Mediator, should be God.* And the Reason of this is plain; seeing no meer Creature was capable of this Divine Service. Nay, had all Creatures joyn'd in one to carry it on, they had still been too weak to accomplish it. For he, that was capable to satisfy infinite Justice, must himself be infinite: Whereas all the Creation of God is finite; seeing we are oblig'd to believe, that there is an essential Difference of this sort, between God and all Created Beings; without the Supposition of which, it were impossible to conceive either of him or them. For, as we must lose the essential Idea of God, if we suppose him, *as such*, Finite: So we must lose the essential Idea of Creatures, if we suppose them, *as such*, Infinite. Hence we see the necessity of believing, that Christ, as he was the *Logos*, was, in a proper Sense, God. Nor can any ingenuous Person doubt of this, when he considers that God himself has given this Testimony, in declaring him to be *Jehovah*, Jer. 23. 6. *The true God*, 1 John 5. 20. *The Mighty or Almighty God*, Isa. 9. 6. *The Great or Supreme God*, Tit. 2. 13. *The God over all blessed for ever*, i. e. the Supreme and Eternal God, Rom. 9. 5. And the Creator, Sustainer, Governour, and ultimate and beatifying End of all Things, both in

Heaven and Earth, Col. 1. 16, 17. All which I have proved and cleared up in the Second Book.

2. It was necessary also, *That Christ should be truly Man, in order to be our Redeemer.* For otherwise he had not been capable of *suffering* in our Nature. And both these were equally necessary in this case. Now that Christ was truly Man, is so plain in the Evangelical History, that it were an Impertinency to attempt formally to prove it. But how he became Man, is another Question: Which, as I have in part cleared up in the 3^d Chapter, so shall illustrate further before I have done with this present Chapter. In the mean time, I say,

3. That it was necessary, *That the Logos and the Man Christ should be so truly and closely united, as that he should be God and Man, in one Person*; in that Sense of the word Person, which I have given in the 3^d Chapter. For otherwise, his Sufferings could not have derived that value from the *Logos*, as to be properly meritorious. The *Union* therefore must be such, as that it might justly be said, that we were not redeem'd by the Blood of him, who was merely a Creature, but *by the Blood of God*, *Acts 20. 25. i. e.* of him, who was God, as well as Man.

Whoever therefore was to be a Divine and Universal Saviour to lost Sinners, must have these things concurring to make up his Character. Whence it is plain, That no mere Creature could be our Redeemer; And that therefore it must be one of the Persons of the Glorious Trinity, no other being capable of this Work and Trust. And, as we are assured, that it was the *second Person*, that did undertake this Work; so I am now to consider,

(2.) *That it was altogether congruous that the second Person of the Trinity should undertake this Work, rather than the First or Third.*

1. It was not congruous, that the *Father* should become the Redeemer of Men: For he was of necessity, (because the first Person) to appear against Man, unless a Satisfaction were given for him to the affronted Authority

thority of the Deity. The Father therefore being he, who must be supposed to *sustain the Glory and Dignity of the Deity*, as the Supreme King and Judge, comes necessarily under the Idea of the *Party offended*, tho' reconcileable, upon the Supposition of a Satisfaction to be offered. So that it was no way congruous to the Majesty of God, that the Father should seek unto the Party offending immediately; and far less, that he should undertake the Work of a Redeemer, so as to become Man. Besides, he being the *First*, who was he that could send him, and commission him to this Work? And had it been possible, that the *Second* and *Third Persons* should send the *First*, which to me is inconceivable; yet to whom was the Satisfaction to be made? Is it not inconsistent with the Order of the Subsistence of the Three Persons, that either the second or third Persons, or both, should send the First, or be the Judge of his Acting as *the Sent*, or *Messias*?

2. Nor was it congruous, that the *Holy Spirit* should be the Redeemer of Men; seeing the Impetration or the Purchase of Salvation, does require Application afterwards. It was certainly convenient, that all the Persons of the Trinity should have a hand in our Redemption: and therefore it was very proper that one Person should be the Sender and Judge, another sent to purchase Redemption for us, and another intrusted with the Efficiency of this Purchase, in applying the same, pursuant to the end designed by them all Three in Conjunction. Had therefore the *Third Person* been incarnate, in order to be our Redeemer, there was no *Fourth Person* to have applied the Work of Redemption. And, to suppose, that the *Second Person* was to apply the Purchase made by the *Third*, and to be sent by the *Third* for this end, is inconsistent with the Order both of the Subsistence and Operations of the Persons of the Trinity, as well as the sending the *first Person* by the *Second*.

3. But now, upon the other hand, it was altogether congruous, that the *second Person* should be the Re-

deemer. For, 1. It was highly congruous, that the *middle Person* should be the *Mids-Man* between God and Men; seeing this way, every one of the Sacred Persons had a part to act, congruous to the Order of their subsisting; the *Father*, that of *sending* his *Son*, in order to shew himself reconcilable, and that of *Judge*, to determine things at length; the *Son*, that of *bringing this Work about* for his *Father's Honour*, and to his Satisfaction, and for the *Good and Benefit of Men*; and the *Holy Spirit*, that of *Applying* and carrying on the *Work of Impetration*, and promoting the *Ends thereof*.

2. And, seeing, in order to our *Salvation*, it was necessary that we should become the *Sons of God*, who were *Children of Wrath*; what so fit Person should there be, to lay the *Foundation* of this *Filiation*, as he who was the only *Son of God*? And what fitter Method could he take to accomplish this, than by becoming himself the *Son of Man*, and thus our *Brother*, that by this *Relation* to the *Son of God*, we might come to be related to his *Father* also, as the *Sons of God*. Nay, 3. Seeing it was necessary likewise, in order to compleat *Salvation*, that we should admit of a *Re-Creation*, by being *created again after the Image of God, in Righteousness and Holiness*, *Eph. 4. 24*: Who was fitter to lay the *Foundation* of this than he by whom, more immediately, all things were made at first, and *Man* particularly, *John 1. 3. Heb. 1. 2*. In order therefore to counter-act and defeat *Satan* the more conspicuously, who had boasted of his defacing so much of the *Workmanship* of the *Logos*; what could be more congruous, than that the *Logos* should be pitch'd upon, to defeat *Satan*, by becoming *Man*. *Satan* had proudly and vainly boasted, that if *Man* did eat of the forbidden *Fruit*, *he should be like the Logos, knowing Good and Evil, i. e.* like that organized *Image*, by which the *Logos* was known to them, and by which *Adam* and *Eve* would have been equalized with the *Logos*, as far as *Creatures* could be supposed to be. In order therefore, the more conspicuously to refute *Satan* and save *Man*, the *Logos* is pitch'd upon to

form

form to himself a Man, that should, by virtue of his Union with himself, be indeed like the *Logos*: inso-much, that instead of that organized Image, wherein he appeared before, after which *Adam* was made: he should, for the future, appear to Angels, as well as Men, in a true and real Human Form. And, this being laid at the Foundation of all the Christian Superstructure, Men were to be restored to the Image of the *First Man*, in his innocent and primeral State, by being made conformable to the Image of the *Man Christ*, who by reason of his Union with the *Logos*, is perfectly Knowing, Righteous and Holy.

Now I humbly suppose, that these three Considerations are abundantly sufficient to shew us the Congruity of the Incarnation of the Son, rather than of the Father and Holy Spirit.

But yet, it may not be useless to pursue this Argument a little further, and to set it in a further Light; with respect to the *Rationale* of the Divine Scheme, as to the *Necessity of the Logos his becoming Man*, in order both to *Retrieve* the Honour of God, in the View of intelligent Creatures, (who might think it to be sullied, by Satan's prevailing to seduce and ruin Man) and to *lay a proper Foundation* for the Salvation of Man.

And I presume we may be able to form a pretty distinct Notion of the *Rationale* of this, as to the *Logos his becoming Man*, if we consider three things. (1.) Therefore, the Wisdom and Congruity of this appears, if we consider *the Parties* to be reconciled. For how could any Person be a proper Mediator to reconcile these, without being capable to understand to perfection the Demands of both. Christ therefore, in order to be Mediator, must be God; that he might be zealously concerned for the Divine Honour: And he must be Man likewise, that he might be tenderly affected with the Concerns and Affairs of Men. Had he been God only, he could have come under no other Consideration than that of a Party, even of the Party
offended.

offended. And had he been Man only, he must have been considered, the other way, as a Party too, *i. e.* one of the Party offending: For it is impossible to consider him, at once, as a mere Man, and as altogether innocent, who was a Descendent, in an ordinary way, from *Adam*. Christ therefore must of necessity be *Emanuel*, God and Man both, tho in different Respects; that he might have an equal Interest in, and Concern for both Parties. For this way only, all Appearance could be avoided (to speak after the manner of Men) of his being partial to one side. (2.) If we consider the End of Christ's becoming our Mediator, *viz.* to Redeem us; it must be supposed to be altogether necessary, that he should both be God and Man, in order to reach this End, of redeeming and saving us. He must be God, that he might have sufficient Power and Ability to redeem us: and he must be Man, that he might have a Right and Allowance to redeem us. See *Lev.* 25. 48, 49. *Ruth* 4. 4, 14. Now Christ, being both God and Man, answered both these. As God, he undertook the Redemption of Men, as they were his own Creatures, *Jure Proprietatis*, as they were his by original Propriety. But, as Man, he undertook the Redemption of his Brethren, *Jure Propinquitatis*, by reason of his Relation to us, as the Head and Father, or Patriarch of the Family of Men, and therefore as the next in Kin to them and their Interest. (3.) But further; if we consider the Offices of Christ, we shall further see the Reasonableness of this; that it was necessary, that Christ should be both God and Man. I shall have opportunity to treat of the Offices of Christ, in the next Chapter; where I shall shew that this Part of Divinity has never yet been cleared up; and that the present and commonly received Distribution of Christ's Offices, into *Prophetical*, *Priestly* and *Kingly*, is a very lame and imperfect one. But however, it will serve my purpose at present to shew, that each of these Offices does require that Christ be both God and Man. And, 1. A *Divine Prophet* must be a Seer or Prophet,

in the highest Sense. He must be capable to see God intuitively and perfectly, in order to know his Mind immediately and fully, and to be able to give forth an exact and compleat Revelation thereof. Seeing therefore no mere Man ever saw God thus, or ever can see him, as the Apostle asserts, *1 Tim. 6. 16.* it was necessary that Christ should be more than a Man or Creature, in order to be a Divine Prophet. But then, it was equally necessary, that this Prophet should be a real Man, that Men might be capable of seeing him, and of forming an Idea of him. It was the Voice of Human Nature and Reason, which made the Israelites of old desire *a visible Mediator and Prophet, Exod. 20. 19. Deut. 18. 15, 16.* And therefore God commends them for it, and approves of this their Petition so much, that he promises to raise them up *such a Prophet from among their Brethren, i. e. one, who should be a real Man, and their Kinsman, Deut. 18. 17, 18, &c.* 2. A Divine Priest must of necessity be both God and Man. He must be God, that his Oblation be of infinite Value, and meritorious for us, with the Supreme Lord of all. And he must be Man, as I have said before, to be capable of Suffering for us, in order to his becoming our Sacrifice. And, as the first part of the Priestly Office, *viz. Oblation,* shews the necessity of his being both God and Man: So likewise does the other part thereof, *viz. his Intercession.* For he must be Man, both to have a *Fellow-feeling* with us, as to our Infirmities, and to have a *Property* in us, in order to plead for us as his Kinsmen and Kinswomen. And he must be God, to ascertain his carrying his Point so, as never to be in hazard of losing any Cause which he once undertakes or pleads for. 3. A Divine Prince, in order effectually and perfectly to govern, protect and save his Subjects, must likewise of necessity be both God and Man. He must be God: For no other can ever be supposed to save Men from Sin, Satan, the present World, and the future Wrath, in a spiritual and perfect manner, and that for Eternity. And he must be Man likewise: For it was alto-

gether

gether fit, that our King and Judge should be visible, and a real Man. This our Lord himself insinuates, when he says, *John* 5. 27. that *the Father had given him Authority to execute Judgment, because he was the Son of Man.* And indeed this very Consideration involves in it, both an Engagement laid upon Christ to act to us as our *Natural Prince*; and an Engagement laid upon us to love, honour, and obey him, as his *Natural Subjects*. The *first* is plain from hence, because the *Logos*, by becoming Man, is nearly related to us: For he and we partake of the same common Human Nature. So that all Men may say in this Sense (tho none, but good Men can say it in a Spiritual Sense) *We are Members of his Body, of his Flesh, and of his Bone*, *Eph.* 5. 30. And, in this Sense, (who with some Specialty, because they meant it, with a respect to a National Peculiarity) the Tribes said of old to *David*, *2 Sam.* 5. 1. *Behold we are thy Flesh and thy Bone.* But *Secondly*, this Consideration is no less inclusive of a strong Inducement for us, to love, honour and serve Christ. For a *Native Prince* carries along with it a mighty Perswasive, in order to engage us to behave as becomes faithful and loving Subjects. And therefore, it is wisely provided and laid down by our Law, as a Maxim both of Reason, Equity and Policy, that every lawful Sovereign is a Native. For tho, *as a Man*, he may be a *Foreigner*: yet he no sooner mounts the Throne, but he is a *Native*; in case he come to it justly either by Succession or Choice. No *Sovereign* can be a *Foreigner*, unless he usurp the Throne of another, without any justifiable Title. But whatever the case of some worldly Monarchs may be, certain it is that our Saviour *Jesus* is our Rightful and Natural Prince, both by the will of God, and the choice of all Mankind, upon the Supposition of Mens acting as Men: For we are not to consider those as Men, in this Case, who act contrary both to Reason, and the Interest of the Family of Man, even tho they were many Millions more than they are; seeing Madmen, how numerous soever, are incapable

pable to be intrusted with either the Dignity or Interest of Mankind, and therefore can never be look'd upon as Representatives, or any part of the Representation of the Society of Human Race. But to proceed,

2dly. I come now to the Second Inquiry, viz. *How far the Holy Scriptures do lay a Foundation of our conceiving and understanding this great and mysterious Truth, of the Incarnation of the Logos.*

In order to answer this, as far as I think it convenient and proper to attempt it, I must desire the Reader to look back upon two things, which I have formerly propos'd to his Thoughts.

The 1st. is, The Interpretation, (l) which I gave of these words in *Luke, ch. i. v. 35.* *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: Therefore also that Holy Thing, that shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.* For I think I said enough there to prove, that by the $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\chi\mu\varsigma\ \upsilon\psi\iota\sigma\varsigma$, the Power of the Most High, which over-shadowed the Virgin, and render'd her pregnant, we can understand nothing properly, but the *Logos* or *Shechinah*; and that therefore the $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$ must be understood, in a general Sense, for the Divine Operation or Efficiency, and not in its appropriate Sense, for the third Person of the Trinity; seeing its appropriate meaning is afterwards given, by which it is determin'd, that it was *the Power of God*, (i. e. the *Shechinah*, as I have elsewhere (m) proved this Phrase to be an equivalent Title, with that Name, as also with that of the *Logos*) that impregnated the Womb of the Virgin. And indeed, besides what I said, in the place refer'd to, as to the Incongruity of supposing the Third Person of the Trinity, to work any thing, that bears a *prior* or *antecedent Relation* to the Second Person; the last part of the Angel's Words to *Mary* seems to necessitate our understanding the first part, as I have done. For, supposing that it was the Third Person

(l) *Christol. Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Pag. 297.* (m) *Christol. Lib. 2. cap. 1. pag. 145.*

of the Trinity that form'd the Man Christ in the Womb of the Virgin ; how shall we be able to see the Strength of his Reasoning, when he infers, *Therefore shall the Child be called the Son of God.* For to lay the whole stress upon the miraculousness of the Production, does not afford us any special Reason why Christ should be called the Son of God, in a Sense wherein the first *Adam* was not, who was made immediately by God : Whereas I would hope, that we are agreed, that Christ is called the Son of God, in a more special Sense, even here, than *Adam* or the *Angels* are. And yet, if we search deep into the Reason of their being called the Sons of God, we will find, that no other Reason can be assigned but this ; because they were made by the *Logos* or Son of God, and that after his Image too, and that therefore by reason of their Relation to the Son of God, *Adam* and the *Angels*, came, in a secondary Sense, to be called Sons of God. And we know that it is in a reference to Christ, spiritually apprehended by Faith, that true Christians become the Sons of God by Adoption ; as visible Christians are generally called so likewise, in an external fœderal Sense. So that without doubt the Angel meant, that the *Shechinah* was to over-shadow the Virgin, and render her pregnant, by producing a *Human Person* in her Womb, which he was to take into intimate *Union* with himself. For this being supposed, the Inference is as plain and cogent, as any thing can be ; That therefore that Holy Thing, that was to be born of her, should be called the Son of God, *viz.* because intimately and wonderfully related to and united with the true and eternal Son of God ; being miraculously form'd and made by himself for this very end. And, by what I can find, by all that I have read, it is only in the later Ages of Christianity, that the Angel's Words to *Mary* have been interpreted otherwise than I have done. I cited *Justin Martyr*, as being of my Opinion, (n) in the

(n) Pag. 298.

place refer'd to. And his Opinion is not only remarkable, upon the account of his Authority and Antiquity, but because he delivers it, as if it had had the universal Suffrage of all Christians in his time: For otherwise I cannot suppose that he would say, with such an Air of Assurance; (o) that *by the Spirit and Power of God, which came upon the Virgin, and over-shadowed her; it was not lawful to understand any other thing than the Logos, &c.* I need not therefore inquire after further Authorities here: Only seeing I refer'd, in the Place mention'd, to another ancient Author, without citing the Words; it may not be improper to recite them now. In the Dialogue, intituled, (p) *Arnobii & Serapionis Conflictus*, which is added to the Works of *Irenæus*, we read these Words.

“ *Serapion* said, Thou did'st assert, that the Son of the
 “ *Virgin* was another than *Christ*. *Arnobius* answer'd,
 “ I did not say that the *Virgin's* Son was another dif-
 “ ferent from *Christ*. But I said, that *He* who did cre-
 “ ate the *First Man* out of the *Clay* of the *Virgin Earth*,
 “ did himself, afterwards, form another *Man*, in the
 “ *Womb* of the *Holy Virgin*, by his *Incomprehensible*
 “ and *Almighty Efflux*, to be an *Habitation* for Him-
 “ self to dwell in; according to what was written,
 “ (*Prov. 9. 1.*) *Wisdom hath built a House for it self.*
 “ *Serapion* said; Who is *He*, that made to himself a *Man*
 “ in the *Womb* of the *Virgin*? *Arnobius* answer'd;
 “ The *Son of God* the *Father*, who is *Invisible*, even
 “ this *Son* did frame and build this *Man* for Himself,
 “ in which, as in a most curious *House*, He might
 “ dwell, and thus become visible to *Holy Men*, &c.

When therefore I do propose it, as my Opinion, that it was the Son of God; and not the Holy Ghost, that form'd the Man *Christ*, and united Him with Himself, and that upon this Account even the Man *Christ* came to be denominated the Son of God; I pretend not to

(o) *Apol. 1. pro Christ. p. 69. Edit. Grahii.* (p) *Pag. 540. B. Edit. Paris. A. D. 1639.*

teach any new Doctrine, but only to rescue the old from Oblivion, as that which I think is the very Truth, which the Spirit of God teaches us in the Bible.

But, 2. There is another Point, which I must desire the Reader seriously and closely to go over again, with second Thoughts, *viz.* what I said in the beginning of the 3d Chapter of this 3d Book, when I explain'd the Meaning of that Scriptural Phrase, where *Adam* is said to have been made after the Image of God, Gen. 5. 1. & Chap. 9. 6. And I would desire, that what I hinted, concerning the *Logos* his appearing both to the Angels and our First Parents, in the Image of a Luminous Man, may be more nicely considered. For this being supposed, we may apprehend the more clearly, how the Holy Virgin was overshadowed by the *Shechinah*. I would not insinuate any thing, that might so much as occasion vain or wanton Thoughts to stir in Mens Breasts. But, seeing the Spirit of God himself has given the Hint; I do, with a spiritual and refined Thought, free (I thank God) from all Levity, reflect on this divine and wonderful Mystery; which, tho shadowed forth by the ordinary Generation of Man, is yet to be considered, as a quite different thing from it; as being a Creation rather than Generation, and therefore justly compared by *Arnobius*, with the first Formation of *Adam* from the Womb of the Virgin Earth: Tho it was necessary, that the Man Christ should be formed in the Womb of a Woman, descended from *Adam*, that He might be the Son of Man, and a-Kin to all Mankind; as it was necessary also, in order to the fulfilling of Scripture, and in order to the distinct Knowledge of his Lineage from *Adam*, that he should be a Descendent by *Mary*, from *Seth*, *Shem*, *Abraham*, *Judah* and *David*.

But, in order to a more distinct Consideration of this August and Wonderful Subject, I shall venture, tho with all Modesty, to present the Reader with a few Thoughts; which do, all of them, appear to me as highly probable; tho I pretend not that they are all of them

them of equal Certainty or Importance. However, the Chain of them appears so natural to me, and I humbly suppose, will appear so likewise to every one, that has fully and impartially considered what I have said in the preceding Book, concerning the *Logos*, and in the Third Chapter of this Book; that I venture to propose my Thoughts upon this Subject, in the following Series and Order, by way of rational, tho' modest, Offers.

And, 1. I do humbly suppose, that the Son of God, was from all Eternity, pitch'd upon, to be the Grand Organ of all the Divine Operations, *ad extra*, i. e. with Relation to all exterior or extrinsical Operations. His being the *middle Person* did seem, in the Order of the original Nature itself, to mark him out, to act this Part, (as that which I have said already, in what precedes, in this same Chapter, seems to direct us to think; and what holds in one Particular, holds in all Cases, where the Reason is the same;) because there was a *First Person*, to act *from*; and a *Third Person*, to act *by*.

2. But seeing the Second Person of the Trinity, was equally Infinite, as the Father and the Holy Ghost; it is inconceivable that He should be the *Immediate Organ*, either of the Production or Government of Material or Finite Beings, any more than the other Persons. Therefore to fix the Peculiarity of the Son's being the Grand and Immediate Organ of the Divine Operations; I humbly think, that it is necessary to suppose, that all the Three Glorious Persons of the Trinity should agree, to exert themselves to the utmost they could, to form a Creature, that should have *as much* of the Divinity, as it was possible to impart to it, it remaining still a Creature. But to make up what was wanting this way, the very Notion of Creature including Imperfection in it, when compar'd with the Creator; It was agreed (as we must suppose, in this Case) that it should be *so related* to, and *so united* with the Person of the Son of God; as, by Virtue of this Union and Relation, to

have the Name and Designation of the Son of God. And this Creature thus formed, and thus united with the Second Person of the Trinity, I take to be that which afterwards was known by the Name of the *Logos*, the *Shechinah*, or the *Memra*. And, hence it comes to pass, that sometimes the *Person* of the *Son of God* is denoted by these Names; as at other times this *Organized Creature* is represented, as the *Son of God* himself; nay, and the very *outward Appearance* of it, (even when it appeared in its *Appendages* only, as light and bright Clouds, or burning Fire, and not as organized) come frequently to be spoken of under these Names, upon the same account, which I have mentioned. All which Considerations will be plain and perspicuous to those that have closely considered, and thorowly comprehended, what I have discoursed of, in the second Book of this Work.

3. I apprehend, as I said in the Third Chapter of this present Book, that this *Glorious* and *first formed Creature*, was an *Intelligent Being*, made in some such Form as *Adam* afterwards was, tho' inconceivably more glorious than *He*, or indeed than any *Angel whatsoever*.

4. For I apprehend, That the *Angels* themselves, as well as *Adam*, were not only created by this *first and original Man*, i. e. by the *Son of God* (by Commission from the Father, and with the Concurrence and Consent of the Spirit) *acting thro'* the same, as an *Organ*; but that they were made, after the *Image* of this *Shechinah* or *Original Man*; tho' with various degrees of Perfection and Resemblance this way, as pleased the Supreme Wisdom.

5. Nay I believe, that all the Creation of God was form'd by God, in and by his Son, thro' the Intervention of this *Glorious Organ*. And I conceive, that this was *He*, who is called the *Spirit of God*, or his *Breath*, *that moved upon the Face of the Vast Deep* or *Abyss*, and brought it gradually into Form, *Gen. 1. 2.* and that first produced *Light and Heat*, *v. 3.* as if it had been kindled from himself.

6. But,

6. But, to pass by what might be said further this way, as to the Creation of the World in general, and the Angels in particular; I do firmly believe, as I said above in the Third Chapter, that it was this *Shechinah* or *Original Man*, that produced *Adam*, both Soul and Body. And, as he framed his Body of the Virgin Earth, as it had newly been formed by himself, so he did inspire or kindle a Soul in him, by something derived from himself; which *Moses* says was done, by *breathing into him the Breath of Life, by which Man became a living Soul*, Gen. 2. 7. Hence *Adam* is said to be made *after the Image of the Shechinah*: and because of this peculiar Formation, and consequently Relation unto the Son of God, no wonder if He also be called *the Son of God*, in a very peculiar Sense, *Luke 3. 38.*

7. But *Adam*, having Apostatized from the *Logos*, and the peculiar Relation that was between these being thus dissolved; that Mankind might not be lost, a new Contrivance is set on foot, for our Salvation. And the Foundation of this is laid, in the Design of the *Logos*, his becoming a Man, by being born of a Woman; whence he is emphatically represented and promised, as *the Seed of the Woman*, Gen. 3. 15. But of this I have already treated in the 3d Chapter.

8. The *First* and *Original Man* therefore, in order to become a Descendent from *Adam*, whose Creator he had been before, must be supposed to accomplish his Design, in such a way; as to become a *Real Man*, such as we are; and yet to do this, in such a manner, as neither to act any thing indecorous to his Pristine Glory, nor to be so form'd a Man, as to be either involv'd in the same Vitiolity, with which all other Men were tainted, or to be intitl'd to the same Guilt with which the ordinary Descendents of *Adam* were all chargeable, upon that very Account, that they were his natural and ordinary Off-spring.

And therefore, in order to adjust all Points to an Exactness, this Method is fallen upon.

1. That the *Original Man*, or the *Shechinah* shall be made of a *Woman*, as the Scripture expresses it, *Gal. 4.*

4. *i. e.* shall be formed in the Womb of a Woman. Now this Woman being her self a Daughter of Man and Woman, and so a Descendent of *Adam*, by ordinary Generation; Christ-Man came, this way, to be a real Descendent from *Adam* also, and so to be justly called *the Son of Man*.

2. But, that he might not partake of the Vitiosity of human Nature, nor be intitl'd to and involv'd in its Guilt, it was equally necessary, that he should be born of a *Virgin*, without the Intervention of a Man; that so the Womb of the *Virgin* might be no more to him, than the Womb of the Earth was to the first *Adam*; but that he might be Created in that Womb, even as *Adam* was from the Womb of the Earth. So that, as *Adam*, from being Created of the Earth, was said to be *earthly*; the *second Adam* might, by Creation from Heaven, and by Virtue of his Union with the *Logos* creating him, and by Reason that the Created *Logos* (as we shall see) was the Soul of this Man, be intitl'd, *The Lord from Heaven*.

3. How this was done, is equally above our reach, as How the *Logos* form'd the World, the Angels, and the First Man and Woman. All that I can say further is; (1.) That I do conceive, that the *Shechinah* or *Original Man* and *Creature*, was an *Intelligent Being*, who appeared to *Angels* and to *Adam*, in a *Form* like to that wherein he afterwards appeared to *Adam* in Innocence, to *Moses* on the Mount, to the *Three Martyrs* in the fiery Furnace of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to the *Three Apostles* in the Mount of *Transfiguration*. (2.) But tho the *Intelligence*, that I call the *Original Man*, did appear of Old, as an *Organized Man*, in order to discover himself the more remarkably and plainly, to inferiour Beings; yet I do not apprehend, that this *Assumed Appearance* and *seemingly Organized Body*, was so his Body, as our Bodies are ours, *i. e.* real and essential Parts of our selves, even equally as our Souls are, tho the less noble Parts of the two. However it was *such a Vehicle*, that was as a Body to him, for those Purposes and Intents, for which it

was assumed. (3.) And I do suppose, that when the *second Person* of the Trinity did impregnate the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, He did make use of this *Material*, but *Pure* and *Etberial Vehicle*, as the *Semen Radicale*, which being sown in the Virgin Womb, whilst *over-shadowed* by the impregnating Light and Warmth of the *Shechinah*, was form'd into the Shape and Figure of a *Human Fetus*, being nourish'd and matur'd there, as other Children are, tho under a peculiarly divine Super-intendency. (4.) And I do apprehend, that when the proper Time of quickning the *Fetus* came, the *Logos* inform'd it, as he did *Adam* of old, by *Breathing its proper Soul* into it. (5.) And, seeing the Ancient *Shechinah* was a proper *Spirit* or *Soul*, I cannot apprehend, but that the *Logos* breathed into the *prepared Body*, that *same Soul* or *Spirit*, that was the *first Creature* of God. (6.) But, in *breathing* this *Spirit*, into the *prepared Body* of *Christ*, in order to its becoming a *proper Human informing Soul*; we are oblig'd to suppose, that the *Logos*, pursuant to the Articles agreed upon, between the Father and Him, did *so far Obliterate*, from the Memory of this *Spirit*, those Notices of Things, which it had been formerly possess'd of, *as was necessary* to its being brought into such a State of Trial, as it was then to enter upon, as the *Human Soul* of *Christ*. And hence it was, that *Christ* is said to have *increas'd in Wisdom*, as he *increas'd in Stature*; and that, in a Proportion to this Increase, he did also *grow in favour with God* as well as *with Men*. However this *Obliteration* was *such only*, as was *just necessary* to *Christ's* being fitted for a State of Trial: Seeing we have sufficient Ground to believe, (as we shall quickly see) that he did *so far* remember his pristine Exaltation and State of Glory, at least in the *General*; as frequently to mention it, and even to plead it, in Prayer, to his Father. So, that these two Considerations being justly and exactly ballanc'd one with the other, do necessarily lay a Foundation for our Believing, That the *Original* or *First Spirit*, upon his becoming the *Soul* of the *Messiah*, was *so wrought upon*,

by the *Logos*, as to be rendred fit for a State of Trial here on Earth, at the same time, that he had *still* the Privilege and Prerogative, to know and remember so much of his Pristine State, as might *just* ballance his other Circumstances, in a Relation to the great Design of his Incarnation. For it was but *just* and *equitable*, that, if he was under worse Circumstances, in some Respects, than the *First Adam* was, *viz.* in respect of Poverty, &c. He might, in other Respects, be under some such Circumstances, as might exactly ballance the other, *so far* (and no further) as to put him upon an equal Level with the *First Adam*, in Reference to the Design of the *Logos* for the good of Men. But tho this must have been so, (according to what I have already said in the 3d Chapter) yet no Man can pretend, to be able, to give a nice or exact Adjustment of these: Which I suppose is one of those things, that is reserved to Christ, to teach us, when we come to Heaven. But, whatever be in this, let us so far look back upon the former Particulars, as to remember, that it was the *Original* or *First Created Spirit*, that became afterwards the *Soul* of Christ. For, tho I think the *Bishop of Gloucester* has mistaken and mis-apply'd some Places of Scripture, which he adduces to prove, that *the Soul* of the *Messiah* did *pre-exist*; yet I have been long in the same Opinion with him, in the main; tho I never was, nor am to this Day, for asserting this, or such like Points, with any thing like a Magisterial Positiveness.

However, I think some Mens pretended Zeal against him, has more of irregular Passion, if not Pride also, in it, than was proper, whither we consider *his Character*, or the *Antiquity* and *Harmlessness* of the *Opinion* he defends: Tho I think, as I said but just now, that he has mis-apply'd some Passages of Scripture this way; I mean, (1.) that Passage, *John* 8. 58. where Christ says, *Before Abraham was, I am*; which I have (9) demonstrated,

to have been spoken, in Relation to *Christ's Divinity*, as well as *Pre-existence*. And, (2.) I mean also, that other Passage, *John 3. 13.* where *Christ* asserts, that even at that time, that he was on Earth, he was actually *Existing in Heaven*; which I have (r) likewise proved, to refer to *Christ's Divinity*, and that it cannot otherwise be understood. But now, excepting these two Places, I see not, but that his other Scripture-Proofs are plain and cogent this way.

And here, seeing the *Pre-existence* of the *Soul* of the *Messiah*, is what this part of my Scheme leans upon; I shall take this Opportunity, to shew what the Grounds are, upon which I found this my Opinion. And, 1. It has been some Inducement to me, to judge this Opinion as probable, because the *Jews* seem to have laid down this, as an undoubted Maxim in all Ages. For besides that they believed the *Pre-existence of all Souls*, they ever own'd, that the *Soul* of the *Messiah* was made before all Creatures; as all that are, in the least, acquainted with their Writings and Opinions must own. But, 2. How probable soever this Opinion might be to me, upon the account of its Antiquity, I should never have given my Assent to it; were it not, that I cannot otherwise give a rational or satisfactory Account of several Places of Scripture: Which, upon the Supposition of this Opinion, become easie and plain. I am not here speaking of the *Pre-existence of Souls* in General, (which I may afterwards take notice of, in a more proper Place) but only of the *Pre-existence of the Soul* of the *Messiah*, which I believe to have been both the *First* and *most Noble Creature* of God, and the *Grand Organ*, by which the *Logos* operated and acted, before, as well as after the Incarnation. And here, therefore, I shall lay some Expressions of Scripture before the Reader, for this purpose.

The 1st is, *John 17. 5. Glorify thou me, O Father, with*

(r) *Christol. L. 2. C. 4. P. 171, 172.*

thine own self, with the Glory which I had with thee, before the World was. Can Christ be understood here, to suppose that the *Eternal Son of God*, or *second Person of the Trinity*, was emptied of that Glory, which was essential to him, and inseparable from him? What then can he mean, but this; *Glorifie thou me again, O Father*, i. e. this *Soul of mine, with the same Glory*, with which it was surrounded, when it was invested formerly with the Glory of the *Shechinah*, before the *World was made*; but which it has now (ever since its tabernacling in and informing of a Human Body) been destitute of?

A 2^d Expression, is that which the *Bishop of Gloucester* takes for his Text, *John 16. 28. I came forth from the Father, and am come into the World; again I leave the World, and go to the Father.* An Expression (*f*) that I have fully vindicated from *Socinian Glosses*. But, as this infallibly proves *Christ's Pre-existence*; so it is impossible to explain it of the *Divine Nature of Christ*, or in Relation to him, as *God*: For it is plain, that Christ speaks of a local and real Descent, seeing he contradistinguishes this to his Ascension, as *Man*.

A 2^d Expression, is that in *John 6. 62. What and if ye see the Son of Man ascend up, where he was before.* An Expression so plain to my purpose, as nothing can be more; whether we consider the Context, as to the Subject our Lord discourses of; or whether we consider the Nature of his Ascension: For, as the Ascension of Christ, after his Resurrection, was a real and local one, so must his Descent have been. For, it is equally plain here, that our Saviour was as really in Heaven once, and that he had left it to come down to the Earth; as that he was afterwards to ascend to Heaven from the Earth. Seeing otherwise it had not been possible to have been true, that our Saviour was to ascend up to the same Place where he was before. Now, it was impossible for Christ, as *God*, to descend so from Heaven, as

(f) *Christol. L. 2. C. 4. P. 178, &c.*

he ascended, as Man, after his Resurrection. If then Christ ascended as Man, he must descend and leave Heaven in a Sense congruous to his Ascension: Seeing he could not say of his Deity, that he was indeed formerly in Heaven, and suppose that he was not there at the time he spoke these Words, but that he was to ascend thither again. So that the plain Meaning is this; that, as he was the *Shechinah*, tho he had been in Heaven before, yet he was not there at this time, but that he was now on Earth, in that Body, which the *Shechinah* had informed and become a *Soul* unto; but that however, he was about to ascend to Heaven again, after he had finished his Work on Earth. And now, as I see not how any Man can make Sense of this Place, without allowing the *Pre-existence* of the *Soul* of the *Messiah*; so to me it is no less than certain, that our Saviour does here suppose, this Truth, as a Matter of that Importance, that we could not conceive a-right, either of his Birth, Person or Ascension, without it.

I might run out upon many other Expressions: But I shall content my self barely to cite these following; which I confess my self incapable to make Sense of, unless this Opinion be allowed of, *John 3. 31. He that comes from Heaven is above all. John 6. 33. The Bread of God is He which cometh from Heaven, and giveth Life unto the World. V. 38. I came down from Heaven, not to do mine own Will, but the Will of him that sent me. V. 51. I am the living Bread, which came down from Heaven, &c. I Cor. 15. 47. The First Man was of the Earth, Earthy: The Second Man is the Lord from Heaven. Eph. 4. 8, 9, 10. Wherefore he saith, when he ascended up on high, he led Captivity Captive, and gave Gifts unto Men. Now that He ascended, what is it, but that he also descended first; ——— He that descended (*viz.* first) is the same also that ascended up (*viz.* afterwards) far above all Heavens, &c.*

And now, if this Notion, so consonant both to Reason and Revelation, be once received and supposed, we shall immediately discern its Usefulness, in order to
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the understanding several Expressions of Scripture, in their full Emphasis. As, (1.) the Expression, *John* 1. 14. where it is said, that *the Word was made Flesh*, &c. There is hardly any Protestant, that believes that the Souls of Men do equally descend, *ex traduce*, i. e. by Traduction from our Parents, or from *Adam*, as the Bodies of Men do. And therefore it is enough to suppose, that our Saviour's Body was form'd in the Womb of the Virgin, to give him the Denomination of a Man. So, that all the difference between our ordinary Divines, and me, is this, that I think it more congruous to Scripture, as well as more glorious for our Saviour, to suppose that his Soul was the *First* and *Noblest Creature* ever God made; than to suppose, that it was a Creature created as late as the Days of *Augustus*, and of an *inferior Nature* to that of the *First Created Angels*.

(2.) By Virtue of this Notion, we shall be able to form a much more distinct Idea of Christ's Headship, and Superiority over the Angels. For, to say, that Christ, as the Eternal God, is Head of Angels, is true indeed, but says nothing peculiar to the Son, more than to the Father and Holy Spirit. But, when once we come to consider Christ, in another Sense, as the *First* and *most Noble of all Creatures*, it is easie then to conceive, that the Soul of the *Messiah*, by tabernacling in Human Nature, and defeating Satan therein, could not be supposed to lose his ancient Prerogative, but be reinstated therein, upon his Ascension to Heaven, with a new additional Reward for his late Services, and with new Marks of Honour this way. So that, without this Notion, what is said of Christ's Superiority over the Angels, in the 1st and 2d Chapters of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and in other Places of Scripture, cannot be understood in its true Energy. (3.) And, unless we imbrace this Notion, I cannot see how we can explain, to any purpose, the Great Article of the Exinanition or Humiliation of Christ, *E. G.* when the Apostle says, *Phil.* 2. 6, 7, 8, 9, &c. *That Christ, tho in the form of God, (i. e. that of the Shechinah) did condescend*

so far, as to humble himself, and make himself of no Reputation, by taking upon him the form of a Servant, &c. And that Therefore (mark the Expression) God has now highly exalted him, and given him a Name which is above every Name, &c. To understand either this Humiliation or Exaltation, or Reward of the Godhead of Christ, or of Christ considered as God, either Essentially or Personally, is impossible; seeing, as such, he is altogether unchangeable. Nor can any figurative Explication be given of the Words in this Sense: For there can be no figurative Adumbration of a Falshood and Inconsistency, *viz.* of the Mutability or Changeableness of what is absolutely, and in all respects, unchangeable; nay, and as the Apostle *James* excellently says, is *without any shadow of turning*, *Jan. 1. 17.* for what is said of the Father, is equally true of the Son, in this Sense. What then can the Apostle possibly mean, but this, that Christ, who, as the *Shechinah*, was in the form of God, and, as God, was equal with his Father, did readily condescend so far, in compliance with the Will of God, as to quit the first Place in the Creation of God, which he held, as the First and most noble Spirit; and that thus, for a time, having divested himself of his Glorious Appearance, He condescended to assume and animate a Human Body, and that in the mean Appearance of a Servant or poor Man; nay, and humbled himself so far, as to suffer in that same Body, even to the Death of the Cross. And now comes in the Apostle's, [Therefore] *Therefore*, says he, *God has also highly exalted him, &c.*

And I cannot but think, that the Apostle *John* had this in his Eye, when he says, *1 Ep. Ch. 4. v. 2, 3.* *That every Spirit (i. e. every Person pretending to the Spirit) which confesseth, that Jesus is the Christ, or Messiah, who is now come in the Flesh, is of God, (i. e. such a Person speaks the very Truth, which God requires us to believe and own.) Whereas, upon the other Hand, Every Spirit (i. e. Pretender to it) which confesseth not that Jesus is the Christ come in the Flesh, is not of God, but is*
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the Spirit (*i. e.* is acted by the Spirit) of *Antichrist*, the Enemy of God and Christ. For, when he tells us; that every true Christian, that is acted by the Spirit of God and Truth, ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, *doth confess Jesus to be the Messiah come in the Flesh, or come into the Flesh*; it is as much as to say, that every true Christian did then confess and own, that Jesus was the *Messiah*, now come into, and dwelling in a Terrestrial or Human Body: Which does necessarily denote this, that the *Messiah* was existing, before he came into the Flesh, or assumed a human Body; and that it was the common Opinion then, that the *Soul* of the *Messiah* was to tabernacle in a Human Body; and that even the Adversaries of Christ agreed in this common Principle, tho they denied, that the *Body* of Jesus was that peculiar Body that the *Soul* of the *Messiah* dwelt in. Hence, as our Lord prophesied, *Matt. 24. 24, 26.* many false Prophets arose, who gave out themselves to be the *Messiah*. So that *John* gives those he writes to, this Criterion of true and false Christians; That that Man was of God, who own'd that Jesus was really the true *Messiah* incarnate; and that he, upon the other hand, was acted by an Antichristian Spirit, who did assert, that either Himself, or any other Person, besides Jesus, was the promised *Messiah*.

And now having, I think, proved the *Pre-existence* of the *Soul* of the *Messiah*, and shewed, that this *Pre-existent Spirit* was no other than the *Original* or *first* created *Shechinah*, the *Grand Organ* of the *Son of God*, as to his external Operations; by a Relation to, and Union with whom, even the *second Person* of the *Trinity* himself, comes under the Name of the *Logos* or *Shechinah*, and, (in Allusion to the Form wherein this Spirit appeared) under the Name also of the *Primeval* or *Original Man*: I say, these things being thus far cleared up, I hope I may be allowed to say, without the least *Vanity*, that I have made no inconsiderable Advance towards our understanding the *sacred Scheme* and *Gospel-Christology*, to better purpose than heretofore. For all our

our Systems and Comments have been hitherto extremely confin'd, dark and perplex'd, in treating of the Incarnation of Christ, and what relates thereunto, for want of such a Clue, as the Goodness of God has enabled so poor and weak an Instrument as I am, to present the Christian World *with*; however it may be judg'd of, or censur'd by some Men, especially, if only cursorily and slightly consider'd. And I question not, but that, if this Notion had been as much clear'd up, in the Days of the first *Nicene Council*, it had been a Means of Reconciling the *Moderate Arians*, and the *Anti-Arians*; if not also of preventing altogether the Growth of the *Arian Error* it self. And consequently those cruel Wars, Massacres and Persecutions, on both Sides, which ensued, when ever the one or the other Party, by the means of having an Emperor of their Opinion, got the Ascendant in the Empire. And I would fain hope, that this Notion which I have so far illustrated, may be a means to convince every *Socinian* or *Arian*, that will be pleas'd to peruse and consider what I have said, with an honest Desire to be informed.

But, in order to see the Advantage of this Scheme, with Respect to our Knowledge and Improvement of the Gospel, and what relates to it, I shall propose these things following to Consideration.

1. That, by what we have said, we may more easily conceive, both the *Reality* of the *Union* of the *Son of God*, and the *Man Christ*, and how this is consistent with the Unchangeableness of the Son of God thus united. For the *Union* between the *Son of God* and the *Man Christ*, being the Result of the proper *Union* of the *Shechinah* with a *Human Body*, made and form'd by his special Efficiency; the Son of God admitted no Change at all, properly speaking, but only came under a peculiar Relation unto, and extrinsecal Denomination from the *Flesh*, by Reason of its being assumed by the *Created Shechinah*, who had been so far united to him, from the first, as to be his *Organ*, in all extrinsecal Operations. God is called the Creator, from his Crea-

ting.

ting the World. But this Relation to, and Denomination from the Creation, does not suppose any Change in God. And thus, tho' the Relation between the Son of God and the Man Christ, be more peculiar than this, between God and the Creature in General: Yet still this can suppose no real Change in the second Person of the Trinity, but only a most strict and special Relation. But then it supposes a *Real Change* in the *Created Shechinah*, seeing he came, by Virtue of his informing a Human Body, to be really the *Son of Man*; whereas before he had no such Foundation of a Relation to Men. The *Schoolmen* having no Notion at all of the *Shechinah*, do in this Case, as in others, *viz.* subtilize things into so many little empty Distinctions, until they lose themselves, as well as their Readers, and the Truth it self. To make amends for which, they commonly come, at length, to represent their Mind, by Similies; wherein they are sometimes happier than in their Reasoning. Thus (†) *Alexander of Hales* says, that *in some Unions, there is a Change in both Extremes, when united, as in Water and Wine: But in other Unions, of one Extreme only, as in that of the light of the Sun with the Air; there being indeed a Change in the Air, which from being dark is rendered luminous; but none in the Sun, which only takes a new Denomination from what it did, before its being so.* I shall only so far improve his Illustration, as to add this to it; that as the Body of the Sun is united to the Air, thro' the Intervention of its luminous Rays or Particles, that permeat the Air, and do, as it were, incorporate with it; so the Son of God is united to the Man Jesus, by the *Shechinah's* tabernacling in Flesh, and informing the same.

2. What we have said, concerning the Incarnation of the *Shechinah*, shews, with peculiar force, the Indissolubleness and Perpetuity of this Union; because it gives us a farther View of the Wisdom of God in this matter.

(†) Sum. Theol. P. 3. Q. 1. Mem. 3. Art. 1.

For here we see, that the *Son of God* is united with the most perfect created Spirit, and that this most Perfect Spirit is now the informing Soul of the *Man Christ*. So that the Union of the *Eternal Son of God* with that Spirit, that was his *Organ*, in making *Angels* and the *Material World* as well as *Man* at first; is made the Foundation of a *trifold Union* more, first of *God and Man*, and secondly of *Men and Angels*; seeing the proper or immediate Head of *Angels* is now become a *Man*.

And here therefore, that I may pre-occupy and prevent an Objection, that might be taken from the Apostle's Words, *Heb. 2. 16*. I would have the Reader to remember, that I never meant to propose that *Glorious Spirit*, who now informs the *Human Body of Christ*, as an *Angel*, but as one far more *Glorious* as to Nature, as well as Degrees of Perfection, than the *Angels*: which shews his Condescension the more in being willing for our sakes, to pass for a time, from the *Glorious Throne* whereon he was seated above *Angels*, to the low State of a mean *Man* on *Earth*, and so to be made a little lower than the *Angels*, *Heb. 2. 9*.

If any ask, but how can we conceive of the Union between the *Son of God*, and the *Man Jesus*, as indissoluble, at that time, when *Christ* died, and when his Spirit and Body were actually separated. I answer, That tho the Soul and Body of a *Man* be actually separated by *Death*, yet this is for a time only in order to be united again; and that even during this Separation, the Relation between these essential Parts of *Man* does remain; and that hence it is, that the Bodies of *Men* are to be raised again, at the last Day, as related to those individual Souls that did formerly inform and animate them: for, if the Relation between *Man* and *Wife*, *Parent* and *Child*, is the same, when at the greatest distance one from another, as when present; sure such close and intimate Relatives as Soul and Body, must be supposed ever to retain this Relation, even when the Form of the Body is lost to Sense, and the Matter

of it only remains. But here I desire it may be particularly consider'd, that, at that very time, when the Soul and Body of Christ were separated by Death, the Union of both these with the Son of God did actually remain: So that the actual Union of each of these with him continued, even when it ceas'd between these two essential Parts of the Man Christ; for it is not consistent with the Immutability of the Son of God, for us to think, that his Union with either of these did actually cease; tho it is not derogatory either to the Soul of Christ, (how Glorious soever) or to his Body, to suppose and conclude, (as indeed Necessity obliges us to do) that they were actually separated. It was in this case (to illustrate the matter, as far as it will admit to be adumbrated) as with a Man that draws a Sword out of its Scabbard, and holds one in one hand, and another in another. The Man himself is actually and immediately united with both these; at the same time that the Sword and Scabbard are separated. However, as the Sword and Scabbard are, tho not *immediately* united, yet not only related, as much as before the Separation, but also *mediately* united, *i. e.* in this, that one and the same Person is united to both: So may we say, that, besides the Relation between the Soul and Body of Christ, when separated by Death, there was, tho not an immediate Union, yet a kind of mediate one, by reason of this, that both Parts were actually and immediately united to the Person of the *Logos* or Son of God, *i. e.* to the *Logos*, considered as *such*. By which it appears, that both the essential Parts of the Man Christ, were then more immediately united to the Son of God than to another; and consequently that their Union with him, is, in it self, the Foundation and Security of their continuing united now, and of the Indissolubleness and Perpetuity of this Union.

But, as we use to say, *Omne simile claudicat*, every similitude halts and is lame, in relation to a perfect Explanation or Illustration of the Nature of things; and therefore, when we have said all we can, we must own
this

this to have something, and indeed a great deal in it, inexplicable and too high for human Thought. It is a τὸ βάθος, a Depth, both of the Wisdom and Power of God, which is rather to be belived than explained: the modest Inquiries are not only allowable but commendable. However, after having done my part this way, I prostrate my Soul before the Glorious Father, and his Adorable Son, and the Holy Spirit that proceeds from both; humbly begging Pardon, in case I have thought or said any thing amiss; which I do with most inexpressible Pleasure, as finding this my Performance accompanied and followed with inward, pure and sweet Satisfaction of Mind; and as being conscious to my self, that I have honestly designed the Glory of my Master, and the Propagation of that *supernatural Wisdom, which is pure and peaceable*, both in this and in all other my Meditations. With Thanks and Praise therefore to my God and Saviour, for what Light he has given me, as to this great Head of Divinity, I put an end to my more abstract Speculations this way: and thus, vailing my Reason to Revelation, and firmly believing the Incarnation of the Son of God, and adoring both him that sent us such a Saviour, and this Blessed Sent Messiah; I retire.— — — — — And thus having finish'd what I had to say, in relation to the two speculative Inquiries propos'd; I proceed,

In the 3^d Place, to add some *Practical Thoughts*, in Relation to this Great Article of my Creed.

And here, (1.) Let us admire the wonderful Condescension of *God the Son*, and even of the *Ancient Shechinah*, in this stupendious Union. But, that our Practical Considerations may be regulated by Judgment, let us observe, how much more reasonable my Scheme is, than that which has hitherto obtain'd in the Church. For, whereas our Practical Divines are observed thus to have harangu'd their Hearers, as their Printed Discourses do still inform us; "Oh! How wonderful! That God should become a Man! That the unborn and uncreated

“ one, should be created and born ! That the Eternal God should become an Infant ! With abundance more to this Purpose : I say, whereas they spoke after this manner, we can hardly make Sense of their Words, according to their Notion. I own they meant very well, and I doubt not but that they did very much affect their Hearers, and did abundance of Good likewise. But, still, I must be bold to say, that their Notion will hardly bear them out, in speaking as they did. For, tho the *Eternal Son of God* was united to the *Man Christ*, yet he was not *that Man*. Nor could he, by reason of this *Union*, be said to be *born*, become an Infant, &c. But now, if we admit of our Scheme, we shall immediately apprehend the Reason of the Scriptural Phrases, which laid the Foundation of our Practical Divines running out and expatiating upon this Subject, after this manner. For, the Name of the *Logos*, *Shechinah* and *Son of God*, being used reciprocally for the *Third Person* of the Trinity, and that *First and most Glorious Spirit*, that is now the *Soul of Christ* ; it may justly be said, that this *Primæval Spirit*, having actually become *Man*, by its informing a *Human Body*, (by which it comes under the Notion of a *Human Soul*) did really become an Infant. So that we may thus far speak without any hard or uncouth Figure, and indeed almost without any Figure at all : That he that was God, (i. e. *in the Form of God*, or with the Glory of God upon him, as being the external Organ and Representation of the Son of God) became a Man : That he, that was unborn was born of a Woman : That he that was created from everlasting (taking the Word not for the *proper Eternity* of God, but for *Evernity*, i. e. the Creation of the Soul of the Messiah before the World, or any thing else, was made) was made an Infant, &c. And indeed, in this Sense, we may very properly and naturally, and much more clearly, than by any other Scheme, explain what the *Logos* or *Shechinah* says himself, concerning his own Production, *Psalm*. 8. 22, &c. *The Lord possessed me*, (or as the Targum says

says plainly, (u) *Created me* in the *Beginning*, (or rather *Me the Beginning*) of his *Ways*, before all his other *Works of old*. I was set up from *Everlasting* (or before the *Date of the World's Creation*, as the *Targum* insinuates, as indeed the following Words determine the *Meaning*) from the *Beginning*, before ever the *Earth was*, (or, as the *Hebrew* founds, to be the *Beginning*, or to have the *Supreme Principality and Sway*, even before the *Earth was created*.) When there were no *Depths* I was brought forth; when there were no *Fountains* abounding with *Water*; before the *Mountains* were settled; before ever there were *Hills*, was I brought forth, &c. What we render in *ver. 24*, and *25*. brought forth, the *Targum* renders, by being born, in the first Verse, and by being created, in the next. But the *Hebrew* Word is the same in both, and is justly render'd by *Ar. Mont. Formata*, i. e. fram'd, form'd or made: As the *Septuagint* to the same purpose, renders it by *ποίησαι*, which is of the same import. And what else can he mean, when in the *30th* Verse he represents himself, as one brought up with *God*, or as the *Targum* says, as one nourish'd up at his side. Surely, if this be meant of the first *Created Spirit*, who is now the *Soul of the Messiah*, no Expressions can be more plain, as well as natural. Whereas, if we understand them immediately of the *Logos*, as the *Second Person of the Trinity*; we must get over abundance of *Figures*, that can never, I think, be properly either explain'd or accommodated; besides our being involv'd with endless *Criticisms and Disputes* about Words. And I am sure nothing can be a more natural *Exposition* of the *31st* Verse, than what results from my *Principle or Rule* of understanding this *Passage*, viz. that we are to understand

(u) *Indeed this is the plain Sense of the Hebrew Word* אָרָא, which *Ar. Mont. justly renders* *acquisivit*, as the *Septuagint translates it more plainly* ἐκτίσεν ἀρχην, &c. i. e. made or created me to be the beginning of his ways, in order to his other Works, or, in order to produce and over-rule them. Which is exactly my *Notion of this Matter*.

this Wisdom to be the *Created Shechinah*, in the *immediate* and *first Sense* ; but that, by Virtue of the *Union* of *this Spirit* with the *Second Person* of the *Trinity*, we may understand this also, to have an Aspect towards him, in a *remoter Sense*. For this will easily direct us to the full meaning of *ver. 31.* when the *Logos* says, *That he did, even of old, Rejoice in the habitable Parts of the Earth, and that his Delights were with the Sons of Men.*

But now, to return from this digressive Explication of *Prov. 8. 22, &c.* tho I hope no unprofitable one ; let us observe how truly, as well as popularly, a Man may expatiate according to my Scheme, upon setting forth the wonderful Condescension of the *Logos*, in becoming Man. May we not say, with admiration : How stupendious is it to think, That the Ancient of Days should become an Infant ; That he that created all things, and without whom nothing was made that was made, should be conceived and formed in the Womb of a Woman : That he, who was so glorious with and so dear to God, should appear in the Form, not only of a Man, but of a mean and poor Man ; That he should run thro' Infancy, Childhood and Youth, up to Manhood ; and after all this, that he should suffer, and that in such a manner, by those he came to do good to. Besides, we may thus expatiate likewise upon his *becoming Flesh*, *John 1. 14.* For, if even a precious Diamond, or other Jewel, be look'd upon as if it were depreciated, when it is set in base or coarse Metal ; may it not much more be look'd upon as a Degradation for the *Logos*, to be set, if I may say so, in *Human Flesh*. Justly therefore may we cry out, as *Austin* somewhere does ; *Deus ; quid Gloriosus ? Caro ; quid Vilius ? Deus in carne ; quid Mirabilis ?* That is : God ; What more Glorious ? Flesh ; what more mean ? God in the Flesh ; What more wonderful ? Only, as I said before, such popular Expressions as these, are seen to have Truth for their Foundation, according to our Scheme, which is not so easily apprehended, according to the vulgar Notion of the Incarnation of Christ.

And

And here let us consider the Import of that Expression, *Heb. 2. 17. in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his Brethren, &c.* Where, if the Question be put, how he was, in all things made like his Brethren? I answer, 1. In both the *Essential Parts* of Man; as having a real Soul, and a real Body. And consequently, in the *integral Parts* of both. For, *First*, his *Soul* consisted of the same Powers and Faculties, which ours do: Tho' vastly more perfect; because, *first*, sinless; and then *secondly*, more elevated and refined, as to degree; and *thirdly*, as more peculiarly and eminently irradiated by the *Logos*. And, *Secondly*, His *Body* consisted of the same Parts, which ours do, and these as sensible or rather more than ours. For we must suppose, that he that had Human Nature in Perfection, had not only the best made and symmetried Body of all Men, but that to such a Degree of Exquiteness, in respect to all the Senses, as to have a quicker Sensation, both as to Pleasure and Pain, than others of a duller and heavier Make. So that when he suffer'd, he was so far from having a more languid Sense and Feeling of Pain than others, that we must suppose him to have suffered more than any others could do. And this might be a natural Reason (which is no way inconsistent with other Reasons, arising from the Divine Design and Providence in this Transaction) of our Lord's dying upon the Cross much sooner than either of the two Thieves did. And hence we are led in to have a greater sense of his Agonies and Pains, and a greater Sympathy, this way, with our suffering Saviour. So that we may contemplate, with more Affection, what sharp Pains he must have felt, when his Head was crown'd and prick'd with Thorns; when he was buffeted and whipp'd; and when his Hands and Feet were nail'd through. But, whatever Perfection, as to *Degrees*, was in our Saviour's Soul and Body, above other Men; yet still he was the same this way, as to the *Properties* of Human Nature, as to *Kind*. For his *Soul* acted as really by bodily Organs as our Souls do, and was also as

really acted upon, through the Senses of the Body. And his Body it self, was of the same Dimension, Circumscription and Appearance, in the main, as the Bodies of other Men are.

