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T H E

DIVINE LEGATION

O F *Sam^t. Miller.*

M O S E S

D E M O N S T R A T E D.

I N N I N E B O O K S.

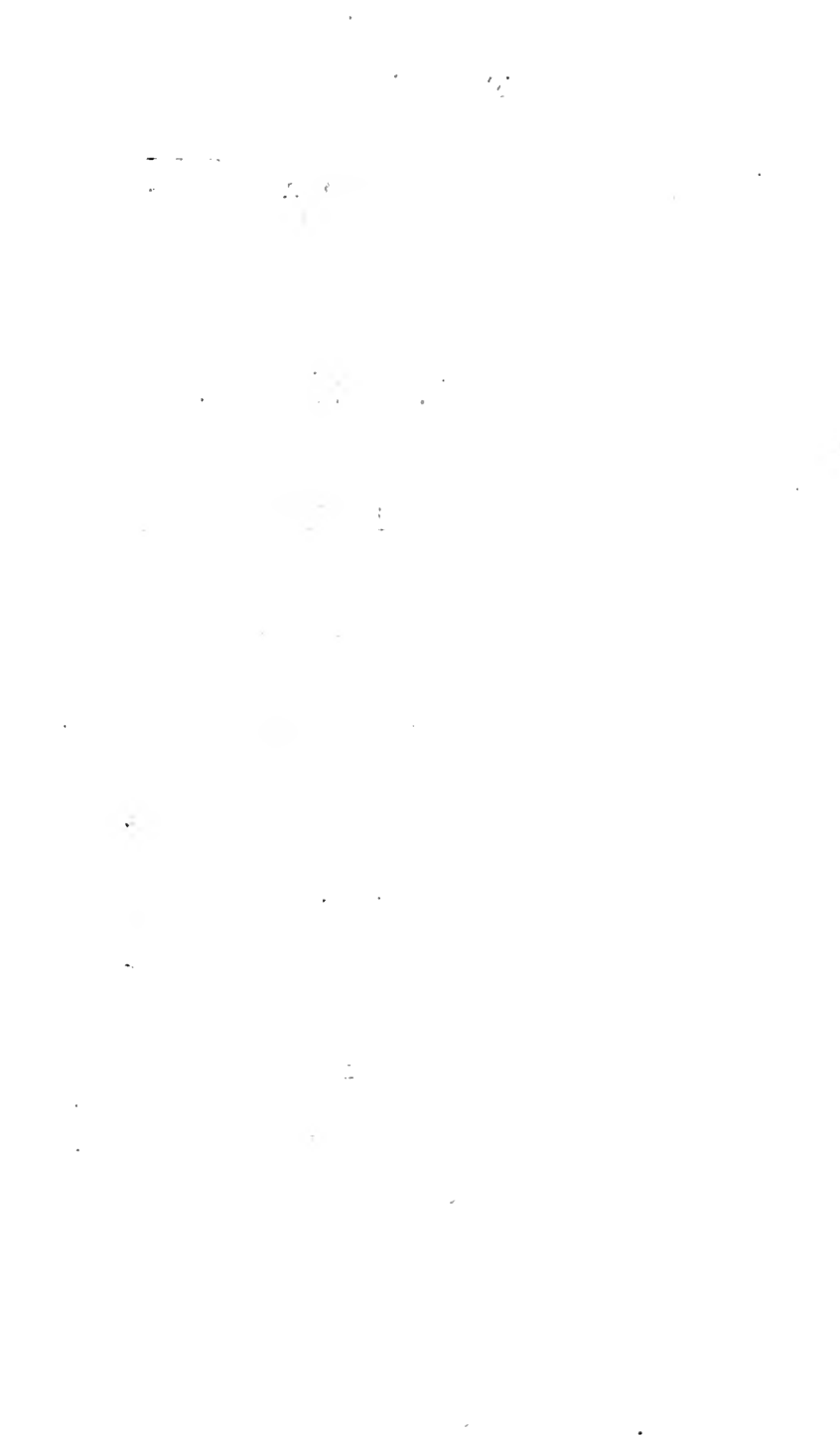
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C O N T E N T S

OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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T H E
 DIVINE LEGATION
 O F
M O S E S
 DEMONSTRATED.

B O O K VI.

S E C T. I.

AFTER such convincing evidence that a FUTURE STATE did not make part of the Religion of MOSES, the reader would not have suspected, he must once more be stopt to hear a long Answer to a set of texts brought from the *Old and New Testament* to prove, *That the Doctrine of a future state of reward and punishment DID make the most essential part of the Mosaic Dispensation: and this, not by a few fanciful Allegorists, or outrageous Bigots only, who will say, or do any thing; but by many sober men of all Sects and Parties, of all Times, and of all Religions.*

I. Several of the ancient CHRISTIAN Writers were so persuaded of this point, that not content to

say, the doctrine of a Future state made part of the Mosaic Dispensation, they would be confident that the very Pagans learnt it all from thence. Some modern Christians have not been behind them in their *Faith*, but have far outstripped them in their *Charity*, while they treated the denial of this extravagant Opinion as a new species of infidelity. It is true, they are all extremely confused and obscure about the way, they represent it to have been taught: And there have not been wanting, at all times men of greatest eminence for parts and piety, who have not only doubted, but plainly denied this Future state to be in the Mosaic Religion; though, to be just to all, with the same inconsistency and embarrass that the others have maintained it^a. However, the more current doctrine hath always been, *That a future state of rewards and punishments was taught by the Law of Moses.*

As surprizing as this may seem to those who have weighed the foregoing Evidence, yet indeed no less could be expected from such a number of concurrent and oddly combined Prejudices, which have served, till now, to discredit one of the clearest and most important truths of Revelation.

I. The first was, that several Patriarchs and Prophets, both before and under the Mosaic Dispensation, were certainly favoured with the reve-

^a To give an example only in Bishop BULL, whose words, in a *latin* tract, for a future state's not being in the Mosaic Dispensation I have quoted in the fourth section of this Vth book; yet in an *English* posthumous sermon, he seems to speak in a very different manner. — I should not have illustrated this censure by the example of so respectable a Person, but for the indiscretion of my Answerers, who, to support their own *ill logic*, have exposed his *merals*.

lation of man's *Redemption*; in which the doctrine of a Future state is eminently contained: And they think it utterly incredible that These should not have conveyed it to their People and Posterity.

2. They could not conceive how a Religion could be worthy of God, which did not propose to its Followers a Future state of rewards and punishments; but confined their views to the carnal things of this life only.

3. The truth, here attempted to be established, had been received and *abused* by the Enemies of all true Religion and Godliness; such as the Sadducees of the old Jewish church, the Gnostics of the old Christian, and Unbelievers in all Churches.

4. Lastly, men were kept fast within the error into which these prejudices had drawn them, by never rightly distinguishing between a Future state of reward and punishment, as taught by what men call *natural Religion*, and a future state as taught by *Christian Revelation*; which is the CLUE, as we shall see hereafter, to conduct us through all the errors and perplexities of this *region of darkness*, till we come into the full and glorious *light of the Gospel*.

But in Religious matters, combinations much less strange are sufficient to defeat the credit of the plainest Fact. A noted instance of what OBSTINACY alone can do against the self-evidence of Truth, will abate our wonder at the perversity in question; at least it may be put to use, in the *history of the human mind*, towards which, will be found materials, neither vulgar nor few, in the

course of this work. There is a sect, and that no inconsiderable one, which, being essentially founded in Enthusiasm, hath, amongst other of its strange freaks, thrown out the Institution of WATER-BAPTISM from its scheme of Christianity. It is very likely that the illiterate Founder, while rapt in his fanatic visions, did not reflect that, of all the institutions of our holy Religion, this of *water-baptism* was least proper to be called in question; being most invincibly established by the practice both of PAUL and PETER. This latter finding that the household of Cornelius the GENTILE had received the holy Ghost, regarded it as a certain direction for him to admit them into the Church of Christ, which he did by the initiatory Rite of *water-baptism*. [Acts x. 47.] Paul, in his travels through the lesser Asia, finding some of the JEWISH Converts who had never heard of the Holy Ghost, and, on enquiry, understanding they had been only baptised by water unto *John's Baptism*, thought fit to baptise them with water in the name of the Lord Jesus, that is, to admit them into the Church; and then laying his hands upon them the Holy Ghost came upon them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied. [Acts xix. 4, 5, 6.]

In spite of these two memorable transactions, the Quakers have notwithstanding rejected *water-baptism*. What is the pretence? "*Water-baptism* (it seems) is John's baptism, and only a type of baptism by the Holy Ghost or by Fire; so that when this last came in use, the former ceased and was abolished." Yet in the two histories given above, both these fancies are reproved; and in such a manner as if the stories had been recorded for no other purpose: For in the adventure of Paul, the *water-baptism of Jesus* is expressly distinguished from

from the *water-baptism of John*: And, in that of Peter, it appears, that *water-baptism* was necessary for admittance into the church of Christ, even after the ministrations of *baptism by fire*, or the communicated power of the Holy Ghost. It is further observable, that these two Heads of the Mission to the two great divisions of Mankind, the JEWS and GENTILES, here acted in one another's province; Peter the Apostle of the Jews administering baptism to the gentile household of Cornelius; and Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles, administering the same rite to the Jewish Converts. And why was this crossing of hands but to obviate that silly evasion, that *water-baptism* was only partial or temporary.

But what is reason, evidence, or truth, when opposed to religious Prejudice! The Quakers do not hold it to be clearer, that *repentance from dead works* is necessary for obtaining the spiritual benefits of the Gospel-Covenant, than that WATER-BAPTISM is abolished, and of no use to initiate into the Church of Christ.

II. But to proceed. The error in question is, as we said, not confined to the Christian Church. The Jews too maintain it with equal obstinacy, but not with equal indiscretion; *the Children of this world are, in their generation, wiser than the Children of light*^b; their fatal adherence to their long abolished Rites depending altogether upon this single prejudice, that Moses taught a future state of rewards and punishments: for if he taught it not, the consequence is inevitable, his Religion could be only *preparatory* to one that did teach it.

^b LUKE xvi. 8.

This therefore is their great support; and wisely have they enforced it by all the authority and power of the Synagogue^c. But what Christians gain by so doing, I confess I know not. What they lose hath been seen in part, and will be more fully shewn hereafter: not one demonstration only, of the truth of the Mosaic Mission, but all true conception of that divine harmony which inspires every part, and runs through the whole of GOD'S great Dispensation to Mankind.

III. The error is still more extensive; and hath spread from true Religion to the false; a fitter soil for its reception. For the MAHOMETANS, who hold the divine original of the Jewish Law, are as obstinate as the best, in giving it this mistaken advantage: but, it must be owned, under a modest pretext. Their expedient for saving the honour of the Law is this: They confess the Doctrine of a future state is not at present to be found there: **BUT THOUGH IT BE NOT THERE, IT OUGHT TO BE;** for that the Jews, in pure spite to them, have interpolated their Bible, and taken away all mention of it^d.

Matters being in this odd situation, the reader will excuse me, if I turn a little to consider those

^c See the *Dedication* to the Third Volume.

^d *Taourat* — Les Musulmans disent, que c'est l'ancien Testament que Dieu revela à Moÿse écrit en langue Hebraïque, livre qui a été altéré & corrompu par les Juifs. — C'est la le sentiment des Musulmans qui a été recueilli de plusieurs auteurs Arabes par *Hagi Khalfab*. Le même auteur dit — que l'on n'y trouve pas aussi aucun endroit où il soit parlé de l'autre vie, ni de la Resurrection, ni du Paradis, ni de l'Enfer, & que cela vient peut être de ce que les Juifs ont corrompu leurs exemplaires. — *Voyez la Bibliothèque Orientale de M. D'Herbelot, Mot. TAOUAR.*

texts of Scripture which CHRISTIAN writers have produced to prove, *That a future state of rewards and punishments does indeed make part of the Mosaic Religion.*

II.

But here let me observe, that the thing of most consequence in this part of my discourse will be to state the question clearly and plainly. When that is done, every common reader will be able, without my help, to remove the objections to my System; or rather, the question being thus truly stated, they will fall of themselves.

I. My declared purpose, in this Work^e, is to demonstrate *the Divine Legation of MOSES*, in order to use it for the foundation of a projected defence of Revelation in general, as the Dispensation is completed in Christianity. The medium I employ for this purpose is, that there was *no future state of reward and punishment in the Mosaic Religion.* I must needs therefore go upon these two principles: 1. That *Moses did not disbelieve a future state of reward and punishment.* 2. That *his Religion was preparatory to the Religion of JESUS which taught such future state.* Hence proceed these consequences:

1. From my holding that *Moses did not disbelieve a future state*, it follows, that all those texts of Scripture which are brought to prove that *the ancient Jews believed the soul survived the body*, are nothing to the purpose: but do, on the contrary, greatly confirm my Thesis: for which reason I have myself

^e See the Appendix to the first edit. of the *Alliance between Church and State.*

shewn that the early Jews did indeed suppose this truth.

2. From my holding that *the Religion of Moses was only preparatory to the Religion of JESUS*, it follows, that all such texts, as imply a *Future state of rewards and punishments in their TYPICAL signification* only, are just as little to the purpose. For if Moses's Religion was preparatory to one Future, it is, as I have shewn^f, highly reasonable to suppose, that the essential doctrine of that New Religion was shadowed out under the Rites, or by the inspired penmen, of the Old. But such texts are not only inconclusive, but highly corroborative of the opinion they are brought to oppose. For if future rewards and punishments were taught to the People under the Law, what occasion was there for any *typical* representation of them, which necessarily implies the throwing things, into shade, and secreting them from vulgar knowledge? What ground was there for that distinction between a *carnal* and a *spiritual* meaning (both of which it is agreed the Mosaic Law had, in order to fit it for the use of two Dispensations) if it did not imply an ignorance of the spiritual sense during the continuance of the first? Yet as clear as this is, the contrary is the doctrine of my Adversaries; who seem to think that the *spiritual* and the *carnal* sense must needs always go together, like the jewel and the foil in Aaron's breast-plate.

Both these sorts of texts, therefore, conclude only against SADDUCEES and INFIDELS. Yet hath this matter been so little attended to, in the judgments past upon my argument, that both sorts have been

^f See the last sect. of this vol.

urged as confutations of it. I speak not here of the dirty calumnies of one or two forgotten scribblers, but of the unequitable censures of some who better deserve to be set right.

II. But farther, As my position is, *that a Future state of reward and punishment was not taught in the Mosaic Dispensation*, all texts brought to prove the knowledge of it *after* the time of David are as impertinent as the rest. For what was known from this time, could not supply the want of what was unknown for so many ages before. This therefore puts all the prophetic Writings out of the question.

And now, when all these Texts are taken from my Adversaries, what is there left, to keep up the quarrel? Should I be so severe to insist on the common rights of Authors, of not being obliged to answer to convict impertinencies, this part of my task would be soon over. But I shall, in charity, consider these Texts, such as they are. However that I may not appear altogether so absurd as the Inforcers of them, I shall give the reader my reasons for this condescension.

I. As to the FUTURE EXISTENCE OF THE SOUL, we should distinguish between the mention of it by Moses, and by the following Writers. These might, and, as we have shewn, did conclude for its existence from the nature of the thing. But Moses, who, we suppose, intentionally omitted the mention of *Future rewards and punishments*, would not, we must needs suppose likewise, proclaim the preparatory doctrine of the *Existence*. Nor could he, on the other hand, deny what he knew to be
the

the truth. Thus, being necessitated to speak of Enoch's *Translation*, it could not be, but that a *separate existence* might be inferred, how obscurely soever the story was delivered. But had he said any thing, in his account of the Creation, which literally implied (as the words, of man's being *made in the image of God*, and the *breath of life* being breathed into his nostrils, are supposed to do) that man had an immortal soul, then must Moses be supposed, purposely, to have inculcated that Immortality; contrary to what we hold, that he purposely omitted the doctrine built upon it, namely a future state of reward and punishment. It will not be improper therefore to shew that such texts have not this pretended meaning.

2. Concerning a FUTURE STATE OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; several texts are brought as teaching it in a *typical sense*, which teach it in *no sense* at all: several as teaching it in a direct and *literal sense*, which only teach it in a *typical*. Both these, therefore, it may be proper to set in a true light.

3. Lastly, concerning the texts from the *later Prophets*, which are *without* the period in question; I own, and it is even incumbent on my Argument to prove, that these Prophets opened the first dawning of the doctrine of a *Resurrection*, and consequently of a *Future state of reward and punishment*: even these therefore shall in their proper place be carefully considered. At present let me just observe, that the dark veil under which the *first set* of Prophets delivered their *typical* representations was gradually drawn aside by the *later*.

S E C T. II.

HAVING premised thus much to clear the way, and shorten the inquiry, I now proceed to my examination.

And first, of the *texts* brought from the OLD TESTAMENT.

Now as the book of JOB^s is supposed to teach both a SEPARATE EXISTENCE and a FUTURE STATE OF

^s Job's *Life*, by means of the Devil and his false Friends, was an exercise of his Patience; and his *History*, by means of Criticism and his Commentators, has since been an exercise of ours. I am far from thinking myself unconcerned in this mischief; for by a foolish attempt to support his Name and Character, I have been the occasion of bringing down whole bands of hostile Critics upon him, who like the *Sabeans* and *Chaldeans* of old, soon reduced him back to his Dunghill. Some came armed in Latin, some in English, and some in the language of Billingsgate. Most of them were professedly written against me; but all, in reality, bear hardest on the good old Patriarch.

However, tho' I am, as I said, to be reckoned, along with these, amongst Job's Persecutors; yet I have this to say for myself, that the vexation I gave him was soon over. If I scribbled ten pages on his back, my Adversaries and his, have *made long furrows* and scribbled ten thousand. Now, tho' amongst all these, Job found no favour, yet by ill-hap my System did: But to whom I am most obliged, whether to those who attacked it, or to those who espoused it, is not easy to say: for, by a singular event, the Assailants have left me in possession of all its supports, and the Defenders have taken them all away*: the better, I presume, to fit it to their own use. Learned Naturalists tell us of a certain Animal in the watery waste, which, for I know not what conceit, they call *Bernard the Hermit*; and which, in courtesy, they rank with the testaceous tribe, tho' Nature (so bountiful to the rest of its kind) hath given This no habitation of its own, but sent it naked and unhoused into

* See Mr. G's, discourses on the book of Job.

OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; and is besides thought by some to be the first of Moses's writings; and by others to be written even before his time, and by the Patriarch himself, I shall give it the precedence in this inquiry: which it deserves likewise on another account, the superior evidence it bears to the point in question; if indeed it bear any evidence at all. For it may be said by those who thus hold it to be the earliest Scripture (allowing the words, of *Job, I know that my Redeemer liveth, &c.* to respect a future state) that the Jewish people must not only have had the knowledge of a FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments, but, what is more, of the RESURRECTION of the body, and still more, of the REDEMPTION of mankind by the Son of God: therefore Moses had no need to inculcate the doctrine of a future state^h. But I much suspect that the clear knowledge of so sublime a mystery, which St. Paul says, *had been hid from ages, and from generations, but was now* (on the preaching of the Gospel) *made manifest to the Saints*ⁱ, was not at all suited to the times of Job or Moses. The learned and impartial Divine will perhaps be rather inclined to think, that either the book of Job was written in a much later age, or that this

the world. In recompence, she has enabled it to figure amongst the best of its tribe: for, by a noble endowment of instinct, it is taught to make its way into the best accommodated, and best ornamented shells of its brethren; which it either finds empty, or soon makes so, to fit them up for its own ease and convenience.

^h But if the reader would see the absurdity of supposing the book of Job to be written thus early, and at the same time, to teach the resurrection and a future state, exposed at large, he may read the 3d chapter of *The free and candid examination of the BISHOP of London's Principles.*

ⁱ COL. i. 26.

famous passage has a very different meaning. I shall endeavour to shew, that neither of these suspicions would be entertained without reason.

I.

First then concerning the book itself.

As to the Person of *Job*, the eminence of his Character, his fortitude and patience in afflictions, and his preceding and subsequent felicity, these are realities so unquestionable, that a man must have set aside sacred Antiquity before he can admit a doubt concerning them. But that the book which bears *Job's* name was written by him, or in any age near his own, a careful and capable examiner will, I persuade myself, be hardly brought to believe.

In the order of this discourse therefore I shall inquire.

I. What kind of Composition the book of *Job* really is.

II. In what Age it was written. And,

III. Who was its Author.

I.

Even those who are inclined to suppose this a Work of the highest Antiquity, and to believe it an exact history of *Job's* sufferings and patience, and of *God's* extraordinary dispensations towards him, recorded by his own hand, are yet forced to confess that the Introduction and Conclusion are of another nature, and added, by a later hand, to
give

give that fulness and integrity to the Piece, which works of imagination, and only such works, require. This is a large concession, and plainly intimates that he who wrote the *Prologue* and *Epilogue*, either himself believed the body of the work to be a kind of *dramatic* Composition; or, at least, intended that others should have that opinion of it. I shall therefore the less scruple to espouse the notion of those who conclude the WHOLE TO BE DRAMATICAL. For the transferring the *Prologue* and *Epilogue* to a late writer was only an expedient to get rid of a circumstance which shewed it to be such a sort of work; and which consequently might bring it down to an age remote from that of the subject. But those who contrived this expedient seem to have had but a slender idea of the ancient *Drama*, which was generally rounded with a *Prologue* and *Epilogue* of this sort; to give, by way of narrative, information of such facts as fell not within the compass of the one entire Action represented^k.

I am induced to embrace this opinion from the cast of the *STYLE*, the *SENTIMENTS*, and *COMPOSITION*; all perfectly suited to such a kind of Work, and ill agreeing with any other.

1. As to the *Style*, it hath been observed by the Critics, even from the time of Jerom, that all

^k Calmet makes the following observation, in his comment on the 1st versè of chap. xxxviii. L'Ecrivain de cet Ouvrage a observé de ne point employer ce nom de *Jehovah* dans les discours directs qu'il fait tenir à Job & à ses Amis: mais dans les recits qui sont au commencement, et à la fin du Livre, il use de ce terme, comme font d'ordinaire les Ecrivains Hebreux. Ce qui *démontre* que l'Ouvrage a été écrit par un Juif, et depuis Moÿse; puisque ce nom incommunicable ne fut connu que depuis l'apparition du Buïsson ardent.

but the introduction and conclusion is in measure. But as it was the custom of Antiquity to write their gravest works of Religion, Law, and History, in verse, this circumstance alone should, I think, have little share in determining the nature of the Composition. And as little, I think, on the other hand, ought the frequent use of the arabic dialect to be insisted on, in support of its high original, since, if it be of the *nature*, and of the *date*, here supposed, an able writer would chuse to give his Fable that air of antiquity and verisimilitude.

2. But when we take the *sentiments* along, and find throughout the whole, not only verse but poetry, a poetry animated by all the sublimity of figures and luxuriance of description; and this, on the coolest and most abstracted subject; we cannot chuse but conclude it to be a work of imagination. Nor is it sufficient to say, that this is owing to an eastern genius, whose kindling fancy heats all his thoughts into a glow of expression: for if the two ends be his who wrote the middle, as we have no reason to doubt, they shew him not unused to the plainest form of narration. And as to that eastern genius itself, though distinguishingly sublime when a poetic subject has enflamed its enthusiasm, yet in mere history, nothing can be more cool and simple; as all acquainted either with their ancient or modern writers can inform us. But, what is more to our purpose, the sacred Prophets themselves, tho' wrapt in ecstasy of the divine impressions, when treating of the question here debated, namely, *Whether and wherefore the Good are frequently unhappy and the Bad prosperous*, a question that came sometimes in their way, while they were reproving their impious and impatient countrymen, who by their repeated apostasies had now provoked

provoked God to withdraw from them, by degrees, his extraordinary providence; when, I say, they touch upon this question, they treat the matter with the utmost plainness and simplicity.

3. But the last and most convincing circumstance is the *form* of the composition. And here I shall not urge, as of much weight, what hath been observed by some who take this side of the question, the scenical image of Job and his friends sitting together on the ground seven days and seven nights without a word speaking¹. Because we reasonably suppose no more to be meant than that excess of mutual grief making them unfit to give, and him to receive consolation, they were some days^m before they entered on the subject of their visit.

This rather is the thing to be admired, (if we suppose it all historic truth) that three cordial friends should make a solemn appointment to go *mourn with Job and to comfort him*ⁿ; that they should be so greatly affected with his extreme distresses, as to be unable to utter a word for *seven* whole *days* together; and yet, after this, to be no sooner set in, than intirely to forget their errand, and (*miserable comforters as they were*) instead of mourning with him in the bitterness of his soul, to wrangle, and contradict him in every word he spoke; and this without the least softening of

¹ Chap. ii. 13.

^m — Eo quod Hebraei soleant multiplicare per *septem* (h. e. septenarium numerum pro multitudine ponere) *Maimon. More nevochim*, p. 267.

ⁿ Chap. ii. 11.

Friendship; but with all the fierceness and acrimony of angry Disputants contending for a victory. It was no trifle neither that they insisted on, in which indeed disputatious men are often the warmest, but a contradiction in the tenderest point. They would needs have it, against all Job's protestations to the contrary, that his misfortunes came upon him in punishment for his crimes. Suppose their Friend had been wrong in the judgment he passed on things, Was this a time to animadvert in so pitiless a manner on his errors? Would not a small share of affection, pity, or even common humanity, have disposed them to bear one *seven days* longer with their old distressed Acquaintance? Human nature is ever uniform; and the greater passions, such as those of friendship and natural affection, shew themselves to be the same at all times: But we have an instance in these very times, in that amiable domestic story of Joseph. This Patriarch had been cruelly injured by his brethren. Providence at length put them into his power; and, in just resentment of their inhuman usage, he thought fit to mortify and humble them: but no sooner did he find them begin to be unhappy, than his anger subsided, violated affection returned, and he melted into their bosoms with all the tenderness of a fellow-sufferer. This was Nature: This was History. And shall we suppose the feelings of true Friendship to be inferior to those of Family-affection? David thought otherwise, where, speaking of Jonathan, he declares their mutual love was wonderful, surpassing that of the strongest natural affection, the passion between the two sexes. The same have always been the Friendships of good men, when founded on virtue, and strengthened by a similitude of manners.

So that it appears, these three friends were of a singular complexion; and deservedly gave occasion to a proverb which sets them in no very honourable or advantageous light.

But suppose now the work to be *dramatical*, and we immediately see the reason of their behaviour. For had they not been indulged in their strange captious humour, the Author could never have produced a piece of that integrity of action, which a scenic representation demanded: and they might as well have held their tongue *seven days* longer, as not contradict, when they did begin to speak°.

This,

° The Cornish Critic thinks otherwise, “ These false friends, (says he) are described as having so much fellow feeling of Job’s sufferings that they sit with him seven days and nights upon the ground without being able to speak to him. If this be the dramatic way of representing false friends, how shall we know the false from the true?” p. 19. Sempronius, in the Play of Cato, is all along warmer than even Cato himself in the cause of liberty and Rome. *If this be the dramatic way of representing a false patriot* (may our Critic say) *how shall we know the false from the true?* I answer, by observing him with his mask off. And do not Job’s false friends unmask themselves, when they so cruelly load their suffering Acquaintance with the most injurious reflections? Indeed the Critic deserves our pity, who cannot see that the formal circumstance of *sitting silent seven days* was a dramatic embellishment in the eastern manner: The not knowing that the number *seven* was a sacred number amongst the Jews, may indeed, be more excusable. — But he goes on, “ I have been often struck with surprise to see him [the author of the D. L.] very earnestly endeavouring to support his allegorical interpretation of the book of Job by arguments drawn from the contradictions, which he fancies he has there espied, to the truth of the history or tradition upon which his allegory is built. Than which, in my apprehension, there can scarce be a greater absurdity. I would desire him to consider attentively the allegorical ode in Horace, *O navis, referent, &c.* that tho’ every thing therein may be
“ accommodated

This, as to what the *Drama* in general required. But had this been all we could say for their conduct,

“accommodated to a republic, yet it is true in the literal or
 “primary sense only of a ship, and that there is not one single
 “stroke in it that can be understood of a republic and not of
 “a ship; and this might shew him his mistake in applying
 “passages in the book of Job to the Jewish People, MERELY
 “because they cannot be understood of Job: which is directly
 “annihilating the allegory he would establish. For it is as
 “plain that in an allegory two things or persons *must be con-*
 “*cerned* as that two and two must go to make four.” p. 99,
 100.—The insolence, the fraud, the nonsense of this passage is
 as much without example as it was without provocation.—I desire
 to understand, by what other means, except by revelation, an
allegorical writing can be known to be *allegorical*, but by
 circumstances in it which cannot be reconciled to the story or
 fable which serves both for a cover and vehicle to the moral?
 And yet this man tells us that to attempt to prove the nature of
 a writing to be allegorical from this circumstance is one of the
greatest absurdities. When the allegory is of some length, and
 takes in the life and adventures of a certain person, it can scarce
 be otherwise but that some circumstances in it must be varied
 from the fact, to adapt it to the moral. In a shorter, where
 the object is more simple, there may be no need for any varia-
 tion. And this shews the disingenuity of this man, in bringing
 the ode of Horace into comparison. For which too, the little
 he knows, he is indebted to the author of the D. L. And how
 little that is we shall now see.

In the first place, I have shewn this Ode not to be of the
 nature of an *allegory*, where the story is only the cover and
 vehicle to the moral: but of the nature of a relation contain-
 ing a *double sense*, primarily and secondarily: in which an in-
 formation is conveyed in both senses: consequently there ought
 not to be a *single stroke in it that can be understood of a republic*
and not of a ship: But this is a species of writing entirely dis-
 tinct from the allegory in question; so that the urging it was
 impertinent: and the following observation is made with his
 usual insolence;—*this might shew him his mistake in applying*
passages of the book of Job to the Jewish People MERELY because
they cannot be understood of Job! but not with insolence only,
 but with fraud: For I do not apply passages in the book of
 Job, MERELY for this reason; no nor principally; but only as
 one of many reasons.

duct, we should needs confess that the divine Writer had here done, what mere mortal Poets so frequently

However, contending for such discordant circumstances in the vehicle-story, he says, *is directly annihilating the allegory*. Now I understood it was the establishing it; as it is the only means of getting to the knowledge of its being an allegory. He goes on, — *For it is as plain that in an allegory two things or persons must be concerned, as that two and two must go to make four*. What he means by this jargon of *two's being concerned*, I know not. If he means that the *fable* and the *moral* must go to the making up the *allegory*, no body will dispute it with him. But if he means, that all the personages in the *fable* must have all the qualities, attributes, and adventures of the personages in the *moral*, all Æsop's fables will confute this profound reasoner on allegories. However something, to be sure, he did mean: He had a notion, I suppose, that there was a right and wrong in every thing: he only wanted to know where they lie: Therefore to make these cursory notes as useful as I can, I will endeavour to explain his meaning. It is certain then, that tho' the justice of allegoric writing does not require that the facts in the fable do in reality correspond exactly with the facts in the moral, yet the truth of things requires the *possibility* of their so corresponding. Thus, tho' the As perhaps never actually covered himself with a Lion's skin, and was betrayed by his long ears, as Æsop relates, yet we have an example before us, sufficient to convince us that he might have done so, without much expence of instinct. But when Dryden made his *Hind and Panther* dispute about the doctrine and discipline of particular Churches; as they never possibly could have done so, *this* (to take his own words, instead of better) *is directly annihilating the allegory he would establish*; for it is as plain that in an allegory two things or persons must be concerned, as that two and two must go to make four. But I fancy I ascribe more to his sagacity than it deserves, in supposing, that he understood, what kind of allegory the book of Job must needs be, if it be any allegory at all. I now begin to suspect he took it to be of the same kind with the Ode of Horace, not indeed because he compares it to that Ode; for such kind of Writers are accustomed to make, as the Poet says, *comparisons unlike*; but because this suspicion may give some light to his cloudy observation, *that two things or persons must be concerned*: For in that sort of allegory, which is of the nature of a relation containing a *double sense* primarily and secondarily, every thing said must agree exactly both to the primary and to the secondary subject. Which perhaps is what this

quently do; that is, had transgressed nature (in such a representation of friendship) for the sake of his Plot. But we shall shew, when we come to examine the MORAL of the poem, that nature is exactly followed: for that under these three *miserable Comforters*, how true friends soever in the *Fable*, certain false friends were intended to be shadowed out in the *Moral*^p.

But now the dispute is begun and carried on with great vehemence on both sides. They affirm,

this man means by his clumsy precept, of *two things or persons concerned*. The reason of this distinction, in these two sorts of allegory, is this, — In that sort of allegory which is of the nature of the book of Job, or of the APOLOGUE, the cover *has no moral import*: But in that sort which is of the nature of a NARRATIVE WITH A DOUBLE SENSE, the cover *has a moral import*.

^p To this, the Cornish Critic, — “What a happy way is here of reconciling contradictions! It seems truth may become falsehood, if it be necessary to support the allegory. The moral and the fable may disagree as widely as you please, and the conclusion by a new sort of logic have something in it very different from the premisses.” p. 19. — If his kind Reader knows what to make of this jargon of *truth becoming falsehood and the conclusion having more in it than the premisses*, he may take it for his pains. All that the Author of the D. L. asserts to be here done, and which may be done according to nature and good sense, is no more than this, that a dramatic Writer, when he fetches his subject from History, may alter certain of the circumstances, to fit it to his Plot; which all dramatic Writers, antient and modern, have done. Much more reasonable is this liberty, where the work is not only *dramatic* but *allegorical*. Now I will suppose, that, together with Job's patience under the hand of God, tradition had brought down an account of his further sufferings under the uncharitable censure of three friends: Was not the Maker of this allegoric work at liberty, for the better carrying on his purpose, to represent them as *false* ones. Yet, this liberty, our wonderful Critic calls *reconciling contradictions, making truth become falsehood*, and I can't tell what nonsense besides, of *premisses and conclusions*.

they object, they answer, they reply ; till, having exhausted their whole stock of arguments, and made the matter more doubtful than they found it, the Author, in this embaras, has recourse to the common expedient of dramatic writers, to draw him from his straits, — Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς. And if ever that precept of the masters of composition,

Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus Vindice nodus,

was well followed, it was here. For what can we conceive more worthy the presence of a GOD than to interfere with his Authority, to silence those frivolous or impious disputes amongst men concerning the MYSTERIOUS WAYS OF PROVIDENCE? And that this interposition was nothing more, I think, is evident from hence: The subject, as we observe, was of the highest importance, namely, *Whether, and why, good men are unhappy, and the evil prosperous?* The disputants had much perplexed the question by various answers and replies ; in which each side had appealed to reason and experience ; so that there wanted a superior Wisdom to moderate and determine. But, to the surprise of all who consider this attentively, and consider it as a strict History, they find GOD introduced to do this in a speech which clears up no difficulties ; but makes all hopes of deciding the question desperate, by an appeal to his Almighty power⁴. A
plain

⁴ Maimonides having given a summary of the dispute, draws this inference from it: *Vide & perpende, quâ ratione hoc negotium confusos reddiderit homines, & ad sententias illas de providentiâ Dei erga creaturas quas exposuimus permoverit.* Yet, when he comes to speak of the solution of these difficulties, he could find none. But not to say nothing, (the thing most dreaded by Commentators) he pretends to discover, from the obscurity in which things are left, the true scope of the book of Job: *Hic fuit*

plain proof that the Interposition was no more than a piece of poetical Machinery. And in that case we see the reason why the knot remains untied: for the sacred Writer was no wiser^r when he spoke poeti-

fuit scopus totius libri Jobi, ut scilicet constituatur hic articulus fidei, & doceatur, à rebus naturalibus discendum esse, ut non erremus, aut cogitemus scientiam ejus [Dei sc.] ita se habere ut scientiam nostram; intentionem, providentiam, & gubernationem ejus, sicut intentionem, providentiam, & gubernationem nostram. Mor. Nev. p. 3. c. xxiii.

^r Here Dr. Grey exclaims—“How, Sir, *no wiser?* Is God introduced to *unfold* the mysterious ways of his Providence, and yet the knot is left untied, because the Writer, though speaking in the person of God, and by his inspiration, was not *wise enough* to untie it? Is that a speech to the purpose, which in a Controversy, as you will have it, where the disputants have much perplexed the question, and a superior Wisdom was wanted to determine it, clears up no difficulties? Or is it language fit to be made use of, when speaking of a book dictated by the spirit of God, that the writer of it has recourse to the common expedient of dramatic writers to help him out of his straits?” *Answer to remarks*, p. 125. Softly, good Doctor! In determining a dispute concerning the ways of Providence, though God himself had indeed interposed, we can conceive but two ways of doing it: The one to SATISFY us, by explaining the end and means of that Providence, where the explanation is useful to us, and adequate to our capacities: The other, to SILENCE us, by an argument to our modesty, drawn from the incomprehensible nature and government of the Deity, where an explanation is not useful to us, and inadequate to our capacities. Both these Determinations, the one by *explanation*, the other by *authority*, attended by their respective circumstances, are equally reasonable: and the last is here employed for the reason hinted at, to put an end to this embarrassed dispute. Let this serve in answer to the Doctor’s question, *Is that a speech to the purpose, which in a controversy where the disputants have much perplexed the question, and a superior wisdom was wanted to determine it, clears up no difficulties?*

Indeed, though there was no *untying the knot*, there was a way to *cut it*, which would have done full as well; and that was by revealing the doctrine of a future state. Why it was

poetically in the Person of God, than when he spoke in the person of Job or his friends.

On these accounts, and on many more, which will be touched upon in the course of this dissertation, but are here omitted to avoid repetition, I conclude, that those Critics who suppose the book of Job to be of the *dramatic* kind do not judge amiss.

Nor does such idea of this truly divine Composition at all detract from the proofs we have of the real existence of this holy Patriarch, or of the truth of his exemplary Story. On the contrary, it much confirms them: seeing it was the general practice of dramatic Writers, of the serious kind, to chuse an illustrious Character or celebrated Ad-

not done, I leave the learned Critic and all in his sentiments, to give us some good account, since they are not disposed to receive that which the Author of the D. L. has given. For this Doctor tells us, *it is but small comfort that arises from resolving all into submission to the almighty power of God.* p. 107. St. Paul indeed tells us, it is the greatest comfort, as well as wisdom, *to resolve all into submission to the almighty power of God.* — But Doctors differ.

From the MATTER of the D. L. the Doctor proceeds (as we see) to the LANGUAGE. — *Is it language fit to be made use of when speaking of a book dictated by the spirit of God?* — The language hinted at, I suppose is what he had quoted above, that *the sacred writer was no wiser when he spoke poetically in the person of God, &c.* I think it *not unfit*, and for these reasons; a Prophet speaking or writing by inspiration, is just so far and no further enlightened than suits the purpose of his Mission. Now the clearing up the mysterious ways of Providence being reserved amongst the arcana of the Deity, a Prophet (tho' employed to end the foolish and hurtful disputes about it, amongst men, by an appeal to the incomprehensible nature of the Deity) was certainly, when he made this appeal *in the person of God, no wiser in the knowledge of this arcanum, than when he spoke in the person of Job or his friends.*

venture

venture for the subject of the Piece, in order to give their poem its due dignity and weight. And yet, which is very surprising, the Writers on both sides, as well those who suppose the Book of Job to be dramatical, as those who hold it to be historical, have fallen into this paralogism, *That, if dramatical, then the Person and History of Job are fictitious.* Which nothing but inattention to the nature of a dramatic Work, and to the practice of dramatic Writers, could have occasioned. Lactantius had a much better idea of this species of composition. — Totum autem, quod referas, fingere, id est, ineptum esse, et Mendacem potius quam Poetam.

But this fallacy is not of late standing. Maimonides, where he speaks of those whose opinion he seems to incline to, that says the book of *Job* is parabolical, expresses himself in this manner^s. *You know, there are certain men who say, that such a man as JOB never existed. And that his HISTORY is nothing else but a parable.* These certain men were (we know) the Talmudists. Now, as, by *his History*, he means this book of *Job*, it is evident he supposed the fabulosity of the book concluded against the existence of the Patriarch. Nay, so insensibly does this inveterate fallacy insinuate itself into our reasonings on this subject, that even GROTIUS himself appears not to be quite free from the entanglement. Who, although he saw these two things, (a real *Job* and a dramatic representation of him) so reconcileable, that he supposed both; yet will not allow the *book* of *Job* to be later than

^s *Nōsi quosdam esse, qui dicunt Jobum nunquam fuisse, neque creatum esse; sed HISTORIAM illius nihil aliud esse quàm Parabolam.*

Ezekiel, because that Prophet mentions Job[†]. Which argument, to have any strength, must suppose Job to be unknown until this Book was written; consequently that his Person was fictitious; contrary to his own supposition, that there was a real Job living in the time of Moses[‡]. After this, it is no wonder, that the Author of the *Archæologie Philosophicæ*, whose talent was not critical acumen, should have reasoned so grossly on the same fallacious principle[×]. These learned men, we see, would infer a visionary Job from a visionary History, Nor is the mistake of another celebrated Writer less gross, who would, on the contrary, infer a real history from a real Job. *Ezekiel and St. James* (says Dr. Middleton, in his essay on the Creation and Fall of Man) *refer to the BOOK OF JOB in the same manner as if it were a real history*. Whereas the truth is, they do not refer to the BOOK OF JOB at all.

[†] Chap. xiv. ver. 14.
Job.

[‡] Vid. Grotii *Præf. in Librum*

[×] This Writer endeavouring to prove the high age of *Job*, or of the *Book of Job*, for these two things, after better reasoners, he all along confounds, closes his arguments in this manner, *Denique post formatam rempublicam Judaicam, secretamque à cæteris gentibus, per instituta propria & legem à Deo datam: non facile, credo, hanc sanctam gentem, ejusdem temporis & sæculi alienigenam, vel hominem Gentilem, in exemplum pietatis proposituram, aut ipsius aëta & historiam in sacros eorum codices relaturam*. *Archæol. Philos.* p. 266. ed. 8vo, 1728. The Reader sees; all the strength of the argument rests on this false supposition, that the book must needs be as old as its subject. For if Job were of the Patriarchal times, he was a fit example of piety, let his history be written when it would; and, if written by a sacred Author, it was worthy to be inserted into the Canon of Scripture: and was likely to be so inserted, if composed (as we shall see it was) by a Jewish Prophet.

II. The second question to be considered, is in what Age this book was composed.

I. First then we say in general, that it was written some time under the Mosaic Dispensation. But to this it is objected, that, if it were composed in those Times, it is very strange that not a single word of the Mosaic Law, nor any distant allusion to the Rites or Ceremonies of it, nor any historical circumstance under it, nor any species of idolatry in use during its period, should be found in it^r.

I apprehend the objection rests on one or other of these suppositions, Either that the book is not a Work of the dramatic kind; or that the Hero of the Piece is fictitious. But both these suppositions have been shewn to be erroneous; so that the objection falls with them. For to observe DECORUM is one of the most essential rules of *dramatic* writing. He therefore who takes a real Personage for the subject of his poem will be obliged to shew him in the customs and sentiments of his proper Age and Country; unmixed with the manners of the Writer's later Time and Place. Nature and

† Jobus Arabs πολυκλειτὸς ἢ πολυμαθὴς, in cujus historiâ multa occurrunt antiquæ sapientiæ vestigia, antiquior habetur Mose. Idque multis patet indicis: Primo, quòd nullibi meminerit reum à Mose gestarum, sive in Ægypto, sive in exitu, sive in deserto.—Secundo, quòd, cùm vir pius & veri numinis cultor fuerit, legi Mosaicæ contraiverit, in sacrificiis faciendis.—Tertio, ex ætatis & vitæ suæ mensura, in tertio, plus minus, à Diluvio sæculo collocandus esse videtur: vixit enim ultra ducentos annos.—Cùm de Idololatria loquitur, memorat primum ipsius genus Solis & Lunæ adorationem.—Neque Sabbothi neque ullius legis factitiæ meminit.—His omnibus adducor ut credam, Mose Jobum tempore anteisse. *Archæol. Philos.* p. 265, 266.

the reason of the thing so evidently demand this conduct, and the neglect of it has so ungracious an effect, that the polite Roman Historian thought the Greek tragic Writers were to blame even for mentioning the more modern name of Theffaly, in their pieces of the Trojan War. And he gives this good reason for his censure, *Nilil enim ex Persona Poëtæ sed omnia sub eorum, qui illo tempore vixerunt, dixerunt* ^z.

But to lay no greater stress on this argument than it will bear; I confess ingenuously, that were there not (as the objection supposes) the least distant relation or allusion to the Jewish Law or History throughout the whole book, it might reasonably create some suspicion that the Author lived before those times. For though this rule of *decorum* be so essential to *dramatic* writing, yet, as the greatest Masters in that art frequently betrayed their own Times and Country in their fictitious

^z *Vell. Pater. Hist.* l. i. c. 3. Had Dr. R. Grey known but just so much of the nature of these Compositions, he had never fallen into the ridiculous mistake I am going to take notice of. This learned Critic, to confute the system I advance, that the subject of the argumentative part of the book of Job was, *Whether, and why, the good are sometimes unhappy and the bad prosperous*; and that the question was debated for the sake of the Israelites in the time of Ezra; observes as follows, “Zopher says, c. xx. 4, 5. *Knowest thou not this of old, since man was placed upon earth, that the triumphing of the wicked is short, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment?* Now lay your hand upon your heart, Sir, and ask yourself seriously, whether this can relate to an extraordinary Providence over the Jews only. p. 111.” He is so pleased with the force of this observation that he repeats it, p. 116. To which I need only reply, Lay your hand, Sir, on your head, and reflect upon this rule of good writing, *Nilil enim ex Persona Poëtæ, sed omnia sub eorum, qui illo tempore vixerunt, dixerunt.*

Works ^a, we can hardly suppose a Jewish Writer more exact in what only concerned the critical perfection of his Piece. But as DECORUM is one of the plainest and simplest principles of Composition, we cannot suppose a good writer ignorant of it; and so are not to look for such glaring absurdities as are to be found in the dramatic writings of late barbarous ages; but such only as might easily escape the most exact and best instructed Writer.

Some slight *indecorums* therefore we may reasonably expect to find, if the Author were indeed a Jew: and such, if I am not much mistaken, we shall find. Job speaking of the wicked man, says: *He that speaketh flattery to his friends, even the eyes of his children shall fail* ^b — *God layeth up iniquity for his children* ^c ^d. And in the course of the dispute,

^a From amongst many instances which might be given of these slips, take the following of Euripides, in his *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Act. 3. where he makes the Chorus say, *Troy perishes. And for whom? For you, cruel Helen, who, as they say, are the daughter of Jupiter, who, under the form of a Swan had commerce with Leda.* — So far is well: because we may suppose the Chorus alluded to the popular tale concerning Helen's birth, spread abroad in her life-time. But when the Chorus goes on and says, — *If at least the writings of the Poets be not fabulous*, the Author had forgot himself; for the Poets who embellished her story, lived long afterwards.

^b Chap. xvii. ver. 5.

^c Chap. xxi. ver. 19.

^d Here the Cornish answerer affirms, "that this method of punishment was not peculiar to the Jewish Policy, but was observed, in some degree at least, with respect to all mankind." For which he quotes Isaiah's threatenings on the Children of the king of Babylon, chap. 14, 20, & seq. That is, in order to prove that God punished the crimes of the fathers on the children in some degree at least, with respect to all mankind, he quotes an instance, not of the general providence of God to all mankind, but a particular dispensation to the Babylonians: and

pute, and in the heat of altercation, this peculiar dispensation is touched upon yet more precisely. Job, in support of his doctrine, paints at large the happy condition of prosperous wicked men; a principal circumstance of whose felicity is, *that they spend their days in wealth, and in a moment go down to the grave*^c, i. e. without sickness, or the terrors of slow-approaching death. The lot which prosperous libertines of all times, who believe no future reckoning, most ardently wish for. Now in the declining times of the Jewish Œconomy, pious men had always their answer ready, The prosperous wicked man (say they) shall be punished in his Posterity, and the afflicted good man rewarded in them. To the first part of the solution concerning the wicked, Job answers thus, *God layeth up his iniquity for his children: he rewardeth him, and he shall know it*^f. As much as to say, the evil man sees and knows nothing of the punishment; in the mean time, he feels and enjoys his own felicity, as a reward. To the second part, concerning the good, he answers thus, *His eyes shall see his destruction, and he shall drink of the wrath of the Almighty: For what pleasure hath he in his house after him, when the number of his months is cut off in the midst*^g. i. e. The virtuous man sees and feels nothing but his own miseries: for what pleasure can the good things reserved for his posterity, afford to him who is to taste and enjoy none of it; being not only extinct long before, but cut off untimely?

and not a *particular* punishment, which selects out the children of transgressing parents, but a *general* one, which in the nature of things, necessarily attends the total overthrow of a State or Community.

^c Chap. xxi. ver. 13.

^f Ver. 19.

^g Ver. 20, 21.

In another place, Job says, *That idolatry was an iniquity to be punished by the judge*^b. Now both this and the former species of punishment were, as we have shewn, peculiar to the Mosaic Dispensation. But a Jew might naturally mistake them for a part of the general Law of God and nature: and so, while he was really describing the Œconomy under which he lived, suppose himself to be representing the notions of more ancient times: which, that it was his design to do, in the last instance at least, appears from his mentioning only the most early species of idolatry, the worship of the *Sun* and *Moon*ⁱ. Again, the language of Job with regard to a *future state* is the very same with the Jewish Writers. *He that goeth down to the grave* (says this writer) *shall come up no more:—they shall not awake or be raised out of their sleep.* Thus the Psalmist, — *In death there is no remembrance of thee. — Shall the dead ARISE and praise thee!* — And thus the author of Ecclesiastes, — *The dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a-REWARD*^k. And we know what it was that hindered the Jews from entertaining any expectations of a future state of rewards and punishments, which was a popular doctrine amongst all their Pagan neighbours.

But there is, besides this of *Customs* and *Opinions*, another circumstance that will always betray a

^b Chap. xxxi. ver. 28. Mr. LOCKE thought this so decisive a proof that the book of Job was written after the giving the Law, that he says, THIS PLACE ALONE, WERE THERE NO OTHER, is sufficient to confirm their opinion who conclude that book to be writ by a Jew.—*Third Letter for Toleration*, p. 81-2. Let those Critics reflect upon this, who think there is no footstep nor shadow of allusion to any thing relating to the people of Israel.—

ⁱ Ver. 26.

^k See Vol. IV. p. 354.

feigned Composition, made in an age remote from the subject: and that is, the use of later *phrases*. These are more easily discovered in the modern, and even in what we call, the learned languages: but less certainly, in the very ancient ones; especially in the Hebrew, of which there is only one, and that no very large Volume, remaining. And yet even here, we may detect an author of a later age. For, besides the phrases of common growth, there are others, in every language, interwoven alike into the current style, which owe their rise to some singular circumstance of time and place; and so may be easily traced up to their original: though, being long used in common speech in a general acceptance, they may well escape even an attentive Writer. Thus Zophar, speaking of the wicked man, says: *He shall not see the rivers, the floods, the BROOKS OF HONEY AND BUTTER*¹. This in ordinary speech only conveyed the idea of *plenty* in the abstract; but seems to have been first made a proverbial saying from the descriptions of the holy Land^m. Again, Eliphaz says, *Receive, I pray thee, THE LAW FROM HIS MOUTH, and lay up his words in thine heart*ⁿ. That is, *be obedient*: but the phrase was taken from the verbal delivery of the Jewish Law from mount Sinai. The Rabbins were so sensible of the expressive peculiarity of this phrase, that they say the LAW OF MOSES is here spoken of by a kind of prophetic anticipation. Again, Job cries out: *O that I were—as I was in the days of my youth, when the SECRET OF GOD WAS UPON MY TABERNACLE*^o; that is, *in full security*: Evidently taken from the residence of the

¹ Chap. xx. ver. 17.

^m See EXOD. iii. 8.—xiii. 5.

— xxxiii. 3, 4. — DEUT. xxxi. 20. — 2 KINGS xviii. 32.

ⁿ Chap. xxii. ver. 23.

^o Chap. xxix. ver. 4.

Divine Presence or SHEKINAH, in a visible form, on the ark, or on the tent where the ark was placed. And again—*O that one would hear me! Behold my desire is that the Almighty would answer me, and that mine Adversary had written a book. Surely I would take it upon my shoulder and bind it as a CROWN to me*^p. A phrase apparently taken from the use of their PHYLACTERIES; which at least were as ancient as their return from Captivity, and coeval with their scrupulous adherence to the Law.

A third circumstance, which will betray one of these feigned compositions, is the Author's being drawn, by the vigour of his imagination, from the seat of Action and from the manners of the Scene, to one very different; especially, if it be one of great fame and celebrity. So here, tho' the Scene be the deserts of Arabia, amongst family-heads of independent Tribes, and in the simplicity of primitive Manners, yet we are carried by a poetic fancy, into the midst of EGYPT, the best policied, and the most magnificent Empire then existing in the world.—*Why died I not from the womb* (says the chief Speaker) *for now I should have lien still and been quiet, I should have slept; then had I been at rest; with KINGS and COUNSELLORS OF THE EARTH, which build DESOLATE PLACES for themselves*^q. i. e. magnificent buildings, in desolate places, meaning plainly the PYRAMIDS, raised in the midst of barren sands, for the burying places of the kings of Egypt.—*Kings and counsellors of the earth*—was, by way of eminence, the designation of the Egyptian Governors. So Isaiah—*the counsel of the wise counsellors of Pharaoh is be-*

^p Chap. xxxi. ver. 35—6.

^q Chap. iii. ver. 13, 14.

come brutish. How say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings^r. But it may be observed in general, that though the Scene confined the Author to scattered Tribes in the midst of Deserts, yet his images and his ideas are, by an insensible allure, taken throughout, from crowded Cities and a civil-policed People. Thus he speaks of the Children of the wicked *being crushed in the gate*^s, alluding to a City taken by storm, and to the destruction of the flying inhabitants pressing one another to death in the narrow passage of the City-gates.—Again, of the good man it is said, that *he shall be hid from the scourge of tongues*^t; that pestilent mischief which rages chiefly in rich and licentious Communities. But there would be no end of giving instances of this kind, where they are so numerous.

Hitherto the Author seems unwarily to have betrayed his Times and Country. But we shall now see that he has made numerous allusions to the miraculous History of his Ancestors with serious *purpose and design*. For this poem being written, as will appear, for the comfort and solace of his Countrymen, he reasonably supposed it would advance his principal end, to refresh their memories with some of the more signal deliverances of their Forefathers. In the mean time, *decorum*, of which we

^r ISAIAH XLV. 11.

^s Chap. v. ver. 4. The Septuagint renders it very expressively καταβρισθήσονται ἐπὶ θυραίης πόλεως.

^t Ver. 21. evidently taken from these words of the Psalmist, *Thou shalt keep them secretly in a pavilion from the strife of tongues*, Ps. xxxi. 20. For which was the copy and which the original can here admit no doubt, since the image was an obvious one in the Psalmist, who lived in a great city, less natural in Job who lived in a desert, as we have observed above.

find him a careful observer, required him to preserve the image of very different and distant times. This was a difficulty: and would have been so to the ablest Writer. Both these were matters of importance; and neither one nor the other could be omitted, without neglecting his Purpose, or deforming his Composition. How then can we conceive a skillful Artist would act if not in this manner; he would touch those stories, but with so slight an outline and such airy colouring, as to make them pass unheeded by a careless observer; yet be visible enough to those who studied the Work with care and attention. Now this artful temper our divine Writer, we say, hath observed. The conduct was fine and noble: and the cloud in which he was forced to wrap his studied allusions, will be so far from bringing them into question, that it will confirm their meaning; as it now appears, that if an able Writer would, in such a work, make allusions to his own Times, Religion, and People, it must be done in this covert manner. Thus Job, speaking of the Omnipotence of God, — *which commandeth the sun, and it riseth not, and sealetb up the stars* ^u, plainly enough alludes to the miraculous history of the people of God, in the Egyptian Darkness, and the stopping of the Sun's course by Joshua. This appeared so evident to a very learned Commentator, though in the other opinion of the book's being of Job's own writing, that he was forced to suppose that his author spoke prophetically, as knowing by the gift of Prophecy, what God in a future age would do ^x. So where

^u Chap. ix. ver. 7.

^x Hoc videtur respicere historiam Josuæ vel Ezechiaë, quam ante illa Job extiterit. Sed hæc potuerunt per anticipationem dici, quod Jobum non lateret penes Deum esse id efficere quandocunque luberet. *Codurcus in locum.*

Job says, *God divideth the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through the proud*^y, he evidently refers to the destruction of *Pharaoh and his host in the Red-sea*. Again, in the following words, *He taketh away the heart of the chief of the people of the earth, and causeth them to wander in a wilderness where there is no way*^z, who can doubt but that they allude to the wandering of the Israelites forty years in the wilderness, as a punishment for their cowardice, and diffidence in God's promises; Eliphaz, speaking of the wonderful works of God, declares how he came to the knowledge of them, *I will shew thee, hear me; and what I have seen I will declare; which wise men have told from their fathers, and have not hid it*^a: the very way in which Moses directs the Israelites to preserve the memory of the miraculous works of God. And who are these *wise men*? They are so particularly marked out as not to be mistaken: *Unto whom alone the earth was given, and NO STRANGER PASSED AMONGST THEM*^b. A circumstance agreeing to no People whatsoever but to the Israelites settled in Canaan. The same Eliphaz, telling Job to his face, that his misfortunes came in punishment for his Crimes, says: *Thou hast taken a pledge from thy brother for nought, and stripped the naked of his cloathing*^c. And Job, speaking of the most profligate of men, describes them, amongst other marks of their iniquity, by this, that *they caused the naked to lodge without cloathing, that they have no covering in the cold*^d; that *they take a pledge of the poor, and cause him to go naked without cloathing*^e. Who that sees this ranked amongst the greatest enor-

^y Chap. xxvi. ver. 12.

^z Chap. xii. ver. 24.

^a Chap. xv. ver. 17, 18.

^b Ver. 19.

^c Chap. xxii.

ver. 6.

^d Chap. xxiv. ver. 7.

^e Ver. 9, 10.

EXOD. xxii. 26, 27. See also DEUT. xxiv. 12, and 17.

mities, but will reflect that it must have been written by one well studied in the LAW OF MOSES, which says: *If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goeth down; for that is his covering only, it is his raiment for his skin: Wherein shall he sleep? And it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto me, that I will bear, for I am gracious.* Which Law, as the learned Spencer observes, was peculiar to this institution^f. Elihu, speaking of GOD's dealing with his servants, says: "That he may withdraw man from his purpose, and hide pride from man, he keepeth back his soul from the pit, and his life from perishing by the sword. He is chastened also with pain upon his bed, and the multitude of his bones with strong pain. His soul draweth nigh unto the grave, and his life to the destroyers. If there be a messenger with him, an interpreter, one amongst a thousand to shew unto man his uprightness, then he is gracious unto him, and saith, Deliver him from going down to the pit, I have found a ransom. His flesh shall be fresher than a child's, he shall return to the days of his youth. He shall pray unto God, and he will be favourable unto him, and he shall see his face with joy; for he will render unto man his righteousness^g." This is the most circumstantial account of GOD's dealing with HEZEKIAH, as it is told in the books of *Chronicles* and *Kings*. GOD had delivered him from perishing by the sword of Sennacherib: "In those days Hezekiah was sick

^f — Leges illæ in Dei tantum Pandectis inveniendæ sunt, nempe, de vestibus pignori datis, quibus de pecunia concredita cavebant debitores, ante solis occasum, restituendis. — *De Leg. Hebr. Rit.* vol. i. p. 263.

^g Chap. xxiii. ver. 17, & seq.

“ to the death, and prayed unto the LORD : and
 “ he spake unto him, and he gave him a sign.
 “ But Hezekiah rendered not again, according to
 “ the benefit done unto him, for *his heart was lifted*
 “ *up*^b.” But the story is told more at large in the
 book of *Kings* :—“ In those days was Hezekiah
 “ *sick unto death* : and the *Prophet* Isaiah, the son
 “ of Amos came to him, and said unto him,
 “ Thus saith the LORD, Set thine house in order,
 “ for thou shalt die and not live. Then he turned
 “ his face to the wall, and *prayed unto the Lord*.—
 “ And it came to pass, afore Isaiah was gone out
 “ into the middle court, that the word of the
 “ LORD came unto him, *saying, Turn again, and tell*
 “ Hezekiah, Thus saith the LORD, I have *heard*
 “ *thy prayer, I have seen thy tears* : Behold I will
 “ heal thee ; *on the third day thou shalt go up unto*
 “ *the house of the Lord*. And Isaiah said, Take a
 “ lump of figs ; and they took and laid it on the
 “ boil, *and he recovered*ⁱ.”—The following words
 as plainly refer to the destruction of the first-born
 in Egypt, and Sennacherib’s army ravaging Judea :
In a moment shall they die, and the people shall be
troubled at midnight and pass away, and the mighty
shall be taken away without hand^k. These likewise
 clearly allude to the Egyptian Darkness,—*from the*
wicked their light is withholden^l.

No one, I think, can doubt but that the following description of God’s dealing with Monarchs and Rulers of the world, is a transcript of, or allusion to, a passage in the second book of *Chronicles*. Elihu (who is made to pass judgment on the dispute) says, *He withdraweth not his eyes from*

^b 2 CHRON. xxxii. 24, 25.

^k Chap. xxxiv. ver. 20.

ⁱ 2 KINGS xx. 1. & seq.

^l Chap. xxxviii. ver. 15.

the righteous: but, with kings are they on the throne, yea he doth establish them for ever and they are exalted.

[This seems plainly to refer to the house of David, as we shall see presently.] He proceeds: *And if they be bound in fetters, and be holden in cords of affliction: then he sheweth their work, and their transgressions that they have exceeded. He openeth also their ear to discipline, and commandeth that they return from iniquity. If they obey and serve him, they shall spend their days in prosperity and their years in pleasure; but if they obey not, they shall perish by the sword, &c.^m* Now hear the sacred Historian.

—“ God had said to David and to Solomon his
 “ son, In this house and in Jerusalem, which I
 “ have chosen before all the tribes of Israel, will I
 “ put my name for ever. Neither will I any more
 “ remove the foot of Israel from out of the land
 “ which I have appointed for your fathers, so
 “ that they will take heed to do all that I have
 “ commanded them.—So Manasseh made Judah
 “ and the Inhabitants of Jerusalem to err.—And
 “ the Lord spake to Manasseh, and to his people:
 “ but they would not hearken. Wherefore the
 “ Lord brought upon them the captains of the
 “ host of the king of Assyria, which took Ma-
 “ nasseh amongst the thorns, and bound him with
 “ fetters, and carried him to Babylon. And when
 “ he was in affliction, he besought the Lord his
 “ God, and humbled himself greatly before the
 “ God of his Fathers, and prayed unto him, and
 “ he was entreated of him, and heard his suppli-
 “ cation, and brought him again to Jerusalem into
 “ his kingdom. Then Manasseh knew that the
 “ Lord he was Godⁿ.”

^m Chap. xxxvi. ver. 7—12.
 ver. 7—13.

ⁿ 2 CHRON. xxxiii.

But the most extraordinary allusion of all to the *Jewish Oeconomy*, and the most incontestable, is in the following words, where speaking of the *clouds of rain*, our translation has it, *He causeth it to come, whether for correction, or FOR HIS LAND, or for mercy*°. The Septuagint understood the sacred text in the same manner. Ταῦτα συντέτακται παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἴαν τε εἰς παιδείαν, εἴαν εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτῆς, εἴαν εἰς ἔλεος εὐθήσει αὐτὸν. The meaning of which is, he bringeth it at such junctures, and in such excess, as to cause dearth, [*for correction* ;] or so timely and moderately, as to cause plenty, [*for mercy* ;] or lastly, so tempered, in a long continued course, as to produce that fertility of soil which was to make one of the blessings of the promised land, [FOR HIS LAND :] a providence as distinct from the other two, of *correction* and *mercy*, as the genus is from the species. This is a sufficient answer to the learned Father Houbigant's criticism on this verse, who corrects the common reading of the Hebrew text, and thinks the words, *or for the land*, to be a marginal illustration crept into the text. St. Jerom, and the vulgar latin, instead of,— *whether for CORRECTION, or for his land*, translate, five in UNA TRIBU, *five in terra sua*. If this be the true rendering of the Hebrew, then it plainly appears that the writer of the book of Job alluded to the words of his contemporary prophet, AMOS.—

“ And alſo I have withholden the rain from you,
 “ when there were yet three months to the harvest;
 “ and I cauſed it to rain upon one city, and cauſed
 “ it not to rain upon another city : one piece was
 “ rained upon, and the piece whereupon it rained
 “ not, withered.” Without controversy, however, the Writer speaks of a SPECIAL PROVIDENCE upon

° Chap. xxxvii. 13.

God's own Land, the land of Judea; which plainly shews that the *peculiarity of the Jewish Oeconomy* was still uppermost in his thoughts. In a word, this Oeconomy is described by MOSES^p as altogether different from that of other people. JOB's account of God's Oeconomy exactly quadrates with it. What are we then to think, but that there is a continued allusion to the LAW? in many places indeed so general, as not to be discovered without the assistance of those which are more particular. Besides, (which is the last observation I shall make on this point) in the management of these Allusions, we see, the Author has observed a strict *decorum*: and, to take off any offensive glare, has thrown over them a sober image of ancient manners. So that here we have the plain marks of former times intermixed with circumstances peculiar to the latter. What are we therefore to conclude, but that the Work is a species of dramatic writing, composed long after the age of the subject?

On the whole then it appears that this Objection of no allusions, which, if well grounded, had made nothing against the low date of a poetic Composition, is not indeed supported by fact: and this will be seen yet more fully hereafter.

But had the Objection any real foundation, They who make it, had been still much puzzled to account for the Author's silence concerning the *six days Creation*, and the institution of the *Sabbath*, as it must reduce them to the necessity of supposing that these things were unknown to JOB. And consequently, that the *Sabbath* was not a moral, but a positive Law only of the Jews; tho' Moses,

^p DEUT. iv. 32.

to impress the greater reverence upon it, seems to make it coeval with the Creation. How they will get over this difficulty I know not. On the other hand, They who, with the low date of this book of Job, hold the *Sabbath* to be a positive Law, will find no difficulty at all. For, as they would have put the mention of it, had it been mentioned, on the same footing with that of other things under the Mosaic Œconomy; so, the silence they will easily account for, on the received opinion of that time, that the *Sabbath* was a positive Law, instituted to separate and distinguish the Israelites from all others; and that therefore the mention of a thing so well known to be a Rite peculiarly Jewish, would have had an ill effect, in the mouths of men who lived before the Mosaic Law was given.

After such clear evidence that the book of Job was written under the Law, we have little need of Grotius's argument, for the support of this point, from the book's containing many passages similar to what we find in the Psalms. And it is well we have not, because I think his argument very equivocal. For if the sacred writers must needs have borrowed trite moral sentences from one another: it may be as fairly said, that the authors of the Psalms borrowed from the book of Job; as that the author of Job borrowed from the book of Psalms. But Mr. Le Clerc would mend this argument, by refining upon it, a way that seldom mends any thing. He says, one may know an original from a copy, by the latter's having less nature and force; and he thinks he sees this in the book of Job¹. Now admitting the truth of the

¹ —Grotius croit avec beaucoup plus de vrai-semblance, que cet auteur est postérieur à David & à Salomon, dont il semble qu'il

the observation, it would be so far from supporting, that it would overturn his conclusion. Mr. Le Clerc seems to have been misled into this criticism by what he had observed of writers of less polished ages borrowing from those of more. In this case, the copy will be always much inferior to the original. But the effect would have been just the contrary in a writer of the time of David borrowing from one of the time of Moses. And as the common opinion places the two books in those two different periods, they are to be supposed rightly placed, till the contrary be shewn. This observation we see verified in the greek authors of the Socratic age, and in the roman authors of the Augustan, when they borrowed from their very early country writers. But the matter of fact is, I think, just otherwise. The advantage of the sublime in the parallel passages seems to lie on the side of Job. And from hence we may draw Mr. Le Clerc's conclusion with much greater force. But indeed, take it either way, the argument, as I said, is of little weight. But it is pleasant to hear Schultens, and his epitomiser Dr. Grey, speak of

qu'il ait imité divers endroits, & remarque fort judicieusement qu'il y a dans ce livre des manieres de parler, qu'on ne trouve que dans Esdras, dans Daniel, & dans les Paraphrases Caldaïques. *Codure*, dans son Commentaire sur Job, a aussi remarqué plusieurs Caldaïsmes dans ce livre, & quelques personnes savantes soutiennent, que les Arabismes qu'on y croit avoir remarqué ne sont que des manières de parler Caldéenes. On y trouve des imitations de divers endroits des Pseaumes. — Mais vous me demanderez peut-être, comment on peut savoir, que c'est l'auteur du livre de Job, qui a imité ces Pseaumes, & non pas les auteurs de ces Pseaumes, qui ont imité le livre de Job? Il est aisé de vous satisfaire. On connoit qu'un auteur en imite un autre à ceci, c'est que l'imitation n'est pas si belle que l'original, qui exprime ordinairement les choses d'une maniere plus nette & plus naturelle que la copie. *Sentimens de quelques Theol. de Hol.* p. 183.

the

the grandeur, the purity, and sublimity of the language spoken in the time of Job, as if the Hebrew had partaken of the nature and fortunes of the two languages made perfect by a long study of eloquence, in the Socratic and Augustan ages; and as if it was equally impossible for a Hebrew after the captivity (though inspired into the bargain) to imitate these excellencies of style, as for a writer of the iron age of Latin to have expressed the *beauty and weight* of Ennius's elegance. We know what Enthusiasm can do on every object to which it turns itself. There have been Critics of this sort, who have found even in the Hebrew of the Rabbins, graces and sublimities of style to match those in the best Greek and Roman historians; tho', in reality, the graces it boasts, partake much of those we see in the Law-french of our English-Reporters. The truth is, the language of the times of Job had its grandeur, its purity, and sublimities: but they were of that kind which the learned Missionaries have observed in the languages of certain Warrior tribes in North America. And this language of the time of Job, preserved its genius to late ages, by the assistance of that uniformity of Character which makes the more sequestered inhabitants of the East so tenacious of all their ancient modes and customs.

2. We now come closer to the question; and having proved the book of Job to be written under the *Mosaic Economy*, We say further, that it must be *somewhere between the time of their approaching captivity, and their thorough re-establishment in Judea*. This is the widest interval we can afford it. The reason seems to be decisive. It is this, That no other possible period can be assigned in which the GRAND QUESTION, debated in this book, could ever

ever come into dispute. This deserves to be considered.

The question^r, a very foreign one to us, and therefore no wonder it should have been so little attended

^r The best and ablest Critics are generally agreed, and have as generally taken it for granted, that this *question* is the subject of debate between the several disputants in the book of Job. It would be abusing the reader's patience to produce a long train of Authorities. Though it may not be improper to give the sentiments of the last, though not the least able of them, on this head.—Operæ pretium est admonere te, amice Lector, quid nobis de tota hujus Libri materia cogitandum esse videatur. Primum quidem amici Job sic statuunt, quandoquidem tot tantisque cladibus Deus amicum ipsorum Job affixit, ei Deum esse iratum; eum igitur pœnas tales aliquo scelere, vel aperto, vel occulto commeruisse. Cujus suæ sententiæ testes adhibent generationes hominum priores, in quibus inauditum est, inquit, *Deum vel integros viros aspernatum, vel impios manu apprehendisse*. Si quis nostræ ætatis homo sic disputaret, nemo esse quin ejus temeritatem atque audaciam miraretur, qui rem aperte falsam fumeret, cum sæpissimè eveniat et summas misérias experiri hac in mortali vita viros bonos, et florentissimam fortunam, flagitiosos. Tamen Job, *id quod est maxime considerandum*, redargutione tali non utitur. Non id negat, quod sui amici, Patrum memoria teste confirmabant; quod tamen Job, si falsum id sibi videretur, uno verbo, Mentiris, poterat confutare. Atque etiam idem Job alterum negans, tales se misérias crimine aliquo suo fuisse comeritum, alterum tamen non dissimulat, Deum sibi adversari; in quâ ipsa sancti viri confessione adversariorum causa ex parte vincebat, cum suas clades Job sic acciperet, ut iræ divinæ consueta signa, cumque inde non parum animo æstuarer. Quæ cum ita sint, nos sic existimamus, non falsos fuisse memoriæ testes Job amicos; atque adeo, PRIMIS MUNDI TEMPORIBUS, homines impios fuisse, præter solitum naturæ cursum, divinâ irâ percussos, iisque acceptos plagis, quarum sancti homines essent immunes; Deo opt. max. humanas res ita moderante, ut Religionem in terris tueretur, et ut homines, cum talia exempla paterentur cogitarent esse in cælo Deum justum, a quo mortales ut recte factorum præmium sperare deberent, sic scelerum ultionem zimere. HOUËIGANT *in librum Job, lectori.*

tended to, is, *Whether God administers his government over men here with an equal providence, so as that*
the

But since the writing of my Dissertation, the language of the rabbinical men has been greatly changed. And, partly to keep up the antiquity of the book, but principally to guard against an *extraordinary Providence*, several of them, in defiance of their senses, have denied that this, which this honest Priest of the Oratory makes to be the subject of the book of Job, has indeed any thing at all to do with it. Amongst the foremost of these is Dr. Richard Grey the epitomiser of Albert Schultens' Comment on this book. In the preface to his Abstract, amongst other things, he has criticised my opinion of the scope of the book in the following manner. — *Nam quod dicit vir clariss. id præcipue in hoc libro disceptari, nempe an bonis semper bona, malisque mala, an utrisque utraque promiscue obtingent; hanc autem quætionem (a nobis quidem alienam, minus ideo perpen-sam) nusquam alibi gentium præterquam in Judæa nec apud ipsos Judæos alio quovis tempore, quam quod assignat, moveri potuisse, id omne ex veritate suæ hypotheseos pendet, et mea quidem sententia, longe aliter se habet. Præf. p. 10—15.* For as to what this writer [the author of the D. L.] says, that the main question handled in the book of Job is whether good happens to the good, and evil to evil men, or whether both happen not promiscuously to both; and that this question (a very foreign one to us, and therefore the less attended to) could never be the subject of disputation any where but in the land of Judæa, nor there neither at any other time than that which he assigns; all this, I say, depends on the truth of his hypothesis, and is, in my opinion, far otherwise. — That which depends on the truth of an hypothesis has, indeed, generally speaking, a very slender foundation: and I am partly of opinion it was the common prejudice against this support which disposed the learned Prefacer to give my notions no better a name. But what I have shewn to be the subject of the book is so far from depending on the truth of my hypothesis, that the truth of my hypothesis depends on what I have shewn to be the subject of the book; and very fitly so, as every reasonable hypothesis should be supported on a fact. Now I might appeal to the learned world, whether it be not as clear a fact that the subject of the book of Job is whether good happens to the good, and evil to evil men, or whether both happen not promiscuously to both; as that the subject of the first book of Tuscuan Disputations is *de contemnenda morte*. On this I founded my hypothesis, that the book of Job must have been written about the time of Esdras, be-
cause

the good are always prosperous, and the bad unhappy; or whether, on the contrary, there be not such apparent inequality

cause no other assignable time could at all suit the subject. — But 'tis possible I may mistake in what he calls *my hypothesis*: for ought I know he may understand not that of the book of Job, but that of the *Divine Legation*. And then, by *my hypothesis*, he must mean the great religious principle I endeavoured to evince, THAT THE JEWS WERE IN REALITY UNDER AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. But it will be paying me a very unusual compliment to call that my hypothesis which the Bible was not only divinely written, but was likewise divinely preserved, to testify; which all Believers profess to believe; and which none but Unbelievers and *Answerers* to the Divine Legation directly deny. However, if this be the *hypothesis* he means, I need desire no better a support. But the truth is, my interpretation of the book of Job seeks support from nothing but those common rules of grammar and logic on which the sense of all kind of writings are or ought to be interpreted.

He goes on in this manner. *Nempe id unum voluisse mihi videtur facer Scriptor, ut iis omnibus, utcumque afflictis, humilitatis et patientiæ perpetuum extaret documentum ex contemplatione gemina, hinc infinitæ Dei perfectionis, sapientiæ & potentiæ; illinc humanæ, quæ in sanctissimis quoque viris inest, corruptionis, imbecillitatis & ignorantiz. For the sole purpose of the sacred writer seems to me to be this, to compose a work that should remain a perpetual document of humility and patience to all good men in affliction from this two-fold consideration, as on the one hand of the infinite perfection, power, and wisdom of God; so on the other, of human corruption, imbecillity, and ignorance, discoverable even in the best of men.* Such talk in a popular discourse, for the sake of a moral application, might not be amiss; but to speak thus to the learned world, is surely out of season. The Critic will be apt to tell him, he hath mistaken the *Actor* for the *Subject*; and that he might on the same principle as well conclude that the purpose of Virgil's poem is not the establishment of an empire in Italy, but the personal piety of *Æneas*. But to be a little more explicit. The book of Job consists of two distinct parts; the *narrative*, contained in the prologue and epilogue; and the *argumentative*, which composes the body of the work. Now when the question is of the subject of a book, who means any other than the *body of it*? yet the learned Doctor mistaking the *narrative* part
for

inequalities, as that prosperity and adversity often happen indifferently to good and bad. Job maintains the

for the *argumentative*, gives us the subject of the introduction and conclusion for that of the work itself. And it is very true that the beginning and the end do exhibit a *perpetual document of humility and patience to all good men in affliction*. But it is as true that the body of the work neither does nor could exhibit any such document. First it does not; for, that humility and patience, which Job manifests before his entering into dispute, is succeeded by rage and ostentation when he becomes heated with unreasonable opposition. Secondly, it could not; because it is altogether argumentative; the subject of which must needs be a proposition debated, and not a document exemplified. A precept may be conveyed in history, but a disputation can exhibit only a debated question. I have shewn what that question is; and he, instead of proving that I have assigned a wrong one, goes about to persuade the reader, that there is no question at all.

He proceeds. *Quamvis enim in sermonibus, qui in eo habentur, de religione, de virtute, de providentia, Deique in mundo gubernando sapientia, justitia, sanctitate, de uno rerum omnium principio, aliisque gravissimis veritatibus dissertetur, hunc tamen quem dixi unicum esse libri scopum, tam ex initio et fine, quam ex universa ejus œconomia cuius opinor manifestum erit. Ea enim, ut rem omnem summam complectar, Jobum exhibet, primo quidem querentem, exposulantem, æstreni luctui indulgentem; mox (quum, ut sacri dramatis natura postulabat, amicorum contradictione, sinistrisque suspicionibus magis magisque irritatus et facessitus esset) imprudenter Deum provocantem, atque in justitia sua gloriantem; ad debitam tandem summisionem sui que cognitionem revocatum, tum demum, nec antea, integritatis suæ tam præmium, quam testimonium a Deo reportantem.* For although in the speeches that occur, there be much talk of religion, virtue, and providence, of God's wisdom, justice, and holiness in the government of the world, of one principle of all things, and other most important truths, yet that this which I have assigned is the only scope of the book will appear manifest to every one, as well from the beginning and the end as from the œconomy of the whole. For to say all in a word, it first presents Job complaining, exposulating, and indulging himself in an ungovernable grief: but soon after (when, as the nature of the sacred drama required, by the contradiction of his friends, and their sinister suspicions, he became more and more

tormented

teized and irritated) rashly challenging God, and glorying in his own integrity: yet at length brought back to a due submission and knowledge of himself. The reader sees that all this is just as pertinent as if I should say, Mr. CHILLINGWORTH'S famous book against Knot the Jesuit, was not to prove *the religion of Protestants a safe way to salvation*, but to give the picture of an artful Caviller and a candid Disputer. "For, although, in the arguments that occur, there be much talk of protestantism, popery, infallibility, a judge of controversies, fundamentals of faith, and other most important matters, yet that this which I have assigned is the only scope of the book, will appear manifest to every one, as well from the beginning and the end, as from the OEconomy of the whole. For it first of all presents the sophist quibbling, chicaning, and indulging himself in all the imaginable methods of false reasoning: and soon after, as the course of disputation required, resting on his own authority, and loading his adversary with personal calumnies; yet at length, by the force of truth and good logic, brought back to the point; confuted, exposed, and put to silence." Now if I should say this of the book of Chillingworth, would it not be as true, and as much to the purpose, as what our author hath said of the book of Job? The matters in the discourse of *the Religion of Protestants* could not be treated as they are without exhibiting the two characters of a Sophist and a true Logician. Nor could the matters in the book of Job be treated as they are without exhibiting a good man in afflictions, complaining and expostulating; impatient under the contradiction of his friends, yet at length brought back to a due submission, and knowledge of himself. But therefore, to make this the *sole* or *chief* Scope of the book, (for in this it varies) is perverting all the rules of interpretation. But what misled him we have taken notice of above. And he himself points to it, where he says,—*the subject I have assigned to the book of Job appears the true both from the BEGINNING and the END.* It is true, he adds, and *from the OEconomy of the whole* likewise.