2. He was like unto other Men, in point of sinful Frailties and Infirmities, which they are liable unto : And therefore he is said, to have been *sent in the likeness of sinful Flesh*, Rom. 8. 3. i. e. like other Men, that are Sinful, but not like them in their Sinfulness. For (1.) *Negatively* ; He was not like us, 1. In those Things, that are *properly sinful Infirmities* ; such as Pride, Ambition, Licentiousness, Covetousness, Envy, Idleness, &c. Nor, 2. In such Infirmities, which tho, in themselves sinless, do yet denote *Human Nature* to be *Imperfect*, where they are ; such as Blindness, Lameness, Deafness, Leprosy, Fevers, Agues, Stammering of Speech, &c. For Christ could not be subject to these, no more than to the former ; because he was to have *Human Nature* perfect, as well as sinless. But (2.) *Positively* ; He was liable and subject to all such sinless Infirmities, that are universal and common to all Men, or to which all Men are liable and obnoxious ; Such as, 1. Grievs and Sorrows, as to the *Mind* ; 2. Hunger, Thirst and Weariness, as to the *Body* ; And 3. Poverty, and Contempt, and Calumny and Reproach, as to the outward State of the *Whole Man*, in this present World.

I might add, that he was like his Brethren, in point of Station or Condition in this World : For he was a kind of Compend of all these ; even such of them, as seem to be inconsistent one with another. E. G. He was born a Prince, and yet was but a mean Man ; He was Master, and at the same time Servant of all, &c. But I had occasion already to take notice of this, in another Place. His Motto seems to have been this ; *Malim esse quam videri*, i. e. I had rather be, than appear to be ; I chuse to do good, without being fam'd for so doing.

(2.) From what we have said, we cannot but see, admire at and celebrate God for the Wonderful and Gracious

cious *Exaltation* of the *Human Nature*, in the Incarnation of Christ. For what can be more wonderful than that a Being superiour to that of Angels, both as to Nature, Antiquity, Power, Wisdom and all other Qualifications, should so tabernacle in a Human Body, as our Souls do in our Bodies, and should thus become a Man. It is commonly and truly said, that the Human Nature is thus exalted above the Angelical. But my Scheme is that only, which shews clearly and fully, how and in what way this was done. And indeed, what more wonderful, than to think ; that, whereas, in the *Creation* of Man, *Man* was made after the *Image* of the *Logos*, as I have said above ; In the *Restoration* of Man, or in laying the Foundation of this, the *Logos* should actually become a *Man*, in the way I have considered, in order to restore us to that former Image, which we had lost by the Fall, that thus we might be re-possessed of our Pristin Happiness, by being intit'd to the Divine Favour.

(3.) From what I have said upon this Head, as well as from all I have discoursed of in the preceding Chapters, we cannot but see, and gratefully acknowledge our Saviour's Faithfulness to the Interests of the Human Family or Nation, upon his becoming a Man himself. Which is so much the more Illustrious, that he was the only Man, that acted for the real Interest and Honour of Mankind. For (as I hinted formerly) He did so, with such an unparallel'd Generosity, as to stand up for Men, and suffer for them ; when all Mankind, not one excepted, did either oppose or desert him. Insomuch, that he was, in this Sense, as much the only Man in the World, as if there had not been one Man in it but himself ; or as *Adam* was when he was first Created. So that he was even in this respect, as well as in others, the *Second Adam* ; as being the only Patron and Patriarch of Human Race ; who, when he trod the *Wine-Press* of that severe Service and Suffering Work, which he undertook for us, (to allude to the Expression, *Isai. 63. 3.*) *He did it alone, and had none of all the People of this*

World, to assist him, or so much as stand by him, to countenance and own him.

(4.) From what we have said, we cannot but see our *Duty*, and find our selves incited to the Discharge and Performance thereof. But, in order to our further Direction and Assistance this way, let me desire every serious Christian to consider this Point in a Four-fold Reference; *viz.* 1. To *God and Christ*. 2. To *Angels*. 3. To our *Brethren*. And, 4. To our *Selves*.

And 1. If this Point be considered, in reference to *God and Christ*, it will teach us, 1. *Gratitude*; to God who sent the *Logos*, and to the *Logos* who was willing to be sent on this Errand. 2. *Love*, both to the Sender and to him that was sent. For by this it comes to pass, that *Christ is not ashamed to call us Brethren*, *Heb. 2. 11*. 3. *Obedience* to all the Commands and Injunctions of our dear and blessed Master. 4. *Resignation* to the Disposal of this wise and kind Saviour, and Patience under the same, how afflictive soever to Sense, for the present.

2. If we consider this Point, in reference to *Angels*, we cannot but learn these Lessons; 1. How *Disinterested* we ought to be, when God's Will and our Interest seem to come in Competition. For as the Salvation of other Men is naturally more dear to the Saints, than the Salvation of Apostate Angels: So, upon the same Reason, the Good Angels must be supposed to have prefer'd the Recovery of the Fallen Angels, before the Recovery of Men; in case these had been equally proposed to them, in an abstract View, without any discovery of God's Intentions the one way, more than the other. But God's Will being once known, their Nature acts, as if it had no poize the other way. They chearfully sing the Nativity Song of the Redeemer of Men, and intirely act this way all along, being zealous and active to promote the good of Men; tho they could not but foresee, that this would tend to increase and perpetuate the Misery of the lost Angels. For the very Incarnation of Christ is that which has rendered the state of Devils desperate; seeing by this they see, that God's Determination

nation is plainly for Man, in opposition to them. 2. We see how *concerned* the *Angels* are to *know* this Mystery, and what relates to it further ; to the shame of Men, who are more immediately concern'd this way than they, and yet are regardless of this Matter, and indeed of all that relates to Religion, and the Salvation of their Souls. The *Angels* were ever *close Students of Divinity*, and therefore were they represented in a *Contemplative and Sedate Posture* of old, when seated over the *Ark*, as intensely looking down upon it, *Exod. 25. 18.* To which *Peter* alludes, when he says, that *the Angels desire to look into these Things*, *1 Ep. 1. 12.* By which we see, that they look upon the Gospel Truths, as Matters of the vastest Importance ; tho' alas ! The generality of Men are so stupid, as to live and act, as if they were altogether regardless this way.

3. If we consider this Point, in reference to our *Brethren* of the same Race with our selves ; we are taught, 1. To extend our Concern to all Men, whether Jews or Gentiles, Bond or Free, of our Opinion and Profession, or of a quite different one, &c. as far as we are able. We ought to love all Men, as Men, tho' our Enemies, and to pity and assist them, all we can. For our Lord has taken upon him the Human Nature, which all Men partake of, and is Head of the common Family of *Adam*, from whence all are descended. And therefore, 2. As Christ was the common Benefactor of all Men, let it be our Concern to propagate the true Knowledge of him and his Truths, as far as we can, according to the Light he has imparted to us this way. And here, O Blessed and Glorious Master and Saviour, I dare appeal to thee, who knows all Things, that this is that great Motive and Incitement, that has influenced me to study at the rate I have done, and that now moves my Pen to write, as thou art pleas'd to direct the same. And, having this Satisfaction within, and my Witness being on high ; I hope and beg, that I may be of some use to thy Church by my Writings, and that I may be inabled to value the Censures of Detractors,

ctors, Envyers and Calumniators, no otherwise than the Apostle of the Gentiles did of old, who, from the like sense of Integrity, could say, that *it was a small thing for him to be judged by Man's Judgment.*

4. If we consider this, in reference to *our selves*, we may infer, 1. That we ought to improve this, after the Example of our Master, to *Self-denial*, even so far as to be willing to be debased, in case God require it, and think it for his Honour, and the Good of his Interests. The Apostle *James* from this Consideration, desires the *Man of high Degree*, to rejoice when he was brought low; and exhorts all Men to rejoice, when they were exercised with divers Tribulations, which our Version renders Temptations. And the Apostle *Paul* had attained to practise this Lesson so far, as to rejoice and glory rather in his *Infirmities*, than in all his *Visions* and *Raptures*. But there is a greater Example than both these set before us for this purpose, *Phil. 2. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.* Look not every Man on the things of another, but every Man also on his own things. Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus. Who, being in the Form of God — Yet made himself of no Reputation, &c. For our sakes, and in obedience to his Father's Will, he was contented to be despised and rejected of Men, *Isa. 53. 3.* And he was altogether self-denied to Authority, Grandeur, Riches, worldly Pleasures, &c. for a General Good, viz. that we thro' his Proverty might become rich, *2 Cor. 8. 9.* Is it then any great matter, if we, for a time, be look'd upon and treated, as the *Filth of the World*, and as the *Off-scourings of all things*, *1 Cor. 4. 13.* seeing the most eminent Saints, in all Ages, nay and even Christ himself, had no better Character or Treatment, from the Generality of the Inhabitants of this World? 2. Let us improve this so, as to grow in our *abhorrence of Sin*, and *Watchfulness* against that detestable Enemy of God's Honour and our Good; that cost our innocent and dear Saviour so much Sorrow and Suffering, in order to save us from its Guilt, Pollution and Power, and those Miseries that it has intail'd upon Men. And therefore,

3. Let

3. Let us improve this to a Concern, that we *debase nor our own Nature*, which Christ has dignified and enobled so much. *Let us not therefore make any provision for the Flesh, to fulfil the Lusts thereof*, Rom. 13. 14. *But let us cleanse our selves from all Filthiness of the Flesh and Spirit, perfecting Holiness in the Fear of God*, 1 Cor. 7. 1. *What, says Paul, shall I take the Members of Christ, and make them the Members of an Harlot*, 1 Cor. 6. 15. So may we say; what, shall I take the Nature, which Christ has assumed, that Nature which he has so highly glorified, and shall I make it, in my Person, the Nature of a Brute, or of a Devil? It has pleased our Lord to partake of the *Human Nature*, in order to lay a Foundation of our becoming Partakers of a *Divine Nature*. And is it not strange, that most Men should be declared Enemies (at least in fact, if not in Word and Profession also) to the Dignity, Exaltation and Happiness of their own Natures. Therefore let it be our Concern and Study, to act a Counterpart to such Men, by harmonizing with Christ, and his End in coming into this World. It was Christ's End to be useful to Men; therefore let it be ours likewise. It is our Honour to act as he did: for thus we come to be intitled to the Dignity and Relation of Children of God, of the Brethren of Christ, as Heirs and Joint-Heirs with him. And, as this is our Honour, so our Interest likewise: For *Grace here* and *Glory hereafter* are the Portion of such Persons. So that upon all accounts we ought to lay out our selves, with the utmost diligence, in the Service of our God, after the Example of our Blessed Master.

And now I have done with what I had to propose, in relation to this Great Head of the Incarnation of the *Logos*. I proceed therefore now to the Consideration of some other things in reference to Christ's Person.

II. Concerning those other memorable Articles that relate to the Person of Christ, viz. such as have not been directly discours'd of in the preceding Chapters.

I have had occasion to speak so much already concerning Christ, and what he said and did in the World, that I was willing to confine my self here, to a Consideration of those Articles only, that I had spoken but little unto comparatively, with the Excellency and Importance of them.

And yet, tho I confine my self to a few Heads only, I shall industriously labour rather to touch, than insist upon them: both because they have been so copiously treated of by others, and because I have yet such things remaining to be discours'd of, as have been much less clear'd up. All therefore that the Reader is to expect from me, is to direct him to some serious Remarks, to be enlarged upon and dilated by his own Meditations, upon those Articles of our Creed, that relate to Christ's Crucifixion, and what followed the same. To proceed therefore orderly, I begin with

I. Christ's Crucifixion.

Of what Importance it is, duly and closely to contemplate this stupendious Providence, I need not say: For I suppose the Apostle's Estimate this way, will be of weight with every serious Christian. And what he thought of this, he insinuates, 1 Cor. 1. 23, 24, 25. Chap. 2. 2. Phil. 3. 8, 9, 10. to which I refer the Reader.

Now in order to contemplate Christ Crucified, let us consider these things.

(1.) That Christ's Sufferings were punctually foretold. I shall not expatiate upon this Subject, because it has been so frequently treated of. That he was to be numbered with Transgressors, was foretold, Isa. 53. 1, 2, 3. That

That He was to die and be laid in the Grave, and that his Hands and Feet were to be pierced, by the Combination of wicked Men, and that, by reason of his Agonies and Pains, his Heart was to be melted down as Wax; is foretold, *Psal.* 22. 14, 15, 16. not to mention other things. And how punctually he answered the Types of the *Pascal Lamb*, *Brazen Serpent*, &c. every one may be easily appriz'd, that will consider the Gospel-History.

(2.) But in a special manner, let us consider *Christ Crucified*, as the Great *Propitiatory Sacrifice* for Sinners, according to the Scope and Purport of that admirable Propheſie, *Iſa.* 53. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. A Propheſie ſo plain, as that it looks almoſt like a Hiſtory, and which God made uſe of, in a great Meaſure, to the Conviction and Conversion of (w) a famous and noted Atheiſt, not very long ago.

3. But let us contemplate the Sufferings of *Chriſt*, and particularly upon the Croſs, with Reſpect to the moſt remarkable and eminent Circumſtances attending the ſame.

And, 1. Let it be duly conſidered, that *Two* things were equally neceſſary, as to this matter, *viz.* that he ſhould be perfectly *Innocent*, and yet ſuffer under the Notion of a *Criminal*. Theſe muſt be ſo equally poiz'd, that the generality of Men, ſhould agree, and that in the moſt memorable manner, to condemn him, as a *Criminal*, even as a more notorious one than *Barabbas*: And yet the divine Interpoſition muſt be ſuch, that his very Judge, *Pilate*, ſhould acquit him, and declare him *Innocent*, at the ſame time, that he accuſed all his Proſecutors as wicked. And no leſs memorable was it, this way, that *Judas* the Traitor ſhould come in at length, and condemn himſelf, as a Villain, declaring the Innocence of his Maſter: The Truth of both which his terrified Conſcience forc'd him to ſeal, by making him his own Executioner.

(w) *Earl of Rocheſter.* See *Dr. Burnet's Account of him:*

2. The Necessity of Christ's dying, as a Propitiatory Sacrifice, in this manner, deserves next to be considered; at the same time, that the Wills of all the Agents acted freely, and under no violent Compulsion from above. For, tho' nothing was done, in all this, but *as it was ordered from above*, John 19. 11. according to the determinate Counsel of God, Acts 2. 23. Yet the Agents acted according to their own Freedom, hurried on by the several Lusts and Prejudices, that bare Rule over them, at this time. Thus *Judas* was over-sway'd thro' Covetousness; the *Jewish Rulers*, thro' Ignorance, Envy and Jealousie; *Pilate*, thro' Fear of being accused to his jealous and tyrannical Master; and the *Populace*, thro' a bigotted and furious Zeal. Thus he was rejected by the Builders, in order to be a Sacrifice of Attonement, on whom God might lay the Iniquities of us all, Isa. 53. 6.

3. He was to suffer a Death, that was peculiar; even such a one, as was, 1. Execrable to the *Jews*, for so was it, for a Man to be *hanged upon a Tree*, according to the Sense of the *Jewish Law*, Deut. 21. 23. And then, 2. It was to be an *Ignominious Death*, as being the Death of a Slave. 3. It was to be a Death, that was peculiar to the *Gentiles*, that it might be an Evidence, that *Judæa* was now subject to *Rome*; and at the same time should be rendred grating to the *Jews*, by the Inscription set over the Cross; and so much the more so, that they themselves should have occasion'd this by the Nature of the Accusation they used against Christ. 4. It was to be a *painful Death*, that Christ might have a sensible, as well as Theoretical Knowledge, of the Miseries and Pains that attended one of the most severe of violent Deaths.

4. It was a Death, that was attended with peculiar Aggravations. For certainly it was very aggravating this way, 1. To be pursued to Death by his own Countrymen, and thus to be wounded and slain in the House of his Friends. 2. And for them to kill their true King, out of a pretended Loyalty to the Tyrant and Usurper *Tiberius*,

rius, was still more aggravating. 3. To be exposed to the Fury, Derision and ill Usage of *Heathen Souldiers*; and to die by the Sentence of a *Foreign Judge*, added to the height of Christ's Sufferings. 4. To have not one Person in the World, so much as to enter a *Protestation* against this Procedure, was a further Addition this way. 5. Especially, if we consider how he was *deserted*, by his few *Disciples* and *Followers*; not one of them standing by him, in the Hour of his Suffering and Trouble. 6. Nay, it was as a Load above all, to be under the Apprehension of God's *deserting him*, as to sensible Joy and Assistance.

5. His last Words deserve a peculiar Consideration also. As, 1. when he said, *I thirst*, we may observe; not only that he was then under the Sense of Pain, but that He was as sensible, at least, of his present peculiar Pain, (which was caused by the Nature of his Suffering upon the Cross) as other Men are: For it was a necessary Effect of Crucifixion (as it is of being put to any the like Torture, such as being broke or distended upon the Wheel) to be extremely Thirsty. 2. The Strength of his *natural Affection*, and peculiarly *friendly Temper*, appeared in his Recommending the *Virgin Mary* to *John*, and *John* to her, even during the Height and Extremity of his Misery: By which he demonstrated that he had the same Bowels of Affection and tender Concern, that Men usually have, for their nearest surviving Relatives and Friends, when they are a dying. 3. As for his other and more remarkable Words, *viz.* those to the Father, *Eli, Eli, Lama sabachthani*; those relating to himself, *Father, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*; and that other Expression, *It is finished*; I have consider'd them already, and shall therefore say nothing particular here concerning them.

6. And surely the *Posture* of our Saviour, when Crucified, deserves our Thoughts likewise: For how can we look upon it otherwise, than as Emblematical? For, 1. His *Expanded Arms*, is a Posture expressive of Parental Love, Mercy, Compassion, Intreaty, Persuasion,

sion, and a Readiness to accept and receive us. 2. His *Pierced Hands* and *Feet* represent his Deadness to the World, as to all its Pleasures, Profits and Honours; his Subjection to the Father's Will; his Patience and Submission; his Meekness and Humility; and his Fortitude and Resolution: And, 3. His *pierced Side*, out of which, (by Reason of the Spears having pierced thro' the *Pericardium*, and entred in all Probability, thro' the Heart itself) issued both *Blood* and *Water*, or *Serum*, represents the Virtue, Efficacy and Benefits of his Death. For the *Blood* was Emblematical of Attonement, and the *Water* of Purification.

7. Let me add one thing, that deserves to be considered peculiarly, and by it self, *viz.* His Frame of Mind, in Relation to the Treatment he met with from Men, particularly as to his dying the Death of a Slave, and their prophane Jests and Scoffs pass'd upon him when under Sufferings; such as that, *He saved others, himself he cannot save*; and that other, *Come down from the Cross, and then we will believe in thee*. It is natural for all Men, (according to the generally received Opinion of the World) but especially for those of the greatest, most elevated and refined Spirits, to be most sensible of, and affected with such a sort of Treatment. But this shews them to be really but weak and prejudic'd; and the Estimate of Men this way to be fallacious. For surely our *Lord's Soul* was the most elevated and refined of any. And yet He acted the very Reverse of this: For *he* not only *indured the Cross*, but also *despised the Shame*, Heb. 12. 2. He was intirely satisfied in the Divine Disposal, and with his own Integrity, and therefore it had been a Defect and Meanness in him, to have been otherwise concern'd, at the Shame and Reproach cast upon him, than upon the Account of the Wickedness and Madness of the Actors; and therefore he pities them, as a parcel of foolish and miserable Creatures, and prays for them as such; saying, *Father, Pardon them, for they know not what they do*.

O! My dear and kind Saviour, what Reason have I to implore thy Intercession to the Father, for Pardon likewise. For, tho I study thee every Day, I value thee not, I honour thee not, I love thee not, as I ought. But I know thou wilt pass by my Infirmities, who couldest so readily pardon thy worst Enemies. But oh! Help me to love thee more, and serve thee better. And let these, my poor Labours, honestly design'd, as thou knowest, to promote thy Honour, and the Good of my fellow-Subjects, be of real use, thro' thy Blessing, to Men.

O! The Wisdom of God! How great and admirable is it? How are its rarest Secrets veil'd under the most strange Appearances, in order to be search'd for? And how much the more admirable, and like it self, is it, upon this very Account? O! The Weakness of Men! Oh! The Folly of Human Wisdom! O! The Fallacy of Sense, and worldly Philosophy! Where are the wise Men of this World! Where are its Disputants, its Orators, its Politicians! Forget the World, and all its Pagantry, O, my Soul. Fix thy Thoughts upon thy Lord. View him Suffering and Crucified. Oh! How auspicious was this, that look'd so dismal. Can I behold my dear Master and Saviour, betray'd, arraign'd, reckon'd and treated as a Villain? Can I behold this without Tears? Can I view him upon the Cross, breathing out his last, in Torments, without the deepest Sighs and Groans? But then, how necessary was all this for me, and others? How happy and auspicious that, which look'd so dismal and frightful? My Life springs from this Death. My Comforts and Hopes are all the result of those Sufferings. What shall I say, or do, for my Redeemer, by way of Return. Alas, what is left for me this way, but to love, and to be thankful, and to labour to be serviceable to my fellow-Creatures, and to be Holy and Obedient in all things? Oh! Lord, and shall I ever be refractory this way? Shall I not hate Sin, die to Vanity, and crucifie worldly Lusts? Shall I not give Love for Love again, as I can? Shall I not

sing thy Praises, and live them? And shall I not labour to be contented with what thy Providence sends; and learn, by thy Example, to suffer for thee, as I am in Duty bound to do, if called to the same; when thou didst suffer for me, tho no otherwife obliged, than out of pure Condescension and Compassion? And now, O Lord, if (*) Sufferings have been the Occasion of magnifying mere Men, whose Virtue came thus to be known; what Estimate ought I to have of thee, and what Veneration for thee, when all things relating to thy Incarnation and low State in the World, and thy Crucifixion and Death, are seriously considered? And now, having mention'd Christ's Death, I find my self call'd off, from this raptorous Exclamation. I come therefore to consider;

II. Christ's Death.

How necessary it was that Christ should die for Sinners, has been shewed already from several Considerations.

And sure, that Man that can so much as doubt, whether Christ died really, must either never have read the Gospel-History, or must be an Infidel, as to every thing therein related.

That Christ's Death was the Result of the Divine Counsel, the Scripture is plain and express, *Luke 22. 22. Acts 2. 23. Eph. 3. 11.* And that this was pursuant to a previous Compact and Agreement, between God and Him, is as plain in the general; according as I have said already in the Third Chapter. By which abundance of Expressions in Scripture, otherwise dark, will come to be understood; seeing they run altogether upon this Supposition: Such as *Isa. 53. 9, 10.*

(*) *Cicuta Socratem Magnum fecit, &c. Sen. Ep. 13, & 67, & 104. Rutilii innocentia & virtus lateret, nisi accepisset injuriam; Dum violatur, effulsit, Sen. Ep. 79.*

From hence it will be no way strange, if we suppose that the Divine Wisdom did previously act so, in the Government of the World, but especially of the Church, as to interweave Divine, Prefigurative, Emblematical or Typical Characters of this wonderful Transaction, both in the most eminent Persons raised up successively of old, such as *Abel, Noah, Shem, Isaac, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, David*; and in things, (*viz.* Erections, Institutions, Ceremonies, Actions, and the Circumstances of these,) such as, *E. G.* the Tabernacle, Ark, Temple, Aaronical Priesthood, the Priestly Vestments, the Sacrifices, the Passover, the Scape Goat, &c.

And it will be as little strange, from the same Suppositions, to consider how many Expressions of the *Jewish* sacred Authors, (besides direct Prophecies) are observable to look ultimately this way, at the same time that they seem, at first view, to have no other Reference, than to some Person, Action or Thing, of no such Weight or Moment.

Certain therefore it is, that how freely soever inferior Agents acted, yet the Divine Wisdom, directed and over-ruled all things relating to this strange Event. As to Agents here below, the Expression is memorable, *Acts 4. 27. Of a Truth against thy Holy Child Jesus, whom thou hast Anointed (i. e. constituted Christ or Messiah) both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the People of Israel, were gathered together. But then it is immediately added, v. 28. For to do whatsoever thy Hand and thy Counsel determined before to be done.*

And here certainly it deserves our most serious Observation, that our Saviour has proposed five Things, as equally to be regarded and believed by us, in Reference to this Head, when he expressly speaks of it, *John 10. 17, 18.* For, 1. He assures us, that it was in Obedience to the Father, that he laid down his Life: *For this Commandment, says he, have I received of my Father:* 2. That yet, what he did this way was his free Choice, in concert with his Father's Proposal: *For no Man, says*

he, *taketh my Life from me ; I lay it down of my self.*
 3. That, in order to demonstrate his Freedom, in acting thus, *He had Power, as Loganthropos, to lay his Life down, and Power to take it again, as he saw good.*
 4. That He laid down his Life, as a vicarious and substitute Sacrifice, for the Good of Men ; whence he says, again and again, that *he laid down his Life for his Sheep, v. 11, 15, 17.* And, 5. That he did procure a peculiar Love and Approbation, and consequently, Reward, from God the Father, for his doing so, as Mediator and Redeemer. This he himself asserts, when he says, *Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my Life, that I may take it again.* Where, by the way, it deserves to be taken notice of here ; that Christ seems by the Connexion of this last Clause with the rest of *ver. 17.* to insinuate, that he did *merit* the Continuance of this Power, to take his Life again, as *Loganthropos*, by Virtue, not only of his punctual Compliance with his Father's Will, in laying down his Life, but by Reason of his doing it exactly in such a way as was agreeable to Divine Wisdom, and according to the Contract between the Father and Him. But, whatever be in this last Observation, sure I am, that these Five Particulars mentioned, do materially denote or suppose whatever relates to the Contract between the Father and the Son, as I explain'd it in the 3d Chapter.

What were therefore the Motives of God and Christ's Acting thus, in this strange Dispensation, needs not further to be inquired into, at this time. It was necessary, in Relation to our Salvation, that Christ should die ; at least it was necessary Hypothetically. But there was nothing that could necessitate God to send his Son, or that could necessitate Christ to become Man, and to die for us : Unless we call mere *Condescension* and *Goodness*, by the Name of *Necessity*. But when Christ became Man, in order to save Men, *Justice* oblig'd him to perform the rest of those Articles that he had engag'd himself to his Father to perform ; as *Phylanthropy*, and his *Sympathy* with, and *Compassion*

sion for the State of Men, who were now his Brethren, influenced and sway'd him, to a ready and faithful discharge of this his Task.

What the Ends of Christ's whole Undertaking were, and particularly of his Suffering to the Death for us, I need not insist upon; seeing these are plain from all I have said. The Illustration and Manifestation of his Father's Glory; the Humiliation and Reduction of Satan and his Associates; the Information and Confirmation of Angels; the Restauration and Exaltation of Men and Human Nature; the peculiar Headship of Christ, as Mediator, by being put at the Head of the Family of Man; the Attestation of Divine Truth, and the Confirmation of the Promises, the Prophecies; and, in a Word, the universal Regulation of the Creation of God, (which, by reason of the Apostacy of so many Angels, and the Sin of our first Parents, by which our whole Race was infected and ruined, had run so much into Confusion) and the bringing it into Order again, by degrees, and as the Nature of things could bear: These, these, I say, were certainly the Great Ends of all God's Dispensation of Grace, and particularly of what did immediately relate to Christ's Sufferings and Death.

And, in order to our Contemplation of all these Things, with the greater Intensity, let us ever bear in mind the super-eminent Quality of this wonderful Person, who died for Sinners. For which purpose, I need only desire the Reader, to peruse, again and again what I have said concerning Christ, in the preceding Chapters. For I need not repeat what I have already so distinctly and largely discours'd of.

I need not therefore suggest any thing further, upon this great Article of *Christ's Death*; except to beg every Christian to make Application thereof to himself. And indeed, who can contain himself from running out here, after this manner.

Good Lord, didst thou suffer even to the Death for me; and shall I not love and honour thee, to the utmost of my small Power? Shall I not abhor Sin and

my self upon that account? Shall I ever be accessary to the Revival of those Sins, for which thou didst die, in order to mortify and kill? Didst thou love Men so well, and shall not I love them too, especially those that love thee, let their Denomination be otherwise what it will? Shall I not be resign'd to God's Will, as thou was? And shall I not be willing to die, as well as live for thee, if called to it; when thou didst not only live, but die, for my benefit?— — — But let us proceed and consider;

III. Christ's Burial.

As it was necessary, that Christ should truly and really die; so was it also, that we should be ascertain'd of this. And therefore was it necessary, that he should be buried and laid in the Grave, and continue therein for a considerable time.

But, it was convenient, that he should be so buried, as to be laid in a new Sepulchre, and such a one as was hewn out of the Rock, and in which no Human Body ever was laid before. For, I have observ'd elsewhere already, that all this was necessary, in order to ascertain us, that it was the same Body of Jesus, that was laid there that arose from the dead on the third Day.

And, for the same end, Divine Providence concurr'd with, and over-rul'd the Precaution of the Jews, by ordering the door to be seal'd; a great Stone to be roll'd to it, and a strict and strong Watch of Souldiers to be set to guard the same.

Nor does it less deserve our Consideration, That God so order'd the time of Christ's Continuance in the Grave, that his Body should be in no hazard so much as to be brought under the suspicion of being corrupted: As even the Cleanliness of the new Sepulchre, being of Rock or hard Stone, newly made, and never fill'd with any Corps, tended to illustrate the Prophecy, that Christ, who was *God's Holy one*, should see *no Corruption*; as the Magnificence and Cost of the Sepulchre,

chre, and its being appropriated intentionally at first, to a rich Family, was occasionally the Accomplishment of another Prophecy, that *he should be equaliz'd with the Rich, in his Death,* Isa. 53. 9.

IV. Christ's Descent into *Hades*.

While Christ's Body remain'd without Life, his Soul must be supposed to have gone somewhere. And I cannot think, that any serious Christian can entertain so mean and base a thought of the noble and active Spirit or Soul of Christ, as to imagine, that it was asleep with the Body, or in the Body. And therefore we are oblig'd to conclude, that it went into the *State of separate Souls*.

What this Place or State is, we shall afterwards discourse of further. All therefore, that I shall say here is, that this is a *Distinct Article* of our *Creed*. As therefore Christ's Body was laid in the Grave; so his Soul went into *that Place and State*, (whatever that be) which is appropriated by God, for the *Reception* of all *separate Souls*, whether good or bad, and which the Greeks call *Hades*.

In this, as I shall afterwards shew, there are *two distinct Regions*; into the *first* of which the Souls of good Men go, as the Souls of the Wicked into the *other*. And that this is supposed by our Lord, in the Parable of *Lazarus* and the *Rich Man*, I shall afterwards prove.

Whether our Lord did, at all, visit the *dark and miserable Region* of *Hades*, during his abode in the State of the Dead, I shall not now enquire. But that (whether he did so or no) he did properly go into the *Happy Hades*, is certain from his own Words to the penitent Thief; *This Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*. For that this does not denote *Heaven*, in the properest Sense, appears from hence, that our Saviour himself assures us, even after his Resurrection, that he had not as yet ascended to his Father. Which must denote that place, where his Father did principally display his Glory.

In the *Paradise of Hades* therefore did the Soul of our Saviour reside, whilst separated from his Body, from whence he brought the Souls of *many of the Saints, whose Bodies he rais'd also, after his own Resurrection, Mat. 27. 52.* as a Trophy of his Power over the invisible World of separate Souls.

And as for himself, it was impossible, that he should be detain'd in that Place or State, as *Peter* excellently argues, upon this Head, *Acts 2. 27, 31.* Where he comments upon the Prophecy of the Psalmist of old, shewing us that the same could not be properly accomplish'd in *David*, but that it was indeed really a Prophecy concerning Christ. But of this Text, as well as Subject, I shall speak further afterwards.

In the mean time, let us only remember, that by Virtue of Christ's going into the State and Place of separate Souls, and taking Possession thereof, all dark Apprehensions, as to this matter, are removed from the Saints; seeing we are now ascertain'd, that *the Keys both of Death and Hades are in the Hands of this our Saviour, Rev. 1. 18.* who has conquer'd both, and *him that had the Power of both* of old, and has taken them under his own direct and appropriate Management. So that we may justly now say, by Faith, and in the prospect of the final intire Destruction of these our last Enemies; O *Death, where is thy Sting*; and, O *Grave and Hades, where is your Victory*? And let this suffice, at present, to shew us, both the Importance and Usefulness of this Article of our Faith: which certainly the Ancient Church did not put into the *Apostles Creed*, without very just Ground. But I shall say no more of this at present.

V. Christ's Resurrection, and his 40 Days continuance afterwards on Earth.

I joyn both these in one, because they cannot so easily be discours'd of separately, and because the *second* is the most immediate and principal Argument which we have

have for the Verity of the *first*. For, as St. Luke says, *Acts* 1. 3. *To whom also (i. e. to the Apostles) He shewed himself alive after his Passion, by many infallible Proofs, being seen of them forty Days; and speaking of the Things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.*

I shall not discourse now of the Resurrection of Men in general: for that must be left to its proper place.

By the Resurrection of Christ (whatever Disputes may arise about the Resurrection of Men at the last Day) we must of necessity understand, his arising from the Grave, by his Soul's re-animating his Body for that purpose, after it had left the same for a time.

The Heathens, generally speaking, seem to have had either no Notion of the Resurrection, or, at best, a very confus'd and imperfect one. And the Jews themselves seem to have had no very distinct Apprehensions of this matter; tho' some Idea of this they had from *Job* 19. 25. and from some Expressions of the Prophets, such as that, *Dan.* 12. *ult.* and *Ezekiel's* Vision of the Resurrection of the dry Bones, *Chap.* 37. 1, 2, 3, &c. so that it is not said unjustly, that the Doctrine of the Resurrection is peculiar to the Christians. And indeed the Excellency of our Religion is seen in this very thing; as well as the Essentialness of this Article thereof, and the necessity of its being believ'd. For, as upon the one hand Christianity, 1. Ascertain us of the Thing in general; 2. Gives us some Notion of the way and manner of it; And, 3. Gives us undoubted Instances this way: So, upon the other hand, 1. Where were our Religion and Faith, if we were not assured of Christ's Resurrection? And, 2. Where our Hope and Comfort, if we were not assured of our own? And, as to this last, the Power of God shews us that it may be, seeing nothing is impossible to him; and the word of God assures us that it will be, seeing we cannot doubt of the Divine Veracity.

But now, as to the Resurrection of Christ, seeing all our Religion depends upon this Article, it was absolutely necessary, 1. That Christ should really arise from

from the Dead : And, 2. That we should be fully assured thereof.

1. It was *absolutely necessary*, that *Christ should rise from the Dead*. For, 1. He could not otherwise have *finish'd* his *Work with Honour*, or been in a *Capacity to act* that part that remain'd to be accomplish'd by him, as the *Supream Ruler and Governour of the World and Church*. For had he remain'd in the *Invisible State*, it had been a *Proof of his Incapacity to raise himself*, and consequently of his having been *conquer'd by Death*, and *him that had the Power thereof* : As, upon the other hand, his *Resurrection* was a *Demonstration* that *both these were conquer'd by him*. 2. He could not otherwise have *confirm'd the Truth* of his *Doctrine*, and laid a *Foundation of our Salvation*. For as the *Apostle reasons truly*, 1 Cor. 15. 14, 15, 17, 18. *If Christ be not risen, then is our Preaching vain, and your Faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false Witnesses of God, because we have testified of God, that he raised up Christ. If then Christ be not raised, your Faith is vain, ye are yet in your Sins. Then they also which have fallen asleep in Christ, are perished.* Now the *Importance of this Article* is not only to be taken notice of, in reference to the *Christian Religion in general*, but in relation to the *Resurrection of all Men in particular*. For *Christ has risen, as the Head of Men*, and *conquer'd Death*, not for himself apart, but in reference to the whole *Family of Man*. As therefore it was a possible thing before, now it is made a certain thing. And from this one *Consideration*, the *Force of the Apostle's Reasoning* is seen, *ver. 15, 16.* when he says, *God did not raise up Christ, if so be that the Dead rise not : For if the Dead rise not, then is not Christ raised.* That is, were the *Resurrection a real Impossibility in it self*; then *Christ could not have risen from the Dead*. As therefore the *Resurrection is a possible thing* : It is foolish to bring an *Argument from the General Notion of it, as impossible, to run down a noted and uncontroverted Fact*. Now, as in this *Point the Apostle argues from the Possibility of a Resurrection in general,*

to the Possibility of Christ's being rais'd from the Dead: So having once supposed the Certainty of Christ's Resurrection, he argues from thence strongly for the Certainty of the Resurrection in general, *ver. 20, 21, &c.* But now is Christ risen from the Dead, and become the first Fruits of them that slept, &c. Concerning the Force of which Reasoning, I remember I have formerly discoursed, and if I mistake not, in such a manner likewise, as brings in new Light to this place. And therefore, not being a Lover of needless Repetition, I must refer the Reader to the former (y) Volume of this Work.

But, 2. It was necessary, that we should be assured of Christ's Resurrection, as well as necessary that he should indeed rise from the Dead; For what Satisfaction or Comfort could this afford us, if there remain'd just ground to doubt of the Verity of this matter? Let us therefore thank God, that we have such a clear and plenary Evidence, as to this Point, that we cannot in reason desire more. For, 1. Christ was seen by and convers'd with those, after his Resurrection, that had known him long and intimately before his Death. So that, it was not possible that they could be mistaken. 2. This is further certain, because, at first, several of his Disciples were altogether incredulous as to this, and would not believe that he was risen from the Dead, as we see, *Luke 24. 11.* and *Mat. 28. 17.* their Words appeared to them, as an idle Tale, and they believed them not. Nay, *Thomas* remain'd an Infidel this way so long, that our Lord condescended to the utmost, to satisfy him, by desiring him not only to view the Scars of his Wounds, but to feel them too. And the satisfying of him, in so remarkable a Manner, is certainly one of the usefulest Passages of the Bible, to all Christians that live in after-ages, as it is recorded, *Johu 20. 24, 25, 26, &c.* 3. Because our Saviour was not seen once or twice on-

(y) Lib. 2. cap. 6. pag. 216, 217, 218.

ly, by the Apostles and other Disciples, but frequently, and sometimes for a long time together, during the 40 Days of his Continuance on Earth. 4. Because of the Number of the Witnesses. For he was seen by no fewer than *Five Hundred at one time*, of whom, says Paul, *the greatest Part remain unto this present*, 2 Cor. 15. 5, 6. So that there was no Possibility of doubting of this Fact. 5. And indeed so certain and uncontested was this, that Satan himself never had the Impudence positively and formally to deny it. For we do not find, that ever any of the Enemies of Christianity, even the most spiteful, did insist upon this Head. And it would seem, that it did not a little contribute to the General Belief of this; that the *Jews* gave Money to the Soldiers, to tell so idle and ridiculous a Story, as if the poor, unpolitick, dispirited and unarm'd Disciples had stolen away Christ's Body. For, as it is usual in such Cases, this tended only to spread and confirm the Fame of Christ's Resurrection.

The only thing therefore, that can be objected against the Certainty of Christ's Resurrection, is this; That it may be said, If Christ did really rise from the Dead; and if this was so necessary to be known, why did He not appear to *Pilate* and *Herod*, and to the *Jewish Rulers* and *People*, as publicly, as he did whilst he was alive? *Answer*. This was altogether inconvenient, as well as needless. (1.) Because, such a Management would have been inconsistent with the whole Scheme of that Divine Wisdom, which was to shine forth in his Conduct, as the Messiah; according to what has been said, this way, in the First Chapter. For our Saviour, who was to act, in all respects, in a Method *opposite* to carnal, worldly and political Wisdom, was oblig'd to act so here likewise: That his Procedure in this might be of a Piece with all his former Management. And a different, but especially opposite Conduct, in this last and most weighty Part of Acting on Earth, would certainly have destroyed the Plan of the whole Scheme, according to which he had acted before;

fore ; and consequently must have invalidated the very Nature and Design of those Evidences, that were to prove him to be a Divine Hero and Saviour, *viz.* from this very Consideration, because he acted in a Method contrary to all Human Political Wisdom, and yet in a Method of the truest Wisdom, when known. (2.) But, besides this General Reason, (the Force of which will easily and necessarily appear to any Person that has considered what I said in the first Chapter) I must say further ; That our Saviour could not have acted, after that manner, that is supposed in the Objection ; because this would have thwarted the whole Method of his Future designed Procedure, both with respect to the *Jewish* Nation, and the Christian Religion, as to its Success in the World ; and would have been indecorous to himself, and his own Circumstances, at this time. To understand this, let us only make this plain and necessary Supposition : That the *Jewish* Nation, or the Bulk of that People, had believed in Christ, or not believed in him, upon such open Manifestations of him. Now, let us either suppose they had or had not, in this Case ; and then we will easily see the Unreasonableness of the Objection. For, 1. If the *Jews* had universally or generally believed ; Then *either* the *Jewish* Temple and Oeconomy had remained, *or not*. The *first* could not be, because this was altogether inconsistent with the end of Christ's Death, (who nail'd that Hand-writing of Ordinances, that was contrary to us, to his Cross) and with the very Being and Flourishing of the Christian Religion, which he came to erect ; seeing the coming of the Antitype vacated the further Use of the Type, and the new and better Testament null'd and antiquated the former one. But if, upon the other hand, *it be supposed*, that the Temple, and all its Service must have been immediately, upon this their Belief, pull'd down ; we are yet as far from all Reasoning. For I ask, By whom ? Not surely by God or Christ immediately and supernaturally. For, it would have been altogether indecorous,
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and inconsistent with the Honour of God and Christ, and indeed with all Divine Management, to have pull'd down, in this way, that which had been erected by his own Order, and which he had so long, and so signally owned as his own Institution. It was not possible therefore, that God should be the immediate Puller down of this Erection, and that too, upon the Faith and Obedience of the People. For this had had the Appearance of a Judgment, if done in such a manner. Whereas this Oeconomy was to be taken away, as a Punishment to them for their Infidelity. Who then must have pull'd it down, upon this Supposition? Not the *Romans*. For they were to be made use of, to punish the *Jews*, for their Wickedness: But certainly not for their Piety and Obedience, in owning Christ; and submitting to him. And I suppose no Person can think, that ever the *Jews* could have so believ'd, as to have immediately joyn'd to pull down their own Temple; seeing we find, that even those few Eminent Persons that fell in with Christianity, were generally possessors of this Notion, that Judaism and Christianity must be incorporated; and therefore taught, that *unless Christians were circumcised, and observed the whole Law of Moses, they could not be saved*, Acts 15. 1, 24. Therefore this part of the Supposition shews the Inconvenience of Christ's acting so, as the Objection would have had him. Let us consider the *other part* of it. Therefore, 2. Let us suppose, that the *Jews* had remained Infidels, notwithstanding Christ's appearing to *Herod, Pilate, the High Priest* and other *Priests*, and to the whole *Sanhedrim*, and all their *Doctors*, and with them, to the *whole People*; and his repeated Discourses to them, for their Conversion. What must have been the Consequence of this wilful Infidelity? Certainly nothing less than the immediate, total and final Destruction of them all, that were thus wickedly obdured and hardened against Christ. For nothing less can be supposed to have followed such a Rejection of Christ; after he had done the utmost, that was possible, for re-
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claiming them. But now, let us consider again, how inconsistent this had been with all Divine Procedure, and with every Step of that wise Management, which became Christ to act, in the Affairs of the World and Church. For, by this, we must suppose Christ to have been changed immediately into the Appearance of an angry Judge, before his Ascension to the Father. Nay, this supposes, that Christ must have given the utmost Proofs of his being the Messiah, while he was on Earth. Whereas it was necessary, that he should give these from Heaven, as an Evidence of his being really ascended thither, and of his having been approved by his Father, in all he had done. Besides, that a Total and Final Extirpation of the Jewish Nation would have put a Stop to all the great and noble Ends of his Providence, in Relation to that People, who were to be preserved as a distinct People from all others. And, seeing they had rejected Christ, their true King, out of a pretended Loyalty to the Roman Emperour and People; it was altogether decorous, that Christ should make use of them as his Officers, to punish that Nation. But, when this was done, the Remains of that People were *afterwards* to be converted, in that way that should be most proper. In a Word, every thing almost lets us see, how *incongruous this Part* of the *Supposition* is, as well as the *former*; and consequently, how unjustly such an Objection is made. But however, that this may be thorowly put out of Doors for ever; I shall add one Reason more, to satisfy all Men of the Wisdom of Christ's Management in this Matter. I say, therefore, (3.) That there was no Reason for our Lord's appearing openly and frequently to the *Jews*, in order to their Conviction; in case he put this Matter out of Dispute with them, and all the World, another way. If therefore the end was as effectually reach'd, by a shorter and every way better Course; what need is there for making so unreasonable a Supposition, as I have prov'd that to be, which the Objection insists upon? For, as I said before, all things concurr'd

curr'd to put this out of doubt. The rude Souldiers, as well as the Apostles, bore Evidence to the Truth of the Fact, *Matth.* 28. 11, 12. So that the *Jewish* Rulers could not doubt of Christ's Resurrection: and their bribing the Souldiers to tell a fained Story, is Evidence of their Conviction as well as Wickedness; seeing they durst not suffer the Fact to be inquired into. Nor could the People, unless Ideots, ever believe the Story they invented; because it was so very silly and ridiculous. And therefore, tho' *this Saying*, as *Matthew* tells us, *was reported among them*, *Chap.* 28. 15. Yet we find not that the fiercest Enemies of Christianity, durst trust to it, or car'd to make use of it. — But I shall not further detain the Reader, this way; for I hope I have said enough, and that satisfactorily too, to answer the Objection.

However, seeing there is nothing I am so devoted a Servant unto, as Truth, next to the God of Truth, and therefore nothing that I am such a Student of, as Impartiality and Candor: I find my self oblig'd to give the same Satisfaction to others, that I have been truly concern'd to attain my self, which I shall reduce to this plain Question.

Quest. Seeing Christ's Disciples, especially such of them, as have had a Hand in Writing the Books and Epistles that compose the New Testament, are the only, or at least principal Evidences of this Great and Fundamental Truth and Fact, *viz.* Christ's Resurrection: Upon what Ground is it, that we, who live in these latter Ages, do so intirely confide in, and rely upon their Testimony?

Ans. There is no Fact that can be doubted of, where all Evidence is for the Thing affirmed, and nothing that has the Face of Evidence for the Negative. But seeing the *Question* puts us to the Proof of the *Credibility* of the Witnesses; I shall put this out of doubt, seeing the *Question* requires such a Performance. And, seeing I am concerned to answer this, with equal Brevity and Pungency, I shall return my Answer to the

Question

Question propos'd, in a few *Queries*, that naturally offer upon this Head, and which I believe every Man's Reason and Conscience will inable him to answer.

Quest. (1.) Whether were the *Apostles*, and other *Witnesses* of Christ's Resurrection, found in their Senses?

And whether some of them were not cautious enough, such as *Thomas*? And others sufficiently learn'd, as well as prejudic'd at first against this Truth, such as *Paul*?

(2.) *Quest.* Whether it be not a Demonstration, that the Publishers and Propagaters of this Doctrine, did believe it, in good earnest, themselves; not only as a Truth, but as a Truth of the vastest Importance?

1. Seeing nothing can be supposed to make Men so fond of a Man, that was dead; that had died the Death of a Slave; and that under the Character of a Malefactor; had they indeed believ'd him to be a Cheat, and not risen from the Dead? 2. Seeing they did not only constantly and unanimously preach this Doctrine, but lead a Life wholly conformable to it. 3. Seeing they suffer'd for this Doctrine, with the greatest Constancy and Pleasure, even unto the Death. 4. Seeing also, they lay'd such Strefs upon this Article, as to declare it to be impossible otherwise, than by the Belief of this, for any to be saved. 5. Seeing, in such a Number, some Person or other, (either thro' Temptation of Honour and Profit, or thro' fear of Suffering, or thro' Remorse of Conscience, especially when call'd to suffer,) must be supposed, sooner or latter, to have divulg'd the Cheat, if they had thought it to be such: For it was never known, that 500 Men, did continue firm and constant to one another, in carrying on a Cheat, even to Death and under Torments. Nor, is such a Thing supposable, in such a Case. For in Nature it is impossible, as Men and Things are now constituted, without a Miracle. And to suppose a Miracle, in this Case, is to suppose an absolute Impossibility; because God cannot confirm a Lie any way, and far less in such a manner. And therefore this will lead to

2 (3.) *Quest.* Whether it be supposable, That the true

and just God should bear Evidence to a Falshood? Nay, to propose this more forcibly another way; Whether was not God obliged to detect this Cheat, in case it had been one, as *Gamaliel* argued? *Acts* 5. 8. Whereas, it is plain, God bare Evidence to this, in the most remarkable and eminent manner: 1. By enduing the Apostles with all necessary Qualifications for reaching their End, in a way of Reason, and convincing Men of this, as a Truth; by giving them, in a most peculiar and wonderful Way, both Wisdom and Prudence, Courage and Bravery, &c. 2. By enduing them with supernatural Gifts; such as that of speaking and understanding all Languages, and of working innumerable Miracles, &c. 3. By sending down the Spirit, in a visible manner, as I have already said. 4. By wonderful Success, in Spite of all Opposition. Which gives Rise to a (4.) *Quest.* Whether it can, with any Colour of Reason, be said, That the Disciples were the Contrivers of the Gospel; when every one must own, that it is the most unpolitick Doctrine that ever was, as being, 1. No way plausible to corrupt Nature, but intirely opposite therèunto; 2. Inconsistent with all the Doctrines and Philosophies, that then obtain'd in the World; so as to be a *stumbling Block to the Jews, and Foolishness to the Gentiles.* (5.) *Quest.* Did the Disciples ever use any thing, that could be call'd Artifice, in what they said or did? Nay, did they not challenge the Reason and Consciences of their Enemies, to try and judge what they said and affirm'd? (6.) *Quest.* Is it conceivable that so grand a Scheme, and so vast a Plot, which was design'd to new-moddell the World, could ever either be contriv'd by such Heads, or carried on by such Hands, as a few illiterate, poor and despised Men, had not God himself own'd them immediately, and carried on the Design? I need say no more. For the Truth shines so clear by its own Light, and the Evidence is so strong and unanswerable, that more were superfluous.

However, there is one Thing further, that it is fit I should consider a little, before I pass forwards to any new Head, *viz.* *What Christ did, during the 40 Days of his being on Earth, after his Resurrection?* And indeed this is a Question much easier started than answered. It is indeed easie to say, that his main end was to confirm us, as to the Certainty and Verity of his being raised from the Dead. But how he imploy'd himself all that time, is not so easie to find out; especially seeing the Evangelists give us but a few transient Hints this way. All that they say amounts only to these few Heads; 1. That an Angel told the Women that Christ was risen, and charged them to go and tell the Disciples these News, and that Christ was a going into *Galilee*, and that there, and not in *Judæa*, he would principally manifest himself to his Disciples and to them, *Matth.* 28. 2, 5, 6, 7. *Mark* 16. 1, 2, 5, &c. The Women frighted, and yet joyful, run to tell the Tydings to the Disciples, who were, at this time *Mourning and Weeping* for their dead and buried Master, as they supposed he still was, *Mark* 16. 10. But it seems the Disciples were not all of them together at this time, and that the Women separated themselves to find them out. *Mary Magdalene* goes and finds out *Peter* and *John*, and with them goes back to the Sepulchre, *John* 20. 1, 2, 3, &c. 2. In the mean time, while the other Women are going to seek out the other Apostles, Christ meets with them, and they held him by the Feet and worshiped him, *Matth.* 28. 9, 10. 3. But it seems that *Mary Magdalene* had met with *Peter* and *John* very soon, perhaps upon the way to the Sepulchre, seeing it is asserted that Christ appeared first to her, *Mark* 16. 9. So that the Case must have been this. While the other Women go forwards to *Jerusalem*, *Mary Magdalene* seeing *Peter* and *John*, going forward to the Sepulchre, goes and tells them her doleful Story, and so turns back with them; and not only so, but remained by the Sepulchre after they went homeward, *John* 20. 10, 11, &c. For tho' *Luke* seems to relate things a little otherwise; yet certain it is, that

John must be supposed to relate this Transaction most accurately, who was so nearly concern'd to know it. And it is plain, that what *Luke* says of this Matter, is very generally and darkly, *Chap. 24. 10, 11, 12.* When therefore *Peter* and *John* had left the Sepulchre, *Christ* appears to *Mary Magdalene*, *John 20. 14, 15, &c.* which was the *first time* of his appearing to any. But it is probable, that *Christ* did not stay long with her, seeing he charg'd her *not to touch him, v. 17.* For his Words are as much as if he had said, *Do not lay hold on me now, so as to detain me, for thou wilt have time enough to touch me, and discourse with me, before I ascend to my Father, seeing I am to continue for 40 Days on Earth.* So that we may suppose, that He did, in a Moment, waft himself thro' the Air, to manifest himself to the other Women, who had been her Companions to the Sepulchre. But it is highly probable to me, that the other Women stop'd by the Way, until *Mary Magdalene* returned; and that *Christ* appeared the *second time* to them all jointly, as he had done to her alone the *first time.* For this Supposition is the best Method that I can think of, to adjust the several Relations of the four Evangelists, who otherwise seem to differ among themselves. 4. The Women come and tell the Apostles that *Christ* was risen, and that they had seen him, and spoken with them. But the Apostles believe them not, *Mark 16. 11:* And perhaps they thought it incredible, that *Christ* should appear to the Women and not to them. 5. The third time, wherein *Christ* appear'd, was when he spoke and convers'd *Incognito* with the two Disciples, that were going to *Emmaus*, *Luke 24. 13, &c.* For *Mark* says, *Ch. 16. 12.* that he was in *another Form*, than that wherein he usually had been seen. But neither would the Apostles give Credit to the Relation of these two Disciples, *Mark 16. 13. Luke 24. 33.* It seems, that the Names of these two Disciples were *Cleophas*, *v. 18.* and the other *Simon*, *v. 34.* For *Cleophas* seems to have been the Relater of what happen'd to them, in the Way, appealing to this *Simon* for the Truth of what he said;

said; who ought not therefore to be confounded with *Simon Peter*, seeing it is said, that they related this Fact to the *Eleven* [Apostles] whom they found gathered together, with other Disciples, v. 33. Of which Apostles therefore *Peter* must have been one. 6. Now while these two Disciples are telling their Story, Christ himself appears the fourth time to them all; upbraiding them with their Unbelief, and Hardness of Heart, because they believed not them, who had seen him after he was risen, Mark. 16. 14. Of which Conversation *Luke* speaks particularly, Ch. 24. 36, 37, &c. 7. The fifth time of Christ's appearing to the Disciples was when *Thomas* was present with them, who alone had been absent before. And of this *John* gives a distinct Account, Ch. 20. 24, 25, 26, &c. which was Eight Days after the former appearing of *Jesus*. 8. Now it seems, that Christ did after this depart unto *Galilee*, as he had intimated before; and that the Disciples went thither to obey his Orders, and to wait his Presence and Pleasure. But yet *John* intimates, that Christ had often appear'd to his Disciples, besides those times particularly mentioned, Ch. 20. 30, 31. However the Sixth Recorded Appearing of Christ to them, is that at the *Sea of Tiberias*, of which *John* gives us an Account, Ch. 21. 1, 2, &c. 9. But it would seem, that before Christ appeared to the rest of the Apostles, He manifested himself to *Peter*, 1 Cor. 15. 5. And this has made our Divines think, that this was the same *Simon* mentioned, *Luke* 24. 33. Nor shall I much contend about it, tho, for the Reason mentioned, I rather think that it was another *Simon*. But, however, it is plain, that Christ appeared to *Cephas* before he appeared to all the Apostles together. So that we have now Seven Appearances in all. 10. But *Paul* adds, 1 Cor. 15. 6. That, after that, He was seen of 500 Brethren; but when, or where, he mentions not; which was therefore his Eighth Appearance. 11. After that, it seems, he was seen by *James* alone, 1 Cor. 15. 7. which was the Ninth Time. 12. And, after that, He was seen by all the Apostles

again, *Ibid.* 13. And *last of all*, (which was the *Eleventh Appearance*) says *Paul*, he was seen of me, as of one born out of due time, *1 Cor.* 15. 8. because this was after Christ's Ascension.

When therefore we have sum'd up the whole Account, we cannot find, that Christ appeared oftner, to the Apostles and other Disciples, before his Ascension, than *ten times*. And therefore the Question remains still, in a great measure unanswer'd; *viz.* what Christ did on Earth during all the forty Days: For, by what appears, he was with his Disciples only at times, and that not very often, nor very long. For, tho' I shall readily grant, 1. That Christ might have appeared oftner to the Apostles, than we have any account of; 2. And have continued longer with them, when he appeared, than we are apt to think; 3. Nay and have also done more before them, and discoursed more distinctly and fully with them than we can apprehend now, (seeing all these seem to be insinuated, *John* 20. 30, 31. *Chap.* 21. 25.) Yet, it is plain and apparent from the scriptural Account, that he was very far from remaining with them, as formerly; nay, that he was for the far greatest part of the 40 Days of his abode on Earth, invisible to them, and therefore most probably elsewhere. Only he took care, that they should be with him, when he departed from this World, and took wing for the better. And he had so order'd Matters, for this purpose, that his Apostles should be returned from *Galilee*, that they might see him ascend to Heaven, which was from *Bethany*, as we see, *Luke* 24. 50, 51. which was about 15 Furlongs from *Jerusalem*. And it seems that the Apostles, in their returning from thence, halted some time upon, or at the Foot of Mount *Olivet*, to worship him, which is about seven Furlongs, or a short English Mile from *Jerusalem*; which is the reason of the Evangelists mentioning their returning from thence, *Acts* 1. 10, 11.