Which he endeavours to prove in this manner: *For it first presents Job complaining, expostulating, and indulging himself in an ungovernable grief: but soon after (when, as the nature of the sacred drama required, by the contradiction of his friends, and their sinister suspicions, he became more and more teized and irritated) rashly challenging God, and glorying in his own integrity: yet at length brought back to a due submission and knowledge of himself; and then at last, and not before, receiving from God both the reward and testimony of his uprightness.* This is indeed a fair account of the CONDUCT of the drama. And from this it

appears, first, that that which he assigns for the SOLE SCOPE OF the book cannot be the true. For if its design were to give a *perpetual document of humility and patience*, how comes it to pass, that the author, in the execution of this design, represents *Job complaining, expostulating, and indulging himself in an ungovernable grief, rashly challenging God, and glorying in his own integrity*? Could a painter, think you, in order to represent the ease and safety of navigation, draw a vessel getting with much pains and difficulty into harbour, after having lost all her lading and been miserably torn and shattered by a tempest? and yet you think a writer, in order to give a *document of humility and patience*, had sufficiently discharged his plan, if he made Job conclude *resigned and submissive*, though he had drawn him turbulent, impatient, and almost blasphemous throughout the whole piece. Secondly, it appears from the learned Author's account of the *conduct* of the drama, that that which I have assigned for the *sole Scope* of the book is the true. For if, in Job's distressful circumstances, the question concerning an equal or unequal providence were to be debated: His friends, if they held the former part, must needs doubt of his integrity; this doubt would naturally provoke Job's indignation; and, when it was perilled in, cause him to fly out into the intemperate excesses so well described by the learned Doctor; yet conscious innocence would at length enable patience to do its office, and the conclusive argument for his integrity would be his resignation and submission.

The learned Writer sums up the argument thus. *Ex his inquam apparet, non primario agi in hoc libro de providentia, sive æquali, sive inæquali, sed de personali Jobi integritate. From all this, I say it appears, that the personal integrity of Job, and not the question concerning an equal or unequal Providence is the principal subject of the book.* He had before only told us his *opinion*; and now, from his opinion, he says it *appears*. But the appearances we see, are deceitful; and so they will always be, when they arise only out of the fancy or inclination, of the Critic, and not from the nature of things.

But he proceeds. *Hanc enim (quod omnino observandum est) in dubium vocaverant amici, non ideo tantum quod afflictus esset, sed quod afflictus impatientius se gereret, Deique justitiæ obmurmuraret: et qui strenuus videlicet aliorum hortator fuerat ad fortitudinem et constantiam, quum ipse tentaretur, victus labasceret.* *For that* [i. e. his personal integrity] *it was which his friends doubted of, not so much on account of his affliction, as for the not bearing his affliction with patience, but murmuring at the justice of God. And that he,*
acko

who was a strenuous adviser of others to fortitude and constancy, should, when his own trial came, sink under the stroke of his disasters. — But why not on account of his afflictions? Do not we find that even now, under this unequal distribution of things, censorious men (and such doubtless he will confess Job's comforters to have been) are but too apt to suspect great afflictions for the punishment of secret sins. How much more prone to the same suspicion would such men be in the time of Job, when the ways of Providence were more equal? As to his impatience in bearing affliction, that symptom was altogether ambiguous, and might as likely denote want of fortitude as want of innocence; and proceed as well from the pain of an ulcerated body as the anguish of a distracted conscience.

Well, our Author has brought the Patriarch thus far on his way, to expose his *bad temper*. From hence he accompanies him to his place of rest; which, as many an innocent man's is, he makes to be in a *bad argument*. *Quum accesserat sanctissimi viri malis, hæc gravissima omnium tentatio, ut tanquam improbus et hypocrita ab amicis damnaretur, et quod unicum ei supererat, conscientiæ suæ testimonio ac solatio, quantum ipsi potuerunt, privandus foret, quid misero faciendum erat? Amicos perfidiæ et crudelitatis arguit: Deum integritatis suæ testem vindicemque appellat: quum autem nec Deus interveniret, ad innocentiam ejus vindicandam, nec remitterent quicquam amici de acerbis suis censuris, injustisque criminationibus, ad SUPREMUM ILLUD JUDICIUM provocat, in quo REDEMPTOREM sibi affuturum, Deumque a suis partibus staturum, summa cum fiducia se novisse affirmat.* Now when (says the learned Writer) the most grievous trial of all was added to the other evils of this holy person; to be condemned by his friends as a profligate, and an hypocrite, and to be deprived, as much as in them lay, of his only remaining support, the Testimony of a good conscience, What was left for the unhappy man to do? He accuses his friends of perfidy and cruelty; he calls upon God as the witness and avenger of his integrity: But when neither God interposed to vindicate his innocence, nor his friends forbore to urge their harsh censures and unjust accusations, he appeals to that LAST JUDGMENT, in which with the utmost confidence he affirms that he knew that his REDEEMER would be present to him, and that God would declare in his favour. To understand the force of this representation, we must have in mind this unquestionable truth; "That, be the subject of the book what it will, yet if the sacred Writer bring in the persons of the drama disputing, he will take care that they talk with *decorum* and to the purpose." Now we both agree that Job's friends had pretended at least to suspect his integrity. This suspicion it was Job's

business to remove; and, if the Doctor's account of the subject, be right, his only business. To this end he offers various arguments, which failing of their effect, he, at last, (as the Doctor will have it) appeals to the SECOND COMING OF THE REDEEMER OF MANKIND. But was this likely to satisfy them? They demand a present solution of their doubts, and he sends them to a future judgment. Nor can our Author say, (though he would insinuate) that this was such a sort of appeal as disputants are sometimes forced to have recourse to, when they are run aground and have nothing more to offer: For Job, after this, proceeds in the dispute; and urges many other arguments with the utmost propriety. Indeed there is one way, and but one, to make the appeal pertinent: and that is, to suppose our Author mistaken, when he said that the *personal integrity of Job, and not the question concerning an equal or unequal Providence, was the main subject of the book*: And we may venture to suppose so, without much danger of doing him wrong: for, the doctrine of a future judgment affords a principle whereon to determine the *question of an equal or unequal Providence*; but it leaves the *personal integrity of Job* just as it found it. But the learned Author is so little solicitous for the *pertinency* of the argument, that he makes, as we shall now see, its *impertinence* to be one of the great supports of his system. For thus he concludes his argument. *Jam vero si cardo controversiæ fuisset, utrum, salva Dei justitia, sancti in hac vita, adfligi possent, hæc ipsa declarati licem finire debuerat. Sin autem de personali Jobi innocentia disceptetur, nil mirum quod veterem canere cantilenam, Jobumque ut fecerant, condemnare pergerent socii, quum Dei solius erat, qui corda hominum explorat, pro certo scire; an jure merito sibi Jobus hoc solamen attribueret, an falsam sibi fiduciam vanus arrogaret. But now if the hinge of the controversy had turned on this, Whether or no, consistently with God's justice, good men could be afflicted in this life, this declaration ought to have finished the debate: but if the question were concerning the personal innocence of Job, it was no wonder that they still sung their old song, and went on as they had begun, to condemn their much afflicted friend; since it was in the power of God alone to explore the hearts of men, and to know for certain whether it was Job's piety that rightly applied a consolation, or whether it was his vanity that arrogated a false confidence to himself. This is a very pleasant way of coming to the sense of a disputed passage: Not, as of old, by shewing it supports the *Writer's argument*, but by shewing it supports the *Critic's hypothesis*. I had taken it for granted that Job reasoned to the purpose, and therefore urged this argument againll understanding him as speaking of the *Resurrection* in the sixth chapter. "The disputants (say I) are all equally*

"imbarassed

the latter part^s, and his three friends the former. They argue these points throughout the whole book;

“ imbarassed in adjusting the ways of Providence. Job affirms
 “ that the good man is sometimes unhappy; the three friends
 “ pretend that he never can be so; because such a situation
 “ would reflect upon God’s justice. Now the doctrine of a *Re-*
 “ *surrection* supposed to be urged by Job cleared up all this em-
 “ barras. If therefore his friends thought it true, it ended the
 “ dispute; if false, it lay upon them to confute it. Yet they
 “ do neither: They neither call it into question, nor allow it
 “ to be decisive. But without the least notice that any such
 “ thing had been urged, they go on as they begun, to inforce
 “ their former arguments, and to confute that which they
 “ seem to understand was the only one Job had urged against
 “ them, viz. the conscioufness of his own innocence.”—Now
 what says our learned Critic to this? Why, he says, that if I
 be mistaken, and he be right in his account of the book of
 Job, the reason is plain why the three friends took no notice
 of Job’s appeal to a Resurrection; namely, because it deserved
 none. As to his being in the right, the reader, I suppose, will
 not be greatly solicitous, if it be one of the consequences that
 the sacred Reasoner is in the wrong. However, before we
 allow him to be right, it will be expected he should answer
 the following questions. If, as he says, the point in the book
 of Job was *only his personal innocence*, and this, not (as I say)
 upon the PRINCIPLE of *no innocent person being miserable*, I
 would ask how it was possible that Job’s friends and intimates
 should be so obstinately bent on pronouncing him guilty, the
 purity of whose former life and conversation they were so well
 acquainted with? If he will say, the disputants went upon that
 PRINCIPLE, I then ask how came Job’s appeal to a Resurrection
 not to silence his opposers? as it accounted for the justice of
 God in the present unequal distribution of things.

^s *This is one thing (says Job) therefore I said it, HE DESTROYETH THE PERFECT WITH THE WICKED, chap. ix. 22.* as much as to say, this is the point or general question between us, and I stick to the affirmative, and insist upon its truth. The words which follow are remarkable. It had been objected, that when the good man suffered it was for a tryal; to this Job replies: *If the scourge slay suddenly, he will laugh at the trial of the innocent, ver. 23. suddenly, or indiscriminately* as Schultens rightly understands it; as much as to say, when the sword devours the innocent and the wicked man without distinction, if

book, and each party sticks firm to his first opinion.

Now this could never have been made matter of dispute, from the most early supposed time of Job's existence, even to ours, in any place out of the land

the innocent will distinguish his ill hap from the wicked man's and call it a *trial*, the wicked man will mock at him; and indeed not without some shew of reason.

“Supposing (says the Cornish Answerer) we should allow such an *equal Providence* to have been administered in *Judea*; yet, since he himself reckons it the utmost extravagance to suppose it any where else; what an idea does he give us of the talents of *Ezra*? who according to him has introduced persons who were no Jews debating a question so palpably absurd as that it NEVER entered into the head of any one man living to make a question of it out of the land of *Judea*? consequently could not with the least probability or propriety be handled by any but Jews. Is this like one who, he would make us to believe, was a *careful observer of Decorum*? certainly the rule of *Decorum* would have obliged him *reddere personæ*, &c. as *Horace* speaks — either to look out for proper persons to debate his Questions, or to fit his question to the persons.” I should have reason to complain of this insolence of Language, so habitual to these Answerers, did it not always carry its own punishment along with it. For, look, in proportion to their rudeness, is generally their folly, or ill faith. — *Supposing* (says this man) *we should allow such an equal Providence*, &c. — Now, when the Reader considers I am only contending for the *actual* administration of such a providence as the Bible, in almost every page, represents to have been administered, will he not naturally suppose this to be some infidel-writer making a gracious concession even at the expence of his own cause? But when he is told that the writer is a minister of the Gospel, will he not conclude that his head is turned with the rage of *Answering*?

He tells his Reader that I say, “That the debated question in the book of Job could NEVER enter into the head of any man living out of the land of *Judea*.” Now, the very words from whence he pretends to deduce this proposition, convict him of imposture. — *This* (say I) *could never have*

land of Judea; the administration of Providence, which, throughout that large period, all People and Nations have experienced, being visibly and confessedly unequal. Men, indeed, at all times, have been indiscreetly prone to enquire how this inequality could be made consistent with God's justice or goodness: But, amidst the great variety of human opinions, as extravagant as many of those are which philosophic men have some time

have been made matter of dispute, FROM THE MOST EARLY SUPPOSED TIME OF JOB'S EXISTENCE EVEN TO OURS, in any place out of the land of Judea. Which surely implies it might have been a question *then*; or why did I restrain the case to the times *since* Job's existence? Was it for nothing? In fact I was well apprised (and saw the advantages I could derive from it) that the question might as reasonably have been debated at the time when Job lived, as at the time when, I supposed, the book of Job was written. But as this was a matter reserved for another place, I contented myself with the hint conveyed in this limitation, which just served to lay in my claim to the use I should hereafter have for it. The truth is, the state of God's providence *in the most early supposed time of Job's existence* is a subject I shall have occasion to consider at large in the last volume of this Work, where I employ it, amongst other proofs, to illustrate and confirm the conclusion of my general argument by one entire view of the harmony which reigns through all the various parts of the Divine Government as administered over man. Of this my Answerers have no conception. Their talents are only fitted to consider *parts*, and such talents best suit their business, which is, to find fault. — They will say, they were not obliged to wait. But who obliged them to write? And if they should wait longer, they will have no reason to complain: For the cloudy and imperfect conception they have of my argument as it now stands, is the most commodious situation for the carrying on their trade. However whether they prefer the light of common sense to this darkness occasioned by the absence of it, or the friendly twilight of Polemics to both, I shall not go out of my way to gratify their humour. I have said enough to expose this silly cavil of our Cornish Critic, and to vindicate the knowledge of the writer of the book of Job, and his observance of *decorum*, in opening a beauty in the contrivance of this work, which these Answerers were not aware of.

or other maintained, we do not find any of them ever held or conceived that *God's providence was equally administered*. This therefore, as we say, could be no question any where out of the land of Judea. But we say farther,

Nor in that land neither, in any period of the Jewish nation either before or after the time wherein we place it. Not *before*, because the dispensation of Providence to that people was seen and owned by all, to be equal: Not *after*, because by the total ceasing of God's extraordinary administration, the contrary was as evident.

Of this period then, there are three portions:
 1. The time immediately *preceding* the captivity;
 2. The *duration* of it; and 3. The *return* from it.

To the opinions which place it in either of the two first portions, as supposing it to be written for the consolation of the people going into or remaining in captivity, a celebrated Writer has opposed an unanswerable objection: "The Jews
 " (says he) undoubtedly suffered for their ini-
 " quity; and the example of Job is the example
 " of an innocent man suffering for no demerit
 " of his own: Apply this to the Jews in their
 " captivity, and the book contradicts all the Pro-
 " phets before, and at the time of, their capti-
 " vity, and is calculated to harden the Jews in
 " their sufferings, and to reproach the Providence
 " of God."

There

ⁿ *The Use and Intent of Prophecy, &c.* p. 208. 3d. ed. —
 Grotius thinks the book was written for the consolation of the descendants of Esau, carried away in the Babylonish captivity; apparently, as the same writer observes, to avoid the absurdity
 arising

There remains only the third portion; that is to say, the time of their return, and settlement in their own land. And this stands clear of the above objection. For the Jews came from the Captivity with hearts full of zeal for the Law, and abhorrence of their former idolatries. This is the account Ezra and Nehemiah * give of them: And with these dispositions, Jeremiah foretold, their restoration should be attended. *I will bring Israel again to his habitation, and he shall feed on Carmel and Bashan, and his soul shall be satisfied upon mount Ephraim and Gilead. In those days, and in that time, saith the Lord, the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, and there shall be none; and the sins of Judah, and they shall not be found* †.

3. We say then (to come home to the question) that the BOOK OF JOB was written some time between the return and the thorough settlement of the Jews in their own country.

Having suited the *Time* to the People, let us try if we can suit the People to the *Subject*; and see

arising from the supposition confuted above; and yet, as he farther observes, Grotius, in endeavouring to avoid one difficulty, has fallen into another. For, suppose *it writ*, (says the Author of *The Use and Intent of Prophecy*, &c.) *for the children of Esau, they were idolaters; and yet is there no allusion to their idolatry in all this book. And what ground is there to think they were so righteous as to deserve such an interpretation to be put upon their sufferings, as the book of Job puts on them, if so be it was written for their sakes? Or can it be imagined, that a book writ about the time supposed, for the use of an idolatrous nation, and odious to the Jews, could ever have been received into the Jewish canon?* p. 208. These are strong objections, and will oblige us to place this opinion amongst the singularities of the excellent Grotius.

* EZRA, chapters iii. vi. NEH. chapters iii, viii, ix.

† Chap. l. ver. 19, 20,

whether this, which was foreign and unnatural to every other period, was proper and reasonable to this here assigned.

The Jews had hitherto, from their entrance into the land of Canaan to their last race of kings, lived under an extraordinary, and, for the most part, equal Providence. For these two states must be distinguished, and indeed are distinguished not only throughout this discourse, but throughout the whole Scripture history, altho' the terms, in both, be sometimes used indifferently to signify either one state or the other, where the nature of the subject leads directly to the sense in which they are employed. As their sins grew ripe and the time of their Captivity approached, God so tempered justice with his mercy, as to mix, with the prophetic denunciations of their impending punishment, the repeated promises of a speedy Return; to be attended with more illustrious advantages for the Jewish Republic than it had ever before enjoyed. The appointed time was now come. And their Return (predicted in so plain and public a manner) was brought about with as uncommon circumstances. Those most zealous for the Law, and most confiding in the promises of God, as instructed by their parents in all his extraordinary Dispensations, embraced this opportunity of returning to their own country, to promote the restoration of their Law and Religion. And who can doubt but that they expected the same manifestations of God's Providence in their Re-establishment, that their Forefathers had experienced in their first Settlement? That they were indeed full of these expectations appears from the remarkable account Ezra gives us of his distress, when about to return with Artaxerxes's commission,

mission, to regulate the affairs of Judea and Jerusalem. The way was long and dangerous; yet the Jews had told the king so much of their being under the peculiar protection of their God, that he was ashamed to ask a Guard for himself and his companions; and therefore had recourse to prayer and fasting: *Then I proclaimed a fast there at the river Abava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance. For I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen, to help us against the enemy in the way; because we had spoken unto the king, saying, The hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek him, but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him*². But in these their expectations of the old extraordinary Providence, they were greatly deceived; and the long traverses they underwent from the malice and persecution of their idolatrous neighbours, made them but too sensible of the difference of their condition from that of their Forefathers, in their first establishment. What then must be their surprize and disappointment to find their expectations frustrate, and their Nation about to be reduced to the common level of the *People of the earth*, under the ordinary providence of Heaven? At first it would be difficult for many habituated to, and long possessed of, the notion of an extraordinary Providence, to comprehend the true state of their present circumstances. This astonishment is finely described in the following words of Job, *As for me, is my complaint to man? and if it were so, why should not my spirit be troubled? Mark me, and be ASTONISHED, and lay your hand upon your mouth. Even when I remember, I am*

² EZRA VIII. 21, 22.

afraid, and TREMBLING taketh hold of my flesh. WHEREFORE do the wicked live, become old, yea are mighty in power? &c.^a. — But others less pious would fall into doubts about GOD's justice; as not conceiving how he could discharge the expectations he had raised, without some very special regard to the safety of his chosen People: Nay there were some, as there always will be in national distresses of this nature, so impious as even to deny the moral government of God. Whom the Prophet Zephaniah thus describes, — “Men that are settled on their lees; that say in their heart, THE LORD WILL NOT DO GOOD, NEITHER WILL HE DO EVIL^b.” All would be in a state of anxiety and disorder. And this greatly increased, 1. From the bad situation of affairs *without*: For, till the coming of Nehemiah, the Walls of Jerusalem were in many places broken down; the Gates taken away; and the inhabitants exposed not only to the insults and ravages of their enemies, but to the reproach and contempt of all their neighbours, as a despicable and abandoned People. 2. From the bad situation of affairs *within*: Several disorders contrary to the Law had crept in amongst them; as the *marrying strange wives*, and practising *usury* with one another. Add to all this, (what would infinitely increase the confusion) that a future state of Rewards and Punishments was not yet become a popular Doctrine. That this is a faithful account of their condition will be seen when we descend to particulars: That it would have this effect on the religious sentiments even of the better sort is evident from the expostulation of Jeremiah, in whose time this *inequality* first struck their observation. *Righteous art thou, O Lord, (says he) when I plead with thee: yet let me*

^a Chap. xxi. ver. 4, 5, 6, 7.

^b Chap. i. ver. 12.

talk with thee of thy judgments. WHEREFORE doth the way of the wicked prosper? Wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherously^c? If it be said, “that the inequality could not now first strike their observation, in a Dispensation where the equal Providence had been gradually declining from the time of Saul;” I ask, Why not? Since there must be some precise point of time or other, when the fact was first attended to. And where can we find a more likely one than this?

Could any thing therefore be conceived more reasonable and necessary, at this time, than such a consolation as the book of Job afforded? In which, on a traditional story, of great fame and reputation over all the East, a good man was represented as afflicted for the trial of his virtue, and rewarded for the well-bearing his afflictions: and in which, their doubts concerning God’s Providence were appeased by an humble acquiescence under his almighty power. And, therefore, I suppose it was, that in order to quiet all their anxieties, and to comfort them under their present distresses, one of their Prophets at this very period, composed the BOOK OF JOB^d. And here let me observe, that, to the arguments already given for fixing the date of the book of Job at this precise time of the Jewish Republic, may be added the following: Job says, *He knoweth the way that I take: When he hath TRIED me, I shall come forth as GOLD.* But we have shewn, in speaking of what Maimonides calls the *Chastisements of Love*, that they were unknown to the Jewish religion till the times of their later Prophets^e. Now here the *Chastisements of Love* are expressly described.

^c Chap. xii. ver. 1. ^d Chap. xxiii. ver. 10. ^e See p. 136.

To proceed, If such were the end of composing this poetic story, we cannot but believe that every thing in it would be fitted to the circumstances of the Times. But this could not be done without making the poem ALLEGORICAL as well as *dramatic*. That is, without representing the real persons of that age under the persons of the *drama*. And this would be according to the exactest rules of good writing: For when some *general moral* fitted for all times is to be recommended, it is best shewn in a simple DRAMATIC habit: but when the author's purpose is to convey some *peculiar truths*, circumscribed by time and place, they have need to be enforced by ALLEGORIC Images. And in fact, we shall find this poem to be wholly allegorical: The reason is convincing. There are divers circumstances added to each character, which can, by no means, belong to the persons *representing*: we conclude, therefore, that others are meant under those characters, namely, the persons *represented*. Nor did the Author seem much solicitous to conceal his purpose, while in his introduction to some of Job's speeches he expresseth himself in this manner, —*moreover Job continued his PARABLE and said*^f. Which word *parable* properly signifies in Scripture the representing one thing by another. Jerom in his preface to the book of Job, if I understand him right, seems to say much the same thing, “OBLIQUUS enim etiam apud Hebræos totus liber fertur, et lubricus, et quod Græci Rhetores *ἰσχυμαλισμένον*^g, DUM QUI ALIUD LOQUITUR, ALIUD AGIT: ut si velis anguillam vel murenulam strictis tenere manibus, quanto fortius presseris tanto citius elabitur.” This description of the work, and the comparifon by which Jerom illustrates his descrip-

^f Chap. xxvii. ver. 1. Chap. xxix. ver. i.

^g Λόγος.

tion, is a lively picture of an ALLEGORY; in which the literal sense, when you begin to grasp it closely, slips through your fingers like an eel. And in this sense we shall find the speeches of Job to be extremely *parabolical*. For it is to be observed, that, from this place, where Job is said to *continue his Parable*, from ch. xxvii. to chap. xxxi. which is the winding up of the controversy between him and his friends, there are more allusions to the Jewish state than in all the rest of the book together.—But to leave no room for doubt in this matter, let us now examine each character apart ^h.

I. In

^h “ Here, (says the Cornish Critic) take the poem in the other light, as an *allegoric* fiction, and what could it possibly afford besides a very *odd amusement*? for the truth of history is destroyed: and we have nothing in the room of it, but a monstrous jumble of times and persons brought together, that were in reality separated from each other by the distance of a thousand or twelve hundred years. Had the author been able to produce but one precedent of this sort amongst the writings of the ancients, it might have afforded some countenance to this opinion: but, I believe, it would be difficult to find it.” p. 47. What then, I beseech you, becomes of *Solomon’s Song*, if you will not allow it to be a *precedent of this sort*? Here, in the opinion of the Church, as appears by the insertion of it into the Canon, or at least in the opinion of such Churchmen as our Critic, Solomon, under the cover of a love-tale, or amorous intrigue between him and an Egyptian lady, has represented Christ’s union and marriage with the Church. Surely, the patience or impatience of Job had a nearer relation *in nature* to the patience or impatience of the Jewish People, than Solomon’s love intrigue had, *in grace*, to the salvation obtained by Jesus Christ. Yet this we are to deem no odd amusement for the WISE MAN. But for a Prophet, to employ the story of Job, to reprove the errors of the People committed to his care, and to inform them of an approaching change in their Dispensation, is by no means to be endured. What! has this great Critic never heard that, amongst the *writings of the ancients*, there was a certain allegoric piece known by the name of the *Judgment of Hercules*, written by a Grecian SAGE, to excite the youth of his time to the pursuit of virtue, and to withstand the

allure-

I. In the person of JOB we have a good man afflicted, and maintaining his innocence; equally impatient of pain and contradiction; yet, at length with all submission bowing to the hand of God; and finally rewarded for it. Had this been a fictitious Character in an invented story we could have only gathered this general moral from it, "That virtue and submission to the divine pleasure, notwithstanding the common frailties of humanity, will assuredly engage the care of Providence." But as this Hero of the poem was a real Personage; and so greatly famed for his exemplary patience in

allurements of pleasure? HERCULES was as well known by history and tradition to the Greeks, as JOB was to the Jews. Did that polite people think this an *odd amusement*? Did they think the *truth of History destroyed by it*; and *nothing left in its room but a monstrous jumble of times and persons, brought together, that were in reality separated from each other by the distance of a thousand or twelve hundred years*? for so many at least there were between the age of Hercules and the young Men of the time of Prodicus. Or does this Cornish Critic imagine, that the Sages of Greece took the Allegory, for History: or believed any more of a real rencontre between Virtue, Pleasure, and young Hercules, than Maimonides did of that solemn meeting of the Devil and the Sons of God before the throne of the Almighty?

But that curious remark of *destroying the truth of History* deserves a little further canvassing. I suppose, when Jesus transferred the story of the Prodigal and his sober Brother to the Gentiles and the Jews, and when St. John transferred Babylon to Rome, in allegory, that they *destroyed the truth of History*. When ancient and modern dramatic Writers take their subject from History, and make free with facts to adapt their plot to the nature of their poem, Do they *destroy the truth of History*? Yet in their case there is only one barrier to this imaginary mischief, namely the *Drama*: In the book of Job, there are two, both the *Drama* and the *Allegory*. But after all, some hurt it may do, amongst Readers of the size of this Answerer, when they mistake the book of Job for a piece of Biography, like the men *Ben Johnson* laughs at, who, for greater exactness, chose to read the History of England in Shakespear's Tragedies.

afflictions,

afflictions, that his case became proverbialⁱ, we can never, on the common principles, account for his behaviour, when we find him breaking out ever and anon into such excesses of impatience as border nearly upon blasphemy^k. The judicious Calmet cannot

ⁱ *We have heard of the Patience of Job*, JAM. v. 11.

^k But the Cornish Critic, who has no conception that even a patient man may, on some occasions, break out into impatient heats, insists on the *impropriety* of Job's representing the Israelites of Ezra's time. "To represent the murmuring and impatient Jews, (says he) it seems Ezra takes a person who was exemplary for the contrary quality — and then to adapt him to his purpose, makes him break out into such excesses of impatience as border on blasphemy." p. 50. I doubt there is a small matter amiss in this fine observation. The Author of the *Divine Legation* did not write the book of Job: therefore whatever discordancy there be between the Tradition of his patience and the written History of him in this book, it is just the same, whether JOB or whether EZRA wrote it. After so illustrious a specimen of his critical acumen, he may lie in bed, and cry out with the old Athlet,

Cæstum artemque repono.

However he meant well, and intended that this supposed absurdity should fall upon the Author of the *Divine Legation*, and not upon the Canon of Scripture. In the mean time the truth is, there is no absurdity at all, but what lies in his own cloudy pericranium. Whether the traditionary Job represented the Israelites or not, it is certain, he might with much decorum represent them. And this the following words of the *Divine Legation* might have taught our Critic, had he had but so much candour, as to do justice to a Stranger, whom he would needs make his Enemy. — "It is remarkable, that Job, from the beginning of his misfortunes to the coming of his three comforters, though greatly provoked by his wife, *sinned not with his lips*; but, persecuted by the malice and bitterness of his false friends, he began to lay so much stress on his innocence as even to accuse God of injustice. This was the very state of the Jews of this time; so exactly has the sacred Writer conducted his allegory; They bore their straits and difficulties with temper till their enemies Sanballat, Tobiah, and the

Vol. V. F "Arabians

cannot forbear observing on this occasion. “ En
 “ effet Job avoit marqué dans ses plaintes une
 “ vivacité que pouvoit être interprétée en mauvaise
 “ part. Il s’etoit plaint de la rigueur de Dieu; il avoit
 “ déploré son malheur d’une manière qui avoit
 “ besoin d’une interprétation bénigne¹.” And to
 the same purpose Albert Schultens, “ In eo excessu
 “ ut ne nunc quidem Jobum culpa liberare possu-
 “ mus, ita facile intelligitur, multo magis talibus
 “ dictis offendi tunc debuisse Elihuum, ignarum
 “ hætenus, quid Deus de Jobo ejusque causa
 “ pronunciaturus esset^m.” Thus softly do these
 Commentators speak, in their embarrass to reconcile
 this representation of Job to his traditional Charac-
 ter for patience. The *Writing* then and the *Tra-*

“ Arabians gave them so much disturbance; and then they
 “ fell into indecent murmurs against God.” But least our
 Answerer should again mistake this, for a defence of the Author
 of the D. L. and not of Ezra, let him try, if he can reconcile
 the traditional patience of Job with the several strokes of im-
 patience in the written book, upon any other principle than
 this, That the most patient man alive may be provoked into
 starts of impatience, by a miserable Caviler, who, being set
 upon *Answering* what he does not understand, represents falsely,
 interprets perversely, and, when he is unable to make the *Doctrin*
 odious, endeavours to make the *Person* so, who holds it. In
 conclusion however, thus much is fit to be observed, that if the
 sole or main intention of the Writer of the book of Job (be he
 whom he will) were to exhibit an example of Patience, he
 has executed his design very ill; certainly, in so perverse a man-
 ner that, from this book, the fame of Job’s exemplary Patience
 could never have arisen. Hence I conclude in favour of an
 Hypothesis which solves this difficulty, by distinguishing between
 Job’s traditional and written story. But now comes a Cornish
 Critic, and makes this very *circumstance*, which I urged for the
 support of my Hypothesis, an objection to it. Yet he had
 grounds for his observation, such as they were; He dreamt, for
 he could not be awake, that I had *invented* the *circumstance*,
 whereas I only *found* it.

¹ Sur chap. xxxiii. ver. 10.

^m On the same place.

dition being so glaringly inconsistent, we must needs conclude, 1. That the fame of so great Patience arose not from this book. And 2dly, That some other Character, shadowed under that of Job, was the real cause of the Author's deviation from the general Tradition.

And this character, I say, was no other than the JEWISH PEOPLE. The singularity of whose situation as a *selected Nation* is graphically described in the beginning of the book, where Satan is brought in speaking of the distinguished honour done to Job by his Maker. *Hast thou not made a HEDGE about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath, on every side*". The great point which Job so much insists upon throughout the whole book is his *innocence*: and yet, to our surprise, we hear him, in one place, thus expostulating with GOD: *Thou writest bitter things against me, and makest me to possess the INIQUITIES OF MY YOUTH*°. This can be accounted for no otherwise than by understanding it of the PEOPLE: whose repeated iniquities on their first coming out of Egypt, were in every Age remembered, and punished on their Posterity. Again, the twenty ninth chapter is an exact and circumstantial description of the prosperous times of the Jewish People; several parts of which can be applied with no tolerable propriety to the condition of a private man:—"O that I
 " were as in the days when GOD preserved me,
 " when his candle shined upon my head, and when,
 " by his LIGHT, I walked through darkness: As
 " I was in the days of my youth, when the SECRET
 " OF GOD was upon my TABERNACLE:—When I
 " washed my steps with BUTTER, and the rock

° Chap. i. ver. 10.

° Chap. xiii. ver. 26.

“ poured me out rivers of OIL.—I put on righteousness and it clothed me: my judgment was as a robe and a diadem.—I brake the jaws of the WICKED, and pluckt the spoil out of his teeth. —I CHOSE OUT THEIR WAY, and sat chief, and dwelt as a KING in the army^p.” In these words the writer evidently alludes to the *pillar of fire* in the Wilderness;—The *Schekinah* in the tabernacle;—The *land flowing with milk and honey*;—The administration of the *judges*;—The curbing the ravages of the *Philistians*;—And the glory of their first *Monarchs*. Well therefore might the Writer, in his introduction to this speech, call it a PARABLE.

This will lead us next to consider the *Age*, as well as *People* meant. Job, speaking of his misfortunes, says: *For the thing which I greatly feared is come upon me, and that which I was afraid of is come unto me. I was not in safety, neither had I rest, neither was I quiet, yet trouble came^q.* But in other places he speaks very differently. He wishes *he were as in months past, for then* (says he) *I shall die in my nest, and I shall multiply my days as the sand^r.* And again, *When I looked for good, then evil came upon me: and when I waited for light, there came darkness^s.* These things are very discordant, if understood of one and the same person; and can never be reconciled but on the supposition of an *allegorical* reference to another Character; and, on that, all will be set right. For this disquiet, and fear of approaching trouble, was the very condition of the Jews on their first return from the Captivity. Thus Ezra expresseth it: *And they set up the altar upon his bases* (for fear was upon

^p Ver. 2, & seq.
xxix. ver. 18.

^q Chap. iii. ver. 25, 26.
^s Chap. xxx. ver. 26.

^r Chap.

them,

them, because of the people of those countries) and they offered burnt-offerings thereon unto the Lord^t. And thus Zechariah, who prophesied at this time: *For before these days there was no hire for man, nor any hire for beast, neither was there any peace to him that went out or came in, because of the affliction; for I set all men every one against his neighbour*^u. Job, amongst his other distresses, complains to God; ——— *Thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me with visions*^x: this, I suppose, refers to the comminations of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who all prophesied at this time, and were very troublesome on that account to the impatient Jews, to whose circumstances only, and spirit of complaint, these obscure words of Job, expostulating with God, can agree; — *and why dost thou not pardon my transgression, and take away mine iniquity? For now I shall sleep in the dust, and thou shalt seek me in the morning, but I shall not be*^y. There is not a more difficult passage in the whole book of Job; and yet on the principles, here laid down, it admits and conveys this natural and easy meaning, “In thus punishing, thou wilt defeat thy own design. It is thy purpose to continue us a peculiar People; yet such traverses as we have met with, on our return, will soon destroy those already come into Judea, and deter the rest from hazarding the same fortune.” Job goes on in the same strain: *Is it good unto thee that thou shouldest oppress? that thou shouldst despise the work of thine hands? and shine upon the counsel of the wicked*^z? The Jews of this time made this very complaint. *I have loved you, saith*

^t EZRA, iii. 3.
^{vii.} ver. 14.
 ver. 3.

^u ZECH. viii. 10.
^y Chap. vii. ver. 21.

^x Chap.
^z Chap. x.

the Lord, yet ye say, Wherein hast thou loved us^a? And again, And now we call the proud happy; yea they that work wickedness are set up; yea they that tempt God are even delivered^b.—But Job goes on, —*O that thou wouldst hide me in the GRAVE, that thou wouldst keep me secret, until thy wrath be past; that thou wouldst appoint me a set time, and remember me^c.* By which words, the complaints of the Jews of that time are again referred to; which were, as appears from the words of Job, to this effect: “Would to God we had still continued in Captivity [the Grave, which was the very figure used by the Prophets for the Captivity] expecting a more favourable season for our Restoration; or that we might be permitted to return unto it, ’till the remains of punishment for our forefathers’ sins are overpast, and all things fitly prepared for our reception.” And in these cowardly and impatient sentiments were they, on their Return, as were their Ancestors, on their first coming out of the land of Egypt; to which, this Return is frequently compared by the Prophets.—Job goes on expressing his condition in this manner: *His troops come together, and raise up their way against me, and encamp round about my tabernacle. He hath put my brethren far from me, and mine acquaintance are verily estranged from me. My kinsfolk have failed, and my familiar friends have forgotten me^d.* The first part of this complaint evidently relates to the *Arabians, the Ammonites, and the Assdodites*; who (as Nehemiah tells us) *bearing that the walls of Jerusalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be stopped, were very wroth, and conspired all of them together to come and fight against Jerusalem and*

^a MALAC. i. 2.
ver. 13.

^b MALAC. iii. 15.

^c Chap. xiv.

^d Chap. xix. ver. 12, 13, 14.

to hinder it^c. The second part relates to their rich Brethren remaining in Babylon, who seemed, by Nehemiah's account, to have much neglected the distressed Remnant that escaped from the Captivity to Jerusalem. *Then Hanani (says he) one of my brethren came, he and certain men of Judah, and I asked them concerning the Jews that had escaped, which were left of the Captivity, and concerning Jerusalem. And they said unto me, The Remnant that are left of the Captivity there in the Province are in great affliction and reproach: the wall of Jerusalem is also broken down, and the gates thereof are burnt with fire^f.*

—Job goes on, *O that I knew where I might find him [God] that I might come even to his seat. Behold I go forward, but he is not there, and backward but I cannot perceive him: on the left hand where he doth work, but I cannot behold him: he hideth himself on the right hand that I cannot see him^g.* Could any thing more pathetically express the lamentations of a People who saw the extraordinary Providence, under which they had so long lived, departing from them?—From God, Job turns to Man, and says,

“ But now they that are younger than I have me
 “ in derision, whose fathers I would have disdain-
 “ ed to have set with the dogs of my flock. Yea,
 “ whereto might the strength of their hands pro-
 “ fit me, in whom old age was perished? For want
 “ and famine they were solitary: fleeing into the
 “ Wilderness in former time desolate and waste:
 “ who cut up mallows by the bushes, and juni-
 “ per-roots for their meat. They were driven
 “ forth from among men (they cried after them
 “ as after a thief) to dwell in the cliffs of the val-
 “ leys, in the caves of the earth, and in the rocks.

^c NEHEM. iv. 7, 8.
 xxiii. ver. 3, 8, 9.

^f NEHEM. i. 2, 3.

^g Chap.

“ Amongst the bushes they brayed, under the
 “ nettles they were gathered together. They were
 “ Children of *fools*, yea Children of *base* men :
 “ they were *viler* than the earth ^h.” This is a de-
 scription, and a very exact one, of the *Cutheans* or
Samaritans; of their behaviour to the Jews; and
 the sentiments of the Jews concerning them.
 These *had him in derision*, he says, and so Nehemiah
 informs us: “ But it came to pass, that when
 “ *Sanballat* heard that we builded the wall, he was
 “ wroth, and took great indignation, and *mocked*
 “ *the Jews*. And he spake before his brethren and
 “ the army of Samaria, and said: What do these
 “ feeble Jews? will they fortify themselves? will
 “ they sacrifice? will they make an end in a day?
 “ will they revive the stones out of the heaps of the
 “ rubbish, which are burnt? Now *Tobiah* the
 “ *Ammonite* was by him, and he said, even that
 “ which they build, if a fox go up, he shall even
 “ break down their stone wall. Hear, O our
 “ God, for we are *despised*, and turn their *reproach*
 “ upon their own head ⁱ.” And God, by the
 Prophet Malachi, tells the Jews the reason why he
 suffered them to be thus humbled: *Therefore have*
I also made you contemptible and base before all the peo-
ple, according as ye have not kept my ways, but have
been partial in the Law ^k.—Job says he would *have*
disdained to have set these with the dogs of his flock,
that they were younger than him, that they were children
of fools, yea of base men, viler than the earth. It is
 well known in what sovereign contempt the Jews
 held the *Cutheans* or *Samaritans* above all People.
 The character here given of the baseness of their
 Extraction, without doubt, was very just. For

^h Chap. xxx. ver. 1, & seq.

ⁱ NEH. iv. 1, & seq.

^k MAL. ii. 9.

when a Conqueror, as here the king of Assyria, would repeople, with his own subjects, a strange country entirely ravaged and burnt up by an exterminating war, none but the very scum of a People would be sent upon such an errand. And by the account Ezra gives us of this Colony, as gathered out of many distant parts of the Assyrian Empire, we may fairly conclude them to be the off-scourings of the East. “Then wrote Rehum the
 “chancellor, and Shimthai the scribe, and the rest
 “of their companions, the *Dinaites*, the *Aphar-*
 “*sathckites*, the *Tarpelites*, the *Apharsites*, the
 “*Archevites*, the *Babylonians*, the *Sufanchites*,
 “the *Dehavites*, and the *Elamites*, and the rest
 “of the Nations whom the great and noble Af-
 “napper brought over and set in the cities of
 “Samaria¹.” — Job describes them as being at first reduced to the utmost distresses for food and harbour, in a *desolate and waste wilderness*, living upon *roots*, and dwelling in *caves and clefts of the rock*: and assuredly such must have been the first entertainment of this wretched Colony, transplanted into a Country entirely wasted and destroyed by a three years incessant ravage^m. Nay, before they could come up to take possession of their *desolate places*, the wild beasts of the field were got before them, and a scourge of Lions prepared to receive them for their idolatrous pollutions of the holy Landⁿ.

Job has now ended his *Parable*; and GOD is brought in to judge the Disputants; whose speech opens in this manner: *Then the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind and said, Who is this that*

¹ EZRA iv. 9, 10.
 xvii. 25.

^m 2 KINGS xvii. 5.

ⁿ 2 KINGS

darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge? The character which God here gives of Job is that which the Prophets give of the People of this time. *Ye have wearied the Lord with your words*^p, says Malachi. And again: *Your words have been stout against me, saith the Lord*^q.—But on Job's repeated submission and humiliation, GOD at length declares his acceptance of him. And thus he received the People into grace, as we learn by the Prophet Zechariah:—*Thus saith the Lord, I am returned unto Zion, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem*^r. It is added, *Also the Lord gave Job TWICE as much as he had before*^s: and in the same manner GOD speaks to the People by the Prophet: *Turn ye to the strong-hold, ye prisoners of hope, even to day do I declare that I will render DOUBLE unto thee*^t.—Job's brethren now came to comfort him, and *every man gave him a piece of money, and every one an ear-ring of gold*^u. This, without question, alludes to the presents which Ezra tells us the Jews of Babylon made to their brethren in Judea: *And all they that were about them strengthened their hands with vessels of silver, with gold, with goods, and with beasts, and with precious things, besides all that was willingly offered*^x.—The history adds, *So the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than the beginning*^y: and thus the future prosperity of the People was predicted by the Prophets of this time: *The glory of this latter house shall be greater than the former, saith the Lord of Hosts: And in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of Hosts*^z. *For I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of*

° Chap. xxxviii. ver. 1, 2. P MAL. ii. 17. q MAL. iii. 13. r ZECH. viii. 3. s Chap. xlii. ver. 10. t ZECH. ix. 12. u Chap. xlii. ver. 11. x EZRA i. 6. y Chap. xlii. ver. 12. z HAGGAI ii. 9.

fire round about, and will be the glory in the midst of her^a.—The Book concludes with these words: *After this lived Job an hundred and forty years, and saw his sons, and his sons sons, even four generations. So Job died being old and full of days^b*: this too was the specific blessing promised by God to the People, in the Prophet Zechariah: *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem, and every man with his staff in his hand for very age. And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof^c.*

II. The next Person in the drama is Job's WIFE. Let us take her, as she is presented to us, on the common footing. She acts a short part indeed, but a very spirited one. *Then said his wife unto him: Dost thou still retain thine integrity? Curse God and die^d.* Tender and pious! He might see, by this prelude of his Spouse, what he was to expect from his Friends. The Devil indeed assaulted Job, but he seems to have got possession of his Wife. Happiness was so little to be expected with such a Woman, that one almost wonders, that the sacred Writer, when he aims to give us the highest idea of Job's succeeding felicity, did not tell us, in express words, that he lived to bury his Wife. In these modern ages of luxury and polished manners, a Character like this is so little of a prodigy, that both the learned and unlearned are accustomed to read it without much reflection: But such a Woman in the age of Job had been thought to need a Lustration. In the history of the Patriarchs we have a large account of their Wives; but these are

^a ZECH. ii. 5.

^b Chap. xlii. ver. 16, 17.

^c ZECH. viii. 4, 5.

^d Chap. ii. ver. 9.

all examples of piety, tendernefs, and obedience; the natural growth of old fimplicity of manners. Something lower down, indeed, we find a *Delilah*; but ſhe was of the *uncircumcised*, a pure pagan; as, on examination, I believe, this Wife of Job will prove: another very extraordinary circumſtance in her Character. For the Patriarchs either took care to marry Believers, or, if haply idolaters, to inſtruct them in the true Religion; as we may ſee by the hiſtory of Jacob.—*Then ſaid his wife unto him, Doſt thou ſtill retain thine INTEGRITY? THUMMAH, perfectio, that is, Religion.* This was altogether in the Pagan mode; Idolaters, as we find in ancient ſtory generally growing atheiſtical under calamities^e. — *Curſe God, BARECH, benedic-maledic:*

^e The different ſituations in which this Folly operated in *ancient* and *modern* times, is very obſervable. In the ſimplicity of the early ages, while men were at their eaſe, that general opinion, ſo congenial to the human mind, of *a God and his moral government*, was too ſtrong ever to be brought in queſtion. It was when they found themſelves miſerable and in diſtreſs, that they began to complain; to queſtion the juſtice, or to deny the exiſtence of a Deity: On the contrary, amongſt us, diſaſterous times are the ſeaſon of reflection, repentance, and reliance on Providence. It is affluence and abundance which now give birth to a wanton ſufficiency, never thoroughly gratified till it have thrown off all the reſtraints of Religion.

I imagine it may not be difficult to account for ſo ſtrange a contrariety in the manners of Men.

In the ancient World, the belief of a moral Providence was amongſt their moſt in conteſted principles. But concerning the nature and extent of this Providence they had indeed very inadequate conceptions; being miſled by the *extraordinary* manner in which the ſiſt exertions of it were maniſeſted, to expect more inſtant and immediate proteſtion than the nature of the *Dispensation* afforded. So that theſe men being, in their own opinion, the moſt worthy object of Providence's concern, whenever they became preſſed by civil or domeſtic diſtreſſes,

maledic: here rightly^f translated *curse*. So the *Syr.* and *Arab.* versions, *Conviciare Deo tuo*. This was another pagan practice when they had implored or bribed the Gods to no purpose. Thucydides affords us a terrible instance: When the Athenians in the height of their prosperity went upon the Syracusan Expedition, the Fleet set sail amidst the prayers and hymns of the Adventurers: but on its unhappy issue, these very men, on the point of their fatal dispersion, prosecuted the same Gods with the direst curses and imprecations^g.—*Curse God and*

distresses, supposed all to be lost, and the world without a Governor.

But in these modern ages of vice and refinement, when every blessing is abused, and, amongst the first, that greatest of all, LIBERTY, each improvement of the mind, as well as each accommodation of the body, is perverted into a species of *luxury*; exercised and employed for amusement, to gratify the Fancy or the Appetites, as each, in their turn, happens to influence the Will. Hence even the FIRST PHILOSOPHY, the science of Nature itself, bows to this general abuse. It is made to act against its own ordinances, and to support those impieties it was authorised to suppress. — But now, when calamity, distress, and all the evils of those abused blessings have, by their severe but wholesome discipline, restored recollection and vigour to the relaxed and dissipated mind, the dictates of Nature are again attended to: the impious principles of false Science, and the false conclusions of the true, are shaken off as a hideous dream; and the abused Victim of his vanity and his pleasure flies for refuge to that only Asylum of Humanity, RELIGION.

^f Thus both *Sacro* and *Sacer* have, in Latin, contrary significations. The reason is evident. Some things were *consecrated* and some *devoted* to the Gods: those were *holy*; these *execrable*. So God being invoked sometimes to *bless*, and sometimes to *curse*, the invocation was expressed by one word, which had contrary senses. And this agreeable to the genius of language in general.

^g — ἀλλ' ὃ' εὐχῆς τε καὶ παύσιων, μεθ' ὧν ἐξέπλεον, πάλιν τῶτων τοῖς ἰναίλοις ἐπιφρημισμασιν ἀφορμαῶσθαι. Lib. vii. § 75. Ed. Hud.

DIE ; that is, offer violence to yourself. Another impiety of Paganism ; which, under irretrievable misfortunes, deemed suicide not only just but laudable. A crime much abhorred by the Hebrews, as forbidden by their Law ; till, in after-times, they became corrupted by Gentile manners. All this shews the Woman to have been a rank idolater. But Job's reply seems to put this suspicion out of doubt : *Thou speakest as one of the FOOLISH WOMEN speaketh. What? Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil^h?* A FOOLISH WOMAN is a hebrew phrase to signify a *foreign woman*, an *Idolater*, an *Adulteress*; for these qualifications were always joined together in their ideas. On this account the *Chald. Paraph.* explains it, *Sicut una de mulieribus quæ operantur ignominiam in domo patris sui.* So David, speaking of the condition of the Pagan world, says : *The FOOL hath said in his heartⁱ*, i. e. the PAGAN; and in the character Job gives of the *Cutbeans*, quoted above, he calls them *Children of FOOLS^k*; that is, of Gentile extraction, as indeed they were. Now can we suppose that Job would marry an Infidel, in a country which abounded with true believers? *Job*, who thought idolatry a crime to be punished by the Judge? These are difficulties not to be gotten over on the received idea of this book ; and appeared so great to Cocceius and Schultens, the two most elaborate of Job's Commentators, that they are for glossing the kind Woman's words into an innocent or excusable sense ; tho' her Husband's reply so unavoidably confines them to a bad one : *Thou speakest (says he) as one of the foolish women speaketh. What? Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we*

^h Chap. ii. ver. 10.

ⁱ PSAL. xiv. 1.—liii. 1.

^k Chap. xxx. ver. 8.

not receive evil? Besides, they did not consider that *Satan* had, as it were, engaged that *Job* should curse God to his face¹; which impiety he was here endeavouring to bring about by his agent, the Woman. But now, on our interpretation, it will be found that this character was introduced with exquisite art and contrivance. We have observed, that this *Remnant of the Captivity* returned into their own Country with hearts full of zeal for the Law. Yet, with this general good disposition, there was one folly they were still infected with, and that was the taking *strange wives* of the idolatrous nations round about; which, amongst other, had this terrible inconvenience, that the children, who in their more tender years are principally under the care of the mother, would be early tainted with Pagan principles: a mischief so general that *Hosea* calls the children of such marriages, *strange children*^m, i. e. *idolatrous*. This soon became a crying enormity. Their Prophets awaked them with the thunder of divine menaces; and their Rulers improved their penitence to a thorough reformation. *Judab* (saith the Prophet *Malachi*) *bath dealt treacherously, and an abomination is committed in Israel and in Jerusalem: For Judab hath profaned the holiness of the Lord which he loved, and hath married the daughter of a strange God. The Lord will cut off the man that doth this*ⁿ. *Nehemiah* informs us of his zeal against this offence: *In those days also saw I Jews that had married wives of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab: And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and pluckt off their hair, and made them swear by God, saying, Ye shall not give your daughters*

¹ Chap. ii. ver. 5.
ii. 11, 12.

^m Chap. v. ver. 7.

ⁿ MAL.

unto their sons, nor take their daughters unto your sons, or for yourselves^o. But Ezra gives us a very circumstantial account of the Crime and of the Reformation: *Now when these things were done, the Princes came to me, saying, The People of Israel, and the Priests, and the Levites have not separated themselves from the people of the lands, doing according to their abominations: for they have taken of their daughters for themselves and for their sons; so that the holy seed have mingled themselves with the people of those lands: Yea, the hand of the Princes and Rulers hath been chief in this trespass^p. Shechaniah then encourages Ezra to reform this abuse^q. Ezra assembles the people^r: they promise amendment; and propose a method of Inquiry: *Let now our Rulers of all the congregation stand, and let all them which have taken strange wives in our cities, come at appointed times, and with them the Elders of every city, and the Judges thereof^s. Ezra approved of this method, And they set down in the first day of the tenth month to examine the matter. And they made an end with all the men that had taken strange wives by the first day of the first month^t. The state and condition of a weak and thin Colony, 'tis probable, encouraged them in this transgression: yet, as it was so expressly against the LAW, they were altogether without excuse: And indeed, the prohibition was an admirable expedient against idolatry; *strange wives* inevitably drawing the wisest, as it did Solomon himself, into foreign idolatries. On this account the Prophet quoted above, finely calls them *the daughters of a STRANGE GOD*. Jeremiah gives us a remarkable instance of their influence over their husbands in his time: *Then all the men***

^o NEHEM. xiii. 23, 25. ^p EZRA ix. 1, 2. ^q Chap. x.
 ver. 2. ^r Ver. 7. ^s Ver. 14. ^t Chap. x. ver. 16, 17.

which

which knew that their wives had burnt incense unto other Gods, and all the women that stood by, a great multitude, even all the people that dwelt in the land of Egypt, in Pathros, answered Jeremiah, saying, As for the word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto thee^u. And Nehemiah had good reason to tell these Transgressors,—Did not Solomon king of Israel sin by these things? Yet among many nations was there no king like him, who was beloved of his God, and God made him King over all Israel: Nevertheless even him did outlandish women cause to sin^x. For Ezra expressly assures us, that those who had taken strange women were drawn into the abominations of the people of the lands^y.

The sacred Writer, therefore, who composed his work for the use of these People represented under the person of Job, could not better characterize their manners, nor give them a more useful lesson, than by making Job's wife, the author of such wicked counsel, a *Heathen*. It was indeed the principal study of their Rulers to deter them from these marriages, and to recommend the daughters of Israel; of whom the Prophet Malachi thus speaks: *Because the Lord hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously: yet is she thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant*^z. This will help us
to

^u JER. xlv. 15.^x NEH. xiii. 26.^y EZRA ix. 1.^z MAL. ii. 14.

^a The Cornish Critic says — “ Above all, and to support the allegory in its most concerning circumstances, as the Jews were obliged to put away their idolatrous wives, so Job should have put away his, in the upshot of the Fable. This would CERTAINLY have been done had such an allegory been intended as Mr. W. supposes.” p. 66. Let this man alone

to clear up a difficulty in the conclusion of the book which very much perplexes the Commentators: (where, let it be observed, his *misfortunes* are called his CAPTIVITY^a; which figure, of the species for the genus, could hardly be of use in the Jewish language till after their repeated punishments by *Captivities*.) *So the Lord blessed the latter end of Job—He had also seven sons and three DAUGHTERS. And he called the name of the first Jemima, and the name of the second Kezia, and the name of the third Keren-happuch. And in all the land were no women found so fair as the daughters of Job, and their father gave them inheritance among their brethren^b. Albert Schultens says^c: “Men are wont to ask why the names of Job’s sons are suppressed, and the names of his daughters only mentioned. The Ancients have recourse to mystery in this case, and trifle strangely with the*

for his distributive justice. I thought, when, in the conclusion of the book, we have a detailed account of Job’s whole family, his sons, his daughters, and his cattle, and that we hear nothing of his wife, (and, I ween, she would have been heard of had she been there) the Writer plainly enough insinuated that Job had some how or other got rid of this Affliction, with the rest. But nothing else will serve our Righter of wrongs but a formal bill of divorce—Indeed I suspect, a light expression I chanced to make use of, gave birth to this ingenious objection. See above, p. 75.

^a Chap. xlii. ver. 10.

^b Chap. xliii. ver. 12. & seq.

^c “Cur suppressis filiorum nominibus, filiarum illa apposita sint, quaeri solet. Ad *mysterium* confugiunt veteres, mirc ludentes in etymis *Jemimæ*, *Keziæ*, & *Keren-happuchæ*. five *Dianæ* vel *Diei*, *Cassia*, & *Cornu sibilii*, ut vulgato hæc venire visum. In his inveniunt totidem characteres *Ecclesiæ*, quæ cum splendore lucis conjungat odorem fragrantissimum virtutis, ut tota pulchra sponso suo sitatur, &c. &c. Alii symbolicas has faciunt appellationes, quibus familiæ suæ redivivam lucem, famam, gloriam repræsentatam voluerit fortunatissimus pater.”

“etymo-

“ etymologies of *Jemima*, *Kezia*, and *Keren-bappuch*: which are commonly supposed to signify
 “ *Diana* or the day, *Cassia*, and the horn of anti-
 “ *mony*. In these, they find just so many cha-
 “ *acters* of the church; which to the splendor of
 “ *truth*, joins the odour of virtue, that she may
 “ *stand* a perfect beauty in presence of her spouse,
 “ *&c. &c.* Others make them symbolical appel-
 “ *lations*, by which the happy father would re-
 “ *present* the former splendor, fame and glory of
 “ *his family* returned again unto it.” And Mr.
Le Clerc on the same place ^d; — “ if it is asked why
 “ *the names* of the daughters are recorded and not
 “ *the sons*: Of this, no reason can be given, un-
 “ *less*, perhaps, the daughters were more illustri-
 “ *ous*. These names are urged as a certain proof
 “ *of its being* a true history? But who can say
 “ *how far* the oriental writers were wont to go,
 “ *in dressing* out their Parables. In a Gospel-pa-
 “ *rable* we find the name of *Lazarus*; which does
 “ *not on that account* hinder us from considering
 “ *the story* as of that class. However we think it
 “ *best to leave* the matter just as we found it.”
 But now all this difficulty is removed, and the pas-
 sage is seen in its full force and beauty. It was the
 writer’s design to recommend the *daughters of Israel*
 as the most desirable Parties, [*And in all the land*
were no women found so fair as the daughters of Job]
 and to commemorate the reformation now made

^d *Quæritur cur sint filiarum nomina memorata, non filiorum; cuius rei ratio reddi non potest, nisi fortè illustriores fuerint filie. Hæc nomina profertur, ut argumentum certum, quo constat hanc veram esse historiam. Sed quis dicat quò usque Orientales parabolas errare solebant? In parabola Evangelicâ est quidam nomen Lazari, quod non obstat quo minus Parabola habeatur. Verum rem in medio relinquimus.*

amongst the *people*, when they put away their *strange wives*, and took an oath to share the holy inheritance, for the future, only with the *daughters of Israel*.—*And their father gave them inheritance amongst their brethren*: words that have been as troublesome to the Commentators as the rest; and have occasioned many a learned Dissertation *de Jure Successionis apud Hebræos, Arabas, Græcos, Latinos, & quamplurimas Gentes*.

III. We come next to Job's THREE FRIENDS.—Their solemn appointment to go and comfort Job; the neglect of their errand when they came thither; their inhumanity and strange humour of contradiction, have been already taken notice of, and explained, and reconciled to decorum, on the nature and principles of a *dramatic* composition. But this is not all; We find, on the issue of their debate, so many marks of insult, falsehood, and malice, that we must needs conclude their Friendship to have been all pretence; that they were enemies in their hearts; and that the true purpose of their visit was to imbitter and aggravate his miseries. This requires other principles to explain it: for, in the *historical* part they are represented as *real* friends: and this makes such a difficulty as nothing but our idea of the work can remove. Who then will doubt but that, as the PEOPLE were represented under Job, these *three friends* were their three capital Enemies, who so greatly hindered and obstructed the rebuilding Jerusalem and the temple, SANBALLAT, TOBIAH, and GESHEM? Of whom Nehemiah gives us this account: *Then I came to the governors beyond the river, and gave them the king's letters. When Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant the Ammonite, heard of it, it*
grieved

grieved them exceedingly that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel^e. And again: But it came to pass that when Sanballat, and Tobiah, and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites heard that the walls of Jerusalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be stopped, then they were very wroth, and conspired all of them together, to come and to fight against Jerusalem and to hinder it^f. When force would not do, they assayed fraud: Now it came to pass, when SANBALLAT, and TOBIAH, and GESHEM the Arabian, and the rest of our enemies heard that I had builded the wall, and that there was no breach left therein, then Sanballat and Geshem sent unto me, saying, Come, let us meet together in some one of the villages in the plain of Ono: but they thought to do me mischief^g. The Writer of the book of Tobit seems to have had this idea of the three friends, where he says: *Nam sicut beato Job insultabant Reges, ita isti parentes & cognati ejus irridebant vitam ejus^h*. But we are to observe this is now only to be found in the Latin translation, which St. Jerom tells us, he made from the Chaldee. But, what is still of more moment, is a paragraph at the end of the Septuagint translation of the book of Job, which makes of these three friends, two Kings and a Tyrant.

The marks of resemblance between the allegorical and real persons, are many and strong.

Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar are delivered as the allies and friends of Job: So *Sanballat* the Hiononite had given his daughter to one of the sons of *Joiada* the son of *Eliafhib* the high priestⁱ: And

^e NEHEM. ii. 9, 10.
VL. VER. 1, 2.

^f Chap. iv. ver. 7, 8.

^g Chap.

^h TOB. ii. 14.

ⁱ NEHEM. xiii. 28.

Tobiah had made two alliances with the Jews: his son *Johanan* had married the daughter of *Meshullam* the son of *Berechiah*; and he himself had taken to wife the daughter of *Shechaniah* the son of *Arah*^k.

Elipkazz, *Bildad*, and *Zophar* came in a friendly manner with offers of service and assistance: So did these enemies of the Jews, as we are informed both by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*: “ Now when the
 “ ADVERSARIES of Judah and Benjamin heard
 “ that the children of the captivity builded the
 “ temple unto the Lord God of Israel: Then
 “ they came to Zerubbabel, and to the chief of
 “ the fathers, and said unto them, LET US BUILD
 “ WITH YOU. But Zerubbabel and Jeshua and
 “ the rest of the chief of the fathers of Israel, said
 “ unto them, You have nothing to do with us
 “ to build a house unto our God, but we ourselves
 “ will build unto the Lord God of Israel, as king
 “ Cyrus the king of Persia hath commanded us^l.”
 And *Nehemiah*’s answer to *Sanballat*, *Tobiah*, and *Geshem*, shews, they had made this request: —“ then
 “ answered I them, and said unto them, The
 “ God of heaven he will prosper us; therefore we
 “ his servants will arise and build, *but you have no*
 “ *portion, nor right, nor memorial in Jerusalem*^m.”
 And of *Tobiah* in particular, he says: *Moreover in these days the nobles of Judah sent many letters unto Tobiah: and the letters of Tobiah came unto them. Also they reported his good deeds before me, and uttered my words to him. And Tobiah sent letters to put me in fear*ⁿ.

^k NEH. vi. 18.

^l EZRA iv. 1, 2, 3.

^m NEH. ii.

20.

ⁿ NEH. vi. 17, 19.

The *three Friends of JOB* were worshippers of the true God; and so were these *Adversaries* of the *Jews*: For when, in the place quoted above, they asked to *build with the Jews*, they give this reason of their request: FOR WE SEEK YOUR GOD as ye do, and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of *Eferbaddon king of Assur*, which brought us up hither °.

The *three Friends* were perpetually deriding and upbraiding him for his sins: And of this Job frequently complains in the course of the disputation^p. So *Nehemiah* tells us, that *when Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian heard that they were set upon building the walls of Jerusalem, they laughed them to scorn, and despised them, and said, What is this thing that ye do? Will ye rebel against the king^q? And again: But it came to pass that when Sanballat heard that we builded the wall, he was wrath, and took great indignation, and mocked the Jews. Now Tobiah the Ammonite was by him, and he said, Even that which they build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone wall^r. God, by the Prophet Malachi, tells them, *Judah hath profaned the holiness of the Lord which he loved, and hath married the daughter of a strange God^s*. And it is remarkable that they with whom the Jews had committed this crime, as *Sanballat, Tobiah, and the Cutbeans*, were made the instruments of their punishment.—*Eli-phaz the Temanite* charges and upbraids Job with the most flagitious crimes: *Is not thy wickedness great,**

° EZRA iv. 2.
 Chap. xiii. ver. 4.
 Chap. xix. ver. 2.
 9 NEH. ii. 19.

† Chap. iv. 27.
 Chap. xvi. ver. 1, 20.
 Chap. xxi. ver. 3.
 † Chap. iv. ver. 1, 3.

Chap. xii. ver. 4.
 Chap. xvii. ver. 2.
 Chap. xxvi. ver. 4.
 5 MAL. ii. 11.

and thine iniquities infinite? And thus the Cushites represented the Jews, to Artaxerxes: "Be
 " it known unto the king, that the Jews, which
 " came up from thee to us, are come unto Jeru-
 " salem, building the rebellious and the bad city,
 " and have set up the walls thereof. — Therefore
 " have we certified the king that search may be
 " made in the book of the records of thy fathers,
 " so shalt thou find in the book of the records,
 " and know, that this city is a rebellious city, and
 " hurtful unto kings and provinces; and that
 " they have moved sedition within the same of old
 " time; for which cause was this city destroyed^u."--
 If their Adversaries could accuse them thus unjustly, we are not to think they would spare them where there was more ground for condemnation. When Nehemiah came to the administration of affairs, the Rich had oppressed the Poor by a rigorous exaction of their debts: *And there was a great cry of the people and of their wives, against their brethren the Jews. For there were that said, We, our sons, and our daughters are many: therefore we take up corn for them, that we may eat and live. Some also there were that said, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards, and houses, that we may buy corn because of the dearth. There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children: and lo we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already, neither is it in our power to redeem them; for other men have our lands and vineyards*^x. This abuse Nehemiah reformed: and in reproving the oppres-

^u Chap. xxii. ver. 5.

^u EZRA iv. 13, 14, 15.

^x NEH. v. 1, & seq.

fors, he said: *It is not good that ye do: Ought ye not to walk in the fear of our Lord, because of the REPROACH OF THE HEATHEN OUR ENEMIES*^y? which reproach was intended to be represented in these words of Eliphaz: *For thou hast taken a pledge from thy brother for nought, and stripped the naked of their cloathing*^z.

But the three Friends are at length condemned by God himself: *The Lord said to Eliphaz the Temanite: My wrath is kindled against thee, and against thy two friends: For he have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as my servant Job hath*^a. And in the same manner he speaks, by the Prophet, concerning these Adversaries of the Jews: *And I am very sore displeas'd with the Heathen that are AT EASE: For I was but a LITTLE DISPLEASED, and they HELPED FORWARD THE AFFLICTION*^b.—His sentence against the three Friends goes on in these words: *Therefore take now unto you seven bullocks and seven rams, and go to my servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt-offering, and my servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept: Lest I deal with you after your folly, in that ye have not spoken of me the thing which is right, like my servant Job*^c. This, I suppose, is designed to represent the defeat of their Adversaries, in the decree which the Jews, by the good providence of God, procured from Darius, commanding the Cutbeans (who had hitherto so much hindered) now to assist the Jews to the utmost of their power in rebuilding the Temple: “Then Darius the king made a decree—Now therefore Tatnai, Governor beyond
“ the river Shetharboznai, and your companions

^y Ver. 9.
ver. 7.

^z Chap. xxii. ver. 6.
^b ZECH. i. 15.

^a Chap. xlii.
^c Chap. xlii. ver. 8.

“ the Apharfachites, which are beyond the river,
 “ be ye far from thence : Let the work of this
 “ house of God alone, let the governor of the
 “ Jews, and the elders of the Jews build this
 “ house of God in his place. Moreover I make
 “ a decree, what ye fhall do to the elders of thefe
 “ Jews, for the building of this houfe of God :
 “ that, of the king’s goods, even of the tribute
 “ beyond the river, forthwith expences be given
 “ unto thefe men, that they be not hindered.
 “ And that which they have need of, both young
 “ bullocks and rams, and lambs, for the BURNT-
 “ OFFERINGS of the God of heaven, wheat, falt,
 “ wine, and oil, according to the appointment of
 “ the priests which are at Jerufalem, let it be given
 “ them day by day without fail ; that they may of-
 “ fer facrifices of fweet favours unto the God of
 “ heaven, and pray FOR THE LIFE OF THE KING
 “ AND OF HIS SONS ^d.”

The reason why the *three Friends* are condemned as *not having fpoken of God the thing that was right* was, I. Becauſe uſing the argument of an *equal Providence* only to condemn Job with the heart of an enemy, they made the honour of God a ſtale to their malignant purpoſes. To underſtand this more fully we muſt conſider that the great conteſt was concerning an *equal Providence*: What occaſioned it was their ſuſpicion of Job’s ſecret iniquity ; conſequently theſe two points take their turns occaſionally in the courſe of the diſputation. Job, after many ſtruggles, at laſt gave up the general queſtion ; but the particular one of his own righteouſneſs, he adheres to, throughout, and makes it the ſubject of all he ſays from chap. xxvii. to chap.

^d EZRA vi. 1, 6, & ſeq.

xxx. This ended the dispute: for, in the beginning of the next chapter^c, the writer tells us,—*So these three men ceased to answer Job, because he was righteous in his own eyes*: that is, they gave Job this contemptuous reason why they would argue no longer with him. By this we may see, how finely the dispute was conducted, to answer, what I suppose was, the end of writing the book. JOB, who represented the PEOPLE, was to speak their sentiments concerning their doubts of an equal Providence; but he was at last to acquiesce, to teach them a lesson of obedience and submission.

2. The second reason of the condemnation of these false *Friends* was, because they had supported their condemnation of Job by a pretended Revelation.—*Now a thing was secretly brought to me* (says Eliphaz) *and mine ear received a little thereof. In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men, fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake: then a Spirit passed before my face, the hair of my flesh stood up: I stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof: an image was before mine eyes, there was silence and I heard a voice saying, "Shall mortal man be more just than God," &c^f.* This was the character, and conduct, of the enemies of the Republic, as the Prophet Ezekiel informs us; whose words are so very apposite, that we may well think they were the original to those above in the fourth chapter of Job. *Thus saith the Lord God, Wo unto the foolish Prophets that follow their own spirit and have seen nothing—They have seen vanity and lying divination, saying, The Lord saith; and the Lord hath not sent them.—Have ye not*

* Chap. xxxii.

† Chap. iv. ver. 12, & seq.

seen a vain vision, and have ye not spoken a lying divination, whereas ye say, The Lord saith it, albeit I have not spoken? Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because ye have spoken vanity and seen lyes, therefore behold I am against you, saith the Lord God.

IV. The last Person in the Opposition is the Devil himself, SATAN, the Author and Contriver of all the mischief. And now we are come to that part of the *Allegory*, where the fable and the moral meet, and, as it were, concur to throw off the Mask, and expose the true face of the Subject; this assault upon JOB being that very attack which the Prophet Zechariah tells us, Satan made, at this time, on the PEOPLE. The only difference is, that, in this Poem, it is *Job*; in that Prophecy, it is *Joshua the high priest*, who stands for the *People*. In all the rest, the identity is so strongly marked, that this single circumstance alone is sufficient to confirm the truth of our whole interpretation. There needs only setting the two passages together to convince the most Prejudiced:—The Historian says, “ Now there was a day when the sons of God
“ came to present themselves before the Lord, and
“ SATAN came also among them. And the Lord
“ said unto Satan: Whence comest thou? Then
“ Satan answered the Lord, and said, From going
“ to and fro in the earth, and from walking up
“ and down in it. And the Lord said unto Satan:
“ Hast thou considered my servant JOB, that there
“ is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an
“ upright man, one that feareth God and escheweth
“ evil? Then Satan answered the Lord and said:
“ Doth Job fear God for nought? But put forth

z EZEK. xiii. ver. 3, & seq.

“ thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and
 “ he will curse thee to thy face. And the Lord
 “ said unto Satan: Behold all that he hath is in
 “ thy power, only upon himself put not forth
 “ thine hand. So Satan went forth from the pre-
 “ sence of the Lord ^h.”—The Prophet’s account is
 in these words: “ Be silent, O all flesh, before the
 “ Lord: for he is raised up out of his holy habita-
 “ tion. And he shewed me JOSHUA the high
 “ priest standing before the angel of the Lord,
 “ and SATAN standing at his right hand to resist
 “ him. And the Lord said unto Satan: The
 “ Lord rebuke thee, O Satan, even the Lord
 “ that hath chosen Jerusalem, rebuke thee: Is
 “ not this a brand pluckt out of the fire? Now
 “ *Joshua was clothed with filthy garments*, and stood
 “ before the angel. And he answered and spake
 “ unto those that stood before him, saying, *Take*
 “ *away the filthy garments from him*. And unto
 “ him he said, Behold I have *caused thine iniquity*
 “ *to pass from thee*, and I will clothe thee with
 “ change of Raiment. And I said, Let them set
 “ a fair mitre upon his head; so they set a fair
 “ mitre upon his head, and clothed him with gar-
 “ ments, and *the angel of the Lord stood by* ⁱ.”

JOB’S whole dramatic life lies here in its stamina.
 — *Satan standing at the angel’s right hand to resist
 Joshua* is, (when drawn out more at length) his
 persecution of Job.—*Joshua clothed with filthy gar-
 ments*, is Job amidst the Ashes.—*The clothing of
 Joshua with change of raiment and setting a fair
 mitre on his head*, is Job’s returning Prosperity.
 And *the angel of the Lord standing by*, is GOD’S In-
 terposition from the Whirlwind.

^h Chap. i. ver. 6, & seq.
 ver. 1. & seq.

ⁱ ZECH. ii. 13. Chap. iii.

But we have not yet done with this Character. The finding SATAN in the scene is a strong proof that the Work was composed in the age we have assigned to it. This evil Being was little known to the Jewish People till about this time. Their great Lawgiver, where he so frequently enumerates, and warns them of, the snares and temptations which would draw them to transgress the Law of God, never once mentions this Capital enemy of Heaven; yet this was an expedient which the wisest Pagan Lawgivers ^k thought of use, to keep the Populace in the ways of virtue. Thus Zaleucus, in the preface to his book of Laws, speaks of *an evil DEMON tempting men to mischief*: And in the popular Religion there was always a FURY at hand, to pursue the more atrocious Offenders through the world. Nay, when the end of that sacred History which Moses composed, obliged him to treat of *Satan's* first grand machination against mankind, he entirely hides this wicked Spirit under the Animal which he made his instrument. (The reason of this wise conduct hath been in part explained already, and will be more exactly treated in the course of our general argument^l.) But, as the fulness of time drew near, they were made more and more acquainted with this their capital Enemy. When Ahab, for the crimes and follies of the People, was suffered to be infatuated, we have this account of the matter in the first book of Kings: *And Micaiah said, Hear thou therefore the word of the*

^k See *Div. Leg.* Vol. i. p. 128. 4th ed.

^l Divine Wisdom procures many *ends* by one and the same *man*; so here, besides this use, of throwing the Reader's attention entirely on the *Serpent*, it had another, *viz.* to make the *Serpent*, which was of the most sacred and venerable regard in the Mysterious Religion of Egypt, the object of the Israelites' utter abhorrence and detestation.

Lord: I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said: Who shall persuade Abab that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner. And there came forth a SPIRIT and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him: Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also; Go forth and do so ^m. SATAN is not here recorded by name; and so we must conclude that the People were yet to know little of his *history*: However, this undertaking sufficiently declared his *nature*. On the return from the Captivity, we find him better known; and things then are ascribed to him, as the immediate and proper Author, which (while divine Providence thought fit to keep back the knowledge of him) were before given, in an improper sense, to the first and ultimate Cause of all things. Thus, in the second book of Samuel it is said, that God moved David to number the people, — *And again, the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go number Israel and Judah* ⁿ. But in the first book of Chronicles, which was written after the Captivity, Satan is said to have moved David to this folly. *And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel* ^o. For, His history having an inseparable connexion with the *Redemption* of Mankind, the knowledge of them was to be conveyed together: and now, their later Prophets

^m 1 KINGS xxii. 19, & seq.
 • 1 CHRON. xxi. 1.

ⁿ 2 SAM. xxiv. 1,

had given less obscure descriptions of the REDEEMER and the other attendant truths.

Here let me stop a moment, though I anticipate my subject, to adore the visible splendor of the divine Wisdom, in this period of God's moral Dispensation: We have observed that the fulness of time approaching, the writings of the Prophets, after the Captivity, had given less obscure intimations of the *Redemption*; and that the Truths, which had a necessary connexion with it, were proportionably laid open. Two of the principal of these were the HISTORY OF SATAN and the DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE; which, soon after this time, were conveyed to their knowledge. Now, besides the use of these two truths to the general Œconomy, they were of great advantage to the Jewish people at those very junctures when each was first made known unto them. The *history of Satan*, it is evident, they were brought acquainted with in their *Captivity*; and nothing could better secure them from the dangerous error of the TWO PRINCIPLES, which was part of the national Religion of the Country into which they were led captive. The *doctrine of a future state* they learnt some small time after their thorough *Re-establishment*; and this being at a time when their extraordinary Providence was departing from them, was of the highest advantage and support to them, as a Nation and a People. But this, as I say, is anticipating my subject, and will be explained at large hereafter: The other is the point we are at present concerned with, namely, the knowledge of this wicked Spirit; and the security this knowledge afforded, against the error of the *two Principles*: Which leads us to another use the writer of the book of Job hath made of this *Personage* of the Drama.

We

We have observed, that the principal design of the Author of this work was to remove all errors concerning the SUPREME CAUSE, from amongst a People now about to come under the *ordinary* Providence of Heaven, after having been long accustomed to the *extraordinary*. The common fault which the Ancients were prone to commit, on seeing good and bad happen indifferently to all men, was to bring in question the GOODNESS of their Maker. And they were apt to satisfy themselves in this difficulty, by another mistake as absurd as that was impious; the belief of TWO PRINCIPLES, a Good and an Evil. The Jews, of this time particularly, were most obnoxious to the danger, as coming from a place where this strange Doctrine made part of the public Religion. It was of the highest importance therefore to guard against both these errors. And this the sacred Writer hath effectually done, by shewing that SATAN, or the *evil Spirit* (whose history, misunderstood, or imperfectly told, in the first Ages of mankind, much favoured the notion of an *evil Principle*) was, like all other immaterial Beings, even of the highest rank, a creature of GOD; at enmity with him; but entirely in his power; and used by him as an instrument to punish wicked men; yet sometimes permitted to afflict the Good, for a trial of their patience, and to render their Faith and Virtue more perfect and conspicuous. Hence we see (which deserves our serious reflection) how useful it was to this purpose (what little light soever it gave to the Question) to resolve all, when the dispute came to be moderated and determined, into the OMNIPOTENCE of GOD, who is represented as the SOLE Creator and Governor of all things. And, what the Wisdom of the Holy Spirit directed the Writer of the book of Job to do, in this point, on

their coming from the Land which held the belief of TWO PRINCIPLES, the same Wisdom directed Isaiah to do, on their going thither. This Prophet, in the person of God, addressing his speech to Cyrus, whom God had appointed to be the instrument of his People's Restoration, says: *I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God besides me. I girded thee, though thou hast not known me.* — I FORM THE LIGHT AND CREATE DARKNESS, I MAKE PEACE AND CREATE EVIL: *I the Lord do all these things* ^p.

This declaration of God by Isaiah naturally leads us, ere we conclude this head, to consider another text of the book of Job, which confirms all that is here said of SATAN and the TWO PRINCIPLES; and, by consequence, the opinion here advanced, of the time in which the book was written. Job, speaking of the works of Creation and Providence, says, *He divided the SEA with his power, and his understanding smiteth thro' the PROUD* ^q. — This evidently alludes to the miracle of the Red-sea, and the destruction of Pharaoh. From these works of Providence upon earth, the writer proceeds to speak of God's work of Creation above; both *material* and *intellectual*. — *By his Spirit he hath GARNISHED the heavens; his Hand hath formed the CROOKED SERPENT* ^r. i. e. He made the material and intellectual world; and in this latter, the *evil Being* himself, (that pretended Rival of his power, and Opposer of all his good) is equally the work of his hands. The progression and connexions of the parts, contained in this whole period, are extremely beautiful. His work of Providence, as Lord of Nature upon earth, led properly to his work of Creation above, as the

^p Is. xlv. 5, 7.

^q Chap. xxvi. ver. 12.

^r Ver. 13.

Maker and Governor of all things: and his chastisement of the proudest and most powerful Monarch then on earth, in his character of Governor of the Moral world, as naturally introduced the mention of his creating, and his keeping in subjection, the EVIL SPIRIT, in his character of the first Cause of all things. And, to connect these two relations together with the greater justness, the writer with much elegance calls the *evil Spirit* by that name wherewith the sacred Writers, and especially Isaiah, (whom we shall see presently the writer of the book of Job had particularly in his eye) denote the king of Egypt. *In that day the Lord, with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish Leviathan the piercing serpent, even Leviathan that CROOKED SERPENT, and he shall slay the Dragon that is in the sea*^s. Let us observe, that the Writer of the book of Job, in the last verse, evidently alludes to, or rather paraphrases those words of Isaiah quoted before.—*I form the light and create darkness; I make peace, and CREATE EVIL: I the Lord do all these things*: For what is this but *garnishing the Heavens*, and FORMING THE CROOKED SERPENT? But the relation and connexion between the 12th and 13th verses 'not being observed, several eminent Commentators, both Jews and Christians, were inclined to understand the *crooked serpent* as signifying the great Constellation so named, situate near the arctic pole; or at least, that enormous trail of light called the Galaxy or Via lactea. And those Moderns who have been as backward to find a Devil for their Tempter, as a God for their Redeemer, thought it agreed best with their Socinian reasoning-scheme; the general mention of the *garniture of the Heavens*, being well

^s Chap. xxvii. 1.^t JOB xxvi.

followed by a particular description of one of its pieces of furniture. But whatever their force of Logic may be, their taste of Rhetoric seems none of the best. It is a strange kind of amplification to say, "He made all the constellations, and he "made one of them." But that interpretation of Scripture which receives its chief strength from the rules of human eloquence, and art of composition, hath often but a slender support. I shall go on therefore to shew, that an Hebrew Writer (and he who, after all that has been said, will not allow the Author of the book of Job to be an Hebrew, may grant or deny what he pleases, for me) to shew, I say, that *an Hebrew Writer*, by *the crooked Serpent* could not mean a *Constellation*.

The Rabbins tell us, (who in this case seem to be competent Evidence) that the ancient Hebrews in their Astronomy, which the moveable Feasts of their Ritual necessitated them to cultivate, did not represent the Stars, either single or in Constellations, by the name or figure of any Animal whatsoever; but distinguished them by the letters of their alphabet, artificially combined. And this they assure us was the constant practice, till, in the later ages, they became acquainted with the Grecian Sciences: Then, indeed, they learnt the art of tricking up their SPHERE, and making it as picturesque as their neighbours. But still they did it with modesty and reserve; and hesitated even then, to admit of any human Figure. The reason given for this scrupulous observance, namely, the danger of Idolatry, is the highest confirmation of the truth of their account. For it is not to be believed, that, when the ASTRONOMY and SUPERSTITION of Egypt were so closely colleagued, and that the combination was supported by this very means, the NAMES
given

given to the Constellations, it is not to be believed, I say, that Moses, who, under the ministry of God, forbade the Israelites *to make any likeness of any thing in HEAVEN above* according to the old mode, would suffer them to make *new likenesses* there: which, if not in the first intention set up to be worshipped, yet, we know, never waited long to obtain that honour. To corroborate this Rabbinical account relative to the Hebrew Astronomy, we may observe, that the Translators of the Septuagint, the Heads and Doctors of the Jewish Law, who must needs know what was conformable to the practice derived from that Law, understood the Writer of the book of Job to mean no more nor less than the DEVIL by this periphrasis of the *crooked Serpent*; and so translated it, ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΑΤΗΝ, the *apostate Dragon*.

From all this it appears, that neither MOSES nor ESDRAS could call a Constellation by the name of the *crooked Serpent*.

V. The last Actor in this representation, is Job's fourth friend, ELIHU *the son of Baracki the Buzite*, who is brought upon the stage in the thirty second chapter. He is made to reprove Job with great asperity; and, like the other three, to have his *wrath kindled against him*: and yet, to the surprize of all the Commentators, he is not involved in their Sentence, when God passes judgment on the Controversy. Here again, the only solution of the difficulty is our interpretation of the book of Job. Elihu's opposition was the severity of a true friend; the others' the malice of pretended ones. His severity against Job arose from this, that *Job justified himself rather than God*^u, that is, was

^u Chap. xxxii. ver. 2.

more anxious to vindicate his own innocence than the equity of God's Providence. For under the person of ELIHU was designed the *sacred Writer himself*. He begins with the character of a true Prophet, under which, as in the act of inspiration, he represents himself. *I am full of matter, the Spirit within me constraineth me. Behold my belly is as wine which hath no vent, it is ready to burst like new bottles*^x. And this, he contrasts with the character of the false Prophets of that time,—*Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto man*^y. But all this will appear from the following considerations.

Elihu, on the entrance upon his argument, addresses the three friends in the following manner: *Now he hath not directed his words against me: neither will I answer him with your speeches*^z. This sufficiently discriminates his cause and character from theirs. He then turns to Job: “My words (says he) shall be of the *uprightness* of my heart; and my lips shall utter *knowledge* clearly. *The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life. If thou canst answer me, set thy words in order before me, and stand up. BEHOLD I AM, ACCORDING TO THY WISH, IN GOD'S STEAD: I also am formed out of the clay*^a,” &c. This clearly intimates the character of God's chosen Servant: These were of approved integrity, they received the divine inspiration, and were therefore in *God's stead* to the People. Elihu goes on in the same strain.—“He excites Job to attention,—accuses him of charging God with injustice,—reproves his impie-

^x Chap. xxxvii. ver. 18, 19.

^y Ver. 21.

^z Chap.

xxxvii. ver. 14

^a Chap. xxxiii. ver. 2, &c seq.

ty,—tells him that men cry in their afflictions, and are not heard for want of faith:—that his sins hinder the descent of God's blessings; whose wisdom and ways are unfearchable."—But is this the conversation of one private man to another? Is it not rather a public exhortation of an Hebrew Prophet speaking to the People? Hence too, we may see the great propriety of that allusion to the case of Hezekiah^b, mentioned above, which the writer of the book of Job, in this place, puts into the mouth of Elihu. The Spirit with which Elihu speaks is farther seen from his telling Job that *he desires to justify him*^c. And yet he accuses him of saying, *It profiteth a man nothing, that he should delight himself with God*^d; and expostulates with him yet further; *Thinkest thou this to be right that thou saidst, My righteousness is more than God's? For thou saidst, What advantage will it be unto thee, and what profit shall I have, if I be cleansed from my sin*^e? Here the Commentators are much scandalized, as not seeing how this could be fairly collected from what had passed; yet it is certain he says no more of Job than what the Prophets say of the People represented under him. Thus Malachi: "Ye have wearied the Lord with your words: yet ye say, Wherein have we wearied him? When ye say, *Every one that doth evil is good in the sight of the Lord, and he delighteth in them; or, Where is the God of judgment*^f?" And again: *Ye have said, It is vain to serve God: and what profit is it, that we have kept his ordinance, and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord of hosts? And now we call the proud happy: Yea they that work wickedness are set up; yea they that tempt God are even delivered*^g.

^b Chap. xxxiii. ver. 18, & seq.

^c Chap. xxxiii. ver. 32.

^d Chap. xxxiv. ver. 9.

^e Chap. xxxv. ver. 2, 3.

^f MAL. ii. 17.

^g MAL. iii. 14, 15.

It was this which kindled Elihu's wrath against Job; who, in this work, is represented to be really guilty; as appears not only from the beginning of God's speech to him^h; but from his own confessionⁱ, which follows. It is remarkable that Job, from the beginning of his misfortunes to the coming of his three comforters, though greatly provoked by his Wife, *sinned not* (as we are told) *with his lips*^k. But, persecuted by the malice and bitterness of their words, he began to lay such stress on his own innocence as even to accuse the justice of God. This was the very state of the Jews at this time: So exactly has the sacred Writer conducted his allegory! They bore their straits and difficulties with temper, till their enemies the *Cutbeans*, and afterwards *Sanballat*, *Tobiab*, and the *Arabans* confederated against them; and then they fell into indecent murmurings against God. And here let us observe a difference in the conduct of Elihu and the three friends, a difference which well distinguishes their characters: They accuse Job of *preceding* faults; Elihu accuses him of the *present*, namely, his impatience and impiety: which evidently shews that *his* charge was *true*, and that theirs was unjust^l.

Again, Elihu uses the very same reasonings against Job and his three friends^m, which are after-

^h Chap. xxxviii.

ⁱ Chap. xlii. ver. 1, & seq.

^k Chap. ii. ver. 10.

^l To this Dr. Grey says, that the three friends likewise accuse Job of his *present* faults. Well, and what then? Does this acquit them of injustice for falsely charging him with *preceding* ones?

^m From chap. xxxii. to xxxvii.

wards put into the mouth of GOD himselfⁿ, resolving all into his OMNIPOTENCY. *Elihu's* speech is indeed in every respect the same with GOD's, except in the severity of his reproof to Job. And, in that, the Writer hath shewn much address in conducting his subject. The end and purpose of this Work was to encourage the Jews to a perseverance in their duty from the assured care and protection of Providence. At the same time, as they were growing impatient, it was necessary this temper should be rebuked. But as the ordonance of the Poem is disposed, the putting the reproof into the mouth of the Almighty would have greatly weakened the end and purpose of the Work. This part therefore is given to his servant Elihu: and GOD's sentence is all grace and favour on the side of Job, and indignation and resentment against his false Friends. For this event, the Writer had finely prepared us, in making Job, in the heat of the disputation, say to these friends, *Wilt thou speak wickedly for God? and talk deceitfully for him? Will ye accept his person? will ye contend for God? Is it good that he should search you out? or as one man mocketh another do ye so mock him? HE WILL SURELY REPROVE YOU, if ye do secretly accept Persons*^o. The judicious reader will observe another artful circumstance in the cast of Elihu's oration. The three friends, in the grand question concerning an *equal Providence*, went directly over to one side, and Job to another: Elihu inclines to neither, but resolves all into submission to the almighty power of GOD. For it was yet inconvenient to acquaint the Jews, (who were just going to fall under a *common Providence*) with the truth of their case. Hence, to observe it

ⁿ From chap. xxxviii. to xlii.
8, & seq.

^o Chap. xiii. ver. 7,

by the way, another circumstance arises to determine the date of the poem. We have shewn that the *Subject* suited only this time : We now see that the *manner* of treating the Subject could agree to no other. On the whole, this intermediate speech of Elihu's was the finest preparative for the decisive one which was to follow.

Farther, The true character of Elihu is seen from hence, that Job replies nothing to these words, as conscious of the truth of his reproofs ; and that they were the reproofs of a Friend. And, indeed, his submission, on this occasion, was to represent the repentance of the Jews on the preaching of their Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

But lastly, Elihu's not being involved in the condemnation of the three friends is the most convincing argument of his very different Character. This, as we have said, exceedingly perplexed the Commentators. But where was the wonder, he should be acquitted, when he had said nothing but what God himself repeated and confirmed ? What is rather to be admired is the severe sentence passed upon the three friends ; and that, for the crime of *impiety*. A thing utterly inexplicable on the common interpretation. For let them be as guilty as you please, to Job, they are all the way advocates for God ; and hold nothing concerning his Government that did not become his Nature and Character. But let us once suppose, these three friends to represent the Adversaries of the Jews, and the difficulty ceases. All their pretences are then hypocritical : and they impiously assume the Patronage of God only to carry on their malice to more advantage against Job. Why the Writer of this
book

book did not *openly* expose the wickedness of their hearts, as is done in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, was because the nature of the work would not suffer it; the question in debate, and the managers of the question, necessarily requiring that the part they took should have a specious outside of piety and veneration toward God. In a word, Job is made to say something wrong, because he represents the impatient Jews of that time: His three false friends, to say something right, because the nature of the drama so required: And Elihu to moderate with a perfect rectitude, because he represented the person of a Prophet.

But to see the truth of this interpretation in its best light, one should have before one's eyes all those difficulties with which the Commentators of the book of Job are entangled at almost every step. A view of this would draw us into an unreasonable length. I shall only take notice of one of the most judicious of them, (who has collected from all the rest) in the very case of this Elihu. CALMET characterises the fourth friend in this manner: *There was now none but Elihu the youngest and least judicious that held out against Job's arguments — Elihu here by a vain parade and overflow of words gives a reason^p, &c.* Again: *Elihu was given to represent one who knew not how to be silent, a great talker^q.* And again: *It cannot be denied but that there is a mixture of ignorance and presumption in what Elihu says; and, above all, a*

^p Il n'y eut qu'Eliu, qui étoit le plus jeune & le moins judicieux, qui ne se rendit pas — par un vain étalage des paroles Eliu rend ici raison, &c. *Sur C. xxxii. ver. 1.*

^q Pour désigner un homme qui ne se peut taire, un grand causeur. *Sur C. xxxii. ver. 18.*

strange prejudice and visible injustice in most of the accusations he brings against Job[†]. This he says indeed. But when he comes to find Elihu escape God's condemnation, in which the other three are involved, he alters his note, and unsays all the hard things he had thrown out against him. *Although Elihu (says he) had mistaken the sense of his friend's words, yet, for all that, God seems, at least, to have approved his intention, because when he declares to Job's friends that they had spoken amiss, and commands them to offer up burnt-offerings for themselves, he only speaks of Bildad, Eliphaz, and Zophar, without mentioning Elihu. Besides, Job answers not a word to this last, and by his silence seems to approve of his discourse*[‡]. GROTIUS, who strove to be more consistent in his character of Elihu, which yet his acquittal in God's sentence will not suffer any Commentator to be, upon the received idea of this Book, has run into a very strange imagination. He supposes Elihu might be a domestic, or retainer to one of the three friends, and so be involved in the condemnation of his principal[§].—But, now mark the force of prejudice to inveterate notions! It is visible to every one who regards

[†] On ne peut nier qu'il n'y ait & de l'ignorance & de la presumption dans ce que dit Eliu, &, sur tout, une étrange prévention & une injustice visible dans la plupart des accusations qu'il forma contre Job. *Sur C. xxviii. ver. 2.*

[‡] Quoiqu' Eliu eût mal pris le sens des paroles de son ami, toutefois Dieu semble approuver au moins son intention; puisque lorsqu'il declare aux amis de Job qu'ils ont mal parlé, & qu'il ordonne qu'on offre pour eux des holocaustes, il ne fait mention que de Bildad, d'Eliphaz, & de Sophar, sans parler d'Eliu. De plus, Job ne répond point à ce dernier, & par son silence il semble approuver son discours.

[§] Elihu hic non nominatur, ut nec supra ii. 11. fortè quod affecta esset alienus trium. *In C. xlii. ver. 7.*

the two speeches of Elihu and GOD with the least attention, that the doctrine and the reasoning are the same. Yet Calmet's general character of Elihu is, that there is *a vain parade and overflow of words*; that there is a *mixture of ignorance and presumption*, and a *visible injustice, in most of the accusations he brings against Job*. And yet of GOD's speech he says, *Here we have A CLEAR SOLUTION of the difficulties which had perplexed and embarrassed these five friends* ^u. — Pity that this *clear solution* should turn out to be no *solution* at all.

III. Having thus fixed the date of the book, our next enquiry will be concerning its AUTHOR. That it was composed by an inspired writer is beyond all question. Not only its uncontroverted reception and constant place in the Canon, and its internal marks of divinity, which this Exposition has much illustrated and enlarged, but its being quoted as inspired scripture by St. Paul^x, will suffer no reasonable man to doubt of it. By this time therefore, I suppose, the Reader will be beforehand with me in judging it could scarce be any other than EZRA himself; who was a *ready scribe in the Law of Moses*, and had *prepared his heart to seek the Law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments* ^y. For he had the welfare of his People exceedingly at heart, as appears from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. And this of Job, we have shewn, was written purposely for their instruction and consolation. He made a correct edition of the Scriptures,

^u C'est ici le denouement de la piece, & la solution des difficultez qui avoient été agitées entre ces cinq amis.

^x 1 COR. iii. 10. *He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.*
^y EZRA vii. 6, 10.

settled the Canon, and *added in several places throughout the books of his edition, what appeared necessary for the illustrating, connecting, or completing of them*². He is reasonably supposed to be the author of the two books of Chronicles and the book of Esther. It was a common tradition too amongst the Jews that he was the same with Malachi. And his great reputation as *a ready scribe in the Law of Moses*, apparently gave birth to that wretched fable of the destruction of the Scriptures in the Babylonian captivity, and Ezra's re-production of them by divine inspiration.

Thus is our interpretation of the BOOK OF JOB so far from taking away any dignity, or authenticity it was before possessed of, that it establishes and enlarges both. The shewing it principally respected a whole People highly ennobles the subject: and the fixing an anonymous writing on one of the most eminent of God's Prophets greatly strengthens its authority. But the chief advantage of my interpretation, I presume, lies in this, That it renders one of the most difficult and obscure books in the whole Canon, the most easy and intelligible; reconciles all the characters to Nature, all the arguments to Logic, and all the doctrines to the course and order of God's Dispensations. And these things shewing it superior, in excellence, to any human Composition, prove, what universal Tradition hath always taught, that it is of divine Original.

II.

Having brought down the date of this book so low, it is of little importance to our subject, whe-

² *Prideaux's Conn.* P. i. b. 5.

ther the famous passage in the nineteenth chapter be understood of a RESURRECTION *from the dead*, or only of TEMPORAL DELIVERANCE *from afflictions*^a. Yet as our interpretation affords new assistance for determining this long debated question, it will not be improper to lift it to the bottom.

I make no scruple then to declare for the opinion of those who say that the words, [*I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter*

^a Indeed, had the book of Job the high antiquity which the common system supposes, the contending at the same time for the *spiritual* sense of this text, would be followed with insuperable difficulties: but these, let the supporters of that System look to. The very learned Author of *the argument of the Divine Legation fairly stated*, &c. hath set these difficulties in a light which, I think, shews them to be insuperable: "Those men, (says this excellent writer) who maintain this system, [of "the *high antiquity* of the book, and the *spiritual sense* of "the text] must needs regard the text to be *direct and "literal*, not *typical or figurative*. But then this difficulty "occurs, How came MOSES (if he was the Author) to be so "clear in the *book of Job*, and so obscure in the *Pentateuch*? "Plain expression and typical adumbration are the contrary of "one another. They could not *both* be fit for the same people, "at the same time. If they were a spiritualized People they "had no need of carnal covers, such as Types; and if they "were a carnal-minded people, the light of spiritual things "would only serve to dazzle, not to aid their sight.

"Nor is the matter mended, but made worse, by supposing "the book to be written by JOB himself, or any other Patriarch "earlier than Moses: That wou'd be only transferring the "Charge from *Moses*, to the *God of Moses*: For while the *book of "Job* was designed by Providence, for part of the *Jewish Canon*, "it is the same unaccountable conduct tho' removed thither. "The RESURRECTION is open and exposed to all in the *book "of Job*; and it is hid and covered under types and figures "in the *Pentateuch*. From whence arises this noble truth worthy of its inventers, *That the same doctrine may, at one and the "same time, be the proper object both of clear and manifest, and of "dark and uncertain contemplation, to the same Persons.*" p. 134.

day upon the earth. And though after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God. Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another^b,] can signify no more than JOB's confidence in a TEMPORAL DELIVERANCE; as all agree they may signify. And therefore I shall the less insist upon a common observation, "That our Translators, who were in the other opinion, have given a force to their expression which the Original will by no means bear."

My reasons are these, 1. To understand the words, of a *Resurrection*, is repugnant to the whole tenor of the Argument: and to understand them of a *temporal deliverance* is perfectly agreeable thereto. 2. The end and design of the Composition, as explained above, absolutely requires this latter sense, and disclaims the former. 3. The former sense is repugnant to Job's own express declaration in other places.

I. We must observe that the book of Job is strictly argumentative: and though sententious, and abounding with poetic figures, yet they are all subservient to the matter in dispute. In this respect, much unlike the writings of David and Solomon, which treat of divine or moral matters in short and detached sentences. On which account, the ablest of those, who go into the sense of a *Resurrection*, have found the necessity of reconciling it to the Context. Thus much being granted, we argue against the sense they put upon it, from these considerations. 1. First the Disputants are all equally embarrassed in adjusting the ways of Providence. Job affirms that the Good man is sometimes

^b Chap. xix. ver. 25, & seq.

unhappy:

unhappy: yet he appears to regard that Dispensation as a *new thing* and matter of wonder, *upright men shall be astonished at this*^c; which, our interpretation well accounts for. The *three friends* contend that the Good man can never be unhappy, because such a situation would reflect dishonour on God's attributes. Now the doctrine of a *Resurrection*, supposed to be here urged by Job, cleared up all this embarrass. If therefore his Friends thought it true, it ended the dispute: if false, it lay upon them to confute it. Yet they do neither: they neither call it into question, nor allow it to be decisive. But, without the least notice that any such thing had been urged, they go on, as they began, to inforce their former arguments, and to confute that which, they seem to understand, was the only one Job had urged against them, *viz. The conscioufness of his own innocence*. But to be a little more particular. It fell to Zophar's part to answer the argument contained in the words in question, which I understand to be this — "Take, says Job, this proof of my innocence, I believe, and confidently expect, that God will visit me again in mercy, and restore me to my former condition." To this Zophar, in effect, replies: But why are you so miserable now? For he goes on, in the twentieth chapter, to describe the punishment of the Wicked to be just such a state as Job then laboured under. He does not directly say, *The Good are not miserable*; but that follows from the other part of the Proposition, (which he here inforces as being a little more decent) *The bad are never happy*. Now suppose Job spoke of the *Resurrection*, Zophar's answer is wide of the purpose. 2. But what is still more unaccountable, Job, when he resumes the

^c Chap. xvii. ver. 8.

dispute, sticks to the argument he first set out with; and, tho' he found it gave his Friends little satisfaction, yet he repeats it again and again. But this other argument of a *Resurrection*, so full of Piety and Conviction, which they had never ventured to reply to, he never once resumes; never upbraids his Adversaries for their silence; nor triumphs, as he well might, in their inability to answer it. But, if ever it were the object of their thoughts, it passed off like a Dream or Reverie to which neither side gave any attention. In a word, the Dispute between Job and his Friends stands thus: They hold, that if God afflicted the Good man: it would be unjust; therefore the Good man was not afflicted. Job says, that God did afflict the Good man; but that Reason must here submit, and own God's ways to be inscrutable. Could he possibly rest in that answer, how pious soever, if he had the more satisfactory solution of a FUTURE STATE? To this let me add, that if Job spoke of a *Resurrection*, he not only contradicts the general tenor of his argument, maintained throughout the whole disputation, but likewise what he says in many places concerning the *irrecoverable dissolution* of the body^d. It is true, that even in the sense of a *temporal deliverance* he contradicts what he had said, in his despair, in the seventeenth chapter: But there is

^d See chap. vii. ver. 9, 21. Chap. x. ver. 21. Chap. xvi. ver. 22. Chap. xiv. ver. 7. & seq. Could one who said, *For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, &c.* But man dieth, &c. could such a one (I speak of the personated character) think of the body like him who said, *But some man will say, How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come? Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. And that which thou sowest thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat or some other grain, &c.*

a manifest difference between a contradiction of *opinion and belief*, as in the first case; and of *passion and affection* only, as in the latter. And for this contradiction he seems to apologise, when he comes to himself, by desiring that this confidence in his Deliverer might be engraved on a Rock, as the opinion he would stand to. 3. But what is strangest of all, When each party had confounded themselves, and one another, for want, as one would think, of this principle of a *Resurrection*, which so easily unraveled all the perplexities of the dispute, the fourth Friend, the Moderator, steps in, as the precursor of the Almighty, who afterwards makes his appearance as the great Decider of the Controversy. Here then we might reasonably expect the Doctrine of the *Resurrection* to be resumed; and that the honour of the solution which it affords, was reserved for These; but, to our great surprise, they neither of them give us the least hint concerning it.—Those who contend for this interpretation suppose that the notion was here delivered in order to support its truth. What reason then can they give why neither the Moderator nor Decider should employ it, to clear up difficulties, when Job himself had touched upon it before? Elihu justifies God's conduct; God bears witness to Job's innocence: yet both concur in resolving all into Power-omnipotent. This tends more to cloud than clear up the obscurities of the debate: Whereas the doctrine of a *Resurrection* had rendered every thing plain and easy. In a word, no solution is given, though a decision be made. All this, on the common System, is quite unaccountable to our faculties of understanding.

Let us see next whether my sense of the words agree better with the tenor of the Dispute. Job,

now provoked past sufferance at the inhumanity and malice of his pretended Friends, gives himself up to despair^e; and seems, as we have observed, to contradict that part of his position which he had hitherto held^f, “that God would at length bring the Good man out of trouble.” For which being reproved by Bildad, (*Shall the earth be forsaken for thee? and shall the ROCK be removed out of his place?*^g i. e. because it is thy pleasure so obstinately to maintain that God does govern by equal Laws, shall it therefore be so? The consequence of which would be a speedy desolation.— Shall the *Rock*^h or Providence of God be removed to humour your passions?) Job recollects himself in the nineteenth chapter, and comes again to his former mind. He begins by complaining of their cruel usage: Says, that if indeed he were in an error, his case was so deplorable that they ought rather to treat him with indulgence: that this was no season for severity: begs they would have pity on him; and then retracts what had fallen from him in the anguish and bitterness of his soul: and lastly delivers this as his fixed sentiment, in which he was determined to abide; (and in which he had indeed acquiesced, till made impatient and des-

^e Chap. xvii.

Chap. xiv. ver. 13.

^f Chap. xiii. ver. 15, 16.—

^g Chap. xviii. ver. 4.

^h By the Rock I suppose is meant the extraordinary Providence of God; this being the common name by which it went amongst the Jewish People. *He is the Rock, his work is perfect: For all his Ways are Judgment,* DEUT. xxxii. 4. *The Rock of his Salvation,* ver. 15. — *Of the Rock that begat thee,* ver. 18. *Except their Rock had sold them,* ver. 30. *Their Rock is not as our Rock, even our Enemies themselves being Judges,* ver. 31. *Their Rock in whom they trusted,* ver. 37. *Neither is there any Rock like our God,* 1 SAM. ii. 2. *The Rock of Israel stake to me,* 2 SAM. xxiii. 3. *O Rock, thou hast established them,* IER. i. 12. and a great number of other places.

perate by the harshness of their treatment) namely, that God would at length bring the Good man out of trouble. I KNOW THAT MY REDEEMER LIVETH, &c. Which he introduces thus: *Ob that my words were now written, Ob that they were printed in a book, that they were graven with an iron pen and lead, in the rock for everⁱ.* As much as to say, What I uttered just before, through the distemperature of passion, I here retract, and desire may be forgotten, and that this may be understood as my fixed and unshaken belief^k. And in this sentiment,

ⁱ Chap. xix. ver. 23, 24.

^k Here the Cornish Critic observes, "That it does not appear that Job had any particular revelation of it, [i. e. his future felicity] and therefore his confidence (if he had any such) must proceed upon some such principle as this, That God would at length infallibly deliver the good Man out of trouble. And again, this principle must be founded on that other of an equal Providence: from whence otherwise could it arise but from a persuasion that God will most certainly do what is equal and exact in this life? And yet the ingenious Author, as if fond of reconciling contradictions, makes Job's Thesis to be this, *that Providence is not equally administered*, at the same time, that he ascribes to him a confidence which could NOT POSSIBLY arise but from the persuasion of *an equal Providence.*" p. 156.

I make Job hold *that Providence was not equally administered.* I make him to hold likewise, *that he himself should be restored to his former felicity:* And this, our Critic calls a CONTRADICTION. His reason is, that this latter opinion could arise only from his *persuasion of an equal Providence.* This may be true, if there be no medium between an equal Providence and no Providence at all. But I suspect there is such a medium, from observing that it is not uncommon, even in these times, for good men in affliction, to have this very confidence of Job, without ever dreaming of an *equal Providence.*

The truth is (and so I have said in the words which gave occasion to this notable observation) that Job had through the

sentiment, it is remarkable, he henceforward perseveres; never relapsing again into the like extravagance of passion. Which conduct agrees exactly with his general Thesis, “that Providence is not equally administered; for that the Good Man is frequently unhappy, and the Wicked prosperous; yet that, at last, God will bring the Good Man out of trouble, and punish the Wicked doers.”

II. In the second place, if I have given a right interpretation of the book of Job, a *temporal deliverance*, and not the *resurrection of the body*, must needs be meant: For the moral of the dramatic piece was to assure the *People*, represented under the person of this venerable Patriarch, of those great temporal blessings which the three Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi had predicted, in order to allay that tumult of mind which arose

distemperature of passion advanced some things which on cooler thoughts he retracted. His argument against an *equal Providence* was sometimes pushed so far as to have the appearance of concluding against any Providence at all. But he, at length, corrects himself for this extravagance of expression; and deliberately concludes, that though the ways of God were some how or other become unequal, yet that Providence had not deserted the case of mankind, but would at length bring the good man out of trouble. Yet *this is the confidence, which*, this most confident of all Critics says, *could NOT POSSIBLY arise but from the persuasion of an equal Providence*: And for this it is that he charges me with a *fondness for reconciling contradictions*. Here I shall take my leave of this Discourser on the book of Job, with declaring, that a more contemptuous, disingenuous and ignorant Writer never assumed the *honourable* name of ANSWERER; yet I would not deny him his station amongst the Learned. I think the same apology may be made for him, that a namesake of his, in his history of the Carthusians, made for their general Bruno,—“that doubtless he could have wrote well if he would, for he printed a Missal in an exceeding fair letter, and *delicate fine writing paper*.” PETREI Bib. Carth. fol. 35.

in every one, on seeing the extraordinary Providence, which protected their Forefathers, now just about to be withdrawn from them.

III. Thirdly and lastly, To understand these words of a *resurrection of the body*, expressly contradicts Job's plain declaration against any such hope, in the following words, *As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to the grave, shall come up no more*¹. Again, — *So man lyeth down and riseth not till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep*^m. And again, *If a man die, shall he live again*ⁿ? Clarius and Drufius on the words, *till the heavens be no more*, say, *Intellige in æternum* — est sensus, nullo unquam tempore, nam cœlum semper erit. It is not in human language to express a denial of the *Resurrection of the body* in stronger or plainer terms. So that it is no wonder the SADDUCEES should, as they always did, urge the first of these texts as their palmary argument against the Pharisees; but as an argument ad homines only, for they refused to have their opinions tried by any thing but the *Law of Moses*. However to make it pertinent to the support of their impiety, they understood the book of Job to be an inspired relation of a *real* conference between the Patriarch and his Friends. And give me leave to observe, that my Adversaries who have the same idea of this book will never be able to acquit the Prophet of this impious Sadducean opinion. Whereas the dramatic nature of it, here contended for, frees him entirely from the charge; which I desire may be accepted as another proof of the truth of our general interpretation of the Work.

¹ Chap. vii. ver. 9.

^m Chap. xiv. ver. 12.

ⁿ Ver. 14.

Manassah Ben Israel, who holds that Job taught the very contrary to a future State, (not apprehending the nature of the Composition) has a whole chapter against the Sadducees, to shew, that this makes nothing against the reality of such a State.

I cannot better conclude what hath been here said, on this famous passage, or better introduce what will be said on others to come next under examination, than with the judicious remark of an ancient Catholic Bishop, on this very book: IT IS FIT WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND NAMES AGREEABLY TO THE NATURE OF THE SUBJECT MATTER; AND NOT MOLD AND MODEL THE TRUTH OF THINGS ON THE ABUSIVE SIGNIFICATION OF WORDS°. This, though a maxim of the most obvious reason, can never, in theologic matters especially, be too often inculcated. How usual is it, for instance, to have the following words of St. Paul quoted as a proof for the general resurrection of the dead, by those who (as the good Bishop says) *mold the truth of things on the abusive signification of words*. “He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his spirit that dwelleth in you P.”

III. But as the *terms*, in this passage of Job, are supposed, by me, to be metaphorical, and to *allude* to the restoration of a dead body to life, some have ventured to infer, that those who use such terms and make such allusions must needs have had the

° Πλὴν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα προσήκει νοεῖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑπο εἰμένων πραγμάτων συνύλησιν, καὶ ἂν πρὸς τὴν κατάχρησιν τῶν λέξεων τ' ἀληθῆ καὶ ἁλυσίαν. Serv. in *Catena Græca in Job*.

P ROM. viii, 11.

saving knowledge of the thing alluded to, *Resurrection of the Body*: And the following observation has been repeated, by more than one Writer, with that air of complacency, which men usually have for arguments they think unanswerable — *If the Scriptures speak of temporal misfortunes and deliverance, in terms of death and a Resurrection, then the doctrine of a resurrection must have been well known, or the language would have been unintelligible. And here I will lay down this rule, All words that are used in a figurative sense, must be first understood in a literal* ⁹.

This looks, at first sight, like saying something; but is indeed an empty fallacy; in which two very different things are confounded with one another; namely, the *idea* of a Resurrection, and the *belief* of it. I shall shew therefore that the very contrary to the first part of the learned Doctor's observation is true, and that the latter is nothing to the purpose.

I. The Messengers of God, prophesying for the people's consolation in disastrous times, frequently promise a restoration to the former days of felicity: and to obviate all distrust from unpromising appearances, they put the case even at the worst; and assure the People, in metaphorical expressions, that though the Community were as entirely dissolved as a dead body reduced to dust, yet God would raise that Community again to life. Thus Isaiah: *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*

⁹ Dr. Felton's two Sermons before the University of Oxford, p. 18, 19.

dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead^r. And that we may have no doubt of the Prophet's meaning, he himself explains it afterwards in the following words^s: *And I will camp against thee round about, and I will lay siege against thee with a mount, and I will raise forts against thee. And thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be as one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust.* Nothing could be more plain or simple than such a metaphoric image, even amongst men who had no knowledge that the natural body was indeed to rise again; because every man knowing what it is to *live* and to *die*, every man knows what it is to *revive*, this being only an idea compounded of the other two: So that we see there was no occasion for the *doctrine of the Resurrection* to make the *language intelligible*.

Nay farther, this metaphorical expression must have there most efficacy where the *doctrine of the Resurrection* was unknown. For we have observed it was employed to inspire the highest sentiments of God's Omnipotency; but that always strikes the mind most forcibly which is as well *new* as *superior* to its comprehension. Therefore *life from the dead* was used, (and from the force with which a new idea strikes) it became almost proverbial in the writings of the Prophets, to express the most unlikely deliverance, by the exertion of Almighty power.

The following instance will support both these observations; and shew, that the Doctrine was un-

^r Chap. xxvi. ver. 19.

^s Chap. xxix. 3, 4.

known;

known; and that the Image was of more force for its being unknown. The Prophet Ezekiel, when the state of things was most desperate, is carried, by the Spirit, into a valley full of dry bones, and asked this question, *Son of man, Can these dry bones live?* A question which God would hardly have made to a Prophet brought up in the knowledge and belief of a Resurrection. But supposing the question had been made; the answer by men so brought up, must needs have been, without hesitation, in the affirmative. But we find the Prophet altogether surprized at the strangeness of the demand. He was drawn one way by the apparent impossibility of it to natural conceptions; he was drawn the other, by his belief in the Omnipotence of God. Divided between these two sentiments, he makes the only answer which a man in such circumstances could make, *O Lord God thou knowest*^u. This surprizing act of Omnipotency is therefore shewn in Vision, either real or imaginary. The bones come together; they are cloathed with flesh, and receive the *breath of life*^x. And then God declares the meaning of the representation. “ Then he said unto me, Son of
 “ Man, these bones are the whole house of Israel :
 “ Behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our
 “ hope is lost, we are cut off for our parts. There-
 “ fore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith
 “ the Lord God, Behold, O my People, I will
 “ open your graves, and cause you to come up out
 “ of your graves, and bring you into the land
 “ of Israel. And ye shall know that I am the
 “ Lord, when I have opened your graves, O my
 “ People, and brought you up out of your
 “ graves, and shall put my Spirit in you, and ye
 “ shall live; and I shall place you in your own

^u Chap. xxxvii.

^v Ver. 3.

^x Ver. 8, 10.

“ Land.

“ Land. Then shall ye know that I the Lord
 “ have spoken it, and performed it, saith the
 “ Lord.”

Here we see, in a Prophecy delivered in Action or Vision, instead of *Words* (the nature and original of which has been discoursed of elsewhere) and afterwards explained by *words*, to ascertain its meaning, that the figurative ideas of Death and Resurrection are used for temporal distresses and deliverance: and this, at a time when the *Doctrine of the Resurrection*, from whence the metaphor is supposed to arise, was so far from being well known, that the figure could never have acquired its force and energy but from the People's ignorance of such a doctrine; the scenical representation, without all question, alluding to that proverbial speech amongst the Jews: *Wilt thou shew wonders to the dead? Shall the dead arise and praise thee?* On the whole then nothing was ever worse grounded than the observation, that *if the Scriptures speak of temporal misfortunes and deliverance in the terms of death and a resurrection, then the DOCTRINE of a resurrection must have been well known, or the language would have been unintelligible.*

II. And now for the general Rule which follows: *All words that are used in a figurative sense must be first understood in a literal.* If no more be meant than that every figurative sense has a literal, the proposition is true, but trifling, because *figurative* is a relative term, and implies *literal* as its correlative. If it means, that he who uses words in a figurative sense must have an *idea* of the literal, this is likewise true, but nothing to the purpose,

¹ Ver. 11, & seq.

² Ps. lxxxviii. 10.

because

because the *idea* of a thing does not imply either the *truth* or the *belief* of it. But if it means, that a figurative proposition implies the User's *belief* of its literal sense, this is to the purpose, but not true. The People had an *Idea* of dry bones being clothed again with flesh, and the breath of life inspired into the carcase; but they were so far from *believing* that was to be the case of all mankind, that they did not know whether it was possible that those bones in the valley could be restored.

To conclude with the ANSWERERS of this Dissertation, the miscellaneous *Writers* on the Book of Job; It may not be improper to remind them, that they would have done their duty better, and have given the learned and impartial Public more satisfaction, if, instead of labouring to evade two or three independent arguments, though corroborative of my interpretation, they had, in any reasonable manner, accounted, How this interpretation, which they affect to represent as visionary and groundless, should be able to lay open and unfold the whole conduct of the Poem upon one entire, perfect, elegant and noble plan, which does more than vulgar honour to the Writer who composed it. And that it should at the same time, be as useful in defining the Parts as in developing the Whole; so that particular texts, which, for want of sufficient light, had hitherto been an easy prey to Critics from every quarter, are now no longer affected by the common opprobrium affixed to this book, of its being a *nose of wax*, made to suit every religious System. Of which, amongst many others, may be reckoned the famous text just now explained. All this, our Hypothesis, (as it is called) has been able to perform, in a Poem become, through length of time and negligence,

gence, so desperately perplexed, that Commentators have chosen, as the easier task, rather to find their own notions in it than to seek out those of the Author.

For the rest, For any fuller satisfaction, He that wants it is referred to third chapter of the *Free and candid examination of the Bishop of London's* ^a *principles &c.* where he will see, in a fuller light than perhaps he has been accustomed to see such matters, the great superiority of acute and solid reasoning over chicane and sophistry.

S E C T. III.

THE book of JOB hath engaged me longer than I intended: but I shall make amends, by dispatching the remainder of the objections with great brevity.

Those brought from the OLD TESTAMENT are of two kinds.

I. Such as are supposed to prove the *separate* Existence, or, as it is called, the *immortality* of the Soul.

II. Such as are supposed to prove a future state of *Reward and punishment*, together with a *Resurrection* of the body.

I. To support the first point, the following words of Moses are urged, — “ And God said, “ Let us make Man in *our image*, after our *likeness*: and let them have DOMINION, &c.—And “ God created man in *his own image*, in the *image*

^a Dr. Sherlock.

“ of God created he him^b :” From whence it is inferred, that Man was created with an *immaterial* Soul. On the contrary, I suppose, that Moses was here giving intimation of a very different thing; namely its *rationality*. My reasons are these:—I think indeed, it may be strictly demonstrated that Man’s soul is *immaterial*; but then the same arguments which prove his *immateriality*, prove likewise that the souls of all living animals are *immaterial*; and this too without the least injury to Religion^c. An *immaterial* soul therefore being common to him with the whole brute creation, and it being something peculiar to man, in which the image of God is said to consist, I conclude the Historian did not hear teach any thing concerning an *immaterial Soul*. The only two things peculiar to Man are his *Shape* and his *Reason*. None but an Anthropomorphite will say it was his *shape*; I conclude therefore it was his REASON: And this farther appears from hence, When God says, *Let us make man in our image, after our likeness*, he immediately adds, *And let him have DOMINION* over the whole Brute Creation: Which plainly marks in what the *image* or *likeness* consisted: for what was it that could invest man with a Dominion *de facto*, after he had it by this grant, *de jure*, but his REASON only? This Dominion too was apparently given for some preeminence; but man’s preeminence consists not in his having an *immaterial* soul, for that he has in common with all other animals: But in his *Reason* alone which is peculiar to him: The *likeness* therefore or *image* consisted in REASON. And thus Philo Judæus understood the

^b GEN. i. 27. ^c See Dr. Clarke against Mr. Collins on the Soul; and *The Enquiry into the Nature of the human Soul*, by Mr. Baxter.

matter, where alluding to this text, he says, Λόγος ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Θεῶ. *Reason is the image of God.* So much for the first Objection.

2. The next is drawn from the following words of the same Writer: “ And the Lord God formed
 “ man of the dust of the ground, and breathed
 “ into his nostrils the *breath of life*, and man be-
 “ came a *living soul*”^d; that is, say these Reasoners, he had an *immortal soul*. But this is only building on the strength of an english expression. Every one knows that what the translation calls a *living soul*, signifies in the original, a *living animal*: Hence the same Writer speaks of a *dead soul*^e, as well as a *living soul*. And indeed not only the propriety of the terms, but the very sense of the Context requires us to confine the meaning of *living soul*, to *living animal*. God, the great plastic Artist, is here represented as making and shaping out a figure of earth or clay, which he afterwards animates or inspires with life. He *breathed*, says the sacred Historian, into this Statue, *the breath of life*; and the lump became a living creature. But St. Paul, I hope, may be believed whatever becomes of my explanation: who thus comments the very text in question:—*And so it is written the first man Adam was made a LIVING SOUL, The last was made a QUICKNING SPIRIT*^f. Here we find the Apostle is so far from understanding any *immortality* in this account of Man’s Creation, that he opposes the mortal animal ADAM, to the immortal-making Spirit of CHRIST.

3. Again, God in his sentence of condemnation denounced against all the parties concerned in

^d GEN. ii. 7.
1. 2. 11.

^e NUMB. vi. 6. See also LEV. xxi.
^f 1 COR. xv. 45—49.

Adam's transgression, says to the serpent, *I will put enmity between thee and the woman; and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel*^g. It will be allowed that even the most early could not be so stupid as modern infidels would make them, to understand these words in their strict literal sense, that "serpents would be apt to bite men by the heel, and men, as ready to crush their heads." But to enable them to understand, by this part of the sentence, that "man should be restored to his lost inheritance of immortality by the sacrifice of Christ on the cross," needed an express revelation of this mystery. What then did the Jews understand by it? This certainly, and nothing but this, that "the evil Spirit, who actuated the Serpent, would continue his enmity to the human race; but that man, by the divine assistance, should be at length enabled to defeat all his machinations."

4. Again, the phrase used by the sacred Historian to indicate the deaths of the Patriarchs is further urged in support of the opposition.—"*He died, and was gathered to his People*^h. And dying is expressed by *going down into the grave, or into Hell*, SCHEOL.—*I will go down into the grave (says Jacob) [or into Hell] to my son mourning*ⁱ; which phrases are supposed to intimate the soul's surviving the body, and retiring, on the dissolution of the union, to one common Receptacle of Souls: for that it is not only said, the man *died and was buried*, but likewise that he *was gathered to his fathers*: And Jacob said, he *would go down into the grave to his*

^g GEN. iii. 15. ^h GEN. xxv. 8—17. Chap. xxxv. ver. 29. Chap. xlix. ver. 29, & 33. NUMB. xx. 24—26—28. Chap. xxvii. ver. 13.

ⁱ GEN. xxxvii. 35.

son, who was supposed to have been devoured by wild beasts." But 1. The Objectors do not reflect on the genius of the Eastern speech, which gives action and motion to every thing; in which to be reduced to one common lot or condition is called being *gathered to their People*; in this sense Jacob might properly say, he would go down to the grave to a dead son, who was never buried, *i. e.* that he should find no ease to his sorrows till he was reduced to the same condition. 2. The Objectors forget too the peculiar genius of the Hebrew tongue, that delights so much in Pleonasm; in which *to die*, and *to be gathered to their people*, are but two different phrases for the same thing. At the same time, I am ready to allow that this latter phrase originally arose, (whatever People first employed it) from the notion of some common Receptacle of Souls. But we know how soon, and from what various causes, *terms* and *phrases* lose the memory of their original. 3. The truth of this interpretation is confirmed by the several contexts, where all these expressions occur; the Historian's purpose being evidently nothing else than to record the period of their existence here on earth.

These (except such as have been considered elsewhere) are all the texts I can find objected to my position, that *immortality* was not taught by the LAW. How little they are to the purpose is now seen. But little or much, the Reader will remember they make nothing against my general argument, which maintains that the early Jews, (those of them, I mean, and they certainly were but few, who thought any thing of the matter) had at least some vague notion of the Soul's surviving the
1
body.

body. But the particular reason I had to examine them hath been given above.

II. We come next to those SCRIPTURES which are urged to prove, that a *future state of reward and punishment*, or a *resurrection of the body*, was taught by the mosaic Law. But before we proceed to the particular Texts, it will be proper to consider the general argument brought from the genius of the whole Jewish Law: “which, as they say, being entirely TYPICAL, or, as the Apostle says, SPIRITUAL, all the promises and denunciations of temporal good and evil, did denote and obumbrate a future state of reward and punishment; for that it was a *shadow of things to come, but that the body was of CHRIST* ^k.” If the Objectors mean by this, that the sanction of Temporal reward and punishment was no more than a mere representation, in figurative expressions, of the Doctrine of a *future state*, without any real meaning in the then Providential disposition of the things of this life^l: If, I say,

^k COLLOSS. ii. 17.

^l This wicked fancy some early *Christian Writers* seem to have gone far into; particularly ORIGEN; who, because Celsus had supposed, absurdly enough, that the propagators of the Gospel had borrowed the Doctrine of a *future state* from the Pagan Philosophers, was resolved not to be out-done, and therefore tells his adversary, “that where God says in the book of Moses, which was older than all the Pagan writings, *I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land, unto a good land and a large; unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites* [EXOD. iii. 8.] he did not mean, as ignorant men imagine, the *country of Judea*, but the *kingdom of heaven*; for that how good a land soever Judea might be, it was yet part of that earth which had been put under the curse, and therefore, *Ἐ.*” — Ἐχ ὁρῶν ὄρα

say, this be their meaning, the whole pretence to Moses's divine Mission is irrecoverably given up. Not to say, that the very *pretence* would be as absurd as it was false. For a THEOCRACY (from whence flowed temporal rewards and punishments) was no figurative Expression, as appears from the real and substantial Laws made in support of the Thing. In a word, 'tis a vile and impious imagination, originally conceived by certain *Jewish* Allegorists after the *extraordinary Providence* was departed from them: and only to be matched by a like madness in certain *Mahometan* Allegorists, whose early successes made them fancy this *extraordinary Providence* was come to them; and therefore supposed, on the other hand, that Hell and Paradise in the *Alcoran* mean no more than the pleasures and afflictions of this life^m. In which, Both have been outdone by a
late

Μευσῆς, ὁ πολλῶν κ' τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων ἀρχαιότερος, εἰσ-
ήγαγε τὸν Θεὸν ἐπαγγέλλομενον τὴν ἀγίαν γῆν, κ' ἀγαθὴν κ' πολλήν,
ῥέουσαν γάλα κ' μέλι, τοῖς κεία τὸν νόμον ἐκείῃ βιώσασιν· ἔθ' ὡς οἰονόαί
τινες τὴν ἀγαθὴν, τὴν κάτω νομιζομένην Ἰσθαίαν, κειμένην κ' αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ
ἀρχαίῃ κληρομένην ἐν τοῖς ἔξοις τῆς παραβάσεως τῆ Ἀδάμ γῆ. *Cont.*
Crisp. p. 350. He that can rave at this strange rate must needs
consider the whole sanction of *temporal* reward and punishment
as a mere figurative representation of *future*. But is not the
hearkening to such Interpreters exposing divine Revelation to
the contempt and scorn of Infidels and Free-thinkers? And yet
perhaps we must be obliged to hearken to them, if the endeavours of these Answerers become successful in proving the NON-
EXISTENCE of the *extraordinary Providence* (as promised by
Moses) against the reasoning of the D. L. that it was ACTUALLY
administered, in pursuance of that promise. For, by Origen's
Commentaries (published by Huetius) it appears, that he was
led into this strange opinion by taking it for granted, as Sykes,
Rutherford, Stebbing, and such like writers have since done,
that under the Law, the best and most pious men were frequently
miserable, and the wicked prosperous and happy.

^m Il y a parmi les sectateurs d'Ali, une secte qui prend son nom
d'un Docteur nommé Alkhatthab, lequel a enseigné que les
delices

late Madman of our own, in his Discourses on the Gospel-Miracles. So odly perverse is the human understanding when it has once forsaken the road of common sense.

But if by the Law's being TYPICAL OF SPIRITUAL, no more be meant (as I think no sober man can mean more) than that the TEMPORAL REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, equally and *really* distributed; and the RITUAL WORSHIP, daily performed, were typical or significative of the GOSPEL DISPENSATION, and of the *life and immortality* which that Dispensation brought to light, I acknowledge it for a truth: And, what is more, I require nothing farther to prove my Proposition, *That a future state of rewards and punishments was not taught to the Jewish People by their Law.* The Objectors suppose, as I do, that the Jewish and Christian Religions are two parts of one entire Dispensation. St. Paul tells us the order of these two parts, THAT WAS NOT FIRST WHICH IS SPIRITUAL, BUT THAT WHICH IS NATURAL; AFTERWARDS THAT WHICH IS SPIRITUALⁿ. Yet, at the same time, he tells us, THE LAW IS SPIRITUAL^o. How is this to be reconciled? No otherwise than thus, That the Law was TYPICAL of the future spiritual part of the one entire Dispensation.— Again, The Apostles, in order to shew the superior excellence of the GOSPEL, in their reasoning against Jews, and judaizing Christians, set the LAW in opposition to it, under the titles of *The Law of a carnal Commandment; The ministration of Death; The Law*

delices du Paradis, & les peines de l'Enfer ne sont autre chose que les plaisirs & les afflictions de la vie. *Herbelot Bibl. Orientale, Mot AKHRAT & AKHRET.*

ⁿ 1 COR. xv. 46.

^o ROM. vii. 14.

of Works : and call subjection to it, *Subjection to the Flesh*. Yet these very Writers at the same time own that *the Law was SPIRITUAL*, or had a spiritual meaning. But if by this they would teach that the spiritual meaning was generally understood *under the Law*, their whole argument had concluded in a self-contradiction. For then it was not a *Law of a carnal commandment, a ministration of death*; but, indeed a *Law of spirit, a ministration of life*; only under a dead and carnal cover; which being clearly seen through, or easily taken off, served for no more than a trick of *hocus pocus*. The consequence of all this would be, that the LAW was of equal dignity, and, tho' not of equal simplicity, yet, indeed, essentially the same with the GOSPEL. They owned, we see, that the *Law had a spiritual sense*; but when, and by whom discovered, the Apostle Paul informs us, by calling that sense the *NEWNESS OF SPIRIT*^p; which he opposes to *the oldness of the letter*, that is, the *letter of the Law*. In the former part of the verse, he speaks of the *Law being dead*; and, here, of its being *revived with a new spirit*, in contradistinction to the *oldness of the letter*.. So true was it, what, in another place he observes, that *the Law was a SHADOW of things to come*; but *the BODY was of Christ*^q. The *shadow* not of a *body* then to be seen or understood, as these Answerers imagine, but of a *body that was to come*, and, by its presence, to explain the meaning and reason of the *shadow*. For the Jews being, as the Apostle says, *in bondage under the elements of the world*^r, were as men shut up in prison, with their faces kept turned from the light, towards the whited wall of CEREMONIES : on which indeed they saw many *shadows*; but the *body* or opposite substance

^p ROM. vii, 6.

^q COL. ii, 17.

^r GAL. iv. 3.

at their backs, to which they could not turn, they saw not. And in this state, says the same Apostle, they were *kept shut up unto the Faith, which should afterwards be revealed*^s. Therefore till that time came, it appears that the great community of the Jews had no knowledge of this *Faith*; one of the essential articles of which is *life everlasting*. This, we must needs have concluded even tho' he had not said, that till that time came, they *were in bondage under the elements of the world*. A proper character truly of a People acquainted with the reveal'd Doctrine of *life and immortality*. But the Objectors pretend that the reason why Moses did not PLAINLY teach a future state, in the manner CHRIST hath taught it, was because the Jews were a carnal people, incapable of *spiritual* things. Now what is the consequence of this incapacity, but that the *spiritual* sense was reserved for better times, when their minds should grow more pure and defecated from carnal things; which all along continued so gross and bounded that even the most easy of their typical informations, the *calling in of the Gentiles*, was never understood by them; yet this truth the Prophets had, from time to time, so plainly cultivated, that the vail of typical embroidery seems often to have been drawn aside, to assist their weak sight. But farther, The better part of the Objectors, I suppose, will allow that *temporal* good and evil were not only proposed, but *actually dispensed* to the Jews, living for some time under an equal Providence. And what was the consequence of this but to *confine* them to the *literal sense* of their Sanction, and stop them from looking farther? Yet in defiance of Reason, of Scripture, of the order of things, nay even of

^s GAL. iii. 23.

their own systems, these men will suppose, because the LAW is said to be *spiritual*, or to have a spiritual sense, that therefore this sense always went along with, and was inseparably attached to, the *literal*, in the understandings of the Jewish People. Which is so strangely absurd, that it takes away the very cause and occasion of *two senses*. For, Why, let me ask, had the Law a spiritual sense, under a *carnal cover*, but for this reason, that the first Jews were so grossly minded as to be incapable of spiritual things; and were therefore, in order to direct and govern their affections, presented with the *carnal*, to repose upon? That *Schoolmaster*, as St. Paul calls the LAW, which was to bring them by degrees, through those carnal elements, to the spiritual and sublime Doctrines of CHRIST.—Yet see the scheme of these Objectors. The early Jews are supposed of so fordid a taste as to be incapable of a spiritual Repast, and therefore they had a carnal Cover laid before them: yet were they, at the same time, so quick scented as to pierce through this carnal shell to which they were attached, into the spiritual substance, for which they had no relish.

This may be *Reason*, say these men; but what is human *Reason*, when opposed to Scripture? Just what it was, say I, before you set them at variance: and apparently for no other purpose than to silence and disgrace this modest Hand-maid of *Revelation*.

However, Scripture, it seems, informs us that the figurative and literal, the spiritual and carnal senses of the Law always went together. This, they say, the Author of the epistle to the Hebrews plainly teaches. — *There are Priests who offer gifts according*

according to the Law; who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the Tabernacle. For see (saith he) that thou make all things according to the pattern shewed thee in the mount¹. But these words will never do the business. Could the Objectors, indeed, find a Text which tells us, that “as Moses was admonished of God about the spiritual sense of the Law, so he informed the People of it,” this would be to the purpose. As it is, it will hardly follow, that because Moses was admonished of the spiritual sense, that therefore the spiritual and a carnal went together in the intellects and Worship of the People. Moses’s knowledge of this secret I allow, as it seems to follow from the privilege of his Mission; for if *Abraham desired to see Christ’s day, and saw it, and was glad*, we are not to suppose that Moses, who had a higher office in the ministry of God’s Dispensations than Abraham had, should be less favoured than Abraham was. Yet tho’ I believe this, the text here urged in support of it, does in strictness, prove little of the matter. The Objectors suppose the sense of the text to be this.—“that *the Priests served unto the example and shadow of heavenly things*, and that of this truth, *Moses was admonished*, by God in the mount.” But the Apostle is here instructing us in a very different truth. The words—*as Moses was admonished of God*—are a Similitude or Comparison which conveys a sense to this purpose,—“The Priests, who offer gifts according to the Law, serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, in as exact and close a manner as that Tabernacle, which Moses was admonished to make, answered to the pattern

¹ HEB. viii, 4—5.

shewed him of it, in the mount." Not only the Argument which the Apostle is upon, but the propriety of the word *Χρηματίζω* points us to this sense; which signifies to command or direct the doing of a thing by an Oracle or Magistrate; and this *Χρηματισμός* or direction we find in the place which the sacred writer refers to—*And look that thou make them after this pattern, which was shewed thee in the mount* ^u. But there is nothing these men will not employ for the support of their absurdities. They will borrow aid even from a quibble or equivocation: And the following words of the same Apostle have been urged to prove that the Law taught its Followers the doctrines of the Gospel.—*Unto us [Christians] was the GOSPEL preached as well unto them [Jews ^x.]*

1. And now to proceed to the particular Texts produced from the PENTATEUCH, in support of this opinion, God says to Abraham, *In thee, shall all the families of the earth be blessed* ^y. The Jews understood this to signify a *formularly*, that men should use, when they invocated the choicest blessings on their friends and families, to this effect; *May God bless thee as he blessed Abraham*. And the first of Christian Interpreters, Hugo Grotius, understands it to signify a promised blessing, which, in time, should be derived to the whole earth, from Abraham's care that his posterity should continue in the belief and worship of the *one true God*. Indeed, when the fulness of time came, it would then be seen, both by Jews and Christians, that this blessing ultimately centred in the holy Jesus, the only begotten son of God, to whom the Father hath delegated all power and dominion.

^u EXOD. xxv. 40.

^x HEB. iv. 2.

^y GEN. xii. 3.

Again,

Again, "GOD says to ABRAHAM, *I am thy exceeding great reward* ^z." And again: "—I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an *everlasting covenant*; to be a God *unto thee* and to thy seed after thee. And I will give *unto thee*, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God ^a." He repeats the same promise to Isaac and to Jacob *personally*; yet he gave Abraham no inheritance in the land though he promised he would give it to him and to his seed after him."—Thus have these texts been urged by an excellent Writer ^b against the *Sadducean* opinion, as containing a promise of future rewards in another life: But urged by him, I will suppose, as proving such a *promise* in a *secondary* or *spiritual* sense only. Because that sense is sufficient for his purpose: and because in that sense only, is it true, that they do contain such a promise. For, 1. in the *literal* sense it is a promise of the land of Canaan to Abraham and to his posterity; and in this sense it was literally fulfilled, though Abraham was never *personally* in possession of it; since Abraham and his posterity, put collectively, signify the RACE OF ABRAHAM; and that Race possessed the land of Canaan. And surely, GOD may be allowed to explain his own promise: Now though he tells Abraham, he would give HIM the land, yet, at the same time, he assures him that it would be many hundred years before his POSTERITY should be put into possession of it: for when Abraham desired to know whereby he might be

^z GEN. xv. 1.

^a GEN. xvii. 7, 8.

^b Dr. S. Clarke in his *Evidence of Nat. and Rev. Religion*, p. 241, ed. 6.

certain that he, i. e. his *seed* should inherit the land of Canaan^c, he is ordered to offer a sacrifice; after which, GOD in a vision explains to him the import of his promise: That *his seed should be a stranger in the land that was not theirs, and should serve them, and that they should afflict them four hundred years; that afterwards they should come out with great substance, and in the fourth generation should come into CANAAN, for that the iniquity of the Ammonites was not yet full*^d. And as concerning himself, that *he should go to his fathers in peace, and should be buried in a good old age*^e. Thus we see, that both what GOD explained to be his meaning, and what Abraham understood him to mean, was, that his Posterity, after a certain time, should be led into possession of the Land. And lest any mistake should remain concerning the accomplishment of this promise, the sacred Historian sums up the relation in these words: *In that same day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, UNTO THY SEED HAVE I GIVEN this land*^f: But had the Historian omitted so minute an explanation of the promise, yet common sense would instruct us how to understand it. A whole Country is given to Abraham and to his seed. Could it possibly be GOD's design, who does nothing in vain, to place his Family in the land of Canaan, till they were numerous enough to occupy and defend it? His Posterity was his Representative: and therefore the putting them into possession was the putting him into it. Not to say, that where a Grant is made to a body of men collectively, as to a People or a Family, no laws of contract ever understood the performance to consist in every individual's

^c GEN. XV. 8.
^f Ver. 18.

^d GEN. XV. 13, & seq.

^e Ver. 15.

being a *personal* partaker. 2. Secondly, the giving an *heavenly* Canaan to Abraham could not be the literal sense of the text, because an *earthly* Canaan is owned to be the direct immediate subject of the promise. The JEWS indeed contend for this literal sense, and with some shew of reason; for they hold, that the *future state* at the Resurrection will be passed in the land of Judea, where Abraham, they say, is then to rise and take possession ^g. This is consistent however. But these CHRISTIAN Objectors, who hold no such opinion, must be content at last to find a *future state* only in the *spiritual* sense of the words: and that sense, we are by no means ambitious of taking from them.

2. “ The days of the years of my pilgrimage,
 “ (says JACOB to Pharaoh) are an hundred and
 “ thirty years: few and evil have the days of the
 “ years of my life been, and have not attained
 “ unto the days of the years of the life of my fa-
 “ thers in the days of their pilgrimage ^h.”—From this speech it is concluded, that Moses taught a *future state*: and, especially since the Author of the epistle to the Hebrews hath brought ⁱ it as a proof that Jacob and the Patriarchs looked for a *better country*. That Jacob did so, is unquestionable; but it can never be allowed that the words, in their *literal* and obvious meaning, express any

^g Deus Abrahamo loquens ait: Dabo tibi, & femini tuo post te, terram peregrinationis tuæ. Atqui constat, Abrahamum, & reliquos Patriarchas eam terram non possedisse: necesse ergo est, ut resuscitentur, quo bonis promissis fruantur; alioqui promissa Dei irrita & falsa forent. Hinc itaque non tantum ANIMÆ IMMORTALITAS probatur, sed etiam *essentiale fundamentum legis*, RESURRECTIO scilicet MORTUORUM. Manasseh Ben-Israel *de Resurrectione Mort.* p. 7.

^h GEN. xlvii. 9.

ⁱ Chap. xi. ver. 13.

such thing. Pharaoh is here questioning the Patriarch, not of human life in general, but of his own. Therefore, to make the reply pertinent, Jacob must be understood to mean by *his pilgrimage*, the unsettled way of life, living in tents, and removing from place to place, as the convenience of pasturage gave him invitation: and, by the *evil of his days*, the straits he suffered from the fraud of Laban, and the hatred of his brother Esau. As for the complaint of the *fewness of his days*, he himself explains it to be, not on account of the shortness of human life in general, but, because he *had not attained unto the days of the years of the life of his fathers*. The sense therefore, which the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews puts upon these words, must needs be the *spiritual* sense.

3. The same Patriarch, in his last benediction of his sons, breaks in upon the prophetic blessings with this pious ejaculation, *I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord^k*: which is supposed to respect the salvation of mankind by JESUS CHRIST. I grant it doth so in a *spiritual* sense; nay, for ought I know, it may in a *literal*. But how should an early Jewish Reader understand it in this sense, when the same terms of the *salvation of God*, or of the Lord, are perpetually employed, throughout the whole Bible, to signify God's temporal mercies to the Patriarchs and their Posterity: and when now, that the Mystery of the Gospel hath been so long revealed, christian Commentators understand it in an hundred different senses?

4. BALAAM, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, says: *Let me die the death of the Righteous,*

^k GEN. xlix. 18.

and let my last end be like his¹: Which is understood as a wish that he might be partaker with the Righteous in another life. Had the apostate Prophet said, *Let me live the life of the Righteous*, it would have had a much fairer claim for such a meaning. As it is, Both the force of the words, and their relation to the context, restrain us to this literal meaning, — Let me die in a mature old age, after a life of health and peace, with all my posterity flourishing about me: as was the lot of the righteous observers of the LAW.” This vain wish, Moses, I suppose, recorded that the subsequent account of his immature death in battle^m might make the stronger impression on the serious Reader, to warn him against the impiety and folly of expecting the last reward of virtue for a life spent in the gratification of every corrupt appetite. But if any one will say, the words have besides, a sublimer meaning, I have no reason to contend with him.

5. The next is a stricture of the LAW in Leviticus, urged by Dr. Stebbing in this manner, “Moses inforces the obedience of the Israelites upon this consideration, *Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and judgments, which if a man do he shall live in them*”ⁿ. Here is a promise of life made to those who should observe the statutes and judgments which God gave them by his servant Moses; which cannot be understood of this temporal life only, because the best men were often cut off in the midst of their days, and frequently suffered greater adversities than the most profligate sinners. The Jews therefore

¹ NUMB. xxiii. 10.
xviii. 5.

^m Chap. xxxi. ver. 8.

ⁿ LEVIT.

“ have

“ have constantly believed that it had a respect to
 “ the life to come. When the lawyer in the
 “ Gospel had made that most important demand,
 “ *Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life* °,
 “ our blessed Lord refers him to what was written
 “ in the Law; and, upon his making a found
 “ and judicious answer, approves of it; and for
 “ satisfaction to his question, tells him, *This do,*
 “ *and thou shalt live.*”

The Objector would have the promise of *life* in Leviticus to signify *eternal life*. But St. Paul himself had long ago decided this question, and declared for the negative. A dispute arose between him, and the judaizing Christians, concerning *what it was which justified before God*, or intitled to that eternal life brought to light by the Gospel. They held it to be the *works of the Law* (believing, perhaps, as the Objector assures us they did, that this text, in Leviticus, *had a respect to the life to come*;) St. Paul, on the contrary affirms that it was *faith in Jesus the Messiah*. And thus he argues—“ But no man is justified by the
 “ Law in the sight of God it is evident: for *the*
 “ *Just shall live by faith*. And the Law is not of
 “ faith, but the man that *doth* them shall live in
 “ them^p.”—As much as to say—“ That no man can obtain eternal life by virtue of the *Law* is evident from one of your own Prophets [Hab] who expressly holds, that *the just shall LIVE by FAITH*^q. Now, by the *Law*, no rewards are promised to *faith*, but to *works only*. *The man that DOETH them* (says the Law in Levit^r.) *shall live in them.*” Here then we see that this very text,

° LUKE X. 25.

^p GAL. iii 11, 12.

^q H. 4.

^r XVIII. 5.

which

which the Objector brings to prove that *eternal life was by the Law*, St. Paul urges, to prove that it *was not by the Law*. Let us attend to the Apostle's argument. He is to shew that *justification*, or eternal life, is by *faith*. This he does even on the concession of a Jew, the Prophet Habakkuk; who expressly owns it to be by *faith*. But the Law, says the Apostle, attributes nothing to *faith*; but, to DEEDS only, *which if a man do he shall live in them*. Now, if, by *life*, be here meant, as the objector supposes, *eternal life*, then St. Paul's argument does not come out as he intended it; namely that *faith and not the works of the Law, justifies*; but thus, that *both faith and the works of the Law justify*, which would have satisfied these Judaizers, as reconciling on their own prejudices Moses and Habakkuk; but would, by no means, have satisfied our Apostle; whose conclusion on this question, where discussed at large, in his epistle to the Romans, is, *that a man is justified by faith WITHOUT the deeds of the Law*^s. The very drift of his argument therefore shews us, that he must necessarily understand the *life*, promised in this text of Leviticus, to be TEMPORAL life only. But charitably studious, as it were, to prevent all possible chance of our mistaking him on so important a point, He immediately subjoins, *Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law*^t. Now we know that our redemption by Christ was from that *death* which the first man brought into the world: the *curse* which he entailed upon his posterity. Therefore the transferring this term from Adam to the Law, shews plainly that in the Apostle's sentiments, the Law had no more a share in the redemption of fallen man than Adam him-

^s ROM. iii. 28.

^t GAL. iii. 13.

self had. Yet it is certain, that if the Law, when it said, *He who keeps these statutes and judgments shall live in them*, meant, *for ever*, it proposed the Redemption of mankind as compleatly as the blessed Jesus himself did, when he said, *he that believeth in me shall have everlasting life*. This becomes demonstrable, if St. Paul's reasoning will hold, who surely had heard nothing of this prerogative of the Law, when he said, *If there had been a LAW given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the LAW*. Where observe, I pray you, the force of the word ζωοποιᾶσαι, which signifies to quicken, or to make alive; plainly intimating the same he had said in the place quoted before, that those in subjection to the Law were under a curse, or in the state of death.—Let me add only this further observation, that if (as this Objector pretends) by *life* in the text of Levit. be meant *eternal life*; and if (as the Apostle pretends) by *life*, in the text of Habakkuk, be meant *eternal life*; then will *Moses* and *Habakkuk* be made directly to contradict one another; the first giving that *eternal life* to works, which the latter gives to FAITH. But Dr. Stebbing would insinuate, that Jesus himself seems to have affixed this sense to the text in Leviticus; however, that the plain inference is that *eternal life* was taught at least, if not obtained by the Law. “When the lawyer in the Gospel (says he) had made that most important demand, *Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life*? our blessed Lord refers him to what was written in the Law, and upon his making a sound and judicious answer, approves of it; and for satisfaction to his question, tells him, *This do and thou shalt live*.”—Would not

" LUKE x. 25.

any

any one now conclude, from the sense here put upon the words of Jesus, that the *sound and judicious answer* of the Lawyer must have been a quotation of the text in Leviticus,—*Ye shall keep my statutes, which if a man do he shall live in them*;—or at least some general promise made to the observers of the whole Law of Moses? No such matter. On the contrary, the Lawyer's answer was a quotation of only one precept of the Law, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c. and thy Neighbour as thy self*. Now how much soever we may differ about a *future state's* being held out by the Law, through a Messiah to come, I suppose we are both agreed that *faith in the Messiah*, either actual or imputed, is necessary to obtain this *future state*. There are but two ways then of understanding this text of St. Luke, neither of which is to his purpose. The first is the supposing that Jesus included *faith in himself* in this precept of *loving God with all the heart, &c.* which will appear no forced interpretation to him who holds Jesus to be really and truly God; as, I imagine, the Doctor does; and may be supported by a circumstance in the story as told by St. Matthew*, though omitted by St. Luke, which is, Jesus's saying, *that on these two commandments hang all the Law and the PROPHETS*. The second and exacter interpretation is, that Jesus spoke to a professing follower, who pretended to acknowledge his Mission, and wanted only a RULE OF LIFE. For Jesus was here preaching the Gospel to his disciples, *and a Lawyer stood up and TEMPTED him*, that is, on the false footing of a disciple, required a rule of life. Now in either case, this reference of Jesus to the Law must im-

* MATTH. xxii. 40.

ply this, and this only, *that without righteousness and holiness no man shall see the Lord.*—But still the Doctor will say that these words of Jesus *allude* to the words of Moses. Admit they do. It will not follow, as he seems to think, that they were given to *explain* them. How many allusions are there in the New Testament to passages in the Old, accommodated to a *spiritual* sense, where the texts alluded to, are seen, by all but Fanatics, to have only a *carnal*? And even in this very allusion, if it be one, we find that the promise made to the observers of the whole Law, is transferred to the observance of one single precept, in the moral part of it. But let us grant him all he would have; and admit that these words of Jesus were given to explain the words of Moses. What would follow from thence, but that the promise in Leviticus had a *secondary* sense of a *spiritual* and sublimer import? Will this give any advantage to the Doctor and his Party? Surely none at all. And yet the *abuse* of this concession is all they have to support themselves in their determined opposition to Common sense.

6. A Law in Leviticus is delivered in these terms, — “Whoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death.” Let me first explain the text before I shew how it is perverted. There were two cases in which the offender here described might escape punishment: Either the crime could not be legally proved, Or the Magistrate might be remiss in punishing. The di-

vine Lawgiver obviates both: and declares that the Infanticide, in such case, shall suffer death by God's own hand in an extraordinary manner. The suppliant of the first defect, is in these words, —“ And I will set my face against the man, and will CUT HIM OFF FROM AMONGST HIS PEOPLE^z.” The suppliant of the second is in these:—“ And if the people of the land do any ways hide their eyes from the man, when he giveth of his seed unto Molech, and kill him not, then I will set my face against that man and against his family, and will CUT HIM OFF^a.” So much for the *sense* of the text. And now for the *nonsense* of our Interpreter, a Professor of Law and Divinity, the egregious Doctor RUTHERFORTH. This sage provision for the execution of the Law our Professor being totally unconscious of, he insists “ that *cutting off from amongst his People* can only mean eternal damnation, the being consigned to a state of punishment in another life^b.” He is, as I say, a dealer both in Law and Divinity: but not having yet learnt the use of his tools, he confounds Law by Theology, and depraves Theology by Law: And of this, the reader has already seen some delectable instances. But at present, to regulate a little his Law-ideas, let him turn to Exod. xii. 15. and Levit. vii. 25, and he will find that the *cutting off from Israel*, and *the cutting off from the People*, are phrases which signify only capital punishment of a civil-kind. Unless he will suppose that what is there threatened for eating *leavened bread* and *prohibited fat*, is ETERNAL LIFE IN TORMENTS.

7. The PSALMIST, in a holy confidence of God's mercies, says, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in HELL*,

^z Ver. 3.

^a Ver. 4—5.

^b Page 33.

neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption. Thou wilt shew me the path of life; in thy presence is fulness of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore^c.—The scope of the whole Psalm is to implore the protection of God, from this consideration, that the Psalmist himself not only steadfastly adheres to the Law of God, but is ready to give his aid and support to all those who do.—That the vengeance of God pursues idolatry, which he carefully avoids—That the *God of Israel* is his *portion*, and the *land of Canaan* a fair *inheritance*—That this steadfast adherence to the Lord is his confidence and peace—Then follow the words in question,—That he is sure, *God will not leave his soul in Hell*, &c. &c. that is, suffer him to fall immaturally, as was the lot of the transgressors of the Law:—And concludes, that walking in the law of God is both the highest pleasure, and strongest security. All which is expressed in terms so magnificent, as to shew, indeed, that this Psalm hath a *spiritual* as well as *literal* meaning. And that spiritual meaning St. Peter hath explained to us^d: Indeed, if Dr. Stebbing's word were to be taken, the Apostle hath explained it in a manner which overthrows all our reasoning. “ St. Peter (says the Doctor) claims this passage [Ps. xvi. 10, 11.] as relating to Christ's resurrection^e.” But how does he claim it? No otherwise than by giving it a *secondary sense*. Now the learned Doctor himself contends that the *secondary sense* of the Prophecies was purposely concealed and secreted from the Jewish Church: Consequently, the *Resurrection*, the very doctrine, which the *secondary sense* of this text conveys, was secreted from it. But then, the Doctor says, that “ in the *primary*

^c PSAL. xvi. 10, 11.

^d ACTS ii. 25—29.

^e Exam. p. 49.

“ sense

“ sense David declares his expectation of a future state, not in consequence of any promise of the Law, but by faith in Jesus Christ.” The result then of the Doctor’s exposition is this, That the same text may serve to prove that the spiritual sense of the Law *was and was not* revealed at this time. The verse has a primary sense which reveals a future state, and a secondary sense which hides and secretes it.—But he insists much upon the following words of the text—*In thy presence is fulness of joy, and at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore.* “ Expressions, says the Doctor, “ much too great to describe any WORLDLY HAPPINESS.”—I readily confess it was no *worldly happiness* which is here described: for to be in the *presence of God* signified the same as to *appear before the Ark*, Pf. xvii. 15. and to enjoy *pleasures there for evermore*, the same as *dwelling in the house of the Lord for ever*, i. e. all his days, Pf. xxiii. 6 a *spiritual happiness*, sure, though enjoyed in this world.

But the texts of texts, the precious ones indeed, are those where a HELL is mentioned; as here—*thou shalt not leave my soul in Hell*^g. And of this orthodox consolation there is no scarcity in the Old Testament. Mr. Whiston assures us, *it is almost five times as often mentioned as in the New*. It may be so. However instead of examining into the justness of this nice calculation, I shall chuse rather to consider what is to be understood by the word, than how often it is repeated. Now, I suppose neither I nor my Answerers can have any reasonable objection to St. John’s authority in this matter; who speaking, in the book of Revelations, of the

† Exam. p. 49.

g PsAL. xvi. 10.

useless old furniture of the LAW, says—and DEATH and HELL were cast into the LAKE OF FIRE: *this is the second death*^b. From hence it appears that the HELL of the Old Testament was a very different thing from the HELL of the New, called, the *lake of Fire*; since the one is made the punishment, or at least the extinction of the other. And to remove all doubt, the Apostle, we see, calls this *casting into the lake*, a *second death*. Must not then the *Lake* itself be a *second Hell*? And if so, could the *first* or the Old Testament HELL be any other than the GRAVE? The next words tell us, *that whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire*ⁱ. So that the sense of the whole seems to be this, that at the consummation of things (the subject here treated of) all physical and moral evil shall be abolished.

8. Again, The Psalmist says, “ Deliver my soul from the wicked—from the men of the world—which *have their portion in this life*, and whose belly thou fillest with thy hid treasure.--As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness: *I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness*^k.” Many moral and mystical commentators (and perhaps our English translators themselves, as one would think from the turn of their language) understood these words as literally pointing, in one verse, to a *future state*, and, in the other, to a *resurrection*. And in this, the dissentor, *Leland*, as I remember, in some of his things, seems much to triumph. But I shall shew that it means nothing less.

They have *their portion in THIS life*, say our translators, who, with great piety, had their heads

^b xx. 14.

ⁱ Ver. 15.

^k Ps. xvii. 14, 15.

full of ANOTHER. Whereas the original word literally signifies *in vitis*, the Hebrew being a plural word and having no singular: which, by the way, let me observe, is a convincing proof that the ideas of the common users of this language were only employed about this life; had they been conversant, like us, with another, they would soon have found a singular to their plural. This will be thought a strange Paradox by those I have to do with, who do not know that plural nouns are often words of amplification, not of number. As our translators render it, *in this life*, so the Chaldee par. goes a step further, and renders it, *in life eternal*. The Sept. translators, who best understood their own idiom, interpret it better than either, ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν *in this life of theirs*. So that the true meaning of what we turn, *their portion in this life*, amounts to this—*they are perfectly prosperous*.

And now, concerning the words in the other verse,—*I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness*. For the sense of these I shall transcribe the following passage of an excellent Critic, and, what is more, a very orthodox Divine.—“The Chaldee,” says Dr. Hammond, (and what sort of interpreters they were we have seen just above) “apply this *awaking* to David;—*when I shall awake, I shall be satisfied with the glory of thy countenance*. And so it hath truth, in respect of the resurrection of the just.—But all the other interpreters agree to apply it to *this glory*: ἐν τῇ ὀφθῆναι τὴν δόξαν σου, *at the appearing of thy glory*, say the LXXII.—*cum apparuerit gloria tua*, says the Latin; (and so the Arabic and Æthiopic) —*When thy fidelity shall awake*, saith the Syriac: And so most probably it is to be understood.

“ stood. By [God’s glory awaking] signifying his
 “ glorious and powerful interposition to David’s
 “ PRESENT rescue from his enemies hands.—And
 “ thus the learned Castellio took it; tum satiandus,
 “ cum tua expectata fuerit imago; *I shall be satisfi-*
 “ *ed when thy likeness shall be awaked*¹.” Other
 Interpreters, and those of the first Class, who make
 the *awaking* to refer to *David*, suppose it to signify
 his morning adorations before the Ark, the sym-
 bolic residence of the divine Presence^m. But that
 David was here speaking in the language of the
Law, and not of the *Gospel*, I think, all but deter-
 mined Bigots will confess.

9. And again: *Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the House of the Lord for ever*ⁿ. By the *house of the Lord* can be meant nothing else but the *Tabernacle* or the *Temple*: So that, *for ever*, or as the Heb. says, *to length of days*, must mean that mature old age, which the Law promised to its faithful adherents.

10. In the xxxvi Psalm, the sacred Writer says: *For with thee, is the fountain of life: in thy light shall we see light*^o. Here, to prove the *immortality* of Man, a text is produced, which teaches the

¹ *Annot. on the xviii Psalm.*

^m Videtur significare David arcam, quam singulis temporibus matutinis Deum adoraturus adibat. *Cleric. in locum.* Pro more Hebr. Poeseos, ipsum in Sanctuario quotidie in presentia Dei ad arcam, quod divinae presentiae symbolum erat, sese velle sistere, quod illi ante omnia in votis fuit, summoque gaudio perfudit. *Hare in loc.*

ⁿ Ps. xxiii. 6.

^o Ps. xxxvi. 9.

eternity of God. But I know Some, who think there is a necessary connection between these two truths.

11. “ Like sheep (says the Psalmist) they [the wicked] are laid in the grave, death shall feed upon them; and the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning, and their beauty shall consume in the grave, from their dwelling. But God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave, for he shall receive me^p.” The literal meaning of which is, as appears by the context, that “ the wicked should be untimely cut off and destroyed,—*in the morning*, that is, by the judgment of the Law, which was administered in the morning hours^q; but that his life, and the life of the upright, should be preserved and prolonged.” Here, once for all, let me desire the Objectors to consider, What it is that is ever opposed (in the many passages of this sort) to *Life, Redemption, &c.* It is not *Misery, Torments, &c.* as it must have been, did *life* literally signify eternal life in a future state; but it is DEATH, which shews it was a *life here on earth*.