But, after all, seeing it is certain, that Christ spent a great part, if not the far greatest part of the 40 Days
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of his abode on Earth, not with the Disciples, but elsewhere, as absent from them ; we are left in the Dark, as to his Work and Employment during the rest of the time. That he was constantly and nobly employed, during his Absence from them, as well as Presence with them, all Christians must grant. And, that he had Work as necessary, when absent, as when present to mind, we must equally own. And to say more, with any thing like Positiveness, were Presumption, seeing the Scripture is silent. But however a modest Conjecture, which is all I pretend to further, cannot, I think, be unacceptable to a serious Person who is inur'd to Divine Meditation.

Now, in order to consider and understand, what I have to propose, without any Prejudice, I premise three things as Preliminaries. 1. That Jesus Christ was to merit, by his Actions and Sufferings, to be seated at the Head of the intellectual World, especially that of Mankind, as Man, tho as a Man related to and united with the *Logos*. This is so plain from all I have said, and is so expressly asserted by *Paul*, *Phil.* 2. 8, 9, &c. that it were impertinent to insist upon it here. Now, if this be true, it necessarily follows ; 2. That the *Man Christ* must be gradually ripen'd, under the Conduct of the *Logos*, for so great and universal an Empire and Government. For, tho he was the most excellent of Creatures, Yet he was no more, as he was Man, whither we consider his Spirit or Body. And therefore seeing, *qua* Creature, it was impossible he should be infinite, either as to *Knowledge*, or *Authority*, or *Power* ; it was necessary, that he should gradually advance in the *first* ; in order to be intrusted more and more with the *second* and *third* of these. Therefore we are told, *Luke* 2. 5. That Jesus increased in *Wisdom* as well as *Stature*, and that in a Proportion to the Increase of his Wisdom, he increased also in Favour with God and Men. And therefore we may justly conclude, 3. That it was altogether fit, and ev'n necessary, in order to Christ's after-Government

of the World, That he should, *as Man*, be acquainted with all the Parts of his vast Empire, and all the several Conditions of his Subjects of all sorts; seeing nothing is more necessary, in order to Government, than such a Knowledge. I know very well, that *Christ*, as *Logos*, needed not any thing like this. But however, this I say, that, seeing the *Man Christ* was to be the *Medium* of the Operations of the *Logos*; it was simply impossible for him to act by him, *as Man*, if we suppose, that the *Logos* did all immediately and formally, by himself, without the Intervention of the *Man Jesus*, any other way, than *ad Presentiam ejus, i. e.* under the shew of acting by him, at the same time that the *Man Jesus* acted not at all. I am not willing to press home those Absurdities that must follow upon such an Opinion; whatever way we take to ward them off. Let me only say here, that in case any Person should suppose such a thing, rather than fall in with this Preliminary Consideration; he must either suppose, that the Human Nature was swallow'd up by, or changed into the Divine Nature, and so say there is no such Person or Nature, as the *Man Christ* now in Heaven; or otherwise he must suppose, that there is no proper use for the *Man Christ* in Heaven. For, if the *Man Jesus* remain in the Human Nature, unconfounded with the Divine; and if he be the *Grand Organ*, by which God, in and by the *Logos*, acts to us: Then, is it certain, that the *Logos* must act to and by the *Man Christ*, so, as a Finite Being or Nature, (however perfect otherwise,) can allow of. And, if so; is it not very consonant to the Method of Divine Procedure, to suppose, that the *Logos* would give the *Man Christ* an Opportunity to be acquainted with the Nature and Circumstances of his Subjects, of all sorts, and in all Parts of the Empire, over which he was to be seated. For my own part, I must declare, that this is so far from being a precarious Supposition; That, as I think it naturally follows from the two preceding Suppositions, so likewise, that this was one of the principal Reasons (if not the principal

cipal of all) of Christ's continuing on Earth for the whole Space of 40 Days and Nights. For, *besides this*, I know but two supposable Reasons for this, *viz.* to convince Men of the Reality of his Resurrection, and to instruct the Apostles in what related to the Gospel. Now the *first* of these was, I confess, absolutely necessary, as I have said. But yet there was no Necessity, at all of this kind, for Christ's continuing for 40 Days: For had he continued but three Days, and continued all that time with his Disciples, it had been as certain a Proof of this Point. And, as for the *Second*, I cannot see that this was any main End of his continuing so long on Earth at all; seeing, as I have said again and again, our Saviour did not *fully* instruct his Apostles, during that time, but left this to the Holy Spirit, which was not to be given till Christ was glorified. And therefore, what Christ discoursed of, in Relation to the Gospel, before his Ascension, was rather a natural Concomitant of his appearing to them, than any proper End of his Abode on Earth. But, supposing it to be indeed one of the Ends of his continuing on Earth, for some time; yet neither *that*, nor indeed the *first*, can be supposed to be the *formal* or *proper Reason* of his continuing *so long* in the World, as he did. For, as I said just now, had Christ continued with his Disciples, for the whole Space but of Three Days and Nights, without leaving them all that time, I see not, but that he had answered both these Ends, as fully as he did by his Appearing, *now and then*, for 40 Days. Nay, I will say this further, That I cannot find, that the Time that was spent, by Christ, with his Apostles, during all the 40 Days of his Abode on Earth, amounted to the Space of 48 Hours. For it is plain, that some of the Appearances of Christ were but for a few Minutes; and that the longest of them did not continue for many Hours. And therefore, granting all the three Concessions, mention'd before, to be as certain, as any Man can desire; yet still, as I have already hinted, it was but a very small Part of the 40 Days of Christ's

Christ's Abode on Earth, that was employ'd in the Company of any one, or all his Disciples. And this alone is, I think, sufficient to demonstrate, that tho both these might be Reasons for Christ's continuing on Earth, for some Days after his Resurrection; yet the Formal and Principal End of his staying on Earth for *so long a time as forty intire Days*, must be what I have supposed in this *Third Preliminary*.

And, if this be once allowed of, may I not suppose these Things (which are, as it were, involv'd in, or, at least, naturally deduced from the *Third Preliminary*) as highly probable. 1. That, as *Christ's Soul*, during the time of its Separation from the Body, went into *Hades*, or the State and Place of separate Souls; so likewise, that one of his First Acts, was to return thither, after his Resurrection, to satisfy the *Souls departed*, that he had actually raised himself, and consequently that he would also raise their Bodies in due time. I mean not that he went to the *Dark Hades* of wicked and miserable Souls, (concerning which I pretend not now to say any thing,) but into the *Paradisical Hades* of good and happy Souls, where *Enoch, Moses and Elias* are with their proper Bodies, as others without them, tho perhaps with some sort of *Equivalent Vehicles*. And I ask, Whether some such thing be not denoted? *Matth. 27. 52.* where we are told, that *many of the dead Saints arose and appeared to many*, with this peculiar Mark as to the Time, *viz.* That it was *after Christ's Resurrection*. For, this seems to lead us to think, that Christ brought them from thence, as an Evidence of his having Power to raise all the rest of the Dead, and that he actually would do so at last. And the Time mark'd out seems to insinuate, that Christ brought them from thence, after his own Resurrection, and consequently that he himself went thither to fetch them. 2. And, seeing he bore a Relation, not only to the *Saints departed*, but to *Angels*, as being their Head; we may well suppose, that they came down, in vast Numbers, to *congratulate Him*, upon his having *conquered Death*

Death and Hell. And therefore some considerable Time, probably, was spent between him and them, during his Continuance on Earth; tho' the sacred Historians, who wrote only what they saw or heard of, had no Information of these *Interviews*, far less of the Particulars that related to them. 3. And, seeing our Saviour's Grand Enemies were the *Apostate Angels*, may we not suppose, that He manifested himself so to them, as to give evident Proof of his having conquer'd them. 4. Nay, what if we suppose, that our Saviour went into the same Wilderness, where he had been tempted by Satan, to shew himself both to Angels and Devils; that he might confirm the former, that he was the same, that had given the *Law*, formerly there from *Mount Sinai*, surrounded with themselves; and that he might challenge *Satan*, and all the Powers of Hell, to appear, if they durst, against him, that had now espoused the Interest of Mankind, and own'd himself to be the *Second Adam*, and so the Federal Head of his Family. 5. But, seeing our Blessed Saviour had a peculiar Relation to Men, that did then live in the World, and were afterwards to live therein; seeing he was to be both the *King of Nations*, and the *King of Saints*: Hence it is reasonable to suppose, that a great Part, if not the far greatest part of that Time, that Christ spent on Earth, did bear a special Relation to them. When therefore we have closely considered the former Preliminaries, and particularly the last: It will not be, I think, liable to just Censure, for me to suppose it to be at least probable; That the *Man Christ*, might make a Progress thro' this *Habitable World*, (whose Delights, before his *Incarnation*, were with the Children of Men, Prov. 8. 31.) in order to view and contemplate, as such, what the several Nations of the Earth were a doing, and in what State and Condition they were; if it were only to have a Fellow-feeling and Simpathy with them. For, tho' he was, for special Reasons, confin'd to *Judæa*, *Samaria* and *Gallilee*, before his Death: Yet, seeing his Gospel was to be sent into all Nations, was it not congruous to his Design,

sign, to make an *Incognito Visit* to the other Tribes, Families and Nations of Men?

Perhaps some Men, upon a transient View of these Hints, especially if under prevalent Prejudices, may look upon these things, as meer *Whims* and *Chimerical Fancies*: Nor shall I be much concern'd if they do so; seeing the main of *Christianity* is no ways concerned here, and that I propose them *Problematically* only. However, I am bold to say this, that a serious and judicious Student of Divinity will find a greater Foundation of their Probability, upon second Thoughts, than upon a first View, especially if he be apprized of my Scheme, in this Book, and particularly if he be Master of that Part of it, that he will find treated of in the 3d Chapter, and in that Part of this Chapter which I have already run thro'. And more I shall not say on this Head.

Only let me add this one Thing, in Relation to this Article it self, *viz.* Christ's Resurrection; That it is, if not the main Foundation of all our Hope, yet one main Pillar thereof, even such a one, as that there were no Comfort or Hope without it. For, as the Apostle says, *1 Cor. 15. 19. If in this Life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable, i. e. If Christ were yet dead, and actually under the Power of Death, instead of having conquer'd it, by raising himself from the Dead; We Christians, who place all our Hope, in him, as risen, were of all Men the most miserable, especially in times of Persecution; seeing, upon this Supposition, we should be found to build all our Hope and Comfort on a Falshood. But now, if Christ be risen, and has raised himself from the Dead; then we are the most happy of all Men. For, if Christ has raised himself, and has raised some Men already, and given Assurance that he has Power to raise them all, and that he will actually do so at last; then we cannot but have a ravishing View of his Design, and the certainty of his Promises.*

And therefore what remains, but that we should,

I. Firm-

1. Firmly believe this great and important Truth ;
 2. Thank him for the undoubted Evidences he has given us of this ; 3. Meditate upon it, and the State that Christ is now in, in Heaven, and the Work he is employ'd in there ; And, 4. Act, as the Genuine Subjects and Followers of this Risen and Glorified Saviour ; by rising from Sin, by employing our selves in his Service, as those that hope for Heaven, and by running and fighting for that glorious Prize, *If by any means we may attain to the better Resurrection*, as the Apostle says, *Phil. 3. 11.* For which ends, let us pray, with the same Apostle, *Heb. 13. 20, 21.* *That the God of Peace, who brought again, from the Dead, our Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd of the Sheep, thro' the Blood of the Everlasting Covenant, may make us perfect in every good Work to do his Will, working in us that which is well pleasing in his Sight, thro' Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory for ever and ever. Amen.*

VI. Christ's Ascension to Heaven, Glorification in Heaven, and Mission of the Paraclete from Heaven.

I joyn these Three in one, because, having been so long upon the Former Heads, I would tie my self up to the greatest Brevity upon these.

As to the 1st, *viz.* Christ's *Ascension*, I hardly need to say any thing, seeing it follows so necessarily, according to the Scheme and Plan of Divine Procedure, as I have explain'd it ; That we cannot suppose Christ to have risen from the Dead, but we must suppose also, that this was in order to his being Exalted further, even to Heaven. But, besides this, we have ocular Demonstration here, seeing we are told, *Acts 1. 9.* *That while they (i. e. the Apostles, and probably the other Disciples too) beheld, he was taken up, i. e. in the Air towards Heaven, until a Cloud (the constant Attendant of the Shechinah) received him out of their Sight, wafting him thus higher than they could discern him ; tho they remained still (as it is said *ver. 10.*) looking stedfastly*

fastly toward Heaven, until two Angels awak'd them out of their Amazement.

And, 2dly. As Christ is ascended to Heaven, so we are sure he is *glorified there*, He himself having given Proof of the Verity thereof, in the solemn Mission of the Paraclete, to mention no other Evidence thereof now.

And therefore, 3dly. The *Mission of the Holy Spirit*, was the last extraordinary Proof of Christ's being the true Messiah, and of his being glorified and rewarded, as such; especially if we consider how eminently it was given, and how plentifully, and to how many Persons, and for how long a time; as also how many, and how signal the Gifts and Miracles were, that follow'd his being given.

But, as I put a Stop to my Pen, from enlarging, at this time, upon either of the preceding Heads; so I shall not say any thing in Relation to this Third. Only I cannot forbear, cursorily and incidentally, to observe concerning the *Paraclete*, 1. That his being represented under the Hieraglyphick of a Dove, demonstrates his being a Person or Being; seeing a Dove is an animated Being, subsisting as an Individual of that Species of Creatures. For, tho' no Similitude can perfectly represent the Thing adumbrated by it, especially in such a Case as this; and tho' Human Emblems are often very extravagant: Yet Divine ones must ever be supposed to have Truth for their Foundation, and to be as proper as the Nature of things will bear. 2. That the Scripture uses different Words, in shewing the Relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and to Christ. For, in Relation to the Father, He is said to be, *The Spirit of God*, 1 Cor. 2. 10, &c. and to *Proceed from the Father*, John 15. 26. But, in Relation to Christ, He is said to be *given by the Father*, upon *Christ's praying to the Father*, that it might be so, *John* 14. 16. and to be *Sent in Christ's Name*, or upon his Account, and as his Delegate, *ver.* 26. and so sent, as to dispense to Christians what he received of Christ's, and nothing else; for

for so Christ says expressly, *John* 16. 14. *He shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you; and, ver. 13. He shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak, &c.* 3. That because the *Dispensation of the Spirit* is the last, and concluding, and perfecting One of Christianity; therefore the *Sinning against him*, especially that of *Blaspheming him*, is more highly aggravated, than any Sin committed against the *Son of Man*, i. e. against Christ, while he was in a State of Tryal and Humiliation, and is therefore, in this Sense, *unpardonable*, *Matth.* 12. 31, 32. But of this Sin I shall have Occasion to speak further afterwards.

But, since I have thus confined my self, at this time, so as not to speak to all these Heads; yet I cannot dismiss them, without saying something, as to their vast Importance and great Usefulness. For, if Christ be now ascended to Heaven, and if he be now glorified at the Father's right Hand, and that it was He that sent the Paraclete; then we may justly and naturally infer these Things. 1. That He is the *True and Full Antitype of the High-Priests* going of old into the *Holy of Holies*, once a Year, with Blood, as the Representative of the whole Body of God's People. 2. That all good People, tho' *personally* on Earth, are yet *virtually* in Heaven; Christ being there as our Head. 3. That his Glorification is a sure Pledge of ours, if we are indeed his Genuine Children, and continue so. 4. That our *Treasure* in Heaven is secure, seeing Christ is both the *Guardian* thereof, and the very *Bank* wherein it is laid up. 5. That all Men are *pardonable*, and, upon their espousing the Interests of Christ, may attain to Happiness; which is not the Case of *Apostate Angels*; seeing Christ is in Heaven in our Nature and not in theirs. 6. That the *Popish Transubstantiation*, and the *Lutheran Consubstantiation*, as well as their Notion of the *Ubiquity* of Christ's Human Nature, are false and absurd, seeing He is now in Heaven, and is to remain there only, in this Sense, until he come again at the last Day. 7. That Christ is now constituted the Head

over

over all Mankind, in order to approve himself the special Head of his Church. 8. That he is secured, as to the Efficacy and Success of all his Undertakings: 9. That God, in thus Glorifying and Rewarding the Man Christ, has most eminently manifested his Regard to true Piety, and a worthy and useful Life, in the Discharge of ones Trust; and has given us, this way, a true and perfect Mirror, wherein we may see, what, and how impartial, his Estimate and Procedure is, both as to Persons and Things. 10. That it is our Duty, to pay that Worship, and those Acknowledgments, both to the Father, Son and Spirit, which is their Due and Right. 11. That we may hence be assured, that *Our Work and Labour of Love shall not be in vain, in the Lord Jesus*, Heb. 6. 10. For as the Apostle says, *ver. 19, 20. This Hope we have, as an Anchor of the Soul, both sure and stedfast, and which entreth into that which is within the Veil, where the Fore-runner is entred for us, even Jesus, &c.* 12. That therefore our Thoughts ought to be raised and elevated above the World, and all terrene Things, and our Lives be such, as that they may be seen to bear a Relation to Heaven, and our Master who is there, and there *for us*, as our Advocate and Intercessor. But now, that I have mention'd this, I am led forward to consider,

VII. Christ's present Work in Heaven, and the Assurance he has given us, of his coming from thence at last, as the Great and Universal Judge.

But seeing the *latter* of these will more properly fall in to be treated of, towards the end of the 5th Book of this Work, as relating to *Christocracy*, or the Government of Christ, as such; I shall say nothing at all upon this Head now; excepting this, That I would beg every Christian, that reads this part of my Labours, to remember that all that I have said, or have to say further, in Relation to Christ, points forward to the *Grand Assises* of the last Day, where Christ will
fit

fit as *Supreme visible Judge*, to give forth an *Universal Award*, to *Angels and Men*; after an impartial *Inquiry* into their several *Managements*; *Distributing* thus *Rewards and Punishments*, exactly proportion'd to their *Actions*, and the *Circumstances* wherein his *Providence* had plac'd them, whilst in this present *World*.

I shall therefore confine my self at this time, to the *Consideration* of *Christ's Work in Heaven*. But alas! What can a *Mortal* say of it, who is a *Sojourner* in this *World*, and at so vast a *Distance* from the *Place* where *Christ* is. Surely *Christ* has a great deal of *Work* there, in *Reference* to *God*, and in *Relation* to the innumerable *Armies*, and several *Degrees* of *Angels*, which we can pretend to say little, if any thing, unto. Nor can I say much concerning *Christ's Work* and *Office* there, as it bears a *Reference* to us. *Four Things*, indeed, we have a *Foundation* for, and some *Account* of, in the *New Testament*, viz. 1. That *Christ* governs the whole *World*, from *Heaven*, by his *Providence*, and the *Ministration* of *Angels*; 2. That He presides in all that the *Holy Spirit* does, with *Relation* to the *Inlightning*, *Converting*, *Sanctifying*, *Comforting* and *Preserving* his *Special* or *Elect People*; seeing all that the *Paraclete* does, is done *as from him*, and *in his Name*; 3. That, as He prepares us for *Heaven*, so he is gone thither, to prepare *Places* or *Mansions* for our *Reception*; and, 4. That he is there *agenting* our *Cause*, by *Interceding* and *Pleading* for us there. But now, seeing the *First* and *Second* of these *Heads* do most properly belong to *Christocracy*, or the *Government* of *Christ*, as *Loganthropos*; it is proper likewise, to adjourn the *Consideration* of them, until I come to that *Part* of my *Work*, if it shall please my gracious *God*, and dear *Redeemer*, to honour me to finish that eminent *Part* of this *Synopsis* and *Specimen* of *Christology*. All therefore that I have to do here, is to say something in *Relation* to the *Third* and *Fourth* of these *Heads*,

which I shall endeavour to do, with all possible Brevity.

And, *1st.* Let us consider, That Christ is gone to Heaven, to *prepare Mansions* or *Places*, that may be fit for our Reception, and consequently such an appropriate Share of Happiness, as he sees fit in his unerring Wisdom; and that in a Reference unto our Behaviour, as to Integrity and Serviceableness, in this State of Tryal, under the Circumstances wherein he was pleased to appoint us to be, during our Abode in this present World.

I have, in this Proposition, summ'd up all that relates to this Part of our Saviour's Imployment in Heaven, so far as I can find it spoken of in Scripture. Now what I find there, is, 1. That our Saviour is gone to Heaven, as our Head, in order to serve our Interest there, by his doing so. And therefore, not only is Christ called our *Fore-runner*, in this respect, but it is said expressly, that he is *entred for us within the Vail*, Heb 6. 19, 20. *z. e.* that he is gone into the most Holy Place, upon our Account, and for our Service and Interest. And this the Apostle illustrates, from the High-Priest's going into the most Holy Place of old, once a Year, with Blood, in the Name of all *Israel*, as their Representative, to act for them there with God; for which see *Heb.* 9. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, &c. 2. That Christ will reward his Followers, with lower or higher Degrees of Honour, Happiness and Trust, as they have acted more or less for his and his Father's Honour and Interests, in this World, in a Proportion to the Circumstances they were under. This is insinuated in the Parable of the Talents, *Matth.* 25. 14, 15, &c. But it is more plainly denoted, in the Parable of the Pounds, *Luke* 19. 17, 18, &c. For to him that had increased his Pound, so as to gain *Ten Pounds* more, it is said, *Well, thou good Servant, because thou hast been faithful in a very little, have thou Authority over ten Cities.* And so likewise, it is said to the second Servant, that had gained *Five Talents*, *Be thou also over Five Cities.* But, see-

seeing I have (2) formerly said enough to clear this Point, even to a Demonstration, I shall neither trouble the Reader, nor my self, with any thing further now. 3. That therefore, it is one Part of Christ's Employment in Heaven, to *prepare Places*, fit for the Reception of his Saints, agreeable to their several Services on Earth, and consequently to those various Stations and Services that he designs them for in the happy World. This I think is plainly and fully enough, tho' briefly, insinuated by our Lord himself, *John* 14. 2, 3. *In my Father's House are many Mansions. If it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a Place for you. And if I go and prepare a Place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto my self.* [And then it is added] *That where I am ye may be also.* In which wonderfully concise, but equally comprehensive Words, there are four distinct Sentences, containing just so many distinct Propositions. And therefore, it may be equally pleasant and profitable, to consider them distinctly and closely. For I am much mistaken, if they have been to this Day fully consider'd.

Prop. 1. That in the Future Happy World, called by Christ *his Father's House*, there are many *Mansions*.

By *God's House*, all are agreed, that nothing else is meant, but the *Happy World*, where the Angels of Light have their Residence and Abode; which is called the *House of God*, because there he manifests himself in a more full, free, and glorious Manner than here below.

By *Mansions*, therefore, in that *House* or *World*, must be meant several *Districts*, or, I may say, *Countries*, where the glorious Spirits are seated, in several Regions, as so many Societies and Communities, under the Government of the Supreme King, according as, in his Holy Wisdom, he sees most fit and proper to regiment them, in Relation to their Services, and the Ends he has further to serve by them. For *μονῆ*, which

(2) See *Christol. Lib. 1. Page 81, &c. as also my Practical Discourse, occasion'd by the Death of King William, Page 86, &c.*

we render *Mansion*, signifies any manner of Place where Men inhabit; as it is derived from the Verb μένω, which signifies, in the general, to dwell, to remain, to abide, or to inhabit any House, Place or Country, as a proper and constant Inhabitant there, in Opposition to a Pilgrim, Stranger, Sojourner, or transient Lodger: For all which, I remit the Reader to our best Lexicons: Only I shall take notice of this by the by, that the Greek Fathers, (a) frequently use the Word μονή, to denote what has been since call'd a *Monastry*: Which I do the rather take notice of, because every one knows, that a *Monastry* is a Place inhabited by such, or such a Society of Men, under particular Regulations or Rules.

The Jews talk strange things of the vast Extent of the *Mansions* of Paradise, Moses Haddarson, in Gen. 2. 9. says, that there are seven *Mansions*, which are each 12000 Miles long, 10000 broad, and 10000 high. But how ridiculous soever such Determinations may appear to be; yet sure the *invisibile World*, must be supposed infinitely to exceed this little Orb of ours, in Extent and Capaciousness, as well as in other respects; in which, notwithstanding there are so many vast Regions, and Kingdoms: And one might be tempted to think, that the Multiplicity of *Mansions* in the future World, may bear a Relation to the several Worlds of intelligent Creatures in a State of Tryal: For I am very apt to believe, that ours is not the only one; concerning which I may perhaps have an Opportunity afterwards to offer some rational, tho conjectural Thoughts. And in the mean time I remit the Reader to a calm and sober Perusal, (b) of something which I suggested formerly on this Head.

(a) *Falsam*, ad Can. 41. Concil. in Trullo, page 411. ὁ τῆς μονῆς, ἢ γὰρ μένος ταῦτα ἐξεταζεται. Et Act. 1. Concilii sub Menz. P. 579, &c. frequenter occurrit, in Subscriptionibus; ἐγὼ — πρὸς τὸν πᾶσι καὶ ἡγουμένους τῆς μονῆς — ἐπέγραψα. (b) See the 2d of my Four Discourses, viz. that concerning God's dwelling with Men, Page 83, &c.

But however this be, certain it is, that there are *many vast and distinct Regions*, in the *Paradiseal World*. And, tho' we know not how they are situated, dispos'd of, or govern'd; yet it is highly probable, that they will all be replenish'd fully at length. And, seeing Men have been in all Ages, and still are distinguish'd by various Circumstances, and, in some Sense, are under various Dispensations, as well as canton'd into different Regions; why should it be improbable, that the wise God should accordingly dispose them, in the World of Rewards, with some Relation to these; and therefore as variouſly, if not more than he did, when they were here in this World of Tryal? Surely, his Providence, from first to last, is all uniform, and of a Piece. And why then should we doubt, whether his Management, in the disposing of us in the other World, bear a Relation to his disposing of us, in this World, and our managing of our selves, in a Relation to both these? For Example, seeing God must be suppos'd so to dispose of us after Death, in the *Paradiseal World*, as shall conduce most to our Happiness; may we not think, that near and dear Relatives, or other Friends on Earth, that lived together in Holy and Christian Fellowship, will be allowed to be seated nearer to one another, in Paradise, than to those that they did perhaps never hear of, whilst alive. Is it reasonable to think, that the *Apostles* and *Apostolical Men*, will be separated at vast Distances from one another? Is it not more reasonable to think, that they will be seated together, tho' they may have Communication likewise, more or less, (as no doubt they will) with all others? I am therefore inclin'd to believe it, as more than probable, that the *Ante-Diluvian Saints*, may be more nearly seated together, than with those that are yet to live, in the last Days. And the like Supposition I do make, as to all others; such as the *Shemites*, the *Israelites*, those of *Job's Country-men* of the *East*, of *old*, &c. To this

purpose I expres'd my self, formerly, in a (c) *Juvenil Poem*,

*Behold, a Mansion is for you prepar'd,
And in the same, as part of your Reward;
You may observe it so to stand,
As to have nigh at Hand*

*The Mansions of all those, conjoyn'd to thee on Earth,
By Nature's or by closer Friendship's Birth.*

And, now that I have liv'd near 20 Years, since the Time when that Poem was compos'd, which was upon a (d) memorable Occasion; I see not, why I should look upon this Notion as Chimerial: If others do so, yet, I hope, they will allow, that it is a very innocent one: But, whatever be thought of my Exposition of the *many Mansions in God's House*; still it must be allowed, that the general Truth it self doth include something of the most weighty Concern; seeing Christ adds, *That had it been otherwise, He would have told us so.* Which leads us therefore to a new Consideration.

Prop. 2. That the *Belief* of this, that there are *many Mansions* in the *Paradifical World*, is of that Importance, That had it not been so, to such an Exactness, as that there was no fear of our forming some such Idea of it, as I have done, our *Saviour* had been oblig'd, in *Faithfulness*, to have given us the *very opposite Idea*, and told us that it was not so.

This, I am sure, is the genuin Design of Christ's Meaning, if I understand either the Original or common Sense.

(c) Called the Extasie, being one of the Pindaricks, which with some Miscellanies, are added to my Poetical Paraphrase on Solomon's Song, which was printed A. D. 1691. (d) See what is said of that Poem, in the Preface.

And, if it be so, then I cannot be reflected upon, in making the best of this General Assertion of Christ, that I was capable of in so small a Compass.

And this I do, at least, gain; that no Notion, directly opposite to, or inconsistent with the General Assertion of Christ, concerning *Many* distinct *Mansions*, or *Countries*, in the other World, according to my Notion of it; that, I say, no such *Counter-Notion* to mine, can either be true or consistent with Truth. And this is all I am concerned for. For I never pretended, either in this or any such case, to propose Particulars, as explanatory of a general *Indefinite* Assertion, otherwise than as conjectural: Tho I can honestly, and without Vanity, say likewise, that I never proposed, that I can remember, any such particular Explication of *such* a General; without what appear'd, to me, to carry along with it, at least, a very plausible Evidence of its being rationally deducible by a close Thinker, from that which I was convinc'd must have been the meaning of the Author or Relater of such a general Expression. And sure I am, that our *Saviour's* not having *limited* us to *narrower Ideas*, than those I have hinted, is a plain allowing us Freedom to reason about this matter as we can.

Prop. 3. That *one great End* of Christ's going to reside in the other World, was to *prepare a Place*, or *distinct Country* or *Mansion*, for his Apostles and other Disciples.

Our *Saviour* having, in the first Sentence or Proposition, assured us that the happy World consisted of many *Mansions*, *Countries* or *Places*; and it being rational, and, in some sort, necessary to suppose, That the *several Orders* or *Sorts* of *Glorious Angels* did occupy some of them; and likewise very probable, that the *Glorified Spirits* of the *several Sorts* of *Men*, who had liv'd under *different Oeconomies*, did inhabit others of them, *viz.* the *Ante-diluvian Sethites*, the *Post-diluvian Shemites* and *Abrahamites*, and the *Post-Mosaical Israelites*, &c. I say, these things being once

supposed, we cannot but conclude from thence, that our Saviour would have the Apostles know, that it was necessary that he should go to Heaven; if it were only upon this account, That he might canton out a particular *Country, Mansion or Place* for them and other Christians to inhabit. I say, *to other Christians*, because it were very incongruous to suppose, that he meant them only, exclusively of others; seeing we cannot think that he went to Heaven upon their account only. And, therefore we must suppose that he speaks to them as the Representatives of all Christians, even as the Father did, *Mat. 17 5.* when he spoke to the three Apostles only, in an immediate way, commanding them to *hear and obey his Son.* And sure, if he intercede for all his People, he went also to prepare *this Place* for them, of which he speaks, as well as for his Apostles. We are oblig'd therefore to believe, that he speaks here, thro' the Apostles, to all his Followers, in the same manner, as in all his other Discourses; as when he says, *What I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch,* Mark 13. 37. and so *John 17. 20. I pray not for these alone (i. e. in a Separation from others) but for them also who shall believe on me, thro' their Word.*

Seeing therefore our Saviour first asserted a *Plurality*, nay a Multitude of *Places or Mansions* to be included in his Father's House or the Heavenly World; and now comes to speak in the *singular Number*, of *one Place* to be appropriated for Christians: What can we think, but what I have now said, that there is a peculiar Region in Heaven assign'd and mark'd out, to be inhabited by the Souls of Christians that die in Christ. And what else can this be, than a part of that World, into which all righteous Souls have gone, and in which they have ever been plac'd: call'd by the Ancients, nay by the Sacred Writers themselves, *Paradise*, or the *Paradise World*, yea and by Christ too, as also by the Name of *Hades*.

And let us not forget, that our Saviour's Words do necessarily denote, that this Place or Region that Christian Souls were to inhabit after Death, was not yet
actually

actually mark'd out for them; and no wonder, seeing this was to be consequentially only upon Christ's having finish'd his Redemption-Work; as being part of his Reward in a State of Exaltation, to have this Authority and Power confer'd upon him. The Place therefore was not prepared, as yet, when he spoke these Words, but was to be prepared by himself, after his Arrival at his Father's House.

Whether this does denote any thing of his being about to create a new World or Country, for us Christians to inhabit, is what we can determine nothing about; tho he had formerly us'd the like Expression, in relation to the Mosaical Creation, *Prov. 8. 27. when he prepared the Heavens, I was there, &c.* Only I shall take this occasion to say, that a vulgar Notion, that has too long obtain'd, is a very precarious one, nay I must say a very presumptuous one likewise, *viz.* that of asserting, that because God is said to *have rested from his six days Work of Creation*, that therefore he neither ever made *any thing or any World*, before that Creation of which *Moses* speaks, and that he has made none since, or ever will again. Who made such Men Counsellors to the Eternal and Almighty Lord of all, that they dare thus limit him, and determine so positively in such Matters? But, as I have said, let the Notion of the Word *prepare*, in our Text, be what it will; certain it is, that *that Place, that the Apostles were to inhabit after Death, was not prepared for them, until Christ went to Heaven to do it.* If then it was, for Substance, made before, at least it was not as yet prepared for the Reception and Entertainment of Christian Souls. Nay, I think the Expression does also denote this, that it was to be left to *Christ's Choice*, when he should arrive at his Father's Court, what Country or Districh, or Place, he pleased to have or to mark out for the Reception of those that did believe in him, or should hereafter do so. Tho I question not but that this as well as other things, was agreed upon between the Father and Son, in the Covenant of Redemption; and that this there-
fore

fore may be that Kingdom, which Christ speaks of, *Luke 22. 29.*

And now that I have cited this place, I must say, that tho I own that the usual Comments of Protestants upon Christ's Words, *Luke 22. 29, 30.* are true, as to the Reference they suppose they bear to the Church on Earth: Yet I must be so bold as to think that this is neither the whole Truth, nor the Principal Truth, that these Words look to and do include. For the Words are too lofty, and the Promise too express and special, to be thus limited. And therefore I cannot but suppose, that our Saviour had this very Notion in his View, when he says, (as a special Reward of their continuing with him in his Temptations, of which see *v. 28.*) *I appoint unto you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my Table in my Kingdom, and sit on Thrones judging the twelve Tribes of Israel.*

One thing only I shall say further, as to these Words of Christ [*I go to prepare a Place to you*] viz. that they are spoken in Allusion to something higher, than the Generality either of Criticks or other Commentators and Annotators have thought of. *Grotius* says it is, (e) a Similitude that is taken from one of several Fellow-Travellers, who goes before the rest to some Inn, to make Choice of Chambers for the rest, and to take care to have them prepared for them against they come. But seeing a Servant or one of the meanest of the Company, is usually pitch'd upon for this Office, I do not think our Lord alludes to this in the least. Besides, that *Grotius* might have remembred that such Inns or Publick Houses of Entertainment, were unknown in ancient times, when Hospitality was more generally look'd upon, as a Duty. And, tho some such Customs began to obtain about this time, yet I find not that the *Jews* had any

(e) Similitudo sumpta ab uno Comitum, qui in itinere prægressus ad Diverforium, ibi ceteris cubicula assignat, & efficit ut venientibus parata sint.

such Houses among them, during their Continuance in their own Land. Upon these Considerations I am fully perswaded, that Christ did not in the least, allude to any such Custom as that which he mentions. And did I think, that Christ did at all allude to any Human Practice, I should be apt to think, that he had an eye towards the Practice of a wise and provident General, who, in marching his Army, went before them, himself, in order to view the Ground, that was most proper for him and his Souldiers, to incamp in, with Security and Advantage. But I must profess, that I cannot imagine, that our Saviour alluded to any such thing, as even this, at least directly. I do therefore believe, that he alludes to nothing Human, in these Words, but only to his own Practice formerly, as the General, King, and Saviour of his ancient People, before whom he marched to mark out their several Stations in the Wilderness, in order to lead them into the Promised Land. And this he did, in a twofold Emblem, *viz.* that of *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire*, and that of *the Ark*. And first he lift up his Ensign in *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire*, marking out their several Encampments this way, from their first Removal from *Egypt*, until they arrived at the Foot of *Mount Sinai*. Of which *Moses* gives us this Account, *Exod. 13. 21, 22.* *And the Lord went before them by Day, in a Pillar of a Cloud, to lead them the Way, and by Night in a Pillar of Fire to give them Light, to go by, Day and Night. He took not away the Pillar of the Cloud by Day, nor the Pillar of Fire by Night, from before the People.* He took it not away, he means, in a relation to that part of their Travels, which he is there relating. For certain it is, that when they came to *Mount Sinai*, this *Pillar of Cloud and Fire* fixed upon the Top of that Mountain, and remained there during all that time, that the *Shechinah* was giving forth their Laws, and the whole Plan of their after-Government. Nor did this eminent Emblem of his Presence leave that place, until the *Tabernacle* and *Ark* were fully finish'd. And then indeed did the *Logos* remove this Pledge of his

Presence

Presence and Authority, to reside in the inmost part of the Tabernacle, sitting thus, as it were, upon a *Throne* over the *Mercy Seat*, when the *Tabernacle rested*; and retiring within the *Ark*, as into a *portable Chair of State*, when it *removed*; giving warning likewise this way, when they were to fix or remove the Tabernacle and *Ark*, by making the *Pillar of Cloud and Fire* hover over the *Ark*, either in a way of *Motion* or *Rest*; which was to them accordingly a *Signal*, either to go forward or make a *Stop*. Of this *Moses* tells us, when he says, *Numb. 10. 33, 34, 35, 36. And they departed from the Mount three Days Journey. And the Ark went before them three Days Journey, to search out a Resting-place for them. And the Cloud of the Lord was upon them by Day, when they went out of the Camp. And it came to pass, when the Ark set forward, that Moses said, &c. And when it rested, he said, &c.*

Now, seeing the *Pillar of Cloud and Fire* first, and the *Ark*, with the same *Pillar of Cloud and Fire* in it and over it afterwards, was Emblematical of *Christ's* more spiritual Government of his Church after his *Incarnation*; and seeing the *Earthly Canaan* was typical of the *Heavenly one*: It is evident to me, that it is to this ancient Dispensation, that our Blessed Saviour does allude, in these words. And indeed our Saviour does almost speak in the very Words of *Moses*. For, as *Moses* says, that *the Ark went before them to search out a Resting-place for them*; so our Saviour says also, that *he went before his Apostles and his other Disciples to prepare a Place, i. e. a Resting-place for them*.

So that, upon the Whole, it is plain to me, that as He went before his People, of old, to mark out a Country, wherein he was to settle his *Israel*; other Nations having been settled before: so he is gone before his People now, in order to prepare another Country for them, wherein they are to take up their Residence, until the *Last Day*. I say, until the *Last Day*; because I have some new Thoughts to deliver further

on this Head. For which end, I must illustrate the remaining Words of our Saviour.

In the mean time, what hurt is there to suppose; that as *Israel* was settl'd in *Canaan*, after the dispossessing the old, but wicked Inhabitants; Christ may be gone before, to dispossess some wicked Inhabitants (whose Cup was at this time grown full) in order to settle his new Colony, or new Israelites in their Stead?

Prop. 4. That, as *Christ* is gone to his *Father's House*, in order to prepare a Place or Country for true Christian Souls to inhabit: So it is equally asserted by him, That *he will come again* into this World; and that when He comes, *He will then* (and therefore not before then) receive them into that Place or Mansion, where he himself now is; seeing then, and not till then, He promises, that where he is, there his Followers shall also come to be.

I have, in this Proposition, kept so critically close to our Saviour's Words, in *ver. 3.* that I may venture to say, That I have given not only the *only Sense* they are capable of; but likewise their *full Sense*, as far as a General can be well supposed to express.

For it is as plain, as so few Words can express it, that this is a *further* Promise, additional to the Former, and not to be accomplish'd fully until his *Second Coming*. And that his *Second Coming* is here meant, I do suppose none questions; seeing *the Heavens must retain him, until the times of the Restitution of all things*, *Acts 3. 21.* Where observe, by the by, that it is not said *Time*, far less *Day*, but *the Times*. So that if there should be many Ages, and various Periods of Time, included in the General Expression of Christ's Second and Glorious Coming, it will be no ways inconsistent with the General Assertion, that Christ is to remain in Heaven until then. And I give this General Hint now; Because, perhaps I may afterwards have an Occasion to present the World with a new Scheme, and yet a Scriptural one, of very considerable Thoughts, upon this Subject. And therefore I would here only lay a Foundation, for the Prevention of a seeming Inconsistency,

sistency, which might otherwise be formed into an Objection, afterwards, against what I have yet in Reserve to propose, in relation to the Resurrection and Last Day or Time, in its proper Place.

But to return ; I say, That our Saviour does plainly insinuate here, That *the Place* he was immediately to prepare for his Saints, upon his Arrival to Heaven; and *that Place*, that he was to introduce them into, *after his Second Coming*, were really distinct. So that tho' the one, as well as the other of these, be included in the general Notion of *Mansions, Places or Countries*, in the *Glorious World*, called by Christ his *Father's House* : Yet, *that Place* that the Souls of the Apostles were to be in, from the Time of *Christ's Ascension*, to the Time of his *Coming again*, was distinct from, and of an inferiour Nature to that Place, which they were to be admitted into, after the Resurrection, and at the time of his *Second Advent*. For, after Christ had supposed, not only the *Preparation* of the *First Place* for their Reception, but their having been there ; (*i. e.* such of his Saints as should depart this Life, before his *Coming again*) He tells them, that one end of his *Second Coming*, was to bring them into *another Place*, as a *higher Degree* of *Exaltation and Glory*. And *this Place* he characterizeth, by the descriptive Designation, that it was the *same Place*, wherein He himself did most properly reside. And therefore he calls their Introduction and Admittance into this Place, to be *his Receiving them unto himself*, adding, that then *they should come to be where he himself was*. Which, if it do not denote, that, *before his Second Advent*, he was *not to receive them unto himself* ; in the *same Sense* that he was to do *then*, when he should *come again* ; and that, consequently, they were not to be *so* with him, *where he was to go*, as they were to be after his *Second Coming* : I say, if these Expressions do not denote thus much, I must profess, that I am incapable to judge of these, or any such Words or Expressions, for the future.

And,

And, as this is, and must be, the Sense and Design of Christ, in this Text : So it is nothing, but what is agreeable with the Sense of Scripture in other Places ; which, tho almost lost to the Bulk of later Divines, was known to, and own'd by all the Ancient Fathers: I have said something, that may lay a Foundation of our understanding this Matter, when I consider'd the Article concerning Christ's *Descent into Hades*. And I am not willing to prevent my self here, by expatiating upon this Subject now ; which I reserve to a more proper Place. I desire, in the mean time, that the Reader may consult Dr. *Whitby's Note* on this Text of ours, and consider what he says on *Heb. 11. 40.* but especially his Annotations on these Words, *2 Tim. 4. 8.* *From henceforth is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord Jesus the Righteous Judge will give me at that Day, &c.* And indeed these Words alone are sufficient, to convince us, that the Apostle expected not his full Reward until the last Day. So that it was not without just Reason that (f) *Origen* asserts, *That Abraham and all the Patriarchs, are waiting until all the Saints be gathered into the Place, where they are, that then they and the Prophets may attain perfect Bliss.* Nay, says he, (g) *Even the Apostles themselves have not yet received their Happiness (i. e. compleat) but wait until I (i. e. such as I am) come also to be a Partaker with them: For the Saints departed, receive not the full Reward of their good Actions, but wait for us, who yet stay behind.* And indeed *Origen*, is so far from being singular in this Opinion, that he speaks the current Sense of all the Primitive Church, if we may judge of this from the Writings of the Fathers, that now remain. Therefore *Chrysostom* asserts, *That Abel and Noah, and all the Saints*

(f) 1 Levit. Hom. 7. F. 71. D. (g) Ibid. Nondum enim receperunt Lætitiâ suam, ne Apostoli quidem ; sed & ipsi expectant ut & ego Lætitiæ eorum particeps fiam ; neq; enim decedentes hinc sancti continuo integra Meritorum suorum Præmia consequuntur, sed expectant etiam nos, licet morantes.

of old, had their Crown of Glory deferr'd, because God has appointed one time for the General Coronation of all the Saints. And, to the same purpose, what Theodoret says, That the Saints departed have not yet obtain'd their Crowns; God expecting, that those also, who were yet to combat, should arrive at the Place where they are; it being his Purpose to proclaim them all Victors together.

If any say; but if this Notion hold, How can we understand Paul's Meaning, when he desires to be dissolved, in order to be with Christ, Phil. 1. 23. I answer, That the Paradisical Hades, is a Place, wherein Christ manifests himself, in a more glorious Manner than here below. And therefore it may justly be said, that, comparatively with the Discoveries given here, to be there, is to be more directly with Christ, than our being here can admit of. Nay, the very Name that Christ gives it, in the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, is that of Abraham's Bosom, (i. e. his own Bosom, who is the true Father of the Faithful;) and so the Ancient Fathers us'd to call it. But yet, this does not hinder our conceiving, that Christ's most proper and immediate Residence is in another Region. Thus the Logos, tho he was Resident, on Earth, in the Temple of old, among the Jews, so as he was in no Country on Earth, yet this did not hinder Mens supposing him to have been more gloriously present with the Angels above, and more directly, and conspicuously, Resident in the highest Heavens.

Hence therefore, a just Foundation is laid of making a Distinction, between that Part or Region of Heaven, (which is a General Word, of equal Extent, in Regard to the particular Countries, into which it is divided, as the Word World or Earth, in Relation to the several Countries thereof,) which Christ calls, by the Designations of Abraham's Bosom, of Paradiſe, and of that Place, which he was to prepare for them; and which Paul calls, a Place where we shall be with Christ, and elsewhere, the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that other Higher and more Glorious Country, or Region of Heaven, where he

he supposes *the Father himself most properly to be*, and where *he likewise does principally reside*, and into *which he will*, at last, *introduce his Saints*, after the Resurrection, and the final Judgment are over. And then, and not till then, will the *Lord Jesus*, as *Loganthropos*, *deliver up the Mediatory Kingdom to God, even the Father*; seeing then will be finish'd his own immediate Government, both over Men on *Earth*, and the Souls of good Men, in the *Paradisical Hades*: For upon his Introducing his redeemed ones into the highest Heavens, his Work, as Redeemer, will be compleatly finished. And then shall *He himself be subject* (as *Loganthropos*) *to him that put all things under him, that God* (the Father, Son and Holy Spirit) *may be* (more directly and immediately.) *all in all*, 1 Cor. 15. 24, 25, 28. But of this Scripture, I may have Occasion to treat further afterwards. Only I would have it observ'd here, that Christ had not a Liberty, (because it was not congruous to the Decorum of Divine Procedure, that this should be) to introduce his Followers into the more immediate Presence of God, whilst they were in the *Paradisical Hades*: And there may be *Four* very good *Reasons* assign'd for this; (besides the supposed Agreement, between the Father and Son, in the Covenant of Redemption) The 1. is, That the *Soul*, being but *Part of Man*, and consequently *Part of Christ's Redemption*; it was not proper, that it should be equally advanced, as to Degrees, in Glory, as the *whole and intire Man*. Nay, it does not seem that it was capable of this, because it could not, in a proper Sense, be called *the Man*. Therefore Christ must raise the Body from the Grave, and re-unite it to the Soul, in a purified and glorious Manner, in order to Mens being fully rewarded. 2. Nor can we suppose it proper, that the *full Glory* of the *Saints* should *commence*, until *all their Enemies should be conquered*: And therefore, as *their last Enemy Death*, was to be only fully conquer'd by their Resurrection to eternal Life: So their inveterate Enemies, visible and invisible, must be punish'd also, before this. And it is certain, that nei-

ther wicked Men, nor Devils, will be finally either conquer'd or punish'd, until the Judgment of the great Day, as the Words of *Peter*, 2 Ep. 2. 4. assure us, to mention no more now. 3. Nor was it proper, that Christ should come to Judgment at all, if the Saints were *before this, as highly exalted*, as they could possibly be; and the Wicked likewise, both of *Angels and Men*, punish'd to the *utmost* already. For, if we suppose these things; so solemn a Judgment, as the Final is represented to be in Scripture, must be look'd upon to be a meer solemn Pageantry, or Piece of formal Grandeur only. But, as it is horrid to admit of any such Thought; so we must allow my Notion, materially at least, if we would prevent such Absurdities. 4. Nay, How could Christ receive the *Full Reward*, until he had finish'd his *whole Work*? Now this was not to be done, until the Resurrection and Judgment both were over. And then indeed, but not before, was it proper to allow him to dispose of his purchas'd ones, so as to put higher Marks of Honour upon them. And therefore, as he says himself, that tho he went to *prepare a Place of Happiness*, for them to go into, at Death; yet he must *come again*, before he could *receive them to himself*, that *where he most properly was, they might come then to be also*.—— And thus I have given some new, and yet I hope scriptural and edifying Thoughts of this Part of Christ's Work in Heaven, viz. *to prepare Mansions for his People*.

The 2d Part of Christ's Work in Heaven, (that falls under our present Consideration) is that of his *Advocateship* there, or his *Interceding* for us. And, indeed, this is one eminent Part, at least, of the *Method* that he uses, to *prepare and secure Mansions* for us in *Heaven*.

Intercession is a Law-Term, denoting the Action of a Barrester, Advocate, Attorney, Solliciter, or any such Person that manages our Interest, for us, at our Desire, or in our Name; suing out, this way, the Rights of his *Clients*, and Answering or Obviating the *Objections* of the *Plaintiff*.

In a Divine and Sacred Sense, there is a *Threefold Intercession*. The 1. is, that Part of Prayer, that is called by that Name, and consists in Petitions, which are sometimes mixed with, or changed into humble Expostulations and Reasonings, when the Mind is more than ordinarily fervent, or under deep Impressions of the Things prayed for. Thus every Christian is oblig'd to be an Intercessor with God, not only for himself, but for others also: For which see the Rule, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1. The 2. Sort of Intercession, is that which is ascribed to the Holy Spirit, operating this way in good Men, and which may be called, upon this Account, the *Helping Intercession* of the Spirit; for so the Apostle characterizeth it, *Rom.* 8. 26, 27. Upon which *Epithet* of the Spirit's Work, as it is mentioned, in this Text, I^(h) once gave a critical Remark, as to the Emphasis of the Original Word; which, I humbly conceive, may deserve to be look'd back upon again, in Case it has been at all considered before. But 3. There is also an authoritative or legally allowed of Intercession, as being such, *ex Officio*, perform'd by Virtue of an Office, to which the Person Interceding, is authorized, as an allowed of and qualified Patron, to us, as his Clients. And this is peculiar to Christ; in which Sense he is the only Intercessor.

This Intercession was begun on Earth, during the State of his Humiliation, as we see *Luke* 23. 34. *John* 17. 24. *Heb.* 5. 7. But we are here only to consider it as carried on in Heaven; of which we read, *Rom.* 8. 34. 1 *John* 2. 1. *Heb.* 7. 25.

Now, seeing the Intercession of Christ has been so often, and so largely insisted upon, both from Pulpit and Press, I shall say but little this way. And yet, I am mistaken, if I shall not gratifie the judicious Reader more, by including the Summ of all has ever been

(h) See my *Practical Discourse*, occasioned by the Death of King William, Page 67.

said, upon this Head, within the Compass of a very few Pages, than some have done, by haranguing so long upon it, till they have confounded both their own and other Mens Thoughts, and lost their very Subject it self, in the Croud of other things, pretty foreign to it. My Design is only to direct the Reader to a true and genuin Conception of the Things I treat of. And, for this end, I desire, that these few Particulars following may be gradually consider'd, with all due Seriousness.

1. That Christ's being admitted, as *Loganthropos* and *Redeemer*, to sit at God's right Hand, in the highest Glory, is a Demonstration, that the Father has approved all that He did and suffer'd on Earth, for his People.

2. That Christ's very being *thus* exalted and own'd by his Father, and his appearing there with him, as such, is a virtual Intercession and Pleading for us. Consider, for this End, what the *Angel of the Covenant* says to *Satan*, concerning *Joshua* the High Priest, in his representing the People, *Zeck. 12. 1, &c.* And remember, that *Christ*, as *Fore-runner*, is said to have *entred into Heaven, for us*, or upon our Account, and as our Representative, *Heb. 6. 20.* and that it is also said, that *His very Appearance there*, i. e. as *Man* and *Redeemer*, is likewise relative to us, and is therefore said to be *for us*, i. e. upon our Account, and in order to carry on our Business and Interest.

3. That therefore Christ, in his Appearing for Men, in Heaven, must be consider'd, both as the *True* and *proper Representative* of all *Mankind* in general; and, in a more especial Sense, of those Holy and Chosen ones, who believe in him, and give him Employment there, by putting their Cause and Concerns into his Hands. And, in this, He is to be look'd upon, as the true *Anti-Type* of the High Priest of old, when he entred into the most Holy Place of the Temple, once a Year, with the Names of all the Tribes of *Israel*, ingraven on his Breast-Plate. See for this, what the Apostle says,
Heb.

Heb. 9. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, &c. and consider the Import of that memorable Expression, *Eph.* 2. 10.

4. That, as the High Priest, went into the most Holy Place, *with Blood*, so our Saviour presents his Blood virtually there, in his Interceding for us; *i. e.* he presents or pleads his *Merits*. So that Christ's Intercession in Heaven is not properly a *Begging*, but a *Pursuing a Right*, by Arguments drawn from *Justice* and *Equity*, and a claiming such and such Things, in Behalf of his Clients and Followers, by Virtue of his own Purchase, pursuant to the Articles agreed on between God and him, when he undertook the Work of our Salvation: See *Heb.* 8. 7, 11, 12. 1 *Pet.* 1. 18, 19. 1 *John* 2. 1, 2.

5. Christ argues for us, not only from what He has done, but upon the Account of the *Relation* which such and such Persons bear to Him, and their having, in Compliance with the Father's own Will, *believed* in his Name, and accepted him, in all his Offices, upon the Terms proposed in the Gospel. See, as an Example of this, how Christ makes use of his Disciples Obedience and Faith, by way of Argument in pleading for them, even while he was yet on Earth, *John* 17. 6, 8.

6. Nay, so kind and generous an Intercessor is He, that he pleads the Cause even of the worst of Men, as far as it will go. Thus he argued in behalf of his very Persecutors and Murderers, that *God would forgive them, because they knew not what they did*. And sure he is not less merciful and compassionate now in Heaven, than he was whilst on Earth. We may justly, therefore, believe, that it is, by reason of Christ's Intercession, that the Punishment of wicked Men is mitigated. God bears so or so long therefore, with obstinate Sinners, in hope of their Amendment, (according to the Import of the Parable, concerning the unfruitful Fig-Tree, spar'd from Year to Year, upon the Intercession of the Dresser, *Luke* 13. 6, 7, 8, 9.) so that even the worst of Men have some Advantage by the Man Christ, which no Apostate Angel can hope for.

7. Christ Jesus, as He pleads for his own People, upon the Account of their Relation to himself; so He presents also their Performances before God, for the same end. So that here is a mighty Incitement to Diligence and Industry, in Christ's Service; seeing, in a Proportion to the same, they are represented to the Father, in lower or higher Recommendatory Addresses, in order to be proportionably rewarded. So, that as the wicked are said, to *treasure up unto themselves Wrath against the Day of Wrath*, Rom. 2. 5. God, as it were, writing over against every new Sin, a new Degree of Punishment: So good Men, by *Good Works, and particularly by Works of Charity*, are said to *lay up for themselves, in Store, a good Foundation against the time to come*, in order to their *laying hold thus on eternal Life*, 1 Tim. 6. 18, 19. God writing as it were over-against every good Deed, a new Degree of Honour and Happiness. Consider for this the Import of *Matth. 6. 19, 20.* and of *Heb. 6. 10.*

8. And, in a particular manner, let us remember, that Christ ratifies our *Intercession* by his own, and pleads our Arguments over again; assuring us again and again, that *Whatsoever we ask in his Name, believing in him, as to things agreeable to his revealed Will, we shall obtain*, either as to kind, or as to an Equivalent, that shall be as good or better, with Relation to the Honour of God and our Benefit. See for this the Five Qualifications of Praying successfully; The 1st, in *Mark 21. 22.* & *Jam. 1. 6.* The 2^d, in *Jam. 4. 2, 3.* The 3^d, in 1 *John 5. 14.* The 4th, in *John 14. 13, 14.* & *Chap. 16. 23, 24;* And the 5th, in *John 15. 7.* & 1 *John 3. 22, 23.* And remember, withal, that it is in the *Golden Censer of Christ's Intercession*, and by the Virtue of the *Incense* thereof, as being offered up by *him*, and at the *Altar of his Satisfaction*, that the Prayers of the Saints become prevalent with God; as the Case is Emblematically represented, *Rev. 8. 3.*

Now, from these Things, we see Christ's All-sufficiency to save. For the Apostle founds this, upon Christ's being

being in Heaven, and his Intercession for us there, *Heb. 7. 25.* *Wherefore he is able to save them to the uttermost, that come unto God thro' him, seeing He ever liveth to make Intercession for them.*

But then, let us remember, that the same Words are inclusive of a *Limitation*, not indeed as to *Christ's Sufficiency* to save, absolutely considered, but as to the *actual Bestowing* of *Salvation* upon Men, according to the *Gospel Method*. And therefore is Christ said to *be able* thus to save those, and those only, *who come unto God, thro' him.* For *He that believeth not*, but obstinately rejects Christ and his Offers, *shall as certainly be damned*: as it is certain that *He that believeth in him, shall be saved*: For the same Mouth has pronounced both, and that with the same Strength of Evidence and Affirmation, *Mark 16. 16.*

And now I have finish'd what I had to say, in reference to Christ, considered as to his *Person*, and *those Articles*, which I propos'd to discourse of, with Respect to Him, *thus* considered. And, I hope, I have suggested upon most of them, if not all, such Thoughts, as the judicious and serious Reader will look upon to be equally solid and profitable, [as new and uncommon; and that therefore He will be so Candid and Fair, as for the Sake of these, to pass by such Escapes, as he may perhaps discern in other things, that may have dropt from me unawares, in the Pursuit of such deep Meditations, as God has been pleas'd to direct me to, upon this great and profound Subject. And having hinted this, I proceed, thro' the good Hand of my God upon me, to run thro' a New Stage of this Mental Journey.

C H A P. VI.

The Office of Christ the Loganthropos considered; wherein, besides a General Idea of it, a New Account is given of the Parts thereof; which is wholly Scriptural, and by which the Imperfection of all Systems, in Explaining this Head of Divinity, is discover'd.

THE Office of Jesus, in the General Notion of it, is that of his being *the Messiah*, by way of Eminency, according to the *Hebrew*, which is interpreted *Christ* in the *Greek*, and signifies *Anointed* in the *British*, *i. e.* one solemnly authorized, inaugurated, and invested with the Office of a Divine Hero, Benefactor, Patron, Saviour or Redeemer, in Relation to the Human Race. So that, the Word *Messiah*, *Christ*, or *Anointed*, is a figurative Expression, denoting indeed the Office of Jesus, but taken from the Rite or Custom of Anointing with Oil, which was used of old, among the *Jews*, as a Declaration of such or such a Person's being solemnly set apart to this or the other publick Office. Thus the *Priests* were set apart, when first instituted, *Exod.* 30. 30. But the *high Priest* most eminently. For we do not find, that ever any *ordinary Priest* was thus set apart, after the first Institution of the *Aaronical* and *Levitical* Priesthood; it being thought (i) peculiar to the *High Priests* afterwards, to be set apart thus. And in like manner, tho' *Kings* were thus inaugurated to their Office; yet not *all Kings*, nay nor *any King*, that succeeded *lineally* to the Crown; but only *such Kings* as were chosen immediately by God and the People; either by a *new* and *extraordinary Revolution* and Alteration of the Government, as in the Case of *Saul*, *David*, *Jehu* and

(i) See Selden de Succ. 2. 9.

Hazael; or then, when their *Title* to the Crown might be *controverted*, as in the Case of *Solomon* and *Joash*. The same is also to be observed, in Relation to *Prophets*. For we do not find, that the *ordinary Prophets* were ever thus set apart; but only such Persons, who were *successively* chosen by God, to be the *Heads* of the *Prophets*; and were therefore, *as such*, the *Representatives* of the *Shechinah*. Such was *Elijah*, and therefore when he was about to be taken away, he has Orders, this way, to mark out his Successor *Elisha*, as we see, *1 Kings* 19. 16. tho I do not think that *Elisha* did ever represent the Person of the *Shechinah*, at least so eminently and directly as *Elijah* did; as I observed formerly, *Lib 1. of Christology*, Page 55. However, to return; by the Hints given, we see that it is nothing but a vulgar Error, that has obtain'd hitherto, in so many Systems; when it is supposed, that all Kings, Prophets and Priests, were thus set apart of old, among the *Jews*. For none were so, but those, that in one respect or other, were *Types* of the *true Messiah*. It is true, that this Custom seems to have been very Ancient, and to have obtain'd amongst other Nations, before the *Jewish Monarchy* began, as appears from the Parable of *Jotham*, *Judg.* 9. 8. *The Trees went forth, on a Time, to anoint a King over them, &c.* But then, as his Words intimate, this seems then only to be used, when there was a *new Revolution*, and a *King elected by the People*. At least, we know nothing of this Rite's having ever been used more generally, among the Ancients, than upon such Occasions. However, it may suffice us, to understand the Original Use of this Custom; and that, when God makes use of this Name, it denotes One especially and solemnly authorized and invested, with such or such an eminent Office, and appointed for some remarkable Service. And therefore it is said of *Cyrus*, *Isa.* 45. 1, 4. *Thus saith the Lord to Cyrus my Messiah, &c.* So the Hebrew. *To Cyrus my Christ, &c.* So the *Septuagint*, the *Chald. Par.* the *Syr. Arab.* and *Vulg. Lat.* *To Cyrus my Anointed, &c.* So our Version

and

and most Modern ones. But all is to the same purpose. For the original Word is the same there, as in *Psal.* 2. 2. which is accordingly by some translated *Christ*, and by us *anointed*.

The Name *Messiah*, or *Christ*, which is now principally used to denote his Office, was not used for a long time in the ancient Jewish Church; nor is it to be found (k) frequently in the Old Testament. And there may be this good Reason assigned for it; *viz.* that God did, on purpose, order that it should be so, that, this way, Impostors might be prevented from assuming it; and that for this end, the Divine Wisdom thought fit to make use of equivalent Words instead of this; as being such, as could not so easily be assumed by any Man; which will easily be observ'd by any that duly considers them. Such are these Words or Names following. *The Seed*, *Gen.* 3. 15: *Gen.* 22. 18. See *Gal.* 3. 16. *Shiloh*, *Gen.* 99. 10. or (l) *Shelah*, *Exod.* 4. 13. *Emmanuel*, *Isa.* 7. 14. *Jehovah Tsidkenu*, which we translate *the Lord our Righteousness*, *Jer.* 23. 6. *The Everlasting Father*, *Isa.* 9. 6. *Netzer*, or the *Branch*, or, as the *Septuagint* renders it, the *East* or the *Rising Sun*, *Zech.* 6. 12. and *chap.* 3. 8. *Isa.* 4. 2. and *chap.* 11. 1. *Jer.* 23. 5. and *chap.* 33. 15.

The *Thalmudists* make this Name or Office of the *Messiah* to be one of those seven Things, which were constituted before the Creation of the World: For before this, they tell us, that these *seven Things* were settl'd and appointed, *viz.* *The Law*, *Repentance*, *Paradise*, *Hell*, *the Throne of Glory*, *the Sanctuary*, and *the Name of the Messiah*. And concerning this Name's being thus set apart from Eternity, they interpret, *Psal.* 72. 17. and alledge the Words, as a Proof of this their Notion. Our Translators have given us the Sense, thus; *His*

(k) We find it only in *Psal.* 2. 2. *Dan.* 9. ver. 25, 26. (l) See my Note upon this Word, in my *Discourse concerning the Ministerial Work*, which is the 3d of my four *Discourses*, Pag. 161.

Name shall endure for ever ; His Name shall be continued as long as the Sun ; and Men shall be blessed in him ; and Nations shall call him blessed. But then, as if they had been diffident of their own Translation, they add a Marginal Note, over against this Verse, intimating that the Hebrew seems to run thus, (as to the second Clause of the Verse) *He shall be a Son to continue his Father's Name for ever.* Arias Mont. renders the first and second Clauses thus : *Erit nomen ejus in seculum ; ad facies solis filia-bitur nomen ejus ; i. e.* his Name shall remain for ever ; his Name shall be Sonned before the Face of the Sun ; which is as much as to say, his Name shall be owned to be that of the Son of God, in the open View of the World and before the Sun. This I take to be the sense of the Words in general ; as it is beyond Controversie, that the whole Psalm relates to Christ principally, and that several things therein are applicable to none but him. But the Question still remains, whether these Words relate to Christ, in the future or preterit Sense? Our Modern Versions run all in the future Sense. Nor do the Ancient ones vary from them in this, excepting that they seem to have expressed their Sense of the second Clause, in such a manner, as that we may interpret their Words both ways. Thus the *Septuagint*, $\pi\epsilon\delta\ \tau\delta\ \eta\lambda\iota\alpha\ \delta\iota\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\ \tau\delta\ \delta\omicron\nu\omega\mu\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$; which may indifferently be rendered ; either thus, *his Name does remain before the Sun, that now is ;* or *his Name does remain before the Sun* was made. And the *Syriack* and *Arabick* seem to have been express'd, after this Version, with the same Indefiniteness. But the Jews contend, that the Hebrew ought to be rendred in the Preterit altogether. And indeed the *Chaldee Paraphrase* is positive this way, with respect to the second Clause, tho' they render the first in the future Tense, as we do. Their Version runs thus : *His Name shall be eternally memorable ; and, before the Sun was prepar'd, his Name was, i. e.* was appointed and known, *viz.* in Heaven. I leave every Man to his own Judgment. Only I incline my self to believe the Jews, as best skill'd in their own Language ; especially see-

ing the ordinary Interpretation of both Clauses, in the future, seems to be too like a needless Repetition ; Whereas the Chaldee Paraphrase gives us a noble View of the Name and Office of Christ, both with respect to Time, or rather Eternity, considered both forward and backward, by a direct and reflex View thereof.

That our *Jefus*, and no other, was the true, expected and promised *Messiah*, has been so largely treated of, and so irrefragably proved by abundance of Authors, both Ancient and Modern, that I am fav'd the Trouble of this Work here. And besides, I have said enough this way my self, particularly in the first Chapter of this Book.

But besides this, there are two Considerations of the *Messiah*, that deserve to be thought of here. The *1st* is, his being the *Son of God* : The *2d*, That he is *our Lord and Master*. In the *First*, we see his Relation to God : In the *Second*, his Relation to us.

1st. He is to be considered, in a Relation to God as he is his Son, and sent by him upon the Errand of our Salvation.

And here, I must advertize the Reader, that I am not here upon Christ's *Eternal Sonship*, as he is the *Logos* of God : For I have sufficiently treated of this already in the *Second Book*. But I am to consider, that Christ, even as he is the *Loganthropos* and *Messiah*, is to be look'd upon and owned to be the Son of God ; tho not, in the former, and most proper Sense ; yet in such a one as is peculiar to himself, and to no Creature besides.

To *Beget*, according to our Notion of it, is to produce one of the same kind with him that begets. But, tho Creatures, by a derivative Power, may do so : yet no Creature can beget one, that shall be, in all respects, the same with himself. And yet there is no Impossibility or Contradiction in this, according to the abstract Notion of the thing, upon the Supposition, that a Being infinitely Perfect be the Begetter. As therefore Reason must acquiesce, as to the Possibility of this, upon

upon this Supposition : So it can be noways absurd, in case Revelation assure us, that it actually is so. Now, it is certain, that Revelation has assur'd us, that God has *begotten his Son*, and him only, after this manner. And the same Revelation, which is the only Directory of our Thoughts, in such Matters, has likewise told us, that a third *Being* or *Person* (for here we want proper Words) *proceedeth* from the Father and the Son. Of which sort of *Production*, we know no more, than of the former, as to the *Modus* or Manner of it. Only we are taught, that it is different from the former *Production* ; and therefore this is always called *Procession*, and never *Generation* ; as the former always is. And this we are likewise taught, by the same Revelation, that *both these Sorts of Procession*, are quite different from *any sort of Creation*. For *Creation* is either a *Production* immediately out of nothing, or a *Change* of a thing already created thus, out of one Form into another. But in neither of these does God propagate or impart his own Essence. Whereas we are given to understand, that both in *Generation* and *Procession*, the *Divine Nature* is *communicated*, to the *Person Generated*, and the *Person Proceeding*. But this I only hint, by the bye, in order to assist our Conceptions, with respect to the *Trinity*, and particularly with respect to *Christ's Eternal Sonship*, as he is the *Logos*.

But, besides *this Sonship* of Christ, as the *Logos*, we are led to consider *his Sonship*, as he is the *Loganthropos* and *Messiah* : For thus the Scripture speaks, and therefore gives us allowance to do so too.

Now I find, that the *Loganthropos* is spoken of, as the *Son of God*, in reference to *three Things*, that are peculiar to him, as such. The *1st* is, with respect to his *miraculous* and *extraordinary Conception* and *Generation*, *Luke* 1. 35. *Gal.* 4. 4. *Eph.* 1. 20, 21, 22. The *2d* is, with respect to his *extraordinary* and *supernatural Resurrection* from the Dead, *Ascension* to Heaven, and *Elevation* there to the Throne of his Father, *Heb.* 1. 6. *Phil.* 2. 8, 9, 10, 11. *Rev.* 3. 21. The *3d* is, with Reference to his

Highb and Glorious Office, of being the *Messiah* or *Redeemer*, *John* 10. 36. I have barely cited these Places, as to Chapter and Verse, for brevity sake. But I am sure, they are plain and sufficient Proofs of Christ's being intitl'd the Son of God, as he is *Loganthropos* or *Redeemer*; in such a way as no Creature ever was.

For, in case it be objected against the 1st of these; That the *Production of Angels* and *Creation of Adam*, seem to be as extraordinary as the *Formation of the Man Jesus*; I answer, that we are not barely to consider Christ's *Formation* here, but his *Union* also with the *Logos*, and his being form'd for this purpose. And, in this respect no Creature, besides himself can be intitl'd to this Character, of being God's Son.

And, if it be objected against the 2^d; That others shall be *the Sons of the Resurrection* as well as he, nay and ascend to Glory too; it is easily answer'd, that the *Resurrection of Christ* and that of others, are no way parallel. For Christ *raised himself* by his own Power, and ascended in the same manner also. And I suppose none will say, that any or all the Saints shall be, or can be, equally glorified, as Christ is, this way. So that upon all these Account, *Christ* may be justly called *God's Son*, even *as Man*, in a Sense peculiar to himself, and no way appropriable to others.

And, in case it be objected against the 3^d; That all the Saints are made *Kings and Priests to God*, and are therefore in Scripture stiled *the Sons of God*; I answer, what then? Are they so intitl'd Sons in respect of Power and Authority, as Christ is, into whose Hands all Government and Authority are plac'd, to execute Judgment, even as he is *the Son of Man*, as he himself tells us, *John* 5. 22, 23, 27.

Whether therefore we consider *Christ*, as being the *Son of God*, in the most proper Sense, as the *Logos*; or whether we consider him, as the *Son of God*, in a secondary Sense indeed, as he is the *Loganthropos*, but yet in such a Sense, as is peculiar to himself, and applicable to no other: still we are let in to see, what Adoration
and

and Reverence is due to him, and what a solid Foundation is laid, for our Souls to found upon with reference to Eternal Felicity and Glory. No wonder then, if (m) one of the Ancients should say, ἡ ἐν σαρκὶ παρυσία τοῦ σωτῆρος, θανάτου λύτρον, καὶ πίστεως πάσης σωτηρία γέγονεν; *The very Presence of such a Saviour in the Flesh, became a Ransom from Death and Salvation to every Creature, i. e. of the Human Race.* And to the same purpose speaks (n) another Father; μὴ θαυμάζεις εἰ κόσμος ἅλθ' ἐλυτρώθη, καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἄνθρωπος υἱὸς θεοῦ μονογενῆς, ὁ ὑψάραποθνήσκων, &c. *Wonder not, if the whole World was redeem'd; for it was not a mere Man, but the only Son of God that died for it.* See to the same purpose the force of these Expressions, 1 Pet. I. 18. Heb. 9: 12. 1 John I. 2, 3, 5. Rom. 8. 39, &c. 1 Tim. 4.

Here we have a large Field for practical Reflections, as to the Love of God and Christ, and the endearing Engagements we are brought under this way, to honour and love, and serve the gracious God and our kind Redeemer. But seeing these may be easily infer'd by every serious Christian, and would tend to swell this Volume too much, I forbear.

2dly. Christ, as *Loganthropos*, or *Messiah*, is to be considered, in a reference to us, as he is not only *the Lord* from Heaven, but also *our Lord*.

The Name *God*, in the New Testament, which answers to *Eloah*, or *Elohim* in the Hebrew, is, by way of *Specialty*, tho not *exclusively*, given to the Father.

And, upon the other hand, the Name *Lord*, in the New Testament, which answers to *Jehovah* in the Hebrew, is, by way of *Specialty*, tho in no *exclusive* Sense, given to the Son.

Both these are plain, if it were only from what we read, 1 Cor. 8. 4, 5, 6. — — *There is none other God, but one. For tho there be that are called Gods — — Yet to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all*

(m) Athan. ad Adolph. (n) Cyril Catech. 13.

things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him. And therefore the Angel gives Christ this Name *Lord*, by way of Specialty, as soon as he was born, Luke 2. 11. *This Day is born unto you, σωτηρ, ὃς ἔστι χριστὸς κύριος, a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord, or the Lord Christ.*

And here then, by the bye, is it not plain that he that assumed the Name *Jehovah*, by way of Specialty, to *Moses*, was no other than the *Logos*, who has since assum'd our Nature, as I shewed in the preceding Book?

And if this be true, may we not justly suppose, that both Jews and Christians have been hitherto under a Mistake, when they do suppose, that the Name *Jehovah* was directly and immediately expressive of the Divine Essence and Nature, without any proper Relation to us? For to me it appears probable, at least, that we have no Name, that either is or can be *immediately* expressive of the Divine Essence; and that this (as well as all the other Names that God is known by in Scripture) is only a *Characteristick Appellation* of him, under some Relation or other to his Creatures; tho' I own at the same time, as I think I have proved (o) elsewhere, that this Name *Jehovah* is appropriate to no mere Creature.

But, to proceed; whatever Peculiarities may be supposed to be denoted by the Hebrew Word *Jehovah*, yet seeing it is rendred, almost constantly, by the Greek Word *κύριος*, in the New Testament: We are oblig'd, if we believe the Spirit of Christ himself to be his own best Interpreter; to suppose, that the principal Import of *Jehovah* in the Hebrew, is to specify him (to whom it is applied by way of Specialty) as the *Lord* over Men, in a most peculiar and immediate Sense.

(o) Christol. Lib. 2. c. 5. p. 197.

Now a *Lord* is a direct and immediate Superiour over them, whose Lord he is, and is therefore only to be understood from his Relation to such. And I do not find, but that the Greek and English Word are used in the same Variety of Signification, with respect to such or such a Sort of Relation. Thus a Prince is called Lord, in reference to his Subjects; a Master with respect to Servants; a General, or other such Commander, with respect to Soldiers; and an Owner of Lands or Goods, in reference to them.

And indeed *our Lord Jesus is a Lord*, and *our Lord*, in all manner of respects whatsoever.

1. According to every *Notion* and *Acceptation* of the Word *Lord*. For he is not only *interpretatively*, but frequently very *expressly* called by this Name, as he is *our Prince*, *Isa.* 9. 6, 7. *Heb.* 1. 8. *Luke* 1. 33. *Eph.* 1. 22. *1 Cor.* 15. 27. As he is *our Master*, *Matth.* 10. 25. *Heb.* 3. 6. *Matth.* 24. 25, 46. *John* 13: 13. As he is *our Captain* and *our Leader*, *Heb.* 2. 10. *chap.* 12. 2. And as he is *our Owner* and *Landlord*, *1 Cor.* 6. 19, 20. And indeed he is called *our Lord* almost in every respect, that we can think of, either in express Words, or in equivalent Expressions. See for this these Scriptures, among others, *Acts* 3. 15. *Heb.* 3. 1. *1 Pet.* 2. 25. and *chap.* 5. v. 4.

2. He is *our Lord*, according to every *Relation* or *Capacity*, whether in point of *Nature* or *Office*. For he is so, whether we consider him, as the *Son of God*, who by a natural and necessary Right and Propriety is such to us, as being *the Jehovah Sent* from his Father, as *the Jehovah Sending*, according to the Import of the Words, *Zech.* 10. 12. He is so, even as he is *Man*, i. e. the perfect Man and Head of Men, as such; *God having made the same Jesus, who was crucified, both Lord and Christ*, *Acts* 2. 36. See *Phil.* 2. 8, &c. And he is so, as he is the *Loganthropos*, as we see *Acts* 10. 36. *1 Cor.* 15. 27. In which respect, he is called by the Name, both of *Christ*, *Luke* 2. 11. *Acts* 3. 36. and of *Jesus* or *Saviour*, *Isa.* 45. 11. and *chap.* 5. 31.

3. He is called *our Lord* also, with Respect to every *Foundation* or *Ground*, upon which *Lordship*, Superiority or *Dominion* is founded. For, if an uncontrollable Authority, Power and Ability to govern, be any *Foundation* this way, our blessed Saviour may justly claim this Title, in the highest Respect, *John* 17. 2. & *Chap.* 13. 3. *Matth.* 16. 18. *Heb.* 7. 25. Or, if He that preserves, upholds, maintains, and provides for others, deserve this Name from them, how much more He, *in whom we live and move, and have our Being*; *Acts* 17. 28. God the Father *upholding all things by this Logos of his Power*, *Heb.* 1. 3. Or, if *Conquest* over all *Enemies* merit this Title to a mere Man, how much more to our Saviour? See *Eph.* 1. 22. Or, if *Purchase* give a mere Man this Title, in a temporary Respect, how much more is this due to Christ, *who, for this end, both died and rose again, that he might be Lord both of the Quick and of the Dead*? *Rom.* 14. 9. Or, if such a Title may be given, for the Reward of eminent Services, to a faithful and useful Person, imploy'd about weighty Affairs by his Prince; surely much more to Christ, for his Services, may this Title be appropriated, by way of Reward? *Heb.* 2. 9. ——— *We see Jesus, for the suffering of Death, crown'd with Glory and Immortality, &c.* See *Chap.* 12. 2. *Phil.* 2. 8, 9, &c. *Isa.* 53. 12. *Psal.* 110. 7. *Acts* 5. 31.

But, besides all these, there are yet some other Grounds of this Lordship of Christ, that bears a special Relation to some Persons, and not to all. Thus he is *so our Lord*, as we are visible *professing Christians*; as He is not in Reference either to *Jews, Pagans, or Mahometans.*

And yet there is a more special Foundation or Ground of Lordship, upon the Account of which some Christians may call him *our Lord*, and *my Lord*, which all visible Christians are not intitl'd to; and that is, by Reason of true and real inward Conversion. And Christ is *our Lord*, if we be such, in a special and peculiar Manner, and by Virtue of a great many Ties,
viz.

viz. by Reason of our having solemnly Dedicated our selves to him as *our Lord*; by innumerable Favours bestow'd upon us, by repeated Acts of Covenanting with him, as particularly at the Sacrament of his Supper; and indeed by all the Acts of our Devotion and Worship.

This is a Subject, if any, that relates to Divinity, that is eminently Practical, as every one must see and own. And I could, with Pleasure, give a Vent this way, both to my Thoughts and Pen. But I must forbear at present, considering that I am like to be straitned enough, without this Excursion, in bringing this Book within due Compass.

I proceed, therefore, to the main and great Thing, which I propose in this Chapter, *viz.* a *New Account* of the *Parts of Christ's Office*, as *Mediator* or *Loganthropos*.

The *Mediatorial Office* of Christ has hitherto been ever consider'd, to be *fully* as well as *truly* divided into *Three*, *viz.* the *Prophetical*, *Priestly* and *Kingly Office*. And I know of no Confession of Faith, Catechism, or System whatsoever, which does not acquiesce in this Distribution; as that, according to which, every thing that relates to Christ's Office, as he is Redeemer and Mediator, may and ought to be explained. And I do readily so far agree with them, that I believe *each* of *these Offices* ought to be ascribed to Christ, as *Mediator*, and come naturally, and necessarily, to be consider'd as *Parts* of his *Office*, as such, consider'd in the general.

But then the Question remains still intire; whether *these* be *all the Offices* of Christ, or all the *Parts* of his *Mediatorial Office*?

Nay, this further Question will likewise remain in its full Force; whether this be the *proper Distribution* of these, most accommodated to the *Scriptural Hypothesis*?

These Questions have, I think, hardly ever been thought of; And, in case they were ever started be-

fore, they have, at least, never been sufficiently, if at all, answered.

For my own Part, I think the *common Scheme* is a very defective One. And, tho' this may be look'd upon to be a very bold Saying; seeing *Prescription* has made this pass current, as every way a full and perfect Scheme with the Bulk of Men, nay, and so far as I know, with all Christians, of all Denominations: Yet I am much mistaken, if I have not that Evidence to bear me out, that will change the Thoughts of every one, that will allow himself, calmly and seriously, to consider what I have to say on this Head; tho' I shall industriously and studiously labour after Succinctness and Brevity here, as well as in other things.

To evince therefore the Defectiveness of the ordinary Scheme, I shall give two Instances.

In the *first* Place, there is nothing attributed to Christ more plainly and expressly, than that he is as much the *Head and Father* of his People, in a spiritual Sense, as *Adam* was of his Posterity in a natural Sense. Hence the Apostle calls him *the last* or *second Adam*, 1 Cor. 15. 45. And it is plain, that the Parallel is run between these *two Adams*, with a great deal of critical Exactness, ver. 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, and in ver. 22. and so also in Rom. 5. ver. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. Now unto which of Christ's Offices shall this be assigned, that he is the *Second and Spiritual Adam*, or the *Everlasting Father*, as he is called, Isa. 9. 6. For the *Kingly Office* does not necessarily involve this, that he must beget his Children. It is true, Parental Government was the first. But this does rather bring the *Kingly Government* under the *Parental*, as the *Genus*, than the *Parental* under the *Kingly*. And it is plain, that these are considered, in Christ, as distinct in Scripture. Whence Christ is said to be *both* the *Everlasting Father*, and the *Prince of Peace*, Isa. 9. 6. And as for Christ's *Prophetical and Priestly Office*, it is plain, that neither of them can be a *proper Genus* for the *Paternal*. There is not the least Shadow of Ground for the *Prophetical Office*

see this way. And as for the other, if, of old, the *Priesthood* belong'd to the First of the Family, it was because he was such. So that the Parent, or First of the Family, was *Priest* and *Prince*, because of this *previous Right*. But no Man will say, in any proper Sense, that he was *Father*, because he was *Priest* or *King*.

In the next Place, it is as certain, that Christ gave out the *Gospel* or *New Law*, as that *Moses* gave forth the *Old Law* to the *Jews*. As for those that will have the *Gospel Oeconomy* to be in no Sense a Law, we shall probably have to do with them afterwards. And in the mean time, it is enough to say, as to this, that as the *Gospel* is frequently called a (*p*) *Law* in the New Testament (tho distinguish'd from the *old Law*, by particular Epithets :) So if it were not a *Law*, there could be no Transgression or Violation of it, by any manner of Disobedience, as *Paul* speaks, *Rom. 4. 15. & 5. 13.* Therefore the Apostle, when he says, that when he became all things to all Men, in order to gain upon them, for their Good, and for that End, acted as *under the Law* of *Moses* to the *Jews*, and *without* it to the *Gentiles*; adds immediately, that he might not be mistaken, being, however, *not without Law to God*, viz. in so acting; nay, says he, on the contrary, I acted, in all this, as *under the Law to Christ*, *1 Cor. 9. 21.* But to return from this Digression, certain it is that Christ was as really a *Legislator* to *Christians*, as *Moses* was to the *Jews*. For, tho the *Law* of *Christ* and that of *Moses* be vastly different; yet this does not hinder, but that the one as well as the other was a *Legislator*; and the one *Constitution* or *Oeconomy* a *Law*, as properly as the other. And if the more imperfect *Oeconomy* of *Moses* give Denomination to him, as a *Legislator*, who was but a *Servant*, tho a faithful one: How much more, as the Apostle argues, (*q*) shall Christ be prized and valued, as a

(*p*) See Gal. 6. 2. Heb. 7. 12, 16. Jam. 1. 25. & 2. 8. (*q*) Heb. 3. 3, 5, 6.

Son over his own House; whose House true Christians are. Whence the Apostle argues, (r) that if the Jews could not enter into the Land of Canaan, because of their not believing Moses; we are much more liable to God's Wrath, in being shut out of the heavenly Canaan, if we reject Christ and his Message, by Unbelief. Now, if Christ be really, tho' spiritually, a *Legislator*, under which of his Three Offices, as usually described, shall this Legislative Office be brought? Surely not under his *Prophetical* or *Priestly* Offices. For Priesthood and Prophecie, do not, in the least, involve or denote *Legislation*. And, as for the *Regal* Office, tho' it have more Affinity with that of a *Legislator*, than the other two: Yet it does not necessarily include it. For the *Kingly* Office does only denote properly the *executive Power*, with a *Dignity* suitable to such a Station and Trust. So that it does not involve, but rather suppose the *Legislative* Office and *Power*. For, seeing *Laws* must be supposed to be made, before they can be put in Execution: It follows, that their Office, who make *Laws*, must be Prior to the Office of him, who is invested with the chief Trust of executing them. *Tyrants* indeed, who have usurped the *Legislative Power*, have ascribed it to themselves equally with the *Executive Part*. But this can be no parallel Case to that of our blessed Saviour. For, it is plain, that tho' he be himself *one*, yet his *Legislative* and *Regal* Office are as distinct as his *Priestly* and *Regal* are. For, having once made and given forth an exact *Corpus Juris*, a System of *Laws*, which are holy, just and divine; he ties up his *Regal* Office, to an exact Observance of them in the Execution; excepting in such Cases, where he sees fit to reserve to himself, a *Prerogative* to do good in an extraordinary manner, as in the Case of *Paul's* Conversion.

These things being premised, I shall now humbly offer my Thoughts, upon this great Head. And, as I

(r) Heb. 3. 18, 19. Ch. p. 4. 1, &c. See Chap. 2. 1, 2, 3.

offer all I publish, in order to be examined: So I hope it will not be ungrateful to inquisitive Persons to consider, whether the following Account be not more agreeable to the Latitude of the *Scriptural Hypothesis*, than that which has been so long, and so universally received.

I conceive therefore, that the sacred Oracles do seem to speak of the Office of *Christ*, as *Threefold*; viz. *Patriarchal*, *Legislatorial* or *Legislative*, and *Executorial* or *Executive*.

I. *Christ* may be considered, as the first and great *Patriarch* of *Christians*, and his Office therefore as *Patriarchal* or *Paternal*.

In this Respect, he is that *spiritually* to us, which *Adam* was *naturally* to all *Mankind*, and which *Noah* was afterwards to the *Post-Deluvians*. And, in this respect also, he is that to *Christians*, which *Abraham* was to the *Jews*, viz. the *first Patriarch*, or *Founder* of a *New Family*, or *New Society*, of which he is the *Original* and *Head*. He is the *Original* and *Source* of *Christians*; for he *begets* them to himself, by his *Word* and *Spirit*, that they may become the *Children* of *God*. And he is the *Head* of *Christians*, by Reason of this *Paternal Relation*.

But seeing his Design is, by begetting us to himself, to make us the *Children* of *God*, by *Adoption*, (as he is his only *Son* by *Generation*, as he is the *Logos*, and his only *Son* likewise, in a most special manner, as he is *Loganthropos*;) Hence he comes under the Denomination of the *Elder Brother*, and allows us to be called his *Brethren*, as *Heirs* and *Joynt-Heirs* with himself. In this respect *God* is the *Father*, and *Christ* the *Patriarch* of *Christians*, as He is the *first Born*. For this is spoken, in Allusion to the Right of the *First-Born Son* of old: Who, besides the *double Portion* above his *Brethren*, was *Priest* and *Prince* of his *Family*.

Now to trace this to the first Rise; we all know, that *Adam*, by natural Right, was the *First Prince* and *Priest* of *Mankind*, as he was their *First Parent* or *Patriarch*. But, when he had abused this Power, to the

Detriment and Ruin of his Posterity; God, out of Pity to Mankind, was concerned to raise them up a new Head; *Adam* having declared himself, by his Folly, incapable to act so, any more, as being disabled from governing his Posterity, by reason of his Rebellion against God, and Treachery to the Interest of Men. Christ is therefore designed and appointed, under the Designation of the *Seed of the Woman*, who was to revenge Man's Quarrel, as well as God's, upon the great Apostate and Rebel, by *bruising his Head*, and breaking his Power. So that the first Promise, is concerning Christ's being raised up as *another Adam*, to exercise the *Patriarchal Office*, for the good of Men, which the *first Adam* had forfeited and fallen from, by his Sin and Folly. And in order to Christ's exercising the *Patriarchal Office*, it was necessary, for the Reasons above-mentioned, that he should become the *Seed of the Woman*, that he might have the same Nature, with those he was to be *Patriarch* over, who must be of the same Family with himself. But it was equally necessary, that he should not be begotten by Man, but that himself, as *Logos*, should produce the Manhood, in the Womb of a Virgin, and unite it with himself, that he might not so descend, as others, from *Adam*, but might owe his human Nature to his own Production. And that it was the *Logos* that over-shadowed the Virgin, and not the *Third Person* of the *Trinity*, we have had Occasion to prove. In the mean time, we are to observe, that when the Angel says to the Virgin, (f) *The Holy Ghost*, or Holy Spirit, shall come upon thee, he immediately explains what Holy Spirit he means; not the *Third Person*, that usually goes under that Name, but the *Second Person*, or the *Logos*, (who is likewise described as an *Holy and Quickning* (t) *Spirit*,) for he adds, *and the Power of the Highest shall over-shadow thee*; a Phrase which doth properly denote the *Logos*, as we

(f) Luke 1. 35. (t) See 1 Cor. 15. 45, &c.

have proved in (u) its proper Place; where we also shewed, that this Phrase is a plain Proof of it, seeing the Angel himself infers, from what he had said, that *therefore also*, (i. e. upon that Account that the *Logos* should over-shadow and impregnate her Womb,) *that Holy Thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God*, viz. because the *Logos*, who is the Power of the Highest, and his Son, should unite to himself what was thus formed of her Substance. But to return,

Let us conceive, that, after the Creation of Man, the Law of Innocency given forth, and the Breach of that Law, by the Lapse of *Adam*, (waving the Decree or Secret Will of God, which we can only guess at, having, in lieu of this, considered the Covenant of Redemption) the Justice of God was immediately about to take Place, in executing the Punishment threatened upon *Adam*, in Case he sinned. And here let us consider, what the threatned Punishment was. It is expressed thus, according to the *Hebrew* Phraseology, *Gen. 2. 17. In the Day thou eatest, dying thou shalt die*, or as our Version excellently renders it, *thou shalt surely die*. The Thing threatned then, according to the Letter, was the Extirpation of *Adam*, and of Mankind in him. For what we have, *Gen. 6. 5, 6, 7.* may be a Comment upon this; when it is said (after the manner of Men, when God saw how great the Wickedness of Man was, viz. after having repriev'd and suspended the Execution of the Threatning so long;) *that it repented the Lord that he had made Man on the Earth, and it grieved him at his Heart; and he said, I will destroy Man, &c.*

Therefore we are led on, in a natural Train of Thoughts, to conceive further, that Christ stept in, before the Execution, as the (x) Patron of Mankind, espousing his Interest, and undertaking for him, as

(u) Viz. In the preceding Chapter, when we discours'd of Christ's Incarnation. (x) See what I have said upon this Head, in the 3d Chapter of this Book.

Moses did afterwards for *Israel*, when God was about to extirpate, and cut off all that Race of Men. And here we may be allowed to suppose, that Christ did intercede for Man, as God is brought in speaking concerning *Ephraim*, *Hof. II. 7, 8, 9.* “ O my Father, “ let not the threatned Evil be executed upon the mi- “ serable Race of Man, upon the Account of the Sin “ of their first Parents. Why should the Children be “ cut off, and thus suffer, who have not yet a Being “ properly, and therefore could not actually sin? “ Their Case is quite different from that of the Apo- “ state Angels, who joyn’d with their Head, the grand “ Rebel, against thee, not by a natural Necessity, but “ voluntary Consent. It is Reason they should suffer “ in their own Persons, who personally sinn’d. But “ seeing the Case is otherwise here, let Mercy pre- “ vail. For how canst thou give up with all Mankind? “ How canst thou treat those that are unborn, as “ *Adam* and *Eve*? How is it consistent with thy Good- “ ness, to deal with them with the same Rigour as “ with the Apostate Angels? Why should Human “ Race be wholly extirpated? Can no Use be made of “ them? Shall the grand Usurper be gratified, in this “ Design of his, alas! too successful Temptation? Is “ there no way to counter-act him, and defeat his U- “ surpation over this new World, and this new Race? “ Yes, surely, there is. I will undertake for lost Man- “ kind. And seeing *Adam* has acted the Part of a *Pa- “ triarch* so ill to thee and his Posterity; I will put “ my self in his stead, and become the *Patriarch* of “ Men, &c.

Now upon the Supposition of our Saviour’s offering himself thus, as the Patron and Patriarch of Men, and the Father’s accepting of his Offer, and accordingly authorizing him to act for the Future, as the Ruler of Men, in order to be their Saviour: I say, upon the Supposition of these Things; we will naturally be led by an easie Gradation, to see the Truth of all those Heads of the Covenant of Redemption, of which I did

did discourse particularly in the 3^d Chapter. But seeing this has again fallen in my way, I shall not grudge a little further Pains to confirm what I then said. Therefore to proceed ; let us suppose that Truth which I have but just now laid down, as a Supposition, *viz.* Our Saviour's offering himself (in some such manner, as I have mentioned) to become the Patron and Patriarch of Men : Our Minds will be naturally directed ; (1.) To contemplate, what the Scheme probably was, that the Father and Son agreed in, as to the Government, Redemption and Salvation of Men. In which our Thoughts will be directed, in some measure, by considering these Hints from Scriptures, consonant to what I mention'd before, *viz.* That the Father, on his Part, did agree that Christ should undertake this Work, *1 Pet. 1. 20.* that he should be every way fitted and qualified for it, *Isa. 7. 14. 1 Tim. 3. 16. Heb. 10. 5.* that he should be actually set apart for it, *Isa. 42. 6.* invested with Offices and Trusts for managing it, *Psal. 89. 19.* and sent by him with a Commission to execute it, *Jchn 6. 39.* And that, upon the other hand, the Son did agree to all these things, and whatsoever he was to do or suffer in pursuance of this great Design. He agreed to be design'd for this Work, *Psal. 40. 6. Isa. 50. 5, 6.* to put himself into a low Condition, in order to be fitted and qualified to accomplish it, *Heb. 2. 7. Phil. 2. 6, 7, 8.* to be called and set apart for it, *Heb. 10. 5, 7.* to be invested with Offices and Trusts required to the Discharge of it, *Prov. 8. 23. Jchn 17. 2.* and to be actually sent and commissioned, in order to execute the same, *Jchn 4. 34.* (2.) We may contemplate the immediate Result of this agreement, between God and the Logos ; *viz.* the suspending the Execution of the threatned Punishment, so as it was not executed according to its extent. For the Race of Man was continued, and common Mercies vouchsaf'd. Nay, which was still more, Man was settled in a salvable State, so as to be sav'd from Misery, upon reasonable and easy Terms. And of these things the Longevity of *Adam* and *Eve*, and the Acceptance

ceptance of *Abel's* Sacrifice and Services, are a standing Monument. And if *Cain* forfeited Happiness, it was his own Fault only. For God frees himself from Partiality to Brother, when he tells him, *Gen. 4.7.* *If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou dost not well, Sin lies at the door; i. e. the Punishment of thy Sin is certain, and thou canst not escape it.* Now, says God, consider that thou art the elder Brother, and act accordingly: For if thou do so, *unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him.* (3.) We are to consider, that in pursuance of this Agreement with God, the *Logos* acted ever after as the Patriarch and Patron of Men, in relation to the Ends of his Divine Government. So that, as he ruled all Men by a *General Logocracy*, he did erect a special *Theocracy*, or rather *Logocracy*, over the Jews, upon the occasion of the General Apostacy that began to over-spread the World in *Abraham's* time, and which came to be fixed afterwards in the Days of *Moses*. (4.) We are further led in to see, from what we have said, that it was in pursuance of this Agreement with God, that the *Logos*, who had acted so long as the Patron and Patriarch of Men, before his Incarnation, by virtue of his Promise and Engagement to become Man; did, in the *fulness of Time*, take upon him our Nature, so as to become a real Man. From whence we see, (as I have already hinted in the Introduction to this Book) that the Stir and Controversy about the End of Christ's Death, (*viz.* whether he died to *save all* or *some*) has been very frivolous. Seeing Christ's End in dying, was not *formally* to *save some*, or to *save all*; but to procure to himself as *the Christ, Messiah* or *Loganthropos*, a Right and Power to govern *all Men*, that would submit themselves to him, in order to save such as should do so, in a right manner. For which Purposes he was to promulgate the *new Law of Faith*, under the Notion of the *Gospel* or *glad News* of Salvation, and erect a new Dispensation of Grace accordingly; by which Men are to be judged, and to be approved or rejected, saved

or lost, according as they receive or reject it, live up to it or not; in order thus to act as *Patriarch*, or as the *Loganthropos*, for the general Good of Men; but specially for this end, that he might erect a new Model of Government, which we call by the Name of *Christocracy*. And, in this respect, as the Apostle speaks, *Heb.* 7. 22. he was made the Surety of a better Testament; or, as he says, *Heb.* 8. 6. he obtained a more excellent Ministry, than that of the Priests under the Law, by how much he is the Mediator of a better Covenant, which was established upon better Promises. (5.) We are here to consider this particularly, that as the *Logos* agreed to become our *Patriarch*, so the Father did expressly stipulate and agree that he should have a special Seed and spiritual Posterity, that should derive their Original, as such, not from the first Adam, but from him the true Adam and Patriarch of Men. Therefore we are assured, *Isa.* 53. 10. That when he should be bruised, and made an Offering for Sin, he should see his Seed, and prolong his Days, and the Pleasure of the Lord should prosper in his hand, i. e. whatever God did take pleasure in, should flourish under his Management. And this Seed are those who are born *ἀνωθεν*, from above, or, as we render the Word, again, *John* 3. 3. i. e. such are born not only of Water, as being baptized, but of the Spirit also, as being regenerated, as Christ explains himself, *ver.* 5. These Peter calls *Elect* according to the Fore-knowledge of God the Father, thro' Sanctification of the Spirit, unto Obedience and Sprinkling of the Blood of Jesus Christ, *1 Ep.* 1. 2. And *John* describes them, as those that are born, not of Blood, nor of the will of the Flesh, but of God, *Chap.* 1. 13. and of such he gives this Character, *1 Ep.* 3. 9. *Whosoever is born of God doth not commit Sin: For his Seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin because he is born of God.*

Now from these things, as it will, I think, unanswerably appear, that one, and indeed the first Office, ascribed to our Saviour, is that which I know no Name so expressive of, as that of *Patriarchal*: So likewise that this is of a greater Latitude and Extent, than that it can fall under

der any, or indeed all the Offices that are vulgarly ascribed to Christ. Nay, from what we have said, it will rather appear, That the *Patriarchal Office* includes all these three Offices, viz. his *Kingly, Priestly* and *Prophetical*. For, as the first two belong'd of old to the Head of a Family, as his Birth-right: So it became him to be a Prophet too, in the general Sense of the Word, that he might teach and instruct those that were under him, which was part of *Abraham's* valuable Character, as a *Pater familias*, Gen. 18. 17, 18, 19. Nay, of old time, the eminent Patriarchs were endued with a Prophetical Spirit also, in a strict Sense, as appeareth in the instance of *Noah, Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob*, who thus *blest their Seed*. But, whatever was the Case, as to other Patriarchs, we are sure Christ was such a one, as that all these three Offices of *Priesthood, Prophecy* and *Regal Power* are involved in this his *Patriarchal Office*.

Here I might take occasion to shew, how all the ancient Patriarchs, and those that acted as such, and are reckoned to this Class, were Typical of Christ; such as *Adam, Seth, Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, Shem* or *Melchisedeck* (or both if they are different Persons, as some think) *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob*. But these Contemplations would lead me too far.

Let it suffice to observe, that tho' some of these were Patriarchs in a more proper Sense than others, as being the first Heads of new Families, viz. *Adam, Noah* and *Abraham*: Yet all of them did equally act as Patriarchs; tho' we have not so large an account of some, as of others. Of *Adam* little is said this way; but we may justly conclude that he acted both as *Prophet, Priest* and *King*. And we reasonably judge the same of *Seth, Enoch* and *Methuselah*. But it is plain that *Noah* acted the part not only of *Prince*, but of *Priest* in offering Sacrifice, and of *Prophet* in blessing his Sons prophetically. The Patriarch *Melchisedeck*, the most Illustrious Type of any, as to Christ's Patriarchal Office, was not only *King of Righteousness*, as his Name signifies, and
King

King of Salem or Peace, but *Priest also of the most High God*. And that he was the *Great Prophet of God* also, in those Days, appears from his *blessing Abraham*, and that in a *Prophetical Strain* too. And we have already observed, that in the *Patriarchal Office of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*, the *Prophetical Office* as well as *Priestly* and *Regal Power* were included. And the same may be supposed, as to the twelve Sons of *Jacob*, who are ordinarily called the twelve *Patriarchs*. For, as it is certain they were the *Princes and Priests of their Posterity*, so they were the *Teachers of them, or Prophets*, in an *Ordinary Sense*. For it was not until *Moses's Time*, that *Priesthood* was taken from the *First-born*, and fixed in the *Tribe of Levi*. *Numb. 3. 12, 41, 45. and Chap. 8. 18.* and that the *Kingly and Prophetical Office* were adjudged to belong to any whom *God pleased to honour* this way; of what *Tribe* soever they were descended. So that, from the *Instances of all those, who were properly Patriarchs*, we may see, that the *Prophetical, Priestly and Regal Office*, are included in the *Patriarchal*, as the *proper Genus*. And much more then is it so, in relation to *Christ*. So that it may be justly wondered at, that no mention should be made of *Christ's Patriarchal Office*, in any of our *Bodies of Divinity* to this day; when both the *Name Father*, and the *Description of his Office*, as *Father or Patriarch*, is so plainly set down in *Scripture*. And I do the more insist upon this, in order to revive the *Scriptural Notion of it*, because I see not how either the *Kingly, Priestly or Prophetical Office* can be rightly explained, unless this be understood.

Having thus given an *Account*, what the *Patriarchal Office of Christ* is, and how *improvable*; it were high time to proceed to his other *Offices*. But there is one thing I would first touch upon, and add, as a *Coronis* to what I have been upon already, and that is to give some account of *Melchisedeck*, seeing I have made mention of him. I know much has been said on this *Head* already. But I hope it may not be amiss to add something, concerning so great a *Person*, and so illustrious a
Type

Type of Christ, as to his Patriarchal Office, as the Apostle makes him to be, in the 7th Chapter to the *Hebrews*, which is, if I may so say, nothing else but a Sermon or Comment on one Text, *viz.* *Psal.* 110. 4. where it is expressly foretold, that *Christ should be a Priest for ever*, not after the Order of *Aaron*, but according to the Order of *Melchisedeck*. Which the *Targum* gives us this Paraphrase of, *God has sworn (and shall never repent that he has done so) that he will constitute thee to be his Great Priest in the World to come*, (i. e. in the times of the New Testament) because thou hast merited this Office, in being the true *Melchisedeck*, or truly righteous King. It may not be amiss therefore critically to consider the short Account of this great Personage, which we have, *Gen.* 14. 18.

That he was *Priest of the most High God*, and a *King* likewise, is expressly asserted in that place: And that, besides the mystical Signification of *Salem*, he was a temporal Prince that reigned at *Feru-salem* or *Febus-salem*; the *Salem* of the *Febusites*, which in his Days was called *Salcm* only, seems very plain to me from *Psal.* 76. 2. where *Jerusalem* is called by its Name *Salem*. And here, by the way, I can't but take particular notice, that the Psalmist doth there allude to the History of *Abraham's* defeating the four Kings, and of his being met by *Melchisedeck*, and blest by him. For having said, *In Salem is God's Tabernacle and his Dwelling-place in Sion*, which was within *Salem*; he immediately adds, *There brake he the Arrows of the Bow, the Shield and the Sword, and the Battle. Thou art more glorious and excellent than Mountains of Prey*. Which I hope I may be allowed to paraphrase after this manner: "In *Jerusalem*, of old called " *Salem*, thou hast now thy Tabernacle, O Lord, having made choice of *Sion* for thy Dwelling-place. " And well may it deserve the Name of *Salem*, which " it was anciently known by. For it was *there*, even " that thou didst of old break the Power of the insulting " Kings, by the Hand of thy Servant *Abraham*, who " upon that occasion had the Patriarchal Blessing given " him

“ him by the Great Patriarch *Melchisedeck* the King of
 “ *Salern*. And there it was that *Abraham* gave this
 “ Testimony to the Honour of thy Service, that he
 “ reckoned thee more Glorious and Excellent than
 “ *Mountains*, or mountainous Heaps of *Prey*, which he
 “ had taken from those Kings, of which he scorned
 “ to take to the Value of a Shoe-latchet, tho offered
 “ him by the King of *Sodom*; but gave all back again,
 “ lest it should be said that he grew rich any other way,
 “ than by the Blessing and Donation of God alone.

Now the History of the War between the *four Kings*
 and the *five*, mentioned in the 14th Chapter of *Genesis*,
 may help us to understand what we intend. Of which
 we have this account. The King of *Sodom* and the
 neighbouring Princes, having rebelled against *Chedor-*
laomer King of *Elam* or *Persia*, after they had been Tri-
 butaries to him twelve Years; *Chederlaomer* raiseth an
 Army to subdue them, and gets three Confederate Prin-
 ces to go along with him, and to assist him in his Expe-
 dition. So he and his Associates begin their Invasion
 of the Land of *Canaan*, at the North End without
Jordan, and having defeated the King of *Sodom* and the
 rest of the Kings, and being thus flush'd with Success,
 resolves upon an intire Conquest of the Country with-
 in *Jordan* also. For this end he enters into the South
 Part of *Canaan*, and passeth victorious as far as *Hebron*,
 where *Abraham* then resided, as we see, *Gen.* 13. 18.
 tho *Abraham* did not dwell in the City it self, but in the
 Valley of *Mamre*, which was contiguous, and belonged
 to it, as we may see, if we compare *Gen.* 14. 13. with
Chap. 13. 18. This he passeth by, and penetrateth to
 the Borders of *Dan*, not far from *Salern* or *Jerusalem*;
 tho we hear not whether he had any Design upon that
 place. However the Country being then under Ter-
 ror and Consternation, *Abraham*, both upon this Ac-
 count, and a Concern he had for his Friend and Kins-
 man *Lot*, parts from *Hebron*, which, according to
Dr. Lightfoot's Account, is about 18 English Miles di-
 stance from *Jerusalem* to the South; from whose Towers

the Jews say it might have been seen, *Hebron* having the Advantage of being situated in the Hill-Country of *Judab*, as we see, *Josh.* 21. 11. Now from *Hebron* *Abraham* goes to the North-West, or North North-West after the Enemy, and overtakes and defeats them near the Borders of *Dan*; and therefore the place of the Defeat was either at *Salem*, or very near it. For it appears that the Borders of *Dan* were very near *Jerusalem* from this, that the City of *Baalab*, afterwards called *Kirjab-jearim*, was so in the Border of *Judab* and *Dan*, as to be ascribed to both. For in *Josh.* 15. 29. it is said to be upon the South of *Judab* towards *Edom*, i. e. South South-East from it. And in *Josh.* 19. 44. it is said to stand in the Border of *Dan*. The Case was this. The City it self belonged to *Judab*, and the Fields, and perhaps Suburbs, to *Dan*. Now this City *Dr. Lightfoot* judgeth, with great probability, to have been 6 or 7 English Miles from *Jerusalem*. It is true *Abraham* pursued the Enemy some Days Journey Northward, after the Defeat, as we see, *Gen.* 14. 15. But it is as true that he returned to *Jerusalem* with all the Booty. For it was there that he was met and blessed by *Melchisedeck*, and that he gave back the Prey to the King of *Sodom*: Both these Accounts, being so interwoven one with another, as if it were on purpose to shew, that they happened at the same Time and Place. Now the Place of this remarkable Interview is said to be *the Valley of Shaveh*, or the *King's-dale*, (as it was afterwards called) *Gen.* 14. 17. And therefore, if we can find out where this was, it will help to clear what we intend. Which will be no difficult thing; seeing we read, that in that very place *Abraham* erected his noble Pillar, *2 Sam.* 18. 18. the Remains of which continue to this very Day, as both Jews and Christians tell us, who have travelled into *Judæa*. Now this Dale or Vale, where *Abraham's Pillar* stands, and which was anciently called the *King's Dale*, because the Kings of *Judab* used to divert themselves there in their Chariots, and in other Amuse-

Amusements, was but two Furlongs without the Wall of *Jerusalem*, as we are told by those that have given the best Descriptions of the Place. It lay just under the *Temple* to the East, between that and the Mount *Olivet*, the Brook *Cedron* running through it; and it is supposed to be the same, that was afterwards called the *Valley of Jehoshaphat*, to the South of which lay another *Valley*, infamous for the Murder of Children, whom Idolaters sacrificed alive to *Moloch*; which is called sometimes *Tophet*, and sometimes *Ghebennon*, i. e. the Valley of *Hennon*, or the *Sons of Hennon*; from which the Name *Gehenna*, which signifieth Hell, takes its rise. From whence it appears plainly, that *Melchisedeck* did not dwell in that place, which is called *Salem*, *John 3. 23.* as *Dr. Whitby*, after *Jerom*, imagines. Which Mistake arises from not distinguishing between the Place where *Abraham* attack'd his Enemies, which was upon the Borders of *Dan*, *Gen. 14. 14.* and the Place towards which he pursued them afterwards, which was over against *Damascus*, *v. 15.*

From this Historical Account, it seems to be plain, beyond all dispute, that *Melchisedeck* was a Man, that liv'd at *Salem* or *Jerusalem*, who was so eminent for Righteousness, both as Priest and Prince, that he came to be known at length by no other Name but that of the Righteous King, (for so his Name *Melchisedeck* signifies in the Hebrew) who was the Priest of the Supreme God, in opposition to those that were Priests of such Deities as began then to be universally worshipped, as the Tutelary Gods of Provinces and Tribes. So that there is no Foundation, that I can see, to imagine that he was an *Angel*, far less the *Logos* himself appearing as a Man, as some do imagine. And, if he certainly was descended from some Father and Mother, as all other Men are; which is not formally denied by the Apostle *Heb. 7. 3.* if we shall consider, that the Apostle does only assert, that as there is no mention made of his Father and Mother as he is called *Melchisedeck*, so the Person

that goes under that Name had really no Father and Mother, in the Sense that he was Priest and King; *i. e.* he was not possess'd of these Offices, in an ordinary way of Descent, by the Right of *Primogeniture*. But he had these by an immediate Donation and Grant from God, in such a manner as *Jacob* obtain'd the first Blessing, tho' the youngest Son, tho' he us'd no Trick to procure it, such as *Jacob* made use of. And, in like manner, he was without Descent or End of Days, because his Priesthood did not descend to any Man after him, as that of *Aaron* did. In all which respects he was made like unto the Son of God, as being an eminent Type of him, and indeed the most perfect of any, and therefore is said *to abide a Priest* (without being changed or succeeded by others, as was the Case of the Aronical and all other Priests besides) *continually, viz.* in the lasting Register of Scripture, which speaks of him, as containing (in this Sense I have given) all his *Species* in himself, none succeeding him in his *Patriarchate*, or any Branch of it, in any proper Sense (as we shall further see) until Christ himself came and took up his Office, in an higher Sense still, as the *Everlasting Melchisedeck* of the *Spiritual Salem* or *Jerusalem*, where he reigns as *King*, governs as *Priest*, and instructs as *Prophet*. Now who should this great Man be, but *Shem*. For to him, and him only, all that the Apostle says of *Melchisedeck* is applicable. In order to understand this, I must give the Reader some Thoughts in relation to his History. All Men know, that *Noah* had three Sons. Of these I think it is plain, that *Japhet* was the first-born, *Shem* the next, and *Ham* the youngest. That *Shem* was younger than *Japhet* is owned by all: For so we are told, *Gen. 10. 21.* where he is called *the Brother of Japhet the Elder, or First-born*. And *Ham* is in like manner spoken of as the younger, with respect both to *Japhet* and *Shem*, *Gen. 9. 23, 24.* To *Japhet* therefore the Right of *Primogeniture* did belong by a natural Right. But God did order things otherwise, and did by the Mouth of *Noah*, whom

whom he did divinely inspire for this End, give the *first Blessing* to *Shem*, and the *Second* only to *Japhet*, as we see, *Gen. 9. 26.* By which, as by an express *Commission* from God, *Shem* is constituted and appointed to succeed his Father, contrary to the ordinary Law of natural Descent, to be the first Patriarch of the whole Family descending from *Noah*, and in this Sense the Supreme and Universal Prince, Priest and Prophet of Men. Now the Land of *Canaan*, and *Jerusalem* particularly, being mark'd out by God to be the Great Theater, where the most remarkable Transactions of Providence were to be, in a Gradation of several and various Scenes, down from *Shem* to the *Messiah*; it deserves a special Remark, that the Peculiarity of *Shem's Blessing*, as well as of *Ham's Curse*, is relative to the Dominion and Possession of that Country. Therefore *Ham* is characterized, in Relation to his Sin, not simply by his own proper Name, or as the Son of *Noah*, but as *the Father of Canaan*, *Gen. 9. 22.* And when he is cursed, it is not by his own Name, but by the Name of his youngest Son *Canaan*, *Gen. 9. 25.* for it is not said, cursed be *Ham*, but *cursed be Canaan.* By which the other Sons of *Ham*, viz. *Cush*, *Mizraim* and *Phut*, are pass'd by and exempted from the Curse. Which, by the by, doth rectifie a vulgar Errour, as if this Curse had been upon *all Ham's Posterity.* Now wherein this Curse pronounced upon *Canaan* and his Posterity doth consist, we may easily see in the Words, compared with the Event. For it is said, in the general, that he should be *a Servant unto his Brethren*, *Gen. 9. 25.* and then it is added, that he should be *first* a Servant unto *Shem*, v. 26. and *afterwards* unto *Japhet*, v. 27. All which was literally, as well as spiritually, verified afterwards. For *Canaan* took Possession of the Land, which took its Name from him; from whom a numerous Posterity did spring, divided into several Families or Tribes, of which *Moses* enumerates Eleven, *Gen. 10. 15, 16, 17, 18,* viz. *Sidonites, Hethites, Jebusites, Amorites, Girgashites, Hivites, Arkites, Sinites, Arvadites,*

Zemarites and Hamarites. But he adds, *and afterwards were the Families of the Canaanites spread abroad.* By which I understand, that there was afterwards some Grandson or Great Grandson of *Canaan*, of his own Name, who erected a new Tribe, which made up the Number of Twelve in all. For besides, that all those Tribes were sometimes called by the general Name of *Canaanites*, it is obvious and plain, that there was a particular Tribe to whom this Name was specially appropriated, as we see, *Jos. 11. 3.* and in many other Places. I take notice of these things here, the rather, tho by the by, because, if I mistake not greatly, they will afford a better Comment upon a dark Piece of Scripture, than any that has yet been given, *viz.* upon *Moses* his Words, *Deut. 32. 8, 9.* *When the most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance, when he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the Bounds of the People, according to the Number of the Children of Israel, &c.* which I chuse to paraphrase thus. “When the most High divided to
“the several Nations descending from *Noah* and his
“Sons, their several Allotments of the World to in-
“herit; and when afterwards he separated and scat-
“tered abroad those Sons of *Adam*, or Transgressors,
“who at *Babel* were confederated to oppose the Or-
“der of God, by *Noah*, as to the Allotments assigned
“them and their Brethren: In both these Times, God
“evidenced his Respect to his People *Israel*, (tho not
“then in being actually) in appointing *Canaan* to be
“their Inheritance. And that even when the *Canaanites*
“usurped the Land, which was by God and *Noah* ap-
“propriated to the Posterity of *Shem*, still he did so
“order Matters, that the Bounds of their Habitation
“was mark’d out to Twelve Tribes, according to the
“Number of the Tribes of *Israel*, which were to be
“the true and lasting Possessors of that Country. And
this brings me back again to what I was upon. For, as
it is only *one Branch* of *Ham’s* Posterity, *viz.* the Children
of *Canaan*, that came under the Curse here: So
we see this was fulfilled afterwards, when they were
either

either cut off, or made Slaves to *Israel*, the Posterity of *Shem*. And afterwards they being themselves cut off, or expell'd the Land of *Canaan* by the *Romans*; God's converting them and the *Greeks*, and others descended from *Japhet*, was a Verification of the other Part of the Prophecy, that God would enlarge *Japhet* to dwell in the Tents of *Shem*: Which was made good in a temporal, as well as spiritual Sense. But to return to *Shem*, we see that the Specialty of his Blessing was, that *Canaan* should be his Servant. Therefore, tho' *Canaan* had seized upon that Country, in Defiance to the contrary Order of *Noah*, (which I suppose was at, or after the Attempt of the Builders of *Babel*;) *Shem* fixes his Seat in *Salem*, taking Possession thus of that Country, by Virtue of the Promise, as knowing that his Posterity would, at length, recover their Right to it, and be the Possessors of it, and that the *Canaanites* would be their Servants.