12. *Thou shalt guide me* (says he again) *with thy counsel, and afterwards receive me to glory^r.* Or, as an excellent Critic has it, *Consilio tuo deduxisti me, & postea cum gloria excepisti me.* “ Thou wast,

^p Ps. xlix. 14, 15.

^q See JEREM. xxi. 12. “ O house of David, thus saith the Lord, *Execute judgment IN THE MORNING*, and deliver him that is spoiled, out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go out like fire,—because of the evil of your doings.”

^r Ps. lxxiii, 24.

or shalt be, always present with me in difficulties and distresses; and shalt lead and conduct me to better fortunes." This literal sense the context requires.

13. "But the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting, upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto childrens children; to such as keep his covenant, and to those that remember his commandments to do them^s." This is so far from intimating a *future state*, that it is the very temporal promise annexed to the second Law of the Decalogue—*Shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments^t*.

14.—*For THERE the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore^u*. — Where? In the habitation of brethren living together in unity. Nothing else then can be meant, but that death and dangers should not approach a house so strongly united in itself.

15. In the book of PROVERBS it is said — "The wicked is driven away in his wickedness: BUT THE RIGHTEOUS HATH HOPE IN HIS DEATH^x." That is, "the righteous hath hope that he shall be delivered from the most imminent dangers." So the PSALMIST—*upon them that hope in his mercy; to deliver their soul from death, and to keep them alive in famine^y*.—And again, *Thou hast delivered my soul from death; Wilt not thou deliver my feet from falling, that I may walk before God in the light of the living^z*? See Ps. xxxiii. 19. lvi. 13.

^s Ps. ciii. 17, 18.

^x PRov. xiv. 32,

^t EXOD. xx. 6.

^y Ps. xxxiii. 19.

^u Ps. cxxxiii. 3.

^z Ps. lvi. 13.

16. And again — *The way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from Hell beneath*^a. That is, The wise man prolongs his days here on earth, and escapes that untimely death which attends vice and folly. A Doctrine perpetually inculcated throughout this book; as at chap. x. ver. 2, 28. chap. xi. ver. 7. chap. xii. ver. 28. chap. xxi. ver. 16.

And again, “ When a wicked man dieth, his “ EXPECTATION shall perish; and the hope of un- “ just men perisheth^b.” And again,—“ So shall “ the knowledge of wisdom be unto thy soul: “ when thou hast found it; then there shall be a “ reward, and thy EXPECTATION shall not be cut “ off^c.” In the first of these two places it appears by the context, (that is, by the whole tenor of these moral precepts and aphorisms) that the *expectation which should deceive* is that of worldly wicked men to establish a house in their posterity: And in the second, the *expectation which should not deceive* is that of wise and virtuous men in the success of their honest endeavours. But there is one common fallacy which runs through all the reasoning of these Anticritics: it is this, that having taken the point in question [whether a future state be taught in the Old Testament] for granted, they confine all expressions, capable of either sense considered alone, to the sense which supports their own opinion. Whereas while the matter is in question, fair reasoning requires, that such Texts be considered as indifferent to either sense, till determined by the Context, and according to the Analogy of the *Law and the Prophets*.

^a Chap. xv. ver. 24.

^b PROV. xi 7.

^c xxiv. 14.

17. We conclude with the PREACHER, who says, that *Wisdom giveth to them that have it*^d: And so says the Law of Moses likewise (which is here alluded to) and yet it gives nothing but the things of *this life*.

18. Again: “ Though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear GOD^e.” What is meant by this, the very following words declare: *But it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow; because he feareth not before God*^f.—That is, though the wicked be suffered to go on for some time, yet for all that, Vengeance shall overtake and arrest him in the middle of his course^g.

19. And again — “ Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but know thou, that for all these things, God will bring thee into judgment. Therefore remove sorrow from thy heart, and put away evil from thy flesh, for childhood and youth are vanity^h.”

^d Eccl. vii. 12.

^e Chap. viii. ver. 12.

^f ver. 13.

^g One of the Answerers of this Work employs much pains to prove that these words could not mean, *That it was to be well with them that fear God* IN THE PRESENT LIFE. Rutherford, p. 363. i. e. he will prove, the words could not bear a sense to which they are limited and tied down by the words immediately following, — *But it shall not be well with the wicked, NEITHER SHALL HE PROLONG HIS DAYS.* — What is to be done with such a man?

^h Chap. xi. ver. 9, & seq.

That

That is, “ in giving an innocent and lawful indulgence to thy Youth, take heed lest thou transgress the bounds of virtue and piety. For know, that God will certainly punish thy offences, either in thy own Person, or in thy Posterity.”

These are all the passages of moment (till we come to the PROPHEETS) which I could find have been objected to the Opinion, *That a future state of reward and punishment is not in the Mosaic Dispensation.* By which it appears, that the Objectors have been very inattentive to what an Interpreter of the Old Testament should have his thoughts constantly attached, namely to these three things; to the CONTEXT; to the genius of the EASTERN STYLE; and to the Œconomy under which the early Hebrews lived, that is to say, an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. But this last fault, though the most inexcusable of all, they all have in common with the late Jewish Writers; who considering only the Dispensation under which themselves lived, thought it harsh and unnatural to interpret these Texts with reference to worldly good and evil which they saw unequally distributed.

On the whole therefore it appears, that all these passages, in their obvious and *primary* sense, relate to the *things of this life*; and that some of them are expressed by the Holy Spirit in such a manner, as makes it now evident, they had likewise a *spiritual* and sublimer meaning, and do indeed refer to the completion of the Law, by the Gospel.

The Texts here examined are urged in common both by Jews and Christians. But, besides these, the Jews have a set of Texts peculiar to themselves; which the Christians have never yet ventured

tured to put upon Duty. As they are most of them of the nature of *Riddles*, Riddles, for me, they shall remain: only, for the curious Reader's satisfaction, I shall mark out what the Rabbins bring from the PENTATEUCH to prove the *immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body*, as they are collected by the learned Manasseh Ben-Israel, in his tract *De Resurrectione Mortuorum*. For the IMMORTALITY, 1 KINGS i. 31. Ps. cxvi. 7, 8, 9. EXOD. xix. 6. — Chap. xxxiii. ver. 20. LEVIT. vii. 25. DEUT. xiv. 1, 2. — Chap. xxii. ver. 7. — Chap. xxxii. ver. 47. — For the RESURRECTION, GEN. iii. 19. — Chap. xxxvii. ver. 10. EXOD. xv. 6. LEVIT. xxv. NUMB. xv. 30.—Chap. xviii. ver. 28. DEUT. iv. 4.—Chap. xxxii. ver. 39. — Chap. xxxiii. ver. 6. But tho' the reader will find many diverting things on this head, in Manasseh Ben-Israel; yet they must all give place to the curious comment of Rabbi Tanchum on the following words of 1 SAM. xxv. 29. — *The soul of my Lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with the LORD thy GOD: and the souls of thine enemies, them shall he sling out, as out of the middle of a sling.* Sententia est omnium Interpretum (says this profound Rabbi) quod ad hunc textum, esse ipsum per modum commitionis [quâ declaratur] quisnam futurus sit animæ status, et ad quid tandem deventura sit, postquam à corpore separata fuerit; atque ostendere *duplicem* esse ipsi statum, viz. quibusdam animabus esse gradum sublimem et locum stabilem, apud Dominum suum, dum vitâ immortali fruuntur, nec morti nec perditioni obnoxia: aliis autem ludere fluctus naturæ, adeo ut requiem et consistendi locum non inveniunt, verum *dolores perpetuos et cruciatus continuos, cum æterna duratione*, instar lapidis, qui è fundâ projectus circumrotatur in aëre pro ratione virium
jacentis,

jacentis, dein vi sua naturali gravitate in terram decedit. Animæ vero nec inest gravitas quæ ipsam deorsum, nec levitas quæ sursum ferat; ideoque in perpetua est confusione, perturbatione, tristitia, et dolore usque *in æternum*. Atque hæc reverâ sententia est SAPIENTUM ET PHILOSOPHORUM. — How profound a Doctrine! and how noble an original! But this is not the first, by a thousand, which has been raised from a Metaphor, out of the hot-bed of theologic *wisdom and philosophy*. An abuse, that some cooler thinkers of late have fancied they could never get well rid of, till they had turned the few *Doctrines* of true Christianity back again into *Metaphors*. And they have succeeded to admiration.

S E C T. IV.

WE come at length to the texts of the NEW TESTAMENT, which are urged to prove, against itself, that *Life and Immortality was brought to light* by the OLD.

I. The first is that famous argument of JESUS against the Sadducees: — *Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God. — But as touching the Resurrection of the dead, Have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living*^h. Now this very Text, had it been impartially considered, would alone have been sufficient to convince these Answerers of the truth here contended for. At least it convinced a much wiser man, the excellent HUGO GROTIUS, whose words to his

^h MATTH. xxii. 29—32.

friend Ger. Vossius are as follow: "In Mosis lege
 " (non dico in veteri Testamento: nam de Pro-
 " phetis, præsertim posterioribus, res longe alia
 " est) æternæ vitæ non fieri mentionem nisi per
 " umbras, aut rationis consequentiam, certissimum
 " mihi videtur, Christi autoritate, qui Saducæos
 " *non verbis directis, sed ratiocinando refellit* ¹." There is not, I repeat it, any plain Text in the whole Bible (and this is amongst the plainest) so strangely mistaken and perverted: For 1. The appellation of *the God of Abraham, &c.* is generally understood to be quoted by our blessed Lord, as a direct proof ^k of the *Resurrection of the dead body*, in the same manner that St. Paul urges the case of JESUS: — *But now is Christ risen from the dead, and*

¹ Ep. 130. ed. Am. 1687. ERISCIPIUS had the very same idea of this argument. — "Et sane opinionum, quæ inter Judæos erat, circa vitam futuri sæculi discrepantia arguit promissiones Lege factas tales esse ut ex iis certi quid de vita futuri sæculi non possit colligi. Quod et Servator noster non obscure innuit, cum resurrectionem mortuorum colligit, *Matt. xxii.* non ex promisso aliquo Legi addito, sed ex generali tantum illo promisso Dei. quo se Deum Abrahami, Isaaci, & Jacobi futurum spondederat: quæ tamen illa collectio magis nititur cognitione intentionis divinæ sub generalibus istis verbis occultatæ aut comprehensæ, de qua Christo certo contabat, quam necessaria consequentia sive verborum vi ac virtute manifestâ, qualis nunc et in verbis Novi Testamenti, ubi vita æterna et resurrectio mortuorum promittuntur et puppim faciunt totius Religionis Christianæ, et tam clare ac diserte promittuntur ut ne hiscere quidem contra quis possit." *Inst. Theol. lib. iii. § 1. c. 2.*

^k Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his *Deferse des Sentimens sur l'Histoire Critique*, has fallen into this mistake. — Nôtre Seigneur presse ces termes, en sorte qu'il suppose qu'il ne faut qu'entendre la langue dans laquelle l'Écriture parle pour reconnoître la *Resurrection*, *MATT. xxii. 31.* — Il ne faut que lire ce raisonnement de Jesus Christ, pour sentir qu'il est tiré de cette expression, *être le Dieu de quelqu'un*, que l'on ne pourroit appliquer à Dieu, si celui, dont on dit qu'il est le Dieu, étoit mort sans devoir jamais *resusciter*. p. 102, 103.

become

become the first fruits of them that slept¹. But can any thing be more irrational or absurd? The bodies of Abraham and the Patriarchs were yet in dust, and reduced to their primitive earth. So that in this sense, the reasoning is so far from proving that God WAS NOT the God of the dead, that it proves, *he was*. For Abraham's body continued yet lifeless at the very time when God was called his God: Whatsoever was to be the future condition of it, that could not influence the present appellation of the God of Israel. What hath led men into this mistake is the introduction to the argument,—*But as touching the resurrection of the dead*,— which they supposed an exordium to a *direct* proof: Whereas it is an intimation only, to what an *indirect* proof tended; namely, that the *Resurrection of the body* might be inferred thro' the medium of the *separate existence of the soul*; which was the only point Jesus proposed to prove *directly* to them. The case stood thus: He was here arguing against the SADDUCEES. Now these supported their opinion, of *no resurrection of the body*, on a principle that *the soul had no separate existence*, but fell into nothing at the dissolution of its union with the body; which Principle once overthrown, they had nothing left to oppose to the writings of the Prophets, or the preaching of JESUS. Against this principle therefore our blessed Lord thus divinely argues:—"But as concerning the Resurrection of the dead, You ground your denial of it on this supposition, that the soul dies with the body; but you err as much in not knowing the Scriptures, as in not rightly conceiving of the power of God. For the words of the Law, which you allow to be a good authority, directly prove that the soul doth not die with the

¹ I COR. XV. 20.

body, but hath a separate existence. Now Moses tells us, that God, long after the death of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, called himself *their God*: But *God is not the God of the dead, but of the living*; therefore the souls of those Patriarchs are yet existing in a separate state." — This is the force of the Argument^m.

2. The second mistake is, that JESUS, by these words insinuates that Moses CULTIVATED the Doctrine of a *Resurrection*, or a *Future state*. But here again the Objectors seem to forget, against whom the argument is addressed, the SADDUCEES. Now these not only held that Moses did *not teach*, but that he did NOT BELIEVE that Doctrine. This

ⁿ Which, (to observe it by the way) unanswerably confutes that Semipagan Dream of the *soul's sleeping till the resurrection of the body*. And yet, what is strange to tell, this very text, in the course of disputation, which, like the course of time, *brings things*, as the Poet says,

— to their confounding contraries,

hath been urged to prove *that sleep, or no separate life*; and this, by no less considerable a man than Mr. HALES of Eaton, *Christ* (saith he) *provethe the future resurrection of the dead from thence, that God is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but is not the God of the dead, but of the living*. Whence he concludeth, *that they live to God, that is, SHALL BE recalled to life by God, that he may manifest himself to be their God or Benefactor*. This argument would be altogether fallacious, if before the Resurrection they felt heavenly joy: For then God would be their God or Benefactor, namely according to their souls, altho' their bodies should never rise again*. All which is a mere complication of mistakes; as is, indeed, his whole reasoning from Scripture, throughout that chapter. — But they who hold the soul to be only a quality, and yet talk of its *sleep* between death and the resurrection, use a jargon which confounds all languages as well as all reason. For such a *sleep* is an annihilation; and the *waking* again, a new creation.

* *A brief Inquiry*, chap. viii.

was the error, JESUS aimed to confute; and only this; because the opinion that Moses did not *teach* or *cultivate* it, was no error at all, as appears, amongst many other reasons, even from hence: that the Jews might reasonably understand the title of the *God of Abraham, &c.* to mean the peculiar tutelary God of Abraham's Family; for the terms *Jacob* and *Israel* are frequently used in Scripture for the whole nation of the Jews; *Aaron* for the whole order of the priesthood; *Dan, Judah, &c.* for the whole body of each tribe: And as, in reason they *might*, so by the History of the early Jews, we find in fact, they *did* understand it in this sense.

The real force therefore of the Text, here urged, amounts to this, From JESUS's argument it appears, that the separate existence of the soul might be fairly inferred from the writings of Moses: Which inference I not only grant some early Jews did make, but have proved likewise; though not indeed from these words, for the reason given above. And so much my Answerers might have understood, had they only observed that this has all the marks of a new Argumentⁿ, unknown to the Pharisees;

ⁿ " Tho' this argument was a *new one*, (says Dr. Rutherford) tho' the Pharisees had never made this inference, and that therefore it does not appear from hence, that Moses *inculcated* the Doctrine of a future state, yet as it was a conclusive argument, as it was an inference which *might have been made*, it will prove to us that Moses was not *studious to conceal* this doctrine, nor purposely omitted every thing that might bring his Reader acquainted with those notices of Redemption and of another life, which the Patriarchs were favoured with." p. 318. This is a coup de Maître, indeed: as wittily urged as it was wisely meditated. — *If Moses bring a conclusive argument for a doctrine, it is plain he could not be studious*

Pharisees; as indeed both the dignity of our Lord's character, and the impression he would make on his Opposers, seemed to require it should be. Accordingly we find they are struck dumb; and *the multitude that heard this, astonished at his doctrine*. But would Either of them have been so affected with an old foundered argument, long hacknied

dious to conceal that doctrine, says our ingenious Professor. — If Roger Bacon, say I, have given, in his writings, a true receipt to make Gun-Powder, he *could not be studious to conceal the composition*. And yet we know he was studious to conceal it. What reasons he had for so doing, and how consistent it was with his giving the receipt, I leave to this profound Philosopher; and shall content myself with shewing how consistent Moses was in the conduct I have ascribed to him. — If both Moses's pretensions and those of Jesus likewise were true, the former must needs observe this conduct, in his Institute, that is to say, he would *omit* the doctrine of another life, and, at the same time, interweave into the Law such a secret mark of its truth, that, when the other Institution came, it might be clear to all, that he both knew and believed the Doctrine. — If Moses had not *omitted* it, he had intruded on the province of Jesus; If he had not *laid the grounds* on which it rises, he had neglected to provide for the proof of that connexion between the two Dispensations, necessary to shew the harmony between their respective Authors, Moses had done both: And from both I gather that he was *studious to conceal the doctrine*. The *omission* will be allowed to be one proof of it; and I should think, this use of a term, *The God of Abraham*, &c. is another proof. For, the Jews, who, from the ceasing of the extraordinary Providence, continued for many ages with incessant labour to ransack their Bibles for a proof of a future state, could never draw the inference from this text till Jesus had taught them the way. No, says the Doctor, *How should an argument used by Moses, for a future state, be a proof that Moses was studious to conceal it?* This Argument going, as we now see, upon our Professor's utter ignorance of the nature and genius of the Moisaic Dispensation, (which required as much that the grounds of a future state should be laid, as that the Structure itself should be kept out of sight) I shall leave it in possession of that admiration which it so well deserves.

o MATTH. xxii, 33.

in the Schools and Synagogues^p of the Pharisees? Nay, how should it be otherwise than NEW? for the words, *I am the God of Abraham*, &c. as delivered by Moses, were supposed, both by Pharisees and Sadducees, to be spoken of a NATIONAL GOD; as in GEN. xvii. 8, 9. xxvi. 3. xxviii. 13. They therefore could not see how it implied the continued existence of the Patriarch Abraham, &c. But Jesus, in using the word GOD, to signify the Maker and Lord of all things, rightly inferred that the Patriarchs still continued to exist. I am not ignorant, that the modern Rabbins employed this argument very familiarly for a *Resurrection*; but they borrowed it from the GOSPEL, as they have done many other things; the reason of which, our rabbinical Commentators, such as Lightfoot, not apprehending, have supposed the *borrowing* to be all on the side of the lenders: but more of this matter in its place.

Thus much for this celebrated Text. In which, however, the learned Dr. Sherlock, the late Bishop of London, finds enough to support himself in his own opinion, *That the Law of Moses afforded a good proof of a future state to the ancient Jews*^q. But to whom did it afford this proof? To the ancient Jews, who understood the words in the text, in question, to relate to a *national God*, or to us Christians, who understand them of the Creator of the Universe? Now though I cannot

^p The learned Pocock speaking of this Argument, says, *Hic e Lege depromptis cum Sadducæos ad silentium adegisset Christus, dicitur percussam fuisse turbam doctrinâ ejus. Unde patet luculentiori ipsum contra eos argumento usum, quam ullo adhuc usi fuerant Pharisei.* *Notæ miscell. ad Fortam Moses, cap. vi.*

^q Sermons by the Bishop of London.

agree with his Lordship in this conclusion, yet I agree with him in a better thing, which is, *That the Law of Moses affords a good proof of its own divinity*; indeed, by a medium, his Lordship never thought of, namely, *That it afforded no proof of a future state, at all.* But what if his Lordship meant no more than what his respectable Father endeavoured to prove^r, viz. that the EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, (which I hold to be the very circumstance which kept the Jews from the knowledge of a future state) indeed shews that they had the knowledge of it? If this be the case, all I have to say is, that Their proof of a *future state* from the LAW, begins just where my proof of its *divinity* ends.

II. We come next to the Parable of the *rich Man and Lazarus*; where the former, being in Hell, desires Abraham, whom he saw afar off in Paradise, to send Lazarus to his father's house, to testify to his Brethren, and to lead them to repentance, lest they too should come into that place of torment: To which Abraham replies: *If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead*^s. Hence it is inferred, that both Moses and the Prophets taught a future state of Rewards and Punishments. But, here again, the Objectors are quite beside the matter. — As, in the former case, they would not see, the argument was directed against the SADDUCEES; so here, by as perverse a connivance, they will not reflect, that this Parable is addressed to the PHARISEES. It is certain we must judge of

^r Sermons by the Dean of St. Paul's, *on the immortality of the Soul and a future state*, p. 141.

^s LUKE xvi. 31.

the drift and design of every rational discourse from the Character of those to whom it is addressed. Now had this Parable been told to the Sadducees, whose grand error it was, to deny a future state of rewards and punishments; and had the rich man been represented as a Sadducee, who was too late convinced of his mistake, and wanted to undeceive his father's house, which his evil DOCTRINES had perverted; had this, I say, been the case, there might have been some ground for the Objectors' inference, which I suppose to be this, That "it appears as plainly from Moses and the Prophets, that there is a future state of rewards and punishments, as if one came back from that state to tell us so." On the contrary, the Parable was particularly addressed to the Pharisees, the great patrons of a future state, and who sedulously taught it in opposition to the Sadducees. It is introduced in this manner: *And the PHARISEES also, who were COVETOUS* [*φιλάργυροι*] *heard all these things: and they derided him*^t. For which they are thus reproved: *Ye are they which justify yourselves before men: but God knoweth your hearts*^u. And then presently follows the Parable. Their capital errors therefore were errors of PRACTICE, *Avarice* and *Luxury*. And it was to reform these, that a *rich Pharisee* is represented as without any compassion for the poor, living in all kind of delicacy, and dying impenitent. This man, when he comes in the other world, finds so ill a reception there, wants one to be sent to his brethren, (who believed, doubtless, as he did, the *Doctrine of a future state*) to warn them of their evil ways, and to assure them, that luxury and inhumanity, unrepented of, would assuredly damn them. Which

^t Ver. 14.^u Ver. 15.

information, he thought, would be best enforced by a Miracle: *If one went unto them from the dead, they will REPENT* ^x. (Where observe, it is not — *they will BELIEVE.*) To this common mistake, Abraham's reply is extremely pertinent: *If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead*: i. e. "If they will not hear Moses, and the Prophets, whose authority they acknowledge ^y, and whose missions were confirmed by so many and well attested Miracles, neither will they regard a new one, of the resurrection of a dead man. (Nor in fact, were the Pharisees at all softened into repentance by the return of that Lazarus, the namesake of this in the parable, whom Jesus raised from the dead.) Now Moses and the Prophets have denounced the most severe threatenings, on the part of God, against vice and impenitence." This is the force of the argument; in which we see the question of a *future state* is no more concerned, than thus far only, that God will punish, either *here* or *hereafter*. Moses and the Prophets threatened the punishment here; and, while here it was executed, the Jews looked no farther: But when the *extraordinary* Providence, by which that punishment was administered, had ceased, the Jews began, from those very promises and denunciations, to entertain some hopes of an *hereafter*, where all inequalities

^x Ver. 30.

^y Here, the groundless conceit of the learned Mosheim [*de reb. Chris. ante Con.* p. 49] is sufficiently refuted. He supposes a Sadducee to be represented under the person of the *rich Man*. But the authority of the PROPHETS, to which Abraham refers his household, was not acknowledged by the Sadducees, as of weight to decide, in this point. And yet the very words of Abraham suppose that their not *hearing the Prophets* did not proceed from their not *believing*, but from their not *regarding*.

should be set even, and God's threats and promises executed to the full: tho' still, with less confidence, if they reasoned rightly, than the Pagans had to draw the same conclusion from the same principles; since their Law had informed them of a truth unknown to the rest of mankind; namely, that the whole Race was condemned to a state of death and mortality, a return to dust from whence Man was taken, for the transgression of Adam. So that all which good logic or criticism will authorize the believers of a future state to draw from this parable, is this, "that God is a severe punisher
" of unrepentant luxury and inhumanity."

But now admit the mistaken interpretation of the Objectors; and what will follow! *That Moses taught a future state*, the Proposition, I oppose? No; But that from *Moses and the Prophets together* a future state might be collected. A Proposition, I have no occasion to oppose. For when the *Prophets* are joined to *Moses*, and have explained the *spiritual* meaning of his Law, and developed the hidden sense of it, I may well allow that from both together a learned Pharisee might collect the truth of the doctrine, without receding one tittle from my Argument.

III. "When the Lawyer in the Gospel (say
" these Objectors) had made that most important
" Demand², *Master, what shall I do to inherit*
" *eternal life*, our blessed Lord refers him to what
" was written in the Law: and upon his giving a
" sound and judicious answer, approves of it, and
" for satisfaction to his question, tells him, *This*
" *do and thou shalt live.*" This is the objection.

² LUKE x. 25.

And to this, Saint Paul shall give an answer. — *Is the LAW then AGAINST the promises of God? God forbid. For if there had been a Law given which could have given Life, verily righteousness should have been by the Law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin; that the promise by FAITH of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe*^a. We must therefore think that this Lawyer was better at distinctions than the Objector who brings him into his Cause, and inquired, (*in this most important demand*) of the AGENDA, not of the CREDENDA, in order to salvation. And so his words bear witness — *What shall I DO to be saved?*

IV. In what follows, I hardly think the Objectors can be serious. — *Search the Scriptures* (says JESUS to the Jews) *for in them YE THINK YE HAVE eternal life, — ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐαυτοῦς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν — and they are they which testify of me. And ye will not come to me that ye MIGHT HAVE LIFE*^b. The homicide^c Jews, to whom these words are addressed, THOUGHT they had eternal Life in their Scriptures; --- THEREFORE (say the Objectors) they had eternal Life. If I allow this therefore, they must allow me, another --- THEREFORE the Mission of JESUS was vain, being anticipated by that of Moses, who brought life and immortality to light by the LAW. --- And if righteousness came by the Law (says the Apostle) then is Christ dead in vain. This is a necessary consequence from the Objectors' interpretation, and gives us, to be sure, a very high idea of the reasoning of the ever blessed JESUS. — By the same Art of inferring, I suppose too they will conclude, that, when St. Paul says

^a GAL. iii. 21, 22.

^b JOHN v. 39, 40.

^c Ver. 16.

to the unbelieving Jew:— *And thou art confident that thou thyself art a guide to the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, and a teacher of babes* ^d; they will conclude, I say, that THEREFORE it was the Jew, and not St. Paul, who was indeed, *the guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, and a teacher of babes*. In earnest, if JESUS, in these words, taught, that the Jewish Scriptures gave *eternal life*, (and the Jews could not have what their Scriptures did not give) he certainly taught a very different doctrine from St. PAUL, who expressly tells us, That IF THERE HAD BEEN A LAW GIVEN WHICH COULD HAVE GIVEN LIFE, VERILY RIGHTEOUSNESS SHOULD HAVE BEEN BY THE LAW ^e. All therefore that these words of Jesus teach us is that the Jews THOUGHT *they had eternal life by the Mosaic Dispensation*. For the truth of what is thus charged upon them, we have the concurrent testimony of the Apostles; Who wrote large portions of their EPISTLES to prove, not only that they *thought* so, but that they were greatly mistaken in so thinking. For the Author of the epistle to the Hebrews says, that *unto the Angels* [who delivered the Law to Moses] *hath he* [God] *not put in subjection the WORLD TO COME, whereof we speak* ^f.

But tho' we should suppose, the words---*ye think ye have eternal life*, considered separately, did not necessarily imply that these were *only* their thoughts, yet being opposed to the following words, *Ye will not come to me that ye MIGHT HAVE LIFE*, (Καὶ οὐ θέλετε ἔλθειν πρὸς με, ἵνα ζωὴν ἔχητε,) they shew, that whoever *thought* so besides, it was not JESUS, whose

^d ROM. ii. 19.

^e GAL. iii. 21.

^f Chap. ii. ver. 5.

argument stands thus ——— “ The Scriptures, I affirm, and am ready to prove, do testify of me. What reason then have you to disown my character? it cannot surely be, because I preach up a *new* Doctrine of life and immortality. For you yourselves teach that doctrine : and what is more, you understand several passages in your own Scriptures, to signify *eternal life* ; which I own, in their *spiritual* meaning do so. Now that life, which you think you HAVE by your Scriptures, but HAVE NOT, do I here offer unto you, THAT YE MIGHT indeed HAVE LIFE.” But if men had duly considered this discourse of Jesus to the unbelieving Jews, they would have seen the main drift and purpose of it was to rectify this fatal mistake of theirs, in *thinking they had eternal life in their Scriptures*. In one place he tells them, that those who *heard his word had passed from DEATH to life* ^b. And again, *the hour is coming and now is, when the DEAD shall bear the voice of the Son of God* ⁱ. Where, by *Death* and the *Dead*, is meant the condition of those under the *Law*, subject to the condemnation of mortality.

V. The Objectors have produced St. Paul likewise to confute the Principle here laid down. This Apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, says--- “ For as many as have sinned without Law shall also perish without law : and *as many as have sinned in the Law shall be judged by the Law* ^k.” Now, say the Objectors, “ had the Law concealed a future state from the Jews, it is plain they were not equitably dealt with, since they were to be judged in a future state.” This brings to mind an objection of Lord Bolingbroke’s against the

^b JOHN V. 24.

ⁱ Ver. 25.

^k Chap. ii ver. 12.

divinity of Moses's Law; and the answer which this text enabled me to give to Him, will shew, that in these words of St. Paul, the Objectors have chosen the most unlucky text for their purpose in the whole New Testament. His Lordship's objection is in these words, "If Moses knew that crimes were to be punished in another life he deceived the people [in not acquainting them with the doctrine of a *future state*.] If he did not know it, I say it with horror, that God deceived both him and them.—The Israelites had better things to hope, and worse to fear, &c!" Now not to repeat what has been replied to this impious charge, elsewhere ^m, I will only observe, that the words of St. Paul above are a full confutation of it, where he says, that *as many as have sinned in the Law shall be judged by the Law*; that is, shall be judged on the principles of a Law which denounced punishment to vice and reward to virtue. Those who had already received the punishment which that Law denounced should be *judged* to have done so; those, who in the times of the gradual decay of the *extraordinary* providence had escaped or evaded punishment, should have it hereafter. Nothing is clearer than this interpretation. For observe, I pray you, the difference of the predication between wicked men *without the Law*, and the wicked men *under the Law*. The first *shall perish*, ἀπολέσθαι: the second *shall be judged*, κριθήσονται, or *brought to trial*. For though κρινω be often used in the New Testament for καὶ ἀκρινω, yet it is plain, that it is not so used here, both from the sense of the place, and the Apostle's change

¹ Vol. v. p. 194—5.

^m See *A view of Ld. B's. Philosophy*, 2d ed. p. 225, & seq.

of terms, for which I think no good reason can be assigned but this, that *κρίθῆσονται* is opposed to *ἀπολύσει*. From all this, I think, it appears, that my Objectors were as much mistaken in their urging this text against my principles, as the noble Lord in supposing that the reality of a *future state* was a condemnation of the equity of the Law. But both took it for granted, and foolishly enough, that those who did not live under the sanction of a future state could never, consistently with justice, be summoned before the Tribunal there erected.

II.

We are now got to the very *Palladium* of the cause, the famous eleventh chapter to the Hebrews: where it is said, that by FAITH, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, &c. performed all their acceptable works.—— That *they looked for an heavenly city.*—— That *they saw the Promises afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and desired an heavenly country.*— That *they all died in faith.*— That *Moses esteemed the reproach of CHRIST greater riches than the treasures of Egypt.*— That *by faith the Jewish leaders did all their great and marvelous works.*— That *their very women despised death in hopes to obtain a part in the resurrection of the just.*— And that *all these obtained a good report THROUGH FAITH.*—— This, say the Objectors, plainly shews, that a future state of Rewards and Punishments, or more properly, the Christian Doctrine of *Life and Immortality*, was taught by the Law.---To which I answer,

I. That if this be true, the eleventh chapter directly contradicts all the rest of the Epistle: In which,

which, as we have shewn, there are more exprefs declarations, that life and immortality was not known or taught by the Law, than in all the other books of the New Testament besides. And for which, indeed, a very good reason may be assigned, as it was solely address'd to the Jews, amongst whom this fatal prejudice, that *a future state was taught by the Law*, was then and has continued ever since, to be the strongest impediment to their Conversion. For is it possible, that a Writer, who had said, that *the Law made nothing perfect, but the BRINGING IN OF A BETTER HOPE DID*;---That *CHRIST hath obtained a more excellent ministry than MOSES, by how much also he is the MEDIATOR OF A BETTER COVENANT, which is established upon BETTER PROMISES*;---That *the LAW WAS ONLY A SHADOW OF GOOD THINGS TO COME, and not the very image*; is it possible, I say, that such a Writer should forget himself before he came to the end of his Epistle, and, in contradiction to all this, affirm that *Life and Immortality was known and taught under the Law*? We may venture to say then, that this eleventh chapter must have a very different meaning. Let us see if we can find it out: and sure it requires no great search.

2. The whole argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews is directed against Jews and judaizing Christians. The point in difference was this: The Gospel taught JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH: The Judaizers thought it must needs be by WORKS. One consequence of which, in their opinion, was, that the Law of Moses was still in force. They had no more conception than our modern Soci-nians and Freethinkers, that there could be any merit in FAITH or Belief, where the understanding was unavoidably determined by evidence. The

Reader sees then, that the dispute was not whether *faith in Moses* or *faith in JESUS* made men acceptable to GOD; but whether *works* or the *act of believing*; consequently, where the Apostle shews it was *faith* or the *act of believing*, he must mean *faith* in the generic sense, not in the specific, i. e. he did not mean *faith in Jesus*: for the Jews, even that part of them which embraced JESUS as the Messiah, denied it to be any kind of *faith* whatsoever. On the contrary, had they held *justification* to be by *faith* in Moses, and not in JESUS, then it had been the Apostle's business to prove, that it was the *specific faith in JESUS*. But as the dispute stood, all he had to do was to prove that it was *the act of believing*, and not *works*, which justified. And this we find he does with infinite address; by shewing, that that thing which made all the Patriarchs before the Law, and all the Rulers and Prophets under the Law, acceptable to GOD, was not *works*, but *faith*. But then what kind of *faith*? Doubtless *faith in God's promises*: for he is arguing on their own concessions. They admitted their ancestors to have had *that faith*ⁿ; they did not admit that they had *faith in CHRIST*. For the Apostle therefore to assert this, had been a kind of begging the question. Thus we see that not only the pertinency, but the whole force of the reasoning turns upon our understanding *faith*, in this chapter, to mean *faith in the God of their fathers*.

But the Apostle's own definition of the word puts the matter out of question. We have said, the dispute between him and the Jewish Converts

ⁿ Thus their Prophet Habakkuk had said, *The just shall live by his faith*. Chap. ii. ver. 4.

necessarily

necessarily required him to speak of the efficacy of *faith* in the generic sense. Accordingly his *definition* of FAITH is, that it is THE SUBSTANCE OF THINGS HOPED FOR, THE EVIDENCE OF THINGS NOT SEEN^o. Not of *faith in the Messiah*, but of belief in general, and on good grounds. Indeed very general, according to this Writer; not only *belief* of the future, but the past. 'Tis, says he, *the substance of things hoped for*; and this he illustrates by Noah's reliance on God's promise to save him in the approaching deluge^p. 'Tis, again, *the evidence of things not seen*; and this he illustrates by our belief that *the worlds were framed by the word of God*^q. Having defined what he means by *faith*, he next proceeds to shew its nature by its common efficacy, which still relates only to faith in the generic sense.—*But without faith it is impossible to please him [GOD] for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him*^r; which very *faith* he immediately illustrates by that of Noah, Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. And that no doubt might remain, he farther illustrates it by the *faith* of the Jewish People passing the Red Sea, and encompassing the walls of Jericho; and by the *faith* of Rahab the harlot. But was any of this, the *faith* in JESUS the Messiah? or a belief of a future state of rewards and punishments?

As here the Apostle tells us of the great *rewards of faith*, so in his third chapter he speaks of the *punishment of unbelief*; which was the shutting out a whole generation from the land of Canaan, and suffering them to perish in the Wilderness: *So we see* (says he) *they could not enter in because of un-*

^o Ver. 1.

^p Ver. 7.

^q Ver. 3.

^r Ver. 6.

belief. But was this *unbelief* want of faith in the Messiah, or any thing but want of faith in the promise of the God of Israel, who assured them that he would drive out the Canaanite from before them? Lastly, to evince it impossible that *faith in the Messiah* should be meant by the *faith* in this eleventh chapter, the Apostle expressly says, that all those to whom he assigns this faith, HAD NOT RECEIVED THE PROMISE¹. Therefore they could not have *faith* in that which was never yet proposed to them for the object of *faith*: *For how should they believe in him of whom they have not heard?* says the Apostle.

St. Paul had the same argument to manage in his Epistle to the Galatians; and he argues, from the advantages of *faith*. or *belief in God*, in the very same manner. But of his argument, more in the next section.

Let us observe farther, that the sacred Writers not only use the word *faith* in its *generic* sense of *believing on reasonable grounds*; but likewise the word GOSPEL (a more appropriated term) for *good tidings in general*. Thus this very Writer to the Hebrews—*For unto us was the GOSPEL preached as well as unto them*², i. e. the Israelites.

Having shewn, that by the *Faith*, here said to be so extensive amongst the Jewish People, is meant *faith in those promises of God* which related to their own Dispensation, all the weight of this objection is removed. For as to the *promises seen afar off and believed and embraced*, which gave the prospect of a better country, that is, an heavenly³, these are

¹ Ver. 10.
² Ver. 14—16.

³ Ver. 13 and 39.

⁴ Chap. iv. ver. 2.

confined to the Patriarchs and Leaders of the Jewish People. And that *they* had this distant prospect I am as much concerned to prove as my Adversaries themselves. And if I should undertake to do it more effectually, no body I believe will think that I pretended to any great matter. But then let us still remember there is a vast difference between SEEING THE PROMISES AFAR OFF and RECEIVING THE PROMISE: the latter implying a gift bestowed; the former, only the obscure and distant prospect of one to come. This indeed they had: but as to the other, the sacred Writers assure us that, in general, they had it not. — *And these ALL having obtained a good report through faith, RECEIVED NOT THE PROMISE^y.* For tho' all the good Israelites in general had *faith in God*, and the Patriarchs and Leaders had the hope of a *better Country*, yet neither the one nor the other *received the Promise*.

I have said, that the *hopes of a better country*, is to be confined to the Patriarchs and Leaders of the ancient Jews: Nor is this contradicted by what is said of *others who were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better Resurrection^z*, for this refers (as our *English Bibles* shew us) to the history of the *MACCABEES*; in whose time it is confessed the *Doctrine of a future state* was become national. How the People got it,—of what materials it was composed,---and from what quarters it was fetched, will be seen hereafter. It is sufficient to observe at present, that all this, the Jews soon forgot, or hid from themselves, and made this new flattering *Doctrine* a part of the *Law*. Hence the Author of the second book of

^y Ver. 39.^z Ver. 35.

Maccabees makes one of the Martyrs say --- *For our brethren who now have suffered a short pain, are dead unto God's COVENANT OF EVERLASTING LIFE* ^a. But it may be asked, how came this *Covenant of everlasting life* to lye so perfectly concealed from the time of Moses to the great Captivity, that, as appears from their History, neither Princes nor People had the least apprehension or suspicion of such a Covenant?

But here a proper occasion offers itself to remove a seeming contradiction between the Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and St. Paul, in his speech to the synagogue at Antioch, which will give still further light to the subject. The former says, *And these all having obtained a good report through faith, RECEIVED NOT THE PROMISE* ^b. And the latter, *THE PROMISE WHICH WAS MADE UNTO THE FATHERS, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up JESUS again* ^c. But the contradiction is only seeming. The two texts are, indeed, very consistent. The Writer to the Hebrews is speaking of the condition of the heads and leaders of the faithful Israelites in general; who certainly had not the promise of the Gospel revealed unto them: St. Paul, in his speech to the Synagogue, is speaking particularly of their father ABRAHAM: as appears from his introductory address, *Men and Brethren, Children of the stock of Abraham* ^d; and Abraham certainly had the promise of the Gospel revealed unto him, as appears from the words of JESUS himself. *Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and was glad. He saw the resurrection of*

^a 2 Macc. vii. 36.
xiii 32.

^d Ver. 26,

^b HEB. xi. 39.

^c ACTS

Jesus in the restoration of his son Isaac. But of this more hereafter. And to this solution, the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews himself directs us; who, tho' he had said that the holy men in general *received not the promise*, yet when he reckons up the distinct effects of each particular man's faith, he expressly says,—*who thro' faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, OBTAINED PROMISES, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, &c.* That is, some like David, through faith, *subdued kingdoms*; others, like Samuel, *wrought righteousness*; others, like Abraham, *OBTAINED PROMISES*; others, as Daniel, *stopped the mouths of lions*; and others, again, as his three companions, *quenched the violence of fire*. From whence I would infer these two conclusions:

1. That as the *promise* here said to be *obtained*, doth not contradict what the same Writer says presently after, that the faithful Israelites in general *received not the promise*; and as the *promise*, said by St. Paul to be *made to the fathers*, means the same thing with the *PROMISES* said, by the Writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, to be *OBTAINED*, namely the promises made to Abraham, *who saw CHRIST'S day*, and the oath sworn to David, that *of the fruit of his loins he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne*^f; consequently, neither do the words of St. Paul contradict the Writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, where he says, *these all received not the promise*. 2. As these gospel *Promises* are said to be *obtained by faith*, it follows that the *FAITH* mentioned in this famous eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, could not be *faith in the Messiah*: because

^e HEB. xi. 33.

^f ACTS ii, 30.

the promises of a Messiah are here said to be the consequence of faith; but faith *in the Messiah* is the consequence of the *promises* of a Messiah: *For how could they believe in him of whom they had not heard?* From whence it appears, that the FAITH so much extolled in this chapter was *faith in God's veracity*, according to the interpretation given above.

III.

This is all, as far as I can learn, that hath been objected to my Proposition; and this *all* is such a confirmation of it, that I am in pain lest the reader should think I have prevaricated, and drawn out the strongest Texts in the New Testament to support my Opinion, under the name of a Confutation of it. But I have fairly given them as I found them urged: and to shew that I am no less severe, though a little more candid, to my own notions, than my Answerers are, I shall produce an objection which occurred to me in reading St. Paul's epistles of more real moment than their whole bundle of Texts weighed together. It is this:

The learned Apostle, in his reasoning against the Jews, argues upon a supposition, that "By the Law they had eternal life offered to them or laid before them, on condition of their exact performance of the Commandment; but that all coming short of perfect obedience, there was a necessity of recurring to FAITH." — *For what the Law could not do* (says he) *in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh: that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled*

fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit ^g.

This general Argument, which runs through the epistles to the *Romans* and *Galatians* wears indeed the face of an Objection to what I have advanced: but to understand the true value of it, we must consider the Apostle's end and purpose in writing. It was to rectify an error in the Jewish Converts, who would lay a necessity upon all men of conforming to the Law of Moses. As strangely superstitious as this may now appear to us, it seems to have been a very natural consequence of opinions then held by the whole Jewish Nation, as doctrines of Moses and of the Law; namely a *future state* of Rewards and Punishments, and the *resurrection* of the Body. Now these Doctrines, which easily disposed the less prejudiced part of the Jews to receive the *Gospel*, where they were taught more directly and explicitly, at the same time gave them wrong notions both of the Religion of MOSES and of JESUS: Which, by the way, I desire those, who so much contend for a *future state's* being in the Mosaic Dispensation, to take notice of. Their wrong notion of the LAW consisted in this, that having taken for granted, that the reward of obedience proposed by Moses was *Immortality*, and that this immortality could be obtained only by the *works* of the Law, therefore those works were, of necessity, to be observed. Their wrong notion of the GOSPEL consisted in this, that as *Immortality* was attached to *Works* by the *Law*, so it must needs be attached to *Works* by the *Gospel* also.

^g ROM. viii. 3, 4.

These were fatal mistakes. We have seen in our explanation of the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews how the Apostles combated the last of them, namely *Justification by Works*. The shewing now in what manner St. Paul opposed the other, of *obligation to the Law*, will explain the reasoning in question. Their opinion of obligation to the Law of Moses, was, as we say, founded on this principle, that it taught a *future state*, or offered *immortality* to its followers. The case was nice and delicate, and the confutation of the error required much address. What should our Apostle do? Should he in direct terms deny a *future state* was to be found in the Law? This would have shocked a general tradition supported by a national belief. Should he have owned that life and immortality came by the *Law*? This had not only fixed them in their error, but, what was worse, had tended to subvert the whole Gospel of JESUS. He has recourse therefore to this admirable expedient; The later Jews, in support of their national Doctrine of a *future state*, had given a *spiritual* sense to the Law. And this, which they did out of necessity, with little apparent grounds of conclusion then to be discovered, was seen, after the coming of the Messiah, to have the highest reasonableness and truth. Thus we find there were two *spiritual senses*, the one spurious, invented by the later Doctors of the Law; the other genuine, discovered by the Preachers of the Gospel; and these coinciding well enough in the main, St. Paul was enabled to seize a *spiritual* sense, and from thence to argue on their own principles, that the Law of Moses could not now oblige; which he does in this irresistible manner. “*The Law*, says he, *we know is spiritual*”^b; that is, in a

^b ROM. viii. 14.

spiritual sense promises immortality: for it says, *Do this and live*ⁱ. Therefore *he who does the deeds of the Law shall live*^k. But what then? *I am carnal*^l: And *all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God*^m: So that no flesh can be justified by the deeds of the Lawⁿ, which requires a perfect obedience. Works then being unprofitable, we must have recourse to Faith: But *the Law is not of faith*^o: Therefore the Law is unprofitable for the attainment of salvation, and consequently no longer obligatory.”—Never was an important argument more artfully conducted, where the erroneous are brought into the right way on their own principles, and yet the truth not given up or betrayed. This would have been admired in a Greek or Roman Orator.

But though the *principle* he went upon was common both to him and his adversaries, and consequently true, that the Law was *spiritual*, or had a spiritual meaning, whereby, under the species of those temporal promises of the Law, the promises of the Gospel were shadowed out; yet the *inference* from thence, that the LAW offered immortality to its followers, was solely Jewish, and urged by St. Paul as an argument *ad hominem* only; which appears certain from these considerations:

1. This *spiritual* sense, which St. Paul owns to be in the Law, was not a sense which was conveyed down with the literal, by Moses, to the followers of the Law; but was a sense *invented* or *discovered* long after;—the spurious, by the later

ⁱ LEV. xviii. 5. GAL. iii. 12.

^l ROM. viii. 14.

^m ROM. iii. 23.

^k ROM. x. 5.

ⁿ GAL. ii. 16.

Chap. iii. ver. 11.

^o GAL. iii. 12.

Jewish Doctors; and the genuine and real, by the Apostles; as appears from these words of St. Paul: — *But now we are delivered from the Law, that being DEAD wherein we were held, that we should serve in NEWNESS OF SPIRIT, and not in the OLDNESS OF THE LETTER* ^P. We see here, the Apostle gives the *letter* to the Jewish Œconomy, and the *spirit* to the Christian. Let me observe how exactly this quadrates with, and how well it explains, what he says in another place; where having told the Corinthians that he and his Fellow-Apostles were *ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter but of the spirit*, he adds, *the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life*. The Jews had only the *letter* delivered to them by the Law, but the Letter killeth; the consequence is that the *Law* (in which was only the *letter*) had no future state.

2. Secondly, Supposing St. Paul really to hold that the *Law offered immortality to its followers*, and that that immortality was attached (as his argument supposes it) to *Works*, it would contradict the other reasoning which both he himself and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews urged so cordially against the second error of the Jewish Converts; namely, of *immortality's* being attached to *works*, or that *justification* was by *works* under the Gospel: for to confute this error, they prove, as we have shewn, that it was *faith* which *justified*, not only under the Gospel, but under the Law also.

3. Thirdly, If immortality were indeed offered through *works*, by the *Law*, then *justification by faith*, one of the great fundamental doctrines of

^P ROM. vii. 6.

Christianity⁹, would be infringed. For then *faith* could, at best, be only supposed to make up the defect of *works*, in such a sense as to enable *works* to justify.

4. Fourthly; It would directly contradict what St. Paul in other places says of the Law; as that *it is a shadow of things to come, but that the body is of CHRIST*¹. But the offer of immortality on one condition, could never be called the *shadow* of the offer of it on another. *That it is the schoolmaster to bring men to Christ*². Now, by the unhappy dexterity of these men, who, in defiance of the Apostle, will needs give the doctrines of *grace and truth*, as well as the doctrines of the *Law*, to MOSES. His appointed SCHOOLMASTER, the LAW, is made to act a part that would utterly discredit every other *schoolmaster*, namely to teach his children, yet in their *Elements*³, the sublime doctrines of manly science.

5. Fifthly and lastly, if St. Paul intended this for any more than an argument *ad hominem*, he contradicted himself, and misled his disciple Timothy, whom he expressly assured, that *our Saviour Jesus Christ hath ABOLISHED DEATH, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel*. And least, by this *bringing to light*, any one should mistake him to mean only that Jesus Christ had made life and immortality more clear and ma-

⁹ This I shall shew hereafter; and endeavour to rescue it from the madness of enthusiasm on the one hand, and the absurdity of the common system on the other, and yet not betray it, in explaining it away under the fashionable pretence of delivering the *Scripture Doctrine* of it.

¹ COL. iii. 17.

² GAL. iii. 24.

³ GAL. iv. 3—9.
nifest,

nifest, than Moses had done, he adds, that our Saviour had *abolished or destroyed Death*, or that state of mortality and extinction into which mankind had fallen by the transgression of Adam; and in which, they continued under the Law of Moses, as appears from that Law's having no other sanction than *temporal rewards and punishments*. Now this state must needs be abolished, before another could be introduced: consequently by *bringing life and immortality to light*, must needs be meant, the introduction of a new system.

I will only observe, that the excellent Mr. Locke was not aware of the nature of the argument in question; and so, on its mistaken authority, hath seemed to suppose that the Law did indeed offer immortality to its followers: This hath run him into great perplexities throughout his explanation of St. Paul's epistles.

Thus we have at length proved our THIRD PROPOSITION, *That the Doctrine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the Mosaic Dispensation*; and, as we presume, to the satisfaction of every capable and impartial reader.

But to give these arguments credit with those who determine only by AUTHORITY, I shall, in the last place, support them with the opinions of three Protestant Writers; but these Three worth a million. The first is the illustrious GROTIUS—“
 “ *Moses in Religionis Judaicæ Institutione, si diserta*
 “ *Legis respicimus, nihil promisit supra hujus*
 “ *vitæ bona, terram uberem, penum copiosum,*
 “ *victoriam de hostibus, longam & valentem se-*
 “ *nectutem, posteros cum bona spe superstites.*

“ Nam,

“ Nam, SI QUID EST ULTRA, in umbris obtegi-
 “ tur, aut sapienti ac DIFFICILI ratiocinatione col-
 “ ligendum est.”

The second is the excellent EPISCOPIUS.---“ In
 “ tota Lege Mosaica nullum vitæ æternæ præ-
 “ mium, ac ne æterni quidem præmii INDICIUM
 “ VEL VESTIGIUM extat: quiequid nunc Judæi
 “ multum de futuro seculo, de resurrectione mor-
 “ tuorum, de vita æterna loquantur, & ex Legis
 “ verbis ea extorquere potius quam ostendere co-
 “ nentur, NE LEGEM MOSIS IMPERFECTAM ESSE
 “ COGANTUR AGNOSCERE cum Sadducæis; quos
 “ olim (& uti observo ex scriptis Rabbiorum,
 “ hodieque) vitam futuri sæculi Lege Mosis nec
 “ promitti nec contineri adfirmasse, quum tamen
 “ Judæi essent, certissimum est. Nempe non nisi
 “ per Cabalam sive Traditionem, quam illi in
 “ universum rejiciebant, opinionem sive fidem
 “ illam irrepisse afferebant. Et sane opinionum,
 “ quæ inter Judæos erat, circa vitam futuri sæculi
 “ discrepantia, arguit promissiones Lege factas tales
 “ esse ut ex iis certi quid de vita futuri sæculi non
 “ possit colligi. Quod & Servator noster non ob-
 “ scure innuit, cum resurrectionem mortuorum
 “ colligit Mat. xxii. non ex promisso aliquo Legi
 “ addito, sed ex generali tantum illo promisso Dei,
 “ quo se Deum Abrahami, Isaaci, & Jacobi fu-
 “ turum sponderat: quæ tamen illa collectio
 “ magis nititur cognitione intentionis divinæ sub
 “ generalibus istis verbis occultatæ aut compre-
 “ hensæ, de qua Christo certo constabat, quàm
 “ necessaria consequentia sive verborum vi ac vir-
 “ tute manifestâ, qualis nunc & in verbis Novi
 “ Testamenti, ubi vita æterna & resurrectio mor-
 “ tuorum proram & puppim faciunt totius Reli-
 “ gionis”

“ gionis Christianæ, & tam clarè ac disertè pro-
 “ mittuntur ut ne hiscere quidem contra quis
 “ possit.”

And the third is our learned Bishop BULL:—
 “ Primo quæritur an in V. Testamento nullum
 “ omnino extet vitæ æternæ promissum? de eo
 “ enim à nonnullis dubitatur. Resp. Huic quæ-
 “ stioni optimè mihi videtur respondere Augusti-
 “ nus, distinguens nomen Veteris Testamenti:
 “ nam eo intelligi ait aut pactum illud, quod in
 “ Monte Sinai factum est, aut omnia, quæ in Mose,
 “ Hagiographis, ac Prophetis continentur. Si
 “ Vetus Testamentum posteriori sensu accipiatur,
 “ concedi FORSITAN possit, esse in eo nonnulla
 “ futuræ vitæ non obscura indicia; præsertim in
 “ Libro Psalmorum, Daniele, & Ezekiele: quan-
 “ quam vel in his libris clarum ac disertum æternæ
 “ vitæ promissum VIX AC NE VIX quidem reperias.
 “ Sed hæc QUALIACUNQUE erant, non erant nisi
 “ præludia & anticipationes gratiæ Evangelicæ;
 “ AD LEGEM NON PERTINEBANT.---Lex enim
 “ promissa habuit *terrena*, & *terrena TANTUM*.
 “ ---Si quis contra sentiat, ejus est locum dare,
 “ ubi æternæ vitæ promissio extat; QUOD CERTE
 “ IMPOSSIBILE EST.---Sub his autem verbis [legis
 “ ipsius] Dei intentione comprehensam fuisse vitam
 “ æternam, ex interpretatione ipsius Christi ejus-
 “ que Apostolorum manifestum est. Verùm hæc
 “ non sufficiunt ut dicamus vitam æternam in
 “ Fœdere Mosaico promissam fuisse. Nam primò
 “ promissa, præsertim Fœderi annexa, debent esse
 “ clara ac diserta, & ejusmodi, ut ab utraque
 “ parte stipulante intelligi possint. Promissa au-

“ *In 7. Theol. lib. iii. sect. 1. c. 2.*

“ rem hæc TYPICA & generalia, non additâ aliunde
 “ interpretatione, PENE IMPOSSIBILE ERAT, UT
 “ QUIS ISTO SENSU INTELLIGERET^x.”

Thus these three capital supports of the Protestant Church. But let the man be of what Church he will, so he have a superiority of understanding and be not defective in integrity, you shall always hear him speak the same Language. The great ARNAULD, that shining ornament of the Gallican Church, urges this important truth with still more frankness---“ C’est LE COMBLE DE L’IGNORANCE (says this accomplished Divine) de mettre en doute cette vérité, qui est une des plus communes de la Religion Chretienne, et qui est ATTESTEE PAR TOUS LES PERES, que les promesses de l’ancien Testament n’etoient que temporelles et terrestres, et que les Juifs n’adoroient Dieu que pour les beins charnels^{y z}.” And what more hath been

^x *Harmonia Apostolica*, Dissertat. posterior, cap. x. sect. 8. p. 474. inter *Opera omnia*, ed. 1721.

^y *Apologie de Port-Royal*.

^z But all are not *Arnaulds*, in the Gallican Church. Mr. *Freret*, speaking of the history of Saul and a passage in *Isaiah*, concerning the invocation of the dead, says—*Ce qui augmente ma surprise, c’est de voir que la plus part de ces Commentateurs se plaignent de ne trouver dans l’Ecriture aucune preuve claire que les Juifs, au temps de Moÿse, crussent l’immortalité de l’ame.*—La pratique, interdite aux Juifs, suppose que l’existence des ames, seperées du corps, par la mort, etoit alors un opinion générale & populaire. *Memoires de l’Acad. Royale des Inscript. &c. v. 23. p. 185.*—The Gentleman’s *surprise* arises from his being unable to distinguish between the separate existence of the Soul considered physically, and its *immortality* considered in a religious sense: It is under this latter consideration that a future State of reward and punishment is included. Had he not confounded these two things so different in themselves, he had never ventured to condemn the *Commentators*; who do indeed say, they cannot find this latter doctrine in the *Pentateuch*. But then, they do

been said or done by the Author of the DIVINE LEGATION? Indeed, a great deal more. He hath shewn, “ That the absence or omission of a future state of rewards and punishments in the Mosaic Religion is a certain proof that its original was from God.” *Forgive him this wrong*, my reverend Brethren!

S E C T. V.

BUT though it appear that *a future state of Rewards and punishments made no part of the Mosaic Dispensation*, yet the LAW had certainly a SPIRITUAL meaning, to be understood when the fulness of time should come: And hence it received the nature, and afforded the efficacy, of PROPHECY. In the interim, the MYSTERY OF THE GOSPEL was occasionally revealed by GOD to his chosen Servants, the Fathers and Leaders of the Jewish Nation; and the dawning of it was gradually opened by the Prophets, to the People.

And which is exactly agreeable to what our excellent Church in its SEVENTH ARTICLE of *Religion* teacheth concerning this matter.

ARTICLE. VII.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New: For both in the Old and New Testament everlasting Life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign,

not *lament or complain* of this want; because they saw, tho' this Academician does not, that the absence of the doctrine of *a future State of reward and punishment* in the MOSAIC LAW evinces its imperfection, and verifies the enunciation of the Gospel, that LIFE AND IMMORTALITY were brought to light by JESUS CHRIST.

that

that the Old Fathers did look only for transitory Promises.

—*The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, is a proposition directed against the Manichean error, to which the opinions of some Sectaries of these later times seemed to approach. The Manicheans fancied there was a Good and an Evil Principle; that the Old Dispensation was under the Evil, and that the New was the work of the Good. Now it hath been proved that the Old Testament is so far from being contrary to the New, that it was the Foundation, Rudiments, and Preparation for it.*

—*For both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by CHRIST, who is the only Mediator between God and Man. That the Church could not mean by these words, that everlasting life was offered to mankind by CHRIST in the Old Testament in the SAME MANNER in which it is offered by the New, is evident from these considerations:*

1. The Church, in the preceding words, only says, *the Old Testament is NOT CONTRARY to the New*; but did she mean that everlasting life was offered by both, in the *same manner*, she would certainly have said, *The old Testament is THE SAME with the New.* This farther appears from the inference drawn from the proposition concerning everlasting life—*WHEREFORE they are not to be heard, which feign, that the old FATHERS did look only for transitory promises.* But was this pretended sense the true, then the inference had been, *That ALL THE ISRAELITES were instructed to look for more than transitory promises.*

2. The Church could not mean that everlasting life is offered in the Old and New Testament in the *same manner*, because we learn from St. Austin, that this was one of the old Pelagian heresies, condemned by the Catholics in the Synod of Diospolis,---QUOD LEX SIC MITTAT AD REGNUM [COELORUM] QUEMADMODUM ET EVANGELIUM².

What was meant therefore by the words---
both in the Old and New Testament everlasting Life is offered to Mankind by CHRIST, was plainly this---
 “ That the offer of everlasting Life to Mankind by
 “ CHRIST in the New Testament was SHADOWED
 “ OUT in the Old ; the SPIRITUAL meaning of the
 “ Law and the Prophets referring to that life and
 “ *immortality, which was brought to light by JESUS*
 “ CHRIST.”

3. But lastly, Whatever meaning the Church had in these words, it cannot at all affect our Proposition, *that a future state was not taught by the Law of Moses* ; because by *the Old Testament* is ever meant both the *Law* and the *Prophets*. Now I hold that the Prophets gave strong intimations, tho’ in figurate language borrowed from the Jewish Oeconomy, of the *everlasting life* offered to mankind by JESUS CHRIST.

The concluding words of the Article which relate to this matter, say,---*wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign, that the OLD FATHERS did look only for transitory promises* ; and so say I : because JESUS himself is to be heard, before all such ; and he affirms the direct contrary of the *Father of the faithful* in particular. *Your father Abraham* (says

² *De Gestis Pelagii*, c. xi. § 24.

he to the unbelieving Jews) *rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it and was glad*^b. A fact not only of the utmost certainty in itself, but of the highest importance to be rightly understood. That I may not therefore be suspected of prevarication, I chuse this instance (the noblest that ever was given of the HARMONY between the Old and New Testament) to illustrate this consistent truth.

I.

And I persuade myself that the learned Reader will be content to go along with me, while I take occasion, from these remarkable words of JESUS, to explain the history of the famous COMMAND TO ABRAHAM TO OFFER UP HIS SON; for to this History I shall prove, the words refer; and by their aid I shall be enabled to justify a revolting circumstance in it, which has been long the stumbling-block of Infidelity.

In the sense in which the History of the COMMAND hath been hitherto understood, the best apology for Abraham's behaviour (and it is hard we should be obliged, at this time of day, to make apologies for an action, which, we are told, had the greatest merit in the sight of God) seems to be this, that having had much intercourse with the GOD of Heaven, whose Revelations (not to say, his voice of Nature) spoke him a good and just Being, Abraham concluded that this *command to sacrifice his son*, conveyed to him like the rest, by the same strong and clear impresson on the Sensory, came also from the same God. How rational soever this solution be, the Deist, perhaps, would be apt to tell us it was little better than Electra's answer to Orestes, who, staggering in

^b JOHN viii. 56.

his purpose to kill his mother by the command of Apollo, says: *But if, after all, this should be an evil Demon, who, bent upon mischief, hath assumed the form of a God? She replies, What, an evil Demon possesses the sacred Tripod? It is not to be supposed^c.*

But the idea hitherto conceived of this important History has subjected it even to a worse abuse than that of Infidelity: Fanatics, carnally as well as spiritually licentious, have employed it to countenance and support the most abominable of their Doctrines and Practices^d. Rimius in his *Candid Narrative* hath given us a strange passage from the writings of the *Moravian Brethren*, which the reader, from a note of his, will find transcribed here below.

However, after saving and reserving to ourselves the benefit of all those arguments, which have been hitherto brought to support the history of the COMMAND; I beg leave to say, that the source of all the difficulty is the very wrong idea men have been taught to entertain of it, while it was considered as given for a TRYAL ONLY of Abraham's

^c Ος. Ἐξ αὐτ' ἀλάσως εἶπ' ἀπεικασθεῖς θεῶν;
 Ηλ. Ἰεῖον καθίζων τρίποδ' ; Ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα.

Eurip. *Electra*, ver. 979.

^d “ He (the Saviour) can dispose of life and soul; he can
 “ make the economy of salvation, and change it every hour,
 “ that the hindermost be the foremost: He can make laws and
 “ abrogate them; HE CAN MAKE THAT TO BE MORAL WHICH
 “ IS AGAINST NATURE; the greatest virtue to be the most
 “ villainous action, and the most virtuous thoughts to be the
 “ most criminal: He can in a quarter of an hour, make
 “ ABRAHAM willing to kill his Son, which however is the most
 “ abominable thought a man can have.”

Count Zinzendorf's *Serm. in Rimius*, p. 53.
 faith;

faith; and consequently as a Revelation unsought by him, and unrelated to any of those before vouchsafed unto him: Whereas, in truth, it was a Revelation ARDENTLY DESIRED, had the CLOSEST CONNECTION with, and was, indeed, the COMPLETION OF ALL THE FOREGOING; which were all directed to one end; as the gradual view of the orderly parts of one intire Dispensation required: consequently, the principal purpose of the COMMAND was not to try Abraham's faith, although its nature was such, that, in the very giving of it, *God did*, indeed, *tempt* or try *Abraham*^c.

In plain terms, the Action was enjoined as the conveyance of information to the Actor, of something he had requested to know: This mode of information by *Signs* instead of *Words* being, as we have shewn, of common practice in those early Ages: And as the force of the following reasoning is founded on that ancient custom, I must request the Reader carefully to review what hath been said between the hundred and fifth and the hundred and twenty-first pages of the third volume, concerning the origin, progress, and various modes of personal converse; where it is seen, how the conveying information, and giving directions, to Another, by *Signs* and *Actions*, instead of *Words*, came to be of general practice in the first rude Ages; and how, in compliance therewith, God was pleased frequently to converse with the holy Patriarchs and Prophets in that very manner.

Laying down therefore what hath been said on this subject, in the place referred to, as a Postu-

^c GEN. xxii. 1.

I undertake to prove the following Proposition:

I.

THAT WHEN GOD SAYS TO ABRAHAM, *TAKE NOW THY SON, THINE ONLY SON ISAAC, &c.*^f THE COMMAND IS MERELY AN INFORMATION BY ACTION, INSTEAD OF WORDS, OF THE GREAT SACRIFICE OF CHRIST FOR THE REDEMPTION OF MANKIND, GIVEN AT THE EARNEST REQUEST OF ABRAHAM, WHO LONGED IMPATIENTLY *TO SEE CHRIST'S DAY*; and is, in its nature, exactly the same as those informations to the Prophets, where to this Man, God says, *Make thee bonds and yokes, and put them on thy neck*^g; to another—*Go take unto thee a wife of whoredoms*^h, &c. and to a third:—*Prepare thee stuff for removing*ⁱ, &c. that is, AN INFORMATION OF HIS PURPOSE BY ACTION INSTEAD OF WORDS; in the first case, foretelling the conquests of Nebuchadnezzar over Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon; in the second, declaring his abhorrence of the idolatries of the House of Israel; and in the third, the approaching Captivity of Zedekiah.

The foundation of my Thesis I lay in that scripture of St. John, where JESUS says to the unbelieving *Jews*, YOUR FATHER ABRAHAM REJOICED TO SEE MY DAY; AND HE SAW IT, AND WAS GLAD^k.

1. If we consider Abraham's personal character, together with the choice made of him for

^f GEN. xxii. 2.

^g JEREM. xxvii. 2.

^h HOSEA i. 2.

ⁱ EZEK. xii. 3.

^k Chap. viii. ver. 56.

head and origin of that People which GOD would separate and make holy to himself; from whence was to arise the REDEEMER of Mankind, the ultimate end of that separation, we cannot but conclude it probable, that the knowledge of this Redeemer would be revealed to him. *Shall I hide from Abraham the thing which I do?* says GOD, in a matter that much less concerned the Father of the Faithful. And here, in the words of JESUS, we have this probable truth arising from the nature of the thing, made certain and put out of all reasonable question—*Abraham rejoiced, says JESUS, to see my DAY*^m, τὴν ἡμέραν τῆν ἐμὴν. Now when the figurative word *day* is used, not to express in general *the period of any one's existence*, but to denote his peculiar *office and employment*, it must needs signify that very circumstance in his life, which is *characteristic* of such office and employment. But JESUS is here speaking of his peculiar office and employment, as appears from the occasion of the debate, which was his saying, *If any man keep my commandments, he shall never taste of death*, intimating thereby the virtue of his office of Redeemer. Therefore, by the word *DAY* must needs be meant that *characteristic* circumstance of his life: But that circumstance was the laying down his life for the Redemption of Mankind. Consequently, by the word *DAY* is meant *the great sacrifice of CHRIST*ⁿ. Hence we may

^l GEN. xviii. 17.

^m JOHN viii. 52.

ⁿ Dr. Stebbing, in what he calls *Considerations on the command to offer up Isaac*, hath attempted to discredit the account here given of the *Command*: And previously assures his reader that *if any thing can hinder the ill effects which my interpretation must have upon Religion, it must be his exposing the absurdity of the conceit*. This is confidently said. But what then?

may discover the real or affected ignorance of the *Socinian* Comment upon this place; which would have

then? He can prove it. So it is to be hoped. If not — However let us give him a fair hearing. — He criticises this observation on the word *DAY*, in the following manner. “Really, Sir, I see no manner of consequence in this reasoning. That Christ’s day had reference to his office, as Redeemer, I grant. The day of Christ denotes the *time* when Christ should come, i. e. when *He* should come, who was to be such by office and employment. But why it must import also that when Christ came he should be offered up as a Sacrifice, I do not in the least apprehend: Because I can very easily understand that Abraham might have been informed that Christ was to come without being informed that he was to lay down his life as a Sacrifice. If Abraham saw that a time would come when one of his sons should take away the curse, he saw Christ’s day.” [Confid. p. 139.] At first setting out, (for I reckon for nothing this blundering, before he knew where he was, into a *Socinian* comment, the thing he most abhors) the Reader sees he grants the point I contend for — *That Christ’s DAY* (says he) *has reference to his office as Redeemer, I grant.* Yet the very next words, employed to explain his meaning, contradict it; — *The Day of Christ denotes the TIME when Christ should come.* All the sense therefore, I can make of his concession, when joined to his explanation of it, amounts to this — *Christ’s Day has reference to his OFFICE: — No, not to his Office, but to his TIME.* He sets off well: but he improves as he goes along. — *But why it must import ALSO that when Christ came he should be offered up as a Sacrifice, I do not in the least apprehend.* Nor I, neither, I assure him. Had I said, that the word *Day*, in the text, imported the *time*, I could as little apprehend as he does, how that which imports *time*, imports ALSO the *thing done in time*. Let him take this nonsense therefore to himself. I argued in a plain manner thus, — When the word *Day* is used to express, in general, the period of any one’s existence, then it denotes *time*; when, to express his peculiar office and employment, then it denotes, *not the time*, but that circumstance of life characteristic of such office and employment; or the *things done in time*. *DAY*, in the text, is used to express Christ’s peculiar office and employment. Therefore — But what follows is still better. His want of apprehension, it seems, is founded in this, *that he can easily understand, that Abraham might have been informed that Christ was to come; without being informed.*

have *day* only to signify in general the life of CHRIST, or the period of his abode here on earth.

To reconcile the learned Reader to the propriety and elegance as well as to the truth of this sense of the word, *Day*, he may observe, that as Jesus intitles his great Work, in his state of humiliation, the *Redemption of Mankind*, by the name of HIS DAY; so is he pleased to give the same appellation to his other great Work, in his triumphant state, *the Judgment of Mankind*. “For as the lightning (says he) that lightneth out of the one part under heaven,—so shall also the Son of Man be, in HIS DAY.” But this figure is indeed as usual in Scripture as it is natural in itself. Thus that signal catastrophe in the fortunes of the Jewish People, both temporal and spiritual, *their Restoration*, is called their DAY.—*Then shall the Children of Judah (says God by the Prophet Hosea) and the children of Israel, be gathered to-*

formed that he was to lay down his life as a Sacrifice. Yes, and so could I likewise; or I had never been at the pains of making the criticism on the word Day: which takes its force from this very truth, that Abraham might have been informed of one without the other. And, therefore, to prove he was informed of that other, I produced the text in question, which afforded the occasion of the criticism. He goes on, — If Abraham saw, that a time would come when one of his seed should take away the curse, he saw Christ's DAY. Without doubt he did. Because it is agreed, that Day may signify either time, or circumstance of action. But what is this to the purpose? The question is not whether the word may not, when used indefinitely, signify time; but whether it signifies time in this text. I have shewn it does not. And what has he said to prove it does? Why that it may do so in another place. In a word, all he here says, proceeds on a total inapprehension of the drift and purpose of the argument.

• Luke xvii. 24.

gether, and appoint themselves one head, and they shall come up out of the land: for great shall be THE DAY of Israel^p.

2. But not only the *matter*, but the *manner*, likewise of this great Revelation, is delivered in the text—*Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it and was glad.* --- Ἰνα ἸΔΗΙ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ ΕἶΔΕ---This evidently shews the Revelation to have been made, not by *relation* in words, but by REPRESENTATION in action. The verb εἶδω is frequently used in the New Testament, in its proper signification, to *see sensibly*. But whether used literally or figuratively, it always denotes a full intuition. That the expression was as strong in the Syrian language used by JESUS, as here in the Greek of his Historian, appears from the reply the Jews made to him—*Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou SEEN Abraham^q?* Plainly intimating that they understood the assertion of *Abraham's seeing Christ's day* to be a real beholding him in person. We must conclude therefore, from the words of the text, that the Redemption of Mankind was not only revealed to Abraham, but was revealed likewise by *representation*. A late Writer, extremely well skilled in the style of Scripture, was so sensible of the force of JESUS's words, that, though he had no suspicion they related to any part of Abraham's recorded history, yet he saw plainly they implied an information by representation—*Thus also Abraham (says he) saw the day of CHRIST and was glad. But this must be in a typical or prophetical vision^r.* The excellent Dr. Scott is

^p Chap. i. ver. 11.

^q Ver. 57.

^r *Daubuz on the Revelations*, p. 251. Printed in the year 1720. To this reasoning, Dr. Stebbing replies as follows,
“ You

is of the same opinion. He supposes “ the words
 “ refer to some peculiar discoveries, which the
 “ Spirit

“ You are not more successful in your next point, *Abraham rejoiced to see my Day, and he saw it, and was glad.* ἵνα ἴΔΗ τὴν
 “ ἡμέραν τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ ΕἶΔΕ — *This (say you) evidently shows it*
 “ [the revelation] *to have been made not by relation in words,*
 “ *but by representation in action.*” How so? The reason fol-
 “ lows. *The verb εἶδω is frequently used in the New Testament*
 “ *in its proper signification to see sensibly.* — In the New
 “ Testament do you say? Yes, Sir, and in every Greek book
 “ you ever read in your life. What you SHOULD have said
 “ is, that it is so used here; and I suppose you would have
 “ said so, if you had known how to have proved it.” [Confid.
 p. 139—40.]

The reason follows (says he.) Where? In my book indeed, but not in his imperfect quotation from it; which breaks off before he comes to my reason. One who knew him not so well as I do, would suspect this was done to serve a purpose. No such matter: 'twas pure hap hazard. He mistook the introduction of my argument for the argument itself. The argument itself, which he omits in the quotation, (and which was all I wanted, for the proof of my point,) was, *That the verb εἶδω, whether used literally or figuratively, always denotes a full intuition.* And this argument, I introduced in the following manner, *The verb εἶδω is frequently used in the New Testament in its proper signification, to see sensibly.* Unluckily, as I say, he took this for the Argument itself, and thus corrects me for it, “ What you SHOULD have said, is, that it is so used here; “ and I suppose you would have said so, if you had known “ how to have prov'd it.” See, here, the true origin both of dogmatizing and divining! His *ignorance* of what I did say, leads him to tell me what I should have said, and to divine what I would have said. But, what I said, I think I may stand to, *That the verb εἶδω always denotes a full intuition.* This was all I wanted from the text; and on this foundation, I proceeded in the sequel of the discourse, to prove that Abraham *saw sensibly.* Therefore, when my Examiner takes it, (as he does) for granted, that because, in this place, I had not proved that the Word implied to *see sensibly,* I had not proved it at all; he is a second time mistaken.

“ But, *he owns,* that, if this was all, perhaps I should tell
 “ *him,* that it was a very strange answer of the Jews, thou art
 “ not

“ Spirit of God might make to Abraham, for
 “ his own private consolation, tho’ not recorded
 “ in Scripture’.”

So

“ *not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?*” [Confid. p. 140.] He is very right. He might be sure I would. In answer therefore to this difficulty, he goes on and says, “ No doubt, Sir, the *Jews* answer our Saviour, as if he had said, that *Abraham* and *he* were *cotemporaries*; in which, they answered very foolishly, as they did on many other occasions; and the answer will as little agree with your interpretation as it does with mine. For does your interpretation suppose that *Abraham* saw *Christ* in person? No; you say it was by representation only.” [Confid. p. 140—1.]

The Jews answered our Saviour as if he had said that Abraham and he were cotemporaries. — Do they so? Why then, ’tis plain, the expression was as strong in the Syrian language, used by Jesus as in the Greek of his Historian, which was all I aimed to prove by it. But in this (says he) they answered very foolishly. What then? Did I quote them for their wisdom? A little common sense is all I want of those with whom I have to deal: And rarely as my fortune hath been to meet with it, yet it is plain these Jews did not want it. For the folly of their answer arises therefrom. They heard Jesus use a word in their vulgar idiom, which signified to *see corporeally*; and common sense led them to conclude that he used it in the vulgar meaning: in this they were not mistaken. But, from thence, they inferred, that he meant it in the sense of *seeing personally*; and in this, they were. And now let the Reader judge whether the folly of their answer shews the folly of my Argument, or of my Examiner’s. — Nay further, he tells us, they answered as foolishly on many other occasions. They did so; and I will remind him of one. Jesus says to Nicodemus, *Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God, &c.** Suppose now, from these words, I should attempt to prove that *Regeneration* and *divine Grace* were realities, and not mere metaphors: For that Jesus, in declaring the necessity of them, used such strong expressions that Nicodemus understood him to mean the being physically *born again, and entering the second time into the womb*: Would it be sufficient, let me ask my Examiner, to reply in this manner, “ No doubt, Sir, Nicodemus answered our Saviour as if

* Christian Life, vol. v. p. 194.

* ST. JOHN iii. 3.

“ he

So far, then, is clear, that Abraham had indeed this Revelation. The next question will be, whether we can reasonably expect to find it in the history of his life, recorded in the Old Testament? And that we may find it here, both the words of JESUS, and the nature of the thing assure us.

“ he had said, that a follower of the Gospel must *enter a second time into his mother’s womb and be born*: in which he answered very foolishly; and the answer will as little agree with your interpretation as it does with mine. For does your interpretation suppose he should so enter? No; but that he *should be born of water and of the spirit.*” — Would this, I say, be deemed, even by our Examiner himself, a sufficient answer? When he has resolved me this, I shall, perhaps, have something farther to say to him. In the mean time I go on. And, in returning him his last words restored to their subject, help him forward in the solution of what I expect from him. — *The answer (says he) will as little agree with your interpretation as it does with mine. For does your interpretation suppose that Abraham saw Christ in person? No; you say, it was by representation only.*” Very well. Let me ask then, in the first place, Whether he supposes that what I said on this occasion, was to prove that Abraham saw Christ from the reverend authority of his Jewish Adversaries; or to prove that the verb *εἶδεν* signified to *see literally*, from their mistaken answer? He thought me here, it seems, in the way of those writers, who are quoting *Authorities*, when they should be giving *Reasons*. Hence, he calls the answer the Jews here gave, a *foolish one*: As if I had undertaken for its orthodoxy. But our Examiner is still farther mistaken. The point I was upon, in support of which I urged the answer of the Jews, was not the seeing *this*, or *that person*: But the seeing *corporeally*, and not *mentally*. Now, if the Jews understood Jesus, as saying that Abraham saw *corporeally*, I concluded, that the expression, used by Jesus, had that import: And this was all I was concerned to prove. Difference, therefore, between their answer as I quoted it, and my interpretation, there was none. Their answer implied that Abraham was said to see *corporeally*; and my interpretation supposes that the words employed, had that import. But to make a distinction where there was no difference, *seeing in person*, and *seeing by representation* are brought in, to a question where they have nothing to do.

1. We learn, by the history of CHRIST'S Ministry that in his disputations with the Jews, he never urged them with any circumstance of GOD'S Dispensations to their Forefathers, which they either were not, or might not be, well acquainted with by the study of their Scriptures. The reason is evident. His credentials were twofold, SCRIPTURE and MIRACLES. In the first way therefore of confirming his Mission, if instead of appealing to the course of GOD'S Dispensation to his chosen People, as delivered in Scripture, he had given them an unknown history of that Dispensation, (as was one of the tricks of Mahomet in his Alcoran) such a method had been so far from supporting his Character, that it would have heightened the unfavourable prejudices of Unbelievers towards him: as looking like a confession that the known history was against him; and that he was forced to invent a new one, to countenance his pretensions. He must, therefore, for the necessary support of his Character, appeal to some acknowledged Facts. These were all contained in SCRIPTURE and TRADITION. But, we know, he always studiously declined supporting himself on their *Traditions*, though they were full of circumstances favourable to the Religion he came to propagate, such as the doctrines of *eternal Life*, and the *Resurrection of the Body*: Nay, he took all occasions of decrying their TRADITIONS as impious corruptions, by which they *had rendred the WRITTEN word of none effect*. We conclude, therefore, from JESUS'S own words, that the circumstance of Abraham's knowledge of his *Day* is certainly to be found in Abraham's history: Not in so clear a manner, indeed, as to be understood by a Carnal-minded Jew, nor even by a System-making Christian, for reasons hereafter to be explained; yet

certainly There; and certainly proved to be There, by the best rules of logic and criticism.