That *Shem* was alive in *Abraham's* Time, is agreed upon by all. He was an hundred Years old, when he begat *Arphaxad*, which was two Years after the Flood; and he lived 500 Years afterwards. Now the War between the *five Kings* and *Four*, happened, according to *Usher's Chronology*, in the Year of the World, 2092; whereas *Shem* did not die until the Year 2158. So that *Shem*, if he was *Melchisedeck*, liv'd, after his blessing *Abraham*, no less than 166 Years. And seeing he was alive, who was constituted Patriarch, as we have said, and was consequently, in all Equity and Right, or (to use the Modern Way of speaking) *de jure*, King and Priest of the whole World, after his Father *Noah's* Death (who died 36 Years before the Battle of the Kings, *A. M.* 2006;) I say, this being considered; who can be supposed to be *Melchisedeck* but he. For, as the Apostle says, *Heb.* 7. 4. Consider how great this Man was, to whom even the Patriarch *Abraham* gave the tenth of the Spoils, &c. Surely then, they that make him a *Canaanitish* King, (as even the great *Calvin* does, to my Astonishment, at so odd a

Mistake) seem not to consider what they say, when they make one of the accursed Seed not only to be greater than *Abraham*, but to hand over to him the Blessing that *Noah* gave to *Shem*, as we shall quickly see he does. Where, by the way, let me ask, whether it be possible to conceive, that any could act to *Abraham* as a Superior in all Respects, who himself was a *Patriarch*; excepting only the first *Patriarch*, from whom he himself was descended; who therefore could be no other but *Shem*, seeing we are sure he was then alive.

But to bring further Light into this Matter, and to shew the *Rationcle* of the Scheme I am upon, let us look into the History we have been upon, with inlightned Eyes. We have seen *Shem's* Blessing and Right to the Land of *Canaan*, and we have seen *Chedorlaomer's* Conquests and Defeat. Let us now consider the Ground and Occasion of the War. In order to understand which, we must remember that *Shem* had four Sons, viz. *Elam*, *Asbur*, *Arphaxad* and *Aram*, as we see, *Gen.* 10. 22. And without doubt *Shem* had made them acquainted with *Noah's* Prophecy, and that he had obtain'd the first Blessing; by Virtue of which, he had Right to the Land of *Canaan*, tho the Posterity of *Ham* had taken Possession of it. *Elam* therefore, as the eldest Son, did justly lay Claim to the Country of *Canaan*, tho it seems he was not able to conquer it in his Days; but was forced to remove further into the Heart of *Asia*; where he occupied that Country, which from him took the Name of *Elam*, and was afterwards called *Persia*: At the same Time, that his Brother *Asbur* settled, in the Country, that was from him called *Assyria*; and *Arphaxad* near *Babylon*, from whom that part of *Assyria*, which was of old called *Arphaxitidis*, and by *Ptolemy*, *Arrapachitis*, took its Name; and from whom, afterwards, the *Hebrews* did descend, taking their Name from his Grandson *Heber*. But in the mean time *Shem's* youngest Son *Aram*, having probably a more numerous Posterity than his Elder Brethren, at first took Possession of part of the Land of *Canaan*, from whom the
Syrians

Syrians descended. But in Process of Time, it appears that the *Elamites* did increase in Number and Prowess. For tho' *Nimrod*, the Son of *Cush*, and Grandson of *Ham*, erected the first Monarchy that was after the Flood, occupying the Land of *Shinar*, i. e. the Country about *Babylon*, and conquering the Posterity of *Ashur*; from whose Name, however, the Country and Monarchy came to be called: Yet the *Elamites* remained unconquer'd, and were govern'd by their own natural Princes. Nay, it would seem, that in *Abraham's* Time, the *Elamites* were the most powerful People in *Asia*: Seeing the King of *Shinar* or *Babylon*, as well as the two other Kings mentioned, *Gen. 14. 1.* did only assist the King of *Elam*, who therefore seems to have been the Chief of all the Four. However, such was the Name and Dignity of the Kings of *Shinar*; that not only *Amraphel* is first named, *Gen. 14. 1.* but the *Epocha* is mark'd out from him. It is therefore said, *That this War happened in the Days of Amraphel King of Shinar*, in which, he and three other Kings made an Inroad into *Canaan*. And yet it is added, that *Chedorlaomer*, and the Kings that were with him, did so and so, *ver. 5.* By which *Moses* seems to insinuate, that the King of *Elam* was the greatest of the Four: At least he was the Chief in this Expedition, seeing it was undertaken wholly upon his Account, in order to recover his Right. For, as *Elam* was intitled to the Land of *Canaan*, as the eldest Son of *Shem*: So, tho' he was not able to conquer it in his Time, yet *Chedorlaomer* his Son, Grandson or Great-Grandson, did actually possess himself of a great Part of it, if not the Whole. This Acquisition was fourteen Years before this War was, which was commenced to reduce the King of *Sodom* and his Associates, who had rebelled against their Sovereign *Chedorlaomer*, whom they had served peaceably for twelve Years. *Chedorlaomer* therefore, the Head and King of of the *Elamites*, took this Opportunity to assert his Title to *Canaan*, by conquering and reducing it under his Obedience, as the first Male Branch of all *Shem's* Posterity.

city. Tho, in this he acted, in all Appearance, as a Head-strong Man, without (if not against) the Advice of *Shem*; without whom he ought to have done nothing, seeing his Right was only derivative from that of his Great Ancestor, he being then alive. And, as God preserved *Shem* to bear up his Name so long, so we cannot doubt, but he was well acquainted with *Abraham* and his Vocation, and God's promising the Land of *Canaan* to him: And therefore it cannot be supposed that he should patronize *Chedorlaomer* in his Invading *Canaan*. Nay, it may be probable, that he might encourage *Abraham* to oppose this Invader, who would act thus without his Consent. And perhaps *Chedorlaomer* himself might be advertized of *Abraham's Claim* to this Land, seeing he himself had been Master of it so long: For *Abraham* was a considerable Prince, and *Chedorlaomer's* Kinsman, who had lived before in *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, Gen. 11. 27, 28. whose Removal thence, with *Terah* his Father, and *Lot* his Brother's Son, must have made a great Noise in those Days, and especially to the *Elamites*, who must be supposed to be jealous of *Abraham's* possessing the Land of *Canaan*, which they laid Claim to. And the fear of this, as well as the Revolt of the King of *Sodom*, and others, might induce *Chedorlaomer* to make sure Work of it, by subduing the whole Country.

But *Abraham*, having got from God a new and certain Title to this Land, Gen. 12. 1, 6, 7. & Chap. 15. 14. both to assert his own Right, and to deliver *Lot*, whom *Chedorlaomer* had made Prisoner, and was probably resolv'd to carry back with him into the Country from whence he came; he thought it high time to appear against those proud and insulting Invaders. For this end he arms his Servants, who were *born in his own House*, being 318 in Number, and joyns with his Neighbours *Mamre*, *Eshcol* and *Aner*, and their Forces, who were his Confederates at that Time. And with this small Army, trusting in his God, and in the Faith and Assurance of God's Faithfulness to fulfil his Promise, taking the

the Advantage of the Night, he falls upon this adventurous King and his Associates, and routs them, and pursues them until he had recovered all that which they had taken away. Which Victory was undoubtedly given, as a Pledge of the Certainty of what God had promised, that his Seed should possess that Country, and consequently of the Rightfulness of that Claim, which he himself had unto it at that Time.

Upon the Fame of this, good old *Shem*, whose Eminency and Worth had made him universally known, by the Title of *Melchisedeck*, or the Righteous King, and whom all Men revered as the Great Patriarch of Men, and Priest of the Supreme Lord of the World, comes forth from *Salem* (where he reign'd and enjoy'd a happy Peace, and promoted it among Men,) and meets *Abraham*, and blesteth him; as understanding now more clearly, than perhaps he had done before, in *what Branch* of his Posterity God was about to accomplish the Promise made to *him* by *Noah*, that *Canaan* should be his Servant. He sees now the Scale cast, and that God himself had visibly appeared to decide the Controversy between *Chedorlaomer* and *Abraham*, in the Favour of the latter. And therefore he hands over to him, that Part of the Blessing *Noah* had given him, in Words, almost of the same Import that *Noah* had used to himself, however with the same Design: Only he acts a prudent Part in his wording himself, lest he might expose *Abraham* to the united Rage of the *Canaanites*; which he had certainly done, had he, in express Terms, told him, that they should be the Slaves of his Posterity, and destroyed by them. Whereas therefore *Noah* had said, *Gen. 9. 25, 26. Cursed be Canaan, a Servant shall he be unto his Brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his Servant.* He thinks it no way fit to irritate the *Canaanites* against *Abraham*, especially at this time, that they were his Confederates, by speaking out all he thought. Therefore he contents himself with giving over this Blessing, in a general way of speaking (which he knew *Abraham* knew the meaning of; tho neither

neither *Mamre*, *Eshcol* nor *Aner*, nor yet the King of *Sodom*, nor any else present, unless *Lot* perhaps, could understand him) after this manner, *Gen. 14. 19, 20. Blessed be Abraham of the most High God, Possessor of Heaven and Earth; and blessed be the most High God, who hath delivered thine Enemies into thy Hand.* Where two things are plainly intimated. *First*, That those that *Abraham* conquered, were, in a peculiar manner, *his Enemies*; tho they gave out no such thing directly, but pretended only to reduce the *Sodomites*, &c. And *then*, that *God*, who had Right to dispose of his own World, which he had made, as he pleased, had now discovered how, and in what manner, and to whom he was to dispose that Part of this habitable Earth.

It may not be amiss to take Notice, that the *Three Targums*, viz, that of *Onkelos*, *Ben Uzziel*, and *Jerusalem*, do all agree, that *Salem* was *Jerusalem*. And the two latter Paraphrases do expressly say, that *Melchisedeck* was *Shem* the Son of *Noah*. And that this has been the generally received Opinion of the *Jews*, is beyond Dispute; and this anciently, as well as in latter times, as appears from *Jerom. Tom. 4. in Ep. ad Evagrium*; who is himself of this Opinion, And so is *Enoberius, Lib. 2. in Gen. Cap. 25, & 27.* and others of the Fathers. In which Opinion were the Ancient *Samaritanes*, as well as *Jews*, as appears from what we have in *Epiphanius, Hæres. 57.* But I must not insist on these things: For I have dwelt, it may be, too long on this Subject already. And yet I must say, that I knew not well how to avoid saying so much, without leaving the Subject dark. For my Design was to illustrate, by this, the *Patriarchate* of *Christ*. And indeed, tho all, or most of those that come under the Name of *Patriarchs* in Scripture, may be justly supposed to typify *Christ*, in some respect or other; yet there is not one that does so exactly represent him as *Shem*. A Man is rather confounded than edified by what the Apostle says of *Melchisedeck* in the 7th to the *Hebrews*, when he is in the Dark, how all the Characters there can be given to a
Man,

Man, viz. *That he had neither Father nor Mother, nor end of Life, &c.* But when he comes to understand, in what Sense this is said, he is abundantly satisfied and edified. And I am bold to say, that it is not possible to find any Man that can answer the Character given there, but *Shem* only. He indeed, as he was the first and Universal Patriarch of Men after the Flood, and invested with the Regal, Priestly and Prophetical Office, *was without Father, without Mother, (y) without any Recorded Genealogy, (or any Register'd Account of his Birth and Descent) and without beginning of Days,* according to the usual way of Reckoning of one Man's succeeding another : Seeing *Japhet* was the Successor of *Noah*, according to natural Right, had not God cut off the Entrail. And seeing after *Shem* there never was any universal Patriarch more in the World, (*Abraham* being the Patriarch only of his own Posterity, and *Che-dorlaomer* having forfeited the special Blessing) until Christ himself came ; therefore he is justly said to be, as such, *without end of Life*, and to be *made like unto the Son of God* ; and, (having no Successors as *Aaron* had) *to abide a Priest continually.* In all which respects *Shem* or *Melchisedeck* is justly to be look'd upon as the greatest Type of the Patriarchate of our Saviour, particularly as to the Priesthood. But it is high time to proceed to the other Offices of Christ. Therefore,

II. Christ may be considered as the *Great Legislator* or *Law-giver*, and his Office therefore as *Legislative*, or *Legislatorial*. He is expressly so called, *Jam. 4. 12.* as

(y) It ought to be taken Notice of here, that our Translation has quite mist the Sense of the Greek Word, which is not ἀγέννητος, but ἀγενεαλόγητος ; a Word, which, when rightly rendred, is a Key to the Apostle's Discourse, as shewing it to be parabolical. Obj. But *Shem's Genealogy is upon Record, and so this militates against you.* Answ. Not in the least. For it is not *Shem, as a Man, that is spoken of, but as Melchisedeck and King of Salem.* And, as such, there is no Account of his Genealogy in the Scripture ; nor was it possible there could be any, if we rightly apprehend the Design of *Shem's being made a Type of Christ, in this Respect.*

also *Isa.* 33. 22. (for it were easie to prove that these Words relate to him) And our Saviour himself says the same thing, *John* 5. 22. as I have shewed, at large, in the first Book of *Christology*.

In the preceding Book, I have fully and largely proved, that it was our Saviour, as He was the *Logos* or *Shechinah*, that gave Law of old, both to the World in general, and to the *Jewish Church* in particular: So that I need say nothing upon that Head here.

I have likewise, but just now, shewed sufficiently, tho' briefly, that Christ was as really and truly a *Legislator* in a *Spiritual Sense*, as *Moses* was in a *Political one*. And that consequently the *Gospel* is as properly a *Law*, as that was which we call *the Mosaical Law*, tho' not in the same Sense.

So that all I intend to do further in this Place, is to compare the two *Legislators*, as the one is a Type of the other, even as I have said something, in the general, by way of Comparifon, between *Melchisedeck* and *Christ*, as to the *Patriarchate*.

Only previously to this, let me take Notice of one Thing, which if duly considered, might be of great Use to allay the Heats of a great many worthy Persons, who under the Name and Notion of *Calvinists* and *Arminians*, or *Predestinarians* and *Free-willers*, fight endlessly, and with terrible Fury, because they contend in the Dark. The thing then, that I would have Men take Notice of, is this, that the Belief of *Absolute Decrees*, and *the Gospel's being a Law*, according to which we are to be judged and acquitted, or condemned, are equally true. So that tho' we should not be able to solve all Difficulties in this Matter, yet we are bound thus to believe. For God could not determine, or decree, otherwise than as our absolute Sovereign, in consistence with his own Nature and Perfections. And, on the other Hand, it is equally impossible, that he could act otherwise towards us, than by Law; seeing he must act in a Consistency with the human Nature, which he himself has made, in dispensing Rewards or Punish-

Punishments. Only it must ever be remembred, that seeing the latter of these is our Rule, and the other not so; we are not to let loose our Speculations, concerning the Decrees or Purposes of God, so as to pretend to give any Scheme this way, as if we could determine the Method of them, from our way of thinking. For, as to do this exactly, is an **Impossibility** in it self; so God has expressly required us not to meddle with these; when he tells us, *That secret Things belong to God only, and that Things revealed are the only Things that do properly belong to us, as being those only that can be regulative of our Practise.* (z) And sure if the Eternal Counsels of God's Will be not secret Things, I know not what Things are. I think therefore, it is high time to learn Wisdom from the Folly of others, who have tir'd themselves and the World, with endless Volumes, upon this Head, to no purpose; which are at this day justly look'd upon, as the most useles Books of our publick Libraries. It was a severe Censure, which a *Person* of Eminent Quality and Worth, past upon a bulky Treatise upon this Subject, when the Reverend and Learned Author ask'd his Opinion of it. " I have
 " read it, *Doctor*, said he, with great Application,
 " more to satisfie you, than for any Advantage that I
 " have got by it: For indeed, I shall not again undertake
 " such a Task, as to read such another Book; but seeing
 " you did not only bring me under an Engagement to
 " read it thro', but have also brought me under a
 " solemn Promise to give you my Opinion of it, with-
 " out any Reserve; and that you now urge me to ful-
 " fil my said Promise, as a Man of Conscience and
 " Honour: I find my self oblig'd to satisfie you, even
 " tho I run the Risk of offending you. Therefore,
 " Sir, seeing I am forc'd. to use Freedom, I must tell
 " you, That had I been to give a Scheme of the De-
 " vil's Designs and Purposes, and the Method of car-

(z) Deut. 29. 29.

“ rying them on, I think I must have proceeded al-
 “ most in the same way you have taken to illustrate
 “ the Decrees of God. Now, said he, seeing I am
 “ sure there is an utter Opposition between the Designs
 “ and Actions of the Supreme Good, and the Father
 “ of Evil, I should think my self oblig’d, were I in
 “ your Place, to find out another Scheme of God’s
 “ Purposes, than that which seems to have so near an
 “ Affinity to the Nature and Working of the great Au-
 “ thor of our Misery. But in order to *satisfie* your
 “ self further, as to that Scheme, which you have al-
 “ ready publish’d ; Pray, let me intreat you to draw a
 “ Counter-Scheme to it, if you can, of the Decrees,
 “ and Designs, and Conduct of Satan, in his Oppositi-
 “ on to God and Men. And then, said he, when you
 “ have done this; you, and I, and all others, will be
 “ more capable to judge, by the Opposition of the
 “ Divine and Diabolical Schemes (for I suppose they
 “ are Opposites) whether your present Elaborate Book
 “ contain as true a Scriptural and Divine Scheme of
 “ God’s Decrees, as it does a Scholastical One, *i. e.*
 “ a Heap of dark and obscure Terms and Distincti-
 “ ons.

And here let me tell the Reader a certain Story,
 which I hope may not be un-edifying, in Relation to
 this Subject. There were two Persons, of very diffe-
 rent Notions, as to this Subject of God’s Determinati-
 ons, and acting accordingly ; one of which, to speak
 plainly, was a *zealous Calvinist*, and the other as *zea-
 lous an Arminian* ; who, notwithstanding their diffe-
 rent Speculations, were most intimate Friends, and
 spent much Time in spiritual Converse and Prayer,
 one with another. And I am sure, I had good Reason
 to know both of them thorowly ; tho’ the *First* upon
 more peculiar Accounts than the *Latter*. And now,
 that they are both dead, I must give them this Testi-
 mony ; that I never knew any that exceeded them in
 Holiness and Experience. And sure none ever went
 more triumphantly to Heaven ; tho’ both of them kept
 their

their Notions to the last. But, while they liv'd together in all Christian Affection ; tho' their Notions never made them jar or quarrel, yet they agreed, now and then, to canvass the Points wherein they differed, with mutual Promises to yield to the Truth, on what side soever it should lie. Sometimes their Disputes were verbal: At other times they gave their Thoughts in writing. And many Papers pass'd between them, which had no other Effect, than to rivet and confirm them in their first Sentiments, neither of them yielding to the other. Only they acknowledg'd that they received this Advantage, that as they grew more confirm'd in their own Opinions, they grew in Love and Charity to one another, as finding that each of them had more to say for himself than the other could well answer: So that they were equally certain of their Faithfulness to their Light ; and were therefore resolv'd, that *wherein they had attained to know the Truth, they would walk by the same Rule, and mind the same things,* (a) as the Apostle requires Christians to do ; leaving the full Knowledge of things, to the State of Perfection.

While they liv'd thus in true Christian Friendship and Love, they thought fit to condescend so far, as to take in a *Third Person* into their Society, tho' one very disproportion'd to such Persons, as Companions, in Regard of Age, Gravity and Experience. However, they were pleas'd to think it proper, that it should be so ; as it would seem, that *Job*, and his Three Ancient Friends, allowed of a *Young Elibu* of old, to hear and interpose in their Disputes. Now after several Conferences had pass'd between them, it was agreed, that a certain Day should be set apart, purposely to muster up the Strength of what each of them had to say for himself, in order to have this younger Person's deliberate Opinion, to which Side Truth seem'd most to in-

(a) Phil. 3. 15, 16.

cline. This Person having heard both out, deliver'd his Sentiment, with all the Freedom which they required of him ; shewing the Weakness and Fallaciousness of some Arguments on both Sides, (tho used by them sincerely) and how much both Parties had mistaken the Sense of some Scriptural Passages. And he concluded his Discourse to this Purpose : Let me, said he, suppose, that we Three were found guilty of Treason and Rebellion against our Prince, in concert with many more, and were so pursued upon this Score, as to be reduced to the greatest Misery and Dispair ; and while we were sitting together, not knowing to which Hand to turn our selves, a Friend should come in with a *Declaration* or *Proclamation*, from our Sovereign, to this Purpose. “ Whereas such or such Persons have
“ lately conspired against their Prince, in a most base,
“ barbarous and wicked Design ; His Majesty, to
“ shew his unparalell'd Clemency and Mercy, does
“ hereby declare, that he does freely and fully indem-
“ nifie and pardon them all, and that in all Respects,
“ and promiseth, upon his Honour, and before the
“ World, to take them under his Protection for the
“ future, as tho they had never sinn'd and rebell'd
“ against him : Provided always, and upon this Con-
“ dition only, that they do come to his Son against such
“ a Day, and do beg by him to be introduced into
“ their Sovereign's Presence, to beg Pardon, upon their
“ Knees, for the Indignity offered unto his Majesty ;
“ and that they do there promise, for the future, to be-
“ have as true and loyal Subjects, &c. Now, said he,
let us suppose, that, upon the reading this surprizing
Manifesto, one of you should begin such a Discourse as
this. “ My Friends, let us consider the Nature and
“ Rise of this general Indemnity. As for the Nature
“ of it, I think it is conceived in such plain Words, as to
“ give us intire Satisfaction. But the Rise and Spring
“ of it is so strange, that it will deserve our most seri-
“ ous Thoughts. For my own Part, I have this No-
“ tion of it : I know the King is a wise and cunning
“ Po-

“ Politician. He has a mind to shew himself every way
 “ Clement and Merciful ; so that if any fall under the
 “ Stroak of Justice, it shall be seen to be their own
 “ Fault, in not accepting of Pardon, when offered
 “ upon such easie Terms. But then, tho he offer Par-
 “ don to all, yet he knows all his Rebels so well, that
 “ he *foresees* who will accept of his Indemnity, and
 “ who will be so obstinate as to refuse it, and accor-
 “ dingly is resolved and determined to act, as Men shall
 “ be found to act to him. Now, said the same Person,
 I suppose the other of you, pursuant to his Scheme,
 would interpose here, and say, “ Pardon me, Sir, if
 “ I differ from you in this Matter. I agree with you,
 “ indeed, in the general, that the King designs, in
 “ this Act, to appear universally clement and merciful.
 “ But, I suppose, that he has a *special Favour* and *Re-*
 “ *spect* to some of us Rebels, and *as special a Hatred* to
 “ others, abstracting from the Consideration of their
 “ equal or common Rebellion ; nay, and perhaps pre-
 “ vious to the same : which yet he might let go on so
 “ far, from this very View, of shewing himself *Gracious*
 “ to those whom he *lov'd*, and *severe* to those whom he
 “ *hated*. And, tho he does not discover this, but
 “ seems to avoid the Suspicion of it ; yet he is resolved
 “ to reach his End another way. He has, no doubt,
 “ abundance of Agents at work, proper and fit for
 “ his Purpose. And these will play their Part so well,
 “ and so cunningly, that none shall accept of this In-
 “ demnity, but those the King has a mind to save. So
 “ that the other sort, whom the King hates, shall be
 “ so wrought upon, as to stand out, and refuse the of-
 “ fered Pardon : by which means they shall, at length,
 “ fall a Sacrifice to his Wrath ; tho none will pity
 “ them in this Case, seeing this will be found to be the
 “ Effect of their own Obstinacy ; for had they not
 “ suffered themselves to be imposed upon, they had the
 “ same Foundation of Safety and Impunity as the o-
 “ thers. Here, said the Person, I foresee that you would
 be apt to quarrel, as to your Speculations ; at least here ye

would differ widely in your Notions. Now, said he, I would crave leave, in this Case, to say this only :
 “ Gentlemen, I think it altogether Foreign to our Bu-
 “ siness to inquire into what I am never like to know,
 “ *i. e.* what the *Arcana Imperii* are, in this Case ; or
 “ what are the *State Maxims*, from which the King
 “ acts ; or the *Political Views* (as you represent them,
 “ tho variously) for which he acts in this matter. It
 “ is enough to me, that here is his *Declaration*, from
 “ which he cannot in Honour go back. Therefore let
 “ me be one whom he wishes to accept, or desires to
 “ refuse what he now offers ; my Business is to *acqui-*
 “ *esce* in the *Pardon promised*, upon such *easy Terms* :
 “ And then I am safe and secure. My Friends, added
 “ he, I need make no Application of this, to the Que-
 “ stion in hand. I only desire you both to consider this,
 “ that you that are the *Calvinist* are obliged to preach as
 “ the *Arminian*, in offering Salvation to all that will
 “ accept of it, upon Christ’s Terms ; and that you
 “ that are the *Arminian*, find your self oblig’d to pray
 “ as the *Calvinist*, acknowledging that all your Suffici-
 “ ency is from God’s Grace and Spirit, without which
 “ you cannot think one right Thought, or move one
 “ Step in the way to Heaven. Seeing therefore it is
 thus, and that it is too rash and presumptuous for us to
 meddle with God’s (b) *Secret Will*, as if we had sat in
 Counsel

(b) *One would think, that Divines of all sorts ought to be very modest, upon such Points, as they themselves own to be past searching out : and yet it is astonishing to see, almost all Systems full of Magisterial Assertions on this unknown Head, and that sometimes with such Malice and Malice, as to damn one another, for what no side pretends to understand, with any sort of Exactness. Justly therefore may one cry out, with a Judicious Writer : Qui rixas & inanes Disputationes, de Decretis Divinis, rite considerat, ut & Rei altitudinem & humani Ingenii imbecillitatem ; Mirabitur proculdubio hominum Pervicaciam & audacem Ignorantiam ; Qui nec adhuc hanc litem & animorum acerbitatem de ponere volunt ! Quid tandem produxit inter Pontificiorum doctissimos protracta hæc contentio ? Quid tandem profecerunt nostrorum de hilce diuidia ? O ! quando cognoscent Theologi quam minimum de inscrutabilibus Iisce norint !*
 Quid

Counsel with him from Eternity ; let us for the future agree to mind *our Duty* only, and leave God to his *proper Work*.

But to return to what I propos'd ; I am now to shew how eminently *Christ* is typified as to his *Legislative Office*, by *Moses* the great *Legislator* of the *Jewish Nation*, and the *only Divine One*, that was rais'd up, (not being a *Patriarch*) to act as such. I shall therefore run a Comparison between *Moses* and *Jesus Christ* : Which take in the following Particulars : (1.) *Moses* was mark'd out, as the peculiar **Care of Heaven**, and as one design'd for eminent Service, when he was expos'd to such eminent Danger in his Infancy ; being cast upon the *River Nile* in an Ark or Cradle of *Bull-rushes*, and was sav'd in a wonderful manner, by *Pharaoh's Daugbter* ; at a time when so many poor Infants were murdered by that bloody Tyrant *Pharaoh*. — — In like manner our Lord *Jesus* was eminently expos'd to danger by *Herod's Design*, and as eminently escap'd his Fury, by *Joseph's* being divinely admonish'd to flee with him to *Egypt* ; at a time when the young Children of *Bethlehem* were cruelly butcher'd. (2.) *Moses* was the most Learned Person, that we read of under the Old Testament-Dispensation, excepting *Solomon* only, who exceeded him in relation to Moral and Natural Knowledge, or as to Physicks and Ethicks. However *Moses* exceeded him as to the Knowledge of the Laws of God, and seems to have been acquainted with other Sciences above him. For he was educated in all the Egyptian Learning, as well

Quid enim scire possibile est de actibus Dei Immanentibus, qui sunt ipsius essentia ! And indeed what the Ingenious and Learned Mr. Le Clerc says of the Scholasticks in general, Art. Crit. Vol. 1. Part 2. Cap. 9. may be justly applied to very many, of all Denominations, on this Head. Si contingeret Polonum & Gallum, vernacularum tantum linguarum peritos, unâ colloqui, alterum Gallice, alterum Polonice ; atq; finito sermone, utrumq; affirmare sibi eo Colloquio satisfactum ; non possent effugere, quin uterq; insanus haberetur. At ausim dicere Philosophos & Theologos Scholasticos, summa cum laude, & eximie eruditionis fama, id fecitasse non semel, nec iterum, sed *μυστικis*.

as in Court-Breeding. And the Egyptians were then the most knowing People in the World.—— And surely our Lord did exceed all the Sages, Philosophers and Rabbi's that ever were in the World; insomuch that he was able at twelve Years of Age to confound the Jewish Doctors; and afterwards to answer all their captious Questions. For he knew all things: and never therefore did any Man speak like him. Only, in this, *Moses* and he differ'd; that *Moses* had his Human Learning from Education: Whereas our Blessed Lord was never taught by Man, but had all his Learning immediately from God. However, seeing all *Moses* his Divine Knowledge was immediately from God, who spake with him upon Mount *Sinai*, I may justly make him a Type of *Christ*, in this; who said and did all by special Commission from his Father. (3.) *Moses* was raised up in an extraordinary manner, and sent forth by a peculiar Election, Call and Commission, to be the Saviour and Deliverer of *Israel*, by bringing them out of *Egypt* and the House of Bondage. For which end he was impowered to work Miracles, for the Confirmation of his Mission and Commission, that he might encourage, secure and govern *Israel*, and confound their Enemies.—— In like manner was our Lord *Jesus* sent forth and commissioned, to deliver and save his People from Spiritual Bondage and everlasting Misery. In order to which, he did confirm his Mission by many and great Miracles, above what were wrought by *Moses* and all the Prophets put together. (4.) *Moses*, when sent forth to be the Saviour of *Israel*, had an extraordinary Name given him; viz. that of God by Delegation, as he was to act in God's stead: *Exod.* 4. 16. *Aaron shall be to thee instead of a Mouth, and thou shalt be to him instead of God.* And *Chap.* 7. 1. *And the Lord said unto Moses, see I have made thee a God to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy Brother shall be thy Prophet.*—— Now that this Name was given to *Moses*, so as it was never to any mere Man, was in Relation to his Office; he being appointed thus to be a Divine Legislator. So that

that in this respect he is the only Type of Christ, the Great Legislator, who is the *one Law-giver*, mentioned by James, Chap. 4. 12. *Who is able to save and to destroy.* For I understand Christ to be directly meant there, by comparing these Words with our Lord's, *John 5. 22.* And in like manner I understand the Prophet *Isaiah* to mean the *Messiah*, when he says, in *Chap. 33. ver. 22.* *The Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King, he will save us.* For he that considers the Context as far up as the 1st Verse of the 32d Chapter, and as far down as to the End of the 35th Chapter, will plainly perceive that the Prophet is all along speaking of the *Messiah* and his Kingdom. But to return, I say that *Moses* had this Name given him relatively to his *Legislatorial Office*, and the *Executive Power* that was lodged in him, as he was to be thus a peculiar Type of Christ, who was to be in a proper Sense, what he was only figuratively and improperly. (5.) *Moses* was faithful in God's House, as a Servant, in seeing that all things were done according to God's Will, *Heb. 3. 2.* and whatever God revealed he did take care should be done, both as to things Moral, Ceremonial and Political. ——— And in like manner our Lord *Jesus* has faithfully given us an Account of his Father's Will, as to what is to be believed and practised by his People, under his new Oeconomy and Dispensation, *Heb. 1. 1, 2. &c. Chap. 3. 2, 6, &c.* (6.) *Moses* laid the Foundation of the Jewish Polity, by instituting 12 Men, as *Princes* of the Tribes, by God's Command, *Numb. 1. 4, &c.* and 70 Elders, *Numb. 11. 16, 24, 25.* In these two Colleges, it is plain, that it was the Design of God and *Moses*, to lodge the *Legislative Power*, or, to speak more properly, *Juridical* or *Judicial Power*, as *Guardians* and *Expositors* of the Laws made, by which Controversies of that kind were to be decided, and all Questions this way resolved: the *Executive Power*, being left to *Jeshua*, and such other *Rulers*, as God should from time to time raise up. ——— So our Lord *Jesus* acted also, when he chose 12 *Apostles*,

in Allusion to the *φυλάξεις*, or *Heads of the Tribes*, as is plain from *Matth.* 19. 28. and *Luke* 22. 30. together with 70 *Disciples* or *Elders*; that it might appear, that he was the true *Antitype* of *Moses* the *Legislator* of the *Jews*. (7.) *Moses* did not only institute what related to the *Civil Polity* of *Israel*, as to the *National Constitution* in general; but he did also particularly appoint whatsoever did relate more immediately to the *Sovereign* of *Israel*, (who was no other than *God*, or, to speak more properly, the *Logos*) as to his *Palace* (which was the *Temple*) and as to his *Revenue* and the *Maintenance* of his *Household*, in adjusting the *Number* and *Method* of the *Sacrifices* and *Oblations*, with all the *Appurtenancies* of his *Table* and *House*, *viz.* *Bread*, *Incense*, *Light*, &c. together with the *Household Officers*, which were the *Priests*; of which there were three *Ranks*, *viz.* the *High-Priest*, the *Inferiour Atonical Priests*, and the *Levites* their *Servants*.—In relation to which *Constitution*, our *Blessed Lord* devoted himself to act the part of *Universal High-Priest*, to such *Perfection*, as to swallow up the whole *Priestly Order* for ever after, in himself. For which very *Reason*, he is said to be *Priest according to the Order of Melchisedeck*, and not of *Aaron*, as is plain from *Heb.* 5. 4, 5, 6, 10. However, the *Aaronical Priesthood*, and *Levitical Service*, was an *Adumbration* of the *Priesthood* and *Service* of *Christ*, as we see, *Heb.* chap. 8. chap. 9. chap. 10. Who, being to put an end to that imperfect and subservient *Constitution*, was pleased to comprehend all in himself. For it is *derogatory* to the *Perfection* of *Christ's Priesthood*, to suppose that there are any *Priests* after him, or any *Priesthood*; as we see, in all the *Reasoning* of the *Apostle* in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and particularly in *Ch.* 9. 8, 9, 11, 14, &c. *Ch.* 10. v. 1, 5, 10. And therefore tho' it may be thought that there is some congruity between the *Priests* of *old*, and the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*; yet there is properly none. For all *Priesthood* is run in to our *Saviour*, who has swallow'd it up intirely in himself, and is now the only *Priest* of his *Church*. So that

that Gospel-Ministers do not in the least directly answer to the *Priests* and *Levites*, far less any of them, to the *High Priest*; but to the *ordinary Prophets*, under the old Testament; and their *Ministry* consequently not to that of the *Temple*, but that of the *Synagogue*; as their Education in *Colleges* answers to that of old in the *Schools* of the *Prophets*. But of this we shall perhaps have occasion to say more afterwards. In the mean time we may boldly affirm, that the Scripture knows but of *two Orders* of *stated Gospel-Ministers*, viz. *Bishops* and *Deacons*, or *Pastors* and *Teachers*. For as (c) *Clemens Romanus* says excellently; *The Apostles being sent forth to preach the Gospel by Order from Christ, as he himself had been before by command from God; they went out, preaching the Kingdom of God, which was come down among Men—Therefore, as they journied up and down thro' Nations and Cities, preaching the Word; they constituted the First-Fruits of those they converted; and had, by the Spirit approved of, to be Bishops and Deacons of them that should afterwards believe. And, a little after, (d) he has this memorable Passage to the same Purpose; Our Apostles were informed by our Lord Jesus Christ, that Contention would arise concerning the Name of Episcopacy: For which Cause, being endued with a perfect Prescience, they did constitute those I have mentioned before, (i. e. these two Orders or Sorts of Church-Officers;) and then they gave forth this Ordinance, that when they came to die, other tryed Men should succeed and perform their Service.* So that there were no more ordinary Officers in the first Christian Church, appointed by Christ and his Apostles, than these two sorts. Of which the *Bishops* could not be *Prelates*, in the Modern Sense of those who pretend that these are the *Apostles Successors*: For it was impossible, that they could constitute their Successors to officiate, as such, in their own time, as their Successors,

(c) In *Epist. 1. ad Corinth. Sect. 42. pag. 97. Edit. Colomesij, Lond. 1685.* (d) *Ibid. Sect. 44, Pag. 103.*

while they continued to officiate themselves. But what *Clemens* says is exactly conformable to the Vestiges of the ancient Constitution, which we have in the New Testament; as we see, *Phil.* 1. 1, 2. *Acts* 20. 17, 28. *1 Tim.* 3. 1, &c. 8, &c. *Tit.* 1. 5, &c. And therefore these Officers may be called any thing, rather than *Priests*, seeing Christ has swallowed up the whole Priestly Office in himself, and left no Priests besides in his Church. Which has made me frequently wonder, that any Protestants should apply this word to Gospel-Ministers; who have renounced that stupid Notion of the Papists, that gave rise to this Anti-Evangelical way of speaking; *viz.* their Notion of Transubstantiation, and consequently Opinion, that he that officiates does offer up Christ as a real Sacrifice, *toties quoties*, as certainly as our Saviour did himself upon the Cross. Now, tho perhaps there never was any Opinion so full of Absurdities, as this; yet they speak consequentially, when they call their Ministers, from hence, *Priests*. Whereas those that have renounced this Error, and yet preserve the Phraseology, nay appear to be fond of it, seem to be as absurd, in this respect, as they are in other respects. Nay to me the Papists seem to argue with more reason, in making their Prelacy the Antitype of the Jewish Priesthood, than those Prelatists, who reason the same way, as to theirs; seeing the Papists have one Supream High Priest, to answer the High Priest of the Jews, which Protestants of that sort have not now on Earth; unless they tacitely mean the same thing with them, as being for a Supream Prelate, as well as they, in order to have a *general and visible Centre of Union*. And I confess I have suspected that many of that Kidney were upon the Revival of the *old Cassandrian Design*, ever since I read the *Case of the Regale and Pontificate*, of which I formerly took notice, in the 2d of my *Four Discourses*, p. 106. (8.) *Moses* did not only appoint Officers over *Israel*, but he gave them *Laws* likewise. — And, in like manner, is *Jesus Christ* our *Law-giver* now under the Gospel-Dispensation. He has

has *abrogated* what was *typical* and *ritual* under the old *Oeconomy*. But what was *Binding* and *Moral*, he has given forth in a *new Edition*, with a *new Explication*, and by a *new Authority*. Therefore he sat him down upon a *Mountain*, in Allusion to the giving of the *Law* from one, and having pronounced the *Blessings* of the *New Testament*, in Allusion likewise to the *Blessings* pronounced from *Mount Gerizim*, without adding any thing by way of *Curse*, (which did not suit with the *Gospei-Spirit* and *Design*;) he gave forth the *Moral Law* after a new manner, thus; *Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets: I am not come to destroy, but fulfil, &c. Whereas therefore it hath been said of old, thou shalt not kill, &c. I say thus and thus unto you, &c.* For which let the *5th*, *6th* and *7th* Chapters of *Matthew* be seriously considered. For it is plain that our Lord doth act in all this as the *Antitype* of *Moses*. Which is the more conspicuous from the *Circumstances* attending this memorable *Publication* of the *New Law*. It was after our Lord's *Conquest* over *Satan*, and his *Temptations* in the *Wilderness*; which bears Allusion to *Israel's* coming out of *Egypt*, and from the *House of Bondage*, and their *Conquest* over *Pharoah*. It was after he had called his *Disciples*: Which bears a reference to *Moses* his choosing *Rulers* under him to judge the *People*, in compliance with *Jethro's* Advice, which was before the giving of the *Law*, as we see, *Exod.* 18. 19, &c. compared with *Chap.* 19. and *Chap.* 20. And this was likewise after *Christ* had begun to preach publicly, and to confirm his *Mission* by *Miracles*. For which things let us consult the *4th* Chapter of *Matthew*. Besides, it is to be observed, that *Moses* gave the *Law* from the *Mount*, *Aaron* and his *Sons*, and the *Elders* of *Israel* being next him, and all the *People* below, as we see, *Exod.* 24. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, &c. And thus our Lord was seated also on the *Mountain*, his *Disciples* being next him, and the *Multitude* below them, *Matth.* 5. 1, &c. Now these *Congruities* being observed, let us act to *Christ* our *Legislator*, as the *Jews* did to *Moses*,
and

and say with them, *Exod. 19. 8. & 24. 3. All the Words which the Lord hath said, will we do.* And, as the *Jews* used to end all their Disputes with this Conclusion; *Come, let us turn into the Law and the Testimony; what saith Moses in this Case? Let his Authority decide the Matter:* So let us, *Christians, say; Come let us consult the sacred Oracles of Christ; What saith our Lord? Let us know his Mind, and we shall rest satisfied.* The moral Duties are indeed the same for Substance under both Dispensations: But it is new to us, because given out in a *New Edition*, as I said before, and with a *New Exposition*, in order to a *New Improvement*, and all this by a *New Sanction and Authority.* Therefore, when it is said by *Christ, John 13. 34. A new Commandment I give you, that you love one another;* we are told, *2 John 5. that this is not a new Commandment, but an old one from the Beginning.* So that the *Law* is both *Old* and *New*: *Old*, as to the *Matter*; and *new*, as to the *Authority and Sanction.* We are not, therefore, now to obey any Precept, as given forth by *Moses*, but as promulgated by *Christ*, who is the only *Legislator* of *Christians.* (9.) *Moses* was *King* or *Supreme Magistrate* under *God*, and over *Israel* in his Time. For, tho he never assumed that Title, seeing *God*, in his Days, and afterwards, till *Saul's* Time, did wholly, and in all Respects appropriate it to himself: Yet he had all that *Executive Power*, over and above the *Legislature*, that ever any *Supreme Ruler* of *Israel* afterwards could justly pretend to. — In which Respect he was also a Type of him, who was born and sent into the World, that he might be a *King*, tho not in a political, but spiritual Sense: For *his Kingdom* is not of *this World*, as he himself says, in that good Confession which he witnessed before *Pontius Pilate.* (10.) *Moses* was a *Temporary Mediator*, who, as a middle Person, went between *God* and *Israel*, both at the Desire of the People, and with *God's* Allowance, and by his Commission, and therefore he is expressly called a *Mediator*, *Gal. 3. 19. Heb. 8. 6.* — In which certainly our Lord is typified eminently by him; who is,

in a true and spiritual Sense, *The Mediator between God and Men.* For he is that *Prophet*, that God promised to raise up, as *another Moses*, to do that fully and for ever, which he did for a time imperfectly. *Comp. Deut. 18. 15, 18. with Acts 3. 22. & 7. 37.* (11.) *Moses* was the great Intercessor and Advocate for *Israel* in his time : Which appeared eminently in two Instances. The *first* was, when *Israel* had so provoked God, that he was seemingly resolved to destroy them wholly, and had actually threatned to do so, *Numb. 14. 11, 12.* *Moses* earnestly intercedes for them. *ver. 13, &c.* and prevails, as we see, *ver. 20.* The *other* Instance is that of his pleading for *Israel*, with his Hands lifted up, when they were fighting with *Amaleck*. ——— Now, as in the general, *Moses* was a Type of *Christ* the Great Advocate ; so particularly in these two eminent Instances of the Prevalency of his Intercession. For, as to the *first*, had not *Christ* step in and interceded for lost Man, in the Covenant of Redemption, God in Justice had destroyed the whole Human Race. But the Promise of *the Seed of the Woman*, by Virtue of which Mankind was continued, being at length fulfilled, the Wrath of God came to be averted from, and his Favour procured for poor lapsed Creatures. And then, as to the *second* Instance ; is it not by Virtue of *Christ's* Intercession to God, that his Saints here obtain the Victory over their Enemies ; who, otherwise, would prove too hard for us. (12.) *Moses* led the People unto the Borders of *Canaan*, and gave them Possession of Part of it ; and then left *Joshua* behind, as his Delegate, to bring them actually into the Possession of the whole Country. ——— Even so our *blest Lord* conducts his People to the Borders of the *Heavenly Canaan*, which he describes, and pointeth out to them, and gives them Possession of Part of it, as a Pledge and Earnest of the Whole, by procuring a rightful Title to it, and giving them the *Earnest* of his *Spirit*, in the Operations and Graces thereof. Which *Spirit* (he being now in Heaven) he sends down, to assist us in particular, to root out our *Canaanitish*

anitish Lusts, as well as the Church in general, to conquer all its Enemies, in order to our going into the good Land, to possess it fully and for ever.

Now, in all these Respects, it is plain that *Moses*, the Great Legislator of the *Israelites*, was that eminent Type of *Christ* the Greater Legislator of Christians. So that hence we may understand the meaning of that remarkable Prediction, which I have already mentioned, but shall again take notice of, because such Account is made of it, by the Apostle *Peter*, Acts 3. 22. and the Proto-Martyr *Stephen*, Acts 7. 37. The Words of God, as set down by *Moses*, Deut. 18. 15, 16, &c. are these: *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy Brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken. According to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the Day of the Assembly, saying, let me not hear again the Voice of the Lord my God, neither let me see this great Fire that I die not. And the Lord said unto me, They have well spoken what they have spoken. I will raise them up a Prophet from among their Brethren like unto thee, and I will put my Words in his Mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him, &c.* So that it is plain, that *Moses* was only allowed of, according to the Circumstances of that time, to go between God and the People, as a Temporal and Typical Mediator: Seeing God himself gives us *this*, as the Reason of his complying with the Peoples Desire; not that *Moses* was the Mediator or Prophet he had in his Eye ultimately; but that *such a one* should afterwards be raised up, as should answer all the Demands of the Church of God, and consequently should settle things upon a better Bottom than ever they had been upon before. And thus *Peter* therefore interprets this Place, Acts 3. 23. (as *Stephen* does also, Acts 7. 37.) *Moses said truly, unto the Fathers, a Prophet shall the Lord God raise up unto you, of your Brethren, like unto me, him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you.* The Words *ὡς ἐμε*, like unto me, I have explain'd in the preceding Comparison. Only we must remember, that it is a Typical
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Likeness, that is here meant, *viz.* a Likeness of *Similitude*, but not of *Equality*: For the Type must ever fall short of the Antitype, as the Shadow falls short of the Substance.

But now that I have run the Parallel between *Moses* and *Christ*, I must add this *Caution*, that *Christ* is not only more eminently a *Mediator* and *Legislator*, in those things wherein he was typified by *Moses*; but such a *Legislator* and *Mediator*, as to have glorious Qualifications, wherein *Moses* was not so much as Typical of him.

This will be plain from the following Particulars; wherein *Christ's* Contra-Distinction to *Moses* does, if not only, yet principally, stand. (1.) *Moses*, tho' the *Temporary Saviour* and *Legislator* of *Israel*, was not the *Parent* and *Father* of that People. He found them a People and Church, under Promises made to them, as the Posterity of *Abraham* and the other Patriarchs: But he was not their *Maker* or *Former*, nor yet their *Patriarch* or *Father*. And therefore they were never called after his Name, tho' they had various Designations from others. For sometimes they are called *Hebrews* from old *Heber*; and sometimes *the Children of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob*, from their eminent Progenitors; and more commonly *Israel*, from the Name God gave unto *Jacob*, when he wrestled as a Prince with the *Angel* of the Covenant, and prevail'd with him, as to the *Renovation* of the *special Blessing*, which, before this, was *precarious*, as being obtain'd surreptitiously, by Trick, from his Father. And sometimes also they are called *Jesurun*, as in *Deut.* 32. 15. & *Chap.* 33. 5, 26. & *Isa.* 44. 2. a Word that signifies *Right* or *Upright*, i. e. a *Righteous* and *Holy* People. Unto which *Balaam* alludes, *Numb.* 23. 10. when he prays *to die the Death of Jesurim, or the Righteous*; altering a little the Letters of *Jesurun* into *Jesurim*: The three first Letters of both which Words, being the same with those in the word *Israel*; as may be seen in the manner of writing them, which is thus; ישראל or ישראלים. וישור. וישור. וישור. And whether

ther in these Names there be not somewhat prefigurative of the Church of Christ, under the New Testament, I leave the Reader to guess as he sees fit ; for I shall not take upon me now to determine in the Affirmative. Only, I may venture, I hope, to say, that this is not improbable. For, why may we not suppose, that the great and far-seeing *Moses* doth, in this new Name he gives to *Israel*, allude unto that holy and peculiar People, and righteous Generation, whom Christ was to purchase, and save, and glorifie ; as well as we see he did in the Name *Joshua*, *Jehoshua* or *Jesus*, which he gave to *Oshea* or *Hoshea* the Son of *Nun*. For that this was figurative, and bore a Relation to *Jesus*, the true Saviour, we shall see afterwards. In the mean time we may observe, that as *Moses* gave his Successor that Name in Faith, and by the Spirit of Prophecie : So the *first* and *last* time both, that *Moses* useth this Word, was, when he was under an extraordinary Influence of the Spirit of Prophecie ; the *Shechinah* dictating to him thus, what he was to leave upon Record, when, as the bright Sun of that Ancient Dispensation, he was about to set, as illustriously, as he had shone before. The *first* time that he uses this Word, is when he is *singing* his own *Funeral Song*, Deut. 32. where he thus exprobrates the Wickedness of *Israel*, ver. 15. *But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked, &c. i. e.* But the Righteous, as they were by Profession, did not act righteously, but sadly contradicted their Name and Profession, by their Actions. And the *next* time, wherein he mentions that People, by this Title, is taken notice of in the *next Chapter*, which is his *Farewel* and *Funeral Sermon*, containing his *Prophetical Blessing* of the *Tribes*. And in this 33d Chapter, he twice useth this Word ; first in ver. 5. and *he was King in Jeshurun*. This is usually understood of *Moses*, who certainly was King, as he was the Supreme Magistrate under God, or the *Logos*, over the Nation of *Israel*. But seeing the *Logos* alone was known by that Title, which he never allowed to any Ruler or Delegate, until he granted it in Wrath to *Saul*, in the Days

of *Samuel*; I reckon *Moses* his Words do not relate to himself, immediately or properly, but to the God of *Israel*. And if we look back to *ver. 2.* we will find that the Words run most naturally in this Sense. *And he (i. e. Moses) said, the Lord came from Mount Sinai, &c. And (making ver. 3, & 4. to come within a Parenthesis) he was King in Jesurun, &c.* Which excellently agrees with *ver. 26.* where *Moses* again uses the Word; *There is none like unto the God of Jesurun, &c.* And I am further confirmed, that *Moses* is thus to be understood, to design this Word *Jesurun*, prophetically and typically, when I consider the words of *Isa. 44. 2, &c. Fear not, O Jacob, my Servant; and thou Jesurun whom I have chosen: For I will pour Water upon the Thirsty, and Floods upon the dry Ground: I will pour my Spirit upon thy Seed, and my Blessing upon thy Off-spring, &c. One shall say I am the Lord's, and another, &c.* The fulfilling of which Words, we see under the New Testament, *John 7. 37, 38, 39. In the last Day, that great Day of the Feast, Jesus stood and cried; If any Man thirst, let him come unto 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 he spake of the Spirit, &c.* We may see also, *Acts 2. 18.* But it is time now to end this Digression.—What I would have principally observed, is, the Contradistinction between *Moses* and *Christ*, as to both Name and Office, as to the *Patriarchate*. For *Moses* was not the Father of the People he govern'd, and therefore they were never called *Mosites*. Whereas our Lord *Jesus* is the Father of his People, as well as their King and Lord. *All things were made by him, John 1. 3.* But his own People he has specially formed for himself, as the Expression is, *Isa. 43. 21.* Therefore he is called the everlasting Father, *Isa. 9. 6.* And is brought in saying, *Behold, I and the Children which the Lord has given me, &c. Isa. 8. 18. Heb. 2. 13.* Hence we are said, to be built up a spiritual House, on *Christ* the true Foundation, *Eph. 2. 22.* and to belong to his House and Family, as it is under him, as the *Pater Familias* or Master of the Family,

mily, as well as the *Builder*, *Heb. 3. 6.* For, says the *Apostle*, *Heb. 3. 3, 4, &c.* *Moses did not build the House, but Christ did.* And *Moses* was no more than a *Servant* in *God's House*: Whereas *Christ* is *Master* and *Proprietor* of it, as being *Lord over his own House*, as he is the *Son of God* and *Ruler of his People*. Upon all these *Accounts* therefore, good *Reason* that we should be called by the *Name of Christ* our *Lord* and *Master*. So that we see, how remarkably *Christ* and *Moses* are contradistinguished. But further, (2.) *Moses*, tho he instituted, or rather renewed, the *Order of Sacrificing*; yet he never became a *Sacrifice* for the *People* himself. Whereas *Christ* ratified and confirmed the *Covenant* by his own *Death*, offering up himself as a *Propitiatory Sacrifice* for our *Sins*. I have already hinted, that *Moses* did not so much, in any proper *Sense*, as institute *Sacrifices* and *Oblations* among the *Israelites*; tho he added a great many *Rituals* to the *Custom of Sacrificing*, and punctually described the *Order and Way of their Oblations and Purifications, &c.* For I think we have all *Reason* to suppose, that the *Institution of Sacrifices* was by *God* himself, or the *Logos* rather, immediately after the *Fall*, and the first *Promise* concerning the *Seed of the Woman*. For after he had made that great *Promise*, *Gen. 3. 15.* he is said to have *made Coats of Skins to Adam and his Wife*, wherewith he cloathed them, *ver. 21.* And what were these *Skins*? No doubt the *Skins of Beasts* offered up in *Sacrifice*, tho so much be not expressly told us. For what more proper time to institute this *Typical Ordinance*, of a *vicarious or substituted* and *intervenient Sacrifice*, than that wherein the *Messiah* was promised? And what more proper *Emblem* of the *Necessity of God's Righteousness, which is thro' Faith in Christ*, *Phil. 3. 9.* and of our *putting on the Lord Jesus*, *Rom. 13. 14.* than that of covering our first *Parents*, not with *Aprons of Fig-leaves* of their own making, which could neither cover their *Nakedness*, nor defend them from the *Injuries of the Weather*, but with *Garments* made of the *Skins of Sacrifices*, of *God's own*
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instituting and providing? And that Sacrifices were then appointed, appears from the Offerings of *Cain* and *Abel*, Gen. 4. 3, 4. For God would never have accepted *Abel*, if he had worshipped God, in a way he had not himself appointed. And we are told, that *Cain* was not rejected, because of what he offered up, but because of the Defect of Faith, *Heb. 11. 14.* So that it is plain to me, that Sacrifices were appointed immediately upon the Back of the first Promise, as an Ordinance to confirm the Truth of Christ's Coming, and to keep this in Mens Mind and View. And this continued down to the Flood: As we see thro' the whole History of *Genesis*; more particularly in the Practise of *Noah*, the second Father of the World, Gen. 8. 20, 21. And *Noah* built an Altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean Beast, &c. So that the Institution of Sacrifices and of Altars, and the Specification of what Creatures were to be offered up, and what not (called therefore *clean* and *unclean*) were known from the Days of *Adam*. For *Noah* gets no new Commission or Order this way, but is brought in, as proceeding in the way wherein he had been educated before the Flood. All therefore that *Moses* did, was to renew this Rite of Sacrificing, to enjoin it upon the *Israelites*, by a new Command of God, and to describe to that People punctually and exactly, what Creatures were to be offered up, by what Persons, at what times, for what ends, and how, or in what way.—But, as I have said, *Moses* was never sacrificed for the Sins of the People, as Christ was; who was offered up to bear the Sins of many, *Heb. 9 ult.* Therefore we are thus taught to judge, that if one Christ died for all, it was the same in effect, as if all had died, *2 Cor. 5. 14, 15.*—(3.) *Moses* never became Security for the Peoples Performance and Perseverance, as Christ has done. *Moses* was indeed faithful as a Servant, and did what he could to keep the People right by Argument, Advice and Example. But he had no Power to convert or regenerate the Souls of his Followers, or to keep them in the right way.

Whereas our Lord Jesus is able to save to the uttermost all them that come to God thro' him, seeing he ever liveth to make Intercession for them, Heb. 7. 25. For he hath Power to give everlasting Life to as many as God giveth him, John 17. 2. And therefore, in his valedictory Discourse to his Apostles and Followers, he assures us, that he will be with us even to the end of the World, Matth. 28. ult. And this leads me to a fourth and the last Thing, wherein Moses and Christ are contra-distinguished. Therefore, (4.) Moses neither was, nor could be, Mediator or Legislator to the People, after his Death; as Christ is to his Church. Indeed the Writings of Moses did remain useful to the Church afterwards. But he himself could do no more for them. Whereas our Lord Jesus continues still the Mediator, Legislator, and Head of his People, and that more gloriously and effectually than in the State of his Humiliation, Rom. 8. 34. It is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again, &c. Now our Lord Jesus acts as Mediator in Heaven, (1.) By sending down the Holy Spirit, both as to his extraordinary and ordinary Gifts and Operations, according to his Promise, John 16. 7, 8, &c. An Account of the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit we have, Acts 2. 2, 3, &c. And of the ordinary Gifts and Graces, Rom. 8. 13, &c. Gal. 5. 22. 2 Pet. 1. 5, 6, 7. (2.) By his Providence towards and over all Men, but especially over his Church and People. For the Father hath committed all Judgment and Government to him, John 5. 22. and hath given him Power over all Flesh, that he may give eternal Life to as many as the Father gives unto him, John 17. 2. (3.) By his Intercession for us in Heaven. For which see Rom. 8. 37. Heb. 7. 25. I proceed now to the Third Office of Christ, or the Third Consideration of his Office. Therefore,

III. Christ may be considered, as the Grand Executor of his Father's Will, or as his Chief Minister of State, and his Office therefore as Executive as well as Legislative.

In all Human Constitutions, that are not Tyrannical, care is taken not to lodge the Legislative and Executive Power

Power in the same Hands, but so to settle the Government, that the one may be a check upon the other, for fear of mischievous Consequences. But there is no need of any such Precaution here.

It pleased the Father therefore to constitute and appoint Christ not only *Legislator* to his Church, but to anoint him also to be *King upon his Holy Hill Zion*, *Psal.* 2. 6. to put his Laws in execution. He was given therefore to be a *Leader and Commander to the People*, *Isa.* 55. 4. in order to restore *Liberty to the Captives*, &c. *Isa.* 61. 1, &c. For all *Power is given unto him both in Heaven and Earth*, *Matth.* 28. 18. But I shall not need to insist upon this; seeing *Christ himself witnesseth this before Pontius Pilate*: Which made him, by an overruling Providence, put this Inscription over him, when upon the Cross, in all the three learned and famous Languages. And hence the constant Designation, which the *Gospel* gets in the Evangelical History, is that of the *Kingdom of God*, or *Kingdom of Heaven*; a Phrase that doth never denote the State or Place of Glory, so far as I can find; which is ever called simply *Heaven*, or the *Third Heavens*, or *Paradise*, &c.

I might here take occasion to insist on many things, of great Moment and Usefulness. But I must leave them, till I have more time to expatiate upon them. Only I shall hint these few things to the Reader, *viz.* that, under this Head, our Thoughts may profitably dwell upon Christ's Words, *John* 5. 43. *I am come in my Father's Name*, &c. which does suppose the Jewish Theocracy, as it plainly denotes Christ to be the King of Christians; especially if we consider, *ver.* 22, 23. and indeed the whole Context shews this. That Christ's riding into *Jerusalem* upon an Ass, and allowing of the *Hosannas* of the People, refers to the same Head; as also his attributing the future Destruction of *Jerusalem* to himself, *Matth.* 24. for, as I observed in (d) another Work, this Judgment upon the Jews was from Christ, who punish-

(d) *Discourse concerning God's Dwelling with Men*, p. 43.

ed them, by the hands of *Titus* and the *Romans*, for Rebellion and High Treason. Besides, was it not under the Title of *King of the Jews* that Christ was revealed to the *wise Men*? And when *Herod* consulted the *Sanhedrim*, did they not determine that the *Messiah* was to be King? And were they not in the right as to this; tho they had the wrong Notion of his Monarchy, as if it was to be a temporal and not spiritual one. Which occasioned *Herod's* Jealousy and Fear, and his barbarous Murder of the young Children on this score. And no wonder he should be afraid, considering how strongly and universally this Opinion was rooted into the Jews, and spread among all the neighbouring Countries, as is plain from the Hints given this way in the Writings of *Josephus*, and by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, as I have already observed.

But one thing I chuse to do here, that I may illustrate this Part of Christ's Office as I have done the other two; and that is, to run a *Parallel* between our Saviour and *Joshua*, as to the *Executive Power*, as I have done between *him* and *Shem* as to the *Patriarchate*, and between *him* and *Moses* as to *Legislation*. For, tho *Joshua* had not the Title of *King*, and, in this respect, may not seem to be so eminent a Type of Christ as *David* and *Solomon*: Yet, as he was materially the same to *Israel* in his days, that they were in theirs; and as they had that Title but by *Sufferance*, the *Logos* being properly King of *Israel*, and they but his Deputies and Vice-gerents; so, in all other respects, *Joshua* was the most eminent Type of Christ's Regal Power that we read of.

He was so most eminently in his Name. For we cannot but know, that our Saviour's most proper Name is that of *Jesus*, which signifies a Saviour; seeing for this end it was appropriated to him, by the express Command of God from Heaven, *Matth.* 1. 21. The Name of *Christ* being only *Appellative*, as being the Greek Word that answers to the Hebrew Word *Messiah*, which signifies *anointed*, i. e. one commissioned to a so-

lemn Office, by being anointed for that purpose, as I have explain'd this Name above. Now we know that anointing of old was used, when a Person was set apart solemnly either to the Kingly, Priestly or Prophe- tical Office, under the Circumstances formerly men- tioned : So that there were as many Types of this Name of Christ, as there were Persons thus set apart. But the Name *Jesus* signifies over and above his being com- missioned, that he was now actually to enter upon that Office and Work to which he had been appointed. And this therefore is the only New Testament-Name, that Christ took upon him, additional to that he had for- merly been known by, which he had in common, with many Persons besides, tho he only was denoted thus by way of Eminency. Now our Saviour seems plainly to be made the Antitype of the ancient *Jesus* or *Joshua*, the Great Captain-General of *Israel*, and Successor of *Moses*. Concerning whom let us take notice, that his first Name was *Oshea*, *Numb.* 13. 8, 16. Which *Moses* changed into *Jeboshua*, which by Abbreviation is *Joshua*, and in the Syriack Dialect is *Jesus*. *Oshea* signifies a Saviour ; which the wife *Moses* considering, and fore- seeing how eminent a Type he would be of the Great Saviour, and how providentially this Name therefore had been given him, resolves to make this more con- spicuous by adding to his Name *Jod*, the first Let- ter of יהוה *Jehova*, and calls him *Joshua*, as if he should say, *one that shall eminently prefigure the Divine Sa- viour*. And, as *Oshea* signifies a Saviour, and *Jeboshua* sig- nifies *he shall save* : So we have in these put together the whole almost of the Angel's Words, *Matth.* 1. 21. The time of *Moses* his giving him this new Name, or his Name with this Alteration, is remarkable, *viz.* when he was to go in with the other *Spies* to make a Disco- very of the Land, which he was afterwards to conquer and subdue. But it seems also to look backwards, as well as forwards, *viz.* to the remarkable Victory he obtain'd over the *Amalekites*, *Exod.* 17. 9. where it would seem God had pitch'd upon him to compleat that Work,

seeing *Moses* is commanded to repeat what he had written from the Mouth of God concerning *Amaleck*, in the Ears of *Joshua*, ver. 16. Now, as all living Languages are subject to change; so we find this Name alter'd in speaking from *Jehoshua* to *Joshua*, and afterwards from *Joshua* to *Jeshua*, as we see *Nehem.* 8. 17. and lastly from *Jeshua* to *Jesus*, as we see, *Acts* 7. 45. and *Heb.* 4. 8. And here therefore, by the bye, seeing *Joshua* is the same Name with *Jesus* (even as *Jacob* and *James*, *Jonas* and *John*, *Rupert* and *Robert*, and innumerable more are,) and seeing *Jesus*, is now appropriated to our Lord Redeemer; may it not be justly a Scruple, to say no more, whether we can lawfully call a Child by the Name of *Joshua*, or whether those that were so called from Inadvertency, ought to continue this as their proper Name? And, if the Protestant Churches have condemned the Name *Jesuit*, because the Name *Jesus*, is now appropriated to Christ as *Emmanuel*, as we see, *Matth.* 1. 21, 22, 23. and therefore incommunicable; whereas that of *Christian* is allowed of by them, both as being scriptural, and because of the Reason of the thing, *Christ* or the *Anointed* being a relative Word, denoting him the Head of his People, by whom they are called and made Partakers of the Divine Anointing mediately through him: I say, seeing the Reformed Churches have disowned the Name *Jesuit*, not only out of hatred to that bloody Party, that love to be thus distinguish'd, but as judging the very Name unlawful to be assumed; may it not be supposed to be more presumptuous and assuming to call a Child *Jesus*, seeing it is higher to say, *I am Jesus*, than *I am a Jesuit*, i. e. one that professes to be a Follower of *Jesus*? And, if it would sound odd and harsh to assume the Name *Jesus*, I leave it to serious Thought, whether it be not the same to intelligent Persons to be known by the Name of *Joshua*, tho' the Pronunciation by Custom has become less startling and offensive? If in this I offend any Person, I shall only say, that I lye as open, I think, as any Man, to receive better Information.

formation. And, in the mean time, I hope I may be easily pardoned, seeing I quarrel not with any Person, but am only concerned for Truth and the Honour of *Jesus* my Saviour. Whose Name, if I had been known by hitherto, as being given me when I was incapable to chuse one for my self, I should certainly change now, lest I should seem to take that to my self, which I reckon appropriated by God to his Son. But now that I talk of changing such a Name, I foresee some may be apt to say; what! Change our Christen'd Name! The Name that we got by Baptism! I should not take notice of such a trifling Scruple as this, had I not, to my astonishment, heard this insisted upon oftner than once in Conversation; as if to be *baptized* was only to have a Name given to a Child by a Minister; when yet every Body knows that the Minister does not give any such Name to the Child, but asks what Name the Parents have resolved upon to give their Child. Which when he has been told, he does not say, *I baptize thee John or Thomas*; but, *John or Thomas, i. e. thou whom thy Friends call so or so, I baptize thee into the Name of the Father, &c. i. e. I initiate thee into the Christian Church, to be a Christian, as far as thy Infant-State allows thee to be.* The Name therefore being given by Men, and the Minister being only the Parents Mouth to publish this, there is no just ground for the least Scruple, whether we may be allowed to alter it, or not, when we are come to years, without any prejudice to the Design of Baptism. Did not the Apostles change the Name of *Joses* into that of *Barnabas*? *Acts* 4. 36. And did not the Apostle of the Gentiles change his Jewish Name *Saul*, for the Gentile Name *Paul*? *Acts* 13. 9. tho he had been call'd to the Apostleship by God himself under the former Name, *ver. 2.* as well as call'd to Christianity it self under the same, *Chap. 9. 4, &c.* But whatever was the Reason of these Changes, I am apt to think, that we have a Precedent, as to Mens changing the Name *Jesus* or *Joshua* into some other. For *Paul* speaking of his Fellow-Labourers, mentions

one indeed by his Jewish Name *Jesus*, but adds immediately, *who is called Justus*, Col. 4. 11. insinuating, as I think, that neither the good Man himself, nor any other Christian, was willing that the Name *Jesus* should be given to him, or any mere Man, for the future; for that he, that was formerly called *Jesus*, had now changed his Name into that of *Justus*. And thus I have heard of one, who durst never write himself *Emmanuel* but *Manuel*, as knowing to whom that Name was appropriated. And I leave Men to judge, by comparing the 21st Verse of the 1st Chapter of *Matthew*, with the 22^d and 23^d, whether *Emmanuel* and *Jesus* be not equivalent. And if so, then let it be considered, whether it be proper now, for a mere Man, to be known by that Name, that denotes him that bears it to be God as well as Man. But to return from this Digression.

Let us consider *Joshua* as a Type of Christ, not only in his Name, but in his Office and Work, which that Name denotes. A Specimen of which take in the following Particulars. (1.) The first *Jesus* or *Joshua* was, by God's Appointment, set at the Head of the People *Israel*, when in a Wilderness State, in order to command their Armies, and to introduce them into the Land of *Canaan*.——The Last and Great *Jesus* was set apart, and appointed to gather to himself the dispersed true *Israelites* from among all Nations, in order to lead, command and save them, and bring them into the heavenly *Canaan*. *The Scepter was not to depart from Judah until this Shiloh should come, to whom the gathering of the Nations was to be*, Gen. 49. 10. So we are told, *Acts* 15. 14, &c. *Simeon* hath declared, how God at first did visit the *Gentiles*, to take out of them a People for his Name: and to this agree the Words of the Prophets, as it is written, *after this I will return and build up the Tabernacle of David, which is broken down, &c.* (2.) The first *Jesus* ruled *Israel* by Officers of God's Institution.——And so does our *Jesus*, *Isa.* 33. 22. *For the Lord is our Judge, the*
Lord

Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King, he will save us. Eph. 4. 11, 12. *and he gave some Apostles, some Prophets, &c.* Mat. 18. 17, 18. *And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the Church, &c.* (3.) The first Jesus was made use of to destroy the Canaanites and other Enemies of Israel.—The true Jesus or Saviour is he that restrains, over-rules, and at last fully conquers and destroys all his and his Peoples Enemies, *Psal. 2. 9. He breaks them into pieces, as a Potsherd is broken by a Rod of Iron.* And at length, *2 Thess. 1. 8, 9. He will be revealed from Heaven, taking Vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel; i. e. Heathens, who own not God, according as Reason and Conscience, and the Works and Law of Nature dictate, they should; and Professing Christians and others, who are acquainted with the Gospel-Revelation, but live not according to it.* (4.) The first Jesus did correct and punish such of the People, as transgressed God's Commands and Rules, as he did *Achan, Josh. 7. 18, 19, &c.*—So does our Blessed Jesus correct his People for their Sins: *Rev. 3. 19. As many as I love I rebuke and chasten: Be zealous therefore and repent.* (5.) *Joshua* of old was zealously concerned for God's Honour, and therefore gave the People the best advice he possibly could, as may be seen particularly in his last pathetic Advice and Exhortation, *Chap. 24.*—And what pains our Jesus has taken this way to have us perfectly acquainted with his Father's Will, may be seen in the History we have of his Life and Discourses, particularly his last Farewell-Sermon, which makes up the last part of the 13th Chapter of *John*, from *ver. 31.* and the whole of the 14, 15, and 16th Chapters, which he concludes with that admirable Prayer, *Chap. 17.* (6.) *Joshua* did not only enter the People into the Land of *Canaan*, but settled them there fully, and distributed the same to them by *Lot*, as God gave Direction—So our Blessed Jesus, did not only lay a Foundation for our being possess'd of Heaven, by his Death and Satisfaction; but is gone to Heaven, in order to bring us thither also, and give

give us full Possession of it. See *Heb.* 11. 6. and *Rev.* 22. 12.

But, as *Joshua* was only Typical of *Christ* in these Things: So there are several things that relate to *Christ's* Regal and Executive Office, wherein neither he, nor any Man else, could so much as prefigure him. As, (1.) Our Lord doth effectually work upon the Souls of his own People, by bestowing saving Grace upon them; in which Respect he is said to be *a Prince exalted to give Repentance and Remission of Sins*, *Acts* 5. 31. by which he makes his People a willing People in the Day of his Power, *Psal.* 110. 3. And by him we are justified from all things, from which we could not be justified by the Law of *Moses*, *Acts* 13. 39. (2.) Our Lord does not only give Grace, but preserve it, maugre all Temptations, that it be not extinguished: And thus he keeps us by his mighty Power thro' Faith unto Salvation, *1 Pet.* 1. 5. For, as the Expression is, *Isa.* 63. 9. *In all their Affliction he is afflicted, and the Angel of his Presence saveth them, &c.* (3.) Our *Jesus* over-rules all things in the World, so as he makes them to work together for his own Glory, and his Peoples Good, as he pleaseth, see *Rom.* 8. 28. & *14.* 11. And, (4.) As a proof of all this, he did rise again from the Dead, and continued to appear for forty Days afterwards to his Disciples; and then ascended visibly to Heaven; from whence he has sent down his Spirit, by which, and the Joynt-Operation of his Providence and the Ministry of his Angels, he does whatsoever he sees good. ———— Now in all these things, it is plain, no mere Man could prefigure him; seeing these things are peculiar to him, who is the Logos.

But, besides *Joshua* the Son of *Nun*, there is another *Joshua*, who is no less a Type of *Christ* than he, *viz.* *Joshua* the Son of *Josedech*, who was High Priest, when the *Jews* returned from the Captivity, and the main Man, together with *Zerubbabel*, in promoting the rebuilding *Jerusalem* and the *Temple*, as we see *Hag.* 1. 1, 12, 14, & 2. 2, 4. For this *Joshua* or *Jesus*

is represented as an eminent Type of Christ, 1. In his Zeal to rebuild the *House of God*, and in his being commissioned so to do, *Hag.* 2. 2, 4. 2. In his being opposed by Satan in that Work, *Zech.* 3. 1, 2. 3. In his being cloathed with *filthy Garments*, and afterward (these being taken away) with *glorious Apparel*, and a *fine Mitre*; which has a manifest Respect to Christ's Humiliation, in his bearing our Sins, and his Exaltation afterwards, *Zech.* 3, 4. 4. In having a Promise, that he should rule God's House, if he did faithfully perform his Charge, *ver.* 7. 5. In having an express Promise of the Messiah made to him, under the Name of *God's Servant the Branch*; who is described under the Emblem of the *True Foundation, and the living and intelligent Stone, which should take away the Iniquity of the Land in one Day, and bring in Peace, Prosperity and Happiness*, *ver.* 8, 9, 10. 6. In having *Crowns, both of Silver and Gold* set upon his Head, that he might be typically both King and Priest, *Zech.* 6. 10, 11. with a new Promise, that *Christ, who is called the Branch, should grow up in his Place and Stead, as the true and everlasting Priest and King of the Church, by whom God would build up, and rule, and save his Church and People, ver.* 12, 13, 14, 15.

And now, that I have mentioned Christ's being Priest as well as King, I shall take Occasion to look back upon the *Patriarchate*, which I have fixed as the *Genus* of the Three usually assigned Parts of Christ's Office, *viz.* the *Priestly, Prophetical and Regal*: As for the *Regal*, tho' it be included in it *de Jure*, yet it was proper to consider it distinctly, under the Notion of the executive Power: Because, as such, it bears a Reference, not only to the *Patriarchate* but *Legislation*. And tho' *Legislation* it self may be supposed to coincide with Propheſie, in the Notion of its being the same with Teaching: Yet, seeing Teaching is too general to ſpecific Legislation, and ſeeing Propheſie, in the proper Senſe of the Word, is not only too ſtrict and limited to denote it, but altogether foreign from the Idea that

Legislation doth afford us; I thought it necessary to consider Legislation apart.

Now as to the *Three Parts* of the *Patriarchate*, viz. the *Kingly*, *Priestly* and *Prophetical Offices*, as they are usually called, So much has been said by Divines already, that I cannot be supposed to add any thing new, unless it be as to the manner of considering things. I shall chuse therefore, to make this Observation only; that they answer to the *Threefold Bar*, which is interposed since the *Fall* between God and us, viz. *Ignorance*, *Guilt* and *Impotence*. For Christ's *Prophetical Office* is design'd to restore Knowledge to us: His *Priestly Office* to atone for us, in order to our being pardoned and accounted Righteous: And his *Kingly Office* to make us Holy, and keep us Obedient. In which Three stands the Image of God, when again formed or copied, and drawn over again upon the Soul, see *Col. 3. 10.* & *Eph. 4. 24.*

I have already spoken to the *Regal* or *Executive Office* of *Christ*. As for the *Prophetical*, it stands in revealing God's Will to Men. For as we are naturally Ignorant and Blind, this way, since the Fall, *1 Cor. 2. 14.* So *Christ is come a Light into the World, to enlighten us, John 1. 8, 9.* Now this *Revelation* is, 1. *External* in the Scriptures. For the same Character may be materially given to all the Sacred Books, which is given of the last, *Rev. 1. 1.* For which, see *Heb. 1. 1, 2.* *John 1. 18.* *1 Pet. 1. 10, 11.* *John 15. 15.* *Eph. 4. 10, 11, 12, &c.* 2. *Internal Revelation* is necessary to make the External effectual to Salvation. For this, see *Eph. 5. 2.* *1 Cor. 2. 14, 15.* *Matth. 28. ult.* 'Tis true, the Work of spiritual Illumination is attributed to the *Spirit*, as his immediate Work, *John 16. 13.* But it is as true, that the *Holy Spirit* doth, in this, act by Delegation from *Christ*, as the great Prophet of his Church, as we see in the Sequel of that same Text, *ver. 14.* See also *Eph. 1. 17.* & *Rev. 19. 10.*

And as for the *Priestly Office*, we know that the *Priests* of old did satisfie for the Peoples Sins, in a *Typical*

pical Sense, by offering up of *Sacrifices*; and then back'd their *Oblations*, by offering of *Incense*, and by *Interceding* for the People, when they did so. So that our Lord, as *High Priest* of his Church, does two things also. 1. He *satisfies* for them. Which he did once for all, by offering up himself as a *Propitiatory Sacrifice*, paying thus the Price of his precious Blood for us. See *Dan. 9. 27.* 1 *Tim. 2. 5.* Comp. with *Matth. 20. 28.* especially as to the Emphasis of the Greek Word ἀντίλυτρον, in the one Place, and the Phrase λύτρον ἀντι πολλῶν in the other. And let the Force of ἀναφέρειν, in 1 *Pet. 2. 24.* be duly considered, as it answers not to the Hebrew Word הָלַח which signifies *to make to ascend*, as *Crellius*, without any apparent Reason, pretends it doth; but to the Word בָּרַח which signifies *to bear a Burden*: Seeing, it is plain, the Apostle *Peter* has a Reference to *Isa. 53. 11.* and no less plain, that this is the Sense of the Word, in *Lam. 5. 7.* where all agree, that it is made use of to denote *the bearing of a Burden*, and that with Respect to the Punishment of Sin. But of this before. 2. Our Lord, as *Priest*, does not only satisfy for us, but discharges the other Part of this Office also, by *interceding* for his People: Which is so uncontroverted, that I need not insist upon it, tho I had not treated of it at all, as I have done already. I need therefore only hint this now; that he intercedes and pleads with the *Party offending*, to comply with God's Offers, as we see, 2 *Cor. 5. 20.* *Col. 1. 20, 21.* And he intercedes and pleads with God, the *offended Party*, for Transgressors, as we see, *Isa. 53. 12.* *Heb. 7. 25.*

Now, as the *Patriarchate* is the Genus under which these *Three Offices* are to be considered: So if we want a Genus for the *Patriarchate*, the *Legislative* and *Executive Power*; that of *Apostle*, *Saviour* or *Mediator*, will comprehend all. For all these three denote the same Office, tho from different Views of it. For, if we consider him with respect to his *Mission* and *Commission* from God, he is the *Shilo*, the *Sent*, or the *Apostle* of God

God to us, as not only *Clemens Romanus* calls him, but the Apostle also, *Heb. 3. 1.* For Christ is his *Father's Apostle* or *Messenger*, even as those are said to be *Christ's Apostles* or *Messengers*, to whom that Name is usually appropriated. If again we consider Christ, with Respect to the *end* of his *Apostleship* or *Mission*, which was to save Sinners; he comes thus justly under the Name and Notion of a *Saviour*: To which that of *Redeemer* is equivalent; excepting that it does denote also the Method wherein he saves us. And, if again we consider Christ's Office and Undertaking, with Respect to the actual Execution thereof; as he acted by Commission from God, for the great End of our Salvation, in concert with the promoting of God's Honour: We are thus directed to consider him as acting an *intervenient* or *middle Part* between God and Man. By which, it will be apparent to a close Thinker, that *Mediation*, or the *Mediatorial Office*, is the proper Notion that, as a comprehensive General, takes in all we have said as to Christ's Offices, or the Considerations of his Office. For in order to be *Mediator*, in a proper and compleat Sense, he must be supposed to have *Right* to represent us, as our *Great Patriarch*, and consequently to act for us, as *Prophet*, *Priest* and *King*. And seeing he was to *rule* us, in order to *save* us: Therefore he was oblig'd, not only to *reveal* God's Mind to us as *Prophet*, to *atone* for us as *Priest*, and to *conquer* our Enemies as *King*; but also to give us Laws, as our *Legislator*; and then to see his Laws, when given, put into *Execution*, according to the *Sanction* annexed, which stands in *Promises* and *Threatnings*.

From these Hints, it will be very easie, to state the Notion of a *Mediator*. For a *Mediator*, in the general Notion of the Word, is one, whose Office, Work and Business, is to reconcile two or more Persons at Variance one with another. So that the Work of Christ, as *Mediator*, is to reconcile God and Man. For Man having broken the Covenant, or Law of Friendship, which God made with him at first; thence followed, necess-

necessarily, a Separation and Opposition. So that the Work of Mediator, in the Scripture-Sense, is that of one, who reconciles God and Man, by taking away the Grounds of Difference, and making up the Breach between them. And the Gospel, or New Testament, is that Scheme of Agreement, which Christ, as *Mediator*, has instituted; and with which the Father is fully satisfied; as are all Men that consider this, and mind their Duty and Interest. Now, as Christ is He that drew up, and appointed the Gospel-Scheme: So he is the Guardian and Security thereof; whence he is called, *The Surety of the better Testament or Covenant*, Heb. 7. 22. But, in order to understand the Scriptural Notion of a Mediator, more clearly and fully, it will be of great Use to give the Reasons, why we hear nothing in Scripture of God's being said to be reconciled to us, but only of our being reconciled to him. Now I assign these two Reasons, why the Holy Scripture speaks after this manner. 1. I suppose it speaks so, upon this Account; because we are the offending Party: And it is certainly consonant to Reason and Justice, that the offending Party should seek to be reconcil'd to the Party offended. And, tho' the Party offended, out of a Height of Generosity, should sue out for Reconciliation with the Party that gave the Offence; yet the Nature of the Thing it self, *viz. Reconciliation in this Case*, is such, that still it is proper to speak in this Dialect. Seeing for one to seek to be reconciled with another, doth properly denote, that the Breach and Fault is upon his Part, who is said to sue out for Reconciliation, or who is said to obtain it. Whereas to seek that another may be reconciled to us, denotes no such thing properly; but only Goodness, Love and Generosity in one; who, tho' justly offended, is yet desirous, that the Person offending may be wrought upon so, as to be reconciled again. And therefore the Scripture runs constantly in this Dialect, by observing a just Decorum this way (tho' I think this has never been observed by our Divines) with Relation to the Party offended and of-

fending; as may be seen in *Matth.* 5. 23, 24. *1 Cor.* 7. 10, 11. and in other Places. Whereas therefore it was not God that brake Covenant with us, but Man that treacherously revolted from God, and justly offended him; it is very reasonable that the Scripture should speak in this Dialect. But, 2. There is this further Reason to be assigned for this, *viz.* that God doth always hold forth himself as gracious and merciful, and desirous that we should be reconciled to him. And therefore Christ's Work was not to reconcile God to us, in any Propriety of Speech, but to reconcile us to God. For God's sending of Christ doth shew, that he was suing out for Reconciliation with us. Nay, Reconciliation is attributed principally to God the Father, who by Christ reconciles Men to himself, *Col.* 1. 19, 20. For it pleased the Father, that in Christ all Fulness should dwell, and ——— by him to reconcile all things to himself, &c. And therefore we are told, *2 Cor.* 5. 19. That God was in Christ reconciling the World to himself, &c. And it is added, *ver.* 20. Now then we are Ambassadors for Christ, as tho God did beseech you, by us: we pray you, in Christ's Stead, to be reconciled to God. Where we may observe and wonder, how free and ready, and how earnestly desirous and concerned God is, to have us reconciled to himself; and yet how refractory and backward Men are to be at Peace with him, and what Work and Pains it is to work us up to this.

But here some may ask, with the *Socinians*, If God be so desirous to have us reconciled to him, what need then of a Mediator? I answer, There is great need of a Mediator, to accomplish this Design. God is willing, 'tis true, to have us reconciled to himself, but in such a way as is consistent with his Justice, Holiness and Veracity. That therefore God might accomplish his Desire and Design of reconciling his People to himself, proper Measures must be adjusted and laid down; which one, every way qualified for the Work, must be intrusted with, and keep to. And accordingly Christ is sent, to become Man, to fulfil the Law, to endure

endure the Punishment, and to raise himself from Death; that thus *He might make Peace, thro' the Blood of his Cross, and that, this being done, God might reconcile all things to himself,* Col. 1. 19, 20. For these two things are quite different, to be desirous of Reconciliation, and actually to attain this End. Thus we find *David* earnestly desirous to see his Son *Absalom*, and to have him reconciled to him: Tho' this End was not reach'd, until *Joab* found out a way of Mediating between them; as we see, *2 Sam. 13. ult.* Comp. with *Chap. 14. 21, & ver. ult.* Nay, we see this in an Instance, wherein God himself is concerned, *Job 42. 7. My Wrath is kindled* (says God to *Eliphaz*) *against thee and thy two Friends, &c.* and yet, notwithstanding this, he professeth himself willing to have them reconciled to him, and puts them upon the proper Means to attain this End. From whence, we may observe what may illustrate Christ's Office, and Work, as Mediator. But I suppose all sober Men do agree in this, that Christ's Work, as Mediator, was to lay a Foundation for our being actually reconciled to God, which he did by the Merit of his perfect Obedience and Sufferings; pursuant to which it is his Work still, to carry on the Work of Reconciliation by his Word, Grace and Spirit.

I might indeed add many more Hints, upon so large a Subject, as this is, concerning Christ as *Mediator*: But I have already said much more than I did at first design, or is well consistent with my intended Brevity, upon the Heads I propos'd to treat of; but that I could not avoid to be distinct here, and consequently something large too, after I had been so bold, as to charge the commonly received Account of Christ's Offices, as what was not only *unaccurate*, but *defective* also. For had I not made good this Charge, I was aware, how much I should excite the Hue and Cry against me, as an *Innovator, Novaturient, &c.* from the *Herd* of those, who are against Mens seeing with their own Eyes. Nay, for any thing I know, I might have

incurr'd, not only the Charge of *Schism*, but even that of *Heresy* too, from those, who have no other Argument to use against such as differ from them, tho' in more minute things, but the loud and frequent Repetition of those frightful Words, tho', perhaps, they themselves understand them not.

And now, I think, there is nothing material wanting, in order to our forming to our selves Genuin Notions of the Office of the Messiah, and the proper Parts or Considerations and Views thereof.

I confess, it might have been perhaps expected, by some, that I should have added something of a practical Improvement of this new and scriptural Scheme. But, besides the Study of Brevity; and that the next Chapter, materially considered, will be but a further Illustration of what I have said here; and that I design also to add a special Application of the whole of this Discourse, in the *last* Chapter; I desire the Reader may consider, that the same Application that has been formerly given of the Offices of Christ, in many Scores, or Hundreds of Treatises, by practical Divines, will answer my Scheme, as well as theirs, with very little Variation. For our different Methods alter not the Nature of any one Truth.

However, seeing the Three proper Parts of Christ's Mediatorial Office, have never been formally treated of before, in that manner, that I have done here; I shall so far gratifie others, as just to hint at the Improvableness of these, both by Ministers, in their Sermons to their Hearers; and by Christians, in their secret Retirements, when they meditate upon them.

And (1.) When we consider Christ, as the *Second Adam*, and the only *Federal Head* of Men, constituted to be our Grand *Patriarch*, *Father* and *Patron*; in coming under whose Wings and Protectorship, or Guardianship, we can only be safe and secure, and thro' whom only we can come to God, and attain to eternal Glory: I say, when we consider this, we see the very
 turning

turning Point of Salvation, and that wherein both our Duty and Interest stands.

Here a serious Thinker must needs reason thus. I am naturally descended from the corrupted Stock of the *First Adam*; who betray'd his Trust, and ruin'd the Estate and Interest of me, and all his Posterity. What have I received from him, but Misery, and the Prospect of more? Shall I continue in that State, which he has brought me into; when I may attain to Ease, Peace, Plenty and Glory, another way? Shall I sin after his Example? Shall I take Part with him in his Crimes against God and my self? Am I so much oblig'd to him, as to adhere to his Follies; when I have Reason to believe, he repented of them himself? Where is he now, that I should trust in him? Could he save me, by Merit and Power, were he alive, who could not stand his own Ground, under the greatest Advantages and Encouragements? Had I been his immediate Child or Grand-Child, would he not have desired me to plead with God, for Mercy's sake, and to look forward, by Faith, to the *Second Adam* and *Patriarch* of Men? Is it not then high time to lift my self, under *Christ*, that is now become such?

O! The Goodness of God! O! The Condescendence of Christ! Art thou, O Lord, become the Patron and Patriarch of Mankind? O! And wilt thou receive me into thy Family! Dost thou seek to gather me and others, as a Brooding Hen, her Chickens under her Wings? And can I be so mad as to continue longer thy Enemy and my own? Alas! That I have been so long thus mad already. O! And wilt thou accept of me still? My Lord and my God, I prostrate my self before thee. Receive thy poor Prodigal. Let me have a Share in thy Mercy. Do with me as thou pleasest: Only let me be one of thy own Family, whatever Service thou put me to. But, O! Thy Service is my Glory and Reward. What so honourable, so noble, so pleasant, so beneficial, as to serve my God and Saviour, &c?

(2.) When we consider Christ, as the only *Legislator* ; How improvable is the Thought ?

I am, will a serious Person say, an *Outlaw* by Nature. *Adam* fatally turn'd Rebel against God ; and all his Children are the Offspring of Rebels, and naturally as treacherous and wicked, as were our first Parents. But is it possible to live lawless, and be either easy or happy ? Have I not Reason and a Conscience, that tell me I must be under Law to God ? And does not my Bible tell me, that Christ is constituted the only Law-giver and Judge of Men ?

O ! Glorious and sweet Legislator ! How precious is thy Law to me ! It was so of old to the Royal Psalmist, in its rougher and more unpolish'd Dress ; when the burthenfome and tedious Mosaical Rites, accommodated to the Disposition and Circumstances of a morose and obstinate Nation, render'd it a Servitude rather than Obedience, as being liker a Discipline for Slaves than Free Men. But now that thou hast freed the World and Church from all severe Injunctions and Childish Rudiments, and hast adapted thy New Law to the Interest, Peace, Pleasure, Honour and Advancement of Human Nature ; O ! how sweet are thy Precepts to my Soul ! When all I am enjoyn'd is only to believe thy Veracity, to meditate upon thy Truths, to love thee and thy Ways, to serve, honour, and adore thee ; and to be just, merciful, charitable and faithful to all I am concern'd for and with, as my Relations, Obligations, Trusts and Circumstances require. Shall I ever so much as hesitate, whether or not I ought to take this easy and sweet Yoke upon me ? Hadst thou required the severest things, it had been my Duty and Interest to obey. But now, that thou hast enjoyned nothing, but what is wholly calculated for my Comfort and Happiness ; what a Monster must I look upon my self to be, should I be refractory or backward in yielding Obedience to such a Law, and such a Law-giver ? &c.

(3.) When

(3.) When we consider Christ, as invested with the *Executive Power* of those Laws he has himself given forth ; We cannot but see how improvable likewise this is.

For, if *all Power in Heaven and in Earth be given to Christ*, and if it be in his hand *to kill or make alive* ; then it is certainly the Interest of Men to yield themselves to him, as *a willing People*, at his call, *in this Gospel-Day of his Power*.

O ! my King and Lord, thine I am, by innumerable Ties ; thine I am by Self-Dedication ; and thine I am resolv'd to be for ever. Let others chuse whom they please ; as for me, I and my House are thine, and resolve to be for no other. Speak Lord, for thy Servants Eyes are upon thee, and his Ears are open to thy Calls. It is my Soul's Desire, thou knowest, to love thee more, and to serve thee better. I have no other end, in all my Studies, Labours and Watchings, but thy own Service. May I attain to be so happy, as to draw over more of my Fellow-Creatures to thee, in order to become likewise my Fellow-Servants. O ! that all Men might see, what I see in thee. O ! that they might enjoy thy Presence, as I have done, and do, even at this present time. O ! incomparably lovely, glorious, gracious and condescending Lord : Thou art all Brightness, Mildness, Sweetness and Goodness. I adore, I admire, I love, I enjoy. (e) But O ! my

S f 4

Thoughts

(e) *What I have written here, was under a peculiar Impression of which I am to give no Account, and perhaps cannot any more than the Apostle Paul could, of what he saw and heard, 2 Cor. 12. 2, 3, &c. tho I pretend not to any such Discoveries as he had. Let me therefore be call'd Enthusiast, or what Men please, I shall not be concern'd. For I consider that not only Paul was characterized worse than all this amounts to, Acts 24. 5, 6. and Chap. 26. 25. but even Christ himself, Mat. 11. 19. Chap. 12. 24. and Chap. 10. 25. Chap. 9. 3. John 10. 33. Matth. 27. 63. Whatever Notion therefore Men may entertain of me, as to this Spiritual Flight of Thoughts, which dictated to me the Words referr'd to here : I do at least hope that the rest of the Book will demonstrate it self to be the Result of sober and solid Thought and Reasoning, as well as of hard Study.*
And,

Thoughts are swallowed up! My Words leave me! Rapturous Pleasure! Peace that passeth natural Understanding; Joy inconceivable! Celestial Vision! Am I in the Body, or out of it?—Be it as it will, I am still with thee! And O! how happy is it to find my self thus, with thee and in thee! Here is the Center! Here is the Essence! Here is the Fullness of true Happiness! of solid Satisfaction! of Heavenly Joy!

I thank thee, O my Dear God and Benefactor, for thy self: I thank thee for thy innumerable and gratuitous Benefits: I thank thee for my Bible, and particularly for the New Testament: I thank thee, for that measure of the Knowledge thereof, which thou hast

And, in case the Enthusiasm of some of late tend occasionally to the increase of Infidelity, as to Revealed Religion, as I am afraid it may be improved that way by many; I am hopeful, that this Treatise may come forth seasonably upon this very account. For I am bold to say, that no Man can peruse this Book, with serious and close Thoughts, and remain an Infidel, as to the Verity of Christianity; nay, that a Sceptick this way, shall no sooner have thus perus'd the first Chapter, than he shall be oblig'd to yield his Assent to the Truth of this, in the General. Let not therefore minute things stumble any, tho they may look a little odd at first. For if the main Scope of the Book be answer'd, so as that the Reader may receive true Advantage, the Author has reach'd his End: Who is so far a Christian Stoick, as not to be much concern'd what some Men may either think or say of him, as to what he has written, either here or elsewhere. However, one thing I may venture to say of my self, That whether this Book and my other Writings evidence me to be, in any small measure like Paul or not; as to some Knowledge and Discovery of Divine Truth, further than was before: Tet I have been like him, in being dealt with as he was, in one respect; viz. That I have had a severe Thorn in the Flesh (as he had, 2 Cor. 5. 7, 8, &c.) i. e. severe, violent, and long continued Sickness, sent to keep me humble. But his Grace is sufficient for me, and his Strength has been experienc'd by me under my Weakness; (during which many of these Thoughts were suggested and improved.) And therefore I do wish that Apostle, glory even in my Infirmities, that the Power of Christ may (appear the more conspicuously to) rest upon me; as being set forth to the more advantage, that so mean, worthless, and despicable an Instrument has been made use of to discover so many considerable Things; so as to set them in a truer and fuller Light, than they have ever been in before; excepting only the hitherto Misunderstood Bible; I say misunderstood hitherto in several Respects, taken notice of in this Work of Christology.

mercifully

mercifully bleſt me with : I thank thee for thy answering my Prayers, and aſſiſting my Endeavours, by carrying me on ſo far, in this Great Work of *Chriſtology*, which thou thy ſelf did at firſt ſo remarkably incite and encourage me to undertake : I thank thee for this eminent Manifeſtation of thy Preſence and Love, by which thou haſt ſo given me a renewed and eminent Evidence and Proof of thy Approbation of theſe my Labours, this *nineteenth Day of May, 1707* : And I thank thee likewiſe for that fair and ſure Proſpect, (which I have had, in ſome meaſure, from my Youth up to this Day, and have now again confirmed in ſo wonderful a manner) that I ſhall enjoy thee uninterruptedly hereafter ; in that happy State, where I ſhall be capable to know thee better, to love thee more perfectly, to enjoy thee more cloſely, to praife thee more purely, and to ſerve thee more unweariedly ; and that for ever, ever, ever. *Amen.*

C H A P. VII.

Concerning the Relation which Chriſt is repreſented to ſtand in to us, in the New Teſtament. Which is conſidered as Threefold, viz. That of his being conſtituted and appointed the Great Repoſitory of all Good for us ; the Great Medium, in and thro' whom God and Men can only meet, in order to Intercourſe and Communion ; and the Great Organ or Miniſter of State, by whom God carries on all his Grand Purpoſes.

HAVING now, not only conſidered the *Divine Wiſdom*, conſpicuous in Chriſt, in the *four firſt Chapters*, but taken a View of what was moſt material to be conſidered in reference both to his *Perſon and Office*, in the

the

the *two immediately preceeding ones* : I come here to discourse of *the Principal Relations* he stands in to us, according as the New Testament represents this Matter.

I say, *the Principal Relations* : For I pretend not to enumerate all those Relative Characters, which are given to him, either in reference to Men in general, or good Men in particular ; such as his being our Representative, Head, Sponsor, Advocate, &c. Far less do I pretend, to run out upon the Figurative Designations given him, which are, in some sort, endless ; as when he is called the Rock, the Door, the true Vine, the Manna or Bread from Heaven, our Husband, our Propitiation, &c.

And yet, if I mistake not, what I have said, and what I am about to say further, will materially comprehend all these ; or, at least, lay a sufficient Foundation for our Understanding them. I proceed therefore.

There are *three Grand Relations*, wherein Christ is considered with respect to us : which, tho I may have referr'd to, and given some transient Hints of before ; yet I never formally treated of : And therefore I shall do this now. The *1st* is, That of his being the *Great Treasury* or *Repository of all Good*, out of which the Wants of Men are to be supplied. The *2d* is, That of the *Great Medium*, in and thro' whom *God and Men* can only meet, in order to have Intercourse and Communion. And the *3d* is, That of the *Great Organ* or *Instrument*, in and by whom, *God carries on all his Great Purposes*, with respect to our Salvation and Happiness.

I confess that these Considerations, *materially* considered, are the same with what I spoke of under the Name of Christ's *Offices*, as he is the *Divine Patriarch, Legislator and Executor of God's Will*. However I thought proper to consider them *formally* also : And so I have represented these things distinctly here, according to the View which the Scripture gives us of this wonderful Subject : For it was not for me to vary from it.

And I am sure, there is here Matter enough for a Folio Volume, should I run out upon these Heads, as their Dignity, Comprehensiveness and Usefulness might call for. But I must content my self, with giving a very short and succinct View of them.

And yet, I *am* perswaded, that even that short Account, I shall give of them, will lay a Foundation of our Wonder; That none of these should ever have been so much as formally thought of, by any of our Systematical Divines; as indeed they seem not to have been treated of by any Christian Writer whatsoever, so far as I can pretend to know Books; I mean, not as either a distinct Head of the Christian Religion, or as related to the Office of the *Messiah*. And our wonder this way, will increase, when we shall see, not only that each of these is spoken of in Scripture; but so spoken of and insisted upon, as to make a very considerable Part of the Doctrine of the Gospel, as it relates directly to Christ, as he is *Loganthropos*, and bears a reference to us, as such. But, not to spend time beforehand; I shall now consider each of these distinctly, tho with all possible Brevity.

And, I. Let us consider *Christ*, as he is represented to us under the Notion of the *Great Treasury* or *Repository* of *all Good*, out of which all the Wants of Men are to be supplied.

And here, I find I have two things to do; *1st*. To shew, that Christ is constituted and appointed such; and then, *2dly*. To shew, that he bears a Relation, this way, to us, and that it is out of him only, as such, that we can have our Wants and Needs supplied.

1st. I shall shew, That *Christ* is *Constituted* and *Appointed* to be, as it were the *Great and Common Treasury, Store-house* or *Repository* of *all Good*.

The whole Current of the New Testament represents Christ under this Notion. And many Passages to this Purpose might be insisted upon, such as *Joh*n 1.9, 14: *1 Tim*. 3. 16. *Col*. 2. 3. Compare also, *Isa*. 63. 9. with *Mal*. 3. 1.

But

But I shall, for brevity sake, confine my self to one only, at present; It is that, *Col. 1. 19. For it pleased the Father, that in Him should all Fullness dwell.*

The Apostle, in that Chapter, presents us with a twofold Account of Christ. 1. As the *Logos* or Son of God, *ver. 15, &c.* Of which I discoursed (f) elsewhere; and therefore shall say no more to it here. 2. As *Loganthropos*, *ver. 18: &c.* representing him, as such, under the Notion of *the Head of the Body, the Church, &c.* Of which likewise I shall say nothing now, in general, seeing I have (g) likewise discoursed of this. Only it may not be unprofitable, for the close Reader, to look back upon what I have said upon this Text and Context, in the Place refer'd to, in order to understand the Connexion of the Apostle's Reasoning. All that I shall observe here, with respect to this, is the Connexion of our Text, with the Verse preceding and the Verse following: Which is this; The Apostle having laid down this general Position, in the beginning of *ver. 18.* That Christ, as *Loganthropos*, was constituted and appointed to be *the Head of the Body, the Church*; adds immediately this other Position, That he was also, *the Beginning, the First-born from the Dead*; or, as I both render'd and understood the Words, in the place refer'd to, *the Efficient, even the First Producer from the Dead, viz.* of those that otherwise must never have risen. Now the Apostle having thus laid down these Positions, gives us this, as the Reason of Christ's being constituted such to us; *viz. That in all things he might have the Pre-eminence, i. e.* above all others. And this Reason is inforc'd and enlarg'd upon in our Text, *For it pleased the Father, that in him all Fullness should dwell, i. e.* That in him, as a common Repository or Store-house, and in his hands as an universal Guarantee or Guardian, should be deposited and concredited whatsoever was or could be needful or necessary for the present and future

(f) *Christol. Lib. 2. Cap. 6. p. 211, &c.* (g) *Ibid. p. 214, &c.*

Good of Men; a Foundation being laid for this, by reason of our Saviour's *having made Peace thro' the Blood of his Cross*, as the Words are, *ver. 20.* But the Apostle proceeds to tell us something further than all this, *viz.* that Christ is such a Repository of Good, as that he is not confin'd to Men, but made a Treasury also, this way, for Angels; and therefore he adds, in the same 20th *Verse*, That the Father's laying up all Fulness in him, was for this end; *That he might, by him, reconcile all things to himself, by him,* (says he) *whether they be things on Earth or things in Heaven.* And then, making special Application of this general Truth, to those he wrote to, he says, *ver. 21, 22, &c.* *And you that were sometimes alienated, and Enemies in your Mind, by wicked Works, yet now hath he reconciled, in the Body of his Flesh, thro' Death, to present you holy and unblamable, and unreprouvable in his Sight; if ye continue in the Faith, grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the Hope of the Gospel, &c.*

But here, by the way, let us remember, that the Word Father is not in our Text. And therefore, tho it may be well enough understood, yet it might as well have been rendred indefinitely thus. *For it was agreed, that in him all Fulness should dwell.* Which I think hits the meaning of the Greek more exactly. For, when it is said, *ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐυδούνησε, &c.* or, as the *Alexandrian Manuscript* has it, *ἠυδούνησεν*; it seems to lead us to consider Christ's being constituted to be the *Repository and Guardian of all Fulness, or all Good*, not only according to the Agreement of the Supreme Reason, who is God; but with the concurring Suffrage of all created Reason too, whether Angelical or Human; which must immediately acquiesce in this admirable Contrivance and Constitution, as soon as it is understood.

The Sin and Misery of Man had made a sad Eclipse upon the Glory of this lower Creation; and had not only made a Breach between God and Man, but between Men and Angels too.

In order therefore to adjust all these Parties and Interests, a proper *Center of Union* must be found out. And he that was to adjust all these, must be such a wonderful Composition, (if I may be allowed to use such a Word, for want of a better,) as to have an Interest in, and Relation to them all.

As therefore this Glorious Person must have the Fulness of the Deity in him, so likewise the Fulness of both the angelical and human Nature. For he must be seated at the *Head* of all the *Rational and intellectual Creation*, as well as at the *Head* of the *natural World*, in order to carry on the Divine Purposes to Perfection.

And this we may reasonably conclude, as consonant to the Divine Scheme of things, if we do but only take a View of this lower Creation, with which we are best acquainted. For we find, as we ascend the Stair of Nature, that still the superior Beings are possess'd of the Perfections of all inferior Beings, with the Super-addition of some other Perfection, which they want. Thus some have *Vegetation* superadded to *Being*; some *Sensation* added to *Vegetation*, and some *Reason* to both. And, besides that, the Degrees of all these are innumerable; there is a sort of *Nexus* observable, by which some of these run up, in some Sense, to the higher Degree. For, as some *Vegetables* seem to be impowered with an inferior sort of Sense, and some *Sensitive Creatures* so sunk in mere Vegetation, (as if it were to meet the other Class half way,) that it is hard to judge to which Class they belong: So some *Sensitive Creatures* seem to be impowered with a secondary sort of Reason, as, upon the other Hand, some *Men* appear to be so sunk, in Sense, as hardly to exceed some Beasts, such as *Dogs, Foxes, &c.* Now, if we may judge of the superior Orders of Beings, by these; and their Gradations above, by these Gradations here below; we may justly suppose, that those *Celestial Beings* may be vastly different, even in Point of *Species*, as we are sure they are, as to *Order*; the Higher still possessing,

feſſing, with Advantage, the Powers of the inferior ones. However, it is more than probable, that between the *infinite Being*, and the *highest finite Ones*, there must be a *Nexus*, or *One*, that, in some sort, partakes of both Natures, to make up the Distance between them.

And sure I am, the Scripture represents Christ, as such a One. For we have a just Foundation of considering him, as such a wonderful Repository, as this comes to ; *the All-Fulness of God* being in him, together with *the Fulness of Angels* and *the Fulness of Men*.

(1.) The *All-Fulness of God* is laid up, as it were, in him.

This is plainly and emphatically asserted, *Col. 2. 9.* For in him dwelleth all the Fulness of the Godhead bodily.

Every Word here carries along with it a peculiar Force. For it is not said, that the Fulness of the *Divinity* lodgeth in him, but of the *Deity*, or *Godhead*, the Word not being θεϊότητος, but θεότητος. Nor is it simply said θεότητος, but τῆς θεότητος, to assure us, that we are to understand the *Deity* here in the highest Sense. Nor yet is it barely said, that he has πλήρωμα, a *Fulness* of the *Deity*, but τὸ πλήρωμα, the *Fulness* thereof. But, as if it were not enough to say the *Fulness*, by way of *Eminence*, it is called πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα, all the *Fulness*. Besides, it is not said, that this *All-Fulness* of the *Deity* lodgeth in Christ, but the very contrary ; that, κατοικεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ, it dwelleth in him, as in its proper House, Seat, or Repository. And all this is still more considerable, because it is added, that the *All-Fulness* of the *Deity* or *Godhead* dwells in Christ σωματικῶς, bodily, or as some render it, substantially or really. However the meaning is, that this *All-Fulness* of the *Deity* dwells in the Man Jesus Christ, after a quite other manner, than that wherein he was said to dwell in the *Tabernacle* and *Temple* of old, which was *Emblematically* and *Efficiently* only. Besides, that

we are given thus to understand, that this All-Fulness is not to be considered, under the Notion of a *general and universal Presence or Providence* only; for so it is every where: Nor under the Idea of a *special Efficiency of the Spirit*; for so God dwelleth in his Saints. But we are to understand it of a real and proper Inhabitation, and such as denotes a true personal Union, in the Sense I formerly gave of this, *viz.* such a one as is peculiar and appropriate to the *Logos*, in Conjunction with the Man Jesus, with whom he has united himself. However, upon the whole, we see what *Pleonasm* the Apostle makes use of, as if he could never lay force and weight enough upon the Words he uses, as expressive of this great Truth.

And indeed, as this is a most glorious Truth, so also a most useful and practical One. But I must put a Restraint upon my Pen here, and leave the practical Prosecution and Improvement of this Subject, both in this and the following Respects, to Mens own Thoughts.

(2.) The *Fulness of Angels* is laid up in Christ likewise.

This is equally asserted, in the very next Verse to the former, *viz.* Col. 2. 10. where Christ is said to be *the Head of all Principality and Power*. For that the Apostle means the Angels here, is plain from the Scope of the Context, and particularly from *ver.* 18. where he prohibits Men from worshipping them. Which can never be meant of Evil Angels; seeing no Seducer could be so ridiculous, as to press Men to worship them; and it is plain, that the Apostle speaks of those prophetically, who, out of a pretended Humility, would have us not to come to God immediately, but thro' the Intervention of Angels and other holy Spirits, as the Papists do at this Day.

Now it is not Christ, as *God*, that is said to be the *Head of Angels*, but Christ as *Loganthropos*; seeing the Connexion shews us this. And indeed it had been no matter of great Observation or Remark, to have told

us, that Christ, as God, was Head of Angels. But to tell us that *He*, who is known now by the Name of Jesus Christ, *in whom* the All-Fulness of the Deity dwells *bodily*, and *in whom* we are said to be *Compleat*: To tell us, I say, that this Person is the Head of Angels, is indeed wonderful.

But yet it is no more wonderful than true. For we are told, 1. That *Christ has obtained a more excellent Name than the Angels*, Heb. 1. 4, 5. for none of them was ever personally united to the *Logos*, as the Man Christ is. 2. That he has obtain'd a more *excellent Ministry and Office* than they, as being the superior Ruler over them and all things. See Heb. 1. 7, 8. 3. That he is exalted now in Heaven far above them, they being oblig'd to own, serve, and worship him; see Heb. 1. 14. Phil. 2. 9, 10. 1 Pet. 3. 22.

And, seeing this is the Case of Angels, in Relation to Christ, as their Head, as well as ours; we come immediately to be apprized of the Reason of every thing, that is spoken of them in the New Testament. As, for Example, we understand, 1. Whence it is, that the World of Angels, and holy Spirits above, are represented to us, as making up one Family, together with the Saints on Earth, under the Headship of Christ, as the general and common *Pater Familias*, or Master of the same Family, which is partly glorified and triumphant above, as it is, in Part also, exercised and militant on Earth, see Eph. 3. 15. 2. We see, also, how it comes to pass, that we that are yet Militant on Earth, are said to *be come unto*, or advanc'd so, as to belong unto *the innumerable Company of Angels*, and to *the Spirits of just Men made perfect*, Heb. 12. 22, 23. 3. We see also, why our Lord teaches us to argue and pray, with a Relation to them of the *Paradical Society*; and that therefore we are taught thus to plead, *That God's Will may be so done on Earth, as it is done in Heaven*, Matth. 6. 10. 4. We see likewise, how justly the Angels are characterized, as being *all of them ministring Spirits, sent out for them who*

shall be Heirs of Salvation, Heb. 1. 14. for they are all under the Command of the Great Angel of the Covenant, and are canton'd out, as he pleaseth, as it were, in so many Camps, about them that fear God, to deliver them. No wonder then, if they own themselves to be the Fellow-Servants of the Saints on Earth, Rev. 19, 20. & Chap. 22. 9. 5. Nay, we need not wonder to find the Angels represented, as so very desirous to look into, and be acquainted with the Affairs that relate to the Gospel and Gospel-Church; as we find they are said to be, 1 Pet. 1. 12. Nor, 6. Need we wonder, that they learn some new Lessons daily, from Christ's Conduct, in Relation to his People on Earth, with Respect to whom they themselves are so variously employ'd; and that, upon this Account, we should be told, that *the manifold Wisdom of God is made known to the Principalities and Powers, in heavenly Places, by the Church*, Eph. 3. 10. And, 7. It needs yet be less wondred at, that the Messengers of Christ here on Earth, who are sent to Men with his Message, and upon his Errands, should sometimes be honour'd with the Name of Angels, seeing that Word denotes no more than the Word Messengers does, tho' most commonly appropriated to the heavenly Spirits, see Rev. 1. 20. 8. Nor needs it sound hard or oddly to us, that the Angels are represented, not only to be ignorant of some things, as we see, Matt. 24. 36. Mark 13. 32. but to be, in some Sense, in a State of Trial, as well as we, seeing they are said sometimes to be charged, by their great Master, with Folly, Job 4. 18. 9. Nor is there Reason to wonder, why the Angels are spoken of as careful Inspectors of what relates to Christians, ever since the Incarnation of Christ; and that sometimes Arguments are drawn from thence, to ingage us to a sincere, modest, and circumspect Behaviour. See 1 Tim. 3. 16. Chap. 5. 21. 1 Cor. 4. 9. Chap. 11. 10. 10. Nor yet need we wonder, if good Men, at the Resurrection, shall become equal to the Angels, or the Angels Equals, Luke 20. 36. Nay, in a Word, there is nothing said of the Angels, or in
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Reference to them, in all the Bible, but becomes intelligible and easie to be understood, by what we have said, or rather hinted, concerning Christ's Relation to them, and his Headship, as *Loganthropos* and Redeemer, over them; especially if the Reader call to mind, what I said concerning the Soul of the Messiah, when I treated of Christ's Incarnation, in the 5th Chapter; which I was not willing to come over again in this. However, from thence we see the Foundation of my asserting, agreeably with the Strain of the Scripture, that the *Fulness of Angels dwells in Christ*. And, if this be so, we may much more easily apprehend the next Head.