2. But though this did not (as it does) appear from the words of JESUS, yet it might be collected from the very nature of the thing. For admit only the fact, (as we now must) that *Abraham did see CHRIST's Day*, and it is utterly incredible that so capital a circumstance should be omitted in his History, a sacred Record, preordained for one of the supports and evidences of CHRIST's Religion. That it could not be delivered in the book of Genesis, in terms plainly to be understood by the People, during the first periods of a preparatory Dispensation, is very certain; as will be seen hereafter: But then, this is far from being a reason why it should not be recorded at all: Great ends, such as supporting the truth of the future Dispensation, being to be gained by the delivery of it even in so obscure a manner.

Having thus far cleared our way, and shewn, that *the doctrine of Redemption* was revealed to Abraham; and that the history of that Revelation is recorded in Scripture; we proceed to the proof of these two points,

I. That there is no place, in the whole history of *Abraham*, but this, where he is commanded to offer up his Son, which bears the least marks or resemblance of such a Revelation.

II. That this Command to offer up his Son has all the marks of such a Revelation.

I. On the first head, it will be necessary to give a short abstract of Abraham's story: in which we

find a regular account of the course and order of God's Dispensations to him, from the time of his being called out of Chaldea, to the Command to offer up his Son Isaac; the last of God's Revelations to him, recorded in Scripture.

The first notice given us of this Patriarch is in the account of his Genealogy, Family, and Country'. We are then told^u, that God called him from his Father's house to a *Land which he should shew him*: And to excite his obedience, he promises to make of him a *great Nation*^x: to have him in his peculiar protection, and to *make all the Nations of the Earth blessed through him*^y. The last part of this promise is remarkable, as it contains the proper end of God's Choice and Separation of him and his Posterity; and so, very fitly made, by the sacred Writer, the foundation of the history of God's Dispensations to him; and a mark to direct the reader to what, they are all ultimately to be referred. Which, by the way, exposes the extreme absurdity in Collins and Tyndal, who would have the *blessing* here promised to be only an eastern form of speech, honourable to the Father of the Faithful.—When Abraham, in obedience to this command, was come into the land of Canaan^z, God vouchsafed him a farther Revelation of his Will; and now told him, that this was the Land (which he had before said he *would shew him*) to be inherited by *his Seed*^a. When he returned from Egypt, God revealed himself still farther, and *marked out the bounds*^o of that Land, which he assured him should be *to him and his Seed for ever*^c.

¹ GEN. xi. ver. 27, & seq.

^x Ver. 2.

^y Ver. 3.

^u Chap. xii. ver. 1.

^z Ver. 5.

^a Ver. 7.

^b Chap. xiii. ver. 14.

^c Ver. 15.

Which

Which *Seed* should be *as the dust of the earth* for number ^d. After all these gracious and repeated assurances, we may well suppose Abraham to be now grown uneasy at his Wife's barrenness, and his own want of issue to inherit the Promises. Accordingly, we find him much disturbed with these apprehensions ^e; and that GOD, to remove them appeared to him in a *vision*, and said, *Fear not Abram, I am thy shield and exceeding great reward*. Abraham, thus encouraged to tell his grief, confessed it to be for his want of issue, and for that he suspected the promised blessings were to be inherited by his adopted children, the sons of his servant *Eliezer of Damascus* ^f. To ease him of this disquiet, GOD was now pleased to acquaint him, that his design was not, that an adopted son should inherit, but one *out of his own bowels* ^g. And, for farther assurance, he instructs him in the various fortunes of his Posterity.—*That his Seed should be a stranger in a Land that was not theirs, which Land should afflict them four hundred years, and that then he would judge that Nation, and afterwards bring them out with great substance to inherit the Land of Canaan* ^h. At the same time GOD more particularly marks out the bounds of the Promised Land, and reckons up the several Nations which then inhabited it ⁱ. Things being in this train, and Abraham now satisfied that the Seed of his loins was to inherit the Promises; Sarah, on account of her sterility, persuaded her Husband to go in, unto her Hand-maid Hagar, the Egyptian ^k. In this she indulged her own vanity and ambition; she would have a Son whom she might adopt; *it may be* (says he) *that I may obtain children by her* ^l;

^d Ver. 16.^e Chap. xv. ver. 1.^f Ver. 2, 9.^g Ver. 4.^h Ver. 13, 14.ⁱ Ver. 18, to the end.^k Chap. xvi.^l Ver. 2.

and she flattered herself with being, at the same time, an instrument to promote the designs of Providence, *Behold now*, (says she) *the Lord hath restrained me from bearing*. To this project Abraham consented. Hagar conceived, and bare a Son, called Ishmael^m. The good Patriarch was now fully satisfied: He grew fond of Ishmael; and reckoned upon *him* for the inheritor of the promises. To correct this mistake, God vouchsafed him a new Revelationⁿ; in which he is told, that God would not only (as had been before promised) bless and multiply his Posterity in an extraordinary manner, but would separate them from all other Nations, and he would be their God, and they should be his PEOPLE^o. And this *national adoption* requiring a mutual Covenant, the rite of CIRCUMCISION is at the same time enjoined as the mark of the Covenant^p. Lastly, Abraham is

^m Ver. 15.ⁿ Chap. xvii.^o Ver. 7, & seq.

^p Ver. 10, & seq. By the account here given, of God's Dispensations to Abraham, may be seen the folly of that objection, brought with such insinuations of importance, against the divine appointment of *Circumcision*, from the time of its institution. Sir John Marsham observes, that *Abraham, when he went into Egypt, was not circumcised, nor for twenty years after his return*. Abramus, quando Ægyptum ingressus est, nondum circumcisus erat, neque per annos amplius viginti post reditum, p. 73. Franeq. Ed. 4to. And further, that *Circumcision was a most ancient rite amongst the Egyptians, that they had it from the beginning, and that it was a principle with them not to make use of the customs of other people*. Apud Ægyptios circumcidendi ritus vetustissimus fuit, & æt' ægæus institutus. Illi nuttorum aliorum hominum institutis uti volunt, p. 74. — The noble Author of the CHARACTERISTICS, who never loses an opportunity of expressing his good will to a *Prophet* or a *Patriarch*, takes up this pitiful suspicion after Marsham: "Before the time that Israel was constrained to go down to Egypt, and sue for maintenance, — the Holy Patriarch Abraham himself had been necessitated to this compliance on the
" same

is shewn his fond mistake, and told, that it was not the *Son of the bond-woman*, but of his Wife Sarah, who was ordained to be Heir of the Promises^a. But Abraham had so long indulged himself in his mistake, and consequently in his affection for Ishmael, that he begs GOD would indulge it too — *O that Ishmael might live before thee*^b. And GOD, in compassion to his paternal fondness, graciously promises that the Posterity of Ishmael should become exceeding great and powerful^c. but that, nevertheless, his Covenant should be

“ same account.—’Tis certain that if this *Holy Patriarch*, who
 “ first instituted the sacred rite of Circumcision within his own
 “ family or tribe, had no regard to any Policy or Religion of
 “ the *Egyptians*, yet he had formerly been a Guest and Inha-
 “ bitant of *Egypt* (where historians mention this to have been
 “ a national rite) long ere he had received any divine notice or
 “ Revelation concerning this affair.” Vol. iii. p. 52, 53. These
 great men, we see, appeal to *Scripture*, for the support of their
 insinuation; which *Scripture* had they but considered with com-
 mon attention, they might have found, that it gives us a chrono-
 logical account of GOD’s gradual Revelations to the *Holy Patri-
 arch*; and therefore that, according to the order GOD was pleas-
 ed to observe in his several Dispensations towards him, the Rite
 of Circumcision could not have been enjoined *before* the time
 Abraham happened to go into *Egypt*; nor indeed, at any other
 time than that in which we find it to be given; consequently
 that his journey into *Egypt* had not the least concern or connec-
 tion with this affair: Nay, had these learned Critics but attend-
 ed to their own observation, that the Rite of Circumcision was
 instituted twenty years after Abraham’s return from *Egypt*,
 they must have seen the weakness of so partial a suspicion.
 For had this been after the model of an *Egyptian* rite, Abraham,
 in all likelihood, had been circumcised in *Egypt*, or at least
 very soon after his return: For in *Egypt*, it was a *personal*, not
 a *family* Rite. And we learn from prophane history, that those
 who went from other Countries to *Egypt*, with a design to copy
 their manners, or to be initiated into their Wisdom, were, as a
 previous ceremony, commonly circumcised by the Egyptian
 Priests themselves.

^a Ver. 16.

^b Ver. 18.

^c Ver. 20, & seq.

with *Isaac, and with his Seed after him*¹. However, this Revelation having been received with some kind of doubt, as appears by the words of the historian^u, God was pleased to repeat the promise of a Son by Sarah^x; and even to mark the time of his birth^y; according to which, *Sarah conceived and bore Abraham a Son*^z. After this, God revealed himself yet again to Abraham^a, with a command to put away his Son Ishmael; and to assure him, that the CHOSEN POSTERITY should come from Isaac: For Abraham was not yet weaned from his unreasonable partiality for Ishmael; but still reckoned upon him as his *Second hopes*, in case of any disaster or misfortune, that should happen to Isaac. This appears from Ishmael's insolent behaviour^b; from Abraham's great unwillingness to dismiss him^c; and from God's assuring him, in order to make him easy, *That in Isaac his Seed should be called*^d. We now come to the famous History of the Command to offer up his Son Isaac.—*And it came to pass*, (says the sacred historian) AFTER THESE THINGS, *that God did tempt Abraham, and said: Take now thy Son, THINE ONLY SON Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee unto the land of Moriah, and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of. And Abraham arose*^e. &c. This was the last of God's Revelations to Abraham—*And it came to pass after these things*—And with this, the history of them is closed.

Here we see all these Revelations, except the last, are plain and clear, as referring to TEMPORAL

¹ Ver. 19.
^y Ver. 10, 14.
^b Ver. 9.
 xxii, ver. 1, 2, 3.

^u Ver. 17.
^z Chap. xxi. ver. 2.
^c Ver. 11.
^d Ver. 12.

^x Chap. xviii.
^a Ver. 12.
^e Chap.

Felicities to be conferred on Abraham and his Posterity after the flesh; through whom, some way or other, a BLESSING was to extend to all Mankind. Not one of these therefore can pretend to be that Revelation of the *Redemption of the world*. The last is the only dark and obscure one of the whole; which, if indeed a Revelation of this grand Mystery, must of necessity, as we shall shew, be darkly and obscurely recorded.

But to this perhaps it may be objected, that the famous Promise of GOD to Abraham, that *in him should all the Families of the earth be blessed*^f, is that Revelation; because St. Paul calls this the preaching of the Gospel unto him—*And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Heathen through Faith, preached before, the Gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations of the earth be blessed*^g. To this I reply, that the Apostle is here convincing the Galatians, that the Gospel of CHRIST is founded on the same PRINCIPLE with that which justified Abraham, namely FAITH;—*Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness*^h. He then pursues his argument in this manner, *Therefore they which be of Faith are blessed with faithful Abraham*ⁱ. The reason he gives is from the promise in question, given in reward of Abraham's Faith, that *in him should all Nations be blessed*. This is the force of the argument; and it is very finely managed. But then the terms, *Faith* and *Gospel*, are here used, as they very often are in the apostolic writings^k, not in their specific

^f GEN. xii. 3.

^g GAL. iii. 8.

^h Ver. 6.

ⁱ Ver. 9.

^k See what hath been said on this subject in the preceding discourse on the xith chapter to the *Hebrews*.

but generic sense, for *confidence in any one*, and *glad tidings in general*. For it is plain, Abraham's *Faith* here recommended, was not that *Christian Faith* in JESUS the MESSIAH, but, faith in GOD, who had promised to make his Posterity according to the flesh, as numerous as the stars of Heaven, when as yet he had no offspring¹. In a like latitude of expression, St. Paul uses the word *προεμαγγελίζομαι*, to *preach the Gospel beforehand*; not the tidings of the Messiah the Redeemer, but the *effects* of the *Redemption* wrought by him, a BLESSING on the whole race of mankind. Tidings which indeed referred to a future Dispensation: and, in this, differing from his use of the word *Faith*, which did not. But then, this is very far from his SEEING CHRIST'S DAY; of which indeed he speaks in another place, as we shall see presently. It is true, this promised BLESSING was the preparatory Revelation, by which, we were to estimate the ultimate end of all the following; and on which, we must suppose them to be built: And so much we are concerned to prove it was. I conclude therefore, that when Jesus says, *Abraham saw his Day*; and when St. Paul says, that he *had the Gospel preached before unto him*, they spoke of two different Revelations. We come therefore,

II. To the second point: which is to shew, that the COMMAND to offer up Isaac was the very revelation of CHRIST'S DAY, or the Redemption of mankind, by his death and sufferings.

1. We may observe, from this short view of Abraham's history, that all GOD'S Revelations to him, even unto this last, open by degrees; and

¹ GEN. XV. 6.

relate, primarily indeed, to his Posterity according to the flesh, but ultimately, to the whole race of Mankind: as appears from that MYSTICK Promise so early made to him as the foundation of all the following, that *in Him should all the Families of the earth be blessed*. These are the two great coincident Truths, to which all these Revelations tend. But the last, the famous *Command* in question, which one would naturally expect to find the confirmation and completion of the rest, hath, if the common Interpreters understand it right, no kind of relation to them, but is entirely foreign to every thing that preceded. Hence we conclude, and surely not unreasonably, that there is something more in the *Command* than these Interpreters, resting in the outside relation, have yet discovered to us.

2. But this is not all. The *Command*, as it hath been hitherto understood, is not only quite disjoined from the rest of Abraham's history, but likewise occupies a place in it, which, according to our ideas of things, it hath certainly usurped. The *Command* is supposed to be given as a *Trial* only^m. Now when the great *Searcher of hearts* is pleased

^m To this Dr. Stebbing answers, " You lay it down here " as the common interpretation, that the command to Abraham to offer up his son was given as a *trial only*; WHICH IS " NOT TRUE." Why not? because " the common opinion is, " that God's intention in this command was not only to TRY " Abraham, but also to PREFIGURE the sacrifice of Christ." [*Confid.* p. 150.] Excellent! I speak of the *Command's* being given: but to whom? To all the Faithful, for whose sake it was recorded? or to Abraham only, for whose sake it was revealed? Does not the very subject confine my meaning to this latter sense? Now, to Abraham, I say, (according to the common opinion) it was given as a *Trial* only. To the faithful, if you will, as a prefiguration.—If, to extricate himself from this blunder or sophism, call it which you will, he will say it pre-figured

pleased to try any of his Servants, either for example sake, or for some other end favourable of his Dispensations to mankind; as in this, he condescends to the manner of men, who cannot judge of the merits of their inferior Agents without Trial,

figured to Abraham likewise; he then gives up all he has been contending for; and establishes my interpretation, which is, that Abraham knew this to be a representation of the great sacrifice of Christ: I leave it undetermined whether he mistakes or cavils: See now, if he be not obliged to me. Where I speak of the common opinion, I say, *the command is supposed to be given as a Trial only*. He thinks fit to tell me, *I say not true*. But when he comes to prove it, he changes the terms of the question thus, "For the common opinion is, that God's INTENTION in this command was," &c. Now God's intention of *giving* a command to Abraham, for Abraham's sake, might be one thing; and God's general intention of *giving* that Command, as it concerned the whole of his Dispensation, another. But to prove further that *I said not true*, when I said that, according to the common interpretation, the Command was given for a Trial only; he observes, that I myself had owned that the resemblance to Christ's sacrifice was so strong, that Interpreters could never overlook it. What then? If the Interpreters, who lived *after* Christ, could not overlook it, does it follow that Abraham, who lived *before*, could not overlook it neither? But the impertinence of this has been shewn already. Nor does the learned *Considerer* appear to be unconscious of it. Therefore, instead of attempting to enforce it to the purpose for which *he quotes it*, he turns, all on a sudden, to shew that it makes nothing to the purpose for which *I employed it*. But let us follow this Protean Sophister thro' all his windings.—"The resemblance (says he) no doubt, is very strong; but how this corroborates your sense of the command, I do not see. Your sense is, that it was an actual information given to Abraham, of the sacrifice of Christ. But to *prefigure*, and to *inform*, are different things. This transaction might prefigure, and does prefigure the sacrifice of Christ; whether Abraham knew any thing of the sacrifice of Christ or no. For it does not follow, that, because a thing is prefigured, therefore it must be seen and understood, at the time when it is prefigured." [*Confid.* p. 150—1.] Could it be believed that these words should immediately follow an argument, whose force, (the little it has) is founded on the principle, *That to PREFERRE and to INFORM are NOT different things*.

so we may be assured, he would accommodate himself to their manner likewise, in that which is the material circumstance of a Trial: But, amongst men, the Agent is always tried *before* he be set on work, or rewarded; and not *after*: because the Trial is in order to know, or to make it known, whether he be fit for the work, or deserving of the Reward. When we come therefore to this place, and see a *Command* only to tempt or try Abraham, we naturally expect, on his answering to the Trial, to find him importantly employed or greatly rewarded. On the contrary we are told, that this Trial was made after all his Work was done, and all his Reward received;—*and it came to pass after these things.*—Nay, what is still more strange, after he had been once *tried* already. For the promise to him, when he was yet childless, his Wife barren, and both of them far advanced in years, that *his seed should be as the stars of Heaven for multitude*, was a Trial of his *faith*; and his believing, against all probability in a natural way, the sacred Historian tells us, was *accounted to him for righteousness*^a. Such therefore being the method both of GOD and Men in this matter, we must needs conclude, that the *Command* was not, according to the common notion, a *Trial only*, because it comes *after* all God's Dispensations^o. Yet as the sacred

text

^a GEN, XV. 6.

^o To this reasoning, Dr. Stebbing replies, “ But how can you prove that, according to the common interpretation, “ there was no reward subsequent to the trial?” [*Confid.* p. 151.] How shall I be able to please him?—Before, he was offended that I thought the Author of the book of Genesis might omit relating the *mode* of a fact, when he had good reason so to do. Here, where I suppose *no fact*, because there was none recorded when no reason hindered, he is as captious

on

text assures us it was a *Trial*; and as a *Trial* necessarily precedes the employment or reward of the

on this side likewise. "How will you prove it?" (says he.) From the silence of the Historian, (say I) when nothing hindered him from speaking. Well, but he will shew it to be fairly recorded in Scripture, that there were rewards subsequent to the trial. This, indeed, is to the purpose: "Abraham" (says he) lived a great many years after that transaction happened. He lived to dispose of his son Isaac in marriage, and to see his seed. He lived to be married himself to another Wife, and to have several children by her: He had not THEN received all God's mercies, nor were all God's dispensations towards him at an end; and it is to be remembered that it is expressly said of Abraham. Gen. xxiv. 1. "a long time after the transaction in question) *that God had blessed him in all things.*" [*Confid.* p. 151-2.] The question here, is of the extraordinary and peculiar rewards bestowed by God, on Abraham; and he decides upon it, by an enumeration of the ordinary and common. And, to fill up the measure of these blessings, he makes the burying of his first wife and the marrying of a second to be one. Though unluckily, this second proves at last to be a Concubine; as appears plainly from the place where she is mentioned. But let me ask him seriously; Could he, indeed, suppose me to mean (tho' he attended not to the drift of the argument) that God immediately withdrew all the common blessings of his Providence from the Father of the Faithful, after the last extraordinary reward bestowed upon him, when he lived many years after? I can hardly, I own, account for this perversity, any otherwise than from a certain temper of mind which I am not at present disposed to give a name to: but which, the habit of *Answering* has made so common, that nobody either mistakes it, or is now indeed, much scandalized at it. Tho' for my part, I should esteem a total ignorance of letters a much happier lot than such a learned depravity. — "But this is not all," (says he)—No, is it not? I am sorry for it! — "What surprizes me most is, that you should argue so WEAKLY, as if the reward of good men had respect to this life only. Be it, that Abraham had received all God's mercies; and that all God's dispensations towards him, in this world, were at an end; was there not a life yet to come, with respect to which the whole period of our existence here is to be considered as a state of trial; and where we are all of us to look for that reward of our virtues which we very often fail of in this?" [*Confid.* p. 152.] Well,

the person tried; we must needs conclude, that as no *employment*, so some *benefit* followed this trial.
Now,

Well, if it was *not all*, we find, at least, it is all of a piece. For, as before, he would sophistically obtrude upon us *common* for *extraordinary* REWARDS; so here, (true to the mystery of his trade) he puts *common* for *extraordinary* TRIALS. *Our present existence* (says he) *is to be considered as a state of Trial*. The case, to which I applied my argument, was this;—"God, determining to select a chosen People from the loins of Abraham, would manifest to the world that this Patriarch was worthy of the distinction shewn unto him, by having his faith found superior to the hardest trials." Now, in speaking of these trials, I said, that the command to offer Isaac was the last. No, (says the Examiner) *that cannot be, for, with respect to a life to come, the whole period of our existence here, is to be considered as a state of TRIAL*." And so again, (says he) with regard to the REWARD; which you pretend, in the order of God's Dispensations, should follow the trial: Why, we are to *look for it in another world*. — Holy Scripture records the history of one, to whom God only promised (in the clear and obvious sense) *temporal* blessings. It tells us that these temporal blessings were dispensed. One species of which were extraordinary Rewards after extraordinary Trials. In the most extraordinary of all, no Reward followed: This was my difficulty. See here, how he has cleared it up. Hardly indeed to his own satisfaction: for he tries to save all by another fetch; the weakest men being ever most fruitful in expedients, as the slowest animals have commonly the most feet. "And what (says he) if after all this, the wisdom of God should have thought fit, that this very man, whom he had singled out to be an eminent example of piety to all generations; should, at the very close of his life, give evidence of it, by an instance that exceeded all that had gone before; that he might be a pattern of patient suffering, even unto the end? Would there not be SENSE in such a supposition?" [*Confid.* p. 153.] In truth, I doubt not, as he hath put it: And I will tell him, Why. Abraham was not a mere instrument to stand for an Example only; but a moral Agent likewise; and to be dealt with as such. Now, tho', as he stands for an *Example*, we may admit of as many *Trials of patient suffering* as this good-natured Divine thinks fitting to impose; yet, as a *moral Agent*, it is required (if we can conclude any thing from the method of God's dealing with his Servants, recorded in sacred history) that each Trial be attended with some work done, or some reward conferred.

But

Now, on our interpretation, a *benefit*, as we shall see, did follow: We have reason therefore to conclude that this interpretation is the true.

3. Having seen the difficulties arising from the common interpretation of the Command, let us view it now on the other side; in the new light in which we have adventured to place it. And here we shall find that every circumstance of the Story concurs to support our interpretation. From the view given of Abraham's history, we see, as was said before, how all God's revelations to him, to this last, ultimately related to that mystic fundamental Promise made to him, on his first Vocation, that *in him should all families of the earth be blessed*. God opens the scheme of his Dispensations by exact and regular steps; and the Revelations follow one another gradually and in order.—Abraham is first

But these two parts in Abraham's character, our *Considerer* perpetually confounds. He supposes nothing to be done for Abraham's own sake; but every thing for the Example's sake. Yet, did the good old cause of *Answering* require, he could as easily suppose the contrary. And to shew I do him no wrong, I will here give the Reader an instance of his dexterity, in the counter-exercise of his arms. In p. 150. of these *Considerations*, (he says) "IT DOES NOT FOLLOW, that, because a thing is prefigured, therefore it must be seen and understood AT THE TIME when it is prefigured." Yet in the body of the Pamphlet, at p. 112—13, having another point to puzzle; he says (on my observing that a future State and Resurrection were not national Doctrines till the time of the Maccabees) "he knows I will say they had these doctrines from the Prophets—yet the Prophets were dead two hundred years before."—But if the Prophets were dead their Writings were extant—"And what then? is it LIKELY that the sons should have learnt from the dead Prophets, what the Fathers could not learn from the living?—Why could not the Jews learn this Doctrine from THE VERY FIRST, as well as their Posterity at the distance of ages afterwards?" In the first case we find he expressly says, it *does not* follow; in the second, he as plainly supposes, that it *does*.

commanded to go into a Land which should be shewn to him---then that Land, to be possessed by his numerous posterity, is exhibited before him---Its distinct boundaries are afterwards marked out---He is next assured, while yet childless, that his posterity, to which so much was promised, should not be from an adopted son, but from one out of his own loins---He is then told that this son should be born of Sarah---which is followed by a formal execution of the COVENANT confirmed by the seal of *Circumcision* --- After all this, the birth of Isaac is predicted:---who being born at the appointed time, Ishmael is ordered to be sent away ; to design with more certainty the succession of the son by Sarah. Here we see throughout, a gradual opening, and fit preparative for some farther Revelation ; which, in pursuance of this regular scheme of progressive Dispensations, could be no other than that of the REDEMPTION OF MANKIND BY THE MESSIAH, the completion of the whole Oeconomy of Grace, as it only is the explanation of his first and fundamental Promise, *that in Abraham should all the families of the earth be blessed.* But now, the sole remaining revelation of God's Will to Abraham, recorded by the sacred Historian, is the Command to offer up his son Isaac. This COMMAND then, as there is no other that can pretend to be the revelation in question, and as we have shewn it must be some where or other recorded in Abraham's story, is the very revelation we seek ; which perfects all the foregoing, and makes the whole series complete and uniform. And the place in which we find it is its proper station ; for being the completion of the rest, it must needs be the last in order.

Such, in the *intention* of the Holy Spirit, doth St. CHRYSOSTOM, in his comment on the place,

understand it to be. — τὴν δὲ ἩΜΕΡΑΝ ἐνταῦθα μοι δοκεῖ λέγειν τὴν τῆ σαυρῆ, ἣν ἐν τῇ τῆ κριῆ προσφορῆ καὶ τῆ Ἰσαὰκ προδιετύπωσε. And in this he is joined or followed by ERASMUS, in his paraphrase. Hoc ænigmatē Jesus significavit, Abraham, quum pararet immolare filium Isaac, per Prophetiæ spiritum vidisse Dominum Jesum in mortem crucis a patre tradendum pro mundi salute. — But these excellent men, not reflecting on that ancient mode of information, where the Inquirer is answered by a significative *action* in stead of *speech*, never conceived that this Command was an *imparted* information of that kind, but rather a *typical* representation unsought, and given in an enjoined Rite; of whose import Abraham had then no knowledge^P.

4. Again, We find the Revelation of the *redemption of mankind* in that very place where, if considered only in itself, and not relatively, as the completion of the rest, we should, according to all the rules of plain sense, be disposed to seek it. We must know then that this Revelation, as shall be proved from the words of JESUS, -- *Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad*, was ardently desired and sought after by the Pa-

^P And yet an ingenious man, one M. Bouiller, in a late Latin Dissertation, accuses me of concealing, that Chrysostom, Erasmus and others were of *my opinion*, viz. that Abraham in the Command to sacrifice his Son was informed, of what he earnestly desired to know, that the redemption of Mankind was to be obtained by the sacrifice of the Son of God. The Reader now sees, whether the Author of the D. L. was guilty of a concealed theft, or his Accuser of an open blunder, under which he covers his orthodoxal malignity. Yet he thinks he atones for all, by calling the D. L. *egregium opus: ubi ingenium acerrimum cum eximia eruditione certat*. — Dissertationum Sacrum Sylloge, p. 194.

triarch. Now the *happiness* or REDEMPTION of mankind promised, on Abraham's first Vocation, to come thro' him, could not but make him more and more inquisitive into the manner of its being brought about, in proportion as he found himself to be more and more personally concerned as the Instrument of so great a blessing. But every new Revelation would shew him still farther interested in this honour: Therefore, by the time Ishmael was ordered to be sent away, and the *promised Seed* fixed in Isaac, we must needs suppose him very impatient to understand the Mystery of *Redemption*; and so, fitly prepared to receive this last and supreme Revelation. This, in the like cases, we find to be the disposition and state of mind in the holy men of old. Thus Daniel, by the study of the Prophecies of Jeremiah, understanding the approaching restoration of the Jews, applies himself by fasting and prayer for God's further information; and the Angel Gabriel is sent unto him. So John anxious and solicitous for the suffering Church, being in prayers on the Lord's day, was favoured with all his glorious Revelations.

5. Again, The new light in which this Command is placed, dispels all that perplexity in the common interpretation (taken notice of above) arising from our ideas of a *trial*; where *that* which should in use and reason, go before some extraordinary favour, is made to come after all. But now, according to our sense of the *Command*, the trial, as is meet, precedes the last and greatest favour ever bestowed by God on Abraham.

6. To confirm all this, we may consider that this interpretation of the *Command* is most easy and

natural, as being intirely agreeable to the ancient way of communicating information. We have shewn ^a it to have been the general custom of Antiquity, in personal conferences, to instruct by *actions* instead of *words*; a custom begun out of necessity, but continued out of choice, for the superior advantages it hath in making an impression. For *motion*, naturally significative, which enters at the eye, hath a much stronger effect than articulate *sound*, only *arbitrarily* significative, which enters at the ear. We have shewn likewise, by numerous examples, that God himself vouchsafed, in compliance to a general custom, to use this way of information, when he instructed the holy Patriarchs and Prophets in his Will.

7. Again, As the high importance of this Revelation seemed to require its being given in the strong and forcible way of action ^r, so nothing can be

^a See vol. iii. p. 105 to 121.

^r To this, the great Professor replies, That “there are
 “but few gestures of the body more apt *of themselves* to signify the sentiment of the mind than articulate sound: The
 “force of which arises not from the nature of things; but
 “from the arbitrary will of man: and common use and custom
 “imposes this signification on articulate sounds, not on motions and gestures — *Pauci sunt motus corporis, qui ipsi per se aptiores esse videntur ad motus animi significandos, quam sonus qui ore et lingua in vocem formatur. Vis ipsa non est in natura rerum posita, sed arbitrio hominum constituta; eamque mos et usus communis non gestibus corporis tribuit, sed verbis et voci.*” RUTHERFORTH *Determ.*

The purpose of this fine observation, tho' so cloudily expressed, is to shew that *motion and gesture* can have no signification at all: Not from *nature*, since few gestures of the body are more apt of themselves to express the mind than articulate sound; and yet articulate sound is of arbitrary signification: Not from *institution*,

be conceived more apposite to convey the information required than *this very action*. Abraham desired

tion, since it is not to gesture, but to articulate sound; that men have agreed to affix a meaning. The consequence is, that *gesture can have no meaning at all*; and so there is an end of all Abraham's SIGNIFICATIVE ACTION. The Divine would make a great figure, were it not for his Bible; but the Bible is perpetually disorienting the Philosopher. His general Thesis is, "That *actions* can never become significative but by the aid of *words*." Now I desire to know what he thinks of all the TYPICAL Rites of the *Law*, significative of the Sacrifice of Christ? Were not these *Actions*? Had they no meaning which extended to the *Gospel*? or were there any *Words* to accompany them, which explained that meaning? Yet has this man asserted, in what he calls a *Determination*, that in the instances of expressive gesture, recorded in Scripture, *words were always used in conjunction with them*. But to come a little closer to him. As a Philosopher he should have given his Reasons for those two assertions; or as an Historian he should have verified his Facts. He hath attempted neither; and I commend his prudence; for both are against him: His Fact, that gestures have no meaning by *nature* is false: and his Reasoning, that they have none by *institution*, is mistaken. The Spartans might instruct him that *gestures alone have a natural meaning*. That sage People (as we are told by Herodotus) were so persuaded of this truth, that they preferred converse by *action*, to converse by *speech*; as action had all the clearness of speech, and was free from the abuses of it. This Historian, in his Thalia, informs us that when the Samians sent to Lacedemon for succours in distress, their Orators made a long and laboured speech. When it was ended, the Spartans told them, that *the first part of it they had forgotten, and could not comprehend the latter*. Whereupon, the Samian Orators produced their empty Bread-baskets, and said, they wanted bread. *What need of words*, replied the Spartans, *do not your empty Bread-baskets sufficiently declare your meaning*? Thus we see the Spartans thought not only that *gestures were apt of themselves*, (or by nature) *to signify the sentiment of the mind*, but even more apt than articulate sounds. Their relations, the Jews, were in the same sentiments and practice; and full as sparing of their words; and, (the two languages considered) for something a better reason. The sacred Historian, speaking of publick days of humiliation, tells his story in this manner — *And they gathered together to Mizpel, AND DREW WATER AND Poured it out before the*

desired earnestly to be let into the mystery of the REDEMPTION; and GOD, to instruct him (in the best

LORD, and fasted on that day, 1 Sam. chap. vii. ver. 6. The Historian does not explain in words the meaning of this *drawing of water*, &c. nor needed he. It sufficiently expressed, that *a deluge of tears was due for their offences*. The Professor, perhaps, will say that words accompanied the action, at least preceded it. But what will he say to the action of Tarquin, when he struck off the heads of the higher poppies which overtopped their fellows? Here we are expressly told, that all was done in profound silence, and yet the action was well understood. But further, I will tell our Professor what he least suspected, that Gestures, besides their *natural*, have often an *arbitrary* signification. “A certain Asiatic Prince, entertained at Rome by Augustus, was amongst other Shews and Festivities, amused with a famous Pantomime; whose actions were so expressive, that the Barbarian begged him of the Emperor for his Interpreter between him and several neighbouring Nations, whose languages were unknown to one another.” Pantomimic gesture was amongst the Romans one way of exhibiting a Dramatic Story. But before such gestures could be formed into a continued series of Information, we cannot but suppose much previous pains and habit of invention to be exerted by the Actors. Amongst which, one expedient must needs be, (in order to make the expression of the Actors convey an entire connected sense) to intermix with the gestures *naturally* significative; gestures made significative by *insitution*; that is, brought, by *arbitrary* use to have as determined a meaning as the others.

To illustrate this by that more lasting information, the *Hieroglyphics* of the Egyptians and the *real Characters* of the Chinese; which, as we have shewn, run parallel with the more fleeting conveyance of expressive gesture, just as alphabetic writing does with speech. Now, tho’ the earlier Hieroglyphics were composed almost altogether of marks *natural* significative; yet when the Egyptians came to convey continued and more precise discourses by this mode of writing, they found a necessity of inventing arbitrary significations, to intermix and connect with the other marks which had a *natural*. [See vol. iii. p. 89, & seq.]

Now, to shew that these arbitrary Hieroglyphic marks were *real Characters* like the other, let us turn to the Characters of the Chinese, which tho’ (in their present way of use) most of them

best manner humanity is capable of receiving instruction) in the infinite extent of divine goodness to mankind, *who spared not his own son, but delivered him up for us all*^s, let Abraham feel, by experience, what it was to lose a beloved son;—*Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac*; the Son born miraculously when Sarah was past child-bearing, as Jesus was miraculously born of a pure Virgin. The duration too of the action was the same as that between CHRIST's Death and Resurrection; both which were designed to be represented in it: and still farther, not only the *final archiotypical* Sacrifice of the son of God was figured in the *command* to offer Isaac, but the *intermediate Typical* sacrifice, in the Mosaic *Æconomy*, was represent-

them be of *arbitrary* signification, yet the Missionaries assure us that they are understood by all the neighbouring nations of different languages. This shews that the augustin Pantomime so coveted by the Barbarian for his interpreter might be very able to discharge his function tho' several of his gestures had an arbitrary signification. And we easily conceive how it might come to pass, since the gesture of *arbitrary* signification only served to connect the active discourse, by standing between others of a *natural* signification, directing to their sense.

Thus (to conclude with our Determiner) it appears that GESTURES ALONE are so far from having no meaning at all, as he has ventured to affirm, that they have all the meaning which human expression can possibly convey: all which is properly their own, namely *natural* information; and even much of that which is more peculiar to speech, namely *arbitrary*.

To illustrate the whole by a domestic instance; the solemn Gesture of a Professor in his Chair: which sometimes may *naturally* happen, to signify Folly; tho', by *institution*, it always signifies Wisdom; and yet again, it must be owned, in justice to our Professor's scheme, that sometimes it means nothing at all.

^s Rom. viii. 32.

ed, by the permitted sacrifice of the Ram offered up instead of Isaac.

8. The last reason I shall offer in support of this point, that the *Command* concerning Isaac was this Revelation of Christ's day, or the redemption of mankind by his death and sufferings, is the allusion which Jesus makes (in these words, *Abraham rejoiced to see my day, &c.*) to the following words of Moses, in the history of the command—*And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.*

To shew that Jesus alluded to these words of Moses and had them in his eye, when he speaks of *Abraham's rejoicing to see his day*, it will be proper to consider the true force and meaning of either text. The words of Jesus have been fully considered already †.

And, in the words of Moses—*Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen*, we have the assertion of Jesus confirmed, that *Abraham saw Christ's day and was glad*. 1. *Jehovah-jireh* signifies, as several of the best interpreters agree, **THE LORD SHALL BE SEEN** †. But with what

† See p. 204, & seq.

‡ “ *Dominus videbitur*, (says the learned Father Houbigant)
 “ 1°. *Non videtur*, ne ab futuro verbi aberremus. 2°. *Non*
 “ *videbit*, non modo quia non additur quid sit Deus visurus,
 “ sed etiam quia in tota illâ visione, hominis est *videre*,
 “ Domini, *videri*; propter quam causam Deus locum itum
 “ mox nomine *visionis* insigniebat. Nimirum Deus Abrahamo
 “ id ostendit, quod *Abraham vidit & gavisus est.*” The near
 relation

what propriety could this name be given to it by Abraham if, in this transaction, he had not *seen* the representation of the Lord's passion, which was to happen in a future age? And if he did see it, how apposite was the name! The Historian goes on—as it is said to this day, *In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen*; or more exactly to the Hebrew—for he said, *In the mount THE LORD SHALL BE SEEN*. In the first part of the verse the sacred Historian tells us that Abraham called the mount, *The Lord shall be seen*; and in the latter part he acquaints us with the manner how Abraham imposed that appellation, namely by the use of a proverbial speech implying the reason of the name.—*To day in the mount, the Lord shall be seen**. Proverbial speeches, before the general use

relation of these words of Jesus to those of Moses, was too strongly marked to be overlooked by this very judicious Critic, tho' he considered the transaction in no other light than as a *Type* of the death and passion of Jesus.

* *Atque hoc illud est (says Father Houbigant) quod memoriz sempiternæ Abraham consecrabat, cum ita subjungeret hodie in monte, Dominus videbitur; illud hodie sic accipiens, ut accepit Paulus Ap. illud Davidis, hodie si vocem ejus audieritis; quod hodie tamdiu durat, quamdiu sæcula illa durabunt, de quibus Apostolus donec hodie cognominatur. Propterea Abraham non dicit hodie Dominus videtur. Nam id spectaculum nunc solus videt Abraham, postea omnes visuri sunt, et ad omnes pertinebit istud, videbitur, generatim dictum, cum omnes Unigenitum in monte viderint generis humani victimam factam. Nec aliam sententiam series verborum patitur. Ex qua serie illi deviant qui hæc verba, dixit enim hodie in monte dominus — Mosis sic narranti attribuunt propterea dicitur hodie in monte Domini — quasi renarret Moyses usurpatum sua ætate proverbium. Nam si sic erit non jam docebit Abraham, cui huic loco nomen fecerit Dominus videbitur; quam tamen nominum notationem in sacris paginis non omittunt ii quicumque nomina rebus imponunt. Quod contra plane docebit Abraham si de eo Moyses sic narrat, vocavit nomen loci hujus, DEUS VIDEBITUR; nam dixit, in monte Deus videbitur.*

of recording abstract names and things by writing, being the best and safest conveyance of the memory of events to Posterity. Conformably to this interpretation of the text, the Historian on his entrance on the transaction calls the land of Moriah to which Abraham went with Isaac (according to Jerom's interpretation) the LAND OF VISION, which shews that the words of Jesus, *Abraham saw my day and was glad*, evidently allude to this extraordinary circumstance; namely the disposition of Abraham's mind on the occasion, expressed in his memorial of a new name imposed on the scene of action; the ancient way of commemorating joyful and happy events. In a word, Jesus says, *Abraham saw his day*; and Abraham, by the name he imposed upon the mount, declares the same thing. But as the VISION was of a public, not of a private nature, he expresses himself in terms which signify what mankind in general *shall see*, not what he himself *had seen*—THE LORD SHALL BE SEEN. From a vague allusion therefore, of the words of Jesus, to this history of the *command* in general, we have now fixed them to the very words of Moses, to which they more particularly refer.

The sum then of the Argument is this—JESUS expressly says that *Abraham saw and rejoiced to see, his day*, or the great *Sacrifice* for the sins of mankind by *representation*—The records of sacred History must needs verify his assertion—But there is no place in Scripture which presents the least traces of this Revelation, except the history of the Command to offer Isaac.—This history not only easily and naturally *admits* of such a sense, but even *demand*s it—And reciprocally, this sense gives all imaginable light to the History; and removes the greatest difficulties attending the common interpretation

terpretation of it. Hence, we conclude with certainty, that the *command to Abraham to offer up his son* was only an INFORMATION IN ACTION, which, at Abraham's earnest request, God was graciously pleased to give him, of the *great sacrifice of Christ for the Redemption of mankind*. The thing to be proved. Two great ends seem to be gained by this intrepertation: The one, to free the Command from a supposed violation of natural Law; The other, to support the connexion and dependency between the two Revelations; for this interpretation makes the history of the Command a DIRECT Prophecy of Christ as Redeemer of the world; whereas the common brings it, at most, but to a TYPICAL intimation. Now the Defenders^y of the common interpretation confess, that "the evidence of *direct* Prophecies is superiour to that of *Types*."

The only plausible Objection which can be made to my explanation, I conceive to be the following,—“That what is here supposed the principal and proper reason of the *Command*, is not at all mentioned by the sacred Historian; but another, of a different nature; namely, the Trial of Abraham's faith and obedience.—*And it came to pass after these things, God did tempt Abraham, and said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac.*—And when the affair is over, the same reason is again insinuated:—*By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, that in blessing I will bless thee*,” &c.

1. To the first part of the Objection I answer, That the knowledge of God's future Dispensation

^y Dr. Stebbing.

^z GEN. xxii. 16, 17.

in the redemption of mankind by the death of his Son, revealed, as a singular grace, to the Father of the Faithful, was what could by no means be communicated to the Hebrew People, when Moses wrote this History for their use; because they being then to continue long under a carnal Œconomy, this knowledge, of the END OF THE LAW, would have greatly indisposed them to a Dispensation, with which (as a *Schoolmaster*, that was to bring them by degrees, thro' a harsh and rugged discipline, to the easy yoke of CHRIST) GOD, in his infinite wisdom, thought fit to exercise them^a. But he who does not see, from the plain reason of the thing, the necessity of the Historian's silence, is referred, for farther satisfaction, to what hath been already, and will be hereafter said, to evince the necessity of such a conduct, in other momentous points relating to that future Dispensation.

In the mean time, I give him St. Paul's word for this conduct of Moses, who expressly tells us, that he obscured some parts of his history, or put a *veil over his face that the Israelites might not see to the end of that Law which was to be abolished*. And what was that *end*, if not the *Redemption of mankind* by the death and sacrifice of Christ?—*Moses* (says he) *put a veil over his face, that the Children of Israel could not steadfastly look to the end of that which is abolished. But their minds were blinded: for until*

^a Would the Reader now believe it possible, when these words lay before Dr. Stebbing, while he was answering my Book, that he should venture to ask me, or be capable of asking these insulting questions—*Was there any good use that Abraham could make of this knowledge which the rest of the People of God might not have made of it as well as He? Or if it was unfit for every body else, was it not unfit for Abraham too?*

this day remaineth the same veil untaken away, in the reading of the Old Testament: which veil is done away in CHRIST^b.

But it may be asked, perhaps, “If such Revelations could not be *clearly* recorded, why were they recorded at all?” For a very plain as well as weighty reason; that when the *fulness of time* should come, they might rise up in Evidence against Infidelity, for the real relation and dependency between the two Dispensations of *Moses* and of *Christ*^c; when
from

^b 2 Cor. iii. 13—14. But all I can say, or all an Apostle can say, if I chance to say it after him, will not satisfy Dr. Stebbing. He yet sticks to his point “That if any intention of the death and sacrifice of Christ had been intended, it is NATURAL TO THINK that the explanation would have been Recorded with the transaction, as it is in all other SUCH LIKE CASES.” Now if this orthodox Gentleman will shew me *a such like case*, i. e. a case where a Revelation of the Gospel Dispensation is made by an expressive action, and the explanation is recorded along with it, I shall be ready to confess, he has made a pertinent objection. In the meantime, I have something more to say to him. He supposes, that this commanded Sacrifice of Isaac was a TYPE of the Sacrifice of Christ. To this a Deist replies, in the Doctor’s own words, “If any type had been here intended it is natural to think that the explanation would have been recorded with the transaction.” Now when the Doctor has satisfied the objection, which he has lent the Deists, against a TYPE, I suppose it may serve to satisfy himself, when he urges it against my idea of the Command, as an INFORMATION BY ACTION. Again, our Answerer himself affirms that the doctrine of Redemption was delivered under *Types* in the Law; and that the doctrine thus delivered was designedly secreted and concealed from the ancient Jews. Now is it *natural to think* (to use his own words) that Moses would openly and plainly record a Doctrine in one book which he had determined to secrete in another, when both were for the use of the same People and the same Age?

^c “You must give me leave to observe (says Dr. Stebbing) that the transaction in question, will have the same efficacy
“to

from this, and divers the like instances it should appear, that the *first* Dispensation could be but very imperfectly understood without a reference to the *latter*.

“ to shew the dependency between the two dispensations, whether Abraham had thereby any information of the Sacrifice of Christ or not.” [*Confid.* p. 156.] This, indeed, is saying something. And, could he prove what he says, it would be depriving my interpretation of one of its principal advantages. Let us see then how he goes about it, — “ for this does not arise from Abraham’s KNOWLEDGE, or any body’s KNOWLEDGE, at the time when the transaction happened, but from the similitude and correspondency between the event and the transaction, by which it was prefigured ; which is exactly the same upon either supposition.” [*Ibid.* p. 156-7.] To this I reply, 1. That I never supposed that the dependency between the two Dispensations did *arise from Abraham’s knowledge, or any body’s knowledge*, at that, or at any other time ; but from God’s INTENTION that this commanded action should import or represent the Sacrifice of Christ : And then indeed comes in the question, Whether that *Intention* be best discovered from God’s declaration of it to Abraham, or from a *similitude and correspondency* between this commanded action and the Sacrifice of Christ. Therefore, 2. I make bold to tell him, that a *similitude and correspondency between the event and the transaction which prefigured it*, is NOT ENOUGH to shew this dependency, to the satisfaction of Unbelievers ; who say, that a likeness between two things of the same nature ; such as offering up two men to death, in different ways, and transacted in two distant periods, is not sufficient alone to shew that they had any relation to one another. With the same reason, they will say, we might pretend that Jephtha’s daughter, or the king of Moab’s son whom the father sacrificed on the wall, 2 KINGS iii. 27. were the types of Christ’s sacrifice. Give us, they exult, a proof from Scripture that God declared or revealed his INTENTION of prefiguring the death of Jesus ; or some better authority at least than a modern Typifier, who deals only in *similitudes and correspondences*, and has all the wildness, without the wit, of a Poet, and all the weakness, without the ingenuity, of an Analogist ! Now whether it be our Examiner, or the Author of the *Div. Leg.* who has given them this satisfaction : or whether they have any reason to require it of either of us, is left to the impartial Reader to consider.

But

But had not the sacred Writer designedly obscured this illustrious Revelation, by an omission of the attendant circumstances, yet the narrative of such a *converse by action* was not, in its nature, so intelligible or obvious, as that where God is shewn *conversing by action* to the Prophets, in the several instances formerly given^d. And the reason is this. Those informations, as they are given to the Prophets for the instruction of the People, have necessarily, in the course of the history, their explanations annexed. But the information to Abraham being solely for his *own private consolation* (as Dr. Scott expresses it above) there was no room for that formal explanation, which made the commanded actions to the Prophets, so clear and intelligible.— Yet, as if I had never said this, Dr. Stebbing tells the world, I make this action of Abraham's parallel to those of the Prophets, *whereas* (says he) *it differs from them all in a very material circumstance, as they had their several explanations annexed, and this had not.* But to shew by example, as well as comparison, that obscurity is naturally attendant on the relation of *converse by action*, where the information is for the sake of the Actor only, I shall instance in a case where no obscurity was affected by the Historian. It is the relation of Jacob's wrestling with the Angel^e. The Patriarch, on his return from Haran to his native Country, hearing of his brother Esau's power, and dreading his resentment for the defrauded Birthright, addresses himself for protection in this distress, to the God of his Fathers, with all humility and confidence. God hears his prayer; and is pleased to inform him of the happy issue of the adventure, by a *significant action*: The following night, he has a struggle with

^d See vol. iii. p. 105 to 113.

^e Gen. xxxii.

an Angel, with whom he is suffered to make his part so good, that from thence he collected God had granted his petition. This is the circumstance in Jacob's history which affords such mirth to our illiterate Libertines: For this *information by Action* concerning only the Actor, who little needed to be told the meaning of a mode of Instruction, at that time in vulgar use, hath now an obscurity which the Scripture-relations of the same mode of information to the Prophets are free from, by reason of their being given for the use of the People, to whom they were explained.

But it may perhaps be asked, "Why, when *the fulness of time was come*, Scripture did not break its long silence, and instruct us in the principal and proper reason of the *Command* to offer Isaac?" I answer, that it has done so. The words of Jesus are a convincing proof. Nay, I might go farther, and say that this is not the only place where the true reason of the *Command* is plainly hinted at. The Author of the epistle to the Hebrews, speaking of this very *Command*, says—*By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac—accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead, from whence also he received him IN A FIGURE*[†]; ΕΝ ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗ, *in a Parable*: a mode of information either by words or actions, which consists in putting one thing for another. Now, in a Writer who regarded this commanded action as a representative information of the Redemption of mankind, nothing could be more fine or easy than this expression. For though Abraham did not indeed receive Isaac restored to life after a real dissolution, yet the Son being in this action to represent CHRIST

[†] Chap. xi. ver. 17—19.

suffering death for the sins of the world, when the Father brought him safe from mount Moriah after three days, (during which the Son was in a state of condemnation to death) the Father plainly received him, under the character of CHRIST'S Representative, as restored from the dead. For, as his being brought to the mount, there bound, and laid upon the Altar, figured the death and sufferings of CHRIST, so his being taken from thence alive, as properly figured CHRIST'S Resurrection from the dead. With the highest propriety therefore and elegance of speech, might Abraham be said to receive Isaac from the dead *in a parable*, or in representation^z. But the nature of the *command*
not

^z Let us see now what Dr. Stebbing has to say to this reasoning. — “By your leave, Sir,” says he, (which, by the way, he never asks, but to abuse me; nor ever takes, but to misrepresent me) “if the Apostle had meant by this expression, “to signify that Isaac stood as the Representative of Christ, “and that his being taken from the mount alive, was the “figure of Christ's Resurrection; it SHOULD have been said, “that Abraham received CHRIST from the dead in a figure.” Should it so? What? where the discourse was not concerning *Christ*, but *Isaac*? Had, indeed, the sacred Writer been speaking of Abraham's *knowledge of Christ*, something might have been said; but he is speaking of a very different thing, his *faith in God*; and only intimates, by a strong expression, what he understood that action to be, which he gives, as an instance of the most illustrious act of *faith*. I say, had this been the case, something might have been said; something, I mean, just to keep him in countenance; yet still, nothing to the purpose, as I shall now shew. The transaction of the Sacrifice of Christ related to GOD. The *figure* of that transaction, in the command to offer Isaac, related (according to my interpretation) to ABRAHAM. Now, it was God who received Christ; as it was Abraham who received the type or figure of Christ, in Isaac. To tell us then, that (according to my interpretation) it SHOULD have been said, *that Abraham received CHRIST from the dead in a figure*, is, in effect, telling us that he knows no more of logical expression than of theological reasoning.

not being understood, these words of the epistle have been hitherto interpreted, to signify only that
Isaac

soning. It is true, could he shew the expression improper, in the sense which I give to the transaction, he would then speak a little to the purpose; and this, to do him justice, is what he would fain be at. —“ For, Christ it was, according to your interpretation, (says he) that was received from the dead in a figure, by Isaac his Representative, who really came alive from the mount. If the reading had been, not *ἐν παραβολῇ*, but *εἰς παραβολὴν*, it would have suited your notion; for it might properly have been said, that Isaac came alive from the mount as a figure, or that he might be a figure, of the Resurrection of Christ.” [Confid. p. 147.] Miserable chicane! As, on the one hand, I might say with propriety, that CHRIST was received from the dead in a figure, i. e. BY a representative; so on the other, I might say that ISAAC was received from the dead in a figure, i. e. AS a representative? For Isaac, sustaining the person of Christ, who was raised from the dead, might in a figure, i. e. as that person, be said to be received: Yet this our Examiner denies, and tells us, the Apostle SHOULD have said that Abraham received CHRIST, and not ISAAC. —“ But (adds he) if the reading had been not *ἐν Παραβολῇ* but *εἰς Παραβολὴν*, it would have suited your notion.” And the reason he gives, is this: “ For it might properly have been said that Isaac came alive from the mount as a figure, or THAT HE MIGHT BE a figure of the resurrection of Christ.” Strange! He says, this would have suited *my* notion; and the reason he gives, shews it suits only *his own*; which is that the exactness of the resemblance between the two actions, not the declaration of the Giver of the Command, made it a figure. This is the more extraordinary, as I myself have here shewn that the old latin translator had turned the words into *IN PARABOLAM* instead of *IN PARABOLA* for this very reason, because he understood the command in the sense our Examiner contends for; viz. That Isaac, by the *resemblance* of the actions, MIGHT BE, or might become a figure.

However, he owns at last that “ a reason will still be wanting, why, instead of speaking the fact as it really was, that Isaac came alive from the mount; the Apostle chose rather to say (what was not really the case) that Abraham received him *from the dead*.” [Confid. p. 147-8.] Well; and have not I given a reason? No matter for that: Dr. Stebbing is turned *Examiner*, and has engrossed the market. His reason follows

Isaac was a type of Christ, in the same sense that the old Tabernacle, in this epistle^a, is called a type—
ἡ 116

follows thus; “ If Isaac did not die (as it is certain he did not) Abraham could not receive him from the dead. And yet the Apostle says, he received him *from the dead*. The clearing up this difficulty will shew the true sense of the passage.” [Confid. p. 147-8.] What, will the clearing up a difficulty of his own making discover the true sense of another man’s writing? This is one of his new improvements in Logic; in which, as in Arithmetic, he has invented a *rule of false*, to discover an unknown truth. For there is none of this difficulty in the sacred Text; it is not there (as in our Examiner) said simply, that *Abraham received Isaac from the dead*, but that he *received him from the dead* IN A FIGURE, or under the assumed personage of *Christ*. Now if *Christ* died, then he, who assumed his personage, in order to represent his passion and resurrection, might surely be said to be *received from the dead in a figure*. A wonderful difficulty truly! and we shall see, as wonderfully solved;—by a conundrum! But with propriety enough. For as a real difficulty requires sense and criticism to resolve it, an imaginary one may be well enough managed by a quibble. — Because the translators of St. Mark’s Gospel have rendered *ἢ ποία παραβολῆ* by, *with what comparison shall we compare it*, therefore, *ἢ παραβολῆ*, in the text in question, signifies COMPARATIVELY SPEAKING. But no words can shew him like his own — “ The Apostle does not say *simply* and *absolutely*, that Abraham received Isaac from the dead; but that he received him from the dead, *ἢ παραβολῆ*, in a parable.” See here now! Did not I tell you so? There was no difficulty all this while: The sentence only opened to the right and left to let in a blustering objection, which is no sooner evaporated than it closes again as before. *It was not simply said*—No. “ But that he received him — *ἢ παραβολῆ*, in a parable, i. e. in a comparison, or by comparison. Thus the word is used, Mark iv. 30. *Wherunto shall we liken the kingdom of God, or with what COMPARISON [ἢ ποία παραβολῆ] shall we compare it.* The meaning then may be, that Abraham’s receiving Isaac alive (after his death was denounced) by the revocation of the command; was AS IF HE HAD RECEIVED him from the dead. Thus several Interpreters understand the place. Or it may be, as others will have it, that the Apostle here refers to the birth of Isaac; which was [*ἢ παραβολῆ*] COMPARATIVE-

^a Chap. ix. ver. 9.

ἡΤΙς ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗ, that is, a thing designed by the Holy Spirit to have both a present significancy and a future. Which amounts but just to this, That

“LY SPEAKING, a receiving him from the dead; his father being old, and his mother past the age of child-bearing, on which account the Apostle styles them both *dead*. Which interpretation, I the rather approve, because it suggests the proper grounds of Abraham’s faith.” [Confid. p. 148-9.]

He says, *ἡ παραβολή*, signifies, *in or by comparison*; and that the word is so used in St. Mark; to prove which, he quotes the English translation. Now I must take the liberty to tell him, that the translators were mistaken; and he with them. *Παραβολή*, in St. Mark, is not used in the sense of a *similitude* or *comparison*, but of a *parable*. The ancients had two ways of illustrating the things they enforced; the one was by a *parable*, the other by a simple *comparison* or *simile*: how the latter of these arose out of the former I have shewn in the third Volume. Here, both these modes of illustration are referred to; which should have been translated thus, *To what shall we compare the kingdom of God, or with what PARABLE shall we illustrate or parabolize it.* — ὁμοιωσάμεν — παραβάλαμεν — which words express two different and well known modes of illustration.

But now suppose, *ἡ ποία παραβολή*, had signified *with what comparison*: How comes it to pass that *ἡ παραβολή* should signify *by comparison*, or *as it were*, or *COMPARATIVELY SPEAKING*? In plain truth, his critical analogy has ended in a pleasant blunder. How so? you will ask. Nay, ’tis true there’s no denying, but that *speaking by comparison* is *comparatively speaking*; and, if men will put another sense upon it, who can help that? they say, *comparatively speaking*, signifies the speaking loosely, inaccurately, and incorrectly. But was it for our Doctor to put his reader in mind of such kind of speakers? But the charge of a blunder, an innocent mishap, I am ready to retract; for I observe him to go into it with much artful preparation; a circumstance which by no means marks that genuine turn of mind, which is quick and sudden, and over head and ears, in an instant: He begins with explaining, — *in a comparison*, by — *by comparison*: where you just get the first glimpse, as it were, of an enascent equivocation; and his, *by comparison* is presently, afterwards, turned into, *as it were*, or *as if he had*; and then, *comparatively speaking*, brings up the rear, and closes the criticism three deep.

Abraham.

Abraham receiving Isaac safe from mount Moriah, in the manner related by Scripture, he thereby became a *Type*. An ancient Interpretation, as appears from the reading of the vulgar Latin---*Unde eum & IN PARABOLAM accepit*, for *in parabola*, as it ought to have been translated conformably to the Greek. However I desire it may be observed, in corroboration of my sense of the *Command*, that the resemblance to Christ's sacrifice in all the circumstances of the story was so strong that Interpreters could never overlook the resemblance, in their comments on the passage.

2. To the second part of the Objection, I answer thus: It is the office of History to assign the Causes of the facts related. In those facts therefore, which have several Causes, of which the principal cannot be conveniently told, the inferior come in properly to take its place. Thus, in the case before us; though it be made, I presume, very evident that the principal design of the Command was to reveal to Abraham, by *action* instead of *words*, the Redemption of mankind; yet as this was a favour of a very high nature, and conferred on Abraham at his earnest request, it was but fit he should approve himself worthy of it by some proportionable Trial; agreeably to what we find in Scripture to be God's way of dealing with his favoured Servants. On this account, therefore, God was pleased, by the very manner in which this Mystery was revealed, to tempt or try Abraham. Where the making the *favour* itself the *trial* of his deserving it, hath all that superior elegance and beauty which is to be conceived in the Dispensations of divine Wisdom only. Now, as the principal reason of the Command could not be conveniently told by the Historian, this inferior one of the *Trial*

is assigned with great truth and propriety—*And it came to pass after these things God did tempt Abraham, and said, Take now thy son, &c.* And it is to be observed, that the very manner of recording this reason shews it to be indeed what we suppose it; an inferior one. For it is not said that God gave this Command in order to try Abraham, which expresses a principal reason; but that, in giving the Command, God did try him, which at most only implies an inferior one. We have said, that a Trial, when approved, implied a following reward. Now as there may be more reasons than one for giving a *Command*, so there may be more rewards than one attendant on a *Trial*. Thus it was in the case before us. And it is remarkable that the sacred Historian has observed the same rule with regard to the reward of the Trial as to the reason of the Command. The principal and peculiar reward of Abraham's Trial here was the revelation of the mystery of Redemption: this the Historian could not mention, for the reasons given above: but besides this, God rewarded him with a repetition of all the former Promises. This the Historian could, and, in pursuance of the rules of History, does mention:—*By my self have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying, I will multiply thy seed as the stars of Heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed my voice^b.*

On the whole, This Objection to the interpretation, the only one I can think of, is so far from

^b Chap. xvii. ver. 16, & seq.

obscuring, and weakening, that it adds great light and strength unto it. For admitting the sense here proposed, to be indeed the true, we see the Story must of necessity have been told in the very manner we find it to be recorded^c.

Before

^c Dr. Stebbing goes on as usual — “ In short, Sir, I do not understand this Doctrine (with which your whole work much abounds) of revealing things clearly to Patriarchs, and Prophets, and Leaders, as a special favour to themselves; but to be kept as a secret from the rest of Mankind.” — It is but too plain *he does not understand it*: for which I can give no better reason than that it is the Scripture-doctrine and not the doctrine of Summs and Systems. “ I have been *used* (says he) to consider persons under this character, as appointed, not for themselves, but for others; and therefore to conclude that *WHATEVER* was clearly revealed to them, concerning God’s Dispensations, was so revealed in order to be communicated to others*.” This is the old sophism; “ That, because Persons act and are employed for others; therefore, they do nothing, and have nothing done for themselves.” When God said, *Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do?* was not this said to, and for himself?—But he has another to match it, “ That whatever was clearly revealed to the Prophets, was so revealed, in order to be communicated to others.” Here then, a little Scripture-doctrine will do him no harm. Did Moses communicate all he knew to the Jews, concerning the *Christian Dispensation*; which the Author of the epistle to the Hebrews tells us was clearly revealed to him in the mount?—*Priests* (says he) *that offer gifts according to the Law, who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the Tabernacle* †. Again, We find that Ezekiel, on his being called out, upon his mission, saw, (what the author of Ecclesiasticus calls) *the glorious vision*; and had (as appears from the allegory of the roll of a book) a full interpretation thereof. Yet notwithstanding all his illumination, he was directed by God to speak so obscurely to the People, that he found cause to complain, — *Oh Lord, they say of me! Doth he not speak parables* ‡? And now let him ask the Prophets in the same magisterial language he is accustomed to examine me, *Was there any good use you could make of your knowledge, that the People of God might*

* Confid. p. 155-6. † HEB. viii 4-5. ‡ Ezek. xx. 49.

Before I conclude this part of the Discourse, I shall but just take notice how strongly this interpretation

not have made of it as well as you? — But this very Dispensation is alluded to, and continued, under the kingdom of Christ. *And his Disciples asked him saying, What might this parable be?* And he said, *Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God: But to others, in parables; that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand* *. Again, St. John in his visions tells us, — *And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write. And I heard a voice from Heaven saying unto me, SEAL UP those things which the seven thunders uttered, and WRITE THEM NOT.* Rev. x. 4. And now, reader, I shall try his gratitude? — “If you can shew, (*says he*) that I am mistaken in this, pray do it, and “I shall be obliged to you †.” You see, I have taken him at his word. And it ’twas well I did; for it was no sooner out of his mouth, than, as if he had repented, not of his candour, but his confidence, he immediately cries, Hold — and tells me “I might have spared myself in asking another question, “*Why, if Revelations cannot be clearly recorded, are they recorded at all ‡?*” But, great *Defender of the Faith!* — of the ancient Jewish Church, I mean, I asked that question, because the answer to it shews how much you are mistaken; as the intelligent Reader, by this time, easily perceives. But why does he say I might have spared that question? — Because “if a Revelation is not clearly given, it cannot be clearly recorded §.” Did I say it could? Or will he say, that there are no reasons why a Revelation, that is clearly given, should be obscurely recorded? To what purpose then, was the observation made? Made? why to introduce another: for, with our equivocal Examiner, the corruption of argument is the generation of cavil. — “And yet (*says he*) as YOU INTIMATE, there may “be reasons why an OBSCURE REVELATION should be recorded, to wit, for the instruction of future ages, when the obscurity being cleared up by the event, it shall appear, that “it was foreseen and fore-ordained in the knowledge and appointment of God ||.” If thou wilt believe me, Reader, I never intimated any thing so absurd,

What I intimated was not concerning an *obscure Revelation*, but a *Revelation obscurely recorded*. These are very different

* Luke viii. 9-10,
p. 156.

† Confid. p. 156,
|| Ibid.

‡ Ibid.
things,

§ Confid. p. 156.

pretation of the Command concludes against the SOCINIANS, for the real *sacrifice* of CHRIST, and the proper *Redemption* of mankind. For if the Command was an information by *action* instead of *words*, the proof conveyed in it is decisive; there being here no room for their evasion of its being a *figurative expression*, since the *figurative action*, the original of such expression, denotes either a *real sacrifice*, or nothing at all.

II.

I come now to the other part of this Discourse, viz. to shew, that the interpretation here given intirely dissipates all those blustering objections which Infidelity hath raised up against the historic truth of the relation.

They say, "God could not give such a Command to Abraham, because it would throw him into inextricable doubts concerning the Author of

things, as appears from hence, that the latter may be a *clear Revelation*; the word being relative to him to whom the Revelation was made. But this is a peccadillo only. However, he approves the reason of *recording*; for that, thereby, "it shall appear, that IT was foreseen and foreordained by "God." IT, — What? The *obscure Revelation*, according to grammatical construction: but, in his English, I suppose, IT stands for the *fact revealed*. Well then; from the recording of an obscure revelation, he says it will appear, when the foretold fact happens, that it was foreseen and preordained by God. This too he tells the reader I *intimated*; but sure, the Reader can never think me so silly: For every fact, whether prefigured and foretold, or not prefigured and foretold, must needs have been foreseen and pre-ordained by God. Now, whether we are to ascribe this to exactness, or to inaccuracy, of expression, is hard to say. For I find him a great master in that species of composition which a celebrated French Writer, in his encomium on the *Revelations* calls, *en clarté noire*. However, think what we will of his head, his heart lies too open to be misjudged of.

it, as Whether it proceeded from a good or an evil Being. Or if not so, but that he might be satisfied it came from GOD, it would then mislead him in his notions of the divine Attributes, and of the fundamental principles of Morality. Because, though the revocation of the Command prevented the homicide, yet the species of the action commanded not being condemned when it was revoked, Abraham and his Family must needs have thought HUMAN SACRIFICES grateful to the Almighty: for a simple revoking was not condemning; but would be more naturally thought a peculiar indulgence for a ready obedience. Thus, the Pagan fable of Diana's substituting a Hind in the place of Iphigenia did not make Idolaters believe that she therefore abhorred *Human Sacrifices*, they having before been persuaded of the contrary, from the Command of that Idol to offer up the daughter of Agamemnon."—This is the substance, only set in a clearer light, of all their dull cloudy dissertations on the case of Abraham^d.

1. Let

^d This infidel objection, the Reader sees, consists of two parts: the one, that Abraham must needs doubt of the Author of the Command: the other, that he would be misled, by conceiving amiss of his Attributes, to believe *human sacrifices* were grateful to him. Dr. Stebbing, who will leave nothing *unanswered*, will needs answer this, [Confid. p. 158-60.] To the first part he replies, partly by the assistance I myself had given him, (where I took notice of what might be urged by Believers, as of *great weight and validity*) and partly from what he had picked up elsewhere. But here I shall avoid imitating his example, who in spite to the Author of arguments professedly brought in support of Religion, strives, with all his might, to shew their invalidity; an employment, one would think, little becoming a Christian Divine. If the common arguments against the objection, here urged by him with great pomp, have any weak parts, I shall leave them to Unbelievers to find out — I have the more reason likewise to trust them to their own *weight*, both because they are none of his, and because

I. Let us see then how this case stood: GOD had been pleased to reveal to him his eternal purpose

cause I have acknowledged their validity. For which acknowledgment, all I get is this — *Whether you had owned this or not* (says he) *I should have taken upon myself the proof.* Whereas, all that he has taken is the property of other Writers: made his own, indeed, by a weak and an imperfect representation. — But his answer to the second part of the infidel objection must not be passed over so slightly. “As to the latter part of the objection (says he) that from this command, Abraham and his family must needs have thought human sacrifices acceptable to God; the revoking the command at last, was a sufficient guard against any such construction. To this you make the Unbeliever answer; No; because the action having been commanded ought to have been condemned; and a simple revocation was no condemnation. But why was not the revocation of the Command, in this case, a condemnation of the action? If I should tempt you to go and kill your next neighbour, and afterwards come and desire you not to do it; would not this after-declaration, be as good an evidence of my dislike to the action, as the first was of my approbation of it? Yes, and a much better, as it may be presumed to have been the result of maturer deliberation. Now though deliberation, and after-thought are not incident to God; yet as God in this case condescended (as you say, and very truly) to act after the manner of men; the same construction should be put upon his actions, as are usually put upon the actions of men in like cases.” [Confid. p. 160-1.] Now, tho’, as was said above, I would pay all decent regard becoming a friend of Revelation, to the common arguments of others, in its defence, yet I must not betray my own. I confessed they had great weight and validity; yet, at the same time, I asserted, they were attended with insuperable difficulties. And while I so think, I must beg leave to enforce my reasons for this opinion. And, I hope without offence; as the arguments, I am now about to examine, are purely this Writer’s own. And the Reader, by this time, has seen too much of him to be apprehensive, that the lessening his Authority will be attended with any great disservice to Religion.

I had observed, that the reasonings of Unbelievers on this case, as it is commonly explained, were not devoid of all plausibility, when they proceeded thus,—“That as Abraham lived amongst Heathens, whose highest act of divine worship was

human

pose of making all mankind blessed thro' him; and likewise to confirm this promise, in a regular course

human sacrifice; if God had commanded that Act, and, on the point of performance, only remitted it as a favour, (and so it is represented;) without declaring the iniquity of the practice, when addressed to Idols; or his abhorrence of it, when directed to himself; the Family must have been misled in their ideas concerning the moral rectitude of that species of religious worship: Therefore, God, in these circumstances, had he commanded the action as a *trial only*, would have explicitly condemned that mode of worship, as immoral. But he is not represented as condemning, but as remitting it for a *favour*: Consequently, say the Unbelievers, God did not command the action at all." — To this our Examiner replies, — *But why? Was not the revocation of the command a condemnation of the action? If I should tempt you to go and kill your next neighbour, and afterwards come and DESIRE you not to do it, would not this after-declaration be as good an evidence of my dislike to the action, as the first was of my approbation of it?* To this I reply; That the cases are, by no means, parallel; either in themselves, or in their circumstances: Not, *in themselves*; the murder of our next neighbour was, amongst all the Gentiles of that time, esteemed a high immorality; while, on the contrary, human sacrifice was a very holy and acceptable part of divine Worship: Not in *their circumstances*: the desire to forbear the murder tempted to, is (in the case he puts) represented as *repentance*; whereas the stop put to the sacrifice of Isaac, (in the case Moses puts) is represented as *favour*.

But what follows, I could wish (for the honour of modern Theology) that the method I have observed, would permit me to pass over in silence. — *Now tho' deliberation and after-thought* (says he) *are not incident to God, yet, as God, in this case, condescended (as you say, and very truly) to act after the manner of men; the same construction should be put upon his actions, as is usually put upon the actions of men in like cases.* [Confid. p. 155-6.] That is, tho' *deliberation* and *after-thought* are not incident to God; yet you are to understand his actions, as if they were incident. A horrid interpretation! And yet his representation of the Command, and his decent illustration of it, by a *murderer in intention*, will not suffer us to understand it in any other manner: For God, as if in haste, and before due deliberation, is represented as commanding an immoral action; yet again, as it were by an *after-thought*, ordering it to be foreborn,

course of successive Revelations, each fuller and more explicit than the other. By this time we cannot

foreborn, by reason of its immorality. And in what is all this impious jargon founded? If you will believe him, in the principle I lay down, *That God condescends to act after the manner of men.* I have all along had occasion to complain of his misrepresenting my Principles: but then they were Principles he disliked: and this, the modern management of controversy has sanctified. But here, tho' the Principle be approved, yet he cannot for his life, forbear to misrepresent it: So bad a thing is an evil habit. Let me tell him then, that by the principle of *God's condescending to act after the manner of men,* is not meant, that he ever acts in compliance to those vices and superstitions, which arise from the depravity of human Will: but in conformity only to men's indifferent manners and customs; and to those Usages which result only from the finite imperfections of their nature. Thus tho', as in the case before us, God was pleased, in conformity to their mode of information, to use their custom of revoking a Command; yet he never condescended to imitate (as our Examiner supposes) the irresolution, the repentance, and horrors of conscience of a *murderer in intention.* Which (horrible to think!) is the parallel this orthodox Divine brings to illustrate the Command to Abraham. But he had read that God is sometimes said to *repent*; and he thought, I suppose, it answered to that repentance which the stings of conscience sometimes produce in bad men. Whereas it is said, in conformity to a good magistrate's or parent's correction of vice; first to threaten punishment; and then, on the offender's amendment, to remit it.

But he goes on without any signs of remorse. — “ *Not will the Pagan fable of Diana's substituting a Hind in the place of Iphigenia* at all help your Unbeliever. *This did not,* say they, OR YOU FOR THEM, *make idolaters believe that she therefore abhorred human sacrifices.* But do not they themselves, or have not you assigned a very proper and sufficient reason why it did not, viz. that they had been *before persuaded of the contrary?* Where human sacrifices make a part of the settled standing Religion; the refusal to accept a human sacrifice in one instance may, indeed, be rather looked upon as a particular indulgence, than as a declaration against the thing in gross. But where the thing was commanded but in one single instance, and the
“ command

cannot but suppose the *Father of the Faithful*, must, from the nature of the thing, be become very

“ command revoked in that very instance (which is our present case) such revocation, in all reasonable construction, is as
 “ effectual a condemnation of the thing, as if God had told
 “ Abraham, in so many words, that he delighted not in human sacrifices.” [Confid. p. 161.] To come to our Examiner’s half-buried sense, we are often obliged to remove, or what is still a more disagreeable labour, to sift well, the rubbish of his words. He says, the *revocation* was an *effectual condemnation*. This may either signify, That men, now free from the prejudices of Pagan superstition may see that human sacrifices were condemned by the revocation of the Command: or, That Abraham’s family could see this. In the first sense, I have nothing to do with his proposition; and in the second, I shall take the liberty to say it is not true. I deny that the *revocation* was an *effectual condemnation*. With how good reason let the Reader now judge.

Abraham, for the great ends of God’s Providence, was called out of an idolatrous city, infected, as all such cities then were, with this horrid superstition. He was himself an Idolater, as appears from the words of Joshua. — *Your Fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor: and THEY served other Gods. And I took your father Abraham*, &c.* God, in the act of calling him, instructed him in the Unity of his Nature, and the error of Polytheism; as the great principle, for the sake of which (and to preserve it in one Family amidst an universal overflow of idolatry) he was called out. — That he must be prejudiced in favour of his Country superstitions, is not to be doubted; because it is of human nature to be so: and yet we find no particular instruction given him, concerning the superstition in question. The noble Author of the *Characteristics* observes, that “ it appears that he was under
 “ no extreme surprize on this trying Revelation; nor did he
 “ think of expostulating in the least on this occasion; when
 “ at another time he could be so importunate for the pardon of
 “ an inhospitable, murderous, impious, and incestuous city:” Insinuating, that this kind of sacrifice was a thing he had been accustomed to. Now the noble Author observes this, upon the Examiner’s, that is, the common, interpretation.

* JOSH. xxiv. 2, 3.

very desirous of knowing the manner how this Blessing was to be brought about: A Mystery, if we will believe the Author of our Faith, that engaged the attention of other holy men, less immediately concerned than Abraham, and consequently, less stimulated and excited by their curiosity:—
And JESUS turned to his Disciples, and said privately, Blessed are the eyes which see the things which ye see. For I tell you that many Prophets and Kings have DESIRED to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them, and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them^c. But we are

And I believe, on that footing, he, or a better writer, would find it difficult to take out the malicious sting of the observation. But I have shewn that it falls together with the common Interpretation.

Well; Abraham is now in the land of Canaan; and again surrounded with the same idolatrous and inhuman Sacrificers. Here he receives the *Command*: And, on the point of execution, has the performance remitted to him as a FAVOUR. A circumstance, in the revocation of the *Command*, which I must beg the Examiner's leave to remind him of; especially when I see him, at every turn, much disposed to forget it; that is, to pass it over in silence, without either owning or denying. And indeed, the little support his reasoning has on any occasion, is only by keeping Truth out of sight. But further, the *favour* was unaccompanied with any instruction concerning the moral nature of this kind of Sacrifice; a practice never positively forbidden but by the Law of Moses. Now, in this case, I would ask any candid Reader, the least acquainted with human nature, whether Abraham and his Family, prejudiced as they were in favour of Human Sacrifices, (the one, by his education in his country-Religion; the other, by their communication with their Pagan-neighbours, and, as appears by Scripture, but too apt of themselves, to fall into idolatry) would not be easily tempted to think as favourably of Human Sacrifices as those Pagans were, who understood that Diana required Iphigenia, tho' she accepted a Hind in her stead. And with such Readers, I finally leave it.

^c LUKE x. 23, 24.

assured, by the same authority, that Abraham had, in fact, this very *desire* highly raised in him: *Abraham rejoiced to see my day* (says JESUS) *and he saw it, and was glad*; or rather, He rejoiced THAT HE MIGHT SEE, INA ΙΔΗ; which implies, that the period of his joy was in the space between the promise made, and the actual performance of it by the delivery of the Command; consequently, that it was granted at his earnest request^f. In the second place, we shall shew from the same words, that Abraham, at the time when the Command was given, KNEW it be that Revelation he had so earnestly requested. This is of the highest importance for the understanding the true nature of the Command.—*Your Father Abraham rejoiced to see my Day, and he saw it, and was glad.* Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἠγαλλιάσατο INA ΙΔΗ; τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ εἶδε, καὶ ἐχάρη. We have observed that ἴνα ἴδῃ, in strict propriety, signifies *that he might see*. The English phrase, *—to see*, is equivocal and ambiguous, and means either the present time, *that he then did see*; or the future, *that he was promised he should see*: but the original ἴνα ἴδῃ has only the latter sense. So that the text plainly distinguishes two different periods of Joy; the first, when *it was promised he should see*; the second, when *he actually saw*: And it is to be observed^g that, according

^f Thus all the *Eastern Versions* understand it: *Syr.* Cupidus fuit videndi. — *Perf.* Cupidus erat ut videret, — *Arab.* Exoptavit videre. — *Æthiop.* Desideravit, gavisus est ut videret.

^g “Where are your Authorities for all this? (says Dr. Stebbing) you produce none. Wherever you had your Greek, I am very sure you had it not from the *New Testament*, where these words are used indiscriminately.” [Confid. p. 142-3.] *Where are your Authorities? you produce none.* This is to insinuate, I had none to produce. He dares not, indeed,

ing to the exact use of the word, in ἀγαλλιάομαι is implied the tumultuous pleasure which the certain

indeed, say so; and in this I commend his prudence. However, thus far he is positive, that *wherever I had my Greek, I had it not from the New Testament.* The Gentleman is hard to please: Here he is offended that I *had it not*; and, before, that I *had it* from the New Testament. Here I impose upon him; there I trifled with him. But, in all this diversity of acceptance, 'tis still the same spirit: The spirit of *Answering*.

I had said, the two Greek words, in *their exact use*, signify so and so. Which surely implied an acknowledgment, that this exactness was not always observed; especially by the Writers of the New Testament; who, whatever some may have dream'd, did not pique themselves upon what we call, classical elegance. Now, this implication, our Examiner fairly confirms, tho' by way of confutation. *In the New Testament (says he) these words are used indiscriminately.* I had plainly insinuated as much; and he had better have let it rest on my acknowledgment; for the instances he brings, to prove the words used indiscriminately in the New Testament, are full enough to persuade the Reader that they are not so used. His first instance is, 1 Pet. iv. 13. "*Rejoice [χαίετε] inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that when his glory shall be revealed [χαρηῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι] ye may be glad with exceeding joy.* See you not here (says he) the direct reverse of what you say; that χαίρω signifies the joy which arises upon prospect, and ἀγαλλιάομαι that which arises from possession." [Confid. p. 143.] No indeed; I see nothing like it. The followers of Christ are bid to rejoice, χαίετε. For what? *For being partakers of Christ's sufferings.* And was not this a blessing in possession? But it seems our Doctor has but small conception how suffering for a good conscience can be a blessing. Yet at other times he must have thought highly of it, when, in excess of charity, he bespoke the Magistrate's application of it on his Neighbours, under the name of WHOLESOM SEVERITIES. He is just as wide of truth when he tells us, that ἀγαλλιάομαι signifies the joy which arises on possession. They are bid to rejoice now in sufferings, that they might be glad with exceeding joy at Christ's second coming. And is this the being glad for a good in possession? Is it not for a good in prospect? The reward they were then going to receive. For I suppose the appearance of *Christ's glory* will precede the reward of his followers. So that the Reader now sees, he has himself fairly proved

tain expectation of an approaching blessing, understood only in the gross, occasions; and, in
 χαίρω

proved for me, the truth of my observation, *That in the exact use of the words, ἀγαλλιάομαι signifies that tumultuous pleasure which the certain expectation of an approaching blessing occasions; and χαίρω that calm and settled Joy that arises from our knowledge, in the possession of it.*

He goes on. "Rev. xix. 7. *Let us be glad and rejoice* [*χαίρωμεν κ' ἀγαλλιώμεθα*] — *for the marriage of the Lamb is come.* Where both words (says he) refer to blessings in possession. Again, Matt. v. 12. *Rejoice and be exceeding glad* [*χαίρετε κ' ἀγαλλιᾶσθε*] *for great is your reward in Heaven;* where both refer to blessings in prospect." [Confid. p. 143-4.] His old fortune still pursues him. The first text from the Rev. *Be glad and rejoice FOR the marriage of the Lamb is come;* bids the followers of Christ now do that, which they were bid to prepare for, in the words of St. Peter, *that, when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad with exceeding joy.* If, therefore, where they are bid to prepare for their rejoicing, the joy is for a good in prospect (as we have shewn it was) then, certainly, where they are told that this time of rejoicing is come, the joy must still be for a good in prospect. And yet he says, *the words refer to blessings in possession.* Again, the text from St. Matt. — *Rejoice and be exceeding glad, FOR great is your reward in heaven,* has the same relation to the former part of St. Peter's words, [*Rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings*] as the text in the Revel. has to the latter. *Blessed are ye* (says Jesus in this gospel) *when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, FOR great is your reward in heaven.* Rejoice! for what? Is it not for the persecutions they suffer for his sake? A present blessing sure; tho' not perhaps to our Author's taste. The reason why they should rejoice, follows, *for great is your reward in heaven.* And yet here, he says, the words refer to blessings in prospect. In truth, what led him into all this inverted reasoning, was a pleasant mistake. The one text says — *Be glad and rejoice, FOR ὅτι* — The other, *Rejoice and be exceeding glad, FOR ὅτι* — Now he took the particle, in both places, to signify *propter, for the sake of*; whereas it signifies *quoniam, quia, and is, in proof of something going before.* So that he read the text — *Rejoice, for the marriage of the Lamb is come;* — As if it had been — "Rejoice for the marriage of the Lamb, WHICH is come:"

χαίρω that calm and settled joy which arises from our knowledge, in the possession of it. But the
 Translators,

And — rejoice, for great is your reward in heaven; as if it had been, — “ Rejoice for your great reward in heaven.”

But now let us consider these texts in another view, in order to do justice to his delicacy of Judgment. I had said that, in the *exact use* of the two Greek words, they signify so and so; and applied that observation to a FACT; where a person was said to have rejoiced, &c. In order to disprove this criticism, he brings three passages, in which those Greek words are used, where NO FACT is related; but where men are, in a rhetorical manner, called upon, and bid to rejoice, &c. In which latter case, the use of one word for another, is an elegant conversion. Those, in possession of a blessing, are bid to rejoice with that exceeding joy, which men generally have in the certain expectation of one approaching; and those in expectation, with that calm and settled joy, which attends full possession. And who but our Examiner could not see, that the use of words is one thing, in an historical assertion; and quite another, in a rhetorical invocation?

Having thus ably acquitted himself in one criticism he falls upon another. “ What shall we do with ἵνα ?” — What indeed! But no sooner said than done. “ ἵνα (*says he*) is often put for ἔτι or ὅτι, positive as you are, that it always refers to “ a future time.” [Confid. p. 144.] Now, so far from being *positive* of this, I am positive of the contrary, that there is not one word of truth in all he says. I observed indeed, that ἵνα ἰδῆς, in the text, *refers only to a future time*. And this I say still, tho’ our Translators have rendered it, equivocally, *to see*. Yet he affirms, that I say, “ ἵνα [standing alone] always refers to a future “ time.” That I am positive of it, nay very positive, “ positive as you are,” says he. And to shame me of this evil habit, he proceeds to shew, from several texts, that ἵνα is often put for ἔτι or ὅτι. “ Thus John xvi. 2. *The time cometh THAT [ἵνα] whosoever killeth you will think he doth God service.* “ Again: 1 Cor. iv. 3. *With me it is a small thing THAT [ἵνα] I should be judged of you.* And nearer to the point yet “ 3 John 4. *I have no greater joy [ἵνα ἀκούω] than THAT I hear, “ or, than to hear that my children walk in the truth. And “ why not here, Sir; Abraham rejoiced [ἵνα ἰδῆ] WHEN he “ saw, or THAT he saw, or (which is equivalent) TO SEE my “ Day.” [Confid. p. 144.] For all this kindness, the best*

Translators, perhaps, not apprehending that there was any time between the *Grant to see*, and the ac-

acknowledgment I can make, is to return him back his own criticism; only the *Greek* words put into *Latin*. The *Vulgate* has rendered *ὡς ἰδὼν* by *ut videret*, which words I will suppose the Translator to say (as without doubt, he would) *refer only to a future time*. On which, I will be very learned and critical:—"Positive as you are, Sir, that *ut* always refers to a *future time*, I will shew you that it is sometimes put for *postquam* the *past*,

" *Ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit Error!*

" and sometimes (which is yet nearer to the point) for *quanto*,
 " — *Ut quisque optimè Græcè sciret, ita esse nequissimum.*
 " And why not here, Sir, *Abraham* rejoiced [*ut videret*] WHEN
 " HE SAW, OR THAT he saw, or which is equivalent, TO SEE MY
 " day?"—And now he says, *there is but one difficulty that stands*
in his way. And what is this, I pray you? Why, that according
 to his (Dr. Stebbing's) interpretation, "the latter part of the
 " sentence is a repetition of the former. *Abraham* rejoiced to
 " see my day, and he saw it and was glad. i. e. *Abraham* re-
 " joiced to see, and then saw and rejoiced. But such kind of repeti-
 " tions are frequent in the sacred Dialect; and, in my humble
 " opinion, it has an elegance here. *Abraham* rejoiced to see, καὶ
 " ἶδεν, καὶ ἠχάθη. HE BOTH SAW AND WAS GLAD." [*Consid.* p.
 144-5.] Before he talked of repetitions in the sacred Dialect, and
 pronounced upon their qualities, he should have known how to
 distinguish between a *pleonasm* and a *tautology*; the first of which,
 indeed, is often an *elegance*; the latter, always a blemish in expres-
 sion: and, in the number of the latter, is this *elegant repetition*
 of the Doctor's own making. Where a repetition of the same
 thing is given in different words it is called a *pleonasm*; when
 in the same words, (as in the Doctor's translation of the text in
 question) it is a *tautology*, which, being without reason, has nei-
 ther grace nor *elegance*. Nay the very pretence it has to common
 sense arises from our being able to understand the equivocal
 phrase, *to see*, in my meaning, of, *that he might see*. Confine
 it to the Doctor's, of, — *Abraham* rejoiced when he had seen my
 day, and he saw it and was glad, and the absurdity becomes ap-
 parent. For the latter part of the sentence beginning with the
 conjunction completive καὶ, it implies a further predication.
 Yet in his translation there is none; tho' he makes an effort to-
 wards it, in dropping the sense of καὶ in the sound of BOTH.

tual seeing, turned it, he rejoiced to see; as if it had been the Paraphrase of the Poet Nonnus,

ἰδεῖν ἠγάλλετο θυμῶ·

whereas this History of Abraham hath plainly three distinct periods. The first contains God's promise to grant Abraham's request, when he rejoiced that he should see; this, for reasons given above, was wisely omitted by the Historian: Within the second period was the delivery of the *Command*, with which Moses's account begins: And Abraham's Obedience, thro' which he saw CHRIST's day and was glad, includes the third^b. Thus the Pa-

^b Dr. Stebbing tells me, "there is not one word, in the history of the Old Testament to justify this threefold distinction:" and that I myself CONFESS as much. It is true, I confess that what is not in the Old Testament is not to be found there. And had he been as modest, he would have been content to find a *future state* in the New Testament only. — But where is it, I would ask, that "I confess there is not one word, in the history of the Old Testament, to justify this three-fold distinction?" I was so far from any such thought, that I gave a large epitome * of Abraham's whole history, to shew that it justified this *three-fold distinction*, in every part of it. His manner of proving my confession, will clearly detect the fraud and falshood of his charge. For, instead of doing it from my own words, he would argue me into it, from his own inferences. "You confess it" (says he) FOR you say, that Moses's history begins with the second period, and that the first was wisely omitted by the historian." Let us apply this reasoning to a parallel case. I will suppose him to tell me, (for, after this, he may tell me any thing) "that I myself confess there is not one word in the Iliad of Homer, to justify me in saying that there were three periods in the destruction of Troy; the first, the robbery of Helen; the second, the combats before the Walls; and the third, the storming of the Town by the Greeks; FOR that I say, that Homer's poem begins at the second period; wisely omitting the first and the last." Now will any one conclude, from this reasoning, that I had made any such confession?

* From p. 209 to 215, of this volume.

triarch, we find, had a promise that his request should be granted; and, in regard to that promise, an *action* is commanded, which, at that time, was a common mode of information; Abraham therefore must needs know it was the very information so much requested, so graciously promised, and so impatiently expected. We conclude then, on the whole, that this *Command* being only the Grant of an earnest request, and known by Abraham, at the time of imposing, to be such Grant, he could not possibly have any doubt concerning the Author of it. He was soliciting the God of Heaven to reveal to him the Mystery of Man's Redemption, and he received the information, in a *Command* to offer Isaac; a Revelation, that had the closest connection with, and was the fullest completion of, the whole series of the preceding Revelations.

2. For, (as we shall now shew, in answer to the second part of the objection) the *Command* could occasion no mistakes concerning the divine Attributes; it being, as was said, only the conveyance of an information by *action* instead of *words*, in conformity to the common mode of converse in the more early times. This *action* therefore being mere scenery, had NO MORAL IMPORT; that is, it conveyed or implied none of those *intentions* in him who commanded it, and in him who obeyed the *Command*, which go along with actions that have a *moral import*¹. Consequently the *injunction* and *obedience*,

¹ This shews why God might say to *Hosea*, *Go take unto thee a wife of whoredoms*, &c. chap. i. ver. 2.—Tho' all actions which have no *moral import* are indifferent; yet some of this kind (which would even be indifferent, had they a *moral import*) may, on the very account of their having no *moral import*, be the object of pleasure or displeasure. Thus, in the adventure

dience, in an action which hath no such import, can no way affect the moral character of the persons concerned: and consequently, this Command could occasion no mistakes concerning the divine Attributes, with regard to God's delighting in human sacrifices. On the contrary, the very information conveyed by it, was the highest assurance to the person informed, of God's good-will towards man. Hence we see there was not the least occasion, when God *remitted* the offering of Isaac, that he should *formally condemn human Sacrifices*, to prevent Abraham or his family's falling into an opinion, that such Sacrifices were not displeasing to him^k, any more than for the

adventure between Elisha and Joash, we are told, that the Prophet said unto the King, "Take bow and arrows; and he took unto him bow and arrows. And he said to the king of Israel, Put thine hand upon the bow; and he put his hand upon it; and Elisha put his hands upon the king's hands. And he said, Open the window eastward; and he opened it. Then Elisha said, Shoot; and he shot. And he said, The arrow of the Lord's deliverance from Syria: for thou shalt smite the Syrians in Aphek, till thou have consumed them. And he said, Take the arrows; and he took them. And he said unto the king of Israel, Smite upon the ground; and he smote thrice and stayed. And the man of God *was wrath with him*, and said, Thou shouldst have smitten five or six times, then hadst thou smitten Syria, till thou hadst consumed them, whereas now thou shalt smite Syria but thrice." 2 KINGS xiii. 15—18. Here it is not difficult to apprehend, that the Prophet, by God's command, directed the King to perform a significative action, whose meaning God had beforehand explained to his Messenger: and, amongst the particulars of it, had told him this, that the Syrians should be smitten as often as the King smote upon the ground, when the Prophet should order him (only in general words) *to smite* it. Hence the Prophet's anger, occasioned by his love to his country, on the King's stopping when he had *smote thrice*.

^k To this Dr. Stebbing answers, "I can easily understand, Sir, how the matter stood with Abraham; and that he

“ was in no danger of being misled, as to the nature of human Sacrifices; who knew the secret of the whole affair; and that it was nothing else but Scenery. But how this answer will serve for *his Family*; who are to be presumed to have known nothing of this scenical representation, is utterly past my comprehension; — because you have told us from the very first, that the information to be conveyed by it, was intended for Abraham’s *SOLE USE*; and I do not see how Abraham could open to his family the scenery of the transaction, without explaining the *mystery*. — But is not your putting the *Family* of Abraham, in possession of this consequence; a very plain declaration, that they knew the mystery of Christ’s sacrifice! Now therefore, Sir, take your choice, and give up one part of your hypothesis, or the other, as best pleases you; for to hold both is impossible. If you say that the family of Abraham were acquainted with the mystery of Christ’s sacrifice; it will overturn all you have said concerning their ignorance of a future state: It likewise overturns the single reason you have given why the explanation (usual in all such cases) to shew the import of the transaction was not added, *viz.* that it was a point *not fit for common knowledge*. But if you shall chuse to say, that the revelation of this mystery, was for the *SOLE* information of Abraham, and that his family knew nothing of it, the objection will lie full against you, unanswered.”
 [Confid. p. 166.]

I had said, that the command was for *Abraham’s sole use*; and therefore (says the Doctor) the Family of Abraham must be presumed to know nothing of this scenical representation: Notwithstanding this, *I presume*, (he says) *that they did know it*. Here he takes me in a flagrant contradiction. But did he indeed not apprehend that where I spoke of its being given for *Abraham’s sole use*, I was opposing it, (as the course of my argument required) not to the single Family which *THEN* lived under his tents, but to the Jewish People, *WHEN* the history of the transaction was recorded? — And now having shewn his wrong conclusion from *MY* words, let us consider next the wrong conclusion he draws from *HIS OWN*. — *I do not see* (says he) *how Abraham could open to his family the scenery of the transaction without explaining the mystery?* What does he mean by, *opening the scenery of the transaction?* There are two senses of this ambiguous expression; it may signify, either, *explaining the moral of the scenery*; or simply, *telling his family that the transaction was a scenical representation*. He could not use the phrase in the first sense, because he makes *explaining the mystery* a thing different from *opening the scenery*. He must mean it
 then

then in the latter. But could not Abraham tell his Family, that this was a *scenical representation* without *explaining the mystery*? I do not know what should hinder him, unless it was the sudden loss of speech. If he had the free use of his tongue, I think, he might, in the transports of his joy, on his return home, tell his Wife, "That God had order'd him to sacrifice his Son, and that he had carried this Son to mount Moriah, in obedience to the divine Command, where a ram was accepted in his stead; but that the whole was a mere *scenical representation*, to figure out a mysterious transaction which God had ordained to come to pass in the latter ages of the world." And I suppose when he had once told his wife, the Family would soon hear of it. Now could they not understand, what was meant by a *scenical representation*, as well when he told them it was to prefigure a mystery, as if he had told them it was to prefigure the *crucifixion of Jesus*? Had I no other way of avoiding his dilemma (for if I escape his *Contradiction*, he has set his *Dilemma-trap*, which, he says, it is impossible I should escape) had I nothing else, I say, 'tis very likely I should have insisted upon this explanation: But there are more safe ways than one of taking him by his Horns. "Now therefore (says he) take your choice, and give up one part of your hypothesis or the other, as best pleases you; FOR TO HOLD BOTH IS IMPOSSIBLE. If you say that the family of Abraham were acquainted with the Mystery, it will overturn all you said concerning their ignorance of a Future state — but if you shall chuse to say that the revelation of the Mystery was for the sole information of Abraham, and that his Family knew nothing of it, then—the construction in favour of human Sacrifices must have been the very same as if no such representation, as you speak of, had been intended." I desire to know where it is that I have spoken ANY THING of the ignorance of Abraham's Family, concerning a Future state. But I am afraid, something is wrong here again: and that, by Abraham's Family, he means the *Israelites under Moses's policy*: for, with regard to them, I did indeed say that the gross body of the People were ignorant of a Future state. But then I supposed them equally ignorant of the true import of the Command to Abraham. But, if, by Abraham's Family, he means, as every man does, who means honestly, those few of his household, I suppose them indeed acquainted with the true import of the Command; but then, at the same time, not ignorant of a Future state. Thus it appears that what our Examiner had pronounced IMPOSSIBLE, was all the while very possible. And in spite of this terrible Dilemma, both parts of the hypothesis are at peace. I can hardly think him so immoral as to have put a designed trick upon his Reader: I rather suppose it to be some

the Prophet Ahijah¹, when he had rent Jeroboam's garment into twelve pieces to denote the ensuing division in the tribes of Israel, to deliver a moral precept against the sin of despoiling, and insulting our neighbour: For the command having *no moral import*, as being only an information by action, where one thing stood for the representative of another, all the consequence that could be deduced from it was only this, that the Son of God should be offered up for the sins of mankind: therefore the conceptions they had of HUMAN SACRIFICES, *after the command*, must needs be just the same with those they had *before*; and therefore, instruction, concerning the execrable nature of this Rite, was not only needless, but altogether beside the question.

But this assertion that A SCENICAL REPRESENTATION HAS NO MORAL IMPORT, having been mis-

confused notion concerning the Popish virtue of TRADITION, (that trusty Guardian of Truth) which led him into all this absurdity; and made him conclude, that what Abraham's household once knew, the Posterity of Abraham could never forget. Tho' the WRITTEN WORD tells us, that when Moses was sent to redeem this Posterity from bondage, they remembered so little of God's Revelations to their Fore-fathers, that they knew nothing even of his NATURE, and therefore did, as men commonly do in the like case, enquire after his NAME.

¹ " And it came to pass at that time, when Jeroboam went out to Jerusalem, that the Prophet Ahijah the Shilonite found him in the way; and he had clad himself with a new garment, and they two were alone in the field. And Ahijah caught the new garment that was on him, and rent it in twelve pieces, and he said to Jeroboam, Take thee ten pieces, for thus saith the Lord the God of Israel, Behold I will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to thee." 1 KINGS xi. 29. The circumstance of the *new garment* was not insignificant: It was to denote the power of the kingdom at that time in its full strength and lustre,

understood

understood by many, and misrepresented by more, (tho' nothing, as I then thought, could be clearer to men-versed in moral matters) I shall beg leave to explain myself.—He who affirms that a *scenical representation has no moral import*, cannot possibly be understood to mean (if interpreted on the ordinary rules of Logic and Common sense) any thing else than that the representation or the feigned action has none of that *specific morality* which is in the real action. He can never be supposed to mean that such a representation could never even by accident, give birth to a moral entity, of a different species; tho' it kept within, much less if it transgressed the bounds, of its scenical nature. Give me leave to explain this by an instance or two. The Tragic scene we will suppose to exhibit a Pagan story, in which a lewd Sacrifice to Venus is represented. Now I say this scenical representation has *no moral import*. But do I mean by this, that there was no immorality of any kind in the scene? Far from it. I only mean that that *specific immorality* was absent, which would have existed there, had the action been real and not feigned; I mean *idolatry*. Again, another set of Tragedians represent the Conspiracy against Julius Cæsar in the Senate-house. This, I say, has *no moral import*: for neither could the followers of Cæsar's Cause call these fictitious Conspirators, enemies to their Country; nor could the warmest lovers of liberty call them Patriots. But if in this representation, the Actors, instead of exhibiting an imaginary assassination, should commit a real one, on the body of the personated Cæsar, Who ever supposed that such a dramatic representation continued still to have *no moral import*? The men who committed the action dropt their personated, and assumed their real character, being instigated by interest, malice, or revenge; and only

only waited a fit opportunity to perpetrate their designs under the cover of a drama. Here indeed, the parallel ceases. The feigned Conspirators transgressed the bounds of a representation: while the real death of Isaac must be supposed to make part of the scenical representation, in the Command to Abraham. But it should have been considered, and was not, that I employed the principle of a *feigned representation's having no moral import*, to free the Command from the infidel objection that it was *an enjoined sacrifice*; not from the objection of its being *an enjoined death, simply*: For a *human Sacrifice commanded* was supposed to discredit Revelation, as giving too much countenance and encouragement to that horrid superstition; whereas, with regard to a *simple death commanded*, to justify this, I was ready to confide in the common argument of Divines, taken from God's sovereign right over his creatures: Whose power could instantaneously repair the loss, or whose goodness would abundantly reward the act of obedience. Yet the fair and candid Dr. Rutherford represents my position of *a scenical representation's having no moral import*, to be the same with saying, that *tho' an action be ever so vile in itself, yet, if it be done to represent somewhat else, it loses its nature and becomes an indifferent one.* — Had I the presumption to believe, that any thing I could say, would better his heart or mend his head, I should recommend what hath been here said to his serious consideration.

3. And now we see the weakness of the third and last part of the Objection, which supposes this Command capable of affording a temptation to transgress the fundamental principles of the Law of Nature: one of which obliges us to cherish and protect

protect our Offspring; and another, not to injure our Neighbour. For as, by the *Command*, Abraham understood the nature of man's Redemption; so, by the nature of that Redemption, he must know how the scenical representation was to end. Isaac, he saw, was made the person or representative of *Christ dying for us*: The Son of God, he knew, could not possibly lie under the *dominion of the grave*. Hence he must needs conclude one of these two things, either that God would stop his hand when he came to give the sacrificing stroke: or that, if the Revelation of this mystery was to be represented throughout in action, that then his Son, sacrificed under the person of CHRIST, was, under the same person, soon to be restored to life: *accounting* (as he well might) *that God was able to raise him up even from the dead*, as the Author of the epistle to the Hebrews^m, who seems to have been full of the idea here explained, assures us he did believe.

Now where was the temptation to violate any Principle of Morality in all this? The Law of Nature commands us to cherish and protect our offspring: Was that transgressed in giving a stroke whose hurt was presently to be repaired? Surely no more than if the stroke had been in vision. The Law of Nature forbids all injury to our Fellow-creature: And was he injured, who, by being thus highly honoured, in becoming the representative of the Son of God, was to share with his Father Abraham in the rewards of his obedience? But though, as we see, Abraham could have no struggles with himself, from any doubts that he might violate Morality in paying obedience to the Command; yet did the merit of that obedience,

^m Chap. xi. ver. 19.

where the natural feelings were so alarmed, deserve all the encomiums bestowed upon it in Holy Writ. For, in expressing his extreme readiness to obey, he declared a full confidence in the promises of GOD.

From hence we may deduce these two corollaries.

I. That the noble Author of *the Characteristics* hath shewn as much ignorance as malevolence, when he supposed that Abraham's shewing no extreme surprise on this trying Revelation was from the favourable notion he had of Human Sacrifices, so common amongst the inhabitants of the Palestine and other neighbouring Nationsⁿ. For we see the reason, why

ⁿ "To me (says the noble writer) it plainly appears, that in the early times of all Religions, when nations were yet barbarous and savage, there was ever an aptness or tendency towards the dark part of Superstition, which amongst many other horrors produced that of human Sacrifice. Something of this nature might possibly be deduced even from Holy Writ."—To this a note refers in the following words —
GEN. xxii. 1. and JUDG. xi. 30. *These places relating to Abraham and Jephthah are cited only with respect to the notion which these primitive warriors may be said to have entertained concerning this horrid enormity, so common amongst the inhabitants of the Palestine and other neighbouring nations. It appears that even the elder of these Hebrew princes was under no extreme surprise on this trying revelation. Nor did he think of expostulating, in the least, on this occasion; when at another time he could be so importunate for the pardon of an inhospitable, murderous, impious, and incestuous city; GEN. xviii. 23, &c. Charact. vol. iii. p. 124.*

Dr. Stebbing will needs try his strength with the noble Author of the *Characteristics*. For, whether I quote for approbation or condemnation, it is all one; this active Watchman of the Church militant will let nothing escape him, that he finds in my service; nor leave any thing unpurified that has once passed through my hands. To this passage of the noble Lord he replies, "The
" cafes

why Abraham, instead of being under any *extreme surprise*, was (as JESUS assures us) under an *extreme joy*, was because he understood the *Command* to be a communication of that *Mystery* in which, he had so earnestly requested to participate; and, consequently, that Isaac must needs, at length, come safe and unhurt from that scenical representation, in which he bore the principal part.

2.—That Sir John Marsham's suspicion of Abraham's being struck by a superstitious imagination^o is

“cases widely differ. God did not open *precisely* what he intended to do with these wicked cities; only said, Judgment was passed. But what has this to do with Isaac, who did not stand as a sinner before God; but as a Sacrifice, acknowledging God's sovereign dominion. For Abraham to intercede here would have inferred a reluctance to do homage, which would have destroyed the perfection of his resignation.” [Hist. of Abr. p. 41—42.] So, Isaac's innocence and his *not standing a sinner before God* when he was doomed to death, makes him a less proper object of Abraham's intercession and compassion, than a devoted City, *inhospitable, murderous, impious, and incestuous*. This is our Doctor's HUMANITY: And a modest petition of the Father of the faithful, like that of the Saviour of the world, *If it be possible, let this cup pass from me, nevertheless not as I will but as thou wilt*, would have destroyed all the perfection of his resignation. And this is our Doctor's DIVINITY! Strange! that this Father of Orthodoxy could not see, that what might be done by the divine *Antitype* himself, without *destroying his perfection of resignation*, might likewise be done, without that loss, in behalf of the *Type*. After so fine a specimen of what great things he is able to do against this formidable Enemy of Revelation; what pity is it, he was never set on work by his Superiors, *in a more avowed and open manner?*

o — *Ex istis satius est colligere hanc Abrahami tentationem non fuisse κειρανοσημερνν ἀποδείξιν, actionem innovatam; non recens excogitatam, sed ad pristinos Cananceorum mores designatam. Horrendi sacrificii usum apud Phœnices frequenter indicat Porphyrius: “Phœnices, inquit, in magnis periculis ex bello, fame, pestilentia,*
“clarif-

is as groundless, as it is injurious to the holy Patriarch. Nay, the very examples he gives might have shewn him the folly of such insinuations: For, according to his inferences, Human Sacrifices were never offered but in cases of great distress: Now Abraham was at this time in a full state of peace, security, and affluence.

Thus, we presume, it appears that this *Command* was a mere *information by action*: and that, when regarded in this view, all the objections against God's giving it to Abraham are absolutely enervated and overthrown.

For thus stands the case. If the trial of Abraham's faith and obedience were the commanding a real sacrifice, then was Abraham an *Agent*, and not a bare *Instrument*; and then it might be pretended that God commanded an human *agent* to act against humanity. And, his right over his Creatures cannot solve the difficulty, as it may when he employs a mere instrument to perform his Will upon them. But if the trial were only the commanding a scenical representation, the command had *no moral import*; and consequently, Abraham was not put upon any thing morally wrong; as is the offering up a human sacrifice.

I have transcribed into the notes as I have gone along, some of the most considerable Objections my Adversaries have been able to oppose to this interpretation of the COMMAND TO ABRAHAM: which, I presume, when fairly considered, will be

“ clarissimorum aliquem ad id suffragiis publicis delectum, sacrificabant Saturno. Et victimarum talium plena est Sanchoniathonis historia Phœnicice scripta, quam Philo Biblius Græce interpretatus est libris octo.” *Canon. Chron.* p. 79.

no light confirmation of it. But, as I have no notions to advance, not founded in a sincere desire to find out, and do honour to, Truth, I would by no means take advantage of an Adversary's weakness to recommend them to the public favour. I hold it not honest, therefore, to conceal the force of an Objection which I myself have to offer, by far more plausible than any that these learned Divines have urged against it. The objection is this, "That it is difficult to conceive why a CIRCUMSTANCE of such importance to Revelation, which removes one of the strongest arguments against its truth, and at the same time, manifests a REAL CONNEXION between the two Dispensations of it, should never be directly and minutely explained and insisted on, by the Writers of the New Testament, tho' Abraham's Historian might have had his reasons for concealing it." Now, to my own Objection, I suppose, I may have leave to reply, That many truths of great importance, for the support of Religion against Infidelity, were taught by Jesus to his Disciples (amongst which, I reckon *this Interpretation* to be one) which never came down, by their conveyance, to the Church. But being, by the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, discoverable by those who devote themselves to the study of the Scriptures with a pure mind, have, for the wise ends of Providence (many of which are inscrutable to us) been left for the industry of men to find out: that, as occasion required, every Age might supply new evidence of God's Truth, to *put to silence the ignorance of foolish men*: and in proportion as the Powers of Darkness prevailed, so might the Gospel-light break out again with fresh splendor to curb and repress them. In support of what is here said, I beg the Reader to reflect

flect on what is told us by the Evangelist, of the conversation between JESUS (after his Resurrection) and the two Disciples journeying to Emmaus; where their Master says unto them, *O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the Prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at MOSES, and all the Prophets, HE EXPOUNDED UNTO THEM, the things concerning himself*^p. Now, who can doubt but that many things were at this time revealed, which, had they been delivered down to Posterity, in Writing, would have greatly contributed to the improvement of Eusebius's *Evangelical Demonstration*? Yet hath Providence thought fit to order matters otherwise. But, that the Apostles used, and made a good use too, of those EXPOSITIONS, long since forgotten and lost, we have great reason to believe from their amazing success in the conversion of the world, by such an application of *Moses and the Prophets, to Christ*. And if I be not much deceived, amongst the Truths thus enforced, *that*, which I presume to have discovered in the *Command to Abraham*, held no inferior place. Let the unprejudiced Reader judge. St. PAUL, making his Apology before king Agrippa, concludes his Defence in these words: *Having therefore obtained help of God; I continue unto this day witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the Prophets, and MOSES DID SAY SHOULD COME: that Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead*^q. The Greek is rather stronger, in predicating this circumstance of Moses, ——— ὧν τε οἱ προφῆται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων

^p LUKE xxiv. ver. 25, 26, 27.

^q ACTS xxvi. ver. 22, 23, and to the same purpose, chap. xiii. ver. 31.

γίνεσθαι, ΚΑΙ ΜΩΣΗΣ. Now where, let me ask, in all his Writings, but in the *Command to Abraham*, is there the least trace of any such circumstance, as *that Christ should suffer and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead*? Nor is it to be found there, unless the *Command* be understood in the sense I have given to it.—

But this is the state in which it hath pleased Providence to place the Church of Christ: With abundant evidence in hand, to support itself against the attacks of Infidelity; yet much of this divine Treasure left sealed up, to exercise our *Faith* and (in time of need) to excite our *Industry*: for it was not the intent of Providence that one of these virtues should thrive at the expence of the other; but that *Industry* should as well be rewarded by a successful search, as *Faith*, by *peace in believing*. Therefore when my learned Adversary^r, in order, I will believe, to advance the Christian Faith, would discourage Christian Industry, by calumniating, and rendering suspected what he is pleased to call EXPERIMENTS in Religion, it is, I am afraid, at best but a *Zeal without knowledge*. Indeed, M. Pascal ascribes this contempt of *experiments* to a different cause.—
Ceux qui sont capables de inventer sont rares; (says he) Ceux qui n' inventent point sont en plus grand nombre, & par consequent, les plus fortes; et voila pourquoi, lors que les Inventeurs cherchent la gloire qu' ils meritent, tout ce qu' ils y gagnent, c'est qu'on les traite de VISIONNAIRES. It is true, if men will come to the study of Scripture with unwashen hands, that is, without a due reverence for the dignity of those sacred Volumes,

^r Dr. Stebbing.

or, which is as ill, with unpurged heads; that is, heads stuffed with bigot-systems, or made giddy with cabbalistic flights, they will deserve that title which Pascal observes is so unjustly given to those who deserve best of the Public.

But to return to those with whom I have principal concern. I make no question but my Free-thinking Adversaries, to whose temper and talents I am no stranger, will be ready to object,

I. "That the giving a solution of a difficulty in the *Old* Testament by the assistance of the *New*, considered together as making up one intire Dispensation, is an unfair way of arguing against an Unbeliever: who supposing both the Jewish and Christian Religions to be *false*, of consequence supposes them to be *independent* on one another; and that this pretended relation was a contrivance of the Authors of the later imposture to give it strength, by ingrafting the young shoot into the trunk of an old flourishing Superstition. Therefore, will they say, if we would argue with success against them, we must seek a solution of their difficulties in that Religion alone, from which they arise." — Thus I may suppose them to argue. And I apprehend they will have no reason to say I have put worse arguments into their mouths than they are accustomed to employ against Revelation.

I reply then, that it will admit of no dispute, but that, if they may have the liberty of turning JUDAISM and CHRISTIANITY into two FANTOMS of their own devising, they will have a very easy victory over Both. This is an old trick, and has been often tried with success. By this flight-of-hand
con-

conveyance TYNDAL hath juggled fools out of their Religion. For, in a well known book written by him against Revelation, he hath taken advantage of the indiscretion of some late Divines to lay it down as a Principle, *that Christianity is ONLY a republication of the Religion of Nature*: The consequence of which is, that CHRISTIANITY and JUDAISM are *independent* Institutions. But sure the Deist is not to obtrude his own Inventions, in the place of those Religions he endeavours to overthrow. Much less is he to *beg the question* of their falsity; as the laying it down that the Jewish and Christian are two *independent* Religions, certainly is: because Christianity claims many of its numerous Titles to divinity from and under Judaism. If therefore Deists will not, yet Christians of necessity must, take their Religion as they find it. And if they will remove objections to either Œconomy, they must reason on the Principle of *Dependency*. And while they do so, their reasonings will not only be fair and logical, but every solution, on such a Principle, will besides its determination on the particular point in question, be a new proof of the divinity of Both, in general; because such a relation, connexion, and dependency between two Religions of so distant times, could not come about by chance, or by human contrivance, but must needs be the effect of Divine prevision. For a Deist, therefore, to bid us remove his objections on the principle of *independency*, is to bid us prove our religion *true* on a principle that implies its *falsehood*; the New Testament giving us no other idea of Christianity than as of a Religion dependent on, connected with, and the completion of Judaism.

But now suppose us to be in this excess of complaisance for our Adversaries; and then see whether the ingenuity of their acceptance would not equal the reasonableness of their demand. Without doubt, were we once so foolish to swallow their Chimeras for the heavenly Manna of Revelation, we should have them amongst the first to cry out upon the prevarication. I speak not this at random. The fact hath already happened. Certain advocates of Religion, unable to reconcile to their notions of logic, the sense of some Prophecies in the Old Testament, as explained in the *applications* of the Writers of the New, thought it best to throw aside the care of the JEWISH RELIGION, (a burden which they could as ill bear as the rebellious Israelites themselves) and try to support the CHRISTIAN, by proving its divine Original, independently and from itself alone. Upon this Mr. COLLINS (for I have chosen to instance in these two general dealers in Free-thinking; the small retailers of it vanishing as fast as they appear; for who now talks of *Blount* or *Coward*; or who hereafter will talk of *Strutt* or *Morgan**) that the world may see how little they agreed about their own principles, or rather how little regard they paid to any principles at all; Mr. Collins, I say, wrote a book to exclaim against our ill faith; and to remind us of, and to prove to us, the inseparable connexion between the Old and New Testament. This was no unseasonable reproof, howsoever intended, for so egregious a folly. I well endeavour to profit by it; and manage this Controversy on their own terms. For whatever

* This man, not long since, wrote against the D. L. under the name of a *Society of Free-thinkers*: by the same kind of figure, I suppose, that He in the Gospel called himself *Legion*, who was only the forwardest Devil of the Crew.

prevarication appeared in the Objectors, I conceived they had demanded no more than what they might reasonably expect. But the advantages arising to us from this management soon made them draw back, and retract what they had demanded; and now they chicaned with us for calling in the assistance of the New Testament to repel their attacks upon the Old; while, at the same

But I mistake. Unbelievers, I think, are not yet quite so shameless. The objection, in form, comes from another quarter. It is Dr. Stebbing, who for the honour of the Church, makes it for them. He will not allow that the words of Jesus are of any validity to support my interpretation of the *Command* to Abraham, because Unbelievers will not admit the inspiration of the New Testament. But what then; they have not yet disputed with me my interpretation of the *Command*. No body hath done this but Dr. Stebbing. And I hope the Authority of Jesus will stand good against him. He was in haste to do their business for them: and it must be confessed by an argument that does equal credit to his logic and his piety.

Fair reasoners of all parties will see, tho' Dr. Stebbing will not, that the question is not *particular*, concerning the *inspiration* of the Old and New Testament; but *general*, of the *connexion* between them; and those will not be so unreasonable to expect I should prove this connexion, of which they ask a proof, any otherwise than by applying each reciprocally to explain and to support the other. If the two Testaments be shewn to do this; while on the other hand, when singly considered, and without each others mutual assistance, they are inexplicable, the connexion between them is fairly made out. The objection of Unbelievers stands thus. "You pretend (say they) that these two Dispensations are two constituent *parts* of God's great moral Œconomy: If this be true, they must needs have a strong connexion and near relation to one another. Shew us this connexion and relation: and amuse us no longer with proving the divinity of this or that Dispensation separately, as if each were independent on the other." I comply with their demand: And now Dr. Stebbing tells me, I take this or that Revelation for granted which I should have proved. Whereas in truth I take nothing for granted but what Unbelievers are ready to prove against me, if I did not; namely, that between two Dispensa-

same time they think themselves at liberty to use the assistance of the Old to overthrow the New. Let the Friends of Revelation, however, constantly and uniformly hold the inseparable connexion between the two Dispensations; and then, let our Enemies, if they will, as they fairly may, take all the advantages they fancy they have against us, from the necessity we lie under of so doing.

In a word, We give them, Judaism and Christianity as Religions equally from Heaven; with that reciprocal dependence on each other which arises between two things bearing the mutual relation of *foundation* and *superstructure*. They have it in their choice to oppose our pretensions, either by disputing with us that dependency, or raising difficulties on the foot of it. But while they only *suppose* it visionary; and then argue against each Religion on that supposition, they only beg the question. And while they do that, we keep within the rules of good logic, when we remove their objections on that principle of *dependency* laid down in Scripture. This restrictive rule of interpretation being however still observed, That, in explaining any difficulty in the Old Testament, we never, on pretence of such *dependency*, forsake the genius and manners of the times in question, and serve ourselves of those of the later Christian period, as Collins (whether truly or no, let Them look to, who are concerned in it) upbraids some defenders of Christianity

tions, the one pretended to be preparatory to the other, there must needs be a strong and near connexion and relation. And if, in the course of evincing this connexion, I urge some circumstances in the Jewish to support the Christian, and others in the Christian to support the Jewish, this, I suppose, is not *taking for granted* the truth either of one or the other, but *proving* the divinity of both.

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for doing. This rule is here, I presume, observed with sufficient exactness; the foundation of my interpretation of the *Command* being that ancient mode of converse, so much at that time in use, of *conversing by actions*.

II. But the Adversaries of Revelation, how easily soever they may be confuted, are not so easily silenced. They are ready to object, that we fly to the old exploded refuge of a TYPE, which the Author of *the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* hath shewn to be *visionary* and *senseless*; the mere illogical whimsy of Cabalistic Jews. To this I answer,

1. They are doubly mistaken. This interpretation is not founded in any *typical* sense whatsoever; the person of Isaac on the Mount being no more a *Type* of Christ than the six letters that compose the name are a *Type* of him; but only an arbitrary mark to stand for the idea of *Christ*, as that word does. So that their cry against *Types*, whatever force it may have, does not at all affect this interpretation.

2. But secondly I say, A TYPE is neither *visionary*, nor *senseless*, notwithstanding the disgrace which this mode of information hath undergone by the mad abuses of Fanaticism and Superstition. On the contrary, I hold it to be a just and reasonable manner of denoting one thing by another: not the creature of the imagination, made out of nothing to serve a turn; but as natural and apposite a figure as any employed in human converse. For *Types* arose from that original mode of communication, the *conversing by actions*: the difference there is between these two modes of information

being only this, that, where the action is *simply significative*, it has *no moral import*: For example, when Ezekiel is bid to *shave his beard, to weigh the hair in balances, to divide it into three parts, to burn one, to strike another with a knife, and to scatter the third part in the wind*^u, this action having *no moral import* is merely *significative* of information given. But when the Israelites are commanded to take a *male lamb without blemish, and the whole assembly of the congregation to kill it, and to sprinkle the blood upon the door-posts*^x, this action having a *moral import* as being a religious Rite, and, at the same time, representative of something future, is properly *typical*. Hence arose the mistake of the Interpreters of the *Command* to offer Isaac. These men supposing the action commanded to have a *moral import*, as being only for a trial of Abraham's faith; and, at the same time, seeing in it the most exact resemblance of the death of CHRIST, very wrongly concluded that action to be *typical* which was merely *significative*: and by this means, leaving in the action a *moral import*, subjected it to all those cavils of infidelity, which, by taking away all *moral import*, as not belonging to it, are here entirely evaded.

But it being of the highest importance to Revelation in general, and not a little conducive to the support of our arguments for the Divine Legation of Moses in particular, to shew the logical truth and propriety of *Types* in *action*, and *Secondary senses* in *speech*, I shall take the present opportunity to sift this matter to the bottom. For having occasionally shewn, in several parts of the preceding Discourse, that the references in the LAW to the GOSPEL are in *typical representations*, and *secondary senses*;

^u EZEK. v.^x EXOD. xii. 5, 6, 7.

and the truth of Christianity depending on the real relation (which is to be discovered by such references) between the two Dispensations, it will be incumbent on me to prove the logical truth and propriety of TYPES in action, and SECONDARY SENSES in speech.

And I enter on this subject with the greater pleasure, as one of the most plausible books ever written, or likely to be written, against Christianity is intirely levelled at them. In this enquiry I shall pursue the same method I have hitherto taken with unbelieving Writers; examine only the grounds and principles on which they go; and having removed and overthrown these, in as few words as I am able, leave the superstructure to support itself, as it may.

S E C T. VI.

THE book I speak of is intituled, *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, written, as is generally supposed, by Mr. Collins; a Writer, whose dexterity in the arts of Controversy was so remarkably contrasted by his abilities in reasoning and literature, as to be ever putting one in mind of what travellers tell us of the genius of the proper Indians, who, altho' the veriest bunglers in all the fine arts of manual operation, yet excel every body in slight of hand and the delusive feats of activity.

The purpose of his book is to prove that JESUS was an impostor: and his grand argument stands thus,—“JESUS (as he shews) claims under the promised Messiah of the Jews; and proposes himself as the Deliverer prophesied of in their sacred
Books;

Books; yet (as he attempts to shew) none of these Prophecies can be understood of JESUS but in a *secondary sense* only; now a secondary sense (as he pretends) is fanatical, chimerical, and contrary to all scholastic rules of interpretation: Consequently, JESUS not being prophesied of in the Jewish Writings, his pretensions are false and groundless." —His conclusion, the reader sees, stands on the joint support of these two Propositions, *That there is no Jewish Prophecy which relates to JESUS in a primary sense*; and *That a secondary sense is enthusiastical and unscholastic*. If either of these fail, his phantom of a conclusion sinks again into nothing.

Tho' I shall not omit occasionally to confute the first, yet it is the falshood of the second I am principally concerned to expose.—That there are Jewish prophecies which relate to JESUS in their direct and primary sense, hath been proved with much force of reason and learning: But, that *secondary Prophecies are not enthusiastical and unscholastic*, hath not been shewn and insisted on, by the Writers on this question, with the same advantage. The truth is, the nature of a DOUBLE SENSE in Prophecies hath been so little seen or enquired into, that some Divines who agree in nothing else, have yet agreed to second this assertion of Mr. Collins, and with the same frankness and confidence to pronounce that a *double sense* is indeed enthusiastical and unscholastic. To put a stop therefore to this growing evil, sown first by SOCINUS, and since become so pestilent to Revelation, is not amongst the last purposes of the following discourse.

I. It hath been shewn, that one of the most ancient and simple Modes of human converse was
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communicating the conceptions by an expressive ACTION. As this was of familiar use in Civil matters, it was natural to carry it into Religious. Hence, we see God giving his instructions to the Prophet, and the Prophet delivering God's commands to the People in this very manner. Thus far the nature of the action, both in civil and religious matters, is exactly the same.

But in Religion it sometimes happens that a STANDING Information is necessary, and there the Action must be continually repeated: This is done by holding out the particular Truth, (thus to be preserved) in a religious Rite. Here then the Action begins to change its nature; and, from a mere significative mark, of only *arbitrary import* like words or letters, becomes an action of *moral import*, and acquires the new name of TYPE. Thus GOD, intending to record the future sacrifice of CHRIST in Action, did it by the periodic Sacrifice of a *lamb without blemish*. This was not *merely* and so DIRECTLY *significative* of CHRIST, (like the Command to Abraham) but being a religious Rite and so having a *moral import*, it was *typical*, tho' NOT DIRECTLY *significative*, of him. The very same may be said of the Temporal rewards of the Law; they were properly *typical* of the Spiritual rewards of the Gospel, and had a *moral import* of their own, as being the real sanction of the Law.

Again, It hath been shewn ^v, how, in the gradual cultivation of Speech, the expression by *Action* was improved and refined into an ALLEGORY or *Parable*; in which the words carry a double meaning; having besides their obvious sense which

^v Vol. iv. p. 322, 323.

serves only for the Envelope, one more material, and hidden. With this figure of speech all the moral writings of Antiquity abound. But when this figure is transferred from Civil use to Religious, and employed in the writings of inspired Men, to convey information of particular circumstances in two distinct Dispensations, to a people who had an equal concern in both, it is then what we call a DOUBLE SENSE ; and undergoes the very same change of its nature that an *expressive action* underwent when converted into a *Type*; that is, both the meanings, in the DOUBLE SENSE, are of *moral import*; whereas in the *Allegory*, one only of the meanings is so : And this, (which arises out of the very nature of their conversion, from Civil to Religious matters) is the only difference between *expressive actions* and TYPES ; and between *allegories* and DOUBLE SENSES.

From hence it appears, that as TYPES are only religious *expressive Actions*, and DOUBLE SENSES only religious *Allegories*, and neither receive any change but what the very manner of bringing those *Civil* figures into *Religion* necessarily induces, they must needs have, in this their tralatitious state, the same LOGICAL FITNESS they had in their natural^z.
There-

^z Hence we see the vanity of Mr. Whiston's distinction, who is for retaining *Types* (necessitated thereunto by the express declarations of Holy Writ) and for rejecting *double senses*. " Mr. Whiston (says the author of *the Grounds, &c.*) justifies " *typical* arguing from the ritual laws of Moses, and from *passages of History in the Old Testament*. — Indeed he pretends " *this* last to be quite another thing from the odd (typical) application of prophecies. For (says he) the ancient ceremonial institutions were, as to their principal branches, at least in their " *own nature*, Types and shadows of future good things — " *But the case of the ancient prophecies to be alledged from the old " Scriptures for the confirmation of Christianity is quite of another " nature, and of a more nice and exact consideration,*" p. 227, 228.

Therefore as *expressive Actions*, and *Allegories*, in Civil discourses, are esteemed proper and reasonable modes of information, so must TYPES and DOUBLE SENSES in Religious; for the end of both is the same, namely, COMMUNICATION OF KNOWLEDGE. The consequence of this is, that Mr. Collins' proposition, that *a secondary or double sense is enthusiastical and unscholastic*, (the necessary support of his grand Argument) is intirely overthrown.

This is the true and simple origin of TYPES and DOUBLE SENSES; which our Adversaries, thro' ignorance of the rise and progress of Speech, and unacquaintance with ancient Manners, have insolently treated as the issue of distempered brains, and the fondlings of Visionaries and Enthusiasts.

II. Having thus shewn their *logical propriety*, or that they are rational Modes of information, I come now to vindicate their *Religious use*, and to shew that they are well suited to *that Religion* in which we find them employed. An Objection which, I conceive, may be made to this use, will lead us naturally into our Argument. The objection is this: "It hath been shewn^a, that these oblique Modes of converse, tho' at first invented out of *necessity*, for general information, were employed, at length, to a *mysterious secretion of know-*

It appears, indeed, they are of a *more nice and exact consideration*, even from Mr. Whitton's so much mistaking them, as to suppose they are of a *nature quite different from Types*. But instead of telling us honestly that he knew not what to make of them, he plays the courtier and dismisses them, for a *more nice and exact consideration*.

^a Vol. iv. p. 323, & seq.

ledge; which tho' it might be expedient, useful, and even necessary both in CIVIL MATTERS and in FALSE RELIGION, could never be so in MORAL MATTERS and in THE TRUE RELIGION; for this having nothing to hide from any of its followers, *Types* and *Double senses* (the same mysterious conveyance of knowledge in Sacred matters, which *Allegoric words* or *Actions* are in Civil) were altogether unfit to be employed in it."

To this I answer, The JEWISH RELIGION, in which these *Types* and *Secondary senses* are to be found, was given to one single People only; just as the CHRISTIAN is offered to all Mankind: Now the Christian, as Mr. Collins ^b himself labours to prove, professes to be grounded on the Jewish. If therefore Christianity was not only professedly, but really grounded on Judaism (and the supposition is strictly logical in a defence of *Types* and *Double senses*, whose reality depends on the reality of that relation) then Judaism was *preparatory* to Christianity, and Christianity the *ultimate end* of Judaism: But it is not to be supposed that there should be an intire *silence* concerning this ultimate Religion during the preparatory, when the *notice* of it was not only

^b "Christianity is founded on Judaism, and the New Testament on the Old; and JESUS is the person said in the New Testament to be promised in the Old, under the character of the MESSIAH of the Jews, who, as such only claims the obedience and submission of the world. Accordingly it is the design of the authors of the New, to prove all the parts of Christianity from the Old Testament, which is said to contain the words of eternal life, and to represent JESUS and his apostles as fulfilling by their mission, doctrines, and works, the predictions of the Prophets, the historical parts of the Old Testament, and the Jewish Law; which last is expressly said to prophesy of, or testify Christianity." *Grounds and Reasons, &c.* P. 4, 5.

highly

highly proper, but very expedient: 1. first, to draw those under the preparatory Religion, by just degrees to the ultimate; a provision the more necessary, as the nature and genius of the two Religions were different, the one carnal, the other spiritual. 2. secondly, to afford convincing evidence to future Ages of the truth of that Ultimate Religion; which evidence, a circumstantial prediction of its advent and nature so long before hand, effectually does afford^c. The Ultimate Religion therefore must have had some notice given of it, in the Preparatory; and nothing was better fitted for this purpose than the hyperbolical genius of the eastern Speech. Thus, when Isaiah says, *Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder: And his name shall be called, Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace*, Mr. Collins observes, it is the eastern hyperbole which prevents our seeing that a Jewish Monarch is literally and directly spoken of. Should we allow this, yet we still see, that such a language was admirably fitted

^c The Bishop of London, in his *Discourses on the Use and Intent of Prophecy*, seemed to have but a slender idea of this use when he wrote as follows — “ There was no occasion (says he) to lay in so long before hand the evidence of prophecy, to convince men of things that were to happen in their own times: and it gives us a low idea of the administration of Providence in sending Prophets one after another in every age from Adam to Christ, to imagine that all this apparatus was for their sakes who lived IN OR AFTER the times of Christ.” p. 37. But such is the way of these Writers who have a favourite doctrine to enforce. The truth of that doctrine (if it happen to be a truth) is supported at the expence of all others. Thus his Lordship, setting himself to prove that *Prophecy was given principally to support the Faith and Religion of the World*, thought he could not sufficiently secure his point without weakening and discrediting another of, at least, equal importance, — *That it was given to afford testimony to the mission of Jesus.*

TO

to connect together the *first* and *second* Senses : the *hyperbole* becoming a *simple speech*, when transferred from a Jewish Monarch to the Monarch of the world.

Our next inquiry will be, *in what manner* this notice must needs be given. Now the nature of the thing shews us it could not be directly and openly; so as to be understood by the People, at the time of giving: because this would have defeated God's intermediate purpose; which was to train them, by a long discipline, under his preparatory Dispensation. For, this being a Religion founded only on *temporal Sanctions*, and burdened with a *minute and tiresome Ritual*, had the People known it to be only preparatory to another, founded on *better Promises* and easier Observances, they would never have born the yoke of the Law, but would have shaken off their subjection to Moses before the *fulnes of Time* had brought their spiritual Deliverer amongst them; as, without this knowledge, they were but too apt to do, on every imaginary prospect of advantage. But St. CHRYSOSTOM will enforce this observation with more advantage. "Had the Jews (says he) been taught from the beginning that their Law was temporary and to have an end, they would have certainly despised it. On this account, it seemed good to the divine Wisdom to throw a veil of obscurity over the Prophecies which related to the Christian Dispensation^d." This information, therefore, was to be delivered with caution; and conveyed under the covert language of their present Œconomy. Hence arose the fit and necessary use of TYPES and SECONDARY SENSES. For the only safe and last-

^d *Homilia prima, De prophetarum obscuritate.*

ing means of conveyance were their PUBLIC RITUAL, and the WRITINGS OF THE PROPHETS. And a *Speaking action*, and an *Allegoric speech*, when thus employed, had all the secrecy that the occasion required. We have observed, that in the simpler use of speaking by *Action*, the *Action* itself hath no *moral import*: and so, the information having but one moral meaning, that which it conveys is clear and intelligible. But where a Rite of Religion is used for this *Speaking action*, there the action hath a *moral import*; and so the information having two moral meanings, that which it conveys is more obscure and mysterious. Hence it appears that this mode of *speaking by action*, called a *TYPE*, is exactly fitted for the information in question. Just so it is again with the *SECONDARY SENSE*: In the *mere allegory*, the representing image has no moral import: in the *secondary sense*, for a contrary reason, (which the very term imports) the representing image hath a moral import; and so, acquires the same *fitting obscurity* with information by *Types*. For the *typical Ritual*, and the *double Prophecy*, had each its obvious sense in the present nature and future fortune of the Jewish Religion and Republic. And here we are easily led into the essential difference (so much to the honour of Revelation) between the Pagan Oracles or Prophecies, and the Jewish. The obscurity of the Pagan arose from the *ambiguity, equivocation or jargon* OF EXPRESSION; the obscurity of the Jewish from *the figurative representation* OF THINGS. The First (independent of any other Religion) proceeded from ignorance of futurity; the Latter, dependent on the Christian, proceeded from the necessity that those to whom the Prophecies were delivered should not have too full a knowledge of them.

Dr. Middleton, indeed, would fain persuade us, that the *Oracles*, or, as he chuses to call them, the *Prophecies* of the Pythian Apollo, were neither better nor worse, but exactly of the same absurd construction with the *Scripture Prophecies*. He would hardly venture to controvert what I have said of their logical fitness and propriety, as a mode of information in the abstract, because this would shew him ignorant of the nature and progress of human converse. Much less, I suppose, would he say, that this mode of information was not suited to the genius of the Jewish Religion; since he owns *that* to be only a preparatory System calculated to open and to prepare the way for one more perfect; and consequently, that it must be so contrived as to *connect*, and at the same time to *hide* from the vulgar eye, the two parts of the Dispensation, and the relation they have to one another. Now there is no conceivable way of doing this but by *types* and *secondary senses*. What then occasioned this insult upon them? That which supports all our free Writers in their contemptuous treatment of Religion, their mistaking the ABUSE of the thing for the thing ITSELF; and giving the interpretations of men, or the Doctrines of Churches, for Articles of faith or Scripture history. What hath been here said will show the extreme weakness of this ingenious man's parallel between the Scripture Prophecies and the Oracles of the Pythian Apollo.—“The PROPHECIES of the Pythian
 “Apollo (says he) were indeed obscure, equivocal
 “and ambiguous, admitting not only different but
 “contrary senses; so that the character here given
 “of the Scripture Prophecies was undoubtedly
 “true of them, *that no event could restrain them to*
 “*one determinate sense, when they were originally*
 “*capable of many.* For if the obvious sense failed,

“ as it often did, to the ruin of those who acted
 “ upon it, there was another always in reserve, to
 “ secure the veracity of the Oracle : till this very
 “ character of its ambiguous and ænigmatical
 “ senses, confirmed by constant observation, gra-
 “ dually sunk its credit and finally detected the
 “ imposture^c.” *The prophecies of the Pythian
 Apollo were obscure, equivocal and ambiguous. And
 this (says he) was the character of the Scripture
 Prophecies.* Just otherwise, as is seen above.
 Scripture Prophecies were *obscure*; but the ob-
 scurity arose neither from *equivocation* nor *ambiguity*
 (which two qualities proceed from the EXPRESSION)
 but from *the figurative representation of THINGS*.
 So that the *obscurity*, which the Pythian Oracle
 and the Scripture Prophecies had in common,
 arising from the most different grounds, the charac-
 ter given of the Oracles, *that no event could restrain
 them to one determinate sense when they were originally
 capable of many*, by no means belongs to the Scrip-
 ture Prophecies, whatever the men he writes
 against (who appear to know as little of the
 DOUBLE SENSE of Prophecies as himself) might
 imagine. For tho’ *equivocal and ambiguous* EXPRES-
 SION may make a speech or writing, where the ob-
 jects are unconfined, capable of *many senses*, yet
 a *figurative representation of THINGS* can give no
 more senses than *two* to the obscurest Prophecy.
 Hence it will follow, that while the expedient in
 supporting the Pythian Oracles, by having a sense
 always in reserve to satisfy the inquirer, *would gra-
 dually sink their credit and finally detect the imposture*;
 the discovery of a SECONDARY SENSE of Prophe-
 cy, relative to the compleatory Dispensation, will

^c Examination of the Bishop of London’s Discourses on Pro-
 phesy, &c. p. 89-90.

necessarily tend to confirm and establish the divine origin of Scripture Prophecy.

Such was the wonderful œconomy of divine Wisdom, in connecting together two dependent Religions, the parts of one grand Dispensation: by this means, making one preparatory of the other; and each mutually to reflect light upon the other. Hence we see the desperate humour of that learned man, tho' very zealous christian^f, who, because most of the prophecies relating to JESUS, in the Old Testament, are of the nature described above, took it into his head that the Bible was corrupted by the enemies of JESUS. Whereas, on the very supposition of a mediate and an ultimate Religion, which this good man held, the main body of Prophecies in the Old Testament relating to the New, must, according to all our ideas of fitness and expediency, needs be prophecies with a DOUBLE SENSE. But it is the usual support of folly to throw its distresses upon knavery. And thus, as we observed, the Mahometan likewise, who pretends to claim under the Jewish religion, not finding the doctrine of a *future state of rewards and punishments* in the Law, is as positive that the Jews have corrupted their own scriptures in pure spite to his great Prophet^g.

III. Having

^f Mr. Whiston.

^g This account of Types and secondary senses, which supposes they were intended to conceal the doctrines delivered under them, is so very natural, and, as would seem, reasonable, that Dr. Stebbing himself subscribes to it. And hence occasion has been taken by a most acute and able Writer to expose his prevarication, in maintaining that the Jews had the revealed Doctrine of a Future State: For the Doctor not only confesses that the Doctrine was revealed under Types, but that Doctrines, thus

III. Having thus shewn the reasonable use and great expediency of these modes of sacred information, under the Jewish Œconomy; the next question is, Whether they be indeed there. This we shall endeavour to shew.—And that none of the common prejudices may lie against our reasoning, the example given shall be of TYPES and DOUBLE SENSES employed even in subjects relating to the *Jewish dispensation only*.

I. The whole ordinance of the *passover* was a TYPE of the *redemption from Egypt*. The striking the blood on the side-posts, the eating flesh with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, and in a posture of departure and expedition, were all significative of their bondage and deliverance. This will admit of no doubt, because the Institutor himself has thus explained the *Type*.—*And thou shalt shew thy son, (says he) in that day, saying, This is done because of that which the Lord did unto me, when I came forth out of Egypt. And it shall be a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes; that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth. For with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt. Thou shalt therefore keep this ordinance in his season from year to year^h*. As therefore it was of the genius of these holy Rites to be *Typical* or significative of God's past, present, and future Dispensations to his people, we cannot in the

thus conveyed, were purposely secreted from the knowledge of the ancient Jews. See the *Argument of the Divine Legation fairly stated*, p. 125. And the *free and candid Examination of Bishop Sherlock's Sermons*, &c. chap. ii. where the controversy on this point is fairly determined, as far as truth and reason can determine any thing.

^h EXOD. viii. 8, & seq.

least doubt, but that *Moses*, had he not been restrained by those important considerations explained above, would have told them that the *sacrifice of the lamb without blemish* was a *Type*, a sign or memorial of THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

2. With regard to DOUBLE SENSES, take this instance from *Joel*: who, in his prediction of an approaching ravage by *Locusts*, foretels likewise, in the same words, a succeeding desolation by the *Affyrian army*. For we are to observe that this was GOD'S method both in warning and in punishing a sinful people. Thus, when the *seven nations* for their exceeding wickedness were to be exterminated, GOD promises his chosen people to *send hornets before them, which should drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite from before them*¹. Now *Joel*, under one and the same Prophecy, contained in the first and second Chapters of his

¹ EXOD. xxii. 28. This, the author of the book called the *Wisdom of Solomon* admirably paraphrases:—"For it was thy will to destroy by the hands of our fathers both those old inhabitants of thy holy land, whom thou hatedst for doing most odious works of witchcrafts, and wicked sacrifices; and also those merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man's flesh, and the seals of blood, with their priests out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the parents that killed, with their own hands, souls destitute of help: That the land which thou esteemedst above all other might receive a worthy colony of GOD'S children. Nevertheless even those thou sparedst as men, and didst send wasps, forerunners of thine host, to destroy them by little and little. Not that thou wast unable to bring the ungodly under the hand of the righteous in battle, or to destroy them at once with cruel beasts, or with one rough word: But executing thy judgments upon them by little and little, thou gavest them place of repentance, not being ignorant that they were a naughty generation, and that their malice was bred in them, and that their cogitation would never be changed." Chap. xii. ver. 3. & seq.

book, foretels, as we say, both these plagues; the *locusts* in the *primary* sense, and the *Assyrian army* in the *secondary*—“Awake, ye drunkards, and weep and howl all ye drinkers of wine, because of the new wine, for it is cut off from your mouth. For a nation is come up upon my land, strong and without number; whose teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek-teeth of a great lion. He hath laid my vine waste, and barked my fig-tree; he hath made it clean bare, and cast it away, the branches thereof are made white—The field is wasted, the land mourneth; for the corn is wasted: The new wine is dried up, the oil languisheth. Be ye ashamed, O ye husband-men: Howl, O ye vine-dressers, for the wheat and for the barley; because the harvest of the field is perished^k.—Blow ye the trumpet in *Zion*, and sound an alarm in my holy mountain. Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble: for the day of the Lord cometh, for it is nigh at hand. A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains: a great people and a strong, there hath not been ever the like—A fire devoureth before them, and behind them a flame burneth: The land is as the garden of *Eden* before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness, yea, and nothing shall escape them. The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses, and as horse-men so shall they run. Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap, like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble, as a strong people set in battle array. Before their face the people shall

^k Chap. i. ver. 5, & seq.

“ be much pained : all faces shall gather blackness.
 “ They shall run like mighty men, they shall climb
 “ the wall like men of war, and they shall march
 “ every one on his ways, and they shall not break
 “ their ranks; neither shall one thrust another, they
 “ shall walk every one in his path : and when they
 “ fall upon the sword, they shall not be wounded.
 “ They shall run to and fro in the city : they
 “ shall run upon the wall, they shall climb up upon
 “ the houses : they shall enter in at the windows like
 “ a thief. The earth shall quake before them, the
 “ heavens shall tremble, the sun and the moon
 “ shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their
 “ shining¹.”

The fine conversion of the subjects is remarkable. The prophecy is delivered in the first chapter, — *Awake, ye drunkards, &c.* and repeated in the second — *Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, &c.* In the first chapter, the LOCUSTS are described as a people; — *For a nation is come up upon my land, strong and without number.* But, that we may not be mistaken in the PRIMARY sense, namely the plague of locusts, the ravages described are the ravages of insects: *They lay waste the vine, they bark the fig-tree, make the branches clean bare, and wither the corn and fruit-trees.* In the second chapter, the hostile PEOPLE are described as locusts: — AS THE MORNING SPREAD UPON THE MOUNTAINS. *The appearance of them is AS the appearance of horses, and AS horsemen so shall they run, AS a strong people set in battle array. They shall run LIKE mighty men, they shall climb the wall LIKE men of war.* But that we may not mistake the SECONDARY sense, namely the invasion of a foreign enemy, they are

¹ Chap. ii. ver. 1 to 11.

compared, we see, to a mighty army. This art, in the contexture of the Prophecy, is truly divine; and renders all chicane to evade a *double sense* ineffectual. For in some places of this Prophecy, *dearth by insects* must needs be understood; in others, *desolation by war*. So that both senses are of necessity to be admitted. And here let me observe, that had the Commentators on this Prophecy but attended to the nature of the *double sense*, they would not have suffered themselves to be so embarrassed; nor have spent so much time in freeing the Prophet from an imaginary embarrass (though at the expence of the context) on account of the same Prophecy's having in one part that signification *primary*, which, in another, is *secondary*. A circumstance so far from making an inaccuracy, that it gives the highest elegance to the discourse; and joins the *two* senses so closely as to obviate all pretence for a division, to the injury of the Holy Spirit. Here then we have a DOUBLE SENSE, not arising from the interpretation of a single verse, and so obnoxious to mistake, but of a whole and very large descriptive Prophecy.

But as this species of *double prophecy*, when confined to the events of one single Dispensation, takes off the most plausible objection to *primary* and *secondary* senses in general, it may not be improper to give another instance of it, which shall be taken from a Time when one would least expect to find a *double prophecy* employed, I mean, under the Gospel-Dispensation. I have observed, somewhere or other, that the ŒCONOMY OF GRACE having little or nothing to hide or to shadow out, like the LAW, it had small occasion for *typical* Rites or Celebrations, or for Prophecies with a *double sense*; and that therefore they are not to be expected,

nor

nor indeed, are they to be found, under the Gospel.

Yet the example I am about to give is an illustrious exception to this general truth. The explanation of this example will rectify a great deal of embarrass and mistake concerning it, and, at the same time, support the general Truth. The Prophecy I mean, is that in which Jesus foretels his FIRST and SECOND COMING in Judgment, not only under the same ideas, but in one and the same Prediction, as it is recorded, in nearly the same terms, by Matthew, Mark, and Luke; tho' omitted by St. John, for the reason hereafter to be given.

But to comprehend the full import of this Prophecy, it will be proper to consider the occasion of it. Jesus after having warmly upbraided the Scribes and Pharisees, whom he found in the Temple, with their superstitious abuses of the Law;—with their aversion to be reformed;—and their obstinate rejection of their promised Messiah; left them with a dreadful denunciation of the ruin^m then hanging over their Civil and Religious Policy. His Disciples who followed him thro' the Temple, greatly affected with these threats, and yet possessed with the national prejudice of the Eternity of the Law, pointed, as he passed along, at the Temple Buildings, and desired him to observe the stupendous solidity and magnificence of the Work. As much as to say, “Here are no marks of that speedy destruction which you have just now predicted: on the contrary, this mighty Mass seems calculated to endure till the general dissolution

^m MATT. xxiii. MARK xii. 35. LUKE xxi. 45.

of all things." To which, Jesus, understanding their thoughts, replied, that in a very little time *there should not be left one stone upon another, of all the wonders they saw before them.* And from thence takes occasion to prophesy of the speedy destruction of the Jewish Nation. But as the bare prediction of the ruin of that splendid Œconomy would be likely to scandalize these carnal-minded men, while they saw nothing erected in its stead, by their Messiah and Deliverer, it seemed good to divine Wisdom to represent this destruction under the image of their Messiah's coming to execute judgment on the devoted City, and of his raising a new Œconomy on its ruin; as was done by the establishment of the Christian Policyⁿ.

But yet, as this was to be unattended with the circumstances of exterior grandeur, He relieves the picture of the *Church-militant*, erected on his first coming TO JUDGE JERUSALEM, with all the splendours of the *Church triumphant*, which were to be displayed at his second coming TO JUDGE THE WORLD. And this, which was so proper for the ornament, and useful for the dignity of the Scene, was necessary for the completion of the Subject, which was a full and entire view of the *Dispensation of Grace*. Thus, as JOEL in one and the same description had combined the previous ravages of the Locusts with the succeeding devastations of the Assyrians, so here, JESUS hath embroidered into one Piece the intermediate judgment of the Jews, and the final Judgment of mankind^o.

ⁿ See *Julian, or a Discourse concerning his attempt to rebuild the Temple.*

^o MATT. XXIV. MARK XIII. LUKE XXI.

Let us now see what there was in the *notions* and *language* of the Jewish People that facilitated the easy introduction of the *secondary sense*; and gave the style, which was proper to that sense, an expressive elegance when applied to the *primary*.

The Jews, besotted with their fancied Eternity of the Law, had entertained a notion that the destruction of Jerusalem was to be immediately followed with the destruction of the World. This made the closeness in the connexion between the *primary* and *secondary* sense of the descriptive prophecy, easy and natural; and as it made the two destructions scarce dividual, so it left no room to distinguish, in any formal manner, between the *first* and *second* coming in Judgment.

The old *prophetic language* was of equal use and advantage to interweave the two senses into one another, which the *notion* here mentioned had drawn together and combined. The change of Magistracy, the fall of Kingdoms, and the revolutions of States are described, in the old language of inspiration, by disasters in the Heavens, by the fall of Stars, and by eclipses of the greater Luminaries. This admirably served the purpose of conveying both events under the same set of images; indeed, under one and the same description; namely, the destruction of Jerusalem in the FIGURATIVE sense; and the destruction of the world in the LITERAL.—*The sun shall be darkened and the moon shall not give her light: and the stars of heaven shall fall, and the powers that are in heaven shall be shaken. And they shall see the Son of man coming in the Clouds with great power and glory* †.

† MARK xiii. 24—5—6. MATT. xxiv. 29—30.

So that we see, the representation of a *double sense* in this Prophecy hath all the ease, and strength, and art, which we can conceive possible to enter into a sacred information of this nature. And the close contexture of its parts is so far from obscuring any thing in the two great correlative pictures, portrayed upon it, that it serves to render each more distinct, and better defined. Different indeed in this from most of the Jewish Prophecies of the same kind: And the reason of the difference is obvious. In the Jewish Prophecies, the *secondary sense*, relating to matters in another Dispensation, was of necessity to be left obscure, as unsuitable to the knowledge of the time in which the Prophecy was delivered. Whereas the *first* and *secondary* senses of the Prophecy before us, were equally objective to the contemplation of Christ's Disciples; as the two capital parts of the Dispensation to which they were now become subject.

But it will be said, " That before all this pains had been taken to explain the *beauties* of the double sense, we should have proved the *existence* of it; since, according to our own account of the matter, the magnificent terms employed, which are the principal mark of a SECONDARY sense, are the common prophetic Language to express the subject of the PRIMARY: And because, when Jesus, in few words, repeats the substance of this Prophecy to the High-Priest, on the like occasion for which he delivered it at large to his Disciples, he describes the destruction of Jerusalem in those high terms from whence the SECONDARY sense is inferred: for when Jesus was accused of threatening, or of designing to destroy the Temple, and was urged by the High-Priest to make his defence, he

says

says—*Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven*⁹; which words the context necessarily confines to his *first coming* in judgment on Jerusalem.”

To this I answer, That it was not for fear of being put to the proof that it was taken for granted, that this Prophecy had a *double sense*, a primary and a secondary; because it is only quoting a passage or two in it, to shew that it must necessarily be confessed to have both.

1. That Jesus prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem appears from the concluding words recorded by all the three Evangelists—*Verily, I say unto you, that THIS GENERATION shall not pass away till ALL these things be done or fulfilled*¹. Hence, by the way, let me observe, that this fulfilling in the *primary* sense being termed the *fulfilling all*, seems to be the reason why St. John, who wrote his Gospel after the destruction of Jerusalem, hath omitted to record this Prophecy of his Master.

2. That, Jesus at the same time speaks of the destruction of the World, at his second coming to Judgment, appears likewise from his own words recorded by the same Evangelists—*But of that day and hour, knoweth no man; no not the Angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father*². For if the Whole be to be understood only of one single event, then do these two texts expressly contradict

⁹ MATT. xxvi. 64. MARK xiv. 62. LUKE xxii. 69.

¹ MATT. xxiv. 34. MARK xiii. 30. LUKE xxi. 32.

² MARK xiii. 32.

one another; the first telling us that the event should come to pass near the close of that very generation; the latter telling us that the time is unknown to all men, nay even to the Angels and to the Son himself:—then does the last quoted text expressly contradict the Prophecy of Daniel¹, that very Prophecy to which Jesus all the way refers; for in that prophecy, the *day and hour*, that is the precise time of the destruction of Jerusalem is minutely foretold.

Hence it follows that this famous Prophecy hath indeed a DOUBLE SENSE, the one *primary*, and the other, *secondary*.

It is true, the infant-Church saw the destruction of the world so plainly foretold in this Prophecy as to suffer an error to creep into it, of the speedy and instant consummation of all things. This, St. Paul found necessary to correct—*Now I beseech you*, says he, *that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or troubled, as that the day of Christ is at hand, &c.*². And it was on this account, I suppose, that St. Luke, who wrote the latest of the three Evangelists, records this Prophecy in much lower terms than the other two, and entirely omits the words in the text quoted above, which fixes the *secondary* sense to the Prophecy — *of that day and hour, &c.*

If St. Paul exhorted his followers not to be *shaken in mind* on this account; his fellow-labourer, St. Peter, when he had in like manner reprov'd the *scoffers*, who said, *where is the promise of his coming?* went still further, and, to shew his followers that the Church was to be of long conti-

¹ Chap. viii. 13—14.

² 2 THESS. ii. ver. 1, & seq.

nuance here on earth, explains to them the nature of that evidence which *future times* were to have of the truth of the Gospel; an evidence even superior to that which the primitive times enjoyed of MIRACLES^a; *We have also a more sure word of PROPHECY; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light which shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts*^b. This evidence of PROPHECY is justly qualified *a more sure word*^c, when compared to MIRACLES, whose demonstrative evidence is confined to that age in which the power of them was bestowed upon the Church: whereas the *prophecies* here meant, namely, those of St. Paul and St. John^d, concerning the GREAT APOSTACY, were always fulfilling even to the last consummation of all things; and so, affording this demonstrative evidence to the men of all generations^e.

How-

^a 2 Ep. Peter chap. i. ver. 17.

^b Ver. 19.

^c Βεβαιότερον, more firm, constant, and durable.

^d See Sir Isaac Newton *on the Prophecies*, c. i. of his *Observations upon the Apocalypse of St. John*.

^e Mr. Markland has discovered a new sense in this passage of St. Peter (concerning the *more sure word of prophecy*) with which his brother-critic is so enamoured, that he says, he *may prophecy there will be no more disputes about it*. Mr. Markland's discovery is very simple,—“it is only placing a colon at “the end of the 18th verse, that the beginning of the 19th “may connect with it; and so lead to the true and obvious “sense of a passage, which of late has in vain exercised the “pens of many learned Writers, viz. *This voice, saying, this is “my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased*, [taken from Isaiah “xlii. 1.] *we heard in the mount, and we have by that means “(prophecy or) the words of the Prophet more fully confirmed.*”

This interpretation supposes that Peter is here speaking of the FIRST COMING of the Messiah, and that the *word of prophecy*

However, if from this prophecy the first Christians drew a wrong conclusion, it was not by the fault

pbecy refers to a Prophecy already accomplished. Now, if it can be shewn, that he is speaking of the SECOND COMING of Jesus, and that the *word of prophecy* refers to a long series of predictions to be fulfilled in order, there is a fair end of this new interpretation.

First, then, it is to be observed, that the Epistle, in which the passage in question is found, is a farewell-epistle to the Churches. St. Peter (as he tells them, chap. i. ver. 14.) *knowing that shortly he must put off this his Tabernacle.*—Now the great topic of consolation urged, by these departing Saints, to their widowed Churches, was the SECOND COMING of their Master. And of this coming it is that St. Peter speaks, in the words of the text — *For we have not followed cunningly devised fables when we made known unto you the POWER AND COMING of our Lord Jesus Christ.* He subjoins the reason of his confidence in this SECOND COMING, that he and the rest of the Disciples were *eye-witnesses of the majesty of the FIRST*, ver. 16.

That the *second coming* is the subject of the discourse, appears further from the recapitulation in the concluding part of the Epistle, where he reproves those *scoffers of the last days*, who would say, *where is the promise of his COMING? for since the Fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were*, &c. [chap. iii. ver. 3, 4.] The primitive Christians, as we have seen, had entertained an opinion that the SECOND COMING of their Master was at hand. And the cause and occasion of their mistake has been explained. These *Scoffers* the Apostle confutes at large from ver. 5th, to the 13th. And recurring again, at ver. 15, to that *more sure word of prophecy*, mentioned chap. i. ver. 19. he refers evidently to those parts of St. Paul's writings, where the Prophecies in the Revelations concerning Antichrist are summarily abridged, of which writings he gives this character — *As also in all his Epistles, speaking in them of these things, in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do all the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction.* [ver. 16.] In which words, we have the truest picture of those indiscret Interpreters who set up for *Prophets* in predicting the events of unfulfilled Prophecies, instead of confining themselves to the explanation of those already accomplished.

But not only the general subject of the Epistle, but the very expression used in the text in question, shews that this POWER

fault of the Divine Prophet, but their own. Jewish Tradition might at first mislead the followers of Jesus

AND COMING of our Lord Jesus Christ is his second coming.—For we have not followed (says he) CUNNINGLY DEvised FABLES [*σοφισμῶν μύθοις*] when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now, an attestation of a voice from Heaven at his first coming, tho' it had been a figment of the Relater, could with no propriety be called a cunningly devised Fable. But suppose the Apostle to speak of Christ's second coming, when according to the promise, there was to be a new Heaven and a new Earth, wherein was to dwell righteousness, after the old had been burnt up and destroyed by fervent heat [chap. iii. ver. 12, 13.] if this awful scene were an invention, it was truly characterised by a cunningly devised Fable, such as those in which Paganism abounded, where, in their MYTHOLOGIC relations, they speak of the Regions of departed Heroes, &c.

— Locos lætos & amoena vireta
 Fortunatorum nemerum, sedesque beatas.
Largior hic Campos æther & lumine vestit
Purpureos : Solemque suum, sua sidera norant.

And, to ascertain his meaning, the Apostle uses a phrase by which only the mythologic fables of Pagan Theology can be designed — *ὡς γὰρ σοφισμῶν ΜΥΘΟΙΣ ἐξακολουθήσαντες* — not following or imitating the cunningly devised fables of the Greek Sophists and Mythologists.

Secondly, it shall be now shewn, that, by the *more sure word of prophecy*, the Apostle does not mean, as Mr. Markland's interpretation supposes, a *Prophecy fulfilled*, but a long series of *Prophecies to be fulfilled* in order, and in the course of many ages. We may observe then, that concerning this *more sure word of prophecy*, the Churches are told, *they do well to take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day-star arise in their hearts.* [chap. i. ver. 19] Now, from Prophecy thus circumstanced, it plainly appears, that it could not be a compleat Prophecy of any event fulfilled, such as that of Isaiah, chap. xlii. ver. 1, which Mr. Markland supposes is the Prophecy here spoken of, because it was not a *light shining in a dark place until the day dawn*; since, with regard to the Prophecy in question, the *day* was not only *dawned*, but advanced; yet the Apostle supposes the darkness to exist, and the *day dawn* to be far distant. Neither, on the other hand, could it

Jesus to believe that the destruction of the World was very soon to follow the destruction of Jerusalem: But these men soon put off Tradition, with the Law: And Scripture, which was then recommended to them as their only study, with the DOUBLE SENSES with which it abounds, might easily have led them to a *distinction of times* in this

it be a Prophecy totally unfulfilled, for such are totally *dark* and unintelligible; but this, here spoken of, is a *light* shining, tho' in a dark place.