(3.) The *Fulness of Men* is also laid up in Christ.

I have, in some sort, prevented my self, as to this Head, by what I have so frequently touch'd upon, in several Parts of this Book. Upon which Account, and that this is so obvious, in it self, I need say little unto it here.

Nor need I go further, than the same Text I have been upon, with Respect to the former Heads. For, as the Apostle asserts, *Col. 2. 9.* That *the All-fulness of the Godhead dwells in Christ bodily*, or in him, as he is now become Man; and *ver. 10.* that he is the Head of Principality and Power: So he does, in the same 10th Verse, assert, that *we Men are compleat in him*, who is our Head also; a Phrase of equivalent Force, with the former Assertions, tho the Objects of this Reference are different from the others.

But, as I said, I have so far prevented my self, upon this Head, that I have hardly left any thing to be said here. For I have demonstrated, 1. That Christ was as real a Man, as any ever was; 2. That he had Human Nature to the same Perfection, that *Adam* had, in his State of Innocence; 3. That he exerted Human Reason, and Human Nature, to the utmost Perfection, in all his Management and Conduct; 4. That he was the Patron and second Federal Head of Men; 5. That he had the Fulness of Men in him, as he was intrusted

with the whole Concerns of Men, both for Time and Eternity ; 6. Nay that, in this Case, he acted as much, as the only Man, as if there had been no other, in the World, but himself, pursuing the Common Good of Men, when all others either opposed it, or had deserted it ; 7. That he did not only act thus, but with such Success, as to promote the general Good, by laying a new Plan for the same, by what he both did and suffer'd ; 8. That he had the Fulness of Men in him, even with Respect to their several Stations and outward Circumstances in the World, and that in so strange a manner, that even the opposite States did equally meet and center with him. For, as he was the rightfulest and the truest Prince and Sovereign, that ever was in the World : So he was likewise the most perfect Subject and Servant ; demonstrating himself the most dutiful Child to his Parents, *Luke 2. 51.* the most obedient Subject to the Rulers that then were ; not only to the Pharisees and other *Jewish* Doctors, in as far as they sat in *Moses* his Seat, *Luke 23. 2.* and consequently to the Priests and other *Jewish* Rulers ; but even to *Herod* and *Pilate*, tho' Usurpers, and to the *Roman* Laws, Customs and Authority, in civil Things, which he evidenc'd in paying the Tribute Money demanded then ; as well as to the *Mosaical* Laws, in a constant Attendance, at their Festivals. Nay, he paid that Respect to his Forerunner, *John Baptist*, and the Authority by which he acted, that he would be baptized by him ; giving this elevated, comprehensive, and memorable Reason, that *thus it became them two* (and therefore certainly all others) *to fulfil all Righteousness.* And how true a Master, Teacher, Countryman and Friend he was, and how careful of his Mother, when he himself was upon the Cross, I think needs not be insisted upon here. He was a Free-Man, if ever there was any, and yet he acted from such a generous and comprehensive Humility, as to become the Servant of all. He was rich, and yet, in another Sense, one of the poorest Men that ever was ; living by the voluntary Contribution
and

and Charity of those, who appear not to have been rich themselves, *Luke 8. 3.* And, 9. I have said enough to shew, that the Fulness of Men was lodg'd in Him, in Point of Office, as well as in Relation to various Circumstances. For I have demonstrated him to have been Patriarch, King, Prophet, Priest, Legislator, Redeemer, Mediator, Surety, Judge, Physician, Apostle, Angel or Messenger, Shepherd, Bishop or Pastor, Teacher, Minister or Servant, &c. 10. And as Christ died, as one for all Men, *2 Cor. 5. 14.* So we have shew'd, that he went to Heaven, in our Stead, and for our Sake, as our Fore-runner, Provider, Intercessor, Guardian, &c. In all which Respects, the Fulness of the Human Nature, or the Fulness of Men, is seen to dwell in Jesus Christ, as the common Repository. And now having spoken to this Third Fulness, that is laid up in Christ, as well as to the former; I find my self led forward to consider and shew,

2dly. How Christ bears a Relation to us, as he is the Common Repository, wherein all these Three Sorts of Fulnesses do meet, as in a Common Center, and are laid up as in a Common Treasury?

Now, tho the general Assertion, *Col. 1. 19.* and the Three particular ones, *Col. 2. 9, 10.* and what I have said upon them, and from them, may be justly suppos'd to lay a full and strong Foundation, as to this Second Inquiry; which does indeed naturally, and, as it were, necessarily depend upon, and follow from the former: Yet I shall not grudge to lay a more immediate Foundation, as to this second Point, if it were only, because, this way I shall lead the Minds of my Readers, into a further View of scriptural Divinity, with respect to one of the most weighty and useful Points thereof. But, to avoid Prolixity, I shall only mention two Passages of Scripture, as Fundamental of what I have to say upon this Head.

The (1.) Passage is, that memorable Saying of the Baptist, *John 1. 16.* *And of his Fulness have all we received, and Grace for Grace.*

In order to understand this the better, let us take a short View of the Context. In *ver.* 1, and 2. the Eternity and Divinity of Christ, as the *Logos*, is asserted. In *ver.* 3. he is represented as the immediate Creator of all things. In *ver.* 4, and 5. He is represented, as the Supreme and Universal Good of Men; from whom they have derived all their Life and all their Light. In *ver.* 6—9. his being the true Messiah is asserted, and that the Baptist was no more than his Deputy-Usher; and particularly, that he came into the World, not as *Moses*, to enlighten a particular Nation, but to enlighten all Men of all Nations. In *ver.* 10, it is asserted, that he had ruled the whole World of Men, before his Coming, tho they knew it not. In *ver.* 11. That he evidenc'd a particular regard to the Jews above all other Nations; and that he was very ill rewarded by them for his doing so. In *ver.* 12, it is asserted, that notwithstanding the ill Treatment he received from Men, yet that he kindly received all those that believed in him, entitling them to the Name and Privileges of the Sons of God; and of them a Description is given, *ver.* 13. In *ver.* 14. no less than four Great Things are summ'd up in a few Words; *viz.* That he was incarnate; That he dwelt among Men as an Inhabitant of this lower World; That he was visibly transfigured into the likeness of the *Shechinah*, of which *John* was an Eye-witness; and that he comprehended in him All-Fulness, or an All-Sufficiency, both of Grace and Truth. In *ver.* 15. his Preference before the Baptist, with the Reason thereof, taken from his Pre-existence from Eternity, are mention'd. ——— Then follows the Words of our Text. ——— An Illustration of the meaning of which is added in the Sequel of this account of Christ. Where, in *ver.* 17. he is preferr'd before *Moses* the Law-giver, as being the Giver and Bestower both of Grace and Truth. And then in *ver.* 18. he is represented to be the only Son of God, in a Sense appropriable to no Creature besides; as also that he was the only Person, that

that had seen God himself; and that was even then, as *Logos*, in the *Bosom of the Father*, a Title peculiar to the Messiah; and likewise that he was the only Discoverer of him to Men.

Now, these things being briefly hinted, in relation to Christ's Fulness, in reference to Men; let us consider, that our Text in *ver. 16.* contains such a General Assertion as takes in all that had been said before concerning Christ, as well as what is added in *ver. 17,* and *18.* For whatever be the meaning of the 2^d Part of *John's* Words, *ver. 16.* when he says, that we have received $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\mu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$, even *Grace for Grace*, or, and *Grace for Grace*; yet still the first General Assertion can admit of no Limitation, especially if we consider the things instanc'd in, in the other Verses. So that both *John* the Baptist, and *John* the Evangelist, do by a Divine Afflatus, sum up all in this General, when they say, *And of his Fulness have we all received*, or rather, according to the Greek, *and out of his Fulness have we all received*, i. e. both we and all Men; that is, all they that either were or are, and all that they either did or do partake of, have proceeded out of the Fulness that is in Christ. And then, it is added, *and Grace for Grace*; which I think may be well understood, by way of Exposition of the former General, rather than of Limitation of it. For I think the meaning is this; even Grace in such a manner, as to answer unto that Grace that is treasur'd up in Christ for us. So that, as Christ had the Spirit without Measure, and Grace without Limitation; he has demonstrated himself, this way, not only to have been the true Messiah, by his dispensing of this Grace to Men, but has done so, in such a copious Manner, as to shew that whatever Men have received, they have had immediately from himself. For I take not Grace here, in a narrow and limited Sense, so as only to denote this or the other thing, that may come under this Name, but universally for whatever is gratuitously bestowed upon Men; as indeed all things are, tho' not with the same Peculiarity. But, as I said, let the mean-

ing of this latter Part be what it will : still it is certain, that the first Part of the Text is unlimited ; which is that only, which I am to consider here directly.

And therefore let us branch this out into Particulars, and we shall find,

1. That it is out of the Fulness of Christ, that Men, and indeed all things, have received Being. This is certain, because he was the Creator of all things, and specially of Men, *Joh. 1. 3, 10.*

2. That it was out of Christ's Fulness, that Life was bestowed on some Beings, particulary upon Men, *ver. 4.*

3. That it was out of the same Fulness, that Men were endow'd with the Light of Reason, and that they had so many Notices of the Divine Mind, under their various Dispensations, in order to increase and brighten the same, *ver. 5, 9.* — So that this and the former Particulars shew, that Christ is the Supreme Good of Men. — And therefore it is shewed, that he was not the Light of one Nation only, as *Moses* was, but of all Men, (tho he made the first Offers to the Jews, *ver. 11.*) and that the Baptist was no more than his Usher this way.

4. That it is out of Christ's Fulness that Men attain to know the *Truth* clearly and fully, seeing he is full of *Truth* as well as *Grace*, *ver. 14.* and seeing *Truth* as well as *Grace* is said to be given or dispensed by him, *ver. 17.* in Contradistinction to *Moses*, who was only the Giver-forth of the subservient *Law* of the Jews, as is said, *Ibid.* — And, as an Evidence of Christ's being the sole Dispenser of all *Truth*, it is added, in particular, that it is he only that is the Discoverer of the God of *Truth* ; the Being and Perfections of whom is the Sum, as well as Foundation of all *Truth*, *ver. 18.* And in all these respects Christ is often called the *Truth* emphatically.

5. That it is out of his Fulness, that *Grace*, which is the inseparable Companion of the *Truth* spoken of, is likewise dispensed. See *ver. 14, 16, 17.*

6. That

6. That it is out of Christ's Fulness, that Men come to be capable of injoying God, and that, for this end they are converted and born again, after the Will of God, and intitled to the Character and Benefits of the adopted Sons of God, *ver. 12, 13.*

So that there is nothing, that any Man ever had, has, or can have, by way of Mercy, Qualification, or Privilege; but what is dispensed out of the Fulness that is in Christ, and that is laid up there for us: Let us therefore consider Man which way we will, we shall still find, that he is this way only to be supplied.

For, 1. If we consider him, as a Reasonable Creature; his Happiness, as such, stands in knowing the Truth: And Christ is the Sum of this, and the only Dispenser thereof to us.

2. If we consider Man as a guilty Creature; our Saviour is his only Fulness, in point of Merit, *Who was delivered for our Offences, and rose again for our Justification,* Rom. 4. 25.

3. If we consider Man, as sinfully impure, who can bring a clean thing out of such an unclean one, but God; And sure no other Method did God ever take to do this, than in and thro' Christ.

4. If we consider Man, as an impotent Creature; is it not in and thro' Christ, that we are *strengthened with all Might,* to do God's Will? *Col. 1. 10, 11.*

5. If we consider Man, as a needy Creature; Is it not thro' *Jesus Christ only that God supplies his Wants,* Phil 4. 19.

6. If we consider Man, as a Rebel and an Apostate Creature; Is it not thro' Christ only, that *Men are turned from Darkness unto Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God?* Acts 26. 18. And, for this end, is not Christ represented, as the *only Way to God, as well as the Truth and the Life?* John 14. 6. And is it not he, that restores us again to the Image of God, which we lost by the Fall, effecting this Change by his Word and Spirit?

Spirit? *Rom.* 8. 29. *1 Cor.* 15. 49. and *Col.* 3. 10. compared with *2 Cor.* 4. 4. *Col.* 1. 15. and *Heb.* 1. 3.

7. If we consider Man, as made for and capable of Happiness and Glory, and consider him therefore in relation to his last End, and highest Perfection; Who can raise him to these, from his present degenerate and miserable State? None surely but Christ. And here, let it be remembred, that as Christ's Death, Resurrection and Ascension, lay the Foundation of this; so it is pleasant to think, 1. That the Glory of the Souls of Men; (in case they be faithful to Christ as the Glorified Head of Men, and consequently to themselves) is inseparably connected with the Glory of Christ's Soul in Heaven; 2. That the Glory of his Body is the Foundation of the future Glory of our Bodies; and, 3. That the Glory of Men, after the Resurrection, which is now virtually founded on the Exaltation of the Man Jesus, will be actually accomplish'd and finish'd by Virtue of the Man Christ's being then compleatly rewarded and declared to have fully finish'd all that God gave him in Trust, with respect to Men. And, upon the same account, and thro' the Intervention of this same Glorified Head of Human Nature, shall Good Men, thro' Eternity, be admitted to see and enjoy God.

Now, it is easy to see, how full and comprehensive these Hints are; and how fully they answer the 2^d Inquiry. But seeing I propos'd to propose one Passage of Scripture more, as Fundamental likewise of what I had to say on this Head, I cannot forbear to mention it here also.

The (2.) Passage is that in *1 Cor.* 1. 30. *Where Christ is said to be made of God to us, Wisdom, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption.*

These four Privileges, if taken in their full Signification, include or suppose all I mention'd before. For what can that Man want, who is, in all respects, Wise, Righteous, Holy and Happy.

Now,

Now, as all Good Men are intitl'd to these, in the highest and utmost respects, that their Natures can allow of ; and as they do, even in this Life, partake of them, in higher or lower degrees : So it is plainly asserted, that all these are made over to us, in and thro' Christ.

They, (as Dr. *Whitby* says here) that explain the whole force of the Word *made* here, by that of *Imputation*, and say that Christ was made our Righteousness by his Righteousness imputed to us, have the same Reason to say also, that he is made our Wisdom by his Wisdom, our Sanctification by his Holiness, and our Redemption and Happiness, by his Redemption and Happiness imputed to us.

For my own part, it is plain to me, that by Christ's being *made these to us*, is meant his being constituted the *Author* and *Dispenser* of them. And in this Sense,

1. Out of his Fulness, we come to partake of the Revelation of the Gospel, and that not only in Theory, but according to inward Experience and spiritual Sensation.
2. And thus also we come to be *justified, from all things, from which Men could not be justified by the Law of Moses, Acts 13. 39.* For in and thro' Christ only we attain to the Pardon of our Sins, and to be accepted as Righteous in God's Sight, through Faith; the Law being incapable to afford us these Privileges, *Gal. 2. 21. and 3. 21.* And, 3. In this Sense, we come to be sanctified ; Christ having not only procured this for us, but also working it in us, by his Spirit. So that we come, this way, not only to partake of an external and relative Holiness, but of a true, spiritual and internal one, *Eph. 4. 24.* And, in like manner, 4. Christ is the Author of Redemption to us, even Eternal Redemption, from the servitude of Sin and Satan, and at length from Death, and all the Consequents of Sinning, vindicating us into the *Glorious Liberty of the Sons of God, Rom. 8. 21, 23.* And seeing this ends in Consummate Happiness, I thought fit to join Redemption and Happiness together, that the one might explain the other.

And

And thus we see, how *all the Promises of God are Yea and Amen in Christ*, 2 Cor. 1. 20. (an Assertion that might be improv'd the same way as the two former, had I not said enough already to clear this Point;) And that all the Blessings that ever Men did partake of, or can partake of, are dispensed to us by God so, that we receive them out of Christ's Fulness. I proceed therefore to the next Grand Relation that Christ bears to us.

II. Our Blessed Saviour is likewise represented to us in Scripture, under the Notion of the *Grand Medium*, in and thro' whom only God and Men do, or can meet, in order to have Intercourse and Communion.

And here, in order to confine and tye my self up to Brevity, I shall only consider one Passage of Scripture, that lays a Foundation of this. It is that, 1 Cor. 3. 21, 22, 23. *Let no Man glory in Men: For all things are yours. Whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas; or the World, or Life, or Death; or things present, or things to come. All are yours. And ye are Christ's: And Christ is God's.*

These Words consist, 1. Of a Dehortation; *Let no Man glory in Men*; i. e. so as to idolize them, or trust in them, or in any thing Human. And this Dehortation, or Thing dehorted from, is so much the more to be regarded; because, tho it be sinful to do so; nay tho there be a Curse pronounced on all them that do so, Jer. 17. 5. Yet it is so natural, that almost all Men run more or less into this Evil; some trusting in Men for a Maintenance, so as wholly to forget God; some in Great Men, for Places, Honours, Riches, &c. some in themselves, their own Parts, their Grandeur, Riches, Strength, &c. nay some pinning their very Faith and Religion, on this or the other Learned Man, or his Books, or upon the Creeds, Confessions or Professions of their several Parties. 2. Of a Reason assigned for this Dehortation, which takes up the rest of the Text, and of which I am only to treat here.

Now this Reason consists of two Parts, *viz.* 1. An Assertion; *All things are yours, &c.* 2. The Foundation or Ground of this Assertion, or the Truth asserted; *and ye are Christ's, &c.* Of both which I shall discourse something: tho' the latter of these is what only concerns my present Design, directly and immediately. However the first is likewise a Truth of great Usefulness: And therefore seeing I find them so closely connected here, I shall not separate or divide them.

1st. Therefore, We have a Great Truth asserted, to be duly considered. In speaking to which, I shall keep close to the Apostle's Method, which is very nice and exact. For, 1. He gives us this Truth in general: and then, 2. He does, as it were, parcel it out, by a sort of Retail, into Particulars.

(1.) I say, he gives us this Truth, in general, as it were by the Lump, or by Wholesale. Which is so much the more observable, because he asserts it *twice*, as if he would have us to believe it the more certainly, because it is doubled, according as *Joseph's* Words were of old to *Pharaoh*, *Gen. 41. 32.* for we have these words, [*All things are yours*] both before and after the Particulars following.

We are not certainly to understand this Assertion, in the Sense of the old Sect of *Levellers*, as if all temporal Things belong'd to the Saints, in point of Civil Property. And therefore we can much less fall in with the *Papists*, a worse and more dangerous Tribe of *Levellers*; who pretend from hence, not only that private Men, but even Princes and Nations, if they be what they call *Heretical*, have no Right to their Estates and Properties, but that all is the Church's Patrimony, to be seized on, forsooth, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, and they excommunicated and deprived of them, *ob majus bonum Ecclesiæ.*

But the meaning is certainly to be understood in a spiritual Sense; *viz.* as they are Means and Helps, in the hands of Divine Providence, to promote our Holiness and Usefulness; whether they be Ministers, Ordinances, or Providential Dispensations; as is plain from

from the Particulars instanc'd in, as we shall quickly see: Therefore,

(2.) Let us consider how this General is branched forth, as they are summ'd up in this Gospel-Charter; and we shall find, that they are brought under a Three-fold Class or Head, and each of them stamp'd and mark'd out, with a Note of Universality: After this Manner;

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. All Persons | } Are Yours. |
| 2. All Things | |
| 3. All Dispensations and Events | |

(1.) *All Persons are Yours.* And here, seeing it had been endless to have run out into a long Catalogue of Names; Three are only mention'd, instead of all others. And indeed, as three is a Number of Perfection, never could there have been a wiser Choice made; whether we consider their Characters as to their Offices, their peculiar Relations, as to the Exercise of their Offices, as to the Honours conferr'd upon them, or as to their Personal Qualifications.

For, 1. If they be considered, in Relation to their Offices; two of them were Apostles, and the other an Evangelist. And as to the two Apostles, there was this Difference, that *Peter* was called early to that Office, at the beginning of Christ's publick appearing among Men: Whereas *Paul* was called to that Office last of all, and after Christ was ascended to Heaven.——So that this denotes, that whatever Differences there may be as to the several Offices, to which Men are called; and whatever Differences there may be, as to their being call'd sooner or later to these, or under these or other different Circumstances: Still the main Design of all these Persons, is the edifying the Body of Christ, &c. as the Apostle shews at large, and very emphatically, *Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13, &c.*

2. If we consider them, in Relation to the peculiar Appropriation of their Office, as to the Exercise thereof; then

then we find, that *Peter* was the Apostle of the *Jews*, together with the rest of the Twelve; *Paul* the Apostle of the *Gentiles*, together with *Barnabas*; and *Apollos*, an Assistant to them all, tho' most immediately to the Latter.—Which shews, that the culling Men out, to particular Services, and with Respect to different Places and Persons, is likewise calculated for the general Good of the Church.

3. The peculiar Marks of Honour that God put on these Men, were likewise very different. *Peter* is always mark'd the First in all the Catalogues of the Apostles; had the Honour, at first, to confound the *Jewish* Council, together with *John*; and, with him, to suffer Shame for the Name of Christ; was the first that preach'd to the *Gentiles*, &c. *Paul* was honour'd to labour more abundantly than all the Apostles, to convert most Souls, to have the largest Province of Action, to found most Churches, to suffer most, and to have the most eminent Hand in the Canon of the New Testament, superior to all the Apostles, excepting *John*, with whom, in this Point, he hangs so in *Equilibrium*, that I shall not venture to give the Preference to either of them, tho' I incline rather to give it to *John* than to him. *Apollos* was inferior to both, but eminent in Humility, a rare thing in a popular Preacher, to be willing to be instructed by two private Christians, *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, and one of them a Woman; and eminently honour'd also, by his being so eminent and ready in the Scriptures, as to confound the *Jews* this way.

4. And, as for the several Qualifications of these Men; *Paul's* Excellency stood, in a solid Judgment, and deep and profound Learning; *Apollos's*, in being a Man of a ready Wit and Memory, which made him both a good Textualist and Eloquent Preacher; and *Peter's*, in his being a plain, blunt, zealous and active Man.—So that, in these Men, we see, as in a Glass, what are the principal Qualifications of a Minister, as such, especially if these Three meet, in any one

one Man, in any eminent Degree ; which, I confess, is rare. It might justly be said of this Ternary, what was given, by way of Character of *Calvin*, *Viret* and *Farell*, Three eminent Ministers of *Geneva*, that *nemo docuit Doctius*, none taught more learnedly than *Calvin* ; and that *nemo peroravit suavius*, none preach'd more sweetly than the Second ; and that *nemo tonuit fortius*, none thunder'd more forcibly than the other.—And this may be one Reason, why *Paul* ranks himself first here, and *Peter* last, *viz.* because this is the natural Order, wherein these Qualifications run ; for Learning and Judgment ought to go first, Eloquence follow, and Fervor accompany both. And therefore, justly does (b) *Austin* teach, that a Preacher has Three things to mind, *viz.* *Docere, Suadere & Persuadere*, to Teach, to Attract, and to Perswade. Learning is necessary to the First, Eloquence to the Second, and Fervor to the Third.—But there might be a higher Reason than this, *viz.* to let us know, that *Peter* was not so high in *Paul's* Esteem, or those of that Age, as the Papists pretend now he was. But to go on,

(2.) *All things are Yours.* Now these are enumerated thus ; 1. *The World*, 2. *Life*, 3. *Death*.

1. *The World is all Yours*, *i. e.* as I principally understand it, the *Natural World*. For this was made at first for Man's Use. But, since the Fall, the Saints are the only Persons that make a right Use thereof ; and consequently, as they only have a true spiritual Title thereunto ; so it is for their Sakes, that the World is continued ; which will then come to its final Period, when God's Work about them is perfected.

And hence it is, that all things in the World are directed or over-rul'd so, as to serve their Interests. For, 1. The Political World is for them ; and Order and Government, in its native Design, is for them. 2. Much more the Ecclesiastical World, (if I may call it so,)

(b) De Doctr. Christ. Lib. 4. Cap. 17, 18, &c.

for this is the very Design of all the Christian Institution and Ministry, and the Government and Discipline of the Church, as we are expressly told, *1 Cor.* 4. 1 — 5. but more clearly and fully, *Eph.* 4. 7, 8 — 11, &c. 3. The Angelical World is intirely on the Churches Side. 4. And, tho the Diabolical World be directly against us, in Design, yet even the Infernal Angels are over-rul'd so, as that their Designs are made to serve God's Ends more than their own. 5. And so are wicked Men, in this present World; infomuch, that their very Plots and Contrivances against us, nay their very Rage and Persecution, are made use of to their own Confusion, and the Good of the Saints. This may be seen in the Persecution of the *Egyptians* against the *Israelites*, and indeed in all others since. Never certainly was any thing more wicked and barbarous, than the *Jews* Treatment of Christ: And yet even this was over-rul'd so, as to be productive of the greatest and best Good and Advantage, that ever the Saints were made Partakers of. But I must not expatiate.

2. *Life is Yours.* For had it not been for Christ's Undertaking, and that he has a peculiar People in the World, the old Threatning had taken Place, and Mankind had been long before now extirpated.

Life is a valuable thing, 1. As it is a Market-Time for receiving Good, and a Season of sowing to the Spirit, in a Reference to, and Prospect of the State of Rewards: 2. As it is a Season of doing Good, in those Respects, that even the State of Happiness is not; such as that of supplying the Wants of the Afflicted and Miserable, and of being beneficial to the Souls of those that stand in Need of Advice and Encouragement.

And, in both these Respects, the Life of a good Man is his own, by a Specialty, so as the Lives of wicked Men are not. For then only can we reckon our Lives our own, when we live as Men, according to Reason, and as Christians, according to Revelation.

Whereas Wicked Men, who are hurried on by Satan, Temptation and Lust, can never be said to have their Life their own; no more than a Gally-Slave can be said to be at Liberty, or to have his Life at his own Disposal.

Now, as good Mens Life is their own, so the Life of others is directed or over-ruled for their Good, especially the more eminent Instruments that God makes use of, in the World, for a publick Advantage. *Paul's* Desire was to die, but for the Churches sake he was oblig'd to check his noble Ambition, *Phil. 1. 23,*

24.

But spiritual Life here, is the immediate End of the temporal Life of good Men, with a Reference to eternal Life, as the chief end thereof.

O, let us value these in this Conjunction and Connexion; and therefore let temporal Life be improved for such ends, that both that and spiritual Life may grow up towards Life eternal.

3. *Death is Yours.* The Connexion of this with the former is remarkable. For, if Life be not ours, neither can Death be ours. But, where to live is Christ, Death will be Gain.

Strange! That Death, the grand Enemy of Nature, and the Effect of the Curse, should be ours! But Death, to the Saints, is another thing now, than once it was. Of old *ἡ βασιλευσα*, *He play'd the King*, *Rom. 5. 17.* which was ever since the Fall. But *the Sting of Death being Sin*, *1 Cor. 15. 56.* where that is pardon'd, Death is harmless, see *Rom. 5. 12.* So that Death now is Christ's Messenger, and consequently the Servant of the Saints. And as therefore we can now say, thro' Faith, O Death, where is thy Sting or thy Scepter, &c. so we await the Time, when a final End will be put to this last Enemy, *1 Cor. 15. 24, &c.*

In the mean time, we have these great Advantages by Death, as it is Christ's Servant, and under his Command and Conduct, *viz.* that it uncloaths us of our Rags; puts an end to Sin and Sorrow; sets us clear out

out of Satan's Reach ; brings us Christ's Pass for Heaven ; and ushers in eternal Life, as being the Eve of our Birth-day into Glory ; which, tho' it be accompanied, frequently, with severe Pangs and Throws, yet these are soon forgotten, when once we come to be born into the better World. So that Death is the Saint's great Friend, tho' disguis'd like an Enemy, and is a Messenger of great Comfort, tho' apparel'd in Mourning. And thus, better is the Day of a good Man's Death, than the Day of his Birth, *Ecc. 7. 1.*

Let us not therefore sorrow immoderately for them that die in the Lord, nor fear Death our selves, in a fervile manner.

But let us prepare for Death, and arm our selves against the Fear thereof. And, in order to this, let us labour to grow in Holiness and Diligence, and be ever upon our Watch, whilst we are surrounded with so many Temptations and Trials.

(3.) *All Dispensations and Events are Yours.* These are reduc'd to two Sorts, viz. *Things present*, and *Things to come.*

1. *Things Present*, or present Dispensations and Events ; whether publick or private. 1. *Publick* ; whether Peace or War ; Plots and Designs of Enemies ; Folly or Weakness of Friends ; Alterations in Church or State ; Successes, or Disappointment of Enterprizes. Or, 2. *Private* ; whether Health or Sicknes ; good or ill Report ; Prosperity or Adversity ; Presence or Absence of Friends ; their Life or Death ; Storms or Calms, &c.

2. *Things to Come* ; whether future Changes, in our own or others State, whether in publick or private Affairs ; future Time, and the Remainder of our own Life, which is then ours, when we improve it aright ; Death and the State that follows it ; for if Death part two old Friends for a Time, the Soul and Body, it joyns better Friends together, Christ and the Soul ; the future Judgment, even as to others, (the Wicked I mean)

mean) as well as themselves, by reason of the unriddling of Providence this way; and the eternal and compleat Happiness, at the Resurrection, and for ever after, in the whole Man, Soul and Body being united.

So that a good Man is as sure, in the Main, of the Time to come, as the Time present. For as Christ, his Head, is all things to him now; so he is the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the same to Day, Yesterday, and for ever. But now I proceed to the Second and Principal Head; which is in the latter Part of our Text.

2dly. The *Foundation* and *Ground* of the Truth asserted, is next to be considered, as it is included in these few, but comprehensive Words; *And ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's*. The Connexion of which Words, with the former, is this. All things are Christ's, because He is God's. We are Christ's, by a Specialty, viz. by a close and spiritual Marriage, Union and Relation. And therefore all things are ours.

But, to present the Reader with a further View of this divine and wonderful Chain of Things; let him observe the Connexion of these Four Things, viz.

1. The Universe, or All Things.
2. The Saints, or the Church.
3. Christ, as *Loganthropos*.
4. God as the Supream of All.

And then let him consider the Three Links, by which these Four are connected.

1. The Universe is represented, as the Possession or Property of the Saints.
2. The Saints, as Christ's Property and Possession.
3. Christ, as God's Property and Portion, in an immediate Sense.

But then, upon a closer View, he will find, that these Three Links terminate in, and are reducible to two; and that by the Intervention of the two middle Things, the two Extreams are only cemented. Thus God and the Universe come to be related, by the Intervention

intervention of Christ and the Saints. For because of Christ's Relation to his Church, as well as unto his Father, and by reason of the Saints Relation, both to Christ and the World; God and the Universe come also to be connected.

And yet, when we have thought once more, we find that the Stress of all this Relation, and Connexion, leans but upon one Link, and that is Christ, as he is related to all the other Three; to God, as He is the *Logos*; to the Universe, as its Framer and Ruler; and to the Saints, as the special Head and Saviour.

So that if we descend by the same Steps, by which we ascended, we find our Minds directed thus to run on.

1. God is the Head of Christ, as Mediator.
2. Christ is the Head of all Men, in a general Sense; but more specially of the Saints.
3. And Men therefore, but in a more spiritual Sense the Saints, come, this way, to be Lords of the Universe.

All this is sufficiently asserted, *1 Cor. II. 2. & Eph. 5. 23. The Head of every Man is Christ, ————— He is the Head of the Church, ————— The Head of Christ is God.*

Now, in order to point at (for I pretend to do no more) the many and wonderful Things, that are wrap'd up, in this short and concise, but comprehensive Expression, I propose to do two Things; 1. To consider the Reference, that the Four Things, connected here, bear one to another: And then, 2. To consider, what the main Thing that is pointed at, as the Great Link, and Medium, between God and us.

(1.) I shall take notice of the Reference of each of these, with all the other Three.

And, 1st. To begin with the Top of all; let us consider God, not in himself or abstractly, but relatively, in a Threefold Reference.

1. To Christ, not considered, as the *Logos*, but as *Loganthropos*: In designing him for this Office of

Work; in entering into Contract with him, for this end; in his previous Declarations concerning him; in his sending him actually into the World, in the Fulness of Time; in all his Carriage towards him, during his Humiliation; in his owning and rewarding him afterwards; and in his confirming him Head over the whole World, and specially over the Church, in order to the further carrying on of the Divine Purposes.

2. To the Saints: In approving those that come in to Christ; in his concurring with him to have Men come in; and in Rewarding those that do come in.

3. To the Universe: In putting it into the Hands of Christ, for the Good of the Saints; and in concurring with his and their Endeavours, to make all things work together for their Good.

2dly. Let us consider Christ, in a Reference.

1. To God: As He is sealed (*John* 6. 27.) and commissioned to act as the Patron of Men, in order to save Sinners; as he has the Reigns of Government, this way, put in his Hands, to manage us and all things; and as He acts, in all he does, for God's Honour, the general Benefit of all Creatures, especially such as are capable of Moral Government, and for the eternal Advantage of Men.

2. To the Saints: As he is their Saviour, their Sovereign, their Benefactor, their Patriarch, their Legislator, their Physician, their Intercessor, &c.

Having procured these Privileges by what he did and suffer'd; given them a Claim and Title this way, by his Word and Grace; confirm'd them by the Seal of his Spirit; and carried the same on by his Providence.

3. To the Universe: As He is seated at the Head thereof; actually governs all; and is to put an end to all at length, as to its present Form and Order.

3dly. Let us consider the Saints, in Relation,

1. To God: As He is their First Original; their Supreme Lord; and ultimate Scope and End.

2. To

2. To Christ: As he has engag'd them to himself by innumerable Favours; particularly by his drawing them in to himself, by his Word and Spirit; as well as by their own Choice of him; and by his Restipulation to them again upon their doing so. So that they are his specially, not only as virtually, but actually redeemed; and by a solemn Marriage or Covenant-Union. By which they come under abundance of Relations and Obligations to him: As they are his Servants; his Subjects; his Children; his redeemed Ones; his Friends, &c. All which the Scripture frequently speaks of, and illustrates by many Similitudes.

So that, upon all accounts, we are oblig'd to study Christ more; to be in him, and trust unto him, by giving up our selves intirely to his Conduct; to love him more and more; to be thankful to him, for all he has done; to obey him in all things; and to celebrate his Praise, and promote his Honour.

3. To the Universe: As they are obliged to use all things aright; to do all the good they can, whilst they are in the World, and to those especially that they are called to do good unto, upon the account of Relation or Obligation, in as far as such are capable to receive it from them; and to tune and model the Praises of others, to God and Christ; that either cannot do it themselves as is the case of inferiour Creatures; or that will not do it, as is the case of all wicked Men.

4^{thly}. Let us consider the Universe of Things, in relation,

1. To God: As it did originally proceed from him; as it was design'd ultimately to serve him; and as it does, even now, to all thinking Creatures, shew forth his Praises.

2. To Christ: As he is the immediate Head and Ruler of the World; and as he is appointed to bring Order, at length, out of all the Confusions, that Satan and Sin have brought into the World.

3. To the Saints: As all things are design'd and appointed to serve them, or over-rul'd for their Good; and as

they are to be used by them, according to their several Natures, and joint References to God, Christ and our selves. In order to which, we are to consider them; either, as they are more or less *Representative* of our mediate and immediate Creator and Ruler; or, as they are more or less, *Pledges* of the Father and Son's Love; or, as they are, more or less, *Means* to lead us to the Injoyment of God and Christ. And I suppose these are all the Respects that Creatures have to God, with relation to us, so as to lay a Foundation, this way, of our esteeming and valuing them, in a way of Subordination to the Lord of all, and in a reference thus unto him.

Lo! here are the *Fontes Meditationum*, the Springs of Thought, in order to lead in our Minds both to Divine Contemplation, and Practice. And I leave them, as such, to be consider'd and enlarg'd upon, by the Reader's own Pains: For I must not now enlarge.

(2.) I proceed therefore, to consider the main and principal Thing, that is pointed at here, *viz.* the Great Link or Medium, that is here spoken of, as that by which God is united, in a general Sense, to the World; and, in a more special respect, to the Saints.

But, tho' this be the main thing, I shall satisfy my self to have mention'd it, as plain in it self; without allowing my self to expatiate, as the Matter otherwise requires.

Only let me suggest these few things.

1. That Christ is the *Medium*, by which the Infinite Being and Finite Creatures only can be united: For it is simply impossible, that Infinity and Limitedness (not to mention Moral Incapacity, this way, in both Extremes) could ever unite; if the Medium, that unites them, were not one with both, *i. e.* both Infinite and Limited, tho' in different respects.

2. That Christ is *so* the *Medium* between God and Creatures, as the different Natures of Creatures allow. Whereas therefore there is a vast difference between intelligent Creatures, and those that are altogether void
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of Reason, or so abridg'd this way, that it is hard to determine whether they have any Reason or not: We must necessarily suppose, that Christ is accordingly a Medium between God and them, in a more immediate or mediate, a more direct or oblique Respect.

3. That Christ is the Grand Medium between God and Angels. Which will appear plain to any, that has allow'd himself to consider what I have already said concerning them, especially when I discoursed concerning the Soul of the Messiah, and the Improvement we ought to make thereof. See *Eph.* 1. 20, 21, 22.

4. That he is the Great and only Medium between God and Men, consider'd in general. It was, by Virtue of his Undertaking, that human Race was continued after the Fall. And it is thro' his Intervention, that Men are now salvable: As it was ever thro' him only, that there was any Intercourse kept up between Heaven and Earth, or between God and Men.

5. And it is in and thro' Christ only, that God and good Men come to be united. For God descends to them only thro' Christ. And we can only ascend to him, thro' the same living way.

Having thus suggested these Heads of Contemplation, upon this Great Subject; I shall content my self with the Addition of a few Practical Hints that naturally result hence, and which, I think, are too weighty and useful, to be wholly omitted.

1. Hence we may see the admirable Contrivance of the Gospel; in regard of the Spring and Original thereof, God; in regard of the Great Medium of carrying it on, Christ; in regard of the End, which is God's Honour, in Conjunction with our Good; in regard of Comprehensiveness, as taking in all things; in regard of Security against Want, and all manner of Evil: the first Link here being fasten'd to God Himself, and in Him; and consequently, in regard of Perpetuity or Eternity.

2. Hence we see the Wonderfulness of that peculiar Providence that is over the Church, *viz.* That our Life should

should be the Result of Christ's Death; that his greatest Conquests should result from the lowest Acts of his Humiliation; and that the Saints Victories and Rewards should flow from both these, and from their own Trials and Sufferings, as relative to them, so as to be thus made Conquerors, and more than Conquerors this way.

3. Hence we see the Harmony of Knowledge, Faith, Love and Obedience. What we know, we believe; what we know and believe (as excellent) we love; and Love is the Principle and Sum of Obedience, seeing it is the fulfilling of the Law. And, *vice versa*, upon the other hand, Obedience produces experimental Knowledge, *John* 7. 17. So that this blessed Circle coils round within it self, as the Year does.

4. Hence we see the Strength of the Apostle's Reasoning, *Rom.* 8. 32, &c. *He that spared not his own Son,* &c.

5. Hence we see the End of the Ministry, and indeed of all Christ's Ordinances, *viz.* that the Design of all, is to bring Men in to Christ, and to persuade and engage them to live accordingly.

6. Hence we see, that a good Man is ever a great Man, in a spiritual and divine Sense. Grace enobles the righteous Man, and renders him more excellent than his Neighbour: even then, when he has neither Money nor Credit, he is rich in heavenly Bills and Evidences, and the Approbation of his God; as was *Lazarus*, in spite of all the Contempt put upon him by the *Rich Miser*. A Christian is both Master of what he has, by a right use thereof, and of what he has not, by living above solicitous Desires thereof. What he has, he has with a Divine Blessing, and by a Covenant-Right and Conveyance. Whereas wicked Men have all their Injoyments attended with a Curse; and while they seem to possess the World, they are really its Slaves, and not Masters. The Jews, of old, seem to have had this Notion, That the whole World, and all things therein, were made for their sakes only. And
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we have a plain Vestage of this, in the 2d Book of the Apochryphal *Esdras*, Chap. 6. ver. 55, 56. *All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou madest the World for our sakes. As for the other Nations, who are also descended from Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing, but like Spittle, and may be likened, all the Multitude of them, unto the Drops that fall from a Vessel.* And indeed in how deplorable a Condition were we Gentiles, when we were Aliens from the Commonwealth of *Israel*, Strangers unto the Covenant of Promise, and without God and Christ, and consequently Hope (upon a proper and certain Foundation) in the World. But now Christians may, upon much surer Grounds conclude, (than those the Jews went upon of old) that *all things are theirs*, whereas before we had a Right to nothing.

7. Hence we see, that good Men are free Men, and have noble Freeholds; and therefore two things may be necessarily inferr'd hence. 1. That Arbitrary Government and Slavery are altogether inconsistent with the Christian and Gospel-Charter. And surely, if Bondage, as to Civil Concerns, be inconsistent with that Liberty, with which Christ has made us free: Much more so, is Bondage, in Religious Concerns; of which the Apostle warns us to take care, when he tells those to whom he writes, of *some that came to spy out the Liberty of Christians, in order to bring them under Bondage*, Gal. 2. 4. these Spies being themselves only *under the Elements or Rudiments of Religion*, Gal. 4. 3. And then, 2. We are directed hence to conclude, That Faithfulness to our Master must bear a Proportion to so great an Inheritance and Possession, seeing much will be required of them, to whom much is given. And, in a special manner, Liberality becomes us, in a proportion to what part of our great Estate, in Reversion, God allows us to have in hand: Of which every Man must be a Judge for himself. If therefore we have it not in hand, we can only pray, that our gracious God, who keeps the Purse for us, would be so, and so liberal to them,

enem, for whose Straits we are concern'd. And in this Case; as in others of the same kind, God will accept a *ready Mind*, for the Deed, *not according to what it has not, but what it has.*

8. Hence let us be directed to live more for Christ; by studying his Excellencies further, who is the chief of ten thousands, and, in Comparison of the Knowledge of whom, all things are but Loss and Dung: By praising the eternal Father of Christ, *Eph. 1. 3.* for the invaluable Gift of his Son, in and thro' whom we enjoy all things: By resolving to forsake all things, rather than hazard the loss of Christ by forsaking his Interests; and by being ambitious to do all we can, for the Honour and Interests of our dear Master.

9. And hence likewise we are directed to go to God, in the same way only, by which he comes down to us. He comes down to us thro' Christ, in all his Mercies and Conveyances of Light, Assistance and Comfort: And therefore let us go upwards to him, in and thro' Christ also, which is the only way which he has appointed. Let us therefore go this way to God; in all our Self-dedications; in all our Prayers and Addresses, *John 14. 13, 14.* And, in a word, in all our Duties, both religious and common; for we are commanded, *Col. 3. 17.* *to do all in the Name of Christ, &c.*

III. Our Lord and Master comes also under the Consideration of the Great *Organ*, or *Instrument*, or rather *Minister of State*, by whom God carries on all his great Purposes.

But, tho this be in it self, the Principal Relation that Christ bears to us; (which, as it does, in a general Sense, include both the former, so, in a comparative one, is the main and chief of all the three, proposed to be considered;) yet it will need the least Illustration of any of them; And that, because I have so far prevented my self this way already. For it was my Principal Design in the *Second Book* of this Work of *Christology*, (as it was also, in some measure in the *First Book*) to prove,
That

That Christ, as the *Logos*, was the great immediate Ruler, both of the World and Church, from the Creation to the end of the Old Testament. And, it has been equally my Design, in the preceding Chapters of this Book, to prove, that Christ is now, ever since his coming into the World, the great and immediate Ruler, as well as Saviour of Men, especially good Men, as he is the *Loganthropos*. And if it please God that I live to publish the *Fifth Book*, this will yet more fully and plainly appear.

I shall not therefore spend time, in heaping up Scripture-Passages, to prove this here. For, not to mention many to this purpose, I shall only say; That he that will consider, with due attention, these few following Places, will think that no more are needful. These are, *Psal.* 2. 6, 7, &c. *Isa.* 9. 6, 7. *Col.* 1. 18, 19, &c. *Phil.* 2. 8, 9, &c. *Heb.* 1. 2, 3, &c. *Rev.* 1. 5, 6, &c.

However I cannot so hastily pass over this Subject, now that I have so formally and explicitly mention'd it; without considering one Expression of Scripture this way, which will equally lead us in to the Theory thereof, and a Practice suitable unto the same.

It is that in *Heb.* 12. 2. where Christ is called *the Author and Finisher of the Faith*; or, as our Version has it, *of our Faith*.

But in order to see the Connexion of the Apostle, and to understand the full Character of our Saviour, as given in these words, I must desire the Reader to cast his Eyes upon the whole of the Apostle's Reasoning, in the beginning of this Chapter, at least in the 1st and 2^d Verses.

The initial Word, *Wherefore*, shews us, that this part of the Apostle's Discourse bears a Reference to, and looks back upon the Catalogue of the eminent Saints and Martyrs, which he had discours'd of in the 11th Chapter.

What follows, in the 1st Verse, contains two things; *viz.*

(1.) A Supposition, which is, That *we are compassed about with a great Cloud of Witnesses*. These

These Old Testament-Saints are describ'd here, [1.] As *Witnesses*. If it be ask'd to what; I answer, That the preceeding eleventh Chapter must be a Comment this way. I shall not now run thro' the whole Chapter for this end. But thus far I shall say, (1.) That all of them are represented, in the General, to be *Witnesses* for the necessity of Faith; *Chap. 11. v. 1.* (2.) To God's being the Creator of the World, *ver. 3.* (3.) To the worshipping God purely, *ver. 4.* as *Abel* did, *ver. 4.* (4.) To the Excellency of living in Communion with God, as *Enoch* did, *ver. 5.* (5.) To the Importance and Necessity of acting in Matters religious, from the fundamental Principles of Religion, *v. 6.* For here are recorded, in the Example of *Enoch*, these three Things; 1. The *Principles of all Religion*; which are these *five*, *viz.* (1.) *That God is.* (2.) That he is the Ruler of Men, as being the *Rewarder of them that diligently seek him*; And consequently, (3.) That Man is a dependent and accountable Creature, who is oblig'd to *come to God*, to *seek him diligently*, and to study to *please him*, as he is the *Rewarder of them that do so*; (4.) That *Mens Souls* are immortal, seeing otherwise God cannot be said to *reward Men fully*; and (5.) That therefore there is, and must be, a future State of Rewards and Punishments. 2. The *Duties of Religion*, which are these two, *viz.* (1.) *To Believe these*; and then, (2.) *To obey and worship God* accordingly. Both which are expressed in these words, *viz.* our *coming to God*, and our *seeking him*. And to which is added, The right manner of doing both, as it is express'd in what is added, when we are commanded or advised to do so *diligently*. 3. The *End and Design* of both the Principles and Duties of Religion, *viz.* A Concern to *please God*, and to be rewarded by him. — Other Lessons are taught us, in the other Examples, *viz.* of *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Sarah*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, *Moses*, &c. But I must forbear to insist upon them at present. [2.] They are describ'd, as a *Cloud of Witnesses*, *i. e.* a Multitude. So *νέφος* is often spoken of in Greek Authors; as in *Homer*, to denote
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an Army or Multitude of Men ; who often appear as a sort of Cloud at a Distance, especially when their March occasions a sort of Cloud of Dust. Their Darts and Arrows of old, were represented as a kind of Cloud : And sure the Smoak of our Guns and Cannon carries on the Resemblance much more plainly. (i) *Virgil* says, *insequitur Nimbus Peditum* ; a Cloud of Foot-Soldiers follow'd. But *Paul* seems here to allude to *Isa.* 60. 8. *Who are these that fly, as a Cloud, and as the Doves to their Windows.*

[3.] They are describ'd, as a great Cloud, *i. e.* as very many. Upon which Expression we need no other Comment, than what we have in *ver.* 32. *And what shall I say more, for the Time would fail me to speak of Gideon and Barak, &c.* [4.] They are describ'd as a great Cloud of Witnesses, which is *cast about us* ; the meaning of which is plainly this, *viz.* that they are so many and so remarkable, both as to Virtues and Conflicts, that we can look no way, or be our selves in no State or Condition, but that we have Examples, both as to what we are to do, and avoid, and as to what we are to expect.

(2.) An Exhortation, or Advice, drawn by way of Argument, or Inference, from the Supposition mention'd, *viz.* *That we lay aside every Weight, &c.* where two things come to be consider'd.

1st. The things which we are more *immediately* exhorted to mind. Which are these *Four* : (1.) To *lay aside every Weight*, that may hinder us in our Racing for the heavenly Prize. Where observe, 1. That our Christian Course, is justly compar'd to an ἀγών, a Race, or Struggle for Victory : 2. That he that would be prosperous, in this Course, must dis-intangle himself from every thing, that may hinder or retard him therein : 3. That, in order to our receiving this Advice the better, the Apostle includes himself in the Advice,

(i) *Æn.* Lib. 7. *ver.* 795.

saying, *Let us, &c.* (2.) To lay aside, particularly τὴν ὑπερίσκατον ἁμαρτίαν, that special Sin, which is most apt to be prevalent, by reason either of Complection, Custom, Example, Business or Temptation. (3.) To consider, that this Race is not a matter of Choice, but Necessity, as being absolutely necessary, by the Order and Appointment of God. And therefore it is said to be *The Race*, and the Race *that is set before us*. (4.) To resolve upon Patience, in our setting about this; whence we are exhorted to *run it with Patience*.

Hence we see, 1. That the Prize is attainable; 2. But the way to reach it difficult; 3. However that it is an honourable Course; 4. And no solitary Way.

And that therefore, we ought to set about this, as our *hoc age*, our main Business, with all Integrity, Resolution, Watchfulness and Diligence; acting as under God's Eye, with Relation to the supreme Judge and better World, and as under Law to Christ; and remembering, that the Cloud of Witnesses is more than doubly large and remarkable to us, than it was in *Paul's* Days, seeing we have all the Martyrs and Saints of the New Testament, since Christ's Days, additional to those that liv'd in the more ancient Ages. And that consequently more is expected of us now, than of those of old. But we have one Example to look to, that is greater than all the rest put together. And this leads me to the next Head, which the Apostle handles, in *ver. 2*. Therefore,

2dly. We are call'd to consider, (that tho this be more remotely expressed here, yet) that the *principal* Thing, is, What the great Example of Christ is. Which the Apostle expresses thus: *Looking unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of the Faith* (or, as our Version renders it, *of our Faith*) *who, for the Joy set before Him, endured the Cross, despising the Shame, and is set down at the right Hand of the Throne of God*. Which Advice is further insisted upon, in *ver. 3, &c.* For *consider him that endured such*

Contradiction of Sinners against himself, lest ye be weary and faint in your Minds, &c. But I shall confine my self here, to the Words which we have in the 2d Verse.

We had, in *ver. 1.* an Account of the Worthies of the Old Testament, as a mighty Cloud, to be considered. But here, in *ver. 2.* the Son of Righteousness, himself, is represented to us, as shining thro' this Cloud. And it is observable, That *Paul* says not, *Look to Abel*, or *look to Enoch, &c.* but *look to Jesus*; he and no other being our perfect and full Pattern, as well as Saviour.

So that here are two things to be considered, *viz.* The Object, *Jesus*, and the Act required, in relation to him, *looking*. And according to the strict Rule of Logical Method, I ought to consider the Object first, and the Act afterwards: And were I *only* to mind Practise, I might not unsuitably proceed this way. But, seeing the *Act* must be regulated by the *Object*, I shall need to say nothing at all directly to it now; seeing, if we attain to see how Christ is here proposed to our Thoughts, we shall immediately understand, how, and in what way we are to look unto him. And, in doing this, it will be enough, at present, to present the Reader with the Method, wherein the Apostle represents Christ to our Meditations: Which is in this Order, under the *Four* following Heads.

(1.) We are called to consider Christ, in his Name *Jesus*, which is interpreted *Muth. 1. 1, 21.* and of which I have already discours'd distinctly. So that it were superfluous to speak of this again there. Let us only remember, that as there is but *one God*, so there is but *one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him, 1 Cor. 8. 4.*

(2.) We are called to consider him, in his Office. And seeing I have also largely treated of this, I shall only confine my self to the Apostle's Words here; as they shew forth his Relation to us, as he is the *Grand Instrument* of the Divine Operations for the Churches

Good. Now here we have *Three Things* to be inquired into.

1. What *The Faith* is, of which Christ is said to be the Author and Finisher? I answer, that tho our Version renders it, *our Faith*, as if they meant this of Faith as a Grace or Virtue; and tho I grant that this, in a proper Sense, is a real Truth: Yet I say, that this is not the Sense of the Text. That *Faith* is sometimes used as a Name to denote the Christian Religion it self, (and more frequently than many are apt to think) I could easily make plain, if need were. But it will be sufficient, at present, to mention one only; which cannot possibly be understood otherwise. It is, *Gal. 1. 23.* where *Paul* says, That *he preached the Faith, which once he destroyed.* And I am sure, that the Original Greek has it *the Faith*, and not *our Faith*.

Now the Christian Religion is called *the Faith*; 1. Because it is founded upon Matters of Fact, which are conveyed to us, by the Testimony and Credibility of Relators; and therefore cannot be look'd upon, as a bare Speculation or Science. 2. Because of the peculiar Certainty, which we have of this Matter, above other things, that we believe upon Report; as carrying along with them Divine Evidences of their Verity. 3. Because of the omnimodous Exceilency of the Things themselves, that are thus related to us, and known and received by us by Faith; both as the most elevated in their Nature, the most admirable in their Connexion, the most necessary to be considered, and the most useful to us, as to their Scope and End.

2. How Christ is *'Αρχηγός*, *the Author* of this Faith or Religion? *Answer.* 1. As he was the Occasion or Author of this Design, as he was the *Logos*, in concert with the Father. 2. The Dispenser or Giver-forth of the First Promise, after the Lapse. 3. The Manager of all things, that were preparatory to the actual Giving forth of Christianity. 4. The Sum, and Substance, and Scope of all the Types and Shadows of the old

Law.

Law. 5. The actual Instituter and Founder of the Christian Dispensation and Religion, as we see, *John* 1. 17, 18. *Heb.* 1. 2. & *Chap.* 2, 3. not to mention more Passages to the same purpose. 6. As he is the *Yea, and the Amen*, the Sum and Substance of our Religion, wherein, as in the common Center, all the Lines thereof do meet. 7. As he has seal'd and ratify'd it with his Blood. 8. And perfected the same, by going to Heaven, sending the *Paraclete* from thence, inspiring eminent Men to finish the Canon of the Bible, and carrying on the Ends of its being written, by Miracles, and other supernatural or peculiar Divine Evidences, confirmatory of the New Testament Doctrine.

3. In what Sense is Christ *τελειωτής*, *the Finisher* of this Faith? *Ans.* So we do, indeed, render the Word, in our Version; and so we may justly do, if the Sense be duly stated. But seeing we must understand *Author*, in the full Sense I have given of it; the Sense of *Finisher* must be such, as to denote the Continuer and Carrier-on of the same Faith or Religion, after it came once to be fully erected; or as considered under this Supposition. So that it denotes, 1. And most directly, all that Christ has done, and will further do, for his Church and Religion, from the time of its being fully erected and finish'd, as to its proper Constitution, in the Apostolical Age. And so this commences with the last Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and will go on until the final Consummation of all things, and until he shall have delivered up the Mediatorial Kingdom to the Father. 2. It denotes, in a secondary Respect, (as this is included some way in the former) all that Christ does for particular Christians in all Ages. In which Sense it takes in all the applicatory Work of Grace, in Relation to the Saints, as carried on by the Spirit, *viz.* in convincing and converting Men; in securing them under Temptation; in carrying them thro' Difficulties; in promoting the Work of Sanctification, in their Hearts and Lives; in rendering them more and more useful in the World; in assisting them, under Trials

and Sorrows, and in the Discharge of their Work and Duty, at all times, and particularly in Worship; in admitting them to Fellowship and Communion with himself; and in carrying them, at last, thro' Death into Glory.

These are a few, and, I confess, very short, Hints of a very great Subject. But I am mistaken, if they be not comprehensive ones, especially to those that have allowed themselves seriously to consider, what I have already said concerning Christ, in the preceding Chapters. And I am sure such Persons will need no more, to let in their Minds to a considerable View of Christ's standing, in Relation to us, as God's great Organ, Instrument or Minister of State, by whom he has formerly acted, does now act, and will further act, in all the Concerns of Religion, and whatever relates to the Good of the Souls of Men, with Respect both to Time and Eternity. I shall not therefore say any more. Only I shall take notice of the remaining Heads, which the Apostle mentions in this second Verse.

(3.) We are called to consider Christ, in his *Management* of himself, in this his Office. Where there are two things observable. (1.) The *End* he had set before him, which is called, *The Joy which was set before him*. This, 1. Is called *the Joy*, i. e. the Happiness he had in View, as he was Mediator and Head of his People; which was matter of Joy to him, or the most joyful Thing, in this Respect, upon the following Accounts, *viz.* As that which brings Glory to God, Honour to himself, Joy to Angels, and Salvation to Men. 2. This Joy is said to be *set before him*, *viz.* upon the Account of his Father's Appointment, and his own Choice. (2.) The *Way* that he took to reach this End; as it is express'd in these Words; *He endured the Cross, despising the Shame*. In which Words are two Things to be considered: 1. His Sufferings, which are summarily and emphatically express'd in these Words, the *Cross* and the *Shame*. 2. His Virtues, as apparent in his Conduct

duct of himself, under both these sorts of Suffering, or in Relation to them. For, with respect to the *First*, his *Patience* is taken notice of in his *Enduring* the Cross. And with respect to the *Second*, his *Magnanimity* is conspicuous, in his *despising* the Shame. Which is so much the more remarkable; that, whereas it is usually thought and said, that the noblest Spirits are the most tender this way, and the aptest to be impress'd and touch'd with the Sense of Reproach: This Example teaches us, that this is no more than a vulgar Error; and that the truly noble Spirits are quite swallow'd up the contrary way, so as to undervalue all the little Calumnies of Enemies, even to that Degree, as to be no otherwise affected towards them, than with Pity and Compassion, upon the Account of their Ignorance and Weakness. For thus it is plain, our Saviour was affected, who had human Nature in Perfection. And this is further insisted upon in the next Verse, (not to mention more) when we are exhorted to *consider him, that endured such Contradiction of Sinners against himself, &c.*

(4.) We are called to consider, the *Success* that Christ had, in taking this Course: Which is express'd in what is added, *viz.* That *he is set down at the right Hand of the Throne of God.* In which words there are these two Things observable: 1. That, by *the Throne of God*, is meant, that peculiar Glory that belongs to the Deity, which God will not give to another: 2. That, to be set at *the right Hand* of the Throne of God, is denoted, that peculiar Honour, which is appropriated to the *Loganthropos.* The *First* of these is plain to any that is acquainted with the scriptural Phraseology and Divinity. And the *Second* is no less plain from what I have said already, in this Book. However, I shall, as to this, direct your Thoughts, to consider a few Expressions of Scripture, which I shall barely cite so as to direct the Reader to consider them, at his own Leisure, *viz.* *Eph.* 1. 18——23. *Phil.* 2. 11, &c. *Heb.* 2. 9, 10, &c.