In a word, the character given of the *more sure word of Prophecy*, as being A LIGHT THAT SHINETH IN A DARK PLACE, can agree with nothing but the Prophecies of St. Paul and St. John: and with these, it agrees admirably. These Predictions relating to one great event, *the future fortune of the Church, under the usurpation of the Man of Sin*, are emphatically called the WORD OF PROPHECY. They began fulfilling even before St. Peter wrote this Epistle; for St. Paul, speaking of the MAN OF SIN, to the Thessalonians, says, THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY DOTH ALREADY WORK. [2d Ep. chap. ii. ver. 7.] This Prophecy therefore, is, with the greatest elegance and truth, described as a *light shining in a dark place*. Just so much of the commencing completion was seen as to excite Men's attention; but this glimmering was still surrounded with thick darkness: And as the eager curiosity of man tempts him to plunge even into obscurity in pursuit of a light just beginning to emerge from it, he subjoins a very necessary caution.—*Knowing this first, that no prophecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation.* [ver. 20.] As much as to say, I exhort you to give all attention to this *more sure word of prophecy*, but previously to guard yourselves with this important truth, that the Interpreter of Prophecy is not Man but God, and the full completion of it, its only true interpretation. He supports this observation by a fact—*For the Prophecy came not in old time by the will of Man, but holy Men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,* [ver. 21.] i. e. the very Prophets themselves, under the old Law, often understood not the true purport of what they predicted, being only the organs of God's Holy Spirit; much less are we to suppose the common ministers of the word qualified for the office of Interpreters of unfulfilled prophecies. And in the 3d chapter ver. 16, as has been observed above, he speaks of the mischiefs attending this presumption.

Prophecy, a Prophecy formed, as they must needs see, upon the ancient models.

But as Providence is always educing good out of evil, (tho' neither for this, nor any other reason, is evil ever connived at by the Disciples of Christ, as appears from the conduct of St. Paul, just mentioned above) this error was fruitful of much service to truth. It nourished and increased a spirit of piety, seriousness and charity, which wonderfully contributed to the speedy propagation of the Gospel.

Before I conclude, let me just observe (what I have always principally in view) that this explanation of the Prophecy obviates all those impious and absurd insinuations of licentious men, as if Jesus was led either by craft or enthusiasm, either by the gloominess of his own ideas, or by his knowledge of the advantage of inspiring such into his Followers, to prophecy of the speedy destruction of the World.

—But by strange ill fortune even some *Believers*, as we have observed, are come at length to deny the very existence of *double senses* and *secondary prophecies*. A late writer hath employed some pages to proclaim his utter disbelief of all such fancies. I shall take the liberty to examine this bold rectifier of prejudices: not for any thing he hath opposed to the Principles here laid down; for I dare say these were never in his thoughts; but only to shew that all he hath written is wide of the purpose: though, to say the truth, no wider than the notions of those whom he opposes; men who contend for Types and Secondary senses in as extravagant a way as he argues against them; that

that is, such who take a handle from the Doctrine of *double senses* to give a loose to the extravagances of a vague, imagination: consequently his arguments, which are aimed against their very being and *use*, hold only against their *abuse*. And that *abuse*, which others indeed have urged as a proof against the *use*, he sets himself to ^f confute: a mighty undertaking! and then mistakes his reasoning for a confutation of the *use*.

His Argument against *double senses* in Prophecies, as far as I understand it, may be divided into two parts, 1. Replies to the reasoning of others for *double senses*. 2. His own reasoning against them. With his Replies I have nothing to do, (except where something of argument against the *reality* of double senses is contained) because they are replies to no reasonings of mine, nor to any that I approve. I have only therefore to consider what what he hath to say against the thing itself.

1. His first argument against more senses than one, is as follows — “ Supposing that the opinion
 “ or judgment of the Prophet or Apostle is not to
 “ be considered in matters of *Prophecy* more than
 “ the judgment of a mere *amanuensis* is,—and
 “ that the point is not what the opinion of the
 “ *amanuensis* was, but what the *inditer* intended to
 “ express; yet it must be granted, that if God
 “ had any views to some remoter events, at the
 “ same time that the words which were used were
 “ equally applicable to, and designed to express
 “ *nearer* events: those *remoter* events, as well as
 “ the *nearer*, were in the intention of God: And

^f *The Principles and Connection of Natural and Revealed Religion, distinctly considered*, p. 221. by Dr. Sykes.

“ if both the nearer and remoter events were
 “ equally intended by God in any Proposition,
 “ then the LITERAL SENSE OF THEM IS NOT THE
 “ ONE NOR THE OTHER SINGLY AND APART, BUT
 “ BOTH TOGETHER must be the full meaning of
 “ such passages ².”

—Then the literal sense of them is not the one nor the other singly and apart, but both of them together, &c. i. e. if both together make up but *one literal sense*, then there is neither a *secondary* nor a *double sense*: And so there's an end of the controversy. A formidable Adversary truly! He threatens to *overtrow the thing*, and gives us an argument against the *propriety of the name*. Let him but allow his adversaries that a *nearer* and a *remoter* event are both the subjects of one and the same Prediction, and, I suppose, it will be indifferent to them whether he call it, with them, a *Prophecy of a double and figurative sense*, or they call it, with him, a *Prophecy of a single literal sense*: And he may be thankful for so much complaisance; for it is plain, they have the better of him even in the *propriety of the name*. It is confessed that God, in these Predictions, might have views to *nearer* and *remoter* events: now these nearer and remoter events were events under two different Dispensations, the Jewish and the Christian. The Prediction is addressed to the Jews, who had not only a more immediate concern with the first, but, at the time of giving the Prophecy, were not to be let into the secrets of the other: Hence the Prediction of the *nearer* event was properly the *literal* or *primary* sense, as given for the present information of God's Servants; and the more *remote* event for their

future information, and so was as properly the *secondary* sense, called with great propriety *figurative*, because conveyed under the *terms* which predicted the *nearer* event. But I hope a *first* and a *second*, a *literal* and a *figurative*, may both together at least, make up a DOUBLE SENSE.

2. His second argument runs thus,---“ WORDS
 “ are the signs of our thoughts, and therefore
 “ stand for the ideas in the mind of him that uses
 “ them. If then words are made use of to signify
 “ *two or more things at the same time*, their signi-
 “ ficancy is really lost, and it is impossible to un-
 “ derstand the real certain intention of him that
 “ uses them. Were GOD therefore to discover
 “ any thing to mankind by any written Revelation,
 “ and were he to make use of such TERMS as
 “ stand for ideas in mens minds, he must speak
 “ to them so as to be understood by them. They
 “ must have in their minds the ideas which God
 “ intended to excite in them, or else it would be
 “ in vain to attempt to make discoveries of his
 “ Will; and the TERMS made use of must be
 “ such as were wont to raise such certain ideas, or
 “ else there could be no written Revelation. The
 “ true sense therefore of ANY PASSAGE of Scrip-
 “ ture can be but ONE; or if it be said to con-
 “ tain more senses than one, if such multiplicity
 “ be not revealed, the Revelation becomes useless,
 “ because unintelligible ^h.”

Men may talk what they please of the obscurity of Writers who have *two senses*, but it has been my fortune to meet with it much oftner in those who have *none*. Our Reasoner has here mistaken

^h Page 222, 223.

the very Question, which is, whether a Scripture PROPOSITION (for all Prophecies are reducible to Propositions) be capable of two senses; and, to support the negative, he labours to prove that WORDS OR TERMS can have but one. — *If then WORDS are made use of to signify two or more THINGS at the same time, their significancy is really lost—such TERMS as stand for ideas in mens minds—TERMS made use of must be such as are wont to raise such certain ideas—*All this is readily allowed; but how wide of the purpose, may be seen by this instance: Jacob says, *I will go down into Sheol unto my son mourning.* Now if SHEOL signify in the ancient Hebrew, only the Grave, it would be abusing the TERM to make it signify likewise, with the vulgar Latin *in infernum*, because if WORDS (as he says) *be made to signify two or more things at the same time, their significancy is lost.* — But when this PROPOSITION of the Psalmist comes to be interpreted, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hell [SHEOL] neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption;* tho' it literally signifies security from the curse of the Law upon transgressors, viz. immature death, yet it is very reasonable to understand it in a spiritual sense, of the resurrection of CHRIST from the dead; in which, the words or terms translated *Soul* and *Hell*, are left in the meaning they bear in the Hebrew tongue, of *Body* and *Grave*.

But let us suppose our Reasoner to mean that a PROPOSITION is not capable of *two senses*, as perhaps he did in his confusion of ideas, for notwithstanding his exprefs words to the contrary, before he comes to the end of his argument, he talks of *the true sense of ANY PASSAGE being but one*; and then his assertion must be, *That if one Proposition have two Senses, its significancy is really lost; and that*

that 'tis impossible to understand the real certain intention of him that uses them; consequently Revelation will become useles, because unintelligible.

Now this I will take the liberty to deny. In the following instances a *single Proposition* was intended by the writers and speakers to have a *double sense*. The poet Virgil says,

—“ Talia, per clypeum Volcani, dona parentis
 “ Miratur: rerumque ignarus, imagine gaudet,
 “ ATTOLLENS HUMERO FAMAMQUE ET FATA
 “ NEPOTUM ¹.”

The last line has these *two senses*: First, that Æneas bore on his shoulders, a shield, on which was engraved a prophetic picture of the fame and fortunes of his posterity: Secondly, that under the protection of that piece of armour he established their fame and fortunes, and was enabled to make a settlement in Latium, which proved the foundation of the Roman empire ^k.

Here

¹ *Æneid*. lib. viii. in fin.

^k Hear what a very judicious Critic observes of the line in question. “ The comment of SERVIVS on this line is remarkable. *Hunc versum notant Critici, quasi superfluè et inutiliter additum, nec convenientem gravitati ejus, namque est magis neotericus.* Mr. ADDISON conceived of it in the same manner when he said, *this was the only witty line in the Æneis*; meaning such a line as *Ovid* would have written. We see they esteemed it a wanton play of fancy, unbecoming the dignity of the Writer’s work, and the gravity of his character. They took it, in short, for a mere *modern flourish*, totally different from the pure unaffected manner of genuine antiquity. And thus far they unquestionably judged right. Their defect was in not seeing that the *use* of it, as here employed by the Poet, was an exception to the *general rule*. But to have seen this was not, perhaps, to be expected even
 “ from

Here then is a *double sense*, which, I believe, none who have any taste of Virgil will deny. The preceding verse introduces it with great art.

“ *Miratur, rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet:*”

and prepares us for something mysterious, and hid behind the *letter*.

On Peter's refusing to eat of clean and unclean meats promiscuously, in the vision presented to him, the Holy Spirit says, *What God hath cleansed that call not thou common*¹. The single proposition is, *That which God hath cleansed is not common or*

“ from these Critics. However from this want of penetration arose a difficulty in determining whether to read *facta* or *fata nepotum*. And as we now understand that *Servius* and his Critics were utter strangers to Virgil's noble idea, it is no wonder they could not resolve it. But the *latter* is the Poet's own word. He considered this shield of celestial make as a kind of *Palladium*, like the *ANCILE* which fell from Heaven and used to be carried in procession on the shoulders of the *SALII*. *Quid de scutis* (says Lactantius) *jam vetustate putridis dicam? Quæ cum portant, DEOS IPSOS SE GESTARE HUMERIS SUIS arbitrantur.* [Div. Inst. lib. i. c. 21.] Virgil, in a fine flight of imagination, alludes to this venerable ceremony, comparing, as it were, the shield of his hero to the sacred *ANCILE*; and, in conformity to the practice in that sacred procession, represents his hero in the priestly office of religion,

“ *Attolliens HUMERO famamque et FATA Nepotum.*”

“ This idea then, of the sacred shield, the guard and glory of Rome, and on which, in this *advanced* situation, depended the fame and fortune of his country, the Poet with extreme elegance and sublimity, transfers to the shield which guarded their great Progenitor, while he was laying the first foundations of the Roman Empire.” *Mr. HURD—Notes on the Ep. to Augustus*, p. 68.9. 3d edit.

¹ ACTS x 15.

impure;

impure; but no one who reads this story can doubt of its having this double sense: 1. *That the distinction between clean and unclean meats was to be abolished.* 2. *And That the Gentiles were to be called into the church of CHRIST.* Here then the true sense of these PASSAGES is not *one*, but *two*: and yet the intention or meaning is not, on this account, the least obscured or lost, or rendered doubtful or unintelligible.

He will say, perhaps, “that the very nature of the subject, in both cases, determines the two senses here explained.” And does he think, we will not say the same of *double senses in the Prophecies*? But he seems to take it for granted, that Judaism and Christianity have no kind of relation to one another: Why else would he bring, in discredit of a *double sense*, these two verses of Virgil:

“ Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina
 “ tanta
 “ Pulveris exigui jactu composita quiescunt.”

On which he thus descants—*The words are determinate and clear.*—Suppose now a man having occasion to speak of intermitting fevers and the ruffle of a man’s spirits, and the easy cure of the disorder by pulverized bark^m, &c.—To make this pertinent, we must suppose no more relation between the fortunes of the Jewish Church and the Christian, than between a *battle of Bees*, and the *tumult of the animal Spirits*: if this were not his meaning it will be hard to know what was, unless to shew his happy talent at a parody.

^m Page 225.

But as he seems to delight in classical authorities, I will give him one not quite so absurd; where he himself shall confess that a *double meaning* does in fact run thro' one of the finest Odes of Antiquity. Horace thus addressses a crazy ship in which his friends had embarked for the *Ægean* sea:

O navis, referent in mare te novi
 Fluctus! ô quid agis? fortiter occupa
 Portum: nonne vides ut
 Nudum remigio latus^a, &c.

In the first and *primary* sense he describes the dangers of his friends in a weak unmanned vessel, and in a tempestuous sea: in the *secondary*, the dangers of the Republic in entering into a new civil war, after all the losses and disasters of the old. As to the *secondary sense*, which is ever the most questionable and obscure, we have the testimony of early Antiquity delivered by Quintilian: As to the *primary sense*, the following will not suffer us to doubt of it:

Nuper sollicitum quæ mihi tædium,
 Nunc desiderium, curaque non levis,
 Interfusa nitentes
 Vites æquora Cycladas.

But there being, as we have shewn above, two kinds of allegories; (the first, *viz.* the *proper* allegory; which hath but *one real sense*, because the literal meaning, serving only for the *envelope*, and without a *moral import*°, is not to be reckoned; the second, the *improper*, which hath *two*; because

^a Hor. Od. lib. i. Od. 14.

° See p. 194.

the literal meaning is of *moral import*; and of this nature are Prophecies with a *double sense*) and the Critics on Horace not apprehending the different natures of these two kinds, have engaged in very warm contests. The one side seeing some parts of the Ode to have a necessary relation with a real ship, contend for its being *purely historical*; at the head of these is Tanaquil Faber, who first started this criticism, after fifteen centuries peaceable possession of the Allegory: the other side, on the authority of Quintilian, who gives the ode as an example of this figure, will have it to be *purely allegorical*. Whereas it is evidently both one and the other; of the nature of the *second kind* of allegories, which have a *double sense*; and this double sense, which does not in the least obscure the meaning, the learned reader may see adds infinite beauty to the whole turn of the Apostrophe. Had it been *purely historical*, nothing had been more cold or trifling; had it been *purely allegorical*, nothing less natural or gracious, on account of the enormous length into which it is drawn.—Ezekiel has an allegory of that sort which Quintilian supposes this to be, (namely, a *proper allegory with only one real sense*) and he manages it with that brevity and expedition which a *proper allegory* demands, when used in the place of a metaphor. Speaking of Tyre under the image of a Ship, he says, *Thy Rowers have brought thee into great waters: the east-wind hath broken thee in the midst of the Seas*^p. But suppose the Ode to be both *historical* and *allegorical*, and that, under his immediate concern for his Friends, he conveyed his more distant apprehensions for the Republic, and then there appears so much ease, and art, and dignity in every period;

^p Chap. xxvii. ver. 26.

as make us justly esteem it the most finished composition of Antiquity.

What is it then which makes the *double sense* so ridiculous and absurd in, *Hi motus animorum, &c.* and so noble and rational in, *O Navis referent, &c.* but this, That, in the latter case, the subject of the *two senses* had a close connexion in the INTERESTS OF THE WRITER; in the former, none at all? Now that which makes two senses *reasonable*, does, at the same time, always make them *intelligible* and obvious. But if this be true, then a double sense in Prophecies must be both reasonable and intelligible: For I think no Believer will deny that there was the closest connexion between the Jewish and Christian systems, in the Dispensations of the Holy Spirit.—This will shew us, with what knowledge of his subject the late Lord Bolingbroke was endowed, when he endeavoured to discredit *Types* and *Figures* by this wise observation, “ That Scripture
“ *Types* and *Figures* have NO MORE RELATION TO
“ the things said to be typified, than to any thing
“ that passes now in France¹.”

3. His next argument runs thus—“ If GOD is
“ disposed to reveal to mankind any truths—he
“ must convey them in such a manner that they
“ may be understood—if he speaks to men, he
“ must condescend to their infirmities and capacities—Now if he were to contrive a Proposition
“ in such a manner—that the same Proposition
“ should relate to *several* events; the consequence
“ would be, that as often as events happened
“ which agreed to any Proposition, so often would
“ the Revelation be accomplished. But this would

¹ Works. vol. iii. p. 306.

“ only serve to increase the confusion of men’s
 “ minds, and never to clear up any Prophecy : No
 “ man could say what was intended by the spirit
 “ of GOD : And if MANY events were intended,
 “ it would be the same thing as if NO event was
 “ intended at all †.”

I all along suspected he was talking against what he did not understand. He proposed to prove the absurdity of a *double* or *secondary sense* † of Prophecies ; and now he tells us of MANY senses ; and endeavours to shew how this would make Prophecy usefess. But sure he should have known, what the very phrase itself intimates, that no prophetic Proposition is pretended to have more than two senses : And farther, that the subject of each is supposed to relate to *two* connected and successive Dispensations : which is so far from creating *any confusion in men’s minds*, or *making a Prophecy usefess*, that it cannot but strengthen and confirm our belief of, and give *double* evidence to the divinity of the Prediction. On the contrary he appears to think that what orthodox Divines mean by a *second sense*, is the same with what the Scotch Prophets mean by a *second sight* ; the seeing one thing after another as long as the imagination will hold out.

4. His last Argument is — “ Nor is it any
 “ ground for such a supposition, that the Prophets
 “ being FULL OF THE IDEAS of the *Messiah*, and
 “ his glorious kingdom, MADE USE OF IMAGES
 “ taken from thence, to express the points upon
 “ which they had occasion to speak. From *whence-*
 “ *soever* they took their ideas, yet when they spoke
 “ of *present facts*, it was *present facts* only that

† Page 226.

‡ See p. 221.

“ were to be understood. Common language, and
 “ the figures of it, and the manner of expression;
 “ the *metaphors*, the *hyperboles*, and all the usual
 “ forms of speech are to be considered: And if
 “ the occasions of the expression are taken from a
 “ *future state*, yet still the Proposition is to be in-
 “ terpreted of that *one* thing to which it is particu-
 “ larly applied^t.”

Orthodox Divines have supported the reasonableness and probability of *double senses* by this material Observation, that the inspired Writers were *full of the ideas of the Christian Dispensation*. That is, there being a close relation between the Christian and the Jewish, of which the Christian was the completion, whenever the Prophets spoke of any of the remarkable fortunes of the one, they interwove with it those of the other. A truth, which no man could be so hardy to deny, who believes, 1. That there is that relation between the two Religions: and 2. That these inspired men were let into the nature and future fortunes of both. See now in what manner our Author represents this observation. *It is no ground*, says he, *for a double sense, that the Prophets were full of the ideas of a Messiah and his glorious kingdom, and made use of images taken from thence*; [that is, that they enobled their style by the habitual contemplation of magnificent ideas.] *For* (continues he) *whencesoever they took their ideas, when they spoke of present facts, present facts alone were to be understood. Common language and the figures of it, &c.*— Without doubt, from such a *fulness of ideas*, as only raised and ennobled their style, it could be no more concluded that they meant future facts,

^t Page 227.

when they speak of present, than that Virgil, because he was full of the magnificent ideas of the Roman grandeur, where he says, *Priami Imperium — Divam Domus, Ilium, & Ingens gloria Teucrorum*, meant Rome as well as Troy. But what is all this to the purpose? Orthodox Divines talk of a *fulness of ideas* arising from the Holy Spirit's revealing the *mutual dependency* and *future fortunes* of the two Dispensations; and revealing them for the information, solace, and support of the Christian Church: And Dr. Sykes talks of a *fulness of ideas* got no body knows how, and used no body knows why, — *to raise* (I think he says) *their style and enoble their images*. Let him give some good account of this representation, and then we may be able to determine, if it be worth the trouble, whether he here put the change upon himself or his readers. To all this Dr. Sykes replies, "It was no answer, to shew that there are *allegories* and *allegorical interpretations*, for these were never by me denied." *Exam.* p. 363. Why does he tell us of his never denying *allegories*, when he is called upon for denying *secondary senses*? Does he take these things to be *different*? If he does, his answer is nothing to the purpose, for he is only charged, in express words, with denying *secondary senses*. Does he take them to be the *same*? He must then allow *secondary senses*; and so give up the question; that is, retract the passages here quoted from him. He is reduced to this dilemma, either to acknowledge that he first writ, or that he now answers, to no purpose^u.

From

^u The Reader sees however, by this, that he at length takes ALLEGORIES and SECONDARY SENSES not to be the same: In which I must crave leave to tell him, he is mistaken. *Religious allegories* (the only allegories in question) being no other than

From hence, to the end of the chapter, he goes on to examine particular texts urged against his opinion; with which I have at present nothing to do: first, because the proper subject of this section is the *general nature* only of types and double senses: and secondly, because what room I have to spare, on this head, is for a much welcomer Guest, who I am now returning to, the original author of these profound reasonings, Mr. COLLINS himself.

II.

We have shewn that *types* and *secondary senses* are rational, logical, and scholastic modes of information: that they were expedient and highly useful under the Jewish Œconomy: and that they are indeed to be found in the Institutes of the Law and the Prophets. But now it will be objected, “that, as far as relates to the Jewish Œconomy, a *double sense* may be allowed; because the future affairs of that Dispensation may be well supposed to occupy the thoughts of the Prophet; but it is unreasonable to make one of the senses relate to a different and remote Dispensation, never surely in his thoughts. *For the books of the Old Testament* (Mr. Collins tells us) *seem the most plain of all ancient writings, and wherein there appears not the least trace of a Typical or Allegorical intention in the Authors or in any other Jews of their time*.*”

a species of *secondary senses*. This may be news to our Critic, tho’ he has written and printed so much about ALLEGORIES, that is, about *secondary senses*; as Monsieur Jordan was surprized to find he had talked prose all his life-time, without knowing it.

* *Grounds*, p. 82.

I reply,

I reply, that was it even as our adversaries suggest, that *all* the Prophecies, which, we say, relate to JESUS, relate to him only in a *secondary* sense; and that there were no other intimations of the New Dispensation but what such Prophecies convey; it would not follow that *such* sense was false or groundless. And this I have clearly shewn in the account of their nature, original and use. Thus much I confess, that without miracles, in confirmation of such sense, some^y of them would
with

^y Dr. Stebbing, of this SOME (by one of his arts of controversy) has made ALL. And charges me* with giving this as the character of *double prophecies* in general, that *without Miracles in their conformation they could hardly have the sense contended for, well ascertained*. On the contrary he assures his reader that no Prophecy can have its sense supported by Miracles. — That part which relates to the Morality of the Doctor's conduct in this matter, I shall leave to himself: with his Logic I have something more to say. The *Miracles* which, the Reader plainly sees, I meant, were those worked by Jesus; and the *Prophecies*, some of those which Jesus quoted, as relating to himself. But the Doctor tells us, "That Miracles are not to be taken for granted in our disputes with Unbelievers." In some of our disputes with Unbelievers they are not to be taken for granted; in some they are. When the dispute is, whether the truth of Jesus' *Mission* appear from Miracles, it would be absurd to take Miracles for granted: but when the dispute is, whether the truth of his *Messiah-character* appear from Prophecies, there is no absurdity in taking his Miracles for granted; because an unbeliever may deny his *Messiah-character*, which arises from Prophecies, and yet acknowledge this *Mission* which is proved by Miracles; but he cannot deny the truth of his *mission*, which is proved by Miracles, and yet acknowledge his Miracles. But more than this — An Unbeliever not only *may* allow us to suppose the truth of Miracles when the question is about the proof of the *Messiah-character* from Prophecies, but the Unbeliever, with whom I had here to do, Mr. Collins, does *actually* allow us, in our dispute with him, to suppose the truth of Miracles: For thus he argues, "Jesus, you say, has proved his *Mission* by Miracles. In good time. But he had another

* See *Hist. of Abr.* p. 61 — 2, — 3, &c.

with difficulty be proved to have it ; because we have shewn, that a commodious and designed obscurity

Character to support, that of a *promised Messiah*, for which he appeals to the Prophecies: Now, 1st, these Prophecies relate not to him, but to another. And 2dly, Miracles never can make that relate to him which relate to another." In answer to this I proposed to shew, that the first proposition was absolutely false, and that the second very much wanted to be qualified. In the course of this dispute I had occasion to urge the evidence of Miracles; and Mr. Collins, while denying the *Messiah-character*, had permitted me to suppose their truth. Unluckily, the Doctor, who saw nothing of all this, takes what Logicians call the *point assumed*, and the *point to be proved*, for one and the same thing. That Jesus was a *divine Messenger* and worked Miracles is the *point assumed* by me; and Mr. Collins, over confident of his cause, permitted me to assume it. That Jesus was the *Messiah* foretold is the *point to be proved*; and I did not expect that any other than a follower of Mr. Collins would deny I had proved it. But I will be fair even with so unfair an Adversary as Dr. Stebbing, and urge *his cause* with an advantage with which I will suppose he would have urged it himself had he known how. It may be questioned whether it be strictly logical to employ this topic (which Mr. Collins allows us to assume) of Jesus's *divine mission* in order to prove his *Messiahship*? Now all that can be here objected is, that we *assume* one Character, in order to *prove* another, in the same divine Person. And what is there illogical in this? Whoever objected to the force of that reasoning against Lord Bolingbroke, which, from the Attributes of God's *power and wisdom* which his Lordship allowed the Author of the *View of his Philosophy* to assume, inferred and proved God's *justice and goodness*, which his Lordship denied.

But to satisfy, not the Doctor, but any more reasonable man, I will suppose, it may be asked, "Of what use are Prophecies thus circumstanced, that is to say, such as require the evidence of Miracles to ascertain their sense?" I reply, of very important use; as they open and reveal more clearly the mutual dependency and connexion of the two Dispensations on one another, in many particulars which would otherwise have escaped our notice: And, by this means, strengthen several additional proofs of the *Messiahship* of Jesus, on which the Gospel doctrine of *Redemption* depends. But was there no more in it than this, 'The resending *some* prophecies quoted in the New Testament as relating to Jesus, out of the hands of Unbelievers, who have taken

curity attends both their nature and their use. But then, This let me add, and these Pretenders to superior reason would do well to consider it, that the authority of divine Wisdom as rationally forces the assent to a *determined meaning* of an obscure and doubtful Proposition, as any other kind of logical evidence whatsoever.

But this which is here put, is by no means the case. For we say, 1. That some of the Prophecies relate to JESUS in a *primary* sense. 2. That besides these, there are in the prophetic Writings, the most

taken an occasion, from their generality or obscurity, to persuade the people that they relate entirely to another matter, this, I say, would be no less than clearing the truth of the *Messiahship* from inextricable difficulties. — I will now take a final leave of this *Answerer by profession*; an Answerer of such eminence, that he may indeed be called,

Knight of the Shire who represents them all.

But as he displays at parting all the effrontery of his miserable trade, I will just stop to new burnish his complexion.

I had called my Argument a *Demonstration*, which one would think, no one who could distinguish *Morals* from *Physics* could mistake, or would venture to misrepresent. Yet hear Doctor Stebbing's last words,—" That Moses was the Legislator of the Jews, and that the Jews were ignorant of a Future State; these facts must be known by history, which spoils you for a Demonstrator at once: For historical evidence goes no further than *probability*, and if this must concur to make up the evidence, it cannot be a *Demonstration*: For Demonstration cannot stand upon probability. The evidence may be good and sufficient, but *Demonstration* it cannot be; *which is always founded upon self-evident truths, and is carried on by a chain or series of the most simple ideas hanging upon each other by a necessary connexion.*" *Letter to the Dean of Bristol*, p. 9—10. And was it for this, that this wonderful man hath written half a score Pamphlets against the *Divine Legation*, that he could not find in it the same sort of *Demonstration* which he hath been told may be seen in Euclid?

clear and certain intimations of the *Gospel Economy*, which are alone sufficient to ascertain the reality of the *secondary*.

I. That SOME Prophecies relate to the MESSIAH in a *primary sense*, hath been invincibly proved by many learned men before me: I shall mention therefore but ONE; and that, only because Mr. Collins hath made some remarks upon it, which will afford occasion for a farther illustration of the subject. JESUS declares, of John the Baptist — *This is the ELIAS that was for to come.* “Where-
 “ in (says the Author of *the Grounds*, &c.) he is
 “ supposed to refer to these words of Malachi,
 “ *Behold I will send you Elijah the Prophet before*
 “ *the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord;*
 “ which according to their LITERAL sense, are a
 “ Prophecy that *Elijah* or *Elias* was to come in per-
 “ son, and therefore not LITERALLY but MYSTI-
 “ CALLY fulfilled in *John the Baptist*.” And
 again, in his *Scheme of literal Prophecy considered*,
 speaking of this passage of *Malachi*, he says, “But
 “ to cut off all pretence for a *literal Prophecy*, I
 “ observe, first, That the literal interpretation of
 “ this place is, that *Elias*, the real *Elias* was to
 “ come. And is it not a MOST PLEASANT literal
 “ interpretation to make *Elias* not signify *Elias*,
 “ but some body who resembled him in qualities?
 “ —Secondly I observe, that the *Septuagint* Trans-
 “ lators render it, *Elias the Tisbbite*, — and that
 “ the *Jews*, since CHRIST’S time, have generally
 “ understood, from the passage before us, that
 “ *Elias is to come in person.*—But *John Baptist* him-
 “ self, who must be supposed to know who he was
 “ himself, when the question was asked him, *whc-*

² *Grounds*, p. 47, 48.

“ *ther he was Elias*, denied himself to be *Elias*; and
 “ when asked who he was, said, he was the voice
 “ of one crying in the Wilderness, &c. which is a
 “ passage taken from *Isaiab* ^a.”

1. The first thing observable in these curious remarks is, that this great Advocate of Infidelity did not so much as understand the terms of the question. The words, says he, *according to their literal sense, are a Prophecy that Elijah was to come in person, and therefore not literally but mystically fulfilled in John the Baptist.* He did not so much as know the meaning of a *primary* and *secondary sense*, about which he makes all this stir. A *secondary* sense indeed implies a *figurative* interpretation; a *primary* implies a *literal*: But yet this *primary* SENSE does not exclude *figurative* TERMS. The *primary* or *literal* sense of the Prophecy in question is, that, before the great and terrible day of the Lord, a messenger should be sent, resembling in character the Prophet *Elijah*; this messenger, by a *figure*, is called the Prophet *Elijah*. A figure too of the most easy and natural import; and of especial use amongst the Hebrews, who were accustomed to denote any character or action by that of the kind which was become most known or celebrated. Thus the Prophet *Isaiah*: “ And the
 “ Lord shall utterly destroy the *tongue* of the *Egyptian*
 “ sea, and with his mighty wind shall he
 “ shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it
 “ in the *seven streams* ^b.” Here, a second passage through the *Red Sea* is promised in *literal terms*: But who therefore will say that this is the *literal meaning*? The *literal* meaning, though the prophecy be in *figurative terms*, is simply redemption

^a Page 127.

^b Chap. xi. ver. 15.

from bondage. For EGYPT, in the Hebrew phrase, signified *a place of bondage*. So again Jeremiah says, “ A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping: RACHEL weeping for her children refused to be comforted because they were not ^c.” The primary sense of these words, according to Grotius, is a prediction of the weeping of the Jewish matrons for their children carried captive to Babylon by Nabuzardan. Will he say therefore that this Prophecy was not *literally* fulfilled, because *Rachel* was dead many ages before and did not, that we read of, return to life on this occasion? Does not he see that, by the most common and easy figure, the Matrons of the tribe of Benjamin were called by the name of this their great Parent. As the Israelites, in Scripture, are called *Jacob*, and the posterity of the son of Jesse by the name of *David*. So again, Isaiah says, “ Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of SODOM; give ear unto the Law of our God, ye people of GOMORRAH ^d.” Will he say, the people of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* are here addressed to in the *primary* sense, and the people of the Jews only in the *secondary*? But the preceding words, which shew the people of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* could not now be addressed to, because there were none left, shew likewise that it is the Jewish Nation which is called by these names. *Except the Lord of Hosts had left us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrhah ^e*. Would not he be thought an admirable interpreter of *Virgil* who should criticise the Roman Poet in the same manner?—*Virgil seems the most plain of all ancient writings: And he says,*

^c Chap. xxxi. ver. 15.

^e Ver. 9.

^d Chap. i. ver. 10.

“ Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.”

Which, according to its literal meaning, is, that the Virgin returns, and old Saturn reigns again, in person; and therefore not LITERALLY, but MYSTICALLY fulfilled in the justice and felicity of Augustus's reign. And it is a MOST PLEASANT literal interpretation, to make the Virgin and Saturn not signify the Virgin and Saturn, but somebody who resembled them in qualities. Such reasoning on a Classic, would be called nonsense in every language. But Freethinking sanctifies all sorts of impertinence. Let me observe further, that this was a kind of compound blunder: LITERAL, in common speech, being opposed both to figurative and to spiritual; and MYSTICAL signifying both figurative and spiritual; he fairly confounded the distinct and different meanings both of LITERAL and of MYSTICAL.

He goes on—*I observe, that the Septuagint Translators render it Elias the Tishbite---and that the Jews since CHRIST's time have generally understood from this passage, that Elias is to come in person. And John Baptist himself, who must be supposed to know who he was himself, when the question was asked him, denied himself to be Elias --- Why does he say, Since CHRIST's time, and not before, when it appears to be before as well as since, from his own account of the translation of the Septuagint? For a good reason. We should then have seen why John the Baptist, when asked, denied himself to be Elias; which it was not Mr. Collins's design we should see; if indeed we do not ascribe too much to his knowledge in this matter. The case stood thus: At the time of the Septuagint translation, and from thence to the time of CHRIST, the doctrine of a Transmigration, and of a Resurrection of the body,*

to repossess the Land of Judea, were national opinions; which occasioned the Jews by degrees to understand all these sorts of *figurative* expressions *literally*. Hence, amongst their many visions, this was one, that Elias should come again in person. Which shews what it was the Jews asked John the Baptist; and what it was he answered, when *he denied himself to be Elias*: Not that he was not the Messenger prophesied of by Malachi (for his pretending to be that Messenger evidently occasioned the question) but that he was not, nor did the prophecy imply that the Messenger should be, *Elias in person*.

But to set his reasoning in the fullest light, Let us consider a similar prophecy of Amos: *Behold the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a FAMINE in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the words of the Lord* †. I would ask, is this a Prophecy of a *famine of the word* in a *literal*, or in a *mystical* sense? Without doubt the Deist will own (if ever he expects we should appeal again to his ingenuity) in a *literal*. But now strike out the explanation [*not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water*] and what is it then? Is it not still a *famine of the word* in a *literal* sense? *Mystical*, if you will, in the meaning of *metaphorically obscure*, but not in the meaning of *spiritual*. But *mystical* in this latter signification only, is opposed to *literal*, in the question about *secondary senses*. It appears then, that a *want of preaching the word* is still the *literal* meaning of the Prophecy, whether the explanation be in or out, though the *figurative* term [*famine*] be used to express that meaning. And the reason why the

† Chap. viii. ver. 11.

Prophet explains the term, was not, because it was a harsh or unnatural *figure*, to denote *want of preaching*, any more than the term *Elijah* to denote a similar character, which Malachi does not explain; but because the Prophecy of Amos might have been for ever mistaken, and the *figurative* term understood *literally*; the People being at that time, often punished for their sins by a *famine of bread*.

But this abusive cavil at *figurative terms* will remind us of his observations on the following Prophecy of Isaiah—"Even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer: their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar; for mine house shall be called an house of Prayer FOR ALL PEOPLE⁸." This, he says, must needs relate to Jewish, not to Christian times. Why? Because *sacrifices* are mentioned. But how could this truth be told the Jewish People, *that all nations should be gathered to the true GOD*, otherwise than by using terms taken from Rites familiar to them; unless the nature of the Christian Dispensation had been previously explained? A matter evidently unfit for their information, when they were yet to live so long under the Jewish. For tho' the Prophets speak of the little value of, and small regard due to, the *ceremonial Law*; they always mean (and always make their meaning understood) when the *ceremonial Law* is superstitiously observed, and observed to a neglect of the *moral*; which last they describe in the purity and perfection of the Gospel. So admirable was this conduct! that while it hid the future Dispensation, it prepared men for it.

⁸ Chap. lvi. ver. 7.

Thus then stands the argument of this mighty Reasoner. There are *no* Prophecies, he says, which relate to JESUS but in a *secondary sense*. Now a secondary sense is *unscholastic* and *enthusiastical*. To this we answer, that the Prophecy of Malachi about Elijah, and of Isaiah about bringing all people to his holy mountain, relate to JESUS in a *primary sense*. He replies, No, but in a *mystical, only*. Here he begins to quibble, the sure sign of an expiring Argument: *Mystical* signifies as well *secondary* as *figurative*. In the sense of *secondary*, the interpretation of these Prophecies to JESUS is *not mystical*; in the sense of *figurative* it is. But is the use of a *figurative term* enthusiastic or un-scholastic, when the end is only to convey information concerning a less known thing in the *terms* of one more known? Now whether we are to charge this to ill faith or a worse understanding, his Followers shall determine for me.

2. But we will suppose all that an ingenuous Adversary can ask — “ That most of the Prophecies in question relate to JESUS in a *secondary sense only*; the rest in a *primary*, but expressed in *figurative terms*; which, till their completion, threw a shade over their meaning, and kept them in a certain degree of obscurity.” Now, to shew how all this came about, will add still farther light to this very perplexed question.

We have seen, from the nature and long duration of the Jewish Œconomy, that the Prophecies which relate to JESUS, must needs be darkly and enigmatically delivered: We have seen how the *allegoric Mode* of speech, then much in use, furnished the means, by what we call a *double sense* in Prophecies, of doing this with all the requisite
obscurity,

obscurity. But as some of these Prophecies by their proper light alone, without the confirmation of miracles, could hardly have their sublimer sense so well ascertained; to render all opposers of the Gospel without excuse, it pleased the Holy Spirit, under the last race of the Prophets, to give credentials to the mission of JESUS by predictions of him in a *primary* and *literal* sense. Yet the Jewish Œconomy being to continue long, there still remained the same necessity of a covert and mysterious conveyance. That figurative expression therefore, which was before employed in the *proposition*, was now used in the *terms*. Hence, the Prophecies of a *single sense* come to be in highly figurative words: as before, the earlier Prophecies of a *double sense* (which had a *primary* meaning in the affairs of the Jewish State, and, for the present information of that People) were delivered in a much simpler phrase.

The Jewish Doctors, whose obstinate adherence, not to the *letter of the Law*, as this Writer ignorantly or fraudulently suggests, but to the mystical interpretations of the *Cabala*, prevents their seeing the true cause of this difference in the LANGUAGE, between the earlier and later Prophets, the Jewish Doctors, I say, are extremely perplexed to give a tolerable account of this matter. What they best agree in is, that the *figurative enigmatic style* of the later Prophets (which however they make infinitely more obscure by cabalistic meanings, than it really is, in order to evade the relation which the Predictions have to JESUS) is owing to the *declining state* of Prophecy. Every Prophet, says the famous Rabbi, Joseph Albo, *that is of a strong, sagacious, and piercing understanding, will apprehend the thing nakedly without any similitude;*

whence it comes to pass that all his sayings are distinct and clear, and free from all obscurity, having a literal truth in them: But a Prophet of an inferior rank or degree, his words are obscure, enwrapped in riddles and parables; and therefore have not a literal but allegorical truth contained in them^h. And indeed our fictitious Rabbi seems to have had as little knowledge of this matter as the other; for in answer to what Mr. Whiston, who, extravagant as he was in rejecting all *double senses*, yet knew the difference between a *secondary* and *enigmatic* prophecy, which, we shall see, Mr. Collins did not, in answer, I say, to Mr. Whiston, who observed that the Prophecies [meaning the *primary*] which relate to Christianity are covered, mystical, and enigmatical, replies, This is exactly equal mysticism with, and just as remote from the real literal sense as the mysticism of the Allegorists [i. e. the Contenders for a double sense] and is altogether as *OBSCURE* to the understandingⁱ. His argument against *secondary senses* is, that they are *unscholastic* and *enthusiastical*. Mr. Whiston, to humour him, presents him with *direct* and *primary* Prophecies, but tells him, at the same time, they are expressed in *covered, mystical, and enigmatical terms*. This will not satisfy him; *it is no better than the mysticism of the Allegorists*. How so? We may think perhaps, that he would pretend to prove, because his argument requires he should prove, that *enigmatical expressions* are as *unscholastic* and *enthusiastical* as *secondary senses*. No such matter. All he says is, that they are as *OBSCURE* to the understanding. But *obscurity* is not his quarrel with *secondary senses*. He objects to them as *unscholastic* and *enthusiastical*. But here lay the difficulty; no man,

^h Smith's *Select Discourses*, p. 180.
 &c. p. 242.

ⁱ *The Grounds*,

who

who pretended to any language, could affirm this, of *figurative enigmatical expressions*; he was forced therefore to have recourse to his usual refuge, OBSCURITY.

It is true, he says, these *mystical enigmatic Prophecies* (as Mr. Whiston calls them) are equally remote from the real literal sense, as the *mysticism of the Allegorists*. But this is only a repetition of the blunder exposed above, where he could not distinguish between the literal sense of a *Term*, and the literal sense of a *Proposition*. And how gross that ignorance is we may see by the following instance. Isaiah says, *The Wolf also shall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard shall lie down with the Kid; and the Calf, and the young Lion, and the Fatling together, and a little Child shall lead them*^k. Now I will take it for granted that his Followers understand this, as Grotius does, of the profound peace which was to follow after the times of Senacherib, under Hezekiah: but tho' the *terms* be *mystical*, yet sure they call this the *literal sense* of the prophecy: For Grotius makes the *mystical sense* to refer to the Gospel. Mr. Whiston, I suppose, denies that this has any thing to do with the times of Hezekiah, but that it refers to those of CHRIST only. Is not his interpretation therefore *literal* as well as that of Grotius? unless it immediately becomes *odly typical, unscholastic, and enthusiastical*, as soon as ever JESUS comes into the question.

II. But now, besides the *literal primary* prophecies concerning the PERSON OF JESUS, we say, in the second place, that there are other which give a

^k Chap. xi. ver. 6.

primary and direct intimation of the CHANGE OF THE DISPENSATION. Isaiah foretels great mercies to the Jewish People, in a future Age; which, tho' represented by such metaphors as bore analogy to the blessings peculiar to the Jewish Œconomy, yet, to shew that they were indeed different from what the figurative terms alluded to, the Prophet at the same time adds, *My thoughts are not as your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord*¹. This surely implies a different DISPENSATION. That the change was from carnal to spiritual, is elegantly intimated in the subjoining words, — *For as the HEAVENS are higher than the EARTH, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts*^m. But this higher and more excellent Dispensation is more plainly revealed in the following figure: *Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree*ⁿ; i. e. the new Religion shall as far excel the old, as the fir-tree does the thorn, or the myrtle the brier. In a following Prophecy he shews the EXTENT of this new Religion as here he had shewn its NATURE; that it was to spread beyond Judea, and to take in the whole race of mankind, — *The GENTILES shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising*^o, &c. Which idea the Prophet Zephaniah expresses in so strong a manner, as to leave no room for evasion: *The Lord will be terrible unto them, for he will FAMILISH all the GODS OF THE EARTH; and men shall worship him every one FROM HIS PLACE, even all the isles of the GENTILES*^p. The expression is noble, and alludes to the popular superstitions of Paganism, which conceived that their Gods were nourished

¹ Chap. lv. ver. 8.

^m Ver. 9.

ⁿ Ver. 13.

^o Chap. lx. ver. 3.

^p Chap. ii. ver. 11.

by the steam of sacrifices. But when were the Pagan Gods thus *famished*, but in the first ages of Christianity?—*Every one from his place*; that is, they were not to go up to JERUSALEM to worship. ---*Even all the isles of the Gentiles*: but when did these worship the God of Israel *every one from his place*, before the preaching of the Apostles? Then indeed their speedy and general conversion distinguished them from the rest of the nations. This he expresses yet more plainly in another place. “In that day shall there be an *altar* to the Lord “in the midst of the Land of *Egypt*.” *i. e.* the Temple-service shall be abolished; and the God of Israel worshiped with the most solemn rites, even in the most abhorred and un sanctified places, such as the Jews esteemed Egypt. Which Malachi thus diversifies in the expression, *And in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a PURE OFFERING*’, *i. e.* it shall not be the less acceptable for not being at the *Temple*.

But Isaiah, as he proceeds, is still more explicite, and declares, in direct terms, that the Dispensation should be changed: *Behold, I create NEW HEAVENS*

⁹ Chap. xix. 19.

^r Chap. i. 19. — Nothing can be more simple than the principle here enforced, or more agreeable to the rules of just interpretation than to suppose, that the *Language of the Law*, in the terms ALTAR, SACRIFICE, &c. is employed to convey these prophetic intimations of the Gospel. The ancient fathers of the Church very improvidently continued the use of these terms, when speaking of the Christian Rites: For tho’ they used them, and professed to use them metaphorically, yet it gave countenance to strange extravagance of Scripture-interpretation amongst the Romanists. The ingenious Author of the *Principes de la foi Chretienne*, Tom. i. p. 273. brings this prophecy of Malachi for a proof of the divine institution of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

and a NEW EARTH; and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind^s. This, in the prophetic style, means a NEW RELIGION and a NEW LAW; the metaphors, as we have shewn elsewhere, being taken from hieroglyphical expression. He speaks in another place, of the consequence of this *change*; namely the transferring the benefits of Religion from the Jewish to the Christian Dispensation. Is it not yet a very little while, “and Lebanon [*the isles of the Gentiles*] shall be turned into a fruitful field, and the fruitful field [*the land of Judea*] shall be esteemed as a forest’?” To make it yet more clear, I observe farther, that the Prophet goes on to declare the *change* of the SANCTION; and this was a necessary consequence of the change of the Dispensation.---*There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: For the child shall die an hundred years old, but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed*^u; i. e. the SANCTION OF TEMPORAL REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS shall be no longer administred in an extraordinary manner: for we must remember, that long life for obedience, and sudden and untimely death for transgressions, bore an eminent part in the Sanction of the Jewish Law. Now these are expressly said to be abrogated in the Dispensation promised, it being declared that the Virtuous, tho’ dying immaturity, should be as if they had lived an hundred years; and Sinners, tho’ living to an hundred years, as if they had died immaturity.

The very same prophecy in Jeremiah, delivered in less figurative terms, supports this interpretation

^s Chap. lxxv. ver. 17.

^t Chap. xxix. 17.

^u Chap. lxxv. 20.

beyond all possibility of cavil: “ Behold the days
 “ come, saith the Lord, that I will make a NEW
 “ COVENANT with the house of *Israel*, and with
 “ the house of *Judah*, not according to the Covenant
 “ that I made with their fathers, in the day that I
 “ took them by the hand, to bring them out of
 “ the land of *Egypt*.—But *this shall be the Covenant*
 “ that I will make with the house of *Israel*, After
 “ those days, saith the Lord, *I will put my Law*
 “ *in their INWARD PARTS, and write it in their*
 “ HEARTS^x.”

What *Isaiah* figuratively names a *new Heaven and a new Earth*, *Jeremiah* simply and literally calls a *new Covenant*. And what kind of Covenant? Not such an one as was made with their Fathers. This was declarative enough of its nature; yet to prevent mistakes, he gives as well a *positive* as a *negative* description of it: *This shall be the Covenant, I will put my Law in their inward parts, &c. i. e.* this Law shall be *spiritual*, as the other given to their Fathers, was *carnal*: For the Ceremonial Law did not scrutinize the heart, but rested in external obedience and observances.

Lastly, to crown the whole, we may observe, that *Jeremiah* too, like *Isaiah*, fixes the true nature of the Dispensation by declaring, the CHANGE of the SANCTION: “ In those days they shall say no
 “ more, the fathers have eaten a sour grape, and
 “ the childrens teeth are set on edge. But every
 “ one shall die for his own iniquity, every man
 “ that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set
 “ on edge^y.” For it was part of the Sanction of the Jewish Law, that children should bear the ini-

^x Chap. xxxi. ver. 31.

^y Ver. 29.

quity of their fathers, &c. a mode of punishing which hath been already explained and justified. Yet all these Prophecies of the GOSPEL being delivered in terms appropriate to the LAW, the Jews of that time would naturally, as they in fact did, understand them as speaking of the extention and completion of the OLD Dispensation, rather than the perfection of it by the introduction of a NEW. And thus their reverence for the present System, under which they were yet to continue, was preserved. The necessity of this proceeding, for the present time;—the effects it would afterwards produce thro' the perversity of the superstitious followers of the Law;—and the divine goodness as well as wisdom manifested in this proceeding, are all finely touched in the following passage of Isaiah ^z——“ Whom shall he teach
 “ knowledge? and whom shall he make to under-
 “ stand doctrine? Them that are weaned from the
 “ milk, and drawn from the breasts ^a. For pre-
 “ cept must be [or *hath been*] upon precept, pre-
 “ cept upon precept, line upon line, line upon
 “ line ^b, here a little and there a little. For with
 “ stammering lips and another tongue will he speak
 “ to this People ^c. To whom he said, This is the
 “ rest, and this is the refreshing ^d, yet they would
 “ not hear. But the word of the Lord was unto

^z Chap. xxviii. 9, & seq.

^a i. e. Those who were most free from the prejudices of the *Eternity* of the Law.

^b This reduplication of the phrase was to add force and energy to the sense.

^c i. e. Gospel truths delivered in the language of the Law.

^d i. e. The glad tidings of the Gospel.

“ them

“ them, precept upon precept, precept upon pre-
 “ cept, line upon line, line upon line, here a lit-
 “ tle and there a little; that they might go and
 “ fall backward, and be broken and snared and
 “ taken^e.”

Notwithstanding all this, if you will believe our Adversary, *The books of the Old Testament seem the most PLAIN of all ancient writings, and wherein there appears NOT THE LEAST TRACE OF TYPICAL OR ALLEGORICAL INTENTION in the Authors, or in any other Jews of their times^f.* He that answers a Free-thinker will find employment enough.—*Not the least trace of a typical or allegorical intention!* He might as well have said there is *not the least trace* of poetry in Virgil, or of eloquence in Cicero. But there is none, he says, *either in the Authors, or in any other Jews of their times.* Of both which Assertions, this single Text of Ezekiel will be an abundant confutation—*Ab Lord, THEY SAY OF ME, DOETH HE NOT SPEAK PARABLES^g?* The Prophet complains that his ineffectual Mission proceeded from his speaking, and from the People’s conceiving him to speak, of things mysteriously, and in a mode of delivery not understood by them. The Author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, who is reasonably supposed to have been contemporary with Antiochus Epiphanes, represents holy Scripture as fully fraught with typical and allegoric wisdom: “ He that giveth his mind to the Law of the

^e i. e. This gradual yet repeated instruction, which was given with so much mercy and indulgence, to lead them by slow and gentle steps from the Law to the Gospel, being abused so as to defeat the end, God in punishment made it the occasion of blinding their eyes and hardening their hearts.

^f *Grounds, &c.* p. 82.

^g Chap. xx. ver. 49.

“ Most High, and is occupied in the meditation
 “ thereof, will seek out the wisdom of the An-
 “ cients, AND BE OCCUPIED IN PROPHECIES. He
 “ will keep the sayings of the renowned men; and
 “ where SUBTILE PARABLES are, he will be there
 “ also. He will seek out the SECRETS OF GRAVE
 “ SENTENCES, and be conversant in DARK PARA-
 “ BLES^b.” Hence it appears that the Jewish Pro-
 phecies were not so *plain* as our Adversary repre-
 sents them; and that their obscurity arose from
 their having *Typical* or *Allegorical intentions*: which
 figures too, related not to the *present*, but to a
future Dispensation, as is farther seen from what
 Ezekiel says in another place—*Son of man, behold*
they of the house of Israel say, THE VISION THAT
HE SEETH IS FOR MANY DAYS TO COME, AND HE
PROPHESIETH OF THE TIMES THAT ARE FAR OFFⁱ.
 So that these People to whom the Prophecies were
 so *plain*, and who understood them to respect their
 own times only, *without any Typical or Allegoric*
meaning, complain of *obscurities* in them, and con-
 sider them as referring to very *remote times*. But
 I am ashamed of being longer serious with so idle
 a Caviller. The *English Bible* lies open to every
 FREE-THINKER of Great Britain; Where they
 may read it that will, and understand it that can.

As for such Writers as the Author of the *Grounds*
and Reasons, To say the truth, one would never
 wish to see them otherwise employed: But when so
 great and so good a man as GROTIUS hath unwarily
 contributed to support the dotages of Infidelity,

^b — ἐν περιφρησίαις ἀσχυλιηθήσεσθαι — ἐν τροφαῖς παραβολῶν συνεισ-
 ελιύσεσθαι — ἐν αἰνιγμασι παραβολῶν ἀναστροφῆσεσθαι. Chap. xxxix.
 ver. 1, 2, 3.

ⁱ Chap. xii. ver. 27.

this is such a misadventure as one cannot but lament.

This excellent Person, (for it is not to be disguised) hath made it his constant endeavour throughout his whole Comment on the Prophets, to find a *double* sense even in those *direct* Prophecies which relate to JESUS; and to turn the *primary* sense upon the affairs of the Jewish Dispensation; only permitting them to relate to JESUS in a *secondary*: and by that affected strain of interpretation, hath done almost as much harm to Revelation as his other writings have done it service: not from any strength there is in his Criticisms; (for this, and his Comment on the Apocalypse are the opprobrium of his great learning) but only from the name they carry with them.

The Principle which *Grotius* went upon in commenting the Bible, was, that it should be interpreted on the same rules of Criticism that men use in the study of all other ancient Writings. Nothing could be more reasonable than his Principle: but unluckily he deceived himself in the *application* of it. These rules teach us that the GENIUS, PURPOSE, and AUTHORITY of the Writer should be carefully studied. Under the head of his *authority* it is to be considered, whether he be a mere *human* or an *inspired* Writer. Thus far *Grotius* went right: he examined that authority; and pronounced the Writers to be *inspired*, and the Prophecies *divine*: But when he came to apply these premisses, he utterly forgot his conclusion; and interpreted the Prophecies by rules very different from what the confession of their divine original required: for seeing them pronounced by Jewish Prophets, occupied in Jewish Affairs, he con-

cluded their sole Object was Jewish; and consequently that the proper sense of the Prophecies referred to these only. But this was falling back from one of the grounds he went upon, That the Writers were *inspired*: for his interpretation was only reasonable on the supposition that these Writers prophesied in the very manner which the Pagans understood their Prophets sometimes to have done, by a *natural sagacity*: For, on the allowance of a real inspiration, it was God, and not the Writer, who was the proper Author of the Prophecy; and to understand *his purpose*, which the rules of interpretation requires us to seek, we must examine the nature, reason, and end of that Religion which he gave to the Jews: For on *these*, common sense assures us, the meaning of the Prophecies must be intirely regulated. Now if, on enquiry, it should be found, that this which Grotius admitted for a divine Dispensation, was only preparatory of another more perfect, it would then appear not to be improbable that some of these Prophecies might relate, in their *literal, primary, and immediate* sense, to that more perfect Dispensation. And whether they did so or not was to be determined by the joint evidence of the context, and of the nature of God's whole Dispensation to mankind, so far forth as it is discoverable to us. But Grotius, instead of making the matter thus reasonably problematical, and to be determined by evidence, determined first, and laid it down as a kind of Principle, that the Prophecies related directly and properly to Jewish affairs: and into this system he wiredrew all his explanations. This, as we say, was falsly applying a true rule of interpretation. He went on this reasonable ground, that the Prophecies should be interpreted like all other ancient Writings: and, on examining their *authority*, he
found

found them to be truly *divine*. When he had gone thus far, he then preposterously went back again, and commented as if they were confessed to be merely *human*: The consequence was, that several of his criticisms, to speak of them only as the performance of a man of learning, are so forced, unnatural, and absurd, so opposed to the rational canon of interpretation, that I will venture to affirm they are, in all respects, the worst that ever came from the hand of an acute and able Critic.

III.

Having now proved that the Principles which Mr. Collins went upon, are in themselves false and extravagant, one has little reason to regard how he employed them. But as this extraordinary Writer was as great a Free-thinker in Logic as in Divinity, it may not be improper to shew the fashionable World what sort of man they have chosen for their Guide, to lead them from their Religion, when they would no longer bear with any to direct them in it.

His argument against what he calls *typical, allegorical*, but properly, *secondary* senses, stands thus:—"Christianity pretends to derive itself from Judaism. Jesus appeals to the religious books of the Jews as prophesying of his Mission. None of these Prophecies can be understood of him but in a *typical allegoric* sense. Now that sense is absurd, and contrary to all scholastic rules of interpretation. Christianity, therefore not being really predicted of in the Jewish Writings, is consequently false."—The contestable Proposition, on which the whole argument rests, is, *That a typical or allegoric sense*

sense is absurd, and contrary to all scholastic rules of interpretation.

Would the Reader now believe that Mr. Collins has himself, in this very book given a thorough confutation of his own capital Proposition? Yet so it is; and, contrary too to his usual way of reasoning, he has done it in a very clear and convincing manner; by shewing, that the *typical* and *allegorical* way of writings was universally practised by Antiquity. —“ Allegory (says he) was much
 “ in use amongst the *Pagans*, being cultivated by
 “ many of the Philosophers themselves as well as
 “ Theologers. By SOME AS THE METHOD OF DE-
 “ LIVERING DOCTRINES; but by most as the me-
 “ thod of explaining away what, according to the
 “ letter, appear’d absurd in the ancient fables or his-
 “ tories of their Gods. Religion itself was deemed
 “ a mysterious thing amongst the *Pagans*, and not
 “ to be publicly and plainly declared. Wherefore
 “ it was never simply represented to the People,
 “ but was most obscurely delivered, and vail’d un-
 “ der Allegories, or Parables, or Hieroglyphics;
 “ and especially amongst the Egyptians, Chal-
 “ deans, and the Oriental Nations. — They alle-
 “ gorized many things of nature, and particu-
 “ larly the heavenly bodies — They allegorized
 “ all their ancient fables and stories, and pretended
 “ to discover in them the secrets of natural Philo-
 “ sophy, Medicine, Politicks, and in a word all
 “ Arts and Sciences. The works of *Homer* in
 “ particular have furnished infinite materials for
 “ all sorts of allegorical Commentators to work
 “ upon.—The ancient Greek Poets were reputed
 “ to involve divine, and natural, and historical
 “ notions of their Gods under mystical and para-
 “ bolical

“ bological expressions — The *Pythagorean* Philoso-
 “ phy was wholly delivered in mytical language,
 “ the signification whereof was entirely unknown
 “ to the world abroad — The *Stoic* Philosophers
 “ are particularly famous for allegorizing the whole
 “ heathen Theology — We have several treatises
 “ of heathen Philosophers on the subject of alle-
 “ gorical interpretation ^k.” —

If now this kind of *allegorizing*, which involved the Proposition in a *double sense*, was in use amongst the pagan Oracles, Divines, Philosophers and Poets, is not the understanding ancient writings *allegorically*, or in a *double sense*, agreeable to all rational, scholastic rules of interpretation? Surely, as much so as the understanding mere *metaphorical* expressions in a *tropical* signification; whose propriety no one ever yet called in question. For the sense of *Propositions* is imposed as arbitrarily as the sense of *words*. And if men, in the communication of their thoughts, agree to give, on some occasions, a *double sense* to *Propositions*, as well as on others, a *single*, the interpreting the first in *two* meanings is as agreeable to all scholastic rules, as interpreting the other in *one*: And *Propositions*, with a double and single sense, are as easily distinguishable from each other, by the help of the context, as *Words* with a literal and figurative meaning. But this great Philosopher seems to have imagined, that the *single sense of a Proposition* was imposed by Nature; and that therefore, giving them a *double meaning* was the same offence against Reason as the deviating from the unity of pure *Theism* into *Polytheism*: and, consequently, that the universal lapse

^k *Grounds, &c.* p. 83, 84, 85, 86.

into ALLEGORY and IDOLATRY rendred neither the one nor other of them the lefs absurd¹.

I fay, he feems to think fo. More one cannot fay of fuch a Writer. Befides, he feems to think otherwife, where, in another place, as if aware that *Ufe* would refcue a *double fenfe* from his *irrational* and *unfcholastic* censure, he endeavours to prove, that the Jews, during the prophetic period, did not ufe this allegoric way of expreffion. Now if we be right in this laft conjecture about his meaning, he abufes the terms he employs, under a miserable quibble; and, by *fholastic* and *unfholastic rules*, only means interpreting in a *single* or a *double fenfe*.

The Reader perhaps will be curious to know how it happened, that this great Reafoner fhould, all at once, overthrow what he had been fo long labouring to build. This fatal iffue of his two books of the GROUNDS, &c. and SCHEME, &c. had thefe caufes:

¹ It is wonderful to confider how little the Writers on either fide the queftion, have underftood of the *logical propriety* and *moral fitnefs* of Types, and fecondary fenfes of Prophecy.

Dr. Middleton and Dr. Sykes, who agreed with Mr. Collins in laughing at thefe modes of information, agreed with him likewise, in laying down fuch principles and inculcating fuch ideas of the Mofaic Religion, as moft effectually tended to evince this *logical propriety* and *moral fitnefs*.

On the other hand, Bifhop Sherlock, Dr. Stebbings, and other advocates for Types and fecondary fenfes of Prophecy, lay down fuch principles, and inculcate fuch ideas of the Mofaic Religion, as would totally fupercede the ufe of thefe modes of information, and confequently deftroy both their *logical propriety* and *moral fitnefs*. — See the *Free and candid Examination of Bifhop Sherlock's Principles*, &c. chap. ii.

1. He

1. He had a pressing and immediate *objection* to remove. And as he had no great stock of argument, and but small forecast, any thing, at a plunge, would be received, which came to his relief.

The objection was this—“ That the allegorical interpretations of the Apostles were not designed for absolute proofs of Christianity, but for arguments *ad homines* only to the Jews, who were accustomed to that way of reasoning^m.”—— Thus, he himself tells us, some Divines are accustomed to talk. He gives them indeed a solid answer; but he dreams not of the consequence. He says, this *allegoric reasoning* was common to all mankind. Was it so? Then the grand Proposition on which his whole Work supports itself, is entirely overthrown. For if all mankind used it, the method must needs be *rational* and *scholastic*. But this he was not aware of. What kept him in the dark, was his never being able to distinguish between the USE and the ABUSE of this mode of information. These two things he perpetually confounds, *The Pagan Oracles delivered themselves in allegories*;——this was the use: *Their later Divines turned all their Religion into allegory*;—— this was the abuse. *The elder Pythagoreans gave their Precepts in allegory*—— this was the use: *The later Stoics allegorized every thing*;—— this was the abuse. *Homer had some allegories*;——this was the use: *His Commentators turned all to allegory*;—— and this again was the abuse. But tho’ he has talked so much of these things, yet he knew no more of them than old JOHN BUNYAN; whose honefter ignorance, joined to a good mean-

^m Page 79.

ing, disposed him to *admire* that which the malignity of our Author's folly inclined him to *decry*: and each in the like ridiculous extreme.

2. But the other cause of this subversion of his own system was the delight he took to blacken the splendor of Religion. He supposed, we may be sure, it would prove an effectual discredit to Revelation, to have it seen, that there was this conformity between the Pagan and Jewish method of delivering Religion and Morality. His attempt hath been already exposed as it deservesⁿ. But in this instance it labours under much additional folly. For the *different* reasons which induced the Propagators of Paganism, and the Author of Judaism to employ the *same* method of information, are obvious to the meanest capacity, if advanced but so far in the knowledge of nature to know, that *different ends* are very commonly prosecuted by the *same means*. The Pagans allegorized in order to hide *the weakness and absurdities of their national Religions*; the Author of Judaism allegorized in order to prepare his followers *for the reception of a more perfect Dispensation*, founded on Judaism, which was preparatory of it; and, at the same time, to *prevent their premature rejection* of Judaism, under which they were still to be long exercised.

Thus we see how this formidable Enemy of our Faith has himself overturned his whole Argument by an unwary answer to an occasional objection. But this is but *one*, of a Work full of contradictions. I have no occasion to be particular, after removing his main Principles; yet, for the Reader's diver-

ⁿ See Book iv. § 1. at the end.

sion, I shall give him a taste of them. In his 81 page, he says—*And there has been for a long time, and is at this time as little use of allegory in those respects amongst them [the Jews] as there seems to have been during the time the books of the Old Testament were written, which seem the most plain of all ancient Writings, and wherein there appears not the least trace of a typical or allegorical intention in the Authors, or in any other Jews of their times.* Yet it is but at the 85 page that we find him saying—*And in this [viz. in delivering his Philosophy in mystical language] PYTHAGORAS came up to SOLOMON'S character of wise men, who dealt in dark sayings, and acted not much unlike the most divine Teacher that ever was. Our Saviour spake with many parables, &c.* Now it seems, it was Solomon's character of wise men that they dealt in dark sayings. But these wise men were the Authors of the Jewish Scriptures. And yet he had but just before assured us, *That the books of the Old Testament seem the most plain of all ancient Writings, and wherein there appears not the least trace of a typical or allegorical intention in the Authors, or in any Jews of their times.*

Again, in his 85—6 pages, he says, “The Pythagorean Philosophy was wholly delivered in mystical language; the signification whereof was intirely unknown to the world abroad, and but gradually explained to those of the sect, as they grew into years, or were proper to be informed—The Stoic Philosophers were particularly famous for *allegorizing*—We have several treatises of heathen Philosophers on the subject of allegorical interpretation—And from Philosophers, Platonists and Stoics, the famous Origen is said to have derived a great deal of his skill in allegorizing the books of the Old Testament.”

This

This he says, and yet at the 94 page he tells us,—
 “ That the Apostles, and particularly St. Paul,
 “ wholly discarded all other methods of reasoning
 “ used by Philosophers, except the *allegorical*: and
 “ set that up as the true and ONLY reasoning pro-
 “ per to bring all men to the faith of CHRIST:
 “ and the Gentiles were to be WHOLLY beat out
 “ of the literal way of arguing, and to argue
 “ as *became Jews*. And the event of preaching
 “ the Gospel has been suited to matters considered
 “ in this view and light. For we know that the
 “ WISE did not receive the Gospel at first, and
 “ that they were the latest Converts: *Which*
 “ PLAINLY arose from their using maxims of reason-
 “ ing and disputing WHOLLY opposite to those of Chris-
 “ tians.” By these *wise*, can be meant none but
 the pagan Philosophers: and these, according to
 our Author, were altogether given up to mystery
 and allegory. Yet St. Paul, and the rest of the
 Apostles, who, he says, were likewise given up
 to the same method, could make no converts
 amongst these *wise* men. Why? It would now
 methinks have suited his talents as well as temper,
 to have told us, it was *because two of a trade could*
not agree: No, says this incomparable Logician,
it was because the Philosophers used maxims of reason-
ing and disputing wholly opposite to the Christians.

What now but the name and authority of *Free-*
thinking could hinder such a Writer from becom-
 ing the contempt of all who know either how to
 make, or to understand an argument? These
 men profane the *light* they receive from *Revelation*
 in employing it to rob the treasures of the *Sanc-*
tuary. But RELIGION arrests them in the *manner*,
 and pronounces one common doom upon the whole
 race.

“ —Ne

“ —Ne IGNIS NOSTER facinori præluceat,
 “ Per quem colendos censuit Pietas Deos,
 “ VETO ESSE TALE LUMINIS COMMERCIIUM °.

Hence the fate that attends them all, in the inseparable connexion between *impiety* and *blundering*; which always follow one another as the crime and the punishment.

If it be asked then, What it is that hath so strangely prejudiced our modern Reasoners against this ancient mode of information by TYPICAL and SECONDARY senses? I answer, the folly of Fanatics, who have abused it in support of the most abominable nonsense. But how unreasonable is this prejudice! Was there ever any thing rational or excellent amongst Men that hath not been thus abused? Is it any disparagement to the *method of Geometers*, that some conceited writers on Morality and Religion have of late taken it up, to give an air of weight and demonstration to the whimsies of pedantic importance? Is there no truth of nature, or reasonableness of art, in *Grammatical construction*, because cabalistic Dunces have in every age abused it to pervert all human meaning? We might as well say that the ancient Egyptians did not write in Hieroglyphics, because Kircher, who endeavoured to explain them, hath given us nothing but his own visions, as that the ancient Jews had not *types* and *secondary senses*, because modern Enthusiasts have allegorized their whole Story.

But I, from these *abuses* would draw a very contrary conclusion. The rage of *allegorizing* in Religion

° *Phæd.* l. iv. Fab. 10.

hath infected all ages: Can there be a stronger proof that the original mode was founded in the common conceptions of mankind? The Pagans began the *abuse*; and the pestilent infection soon spread amongst the followers of true Religion.

1. The early propagators of PAGANISM, in order to hide the weakness of the national Religion, delivered many things in Types and Allegories. But a growing Superstition, accompanied with an equal advance in knowledge, made it at length impossible to screen the folly even of the less obnoxious parts, from common observers. Their Successors therefore, to support its credit, went on where the others had left off; and allegorized all the traditional stories of their Gods, into *natural*, *moral*, and *divine* Entities. This, notwithstanding the extravagance of the means, fully answered the end.

2. The JEWS ingrafted on *their* predecessors; just as the Pagans had done on *theirs*; and with the same secular policy: For being possessed with a national prejudice, that their Religion was to endure for ever, and yet seeing in it the marks of a carnal, temporary, and preparatory Dispensation, they cunningly allegorized its Rites and Precepts into a *spiritual* meaning, which covered every thing that was a real deficiency in a Religion, which they considered as perfect and perpetual. Both these sorts of Allegorists therefore had reason in their rage.

3. Afterwards came a set of CHRISTIAN Writers, brought out from amongst *Jews* and *Gentiles*; and these too, would needs be in the fashion, and allegorize their Religion likewise. But with infinitely

finitely less judgment than the others; tho' alas! with equal success. In their hands, the *end* proved as hurtful to truth as the *means* were extravagant in nature. And how should it be otherwise in a Religion both *divine* and *perfect*? For in such an one, there was nothing either to HIDE or to SUPPLY. We have shewn that *types* and *secondary senses* were employed in the Jewish Religion for the *sake of the Christian*, of which the Jewish was the ground-work and preparation. When therefore the *Christian* was come, these modes of information must needs cease, there being no farther occasion, nor indeed room, for them. As clear as this is to the lowest understanding, yet would some primitive Doctors of the Church needs contend with Jewish Rabbins, and pagan Philosophers, in all the rage of *allegorizing*: Deaf to the voice of Reason, which called aloud to tell them, that those very arguments, which proved that there were, and must needs be, *types* and *secondary senses* in the *Old Testament*, proved as plainly that there neither were, nor could be any, in the *New*. Thus, to the inexpressible damage of Christianity, they exposed a *reasonable Service*, and a *perfected Dispensation* (where nothing was taught but Truth, plain, simple, and open) to the laughter and contempt of Infidels; who, bewildered in the universal maze of this *allegoric* mode of information, were never able to know what it was in its original, nor how to distinguish between the *use* and the *abuse*.

To CONCLUDE, Let not the Reader think I have been all this while leading him out of the way, while I have engaged his attention to the *book of JOB*; to the *Case of ABRAHAM*; and to *TYPES and secondary senses* under the Jewish Dispensation. All these strictly belong to the Argument:

1. First, as they greatly contribute to shew the **HARMONY of Truth**; and how all the parts of the Jewish Dispensation support and illustrate one another.

2. Secondly, as they contribute to shew the **UNI-FORMITY** of it; and how the Holy Spirit, quite throughout God's grand **Œconomy**, from his first giving of the Law to the completion of it by the Gospel, observed the same unvaried method of the **GRADUAL COMMUNICATION of Truth**.

3. Thirdly, as they contribute to shew the **FOLLY** of those who contend that the Christian Doctrine of a Future state was revealed to the early Jews; since this opinion destroys all the reason of a *secondary sense* of Prophecies: and of how great importance the reality of *this sense* is to the truth of Christianity hath been largely explained: For how can it be known with certainty, from the Prophecies themselves, that they contain *double senses*, but from hence, that the *old* Law was preparatory to, and the rudiment of the *new*? How shall this *relation* be certainly known, but from hence, that *no future state* of Rewards and Punishments is to be found in the Mosaic Dispensation^p? So close a dependence

^p M. BOUILLER, the ingenious Author of the *Court Examen de la Thèse de Mr. l'abbé de PRADES et Observations sur son Axiome*, having charged de Prades with taking his idea of the Mosaic Œconomy from this Work, without owning it, goes on, in his own way, to shew that the ARGUMENT of the *Divine Legation*, as delivered in these two Volumes, is **CONCLUSIVE**. — “ La Loi Mosaique, considerée comme fondement d'un établissement national et temporel, n'avoit que des promesses et des menaces, ne proposoit que des peines des recompenses temporelles: au lieu qu'à considerer *les grandes vues de cet établissement, par rapport à l'Anglès même*, la Loi étoit une espece de tableau emblématique, qui sous l'enveloppe des objets charnels *figuroit les spirituels*; en sorte que, en raisen-

pendence have all these important Principles on one another.

RECA-

raisonnant selon les principes d'une juste analogie, la foi des *Israélites éclairés* et pieux, trouvoit dans les promesses de la Loi, qui portoient uniquement sur les biens présents, un nouveau garant de la certitude des biens avenir. Mais comme on doit bien se souvenir, que dans cette Nation, les Fideles ne faisoient QUE LE PETIT NOMBRE, l'argument de WARBURTON, tiré du silence de la Loi sur une Oeconomie avenir, en faveur de la divinité de cette Loi même, conserve toute sa force; car il demeure toujours vrai qu'il n'a pas fallu moins que la vertu des MIRACLES et l'efficace d'une impression surnaturelle, pour faire ployer le *gros de la Nation*, c'est à-dire les Juifs charnels, qui ne pénétoient point ces vues Mystérieuses, sous le joug pesant de la Dispensation Mosaïque." [p. 94 5.] And again, "Ce double Caractere de la Dispensation Mosaïque met sa divinité hors d'atteinte à tous les traits les plus envenimés du Déisme qui l'attaque par deux batteries opposées. Quoi? disent nos Libertins, une Religion qui promet uniquement les biens de la Terre, peut-elle être digne du Dieu! Et lorsque, pour leur répondre, ayant recours au sens mystique, on dit que les promesses Légales qui, prises à la lettre, n'offrent qu'un bonheur temporel, doivent s'entendre spirituellement; ces Messieurs se retournent aussi-tot avec une merveilleuse adresse pour vous demander comment un Oracle qui trompe les hommes, et qui n'a point d'accomplissement dans le sens le plus clair, le plus propre et le plus littéral de ce qu'il promet, peut-être regardé comme un Oracle divin? Question qui dans l'hypothese commune me paroît plus difficile à résoudre d'une façon satisfaisante. Mais l'une et l'autre objection tombe, dès qu'on envisage l'ancienne Oeconomie telle qu'elle est; c'est-à-dire, tout à la fois comme Alliance nationale et comme Oeconomie religieuse. En qualité d'Alliance nationale, ses promesses sont toutes Charnelles, et s'accomplissent à la lettre à l'égard des Juifs. Mais en qualité d'Oeconomie religieuse, essentiellement liée au plan de l'Evangile, elle est pour les Fideles, la figure et le gage des biens spirituels. Doublement digne du Dieu de vérité, et par l'accomplissement littéral de ses promesses, et par leur usage typique, le réunion de ces deux rapports y annonce l'ouvrage de son infinie sagesse." [Addition a l'Article IV. p. 104.]

Thus far this ingenious Writer. But now a difficulty will occur. He owns the Author of the *Divine Legation* hath made out his point, that the Law of Moses is from God:

RECAPITULATION.

And now if the length of the Demonstration have not tired out the Reader's patience, or, to speak

He contends that the Author's system is the *only one* that can support this Revelation against the objections of Deists and Libertines: Yet when he has done this, he has thought fit to call this very system, a *Paradox*; tho' it goes upon his own principle, *That the mosaic Dispensation had a double character; that it was a national Alliance, and was at the same time essentially wived to the Gospel plan; that this double Character tho' not apprehended by the body of the Jewish People, yet was well understood by those peculiarly favoured of God, their Prophets and Leaders.* This censure, if it be intended for one, I say, appears to me a little mysterious. However the learned Writer's words are these — “*Quand Mr. de Prades a dit que l'Æconomie Mosaique n'étoit fondée que sur les peines et les recompenses temporelles, et qu'il à soutenu que cela même fournit une bonne preuve de la divinité de cette Æconomie, il n'a fait autre chose que suivre la trace du savant Warburton, qui avança ce PARADOXE, il y a déjà quelques années, dans son fameux Ouvrage de la Divine Legation de Moïse, et employa tour à tour pour le défendre, le raisonnement et l'erudition. Notre Bachelier, aussi-bien que M. Hooke, qu'il cite pour son garand, auroient bien dû faire honneur à l'illustre Docteur Anglois, d'une pensée que personne ne doutera qu'ils n'ayent puisée chez lui.*” [p. 88.] Now, I have so good opinion of this learned Writer's candour as to believe that either he used the word *paradox* in an indifferent sense, or that he was misled in his Judgment of the *Divine Legation* by Mr. de Prades and Mr. Hooke: Who altho' they borrowed what they have delivered concerning the nature of the Mosaic Æconomy from that book, which they did not think fit to confess, yet it is as certain that what they borrowed they either did not understand, or at least have misrepresented. The learned Sorbonist has since published his course of Theology, intitled *Religionis naturalis et revelatæ Principia*. In which, tho' he has consulted his ease and perhaps his reputation, in transcribing the reasonings of the *Divine Legation* on various points of Theology, and generally without reference to the Book or the Author; yet his affairs with his Body have taught him caution, and obliged him to declare against the PROPOSITION, in support of which, those reasonings were employed by their original Author. For when he comes to the question concerning *the sanction of the Jewish Law*, he introduces it in the following manner

speak more properly, if length of time have not worn out his attention to the Subject, it may be proper (the Argument being here concluded) to take a retrospective view of the whole, as it hath been enforced in this and the preceding Volume. For the deep Professor, who hath digested his Theology into Summs and Systems, and the florid Preacher, who never suffered his thoughts to expatiate beyond the limits of a pulpit-essay, will be ready to tell me, that I had promised to DEMONSTRATE THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES; and that now I had written two large Volumes on that subject, "all that they could find in them were Discourses on the foundation of Morality—the origin of civil and religious Society—the Alliance between Church and State—the policy of Lawgivers,—the Mysteries of the Priests,—and the opinions of the Greek Philosophers—The Antiquity of Egypt—their Hieroglyphics—their Heroes—and their Brute-worship. That indeed, at last I speak a little of the Jewish policy;

manner — *Quæstionem inchoamus difficilem, in qua explicanda adhibenda est summa verborum proprietas, ne Pelagianis ex una parte non satis scædus Mosaicum & Evangelicum discriminantibus, aut contrariis RECENTIORUM QUORUMDAM erroribus favere videamur.* And so, fortifies himself with Suarez and St. Thomas. The consequence of which is, that the two large Chapters in his second Volume (the first, To prove that a future state was always a popular Doctrine amongst the Jews; and the second, That temporal rewards and punishments were really and equally distributed amongst them under the Theocracy) just serve to confute one another: Or more properly, the second Chapter, by aid of the Arguments taken from the *Divine Legation*, effectually overturns all that he has advanced in the first. — See M. Hooke's second volume of his Course, intitled, *Religionis naturalis et revelatæ Principia*, from p. 208 to 236. For the rest, this justice is due to the learned and ingenious Writer, that these *Principles of natural and revealed Religion* compose the best reasoned Work in defence of Revelation which we have yet seen come from that quarter.

but I soon break away from it, as from a subject I would avoid, and employ the remaining part of the Volume on the Sacrifice of Isaac—on the book of Job—and on primary and secondary Prophecies. But what (say they) is all this to the *Divine Legation of Moses*?

Dic, Posthume ! de tribus Capellis."

To call, the Topic, I went upon, a PARADOX, was said, without doubt, to my discredit; but not to see that I had proved it in form, will I am afraid, rebound to their own. Yet I had already bespoke their best attention in the words of Cicero, who, I believe, often found himself in my situation. "Video hanc primam ingressionem meam non ex ORATORIS disputationibus ductam, sed è media Philosophia repetitam, et eam quidem cum antiquam tum subobscuram, aut REPREHENSIONIS aliquid, aut certe ADMIRATIONIS habituram. Nam aut mirabantur QUID HÆC PERTINEANT AD EA QUÆ QUÆRIMUS: quibus satisfaciet res ipsa cognita, ut non sine causa ALTE repetita videatur: aut reprehendent, QUOD INUSITATAS VIAS INDAGEMUS, TRITAS RELINQUAMUS. Ego autem me sæpe *nova* videre dicere intelligo cum *pervetera* dicam, sed *incaudita* plerisque."

But as this Apology hath not answered its purpose, and as the ARGUMENT is indeed drawn out to an uncommon length; raised upon a great variety of supports; and sought out from every quarter of antiquity, and sometimes out of corners the most remote and dark, it was the less to be admired if every *inattentive* Reader did not see their force

¶ Cicero.

and various purpose; or if every *attentive* Reader could not combine them into the body of a completed Syllogism; and still less if the envious and the prejudiced should concur to represent these Volumes as an indigested and inconnected heap of discourses, thrown out upon one another, to disburthen a common-place. For the satisfaction therefore, of the more candid, who acknowledge the fairness of the attempt, who saw something of the progress of the argument, but, misled by the notice of a remaining Part, neglected to pursue the proof to the CONCLUSION here deduced, I shall endeavour to lay open, in one plain and simple view, the whole conduct of these mysterious Volumes.

Nor shall I neglect the other sort of Readers, tho' it be odds, we part again as dissatisfied with one another, as the Toyman of Bath and his Customer. Of whom the story goes, that a grave well-dressed man coming into the shop of this ingenious inventor, and reliever of the distresses of those who are too dull to know what they want, and too rich to be at ease with what they have, demanded to see some of his best reading-glasses; which when he had tried to no purpose, he returned. The Toyman surpris'd at so strange a phænomenon, gravely asked him, whether ever he had learnt to read? to which the other as gravely replied, that if he had been so happy he should have had no need of his assistance. Now, before I bring the distant parts of my Argument to converge, for the use of these dim-sighted Gentlemen, may I ask them, without offence, a similar question? They have ANSWERED; without asking; but not with the same ingenuity.

In reading the LAW and HISTORY of the JEWS, with all the attention I could give to them, amongst the many circumstances peculiar to that amazing Dispensation (from several of which, as I conceive, the divinity of its original may be fairly proved) these two particulars most forceably struck my observation, THE OMISSION OF THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE, and THE ADMINISTRATION OF AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. AS UNACCOUNTABLE as the first circumstance appeared when considered separately and alone, yet when set against the other, and their mutual relations examined and compared, the *omission* was not only well explained, but was found to be an invincible medium for the proof of the DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES: which, as Unbelievers had been long accustomed to decry from this very circumstance, I chose it preferably to any other. The Argument appeared to me in a supreme degree strong and simple, and not needing many words to enforce it, or, when enforced, to make it well understood.

RELIGION hath always been held necessary to the support of CIVIL SOCIETY, because human Laws alone are ineffectual to restrain men from evil, with a force sufficient to carry on the affairs of public regimen: and (under the common dispensation of Providence) a FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments is confessed to be as necessary to the support of RELIGION, because nothing else can remove the objections to God's moral Government under a Providence so apparently unequal; whose phænomena are apt to disturb the serious professors of RELIGION with doubts and suspicions concerning it, as it is of the essence
of

of religious profession to believe, *that God is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.*

Moses, who instituted a RELIGION and a REPUBLIC, and incorporated them into one another, stands single amongst ancient and modern Lawgivers, in teaching a RELIGION, without the *sanc-tion*, or even so much as the *mention* of a FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS. The same Moses, with a singularity as great, by uniting the Religion and civil Community of the Jews into one incorporated body, made God, by natural consequence, their supreme civil Magistrate, whereby the form of Government arising from thence became truly and essentially a THEOCRACY. But as the *Administration* of Government necessarily follows its *Form*, that before us could be no other than AN EXTRAORDINARY OR EQUAL PROVIDENCE. And such indeed not only the Jewish Lawgiver himself, but all the succeeding Rulers and Prophets of this Republic have invariably represented it to be. In the mean time, no Lawgiver or founder of Religion amongst any other People ever promised so singular a Distinction; no Historian ever dared to record so remarkable a Prerogative.

This being the true and acknowledged state of the case; Whenever the Unbeliever attempts to disprove, and the Advocate of Religion to support, the divinity of the Mosaic Dispensation, the obvious question (if each be willing to bring it to a speedy decision) will be, “Whether the EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE thus prophetically promised, and afterwards historically recorded to be performed, was REAL OR PRETENDED only?”

We Believers *bold* that it was REAL : and I, as an Advocate for Revelation, undertake to *prove* it was so ; employing for this purpose, as my medium, THE OMISSION OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS. The argument stands thus :

If Religion be necessary to civil Government, and if Religion cannot subsist, under the common dispensation of Providence, without a future state of Rewards and Punishments, so consummate a Lawgiver would never have neglected to inculcate the belief of such a state, had he not been well assured that an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE was indeed to be administered over his People : Or were it possible he had been so infatuated, the impotency of a Religion wanting a future state, must very soon have concluded in the destruction of his Republic : Yet nevertheless it flourished and continued sovereign for many ages.

These two proofs of the proposition, (*that an extraordinary providence was really administered*) drawn from the THING OMITTED and the PERSON OMITTING, may be reduced to the following SYLLOGISMS.

I. Whatsoever Religion and Society have no future State for their support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence.

The Jewish Religion and Society had no future State for their support :

Therefore the Jewish Religion and Society were supported by an extraordinary Providence.

And again,

II. The

II. The Ancient Lawgivers univerſally believed, that a Religion without a future State could be ſupported only by an extraordinary Providence.

Mofes, an Ancient Lawgiver, learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians, (the principal branch of which wiſdom was inculcating the doctrine of a future ſtate) inſtituted ſuch a Religion :

Therefore Mofes believed that his Religion was ſupported by an extraordinary Providence.

This is the ARGUMENT OF THE DIVINE LEGATION ; plain, ſimple and convincing, in the opinion of the Author ; a PARADOX, in the representation of his Adverſaries : Attempts of this nature being ſtill attended with the fortune they have long undergone. *William of Newbourg*, ſpeaking of Gregory the VIII, tells us, that he was, “ Vir
“ plane & ſapientiae et vitae ſinceritate conſpicuus,
“ æmulationem dei habens in omnibus ſecundum
“ ſcientiam; et ſuperſtitioſarum conſuetudinum quarum
“ in Eccleſia per quorundam ruſticam ſimplici-
“ tatem citra Scripturarum auctoritatem multi-
“ tudo inolevit, *Reprehenſor acerrimus*. Unde a
“ quibusdam minus diſcretis putatus eſt turbato per
“ nimiam abſtinentiam cerebro delirare.” This curious paſſage ſhews what hath been, and what is likely to be, the fate of all oppoſers of fooliſh and ſuperſtitious practices and opinions, when oppoſers are moſt wanted, that is to ſay, to be thought mad. Only one ſees there was this difference between *William's* age and our own. In the time of good Gregory, they were the *People of leaſt diſcretion* who paſſed this judgment on every Reformer's headpiece ; whereas in our times, they are the *more diſcreet* who have made this diſcovery.

Our

Our Author's adversaries proved to be of two sorts, FREE-THINKERS and SYSTEMATICAL DIVINES. Those denied the Major of the two Syllogisms; These, the Minor: yet one could not be done without contradicting the universal voice of Antiquity; nor the other, without explaining away the sense, as well as letter, of sacred Scripture. Had it not been for this odd combination, my *Demonstration of the Divine Legation of Moses* had not only been as *strong* but as *short* too as any of Euclid's: whose theorems, as Hobbes somewhere observes, should they ever happen to be connected with the passions and interests of men, would soon become as much matter of dispute and contradiction as any moral or theological Proposition whatsoever.

It was not long, therefore, before I found that the discovery of this important Truth would engage me in a full dilucidation of the three following Propositions——

1. “ That inculcating the doctrine of a future
“ state of rewards and punishments, is necessary
“ to the well being of civil Society.”

2. “ That all mankind, especially the most wise
“ and learned nations of Antiquity, have concurr-
“ ed in believing and teaching, that this doctrine
“ was of such use to civil Society.”

3. “ That the doctrine of a future state of re-
“ wards and punishments is not to be found in,
“ nor did make part of, the Mosaic Dispensation.”

—Neither a short nor an easy task. The two first requiring a severe search into the *Religion*, the
Politics

Politics and the Philosophy of ancient times : And, the latter, a minute examination into the nature and genius of the Hebrew Constitution.

To the first part of this enquiry, therefore, I assigned the first Volume of this work ; and to the other, the second.

I.

I. The *first* Volume begins with proving the MAJOR of the first Syllogism, *that whatsoever Religion and Society have no future State for their support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence.* In order to which, the FIRST PROPOSITION was to be enforced, *That the inculcating the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to the well-being of Society.*

This is done in the following manner—By shewing that CIVIL SOCIETY, which was instituted as a remedy against force and injustice, falls short, in many instances, of its effects—as it cannot, by its own proper force, provide for the observance of above one third part of moral duties ; and, of that third, but imperfectly : and further, which is a matter of still greater importance, that it totally wants the first, of those two great hinges on which Government is supposed to turn, and without which it cannot be carried on, namely REWARD and PUNISHMENT. Some other coercive power was therefore to be added to civil Society, to supply its wants and imperfections. This power is shewn to be no other than RELIGION ; which, teaching the just Government of the Deity, provides for all the natural deficiencies of civil Society. But this government, it is seen, can be no otherwise supported

ported than by the general belief of a *future state*; or of an *extraordinary Providence*, that is, by a Dispensation of things very different from what we see administered at present.

This being proved, the discourse proceeds to remove objections.—The Reader observes, that the steps and gradations of this capital truth advance thus,—A future state is necessary as it supports Religion—Religion is necessary as it supports Morality—And Morality as it supports (tho' it be reciprocally supported by) civil Society, which only can procure such accommodations of life as man's nature requires. Hence I concluded, that the Doctrine of a future state was necessary to civil Society, under the present administration of Providence.

Now there are various kinds or rather degrees of LIBERTINISM. Some, tho' they own Morality to be necessary to Society, yet deny Religion to be necessary. Others again, deny it even to Morality. — As both equally attempt to break the chain of my reasoning, both come equally under my examination. And, opportunely for my purpose, a great Name in the first instance, and a great Book, in the second, invited me to this entertainment.

I. The famous M. BAYLE had attempted to prove, that *Religion* was not necessary to Society; and that, simple *morality*, as distinguished from Religion, might well supply its place; which Morality too, an ATHEIST might compleatly possess. His arguments in support of these propositions I have carefully examined: and having occasion, when I came to the last of them, to enquire into *the true foundation of Morality*, I state all its pretences, consider

consider all its advantages, and shew that OBLIGATION properly so called, proceeds from WILL, and from WILL only. This enquiry was directly to my point, as the result of it proves that the *morality* of the *Atheist* must be without any true foundation, and consequently weak and unstable. It had a further propriety, as the Religion, whose divine original I am here attempting to demonstrate, has founded *moral obligation* in *Will* only; and had a peculiar expediency likewise, as it is become the fashion of the times to seek for this *foundation* any where but there where Religion has placed it.

2. But MANDEVILLE, the Author of *the Fable of the Bees*, went a large step further; and pretended to prove that MORALITY was so far from being necessary to Society, that it was *vice* and not *virtue* which rendered states flourishing and happy. This execrable Doctrine, that would cut away my Argument by the roots, was presented to the People with much laboured art and plausible insinuation. It was necessary therefore to confute and expose it. This I have done with the same care, but with better faith than, it was enforced.

In this manner I endeavoured to prove the MAJOR PROPOSITION of the first Syllogism: and with this, the first book of *the Divine Legation of Moses* concludes.

II. The second Book begins with establishing the MAJOR of the second Syllogism, *That the ancient Lawgivers universally believed that a Religion without a future state could be supported only by an extraordinary Providence.* In order to which, the SECOND PROPOSITION was to be enforced, *That all mankind, especially the most wise and learned nations*

of Antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching, that the Doctrine of a future state was necessary to the well-being of civil Society.

The proof of this proposition divides itself into two parts — The *conduct of the* LAWGIVERS; and *the opinion of the* PHILOSOPHERS.

The first part is the subject of the *present* Book; as the second part is of the *following*.

In proving this proposition from the *conduct of the Lawgivers*, I shew,

I. Their care to PROPAGATE *Religion in general*,
 1. As it appears from the *effects*, the state of Religion every where in the civilized World. 2. As it appears from the *cause*, such as their universal pretence to *inspiration*, in order to instil the belief of the Divine Superintendency over human affairs; and such as their universal practice in *prefacing their Laws*, in order to establish the belief of that Superintendency. And here it should be observed, that in proving their care to propagate *Religion in general*, I prove their care to propagate the doctrine of a *future state of Rewards and Punishments*; since there never was a formed Religion in the World, the *Jewish* excepted, of which this Doctrine did not make an essential part.

2. But I shew in the second place, their care to propagate *this Doctrine*, with more than common attention and assiduity. And as the most effectual method they employed to this end was, the institution of the MYSTERIES, a large account is given of their rise and progress, from Egypt into Greece, and from thence, throughout the civilized world. I have attempted to discover the ANIOP-
 PHIA,

PHTA, or hidden doctrines of these Mysteries, which were THE UNITY OF THE GODHEAD and the ERROR OF THE GROSSER POLYTHEISM, namely, *the Worship of dead men, deified*. This discovery not only confirms all that is advanced, concerning the rise, progress, and order of the several species's of Idolatry, but clears up and rectifies much embarrass and mistake even of the most celebrated Moderns, such as *Cudworth, Stillingfleet, Prideaux, Newton, &c.* who, contrary to the tenure of Holy Scripture, in order to do imaginary honour to Religion, have ventured to maintain, that *the one true God was generally known and worshiped in the Pagan World*; for, finding many, in divers countries, speaking of the *one true God*, they concluded, that he must needs have a *national Worship*. Now the Discovery of the ἀπόρρητα of the *Mysteries* enables us to explain the perfect consistency between sacred and prophane Antiquity; which left to speak for themselves concur to inform us of this plain and consistent truth, “That the Doctrine of the *one true God*, was indeed taught in all places, but as a profound secret, to the FEW, in the celebration of their mysterious Rites; while, in the Land of JUDÆA alone, he had a *public and national Worship*.” For to the *Hebrew PEOPLE alone*, (as Eusebius expresses it) *was reserved the honour of being INITIATED into the knowledge of the Creator of all things*. And of this difference, God himself speaks by the Prophet,—*I have not spoken IN SECRET, IN A DARK PLACE OF THE EARTH*^r. And the holy Apostle Paul informs us of the *consequence* of that *mysterious* manner of teaching the true God amongst the Pagan nations, that when,

^r Isaiah xlv. 19.

by this means, they came to the *knowledge* of him, *they glorified him not as God*^s.

To confirm and illustrate my account of the MYSTERIES, I subjoin a Dissertation on *the sixth Book of Virgil's Æneis*; and another on *the metamorphosis of Apuleius*. The first of which books, is shewn to be one continued description of the *Eleusinian Mysteries*; and the other to be purposefully written to recommend the use and efficacy of the *Pagan Mysteries in general*.

And here the attentive Reader will observe, that throughout the course of this whole argument, on the conduct of the ancient LAWGIVERS, it appears, that all the fundamental principles of their Policy were borrowed from EGYPT. A truth which will be made greatly subservient to the *minor* of the second Syllogism; that *Moses*, tho' learned in all the Wisdom of Egypt, yet *instituted the Jewish Religion and Society without a future State*.

From this, and from what has been said above of MORAL OBLIGATION, the intelligent Reader will perceive, that, throughout *the Divine Legation*, I have all along endeavoured to select for my purpose such kind of arguments, in support of the *particular* question in hand, as may, at the same time, illustrate the truth of *Revelation in general*, or serve as principles to proceed upon in the *progress of the present Argument*. Of which, will be given, as occasion serves, several other instances in the course of this review.—And now having shewn the Legislators care to *propagate Religion in*

^s Rom. i. 21

general, and the Doctrine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments in particular, (in which is seen their sense of the inseparable connexion between them) I go on, to explain the contrivances they employed to perpetuate the knowledge and influence of them: by which it appears that, in their opinion, RELIGION was not a temporary expedient, useful only to secure their own power and authority, but a necessary support to civil Society itself.

1. The first instance of this care was, as we shew, their ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL RELIGION, *protected by the Laws of the State*, in all places where they were concerned. But as Men, ignorant of *true Religion*, could hardly avoid falling into mistakes in contriving the *mode* of this *Establishment*, I have therefore (the subject of my Work being no idle speculation, but such a one as affects us in our highest interests, as Men and Citizens) attempted to deliver the true *Theory* of the *Alliance between Church and State*, as the best defence of the justice and equity of an ESTABLISHED RELIGION.

2. The second instance of their care, I shew to have been the allowance of a GENERAL TOLERATION; which as it would, for the like reason, be as imperfectly framed as an *Establishment*, I have ventured to give the true *Theory* of that likewise. The ancient Lawgiver contrived to *establish* one mode of Religion, by *allying* it to the State, for the sake of its DURATION: He *tolerated* other modes of it, for the sake of their INFLUENCE, for a Religion forced upon man, has none; and the Lawgiver concerns himself with Religion only for the sake of its *influence*. — Discoursing upon this

Subject, I was naturally led to vindicate *true Religion* from an aspersion of Infidelity: Where, I shew, that the first persecution for Religion was not that which was *committed*, but that which was *undergone* by the Christian Church: And that the ill success attending its propagation amongst barbarous Nations in our times, is altogether owing to the preposterous method employed for that purpose. — And with this, the second Book of the Divine Legation concludes.

III. The third Book goes on in supporting the MAJOR of the second Syllogism, by *the opinions of the PHILOSOPHERS*. For as the great waste and ravages of time have destroyed most of the Monuments of ancient *Legislation*, I held it not improper to strengthen my position of the sense of their Lawgivers, by that of their Sages and Philosophers. In this is shewn,

1. From their own words, the conviction they in general had of the necessity of the doctrine of *a future state of Rewards and Punishments* to civil society. And, to set this conviction in the strongest light, I endeavour to prove, that even such of them (*viz.* the several sects of Grecian Philosophers) who did not believe *a future state of Rewards and Punishments*, did yet, for the sake of Society, diligently teach and propagate it. — That they *taught* it, is confessed; that they did *not believe* it, was my business to prove: which I have done by shewing, 1. That they all thought it lawful to say one thing and think another. 2. That they constantly practised what they thus thought to be lawful: and, 3. That they practised it on the very Doctrine in question. — To explain and verify the two first of these assertions, I had occasion

to inquire into the rise, progress, perfection, decline, and genius of the ancient *Greek Philosophy*, under all its several divisions. In which, (as its rise and progress are shewn to have been from *Egypt*) still more materials are laid in for enforcing the *minor* proposition of the second Syllogism.—I then proceed to a *more particular* inquiry into the sentiments of each sect of Philosophy, on this point; and shew, from the character and genius of each School, and from the Writings of each man, that none of them did indeed believe the Doctrine of *a future state of Rewards and Punishments*. At the same time it appears, from almost every proof brought for this purpose, that they all thought the Doctrine to be of the highest utility to the State.—Here, in examining the philosophy of PYTHAGORAS, the subject led me, to consider his so celebrated *Metempsychosis*; in which, I take occasion to speak of the *origin of the Pagan Fables*, and the nature of the *Metamorphosis of Ovid*, here shewn to be a *Popular History of Providence*, very regularly and artfully deduced from the most early times to his own: From the whole I draw this conclusion, “that Pythagoras, who so sedulously propagated this species of a future state of Rewards and Punishments (the *Metempsychosis*) that he was thought by some to be author of it, considered it only as a commodious Fable to restrain the unruly populace.”

2. To support this fact, it is shewn, in the next place, that these Philosophers not only *did not*, but that they *could not* possibly believe the Doctrine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments, because the belief of it contradicted two Metaphysical principles universally held and *believed* by them, concerning the nature of God and of the Soul; which

were, that *the Deity could not hurt any one*; and that *the soul was part of the substance of the Deity, and resolvable again into him*. In explaining and verifying their reception of this latter principle, I take occasion to speak of its original; which, I prove, was *Grecian* and not *Egyptian*; as appears from the genius and character of the two Philosophies; tho' the spurious books going under the name of *Hermes*, but indeed written by the later Platonists, would persuade us to the contrary. The use of this inquiry likewise (i. e. concerning the *origin* of this principle) will be seen when we come to settle the *character of Moses*, as aforesaid.—But, with regard to the *belief* of the Philosophers on both points, besides the direct and principal use of it, for the support of the *major* of the second Syllogism, it hath (as I said before, it was contrived my arguments should have) two further uses; the one, to serve as a principle in the progress of my general Argument; the other, to illustrate the truth of Revelation in general. For, 1st, it will be a sufficient answer to that solution of the Deists, (to be considered hereafter) that *Moses did not teach the Doctrine of a future state because he did not believe it*, since it is shewn by the strongest evidence, that the not believing a doctrine so useful to Society, was esteemed no reason why the Legislator should not propagate it. 2. It is a convincing proof of the *expediency* of the Gospel of Jesus, that the sages of Greece, with whom all the wisdom of the *World* was supposed to be deposited, had *philosophised* themselves out of one of the most evident and useful truths with which mankind has any concern; and a full *justification* of the severity with which the holy Apostles always speak of the *Philosophers* and the *Philosophy of Greece*, since it is hereby seen to be directed only against these pernicious principles; and

and not, as *Deists* and *Fanatics* concur to represent it, a condemnation of human learning in general.

3. But as now, it might be objected, “ that by this representation, we lose on the one hand what we gain on the other; and that while we shew the *expediency* of the Gospel, we run a risque of discrediting its *reasonableness*; for that nothing can bear harder upon this latter quality, than that the best and wisest persons of Antiquity did not believe that which the Gospel was sent to propagate, namely the Doctrine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments.” As this, I say, might be objected, we have given (besides explaining on what absurd principles their *unbelief* rested) a further answer; and, to support this answer, shewn, that the two extremes into which Divines have usually run, in representing the state and condition of *revealed Religion*, are attended with great and real mischiefs to it; while the only view of Antiquity, which yields solid advantage to the Christian Cause, is such a one as is here represented for the true: Such a one as shews *natural Reason* to be *clear* enough to *perceive* TRUTH, and the necessary deductions from it *when proposed*, but not generally *strong* enough to *discover* it. He, who of all the Pagan World best knew its force, and was in that very state in which only a true judgment could be passed, has with the greatest ingenuity confessed this truth, “ Nam neque tam est
 “ acris acies in naturis hominum et ingeniiis, ut
 “ res tantas quisquam, nisi monstratus possit videre;
 “ neque tanta tamen in rebus obscuritas, ut eas
 “ peritus acri vir ingenio cernat, si modo aspexerit.”

In explaining this matter, it is occasionally shewn, that the great and acknowledged superiority of the modern Systems of *Deistical Morality* above the ancient, in point of excellence, is entirely owing
 to

to the unacknowledged, and perhaps unsuspected, aid of Revelation.

Thus the Reader sees, in what manner we have endeavoured to prove the MAJOR PROPOSITIONS of the two Syllogisms, that *whatsoever Religion and Society have no future State for their support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence.* And that, *The ancient Lawgivers universally believed, that a Religion without a future State could be supported only by an extraordinary Providence.* For having shewn, that Religion and Society were unable, and believed to be unable to support themselves under an *ordinary Providence*, without a future State; if they were supported without that Doctrine, it could be, and could be believed to be, only by an *extraordinary Providence.*

But now as the proof is conducted through a long detail of circumstances, shewing the *absolute necessity* of Religion to civil Society; and the *sense* which all the wise and learned amongst the ancients had of that necessity; lest this should be abused to countenance the idle and impious Conceit that RELIGION WAS THE INVENTION OF POLITICIANS, I concluded the third Book and the Volume together, with proving that the Conceit is both IMPERTINENT AND FALSE.

1. *Impertinent*, for that, were this account of the origin of Religion true, it would not follow, that the thing itself was visionary; but, on the contrary, most real, evidently so even from that *universal utility*, on which this its pretended origin is supported. Indeed, against this *utility*, paradoxical men, or men in a paradoxical humour, have often reasoned; such as BAYLE, PLUTARCH, and BACON: Their arguments are here examined: And the

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Master sophism, which runs through the reasoning of all three, is detected and exposed.

2. *False*; for that, in fact, *Religion* existed before the *civil Magistrate* was in being. In proving this point, the matter led me to speak of the *origin of Idolatry*; to distinguish the several species of it; to adjust the order in which they arose out of one another; and to detect the ends of the later Platonists, in their attempts to turn the whole into an ALLEGORY (in which the reasonings of a late Writer in his *Letters concerning Mythology* are considered.) And because the rage of ALLEGORISING had spread a total confusion over all this matter, The origin, and progress of the folly, and the various views of its sectators in supporting it, are here accounted for and explained.

But my end and purpose in all this, was not barely to remove an objection against the Truths delivered in this place, but to prepare a reception for those which are to *follow*: For if Religion were so useful to Society, and yet not the invention of the Magistrate, we must seek for its original in another quarter; either from NATURE or REVELATION, or from BOTH.

Such is the subject-matter of the FIRST Volume of the Divine Legation: which, as it was thought proper to publish separately, I contrived should not only contain a *part*, of that general Argument, but should likewise be a compleat Treatise of itself, establishing one of the most important Truths with which Man has any concern; namely, THE NECESSITY OF RELIGION FOR THE SUPPORT OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT. And if, in support of this truth, I have entered into a long detail of some capital

capital articles of Antiquity, I presume I shall not need an apology.

II.

We come now to the SECOND VOLUME of the *Divine Legation*, which is employed in proving the MINOR PROPOSITION of the two Syllogisms; the first, that the *Jewish Religion and Society had no future state for their support*: the other, that *Moses, an ancient Lawgiver, and learned in all the Wisdom of Egypt, purposely instituted such a Religion*, in order to which the THIRD GENERAL PROPOSITION was to be enforced; That *the Doctrine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the Mosaic Dispensation*. But in proving the MINOR, a method something different from that observed in proving the MAJOR PROPOSITIONS was to be followed. *These*, in the first Volume, were proved *successively* and in order. But here the MINOR PROPOSITIONS are enforced all the way together. And this difference arises from the reason of the thing; the facts brought to prove the doctrine to be omitted, do, at the same time, *accidentally* shew that the Omission was designed: And the reasons brought to prove the uses in a designed omission, *necessarily* shew that the Doctrine was omitted.

To proceed therefore with the subject of the SECOND VOLUME.

IV. I just before observed, that the conclusion of the first Volume, which detected the absurdity and falsity of the Atheistic Principle, that *Religion was an invention of Politicians, and a creature of the state*, opened the way to a fair inquiry whether
its

its true original was not as well from REVELATION AS FROM NATURAL REASON.

In the introduction therefore to this second Volume, I took the advantage which that opening afforded me, of shewing that the universal pretence to *Revelation* proves *some* Revelation must be true: That this *true* Revelation must have some characteristic marks to distinguish it from the *false*: And that these *marks* are to be found in the Institutions of MOSES.

But this was only by way of *introduction*; and to lead the Reader more easily into the main road of our inquiry; by shewing that we pursued no desperate adventure, while we endeavoured to deduce the *divinity* of Moses's Law from the circumstances of the Law itself.

I proceeded then to the proof of the MINOR PROPOSITIONS, that *the Jewish Religion and Society had no future State for their support*: and that *Moses, an ancient Lawgiver, and learned in all the wisdom of Egypt, purposely instituted such a Religion*. To evince these truths with sufficient evidence, the *nature* of that Institution was to be first understood; which, again required a general knowledge, at least, of the *manners* and *genius* of the Hebrew People; and of the *character* and *abilities* of their Lawgiver. Now these having been entirely fashioned on Egyptian models, it was further expedient that we should know *the state of Egyptian superstition and learning* in that early period.

1. In order to this, the following proposition is advanced, that *the Egyptian learning celebrated in*
Scrip-

Scripture, and the Egyptian superstition there condemned, were the very learning and superstition represented by the Greek Writers as the honour and opprobrium of that kingdom. Where I first state the question; and then shew the equal extravagance of each of those two parties amongst the learned, who have been accustomed to *advance* or to *depress* the high antiquity of Egypt.

1. I corroborate the Proposition, first, by FACT, the testimony of holy Scripture, and of the ancient Greek Writers, set together and supporting one another; and both supported by circumstances regarding the peculiar situation of the land of Egypt. And here the *objections* of the author of *the Sacred and Profane History of the World connected*, frightened by the common panic of the high antiquity of Egypt, are confuted and exposed.

Secondly, by REASON, in an Argument drawn from the nature, origin and various uses of their so famed HIEROGLYPHICS. Where it is shewn,

1. That this species of writing was employed by the Egyptians as the vehicle of learning, even *after* the invention of LETTERS: for which no good reason can be assigned but this, that they were applied to the same purpose *before*. Now LETTERS were in use amongst them before the time of *Moses*.

2. Again, it is shewn that the ONIROCRITICS borrowed their art of deciphering dreams from *hieroglyphic Symbols*: but *hieroglyphic Symbols* were the mysterious vehicle of the civil science and of the Theology of the Egyptians. Now ONIROCRITIC

or

or the art of interpreting of dreams was practised in the time of Joseph.

3. And again, It is shewn that ANIMAL-WORSHIP in Egypt arose from the mysterious use of the same *hieroglyphic Symbols*. NOW ANIMAL-WORSHIP was established amongst them before the time of *Moses*.

From all this, it appears, that EGYPT was of that high antiquity which *Scripture* and the best *Greek Writers* concur to represent it. By which, we come to understand what were the *specific manners and superstitions* of Egypt in the time of *Moses*; these being, as it now appears, identically the same with what the *Greek Writers* have delivered to us.

In the course of this proof from *Reason*, which opens at large the nature, origin, and various kinds of EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS, I interweave (as the explanation of my subject necessarily required) a detailed history of the various modes of ancient communication amongst men, as well by *real* and *literary* characters, as by *words* and *action*; and shew how SPEECH and WRITING ran parallel in their progress; and influenced, and were influenced by, one another. On the same account, when I come to the origin of BRUTE-WORSHIP, I give the history of the various modes of ancient Idolatry; in the order in which they rose, one out of another.

These things I have not only made to serve in support of the question I am *here* upon, but likewise in support of one question *preceding*, and of one which is to *follow*.

For in the history of the *various modes of ancient communication* was laid, as the Reader will find, the founda-

foundation of my discourses on the *nature of ancient Prophecies* in the sixth Book.

And, in the history of *the various modes of ancient Idolatry*, the Reader hath a necessary supplement to what had been said before on the same subject, in the latter end of the third Book, against the Atheist's pretended origin of Religion.

So studious have I been to observe, what a great master of Reason lays down as the *rule and test* of good order in Composition, *That every former part may give strength to all that follow; and every latter bring light unto all before*^a.

But the *high antiquity of Egypt*, tho' proved from *Antiquity* itself, seemed not to be enough secured, while the authority of one *great modern* remained entire, and his reasonings unanswered.

In the next place, therefore, I examine Sir ISAAC NEWTON'S *Chronology of the Egyptian Empire*; a Chronology erected on the supposed *identity of Ostris and Sesostris*; which is a fancy that not only contradicts all *sacred* as well as *prophane antiquity*, but, what is still more, the *very nature of things*.

In the course of this confutation, *the causes of that endless confusion in the early Greek history and Mythology*, are inquired into and explained: Which serves, at the same time, to confirm and illustrate all that hath been occasionally said in the latter end of the *third book*, and, here again, in this *fourth*, concerning—the origin and progress of Idolatry, — the genius of Pagan Religion, — the Gentile

^a Hooker.

modes of worship, — and their Theological opinions.

Thus far concerning *the high antiquity of Egypt*. Which, besides the *immediate* purpose of leading us into the true idea of the *Jewish Institution* in general, hath these further uses :

We have seen in the foregoing Volume, that EGYPT, as it was most famed for the arts of legislation, so it most of all inculcated the doctrine of a *future state of Rewards and Punishments*. Now, if Egypt were indeed of the high antiquity here assigned unto it, that doctrine must needs be of national belief, at the time the Hebrews lived there in slavery. But then they having, as we find in Scripture, thoroughly imbibed the religious notions of the place, must needs be much prejudiced in favour of so reasonable and flattering a Doctrine : Consequently their Lawgiver, who likewise had been bred up in all the learning of Egypt, would, if he had acted only by human direction, have, in imitation of his Masters, taken advantage of this favourable prejudice to make the doctrine of a future state the grand SANCTION of his Religion and Law.

Again, the proof of the *high Antiquity of Egypt*, was necessary to vindicate *sacred Scripture* ; which all along declares for that Antiquity ; and which the DEIST having endeavoured to take advantage of, in opposing Moses's pretence to inspiration, some imprudent BELIEVERS were grown not unwilling to explain away. Sir Isaac Newton's CHRONOLOGY afforded them the aid they wanted : And while it offered itself in support of the *Bible-divinity*,

they seemed little attentive to the liberties it had taken with the *Bible-history*.

2. In order to bring on this Truth of the *high antiquity of Egypt* nearer to my purpose, I proceeded to the *second Proposition*. *That the Jewish People were extremely fond of Egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian superstitions: and that many of the Laws given to them by the ministry of Moses were instituted partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in opposition to those superstitions.* In the proof of the first part of this Proposition, I shew the *high probability* that the Law was instituted with reference to Egyptian manners; and through the proof of the second, is deduced a *demonstration* that it was actually so framed.

For a further illustration of this Argument, I give an historical account of the degeneracy of the Hebrew People, and of their amazing propensity to imitate the manners of Egypt, from the time that Moses was first sent upon his Mission, to their entire settlement in the land of Judea: Which fully shews (what will stand us in stead, hereafter) that a People so perverse and headstrong needed, in the construction of their civil and religious Institutions, all possible curbs to disorder: Now of all such curbs, the doctrine of a *future state* was ever held the chief in ancient policy; and as this doctrine was so peculiarly Egyptian, they must needs have the most favourable prejudice towards it.

But then, as it might perhaps be objected, that while I am endeavouring to get this way, into the interior of the Jewish Constitution, I open a back door to the ravages of Infidelity: it was thought
necessary,

necessary, in order to prevent the Deist's taking advantage of the great Truth contained in the preceding Proposition, (which is the second) to guard it by the following, (which is the third) viz. *That Moses's Egyptian Learning, and the Laws instituted in compliance to the Peoples prejudices, are no reasonable objection to the divinity of his Mission.* Where, in explaining the *first part*, which shews what this learning was, and how well it suited with Moses's Mission, I had occasion to inquire into the origin and use of the SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHETS: Which the Reader will find of this further use, viz. To give strength and support to what is said in the sixth Book of the NATURE OF THE JEWISH PROPHECIES; and particularly to what is there observed of GROTIUS's fatal error, in his mode of interpreting them.

And in explanation of the *second part*, having proved the Proposition, That to institute Laws in compliance to popular prejudices is no reasonable objection to their divine original, having proved this, I say, from the nature of things, the Discourse proceeds to examine all the Arguments which have been urged in support of the contrary opinion, by HERMAN WITSIUS, in his learned Treatise intitled *Ægyptiaca*, that Book having been publickly recommended by Dr. Waterland, for a *distinct and solid confutation of Spencer's De Legibus Hebræorum ritualibus.*

And the answer to Witsius's last argument bringing into question the intrinsic value of the *ritual Law*; the famous character of it given by the Prophet EZEKIEL, of *statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live* — is explained in a large analysis of the whole Prophecy.

against an old foolish notion revived by Dr. Shuckford, that these *Statutes* and *Judgments* here said to be given by God, were the *Pagan Idolatries*, which, in defiance of God, they took without leave.

But I go yet further in support of the fourth Proposition, and prove, that *these very circumstances of Moses's Egyptian Learning, and the Laws instituted in compliance to the People's prejudices, are a strong confirmation of the divinity of his Mission.*

1st, For, that one bred up in the arts of Egyptian Legislation could never, on his own head, have thought of reducing an unruly people to government, on maxims of Religion and Policy, fundamentally opposite to all the principles of Egyptian wisdom, at that time the universal Model on which all the Legislators worked, in reducing a barbarous People to Society. Yet Moses went upon principles diametrically opposite to that wisdom, when he enjoined the PUBLIC worship of the *one true God only*, and OMITTED *the doctrine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments*, in the institution of his Law and Religion.

2dly, For, that One who *falsely* pretended to receive the whole frame of a national Constitution from God, would never have risked his pretensions by a *ritual Law*, which the people might see was politically instituted, partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in opposition to Egyptian superstitions.

Here, all the imaginable motives are inquired into, which MOSES, tho' a mere human Lawgiver, might have had to act in the manner he did; and these motives are shewn to be insufficient to induce a
wise

wise Legislator thus to act.—In conclusion, it is made apparent, *that a ritual, contrived to oppose to the reigning superstitions*; and, at the same time, to *prefigure, by its typical nature, all the essential parts of a future Dispensation*, contains a strong INTERNAL ARGUMENT THAT THE RITUAL LAW WAS NOT A MERE HUMAN INVENTION. And with this the fourth Book concludes.

V. What hath been hitherto said, was to let the Reader into the genius of the Jewish Policy in *general*, in order, to his judging more exactly of the *peculiar nature* of its Government; that, from thence, he might be enabled to determine, with full certainty, of the matters in question, as they are contained in the two MINOR terms.

1. The *fifth Book*; therefore, comes still nearer to the point; and shews, that the Government instituted by Moses, was a THEOCRACY, properly so called, where God himself was the supreme civil Magistrate. It begins with assigning and settling the true reason of the separation of the posterity of Abraham from the rest of mankind;—because this separation has been greatly misunderstood—but principally because the true reason of the *separation* leads us into the use and necessity of a *Theocratic* form of Government.

In evincing this necessity, the justice of the *Law for punishing Idol-worship capitally*, under a Theocracy, is explained: And because the Deist hath been accustomed to urge *this Law* against the divine original of the whole Institution, it is here justified at large, on the principles of natural equity: Which serves, as well a past purpose, viz. the adding strength and support to what hath been

said on the subject of TOLERATION, in the second Book ; as it does at present, viz. To confirm the *reality of this Theocracy*, which a celebrated dissenting Minister has preposterously gone out of his way to bring in question : whose *reasoning*, therefore, is examined and exposed.

2. This THEOCRACY, thus proved to be *necessary*, was likewise, of the most easy introduction, as I have shewn from the notions and opinions of those times, concerning *tutelary Deities*. And here, speaking of the method of divine Providence, in applying the prejudices and manners of men to the great ends of his Dispensations, I observe, that He is always accustomed to impress on his institution, some characteristic note of difference, to mark it for his own : which leading me to give instances in some of these *notes*, I insist chiefly upon this, “ that the Mosaic Religion was *built upon a former*, namely, the Patriarchal : whereas the various Religions of the Pagan World were all unrelated to, and independent of, one another.” As this was a circumstance necessary to be well attended to, by all who would fully comprehend the nature of the Mosaic Policy, I took the advantage, which the celebrated Author of the *Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* had afforded me, to support this characteristic note, against his idle attempt to prove, that the Pagans, likewise, were accustomed to build one pretended Revelation on another.

3. I proceed, in the next place, to shew, that those prejudices which made the *introduction of a THEOCRACY so easy*, occasioned *as easy a defection from it*. In which, I had occasion to explain the nature of the *worship of tutelary Gods* ; and of that
Idolatry

Idolatry wherewith the Israelites were so obstinately besotted.

Both of which Discourses serve these further purposes: the *former*, to support and explain what hath been said in the second Book concerning the *Pagan intercommunity of worship*: and the *latter*, (besides a peculiar use to be made of it in third Volume) to obviate a popular objection of Unbelievers; who, from this circumstance, of the perpetual defection of the Israelites into idolatry, would infer, that God's Dispensation to them could never have been so convictive as their History represents it; the Objectors having taken it for granted, on the allowance of Believers, that this Idolatry consisted in renouncing the Law of Moses, and renouncing it as dissatisfied with its truth. Both which suppositions are here shewn to be false. This affords an occasion to confute the false reasoning of Lord Bolingbroke; who, from this frequent lapse into Idolatry, infers such a defect and political inability in the Law, as shews its pretence to a divine original to be an imposture.

4. The nature of the THEOCRACY, and the circumstances attending its *erection* being thus explained, we come next to inquire concerning its *duration*. Here we shew, that, in strict truth and propriety, it subsisted throughout the whole period of the Jewish Œconomy, even to the coming of Christ: In which discourse, the contrary opinions, of an earlier abolition, are all considered and confuted, and the above truth supported and established. In the course of this reasoning, it is shewn, that the famous Prophecy of Jacob, of the *Sceptre's not departing from Judah till the coming of Shiloh*, is a promise or declaration of the existence of the THE-

OCRACY till the coming of Christ. And as the truth of this interpretation is of the highest importance to Revelation, all the different senses given to this Prophecy are examined, and shewn to be erroneous. And the last of them being one borrowed by Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, and received into his Book of *the Use and Intent of Prophecy*, is particularly discussed.

The use to be hereafter made of *the duration of the Theocracy to the coming of Christ*, is to inforce, by this circumstance, amongst many others, the CONNEXION between the two Religions: a truth, though too much neglected, yet incumbent on every rational Defender of Revelation to support.

The Argument then proceeds to a consideration of the *peculiar consequences* attending the administration of a Theocracy, which brings us yet nearer to our point. Here it is shewn, that one necessary *consequence* was an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. And agreeably to this deduction from the *nature of things*, we find, that holy Scripture does, *in fact*, exhibit this very representation of God's Government of Judea; and that there are many favourable circumstances in the character of the Hebrew People, to induce us to believe the representation to be true. Here, many cloudy cavils of the three Doctors, SYKES, STEBBING, and RUTHERFORD, are occasionally removed and dispersed. But the attentive Reader will observe, that my Argument does not require me to prove more in this place, than that holy Scripture REPRESENTS an *extraordinary Providence* to have been administered. The proof of its REAL Administration is established by the MEDIUM of my Thesis, *the omission of the Doc-*
trines

trine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments. Which answers all objections as to our inadequate conceptions of such an administration; as well as to certain passages of Scripture that seem to clash with its general representation of it. Yet both these sort of objections are, however, considered *ex abundanti*.

As important as the fact is, to our present purpose of an extraordinary Providence thus represented, it has still a further use, when employed amongst those distinguishing *marks* of the truth of Moses's divine Mission in general: for it shews us, the unnecessary trouble and hazard to which he exposed himself had that Mission been feigned. Had he, like the rest of the ancient Lawgivers, only pretended to *inspiration*, he had then no occasion to propagate the belief of an *extraordinary Providence*; a Dispensation so easy to be confuted. But by deviating from their practice, and announcing to his People, that their *tutelary God* was become their KING, he laid himself under a necessity of teaching an *extraordinray Providence*; a dead weight upon an Impostor, which nothing but downright folly could have brought him to undergo.

To proceed. After having laid this strong and necessary Foundation, we come at length DIRECTLY to the point in question. If the Jewish Government were a THEOCRACY, administered, as it must be, by an *extraordinary Providence*, the next consequence is, that TEMPORAL REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, and not FUTURE, were the SANCTION of their Law and Religion. Thus far, therefore, have our considerations on the *nature alone* of the Jewish Government conducted us: and it is almost

most to our journey's end: for it fairly brings us up to the proof of our two MINOR Propositions. So necessary, as the Reader now sees, is the long discourse of *the nature of the Jewish Government*.

But, to prevent all cavil, the Argument goes on, and proves in the next place, that the Doctrine of *a future state of Rewards and Punishments*, which could not, from the *nature* of things, be the SANCTION of the Jewish Œconomy, was not in *fact* contained in it at all: nay further, that it was PURPOSELY OMITTED by the great Lawgiver. This is proved from several passages in the Book of *Genesis* and the *Law*.

And here, more fully to evince, that Moses, who, it is seen, *studiously* omitted the mention of it, was *well apprised* of its importance, I shew, that the PUNISHMENT OF CHILDREN FOR THE SINS OF THEIR PARENTS was brought into this Institution purposefully to afford some advantages to Government, which the Doctrine of *a future state*, as it is found in all other Societies, amply supplies. This, at the same time that it gives further strength to the position of *no future state in the Mosaic Dispensation*, gives the Author a fair occasion of vindicating the justice and equity of the Law of *punishing Children for the sins of their Parents*; and of proving the perfect agreement between MOSES and the Prophets EZEKIEL and JEREMIAH, concerning it; which hath been, in all ages, the stumbling-block of Infidelity.

But we now advance a step further, and shew, that as Moses did not teach, yea forbore to teach the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, so neither had the ancient Jews, that is to say, the Body of the People, any knowledge of it.

it. The proof is striking, and scarce to be resisted by any Party or Profession but that of the SYSTEM-MAKER. The Bible contains a very circumstantial account of this People, from the time of Moses to the great Captivity; not only the history of public occurrences, but the lives of private persons of both sexes, and of all ages, conditions, characters and complexions; in the adventures of virgins, matrons, kings, soldiers, scholars, parents, merchants, husbandmen. They are given too in every circumstance of life; captive, victorious, in sickness and in health; in full security and amidst impending dangers; plunged in civil business, or retired and sequestered in the service of Religion. Together with their story, we have their compositions likewise: in one place we hear their triumphal; in another, their penitential strains. Here we have their exultations for blessings received; there, their deprecations of evil apprehended: Here they urge their moral precepts to their *contemporaries*; and there again, they treasure up their Prophecies and Predictions for the use of *Posterity*; and on each, denounce the threatenings and promises of Heaven. Yet in none of these different circumstances of life; in none of these various casts of composition, do we ever find them acting on the motives, or influenced by the prospect, of a FUTURE STATE: or indeed, expressing the least hopes or fears, or even common curiosity, concerning it: But every thing they do or say, respects the present life only; the good and ill of which are the sole objects of their pursuits and aversions.

The strength of this argument is still further supported by a view of the *general history* of Mankind: and particularly of those nations most resembling

sembling the *Jewish* in their genius and circumstances: in which we find the Doctrine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments, was always pushing on its influence. It was their constant viaticum through life; it stimulated them to war, and spirited their songs of triumph; it made them insensible of pain, immoveable in danger, and superior to the approach of death.

This is not all: We observe, that even in the *Jewish* Annals, when this Doctrine was become national, it made as considerable a figure in their History, as in that of any other nation.

It is still further urged, that this conclusion does not rest merely on the *negative silence* of the Bible-history; it is supported on the *positive* declarations contained in it; by which the sacred Writers plainly discover that there was no popular expectation of *a future state or Resurrection*.

From the *Old Testament* we come to the *New*. By the Writers of which it appears, that the Doctrine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments, DID NOT MAKE PART of the Mosaic Dispensation.

Their evidence is divided into two parts; the *first*, proving that TEMPORAL rewards and punishments were the sanction of the Jewish Dispensation: The *second*, that it had *no other*. And thus, with the most direct and unexceptionable proof of the two MINOR propositions, the fifth Book concludes.

VI. But to remove, as far as possible, all the supports of prejudice against this important Truth, the sixth and last Book of this Volume is employed in examining all those texts of the *Old and New Testament*,

Testament, which had been commonly urged to prove, that the Doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, DID MAKE PART of the Mosaic Dispensation.

And amongst those of the *Old Testament*, the famous passage of the xixth chapter of *Job*, concerning a *Resurrection* (as it has been commonly understood) holding a principal place, it was judged expedient, for the reasons there given, to examine that matter to the bottom. This necessarily brought on an enquiry into the NATURE and GENIUS of that Book; WHEN WRITTEN, and to WHAT PURPOSE. By the aid of which enquiry, a fair account is given of the sense of that famous Text, consistent with our general Proposition.

But the whole *Discourse on the book of Job* hath this further use: It provides a strong support and illustration of what will be hereafter delivered concerning the GRADUAL DECAY of the extraordinary Providence from the time of *Saul*, to the return from the great *Captivity*.

Yet this is not all. The *Discourse* hath yet a further use, with regard to *Revelation in general*. For the explaining, How the principles of the *Gospel-Doctrine* were opened by degrees, fully obviates the calumnies of those two leaders in Infidelity, TYNDAL and COLLINS; who pretend, that the Heads and Governors of the Jews, refined their old Doctrines concerning the Deity, and invented new ones: just as the *Priests* improved in knowledge, or the *People* advanced in curiosity; or as *Both* were better taught by the instructions they received from their Masters, in the country, whither they were led away captive.

The

The *discourse of Job* being of this importance, we were led to support all the parts of it, from the attacks of various Writers, who had attempted to confute it.

The rest of the Old Testament-texts are gone thro' with greater dispatch, being divided into two parts. 1. Such as are supposed to teach the separate existence, or as it is called, the *immortality* of the Soul. And 2. Such as are supposed to teach a *future state of rewards and punishments*, together with a *Resurrection of the body*. In the course of which examination, much light, it is hoped, has been thrown both on the *particular texts* and on the *general question*.

From the texts of the *Old Testament*, the Argument proceeds to examine those of the *New*: Amongst which, the famous *eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews* is not forgotten; the sense of which is cleared up, to oppose to the inveterate mistakes of *Systematical Divines*: And here, occasion is taken to explain the *nature of St. Paul's reasoning against the errors of the Jewish converts*; a matter of highest moment for a right understanding of this Apostle's Letters to the several Churches; and for the further illustration of the general Argument.

As in all this, nothing is taught or insinuated which opposes the doctrine of our excellent Church, common decency required that this *conformity* should be fully shewn and largely insisted on.

Having therefore, all along, gone upon this Principle, That "tho' a future State of rewards and
" punishments, made no part of the MOSAIC Dif-
" pensation,

“ penfation, yet that the LAW had a SPIRITUAL
 “ meaning; tho’ not feen or understood till the
 “ fullnefs of time was come. Hence the Ritual
 “ Law received the nature, and afforded the effi-
 “ cacy of PROPHECY: In the interim (as is fhewn)
 “ *the mystery of the Gospel was occasionally revealed,*
 “ by God, to his chofen fervants, the Fathers and
 “ Leaders of the Jewifh Nation; and the *dawnings*
 “ of it gradually opened by the Prophets, to the
 “ People.” Having, I fay, gone, all the way,
 upon this principle, I fhew, from the SEVENTH
 ARTICLE of Religion, that it is the very Doctrin
 of our excellent Church.

And in explaining that part of the ARTICLE
 which fays, — *That they are not to be heard which feign*
that the old Fathers did look only for tranfitory Pro-
mifes, I fupport this doctrine by the cafe of ABRA-
 HAM, *who,* our bleffed Master tells us, *rejoiced to*
fee his day, and faw it and was glad.

Here, I attempt to prove, in illustration of this
 text, that the *Command to Abraham to offer Ifaac,*
 was merely an information given, at Abraham’s
 earneft request, in a *representative action,* inftead of
words, of the REDEMPTION OF MANKIND by the
 great Sacrifice of Chrift on the Crofs. Which in-
 terpretation, if it be the true one, is, I think, the
 nobleft proof that ever was given of the HAR-
 MONY between the Old and New Testament.

From this long Differtation, befides the imme-
 diate purpofe of vindicating the Doctrin of our
 national Church, in its *feventh Article,* we gain
 thefe two advantages, 1. The firft of which is,
 fupporting a real and effential *connexion* between
 the Mofaic and the Chriftian Religions. 2. The
 other

other is, disposing the Deists to think more favourably of Revelation, when they see, in this interpretation of the COMMAND, all their objections to this part of Abraham's story, overthrown.

The matter being of this high importance, it was proper to fix my interpretation on such principles as would leave no room for reasonable doubt or objection: And this was to be done by explaining the nature of those *various modes of information* in use amongst the Ancients; for which explanation, a proper ground had been laid in the discourse on the *Hieroglyphics* in the fourth Book. To all this (for the reason here given) is subjoined a continued refutation of all that Dr. Stebbing has been able to urge against this idea of the *Command*.

Nor is this all. This *Dissertation*, which affords so many new openings into the truths of *Revelation* in general, and so many additional supports to the argument of the *Divine Legation* in particular, hath another very important use. It is a necessary introduction to the long Discourse which follows, concerning PROPHECY.

In this, (which is the last of the present Volume) I have attempted to clear up and vindicate the logical truth and propriety of *Types in action*, and *secondary senses in speech*: For on the truth and propriety of these, depends the divine original of the ancient JEWISH PROPHECIES concerning Christ. A matter much needing a support: For tho' the greater part of these Prophecies confessedly relate to Jesus only in a *secondary sense*, yet had some men of name, and in the interests of Religion, thro' ignorance of the true origin and nature of *such senses*, rashly

con-

concurrent with modern Judaism and Infidelity, to give them all up as *illogical* and *enthusiastic*, to the imminent hazard of the very foundation of CHRISTIANITY. In the progress of this inquiry, I had occasion to examine, and was enabled, on the principles here laid down, to confute Mr. Collins's famous Work of *the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, one of the most able and plausible books ever written amongst us, against our holy Faith; he having borrowed the Argument, and stolen all the reasoning upon it, from the most sagacious of the modern Rabbins; who pretend that none of the Prophecies can relate to Jesus in any other sense than a *secondary*; and that a *secondary sense is illogical and fanatical*.—Had I done no more, in this long work, than explain and clear up, as I have done, this much embarrassed and most important question of the Jewish Prophecies which relate to Christ, and to the Christian Dispensation; I should have thought my time and labour well employed; so necessary to the very being of our holy Faith, is the setting this matter on its true foundation. Thus much may be said in favour of this large dissertation considered in itself alone: But, as part of the Argument of the *Divine Legation* of Moses, it has these more immediate uses:

1. To shew, that those who contend, that the Christian Doctrine of a future State was revealed to the early Jews, destroy all *use and reason of a secondary sense of Prophecies*; for how shall it be certainly known, from the Prophecies themselves, that they contain *double senses*, but from this *acknowledged* truth, that the *old Law* was preparatory to, and the rudiments of, the *New*? Or how shall

this relation between these *two Laws* be certainly known, but from the evidence of this *contested truth*, that the *Doctrine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments*, is not to be found in the *Mosaic Dispensation*? So close a dependence have all these capital Principles, on one another.

2. The other more immediate reason for this Dissertation on *Types and secondary Senses* was this: As I had shewn, that a future State of rewards and punishments was not revealed under any part of the Jewish *Œconomy*, otherwise than by *those modes* of information, it was necessary, in order to shew the *real connexion* between Judaism and Christianity (the truth of the latter Religion depending on that *real connexion*) to prove *those modes* to be logical and rational. For, as on the one hand, had the doctrine of life and immortality been *revealed* under the Mosaic *Œconomy*, Judaism had been *more* than a rudiment of, and preparation to, Christianity; so, on the other, had no *covert* intimations, at all, been given of the doctrine, it had been *less*: that is, the dependency and connexion between the two Religions had not been sufficiently marked out and ascertained. With this Dissertation therefore, so important in its use and application, the sixth and last Book of the second Volume concludes.

Thus the READER, at length, may see how regularly, and intently, these two Volumes have been carried on: For, tho' the AUTHOR (whose passion is not so much a fondness for his *own conceived argument*, as for the honour and support of Religion itself) hath neglected no fair occasion of inforcing every collateral circumstance, which might serve to illustrate

illustrate the truth of *Revelation in general*; yet he never loses sight of his end, but as the precept for conducting the most regular works directs,

Semper ad eventum festinat.

This Volume too, like the first, I thought fit to publish alone: not *merely* for the same reason, that it was a compleat and entire work of itself, which *explained the nature and genius of the Jewish Constitution*; but for this additional one, that it *fairly ended and compleated the Argument*.

For the first Volume having proved the MAJOR, and the second Volume, the MINOR Propositions of the TWO SYLLOGISMS, my logic teaches me to think, that the CONCLUSION follows of course, viz. THAT THE JEWISH RELIGION AND SOCIETY WERE SUPPORTED BY AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE.

Or put it in another light,—Having proved my three principal Propositions,

I. “ That the inculcating the Doctrine of a future State of rewards and punishments, is necessary to the well being of civil Society.”

II. “ That all mankind, especially the most wise and learned nations of Antiquity, have concurred in believing, and teaching, that this Doctrine was of such use to civil Society.”

III. “ That the Doctrine of a future State of rewards and punishments is not to be found in, nor did make part of the *Mosaic Dispensation*.”

The conclusion is, that therefore THE LAW OF MOSES IS OF DIVINE ORIGINAL.

A CONCLUSION which necessarily follows the premisses contained in these three propositions. Notwithstanding all this, the evidence of their truth proving so various, extending so wide, and having been drawn out to so great a length; What between *inattention* and *prejudice*, the Argument, here brought to its final issue, hath been generally understood to be left imperfect; and the Conclusion of it reserved for another Volume. Yet a very moderate share of reflection might have led the candid Reader to understand, that I had here effectually performed what I had promised, namely, TO DEMONSTRATE THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES. For if it be indeed proved, That the Doctrine of a future state is necessary to the well being of civil Society, under the ordinary government of Providence—That all mankind have ever so conceived of the matter—That the Mosaic Institution was without this support, and that yet it did not want it,—What follows but that the Jewish affairs were administered by an extraordinary Providence, distributing reward and punishment with an equal hand; and consequently that the MISSION OF MOSES WAS DIVINE?

However, the complaint against the AUTHOR, for not having performed his Convention with the Public, became pretty general. To which a great deal might be said, and perhaps to little purpose. The following Tale will put it in the fairest light. In a solemn Treaty lately concluded between the Governor of one of our American Provinces and the neighbouring Savages, it had, it seems, been stipulated, that the Settlement should supply those

Warrior-Tribes with a certain number of good and fervicable Muskets. Which engagement was so ill performed, that at their next general meeting, the Chiefs of the Barbarians complained, that, tho' indeed the Colony had sent them the number of Muskets agreed upon, yet, on examination, they were all found to be *without Locks*. This mischance (occasioned by the Muskets and the Locks being put into two different cargoes) the Governor promised should be redressed. It was redressed accordingly; and the Locks sought out, and sent: He now flattered himself that all cause of umbrage was effectually removed; when, at their next meeting, he was entertained with a fresh complaint, that the Colony had fraudulently sent them *Locks without Muskets*. The truth was, this brave People, of unimpeached morals, were only defective in their military Logic; they had not the dexterity, till they were first shewn the way, to put the *major* of the Musket and the *minor* of the Musket-Lock together; and from thence to draw the *concluding* trigger.

But then it will be said, "If, as is here pretended, the PREMISES have been indeed proved, in these two Volumes, with all the detail which their importance required, and with all the evidence which a moral subject can supply; and the CONCLUSION, therefore, established with all the conviction which the Laws of logic are able to enforce; Why was a other Volume promised? For no other end, as would seem, than to mislead a well-meaning Reader, in the vain pursuit of an Argument already ended."

It was promised for a better purpose—*To remove all conceivable objections against the CONCLUSION, and*

to throw in every collateral light upon the PREMISES. For it is one thing to satisfy Truth, and another, to silence her pretended friends. He who defends *Revelation* has many prejudices to encounter; but he who defends it by *Reason* only, has many more.

The third and last Volume, therefore, is destined to SUPPORT what hath been already proved: not, as has been absurdly suggested, to continue and conclude an unfinished Argument.

It consists of three Books, like each of the preceding Volumes.

1. The seventh Book therefore is employed in supporting the MAJOR and the MINOR Propositions of the first Syllogism: in a continued History of the RELIGIOUS OPINIONS of the Jews, from the time of the earlier *Prophets*, who first gave some dark intimations of a different Dispensation, to the time of the *Maccabees*, when the Doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments was become national.

2. The eighth Book is employed in supporting the MAJOR and MINOR Propositions of the second Syllogism, in which is considered the PERSONAL CHARACTER of Moses and the GENIUS OF THE LAW, as far as it concerns or has a relation to the character of the Lawgiver. Under this latter head, is contained a full and satisfactory Answer to those who may object, "That a revealed Religion with a future state of rewards and punishments is unworthy the Divine Author to whom it is ascribed."

3. The

3. The ninth and last Book, explains at large the nature and genius of the CHRISTIAN DISPENSATION: For having towards the end of the eighth Book, examined the PRETENDED REASONS (offered both by Believers and Unbelievers to evade my conclusion) for omitting the Doctrine of a future State of rewards and punishments in the Mosaic Dispensation, I was naturally and necessarily led to inquire into the TRUE. For now, it might be finally objected, "That tho', under an extraordinary Providence there might be *no occasion* for the doctrine of a future State, in support of Religion, or for the ends of Government; yet as that Doctrine is a *truth*, and consequently, under every regiment of Providence, *useful*, it seems hard to conceive, that the Religious Leader of the Jews, because as a *Lawgiver* he could do without it, that therefore, as a *Divine*, he would omit it." The objection is of weight in itself, and receives additional moment from what hath been observed in the fifth Book, concerning *the Reason of the Law of punishing children for the crimes of their Parents*. I held it therefore insufficient barely to reply, "Moses omitted it, that his Law might there-
 "by stand, throughout all ages, an invincible Monu-
 "ment of the truth of his pretences:" but proceeded to explain the GREAT AND PRINCIPAL reason of the omission. And now, — *ventum ad VERUM est.*

The whole concludes with one general but distinct view of the entire course of Gods universal Œconomy from Adam to Christ. In which it is shewn, that if Moses were, in truth, sent from God, *he could not teach* a future State; that Doctrine being out of his Commission, and reserved for him who was at the head of another Dispensation,

by which *life and immortality was to be brought to light.*

This Discourse, besides the immediate purpose of supporting and illustrating the ARGUMENT here completed, serves another end, which I had in view, as to the general disposition of the whole work : which was to explain and discriminate the distinct and various natures of the PAGAN, the JEWISH and the CHRISTIAN Religions : the *Pagan* having been considered in the first Volume, and the *Jewish* in the second ; the *Christian* is reserved for the third and last. Let me conclude therefore, in an address to my Reverend Brethren, with the words of an Ancient Apologist^a. Quid nobis invidemus, si veritas Divinitatis, nostri temporis Ætate maturuit? Fruamur bono nostro, et recti sententiam temperemus : cohibeatur SUPERSTITIO, IMPIETAS expietur, VERA RELIGIO reservetur.

^a *Minnicius Felix,*

The End of the SIXTH BOOK,

A P P E N D I X

Concerning the BOOK of J O B.

AN excellent Writer having *freely and candidly* examined the late Bishop of London's collection of Sermons, and in page 165 of his *Examination*, asked this question, *Where was Idolatry ever punished by the Magistrate, but under the Jewish Œconomy?* The Oxford Professor, in the second Edition of his *Prelections, concerning the sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, thinks fit to give the following answer — “ It was punished under the Œconomy
 “ of the Patriarchs, in the families and under the
 “ DOMINION of Abraham, Melchisedec and JOB.
 “ Idolatry spreading wider and wider, Abraham
 “ was called by God from Chaldea, for this end,
 “ to be the father of a People, which, divided
 “ from all others, might continue to worship the
 “ true God; to be set up for an exemplar of
 “ true Religion, and to be ready to give testi-
 “ mony against the worship of vain Deities.
 “ Was not Abraham, therefore (exercising the
 “ SOVEREIGNTY in his own family) to punish Ido-
 “ latry? Were not Melchisedec and Job, and all
 “ the SOVEREIGNS of Tribes of that time, who still
 “ retained the knowledge and worship of the true
 “ God, amidst a general defection of all the sur-
 “ rounding People, to take care that their own
 “ did not backslide? To curb offenders, and to
 “ inflict

“ inflict punishment on the obstinate, the RE-
 “ BELLIOUS, and on all those who spread abroad
 “ the contagion of this vice.” — Ad quæstionem
 respondetur: Sub œconomia Patriarcharum; in
 familiis, et sub DOMINATU Abrahæ, Melchi-
 zedechi, Jobi cæterorumque. Ingruente Idolo-
 latria divinitus evocabatur ex Chaldæa Abra-
 hamus; eum in finem, ut fieret pater Gentis, quæ
 ab aliis omnibus divisa, verum Deum coleret, pub-
 licum proponeret exemplum puræ religionis, con-
 traque cultum vanorum numinum testimonium
 perhiberet. Nonne erat igitur Abrahæ in sua
 familia PRINCIPATUM exercentis proprium officium
 & munus in Idololatriam animadvertere? Nonne
 Melchizedechi, Jobi, omniumque tunc temporis
 in suis Tribubus PRINCIPUM, qui veri Dei cogni-
 tionem & cultum in communi fere gentium cir-
 cumvicinarum defectione adhuc retinebant, cavere,
 ne sui deficerent; coercere delinquentes; obstina-
 tos & REBELLES, et sceleris contagionem propa-
 gantes, supplicio afficere? — *Supplementum ad pri-
 mam Prælectionum Editionem: Addit. Editionis se-
 cundæ*, p. 312.

This is so pleasant an answer, and so little need-
 ing the masterly hand of the *Examiner* to correct,
 that a few strictures, in a cursory Note, will be
 more than sufficient to do the business.

1. The *Examiner*, to prove, I suppose, that the
 book of Job was a dramatic work, written long
 after the time of the Patriarch, asks, *Where was
 Idolatry ever punished by the MAGISTRATE, but under
 the Jewish Œconomy?* The *Professor* answers, *It was
 punished under the JOBEAN ŒCONOMY.* And he
 advances nothing without proof. Does not Job
 himself say, that Idolatry was *an iniquity to be pu-
 nished*

nished by the Judge? The *Examiner* replies, that the Job who says this, is an airy Fantom, raised for other purposes than to lay down the Law for the Patriarchal times. The *Professor* maintains that they are all Asses, with ears as long as *Father Harduin's*, who cannot see that this is the true and genuine old Job. — In good time. *Sub Judice lis est*: And while it is so, I am afraid the learned *Professor* BEGS THE QUESTION; when, to prove that Idolatry was punished by the Magistrate, out of the land of Judea, he affirms that KING JOB punished it. If he say, he does not rest his assertion on this passage of the book of Job alone, but on the sacred Records, from whence he concludes that those CIVIL MAGISTRATES, Abraham and Melchisedec, punished Idolatry; I shall own he acts fairly, in putting them all upon the same footing; and on what ground that stands, we shall now see.

2. The *Examiner* says, *Where was Idolatry ever punished by the Magistrate, but under the Jewish Economy?* A question equivalent to this, — “Where was Idolatry punished by the civil Magistrate on the established Laws of the State, but in Judea?” To which, the *Professor* replies, “It was punished by all the Patriarchal Monarchs, by king Job, king Abraham, and king Melchisedec.”

Of a noble race was Shenkin.

But here, not one, save the last, had so much as a nominal title to civil Magistracy: And this last drops as it were, from the clouds, without lineage or parentage; so that, tho' of *divine*, yet certainly not a Monarch of the true stamp, by *hereditary right*. The Critic therefore fails in his first point, which is, finding out civil Magistrates to do his hierarchical drudgery.

3. But

3. But let us admit our *Professor's* right of investiture, to confer this high office, and then see how he proves, that these his Lieges punished the crime of Idolatry by civil punishment. ABRAHAM, and the Patriarchs his descendants, come first under consideration. *What!* (says he) *was not Abraham, exercising the SOVEREIGNTY in his own family, to punish Idolatry?* Hobbes is, I believe, the only one (save our Professor) who holds that “ Abraham had a right to prescribe to his family
 “ what Religion they should be of, to tell them
 “ what was the word of God, and to punish those
 “ who countenanced any Doctrine which he had
 “ forbidden.” *Leviath.* chap. 40.—But God speaking of Abraham, says, *I know that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, &c.* Gen. xviii. 19. And Hobbes and our *Professor*, I suppose, regard this declaration as a clear proof of the divine doctrine of RESTRAINT in matters of Religion; especially when interpreted by their darling text of—*force them to enter in.* On the contrary, those who have been bred up in the Principles of *Toleration*, hold it to be a mere testimony (a glorious one indeed) of Abraham's pious and parental care to INSTRUCT his family in the Law of God. And it is well, it can go for no more, or I should fear the learned Professor would have brought in Isaac as a backslider to Idolatry; and his Father's laying him on the sacrificial Pile, as a kind of *Auto de fe.* Now, except in these two places of Abraham's History, of such wonderful force to support *intolerant* principles, the Patriarch appears in all others so averse to this inquisitorial spirit, that where God comes down to destroy Sodom, the *Father of the Faithful* intercedes, with the utmost importunity, for that *idolatrous* as well as incestuous City. The truth is this, The usurped
 right

right of punishing for opinions, was first assumed and long ingrossed by Idolaters. And, if tradition may be believed, Abraham himself narrowly escaped the *Fire* for preaching against its Divinity. But this is not all. From his own conduct, and from the conduct of his posterity, he seems to have made one part of that fidelity *in keeping the way of the Lord*, (for which he is so nobly distinguished by God himself) to consist in inculcating the divine doctrine of Toleration. When JACOB and his family, without leave-taking, had departed from Laban, Rachel stole away her father's Gods. The old man followed and overtook them; and complaining of the theft, Jacob frankly answered, *With whomsoever thou findest thy Gods, let him not live*. Now, I would ask, was this condemnation on the offender denounced for *Idolatry*, or for the *Theft*? The words of the Patriarch, which immediately follow, determine this — *Before our brethren discern thou what is thine, with me, and take it to thee*. Well, Rachel, by a female stratagem, contrived to keep her father's Gods; for no better purpose, we may be sure, than that for which the good man employed so much pains to recover them. The *theft*, indeed, had it been discovered, would have been *punished by the Judge*: But, as for the *Idolatry*, which, from its nature, could not be long hid, the silence of Scripture shews it to have been *coram non Judice*. And so far was Rachel from being doomed to the fire, that we do not find, even her Gods underwent this punishment.

After the affair of the Shechemites, Jacob, by God's command, goes to Bethel: and there, in pious emulation of his grandfather's *care to keep the way of the Lord*, the text tells us, he commanded

manded *his household and all that were with him, to put away the strange God's from amongst them.* They obeyed, all was well; and not a word of *punishing by the Judge.* Indeed, these *Patriarchal Judges* were much better employed, and more suitably to their office, in punishing civil crimes and immoralities, as appears from the adventure of Judah and his daughter in law, Tamar.

MELCHISEDEC's story is a short one; he is just brought into the scene to *blefs* Abraham in his return from conquest. This promises but ill. Had this *King and Priest of Salem* been brought in *curfing*, it had had a better appearance: for, I think, punishment for opinions, which generally ends in a *Fagot*, always begins with a *curfe*. But we may be misled perhaps by a wrong translation. The Hebrew word to *blefs*, fignifies likewise to *curfe*, and, under the management of an intolerant Priest, good things easily run into their contraries. What follows, is his taking *Tythes* from Abraham. Nor will this ferve our purpose, unless we interpret these *Tythes* into *Fines for non-conformity*; and then, by the *bleffing*, we can easily understand *absolution*. We have feen much stranger things done with the *Hebrew Verity*. If this be not allowed, I do not fee how we can elicit fire and fagot from this adventure; for I think there is no inseparable connexion between *Tythes* and *Perfecution*, but in the ideas of a Quaker. — And fo much for *king Melchisedec*.

But the learned *Professor*, who has been hardily brought up in the keen Atmosphere of WHOLE-SOME SEVERITIES, and early taught to distinguish between *de facto* and *de jure*, thought it needless to enquire into *Paſts*, when he was fecure of the

Right. And, therefore only slightly and superciliously asks, “What? was not Abraham, by his “very princely office, to punish Idolatry? Were not “Melchisedec and Job, and all the heads of “Tribes to do the same?” Why, no: and it is well for Religion that they were not. It is for its honour that such a set of persecuting Patriarchs is no where to be found, but in a *poetical Prelection.*

4. For in the last place, let it be observed, that as these Patriarchs *did not de facto* (which appears from their history) so they *could not de jure* (which appears from the laws of Nature and Nations) *punish Idolatry by the Judge.* Because, as hath been shewn, Idolatry is not amenable to civil Justice, but where it becomes *Crimen læsæ Majestatis.* It could not become the crime of lese-majesty under the Patriarchs, unless they had been GODS as well as KINGS. Indeed, they were as much one as the other. However, it is not pretended that their government, tho’ *Regal*, was *Theocratical* likewise: The Patriarchs, therefore, could not *punish Idolatry by the Judge.*

From the *Examiner*, the Professor (without the least provocation given him) proceeds to the Author of the *Divine Legation*; who, he will shew, is as ignorant, absurd, and mad-brained as Father Harduin himself.

The Author of the *Divine Legation* had said, that the Writer of the book of Job *observed decorum*, in imitating the manners of the early scene which he had proposed to adorn. To this, the Professor objects, — “I can never bring myself “to allow to a SEMI-BARBAROUS POET, writing
“after

“ after the Babylonian Captivity, such a piece of
 “ subtilty and refinement.” — A mighty piece of
 refinement truly, for a Writer, who lays his scene
 in an early age, to paint, the best he could, the
 manners of that age. — “ Besides (says the *Pro-*
 “ *fessor*) which is the principal point, the style fa-
 “ vours wonderfully of Antiquity, and its pecu-
 “ liar character is a certain primitive and noble
 “ simplicity. So that they who degrade this Book
 “ to the times posterior to the Babylonian Capti-
 “ vity, seem to judge almost as insanelly of *He-*
 “ *brew* literature as Father Harduin did of the
 “ *Roman*, who ascribed the golden Poems of Vir-
 “ gil, Horace, and the rest, to the iron ages of the
 “ Monks.” — Verum Poetæ semibarbaro post
 Captivitatem scribenti tantam subtilitatem ut con-
 cedam, impetrare a me non possum. Porro vero
 Stylus Poematis, quod vel maximum est, præci-
 pue vetustatem sapit; est ejus peculiaris character
αρχαϊσμος. Adeo ut qui id infra Captivitatem
 Babylonicam deprimunt, non multo sanius in *He-*
braicis judicare videantur, quam in *Latinis* Har-
 duinus; qui aurea Virgilii, Horatii, Cæterorum-
 que poemata ferreis Monachorum Sæculis adscrip-
 sit. *Idem ib.*

The learned *Professor* is a little unlucky in his
 comparison. The age of Job, as fixed by him,
 and the age of the Writer of his history, as fixed
 by me, run exactly parallel, not with the times of
 Virgil and Frederic Barbarossa, as he would infi-
 nuate, but with those of Ennius and Virgil. Job
 the hero of the Poem, lived in an *age* when civil
 Society was but beginning to shew itself, and what
 is more, in a *Country* where it never yet was formed:
 And Ezra (whom I suppose to be the Author of the
 Poem) was an eminent Citizen in the most perfect
 civil

civil government in the World; which, he was sent home, to restore, laden with the literary treasures of the East; treasures that had been long accumulating under the warm influence of a large and powerful Empire. From this second transplantation of the Republic, Science got footing in Judea; and true Religion took deeper root in the hearts of its Inhabitants. Henceforward, we hear no more of their absurd Idolatries. A strict *adherence* to the LAW now as much distinguished them from others, as did the *singularity* of the LAW itself. And a studious cultivation of the LANGUAGE, in which that Law was written, as naturally followed, as it did amongst the Sarazens, who cultivated the Arabic, on the same principle. And to understand how great this was in both, we need only consider, that each had the same aversion to a translation of their Law into a foreign language. It is true, that in course of time, when the Jewish Policy was abolished, and the Nation was become vagabond upon Earth, while the Arabs, on the contrary, had erected a great Empire, a manifest difference arose between them, as to the cultivation of the two Languages.—Yet for all this, the Professor calls Ezra, a SEMI-BARBARIAN; tho' we agree that he wrote by the inspiration of the Most High; amidst the last blaze indeed, yet in the full lustre of expiring Prophecy.

But the learned Professor has an internal argument from TASTE^a, full as good as the other from *Chronology*. “The book of Job favours of Antiquity, and those who cannot relish it, have as depraved a taste as Father Harduin, who could not distinguish Partridge from Horse-flesh.”

^a See what hath been said on this head in the 12d, 43d and 44th pages of this Volume.

The truth is, the Greek and Latin Languages having, for many Ages, been the mother-tongues of two of the greatest People upon earth (who had shared between them the Empires of *Eloquence* and of *Arms*) became daily more and more copious by the cultivation of Arts; and less and less pure by the extension of Commerce. In these two languages, there yet remains a vast number of writings on all sorts of Subjects. So that modern Critics (in the foremost rank of whom will always stand the incomparable BENTLEY) had by long application to them, through their various and progressive refinements and depravations from age to age, acquired a certain sagacity, in passing a tolerable judgment concerning the time of the Writer, by his style and manner. Now Pedantry, which is the ape of Criticism, would mimic the same talent of discernment, in the narrowest and most barren of all Languages; little subject to change, both from the common genius of the East, and from the peculiar situation of a sequestered People. Of this Language, long since become a dead one, the only remains are in one small Volume; the contents of which, had not Providence been mercifully pleased to secure, while the Tongue was yet living, by a translation into Greek, the HEBREW VERITY, transmitted to us in the manner it was found in the most ancient MSS, where no vowel-points are used, nor space left to distinguish one word from another, and where a great number of terms occur only once, would at this day be a mere arbitrary CIPHER, which every Rabinical or Cabalistic juggler might make the key of his unrevealed Mysteries.—“Idem accidit etiam Mahometanis (says Abraham Ekell.) ante inventa ab Ali Abnaditalebo puncta vocalia: Tanta enim legentium erat dissentio, ut nisi Othomanni coercita fuisset autoritate, et determinata lectio punctis,

quæ

quæ Ali' excogitaverat, JAM DE ALCORANO ACTUM ESSET." And if this had been the case of the Arabic of the Alcoran, a copious and a living language, what had become of the Hebrew of the Bible? a very narrow and a dead one. Of which an ancient Jewish Grammarian gives this character: "Lingua ista [Arabica] elegans est, & longe lateque scriptis dilatata, et qui eam loquitur nulla dictione deficit: Lingua vero sancta pauca est præ illa, cum illius nihil extet nisi quod in Libris Scripturæ reperitur, nec suppeditet omnes dictiones loquendi necessarias." Yet this is the language whose peculiarities of style and composition, correspondent to every age and time, the *Professor* seems to think, may be as easily distinguished as those of the Greek or Latin Classics. So much for the Author of the *Divine Legation*: and indeed too much, had not Mr. LOCKE's defence been involved in his: that excellent person having declared (speaking of the words of Job, *that Idolatry was an iniquity to be punished by the Judge*) "THIS PLACE ALONE, WERE THERE NO OTHER, is sufficient to confirm their opinion who conclude that book to be writ by a JEW."

From the *Divine Legation*, the learned Professor turns again to the Examiner, who seems to sit heavy on his stomach.—This excellent Writer desired to know of the learned, *Where they could find a civil or religious Constitution out of Judæa, which declared that the Children should suffer for the crime of their Parents.* To which the Professor replies in these very words — In præsens Horatiano illo versiculo contentus abito Examinatorum omnium CANDIDISSIMUS—*For the present, let this MOST CANDID of all Examiners go about his business, and be thankful for this scrap of Horace,*

“ Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
“ Romane.” —

This is true Poetical payment: He is called upon for his reckoning, and he discharges it with an old Song. But the Examiner is not a man to take rhyme for reason. He asked for an *old system of Laws*; and the contemptuous Professor gives him *an old Ballad*: But a little more civility at parting had not been amiss; for he who did not spare the Bishop, would certainly demolish the Professor, should he take it into his head to examine the *Prælections* as he hath done the *Sermons*.

I N D E X.

A

GENERAL INDEX

TO THE

WHOLE WORK.

N. B. *For the regular chain of the argument, see the heads of the Sections prefixed to the Volumes.*

* * * *The Roman Numerals refer to the particular Volumes, and the Figures to the Pages.*

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E R R A T A.

- P. 49. l. 31. for *it varies*, read, *he varies*.
P. 78. l. 13. for *an Adulteress*. r. *a Prostitute*.
P. 89. l. 11. for *be*, r. *ye*.
P. 127. l. 15. for *bear*, r. *here*.
P. 129. l. 5. after *early*, r. *mortals*.
P. 169. l. 31. for *wants*, r. *that he wants*.
P. 255. l. 1. for *word*, r. *words*.