And now, Fellow-Creatures, and Fellow-Christians, Let me beg you, for Christ's sake, and your own, to consider your Duty and Interest, in Relation to what I have said, in this Book, and in this Chapter. I have not Room or Time to enlarge. Only allow me, to put up these few following Queries, to your Reasons and Consciences; which I desire you to consider, how ye can answer them best to your selves, in order to be the better prepar'd to answer for your selves to Christ, at the great Day. I ask therefore, whether the Gospel be not a Matter of the highest Importance in it self, and of the vastest Concern to you? Whether ye can be saved in any other way? Whether it can therefore tend either to our Reproach or Detriment to become Christians in earnest? Whether we can deposit our Affairs in safer Hands, than Christ's? Whether we may not rest satisfied, and be firmly assured, that all that Christ stands Security for, will be performed and made good at last? And whether Christ be not too near and dear to God, to be denied in any thing, that he supplicates the Father for, upon the Account of his Friends on Earth? Whether then, it be not a Matter of the greatest Moment to be the Friends of Christ, and to stand right in his Esteem as such? Whether therefore we can, in Reason or Gratitude, or consistent with Honour, Ingenuity and Safety, refuse Christ in any thing he desires of us; especially seeing he desires nothing, but what is intirely calculated for our own Good? And lastly, Whether we be not under the greatest and most endearing Obligations to love, honour and serve him? But now, that I have mention'd this, I find my self directed to consider this Head more particularly, according to what I propos'd before.

C H A P. VIII.

The Obligation which Christ has brought us under, to honour and serve him (upon the Account of what he has done and suffered for us) considered and improved.

TH O I design a Practical Improvement of the whole of *Christology*, in a Book by it self, if it shall please God to continue Life and Strength this way ; and tho our Obligation to serve Christ be easily deducible from all I have already said in this Book : Yet I could not think of concluding so eminent a Part of this great and vast Subject, without adding something directly, upon this Head, as a conclusive Application of what I have been treating of ; in hope, that, as I have endeavour'd, upon the more speculative Heads, to convince Mens Reasons, I may attain also, in the more practical Part, to work upon the Consciences of my Readers.

And here, that I may not expatiate and run out too far, I shall confine my self to the Consideration and Improvement of one Expression of Scripture only, *viz.* the Apostle's Words, 1 Cor. 6. 19, 20 ——— *And ye are not your own ; for ye are bought with a Price : Therefore glorify God in your Body and Spirit, which are God's.*

The Apostle having in the preceding Verses, spoken against Fornication, as inconsistent with Christianity, insists upon the Enormity and Turpitude of this Sin the longer and more earnestly, as knowing that the Gentiles did defend this, as if it had been no Sin at all, and that no People were more guilty this way than the *Corinthians*. Therefore, after other Arguments made use of, down from *ver.* 13. he produces two very strong ones in the 19th and 20th Verses. The 1st is drawn from the Consideration, of *our Bodies being the Temples of the Holy Spirit*. Now the No-

tion of a Temple, both among Jews and Pagans, was that of a Holy Place or Building, appropriated so to the Inhabitation, Adoration and Service of a Deity, by Consecration and Possession, as that it was the grossest Sin, to defile or alienate it from its proper use. Such, says *Paul*, are the Bodies of Christians, as being baptized and set apart, for the Inhabitation of the Holy Spirit, and so to be employed in holy Actions and Services, required by and pleasing unto the same Holy Spirit. And therefore he concludes, that it must be altogether unworthy of, and inconsistent with Christianity, for us to turn the Temples of our Bodies, into Stews for Fornication and Lust. The 2^d Argument is drawn from Christ's Right to us, and Propriety in us; which is plainly laid down in the Words we have quoted. But I am not to insist upon the Apostle's Accommodation of this Argument, in order to shew the evil of this particular Sin; which, how strong it is, every one must own at first View. For it is the whole complex View of these memorable Words, considered in themselves, that I am to present the Reader with, at this time.

There are three Things then, which lie before me, to be gradually and distinctly considered.

- I. The Apostle's *Affertion* of a Positive and Great Gospel-Truth, *viz.* *That we are not our own, but the Lord's.*
- II. The *Reason* which he gives for this, *viz.* *because we are bought, by the Lord, with a Price.*
- III. The *Conclusion* or Confectary, which he draws from both these; *viz.* *That therefore we ought to glorify God, both in our Body and Spirit.*

I. A great Truth *asserted*, *viz.* *That we are not our own, but the Lord's.*

Here therefore we have the Apostle asserting this Truth both ways, *viz.* negatively, *ye are not your own*; and positively, *for ye are bought with a Price.* And we shall trace his Sense in both.

(I.) Ne-

(1.) Negatively. *We are said not to be our own.* An Expression that looks like an express Contradiction; and therefore requires to be duly consider'd. In order to this, we are previously to inquire; in what respect a thing may be said to be ours? In answer to which, I say, that a thing may be said to be ours, upon one of two respects; *viz.* either, 1. Because we have a Propriety in it, and Right to it; or, Because we have the actual Possession thereof.

Now both these are again to be considered under a twofold Respect, *viz.* either as original or derivative. Original *Propriety* is that of a Supreme Master, or Lord, to whom a thing belongs properly and in the first place, so as Land, Tenement, or any sort of Estate does. *Derivative Propriety* is that of one, who holds Land, Tenement, or any sort of Estate of and from another; such as that sort of *Copy-holder*, who by Lease or otherwise is no more than an *Usufructuary*, who hath a Right to use and improve the Land or Estate, but not to abuse it, as being limited, so or so, according to the Articles of Agreement which are between him and his Landlord.

Again, *Original Possession* is that whereby a Man possesses and enjoys that which is truly and originally his own, so as no other Person can have any fair Plea or Claim against him. But *Derivative Possession* is no more than a Custody or Trust of this or the other thing, wherewith a Man is vested for a time from the Proprietor, and that under certain Restrictions and Limitations, according to the Agreement between them: and such is that of a Tutor or Guardian, with respect to Persons, and that of a Steward, Trustee, Tenant, or Farmer, with respect to Things.

Now these things being premised, it will not be hard to understand how we are not our own. For hence it will appear, that we are not our own, neither as to original Propriety nor Possession. 1. We are not our own, as to *Original Propriety*. For God hath made us, and not we our selves. It is to him we owe our Being and its

continuance. Who besides God can, in this Sense, say, *I am*, as God does by peculiar Appropriation? *Exod.* 3. 14. It is he only who is of himself, who is the first, the necessary and only independent Being. Whereas all other things are by Derivation from him; for of him, and to him, and thro' him are all things. For he hath made all things for himself: For of his good Pleasure they are and were created. 2. Neither are we our own as to *Original Possession*. We cannot say we are our own, in this Sense, and who is Lord over us. For we are but Tenants and Stewards of our own Goods, yea and of our selves, of our Faculties and Talents. Therefore we cannot dispose of our selves as we please, but only as God pleaseth; of whose Possession and Inheritance we are a Part. For as it is said, *Psal.* 4. 3. the Lord hath set a-part the godly Man for himself.

In these respects only are we to understand the Assertion here. For that we are some way our own, is not to be denied, nor can be in reason. For even here in the Text, this is imported; when it is said, *your Body and your Spirit*. But if the Question be, in what respects we are our own? The Answer is easy, from what is said, that we are our own *Derivatively* only, both as to *Propriety and Possession*. 1. Then, we are our own by a *Derivative Propriety* in our selves. Whatever great Men have, even as to themselves, is by a Derivative Right, *i. e.* by a *Grant or Conveyance* this way. And this Grant is twofold; (1.) *Common to Mankind*, as to common and general Mercies. Thus God is said to have given the *Earth to the Children of Men*, *Psal.* 115. 16. The Lord allows even wicked Men such a Right as this to themselves, and to their Goods and Possessions: In which respect he makes *his Rain to descend on the Unjust as well as the Just, and makes his Sun to shine on both*, *Matth.* 5. 45. (2.) *Special and peculiar to the Saints*. And indeed this is a Divine and glorious Bequeathment; as including the Grant and Gift of God himself, of Christ, of the Holy Spirit, of the Word, and, in sum, of all things appertaining to Life and Godliness.

linefs. So that the Apostle tells us, that *all things are ours*, 1 Cor. 3. 22, 23.—— But now we are to remember, That as both these *Grants* are *Derivative*; so they are given with *Limitations*. For as to the first; Men must remember that they are not allowed to lay out those common Mercies they have, on their Lusts. However, since they have such a Propriety as this; it is an impious and weak Notion, (as I observed formerly) to say, that *Dominium temporale fundatur in gratia*. And as to the more special Grant of God to his own; how dreadful a thing must it be, to make a carnal Use of such divine and spiritual Things. But, 2. Men have not only a *derivative Propriety* in themselves, but a *derivative Possession* also of themselves. We have a Tenure and Possession of our Life, of our Body and Soul, of the Faculties and Parts of them, of our Gifts and Endowments, of our Time and Talents of all sorts. But this is not a *dominium plenum*, but only a *Trust* put into our hands, a *depositum* which we are to keep and use, and which we are Trustees for, and must render an Account of.—— Therefore we must not lay out our Wit and Learning, our time and Strength in the Service of Satan, of the World, or our Lusts; but in order to glorify and serve God. Therefore to spend our Days in Rioting and Luxury, in Lasciviousness and Wantonness, or to expose our Lives rashly, by Quarrels and Duels, is an unwarrantable use of our derivative Possession of our selves. This is as if a Man that has but a Lease of an Estate for a few Years, should dispose of all as if it were his own; should pull down the House, and cut down all the Wood about it, and damnify the Land at Pleasure, &c. Dreadful therefore is like to be the account of those who use the Gifts of God against the Giver of them, and to his Dishonour and Disservice.

And since it appears evidently, that we are our own in a derivative Sense, as has been explained; therefore it is plain that this does not fall under the Negation here; which includes this only, that we are not our own originally, and *cum dominio pleno*. And this will

let in our Minds into the Knowledge of the positive part of the Assertion, which is added to the other by way of Illustration.

(2.) We are said also Positively, *to be God's*, and that both as to Soul and Body.

Now we are God's two ways (as follows necessarily from what was said) *viz.* as he hath a rightful *Title* to and *Propriety* in us, and as he hath *Possession* of us. 1. *We are the Lord's*, upon the account of the *Propriety* which he hath in us; we are his originally and not our own. Now all Men are thus the Lord's, originally, as having received all things from him. 2. All Men are the Lord's also, as being part of his *Possession*. *The Earth is the Lord's, and the Fulness thereof*. He is the Proprietor thereof: And whatever Right Men have to Kingdoms, Estates and Possessions therein, it is certain they hold all of God; and tho Men cannot rightfully dispossess any Man of his Inheritance, without Reason given why; yet God may rightfully dispose of all things, and give the Kingdoms of the World to whomsoever it doth please him.

Now there is a threefold Foundation, whereon our Right unto and Possession of a thing is founded; *viz.* its being conveyed to us by *Succession*, or our having *bought* it, or got it by a *voluntary* and *free Gift*. As to the 1st of these, it is certain it is not applicable to God. For we are *originally* the Lord's, and not by *Succession*. Therefore we are the Lord's thus, upon these accounts. (1.) Because he hath *created* us and formed us; and so we belong to him, as the Work belongs to the Workman. We are the effect of his Omnipotent Production, and therefore are originally his. (2.) Because of his *Preservation* or *Conservation* of us. Thus, as we received our Life and Being from him at first, so we owe the Continuance of them to him still. We are his both in *esse* and *operari*, and depend intirely and every way upon him. (3.) Because of his *governing* us, and over-ruling us and all things that concern us. Thus we have both our Life and Comforts from him. ——— Yet tho
God's

God's Propriety in us, and Possession of us, is original, and not founded on Succession, or Conveyance: Yet this may be well enough applied to Christ's Prerogative over us, as he is Mediator. For it is by God's Grant to Christ, on Condition of his Obedience, that we become the peculiar Inheritance of Christ. Therefore as God hath given him the *Heathen* or *Gentiles* for his Inheritance, &c. *Psal.* 2. 8. So Christ, over and over, calls his own, in *John* 17. *The People whom God hath given him.*

2. We become God's by *Emption*, by his having bought us. For it is thus also that God's People come to be his. But this will more properly be considered under the second Branch of the Text. 3. We come to be the Lord's also, by *free Gift*; *i. e.* by a free and voluntary Surrender of our selves to be the Lords, and accepting him for our Lord and Master. But this also I refer to the third Head, where it will be considered more fitly.

In the mean time, let us all settle this Truth in our Minds and Judgments, that we are not our own, but that we are the Lord's; that we are his by Creation, by Conservation, by Providence, by Government, and by Emption; and I would hope, by Self-dedication also.

But if we are not the Lord's, in the last respect, as well as in the first; how far wanting have we been to our selves. What! have we liv'd as Strangers to Christ and the Gospel? If so, our first Privilege that we pretend to, of being God's by Creation, will stand us in no stead. For as the Lord threatens the Jews of old, by the Prophet *Isaiab*; if we be a People of no Knowledge, he that made us will not have Mercy on us, &c. *Chap.* 27. 11.

If then the Case be so; O my Friends betake your selves to God, and make him your Friend, before it be too late.

For if you be the Lord's, not only upon the account of Creation, but of an Interest in Christ's Blood, and a voluntary Surrender of your selves to him; then, then approach God with Confidence; for all things

things are yours. You have given your selves to God, and he, in Exchange, has given himself to you, and all things with himself. You are your Beloved's, and he is yours.

And if this be your State ; then, my Friends, when, at any time you come to the Lord's Table, you may contemplate the Greatness of Christ's Love, who gave himself for you, that he might buy and purchase you in Exchange to be his. Here you may view the Greatness of the Price pay'd ; and have an Occasion to testify, that you do sincerely render your selves to the Lord to be his, and not your own any more.

But remember withal, that the Inagements which ye are then to take upon you this way, must be sincerely performed. You must not only profess your selves to be the Lord's, but you must live as such. Therefore remember to improve Time and Talents in God's Service. When you are under any Temptation to Sin ; say, *I am not my own*. Wherefore let your whole Life, be one continued Evidence and Testimony of this ; that *you are not your own, but the Lord's*. For as the Apostle says, *Rom. 14. 7, 8, 9. For none of us liveth to himself, and no Man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord : and whether we die, we die unto the Lord. Whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both died and rose, that he might be Lord both of the Dead and Living.*

II. The Reason of the preceeding Assertion, viz. *because we are bought with a Price.*

We before shewed, that we are the Lord's *originally*. We come now to consider a second Foundation, whereon God's Propriety in us, and Possession of us, is founded, viz. his having *bought us by a Price* pay'd.

But before we proceed, it will be needful, to satisfy a Doubt that is like to rise in our Mind, upon the hearing of this, viz. How it is possible that these things should be consistent. For if we be *primarily* and
cri-

originally the Lord's, there seems no Room left for a *new Title* to us, by *Emption*. Or if we become God's, by *Emption*, there seems this to be intimated to us, That *we were not God's originally*.

To reconcile this, we are to remember, That both these will appear to be consistent, if we consider, that tho we were the Lord's originally ; yet we had rebelled against him, by having sold our selves to his Enemies to be theirs. And tho God's Title to us did continue notwithstanding ; yet, since we are hereby laid obnoxious to Punishment, for disposing of our selves, which we had no Right to do, God was pleased in Mercy to purchase us again ; and to hold us upon the Claim, not only of an original Right, but of an acquired one also, in redeeming us, and buying us to himself for ever. And indeed, the Relation being mutual, it follows, that when we become Enemies to God, he becomes our Enemy also. For if the *Tenant* ruin his *Master's* Land and Houses, the *Master's* Contract is broken with the *Tenant*, as to *Friendship*, and gives Place to *Justice*, &c.

So that God's Right and Title to us, by *Emption*, does not juttle with his Right to us *ab origine*, but only supposeth an *Alienation*, by Man's having withdrawn himself from God, and sold himself to Satan and Sin. For it is plain, that *Adam* sold himself and his Posterity to Ruin, *Rom. 7. 14.* which Sinners have since justified and stood to, in their opposing themselves to God and his Mercy. So that wicked Men are under an *implicite Compact* with the Devil, in their continuing to sin against God. And surely there was never such a foolish Bargain, as this of Man, to sell himself to Ruin and Misery, out of a meer wilful Humour and Obstinacy.

But I proceed to the Consideration of the Thing it self more immediately. Now, as in all Emptions, so in this, we must inquire into these three Things, which must necessarily be supposed to concur, viz.

Res,

(k) *Res, Precium & Consensus*, i. e. the Thing bought, the Price pay'd, and the Consent of Parties.

1st. The *Thing bought* is to be consider'd; and that is sinful Man, who had thrown himself away from God. I shall avoid the Controversy here; whether Mankind in general, or a Select Party of them only, in particular, be the Objects of Christ's Death. For I have formerly stated this Point. However, certainly it is safe to keep to the Strain of scriptural Expressions, rather than to Glosses upon them. And therefore, I say, in a general way of speaking: That Christ came to purchase, for poor Sinners, a Right to Life; and not only so, but the actual Possession of it, upon Condition of Faith. Thus Christ came *to give his Life a Ransom for many*, Mark 10. 45. and *to give his Flesh for the Life of the World*, John 6. 51. and so *to give himself a Ransom for all*, 1 Tim. 2. 5, 6. 1 John 2. 6.

Now we are bought universally, both as to Soul and Body. Therefore, both are said here to be God's. And hence we ought to stir up our selves, to spend our selves wholly in the Service of our Lord.

2^{dly}. The *Price paid*, is the Obedience and Sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Veracity and Faithfulness of God, could admit of nothing less than this. For the Threatning of old was, that if Man sinned he must die. Now Christ coming in our Stead, he must therefore die for us to save us from Death. Therefore it is, that he gave *his Life a Ransom for many*, Mark 10. 45. Indeed, as to us, the Delivery is gratuitous and free: For we paid nothing for it. And as to Satan and Sin, it is a glorious Rescue from them, and Victory over them. But as to God, who was the Party offended, this is brought about by a Price paid for it.

Now as there were two things that were required of us, in order to regain God's Favour, viz. *Satisfaction*

for our former Sin, and perfect Obedience to the Law, for the Future: So our Lord Jesus undertook to pay both these Parts of the Price; the first by his Sufferings, and the other by his obeying the Law perfectly. By these, I say, he pay'd the Price; and thus by the Blood of the Covenant (whereby it was sealed and ratified) he sent forth us Prisoners out of the Pit, wherein was no Water, (no Relief or Refreshment for our Souls) as we have it, Zech. 9. 11.

And now, is there a Price, and such a Price as this pay'd for us; then surely we have all Reason to acquiesce in it, and to be thankful for it to our Lord Jesus Christ, all our Days.

3dly. Unto this Emption, since it is to be considered as a Compact, there is required the Consent of Parties. Now the Parties are two, viz. the Seller and the Buyer.

1. The Seller comes to be considered here in the first Place. And this is none other, but God himself, considered as provoked and offended with Men, for Sin. For Man, by selling himself to Sin, did indeed sell himself thereby into the Hands of Justice, in order to be punished. For it was impossible for him to exempt himself from the Reach of the Power of the Almighty, tho he did withdraw from his obeying his most righteous Commandments. For the Lord is, and must still continue the Supreme Judge and Sovereign of the World; under whom, Satan, Sin, Death and Trouble, are but as Serjeants and Officers, who are at his Command in every thing.

Now, since we had so hainously provok'd God, there was a Necessity to make Reparation to God, for the Breach of his Law: For without this, God in Justice could not let the Sinner go free. But upon Satisfaction given, God was willing to pass from Justice to Mercy.

2. The Buyer then comes now to be considered; who indeed is God himself, considered under another *σχέσις* and Relation, as a gracious and merciful Creator and

Father, who was loath that his poor Creatures should be lost; and therefore was willing, that Christ should go into the World, and pay the Price, which was too high for us to give, that so he might redeem us to himself thro' his Son.

So that it was Christ, who *immediately* comes under the Consideration of the *Buyer* here. For it was he that actually pay'd the Price for us, according as he had before undertaken to the Father. And who was fitter than he to do this, whose we were, by original Propriety and Possession, since he was one God with the Father? For he had created us; all things being made by him, and nothing made without him, *Col. 1. 16. John 1. 3.*

But since it was not so much as God, but as Mediator, that Christ redeemed us; therefore we are to consider, how he bought us, or pay'd the Price for us, in this Sense. And as to this, we are to consider how fit and apt Christ was for this great Performance. Which will appear in these two things, *viz.* that he had a *Right* to redeem us, and *Power* so to do.

And, (1.) Our Lord Jesus Christ, as *Mediator*, was the fittest Person that could be to redeem us; because, by his very Undertaking to redeem and save us, he had a *Right* conveyed to him so to do. For hereby he came to have a *double Right* so to do. For, 1. He had a Right of *Consent*; the Father consenting to give us to him, upon his undertaking to fulfil the Condition. God hath designed and appointed him to this Work, and therefore he hath certainly a Right to it. Now that he is appointed by God to this Work, is plain in Scripture. *For he took not this Honour to himself, but was called to it, Heb. 5. 4, 5.* And as thus he was appointed and set apart to this Work; so he is said to be *faithful to him that appointed him, Heb. 3. 2.* He had his Commission from God to do this; and is therefore said to be *sealed by God for that end, John 6. 27.* By all which it may easily appear, what Right he had this way. 2. He has also a near and immediate Right to save us, by

by his taking on him our Nature, and thus becoming Man. Whence it is, that he has Right to redeem us, not only *jure mandati*, and *consensus divini*, but also *jure propinquitatis*, as being our Kinsman (in Allusion unto the old Law, *Lev. 25. 25.*) for as the Apostle says, *Heb. 2. 11.* *He that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are all of one; whence he is not ashamed to call them Brethren.* For it behoved him to be like his Brethren, that he might be a merciful and gracious high Priest, &c.

But, (2.) Christ had not only *Right* to redeem us, but *Power* and *Ability* also to effectuate what was requisite, in the actuating of that Right. For *he was declared to be the Son of God with Power*, and was endowed with all those Prerogatives and Qualifications, that might make him successfully carry on his Work. For as he was *the only begotten Son of God*, *John 1. 14.* So *the Fulness of the Godhead dwelt in him bodily*, as he was *Mediator*, *John 1. 16.*

And now hath Christ performed this for us; then let us raise up our Hearts with Admiration and Exaltation at the Thought of these three things, *viz.* 1. The Cause, which can be nothing else, but God's great Love to us. O! What a wonderful Demonstration is here, both of the Love of the Father, and of the Son! May we not sit down and wonder, when we consider that God should thus think on us, in our low Estate; and that Christ should condescend to come down so low, for our sakes, who were Rebels against God. What! Such Wretches as we, who had sold our selves to do Iniquity; to be bought, and that with such a Price, by so glorious a Redeemer! 2. Let us consider also the *Effect* that follows upon the Payment of the Price; which is this, that Justice is satisfied, and has no more to demand. The Effect of it is Glory in the highest, Peace on Earth, and Good-will towards Men. 3. Let us consider also the *Worth* of the Thing payed as the Price, in order to procure our Happiness. For we are not redeemed by corruptible Things, such as Silver or Gold, but by the precious Blood of the Son of God.

And thus we have seen the *second* and *peculiar* Gospel-Foundation of God's Right to us, and Possession of us, *viz.* that of *Emption*, or *Buying*. And therein we have considered the three things that concur to make up this Contract, *viz.* the Thing bought, the Price whereby it is bought, and the Consent of the Parties in the Bargain, *viz.* both the Seller and the Buyer. We might add also, that which we proposed before, as the third and last Foundation of our becoming the Lord's, *viz.* our free and voluntary Surrender of our selves so to be: For God saves none without their own Consent, for he deals with us as rational Creatures; therefore one says well, *Deus qui creavit te sine te, non tamen servabit te sine te.* But this falling in with the third and last Head, I come therefore thus to consider it.

III. The *Conjectary* or *Inference*, *viz.* that we ought therefore to glorify God in our Body and Spirit, as being the Lord's.

This is a very reasonable Inference, from what was said. For if we be not our own, but bought with a Price, and so are become even on this Account the Lord's: Surely we ought to glorify him, &c.

And indeed we may easily apprehend, how reasonable this is, when we consider, that it is the great and chief end of Man. For he made Man at first for this end; and redeemed him by Christ's Blood also on this Account, as we see in the Text. So that the Connexion of this Inference with what preceeds, does not only hold forth our Duty, but God's End and Design also; that we might both be stirred up in Gratitude to glorify him, and be enabled by his Grace so to do; by the giving us his Word and Spirit for that end, *Psal.* 147. 19, 20. *Rom.* 8. 26.

But however, we shall not insist on this, as it is expressive of God's *Design* that we should glorify him; but insist only on the *Obligation* there appears to be on us, this way, to glorify and serve God: This being

not only the principal Scope of the Apostle, who puts up this here, by way of Exhortation ; but that which even the former Consideration ultimately drives at.

And here I suppose it needless to consider, what it is to glorifie God. For surely none can be so wild, as to understand hereby, the adding any thing to God's Glory ; since he is wholly perfect, and needs not the Performances or Services of his depending Creatures this way ; *Job 35. 7. Psal. 16. 2.* Therefore by glorifying God, we can understand nothing, but our manifesting and shewing forth God's Glory, either by actual Praises or Holy Actions. And this ought to be universally attended to, in all things ; so as *whether we eat or drink, or what ever we do, we may do it to God's Glory, 1 Cor. 10. 31.*

The thing therefore, that seems principally to require our Consideration here, is, How we ought to glorifie God ? Or, How we may attain to do so ? To which I answer ; that, if we would glorifie God, in our Body and Spirit, as being his, and not our own, we are to mind the doing of these three things seriously ; which mutually infer one another, and depend on one another. And, 1. We are to *dedicate* our selves wholly to be the Lord's : 2. We are to *obey and serve* him as such, upon our doing so : And, 3. We are to *depend* upon him for Ability to serve him.

1st. We must dedicate and consecrate our selves wholly to be God's.

This is the third and last Gound and Foundation of our being the Lord's, which I mentioned before. We were God's originally, and we are God's by Emption also ; but he requires of us, that we give up our selves to the Lord freely ; that we may be his by voluntary Surrender also.

Let us therefore labour to gain our own Consents in this Matter, and pray that we may be made a willing People by God's Assistance. For how can we venter to serve God, if we be not God's thus really ? Hence

the Connexion of 2 Chron. 29. 31. is worthy to be considered; *Now ye have consecrated your selves unto the Lord, come near and bring Sacrifices.* For if federal Consecration and Ceremonial was necessary to a right Performance of Divine Service, how much more must a spiritual Consecration be necessary. Let us therefore imitate Holy David in this, who devoted himself wholly to the Lord; as we find, *Psal. 119. 38. Stablish thy Word unto thy Servant, who is devoted to thy Fear.* And hence we hear him so often owning himself to be the Lord's, thus; as *Psal. 119. 94. I am thine, save me;* and *ver. 25. I am thy Servant, give me Understanding, that I may know thy Testimonies.* Hence it is, that the Apostle does so earnestly exhort us to this Duty, *Rom. 12. 1. I beseech you Brethren, by the Mercies of God, that you present your Bodies a living Sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable Service.* Where by Bodies (by an usual Synecdoche) he understands Persons; as he does by Soul also, *Chap. 13. 1.* And this appears the more, because of the word Living; living Sacrifices. It is an Expression, that has Allusion to the legal Sacrifices of old: For as under the Law, the Bodies of slain Beast were offered up; so now the Lord requires us to offer up our own Bodies alive, *i. e.* our selves, as living Sacrifices.

But now to bring this more home to our selves, we shall consider wherein this Self-Dedication stands. To which I answer, that taking it, in its furthest Extent, all things essential to it, may be reduced to these three Heads. 1. *Self-Surrender, or Self-Resignation* to God as our Sovereign; and this is inclusive of *Self-Donation*, or giving our selves to God, in Christ, as being truly his Purchase. 2. *Renunciation* of, and *Separation* from, all things contrary to God, and which claim an Interest in us. And, 3. *Formal Stipulation* and *Covenanting* with God, for Ratification of all this. The *First* takes in the Essentials of Self-Dedication; the *Second* is virtually included in these, and added only for Distinctness sake; and the *Last*

is only the Formal Performance or Ratification of the same.

And, 1. *Self-dedication* consists in *Self-surrender*, or the *Resignation* of our selves to God as our God and Sovereign Lord. And this answers to that *Original Right* God has to us. For *Self-Resignation* imports our owning and acknowledging God as our rightful Sovereign. So that hereby we do as much as say; Lord, whereas we have been so wicked as to run from thee, and give our selves to serve other Masters, we now acknowledge our Error, and return here unto thee, to serve thee, and be disposed of by thee as thou see'st good. This is what is imported, *Rom. 6. 16, 19. Know ye not, that to whom ye yield your selves Servants to obey, his Servants ye are whom ye obey*——*As ye have yielded therefore your Members Servants to Uncleaness, and to Iniquity unto Iniquity, so even now yield your Members Servants to Righteousness unto Holiness.* Therefore we are to remember what is said, *2 Chron. 30. 8. Be not stiff-necked as your Fathers were, but yield your selves unto the Lord.*

Now this *Self-dedication* must be so understood, as to include and denote an actual Donation, or giving of ones self to God. And this respects the Right that God has to us, on the account of Emption; as the former did respect original Right in us. Things dedicated of old under the Law were given unto him: The Property of them was alienated, the Owner passing from his Right, and devolving it upon God. And thus the Case is here: We give our selves to God of free Choice. And yet tho we act freely, because, *cum complacentia voluntatis, & cum spontaneitate*; yet we act not *cum indifferentia*, at least in a moral Sense, in this case; because we are in Duty obliged so to do, from the Consideration of God's Emption of us, by the Price which Christ pay'd: Tho, at the same time, I take not upon me absolutely to determine, whether the Essence of the Will stand in *Spontaneity* only, or in *Indifference*, or, as I should rather think, in the Union of both. But to proceed; it appears hence to be our in-

dispensable Duty, to give our selves to the Lord. Thus did the *Macedonian* Christians, whom *Paul* commends so much for this very thing, *2 Cor.* 8. 5.—*Who first gave their own selves to the Lord, and then to the Apostles, as his Servants.* Which Expression is too high and spiritual, to admit of the languid and dull Notion and Gloss of *Grotius*; who dismisses it with this cold Paraphrase: *Non tantum bona sua, sed & de numero suo polliciti sunt se duros, qui Corinthum irent.* No, no; certainly it imports at least in effect, as much as *Ruth* nobly resolved; when she says to her Mother-in-law, (*Ruth* 1. 17.) *Intreat me not to leave thee——For thy People shall be my People, and thy God my God.*

2. *Self-dedication* (as it properly consists in what is said, so also) doth impart the *renouncing* of, and *separating* from all other Masters, that set up against God, in claiming a Right in us. For it is certain that we cannot serve two superiour Masters, especially that are opposite to one another. How then can we serve God and the World, Christ and Sin? Is there any Fellowship between the Temple of God and Idols? If then we dedicate our selves to the Lord, as his Temples; we must have a care of defiling the same with Idols, and of making it the House of *Baalim*, and not the House of the Lord. Now it is certain this is included in the former things. For if I surrender my self to the Lord, and give my self away to him to be his; I shew hereby, that I renounce Sin and Satan, the World and its Vanities. Hence we are exhorted, *2 Cor.* 6. 15, 16, 17. *To have no concord with Belial——But to come out from the Service of our former Idol-Lords, and be separate from them, so as not to touch them any more.* See also, *Rom.* 12. 2.

3. *Self-dedication* calls for a *formal Stipulation*, and covenanting to be the Lord's: For if in other things we ought to be express, surely in this also. Indeed the two first things spoken to, do necessarily involve a Covenant and Stipulation. But by this, I mean an explicate and formal Performance of this matter. Hence

it is that we hear in Scripture, not only of Mens *ingaging their Hearts to approach unto God,* Jer. 30. 21. and of *their joining themselves unto the Lord,* Zach. 2. 11. but of *their subscribing with their Hand to the Lord,* Isa. 44. 5. And that Scripture, 2 Chron. 30. 8. which we render, *Yield your selves unto the Lord,* is in the Original *וְיָתַתְּ לַיהוָה*, i. e. *Give the hand to the Lord.* Now this giving of the Hand was an ancient Rite, used almost by (1) all Nations, in their making of Covenants. And that this was the constant Custom of the *Israelites*, appears from Ezek. 17. 18. Ezr. 10. 19. Lam. 5. 6. Prov. 22. 26. And thus we see wherein Self-dedication stands, and what it is. We proceed now to the second thing, wherein and whereby we are to glorify God.

2dly. Upon our Dedication of our selves to God, we are to set our selves to *serve* and *obey* God, in all things he requires of us.

For he that is dedicated to God, as being his, must serve him accordingly. If we have bored our Ears to God's Door, we have thereby testified, that we are his, and will serve him accordingly, with Alacrity and Cheerfulness.

Now, since it were too long to speak to all things, that might occur on this Head, I shall confine my self here to this one Question; *When may a Man be said to act as the Lord's, and obey him accordingly in what he requires.*

To this I answer; That a Man acts as the Lord's and not his own, when he acts sincerely by these three Rules; 1. *When he judges of the Truths of Religion by the Word of God, and not by Reason without it.* 2. *When he sets up God's Preceptive or Moral Will, and not his own Will, as the great Rule of his Actions.* 3. *When he maketh God's Glory, and not his own carnal Interest or Honour, his ultimate End.*

(1) *Virg. Cur dextræ jugere dextram non datur. Ovid. Jura, fides ubi nunc commissaq; dextera dextræ.*

I. *When he judges of the Truths of God, by his Word, and not barely by his own Reason.*

It is certain, that Reason is the Instrument, by which we must judge of Religion; seeing it is necessary that we should previously understand what we are called to believe. But yet Reason is not the Foundation on which our Faith is built, but only the actual recording of such things in the Word.

For whatever Reason had been, had it never been corrupted; and whatever be the Reach of Reason still, in things natural, when it is earnestly and impartially implied: Yet in things supernatural, which our Reason had never known but by Revelation, we are to make Reason strike Sail to Faith, and captivate it to a Belief of the Truth. For as we use to say, tho' the things of Religion are not *against Reason*, yet they are *above it*, i. e. to speak more properly, they are the Result of the Infinite Reason and Wisdom of God, and therefore above the Finite Reason of Men. Therefore tho' Infinite Reason and Finite Reason are not Opposites, since they agree in the general Notion of Reason: Yet they are so far distinguished, as they differ in the Notion of Finite and Infinite. And since this Difference is so great, we may easily conceive, that the Effect and Result of an Infinite Reason, is not to be measured by a Finite Reason. For this were, as if a Child should attempt to resolve the hardest Proposition in *Euclid*. Now in this Case it might be very rightly said, that the Knowledge of this Proposition is above the Child's Reason, yet not contrary to it.

To illustrate this, I will use a plain and easy Similitude. Three hundred Years ago there was none in our Parts of the World, that knew that there was such a Place as *America*. Now when the News of this new World came, Men believed it, because of the Credibility of so many Relators, and as finding nothing contrary to Reason therein. And now in this, as upon the one hand, this had been rejected as a Fable, had it been impossible; So the Foundation of its being believed was
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not barely Reason, but the Credit of Relators. The same thing holds in Supernaturals.

And now, since the Case stands thus, we may easily see how unreasonable a thing it is, to attempt to grasp God fully in our narrow Understandings, to measure out Heaven with our Span, or to weigh divine Truths in the small Scales of our little Reason. Reason indeed is called *the Candle of the Lord*, Prov. 20. 27. But what is a Candle to the Sun. Therefore let us imitate the Apostle, who having started an Objection against his own Doctrine, which he himself could not by human Reason answer, *Rom. 9. 19, 20.* thinks it enough to check it, as a bold Replying against God. And surely, this is both our Duty and Wisdom in knotty Matters, to acquiesce in what is revealed; leaving God's Secrets to himself. For if we are wholly the Lord's, as to Body and Spirit, then surely we are the Lord's as to our Understanding. And I think it is Reason enough for us to believe a thing, when we find it revealed by God to be believed. What, shall we believe a Relation, on the account of the Credibility of the Relator; and not much more believe the Great God, who cannot lie?

2. *When he sets up God's Moral or Preceptive Will, and not his own Will, as the Rule of all his Actions.*

The Will of Sinners is very stubborn and unruly, and loth to yield to God's Will. But God's Will must be obeyed by his Creatures, either by bowing and swaying them, or by breaking them; that they may know, *whose Word shall stand, his or theirs*, Jer. 44. 28. For *God resisteth the Proud, and brings down their high Looks.*

Now it is an Evidence, that a Man acts as a true Servant of God, when his Will is subdued to God's Will, in all things, both to his *Preceptive* and to his *Providential Will*. 1. To his *Preceptive Will*; when a Man lies at God's Feet, delighting to obey him, and to run his Errands. Such a Soul cries out, *Speak, Lord, for thy Servant hears*; and *what wilt thou have me to do?* Lord, says the Soul, I have given my self to thee, lay on me

me what thou wilt, and enjoin me what thou pleasest ; for I am ready in all things to obey thee, it being as my Meat and Drink to do thy Will. But how opposite to this is the carnal Heart of the Sinner ; who secretly says, Who is the Lord, that I should obey him ? For *the carnal Mind is Enmity against God, for it is not subject to the Law of God, neither indeed can be,* Rom. 8. 7. But, 2. The true Christian, is not only subjected to God's *Preceptive Will*, but to his *Providential* also. Whatever a Christian thus meets with, he is satisfied. If he meet with Comforts, he is chearful and praiseful ; if he meet with Crosses, he desponds not, but says, *shall I receive Good from God, and not Evil also ; and again, the Lord has given and taken, blessed be his Name.*

And, in all these things, the Christian makes it appear ; that he acts by this Rule, that he is not his own, but that he is bought with a Price ; and that so his Study is to glorify God by obeying him.

3. *When he makes God's Honour, and not his own Credit or Interest the ultimate End of his Actions.*

This is expressed in the very Words of the Text, and is therefore the more to be minded by us. But because I touched on this before I shall say the less here.

Only we see, by the proposing this, that a Man may, in a subordinate way, be directed to other Ends than this. But, for a Man to mind his own Gain, Pleasure, Ease or Credit in the first place ; is certainly a direct Opposition to what is here required of us, to glorify God in our Body and Soul, as being every way the Lord's. This is indeed *to eat and drink to ones self*, Zech. 7. 6. and for a Man *to bring forth Fruit unto himself*, Hof. 10. 1. Whereas a sincere Christian will remember, that he is God's, and not his own, and ought therefore to design God's Glory as his great and primary End.

I might add yet a fourth thing, wherein we are to be swayed, in our serving and obeying God ; *viz.* by depending on God, and not on our own Abilities or Performances, as to the Obedience God requires. But this

I have referred to the third Head. And am therefore now led to consider it.

3dly. As we are to *obey* God, upon our *Dedicating* our selves to him; so we are to depend on God for Ability to obey and serve him.

This is also another thing, wherein our Glorification of God, as being his, stands. For it is certainly one of the greatest Evidences, that a Man acts, as one that is God's and not his own; when he denies himself in this particular, which is so natural to all Men; as being spiritually enlightened to see that he can do nothing without the assistance of God.

For since it is only the Mercy and Grace of God, and the Righteousness and Merits of Christ, that can be a proper Foundation for our Salvation; the Christian hath learned to found all his Hopes of Salvation upon the same. And, since he has been made sensible of his Inability to obey God, without his Assistance; therefore doth he wholly lean upon this, and pray for it.

And thus I have come at length to the End of what I had to say, by way of Explication to this Text, in all the three Parts thereof. And thus I might put an end to my discoursing from it. But the Subject is so noble, and the Argument so strong and forcible to practise, that I cannot dismiss it without some more close and peculiar Use and Application; especially seeing I bring it in for this end, in reference to the whole of this Book.

And since the Scope of the whole Text relates to Practice, as being exhortative, in order to stir us up to glorify God from the fore-mentioned Arguments; I shall accordingly prosecute the Exhortation here, with what Earnestness I can; which, may the Lord be pleased to bless.

And here, in the *first* place, I might exhort you, to lament the want of this. O! how few are there that seem any way concerned to glorify God! If we take a View of the Multitude that profess to be the Lord's; yet

yet how rare is it to meet with those that are really so ! Blessed be God there are some few : But alas very few indeed ! And yet *except the Lord had continued with us this small Remnant ; we should have been as Sodom, and like unto Gomorrah.*

I might also here, in the *next* place, exhort you to examine your selves, and enquire, whether you be of the number of these few. Say with your selves, have I dedicated myself unto the Lord ? am I studious how I may most honour him ? Methinks it were easy to convince many, that they mind not this, seeing their *Lasciviousness* and *Wickedness* testifies so much. And even those that are more sober and civil, may, I doubt not, find, upon trial, that they also are not innocent.

But I leave those things as too palpable to be insisted upon, and proceed more directly to consider the Exhortation it self, *to glorify God* more and more : For surely however justly we pretend that we do, in any measure, seek to glorify God ; yet I think none will be so mad and presumptuous as to think, that they do so as much as they ought. Now in prosecuting this, I shall consider, 1. *How many Persons need to be exhorted this way ;* 2. *Give some Motives to stir up all to this Duty ;* and, 3. *Propose some Directions for the prosecuting of it.*

And, *1st.* I would consider *how many stand in need of Exhortation this way.* For is there any thing Men are more careless and neglective of than this ; even Persons of all sorts ? Yea, who are there that can say they are innocent ?

For, in the *first* place, do not the Generality of Men, follow their Lusts, and the vain Fashions of the World. They are the Servants of Sin and not of Righteousness : Lust lords it over them ; and they become a ready Prey to every Temptation. And if all such act contrary to this Duty, how few then mind it ! especially if we refer to this Number, those, who, tho externally moral in their Lives, are yet under the prevailing Power of inward Corruptions.

But we must *also* reckon those Men, to walk contrary to this great Duty, who give themselves over implicitly to be directed and ruled by others. Almost all Men are culpable this way, in following the Herd of some Party, or the great Names of some Leaders and Teachers: For indeed there are but few of that Bravery of Soul, as with the *Bereans* to examine the Scriptures, for the Truth of what is told them. And there are, it may be, few that consider, that this Temper and Practice, is an Opposition to the Great End of our Being and Life, to glorify God, as being his and not our own, nor any other Mens either. Let us therefore mind here what Christ says; *Call no Man Master upon Earth, for one is your Master, even Christ, Matth. 23. 9, 10.*

Nay we must say *likewise*, that they are culpable this way, who suffer themselves to be wholly swayed by their own Humours and Fancies. For it is not only a Sin against this, to dispose of our selves, as if we were our own, to the Belief and Practice of any Man or Party; but it is also a Sin this way, to be led by our own Imaginations, in the Matters either of Faith or Obedience. For we must be regulated in all these things by God's Will, as not being our own, but his; and so not being at our own Disposal, but his.

2dly. I come now to propose some *Motives*, whereby we may be stirred up to mind this great and concerning Duty more.

Motive 1. This is the great End both of Man's Creation and Regeneration. Did not God create Man at first, in order to glorify him? and doth not God save and renew Man again, that he may be in case so to do. And can we then be content to fall short of this great End? Is not this, not only to paganize us, but to unman us, and to make us as the Beasts, who only live to themselves, and to the pleasing their Senses?

Mot. 2. Without this we cannot own our selves to be true Christians. Nay this is but another Name for true Religion; they being convertible Terms: So that, he
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that is truly religious glorifies God, and he that glorifies him is a true Christian. Without this then, your Religion is but a Shew and empty Name.

Mot. 3. You are under Obligation to mind this, by virtue of your Baptifmal Covenant. What, did you not ingage then, to renounce Sin, Satan, and the World, and to be the Lord's wholly? Are you not hereby devoted and dedicated to be the Lord's? Can you then live all your Days in the Breach of this Covenant, and yet expect to prosper. Indeed Baptifm doth not leave *Characterem indelebilem*; but yet it leaves *Obligationem indispensabilem*.

Mot. 4. Have you not, (at least most of you) engaged to this Duty, in a solemn manner, by participating of the Lord's Supper. Did you not say therein; Lord, I take thee to be mine, I renounce all Right to my self, I dedicate my self to thee, I will seek thy Honour, &c. Now then act accordingly; and say, *I have sworn, and I will perform it, that I will keep thy righteous Judgments.*

Mot. 5. Doth not God deserve this at your hands? Is he not infinite in Perfections? Is he not a God of Mercy and Grace? How many Mercies are you Debtors to him for? Is he not your Lord and Sovereign, your Benefactor and Rewarder? Can you then design any thing higher or more fuitable, than his Honour? Or can you be better employed than in his Service?

Mot. 6. Are you not bought with a Price, so great and valuable a Price? And are you not thus become a Part of God's Property and Possession? Will you then alienate God's Possession from him? For surely our refusing to glorify God, and not paying our Homage to him, is an Attempt to take our selves from under his Jurisdiction: Which, how impious, and vain it is, we may easily judge.

Mot. 7. Is it not reasonable we should seek to glorify God; since else we provoke him to ruin and destroy us? What, do we imagin to escape him? No, surely, he will revenge himself upon us, for such Ingratitude
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and Wickedness. Nay, whether we will, we shall be made to glorify God. If we do not actively glorify him, we shall be made passively so to do. For God has made all things for himself, even the Wicked for the Day of Evil. So that if we be not careful to live so, as we may be to the Glory of his Mercy, we shall afterwards be to the Glory of his Justice.

Mot. 8. This is the way to the highest Glory and Advancement. To glorifie God, is the way to be glorious our selves. For *those that honour God, he will honour; but they that despise him, shall be lightly esteemed.*— And not only may we expect Advancement in Grace here, by serving Christ faithfully, but to Glory also hereafter.

In sum, there is nothing, but might be made use of by way of Motive this way. Therefore I might plead with you further; that this is well pleasing to God; that it is a Condescension in him to accept of his Creatures Attempts this way; that it is the least thing we can do, in Requital of the Mercies we have received; that it will be the highest Baseness and Ingratitude to refuse this. But I think what has been said may suffice.—So I proceed.

3dly. I come therefore now, in the last Place, to *direct* you in this Matter. And because I have been so large in the Explication, I shall be the shorter this way now. Therefore I shall only shew you, 1. Some of the *Qualifications* of this Duty, that you may know how to do it aright; and, 2. Subjoyn a few *Helps* or *Assistances* this way.

1. I shall name the Qualifications of this Duty to you; and I think the very naming them may be enough to enforce them. The 1. is, That this Duty must be performed *freely* and *voluntarily*. God hates Robbery for Sacrifice. And the Man that would glorify God, must not set about it for Fashions sake, or to gain Applause; but he must be moved to it from the Sense of the Duty it self. 2. It must be set about *speedily*, without Delay. For to delay, in a Matter of this Weight, is extream-

ly dangerous; a Man being all the while that he delays in this, in a State of Sin, and under the Curse. 3. It must be *universal*. It is not in some, but in all things that we are to do this: For *whether we eat or drink, or what ever we do*, we are to do all for the Glory of God. And, 4. We must do this *constantly*, at all times. We must still go on to glorifie God, and seek to do it more and more.

But, 2. I come now to conclude all, by adding some *Helps* or *Assistances* to this Work. And I shall but name these Four. The 1. is *Consideration* and *Meditation*. Alas, how many perish for want of Consideration. Hence we see the poor Prodigal's Conversion begins in this, *Luke 15. 17.* and when he came to himself, he said, *&c.* He first came to himself, by Consideration; and then to his Father, by Repentance. And *David* tells us the same of himself, *Psal. 119. 59. I thought on my ways, and turned my Feet to thy Testimonies.* 2. Another Help this way, is *Self-Examination* and *Tryal*. If this Duty were more minded, we should have more Arguments to stir up our selves and others to glorifie God: For hereby we would be led in to see and own, that he deals with us in Mercy, far above what we can think, and punisheth us far less than our Iniquities deserve. 3. *Humility* and *Self-Denial* would much contribute to this. For as long as *Self* is the predominant Interest in us, and we are sinfully in love with our selves, in Contrariety to our own truest Interest; we will ever set up our own Praise and Glory, in Opposition to God's. But when we are humble and low in our own Eyes, our Study will be to magnifie and exalt God and Christ. 4. But after all, *Prayer*, mix'd with *Meditation*, must ever be made use of, as the great Mean to reach this End. And truly, we may justly conclude, That the Work is half done, when our Hearts are thorowly drawn out to pray fervently for it. And therefore, I shall only add this Prayer, That the God of Truth and Mercy would be pleased, so to work upon my own Heart, and the Hearts of my Readers, that they,

they, and I, may be joyntly stirred up, to serve and glorifie God and our dear Redeemer, more and more.

Amor.

THE CONCLUSION.

Reader,

FOR so I may more justly call thee now (if thou hast proceeded so far as this with me, with due and serious Application of Thought) than in the Introduction to this Work; I leave thee to judge of me, and my Performance, as thou pleasest; as remembering the old Saying, *Pro captu Lectoris habent sua Fata Libelli*, i. e. that Books have their Fate, so as to be either approv'd of, or condemn'd, according as the Capacity of the Reader is: And I wish I had it not to say also, that Prejudice is, in many, the Medium or Spectacles made use of this way. However, be who thou wilt, I can assure thee, as in the sight of the supream Lord and Judge, whose I am, and whom I serve, that my Record is on High; and that the Spirit of God witnesseth together with my own Spirit, that I have labour'd to be faithful to the Light God has given me, in these my Studies and Meditations; and, that God's Glory, the Service of my Saviour, and thy spiritual and eternal Good, in Conjunction with my own, have been the Ends I have all along set before me in this Work; insomuch, that the Consciousness of my Sincerity and Integrity this way, with the super-added Sense of the divine Approbation, has not only encourag'd me to go thro' these and my other Studies, but wonderfully supported me, under a long Tract of Sicknes and tormenting Pains; which I was under, some time ago, almost constantly, for about *nine Months*, besides later Relapses of the same Distempers, which I am not yet quite freed from.

As therefore I have the justest Reason to thank the Supream Lord of Life, Knowledge, Grace and Comfort, for his assisting me to begin, prosecute and carry on this great Work, so as I have done: So my Prayer is, to this my gracious God, thro' my dear Redeemer, that all those, who shall peruse these Meditations, may be made Partakers for the same, or like Satisfaction, which he has been pleased, in Mercy, to bless me with; that thus we may attain more and more to be built upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being (m) the chief Corner-Stone, Eph. 2. 20.

And,

(m) Ἁγίον, ἑστὸν λίθον, which we render, The chief Corner-Stone, denotes, that Christ is that to the Church, which the Corner-Stones are to great and noble Edifices, which unite both Walls on each Side, and joyn them together, both below and above, thus equally cementing, strengthening, and adorning the whole House round about, both below and above all the four Fronts, and from the Bottom to the Top of all the four Corners. For thus only we can form to our selves a genuin Notion of the Design of the Apostle's Comparison; when, 1. He compares the Church in general, to a vast Temple, ver. 21. 2. When he makes this Temple to be founded jointly on the Prophetical and Apostolical Doctrine, ver. 20. and consequently, 3. He must be supposed to speak of the Church in the most comprehensive Sense, taking in all good Men from the beginning to the End of Time. For, it is sure from things, that he must likewise speak of Christ himself, in his Relation to the Church, in a Sense that is equally large and comprehensive. And therefore, when Christ is called, in a general way of speaking, the Corner or Uniting-Stone, we must not imagine that, because the Word Stone is in the singular Number, that therefore the Apostle meant to compare Christ to some one Stone of some Corner. No, surely! His Design was to represent him, as interwoven with the whole Building, and that so as to be, from bottom to top, the Foundation, the Corners, and the finishing Part of the Superstructure at length. And thus this Expression, in Eph. 2. 20. as well as those equivalent Expressions, Isa. 28. 16. 1 Pet. 2. 6, 7. Psal. 118. 12. Matth. 21. 42. Mark 12. 10. Luke 20. 17. Acts 4. 11. Matth. 4. 11. are to be understood, according to the Extent of this Divine Phrase; God himself being the First that ever used this Word, as we see this in the most ancient Book in the World, viz. Job, Chap. 38. ver. 67. Where God speaks thus to Job: Whereupon are the Foundations of the Earth fastned? Or, Who laid the Corner-Stone thereof? When the Morning Stars sang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for Joy. For, as by the

And, in Case any Person receive any such Advantage, as I hope many shall, by a serious Consideration of what I have discours'd of; my Desire is, that he may so far forget the poor Instrument, which God has chosen to make use of, to impart these useful Speculations to the World; as that all the Praise may be intirely given to him, who is the alone Discoverer of Truth, and from whose immense Fulness, every good and perfect Gift descendeth.

As for my self, I have but one Favour to desire of those, that may receive any Advantage, either from this or any other Part of my Labours, *viz.* That they would assist me by their Prayers, that I may be further continued and capacitated to carry on the remaining Parts of this vast Undertaking, so as to bring them to the like Perfection I have done this and the former Books. For I thank God, I want not very considerable Materials towards the finishing the other Parts, in like manner; if it may but please him to honour so poor and unworthy a Creature to do so, by affording Life, Health and Leisure; and, together with these, his own kind Presence, Direction and Assistance.

But, if instead of Incouragement from my Readers, I be revil'd, and censur'd, and meet with severe Usage from any; I shall labour to possess my Soul in Patience, as knowing that my dear Master was worse treated, by far, for the sake of Truth, by ignorant and prejudic'd Men; who imagin'd themselves to be too wise and orthodox already to be further inform'd, and who reckon'd themselves oblig'd, from a Zeal for God, and Concern for the Church, to persecute him, as a Schismatick, Heretick and Blasphemer,

the laying of the Corner-Stone of the Earth, must be denoted the finishing and compleating of his Creation: So by Christ's becoming the Corner-Stone of the Church, this must be meant, that Christ is become the Strength, Security, Glory and Perfection of the whole Christian Temple, in all times; and that has now, since his Coming, made this eminently apparent to all Men.

even to the Death. And seeing this was done to the Green and Living Tree ; and that he has forewarn'd his faithful Followers of the like Treatment, from others of the same Complexion with those who murder'd himself, and *who will also think that they are thus employ'd in doing God most excellent Service ; I shall only say, in this Case, with the Apostle of the Gentiles, That it is a small thing with me, to be censur'd and condemn'd by such Mens Judgment.*

However, seeing the best and wisest of Men may and do mistake, as *seeing only in Part*, especially in the deep and profound Things, that relate to God and Christ ; it is just for me to suppose, that I may have mis'd the exact Truth, in several Respects, in a Work of this Nature and Bulk. But then, as I have honestly and studiously labour'd to keep from Error ; it cannot be expected, that I should retract Mistakes, which, as yet, I know nothing of.

In the mean time, I shall conclude here, with two Sentences, proper to my present Purpose and Work.

August. Lib. i. Cap. 3. de Trin.

Quisquis hoc legit ; ubi pariter certus est, pergat mecum. Ubi pariter hæsitat, quærat mecum. Ubi errorem suum cognoscit, redeat ad me. Ubi meum, revocet me. Nam in his, ut in omnibus meis Scriptis, non modo pium Lectorem, sed etiam Liberum Correctorem desidero.

Gualther. in Fine Comm. in Proph. Min.

*Si male quid dictum est, Hominem dixisse memento :
Si bene quid dixi, Gloria, Christe, tua est.*

But, tho I think, I do rather deserve Thanks than Censure from Men, even tho abundance of Mistakes should be found out in this Work, by more learned and penetrating Heads than mine : Yet, when I cast my Thoughts upwards to the great and wise Lord of all, I have Reason to beg Pardon for such Errours, as he sees, not only in this, but in all my other Studies and Writings,

tings, and indeed in all Human Performances. The Consideration therefore of this, incites me to vent my Mind in these plain Lines, which have been affecting to me, tho they pretend not to Elegancy.

*A Culpis averte meis, Pater optime, visus ;
Tolle meas noxas, dedecorisq; notas.
Parce precor Custos Hominum, mihi parce precanti,
Et tua, Christe, tuum, Dextera salvet Opus.
Quicquid & hoc falsi, videas Deus Alme, Libello,
Et naevos omnes (σφάλματα) tolle suos.
Exleges Pietatis iter mea Scripta docebunt,
Perq; tuas pergunt, me Monitore, vias.
Te sine, Christe, bonum nil est nec amabile quicquam,
Tu mihi Pax cordis, tu mihi sola Salus.
Fac precor, ut recolens noctesq; diesq; requirat
Te mea Mens unum, Cogitet, Optet, Amet.*

And now, Reader, having committed this Work, together with my Self, and all Mine, to the Divine Mercy and Blessing ; I do, in like manner, commit thee and thine to the same. And thus I bid thee heartily Farewel, from my Study in *Hackney*, near *London*, this 5th Day of *November*, 1707.

F I N I S.

