AN ESSAY ON SPIRIT.

Inanimatum eſt omne quod impulſu agitur externo: quod autem Anima eſt, id Motu cietur interiore et ſuo.

CIC. Som. Scip.

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TO

HIS GRACE

GEORGE,

LORD PRIMATE

OF ALL

IRELAND.

MY LORD,

AS I am a Clergyman of the eſtabliſhed Church, and have for ſome Years been poſſeſſed of an Eccleſiaſtical Preferment, into which, before I could be admit-

ted, I was obliged to ſubſcribe the four firſt Canons, which include my Aſſent to the Articles of our Religion, and alſo to declare publicly my unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every thing, contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer:* And, as I have not been ſo much employed about my temporal Affairs, but that I have found Leiſure to apply ſome Time to my Books, and to *think* as well as *read*; I find that I do not now agree exactly in Sentiment, either with my former Opinions, or with thoſe Perſons who drew up the Articles of our Religion, or with the Compilers of our Liturgy, and, in particular, with the *Athanaſian* Creed: And therefore I have laboured under

der ſome Difficulties, how to direct myſelf under theſe Circumſtances.

There was a Sermon preached not many Years ago by Doctor *Conybear*, before the Univerſity of *Oxford*, which ſeems to have been approved of by them; and which hath ſince been reprinted in *Ireland*, wherein he aſſerts that every one who ſubſcribes the Articles of Religion, does thereby engage, not only not to diſpute or contradict them; but that his Subſcription amounts to an Approbation of, and an Aſſent to the Truth of the Doctrine therein contained, in the very Senſe which the Compilers thereof are ſuppoſed to have underſtood them: That they are not to be con-

ſidered

ſidered as Articles of Peace, but of Doctrine, as the very Title denotes, which is, *For the avoiding Diverſities of Opinions, and for eſtabliſhing Conſent touching true Religion.* Whereas I apprehend any Attempt towards avoiding Diverſity of Opinions, not only to be an uſeleſs, but alſo an impracticable Scheme; ſince I do not only doubt whether the Compilers of the Articles, but even whether any two *thinking Men* ever agreed exactly in their Opinion, not only with regard to all the Articles, but even with regard to any one of them; ſo that if they were to give their own Interpretation of them, there would be found as many different Sentiments as there were Interpreters: The Difference indeed would

would not always be great; but ſtill there would be a Difference.

I ſaid *thinking Men*, for, as to the unthinking Herd, whatever was the Creed of their Father, or Tutor, that will be theirs, from their Infancy, to their Lives End; and accordingly, whatever Country you go into, let the Religion be what it will, the unthinking Part thereof are always the reputed Orthodox.

An *Uniformity of Profeſſion* may indeed be both practicable and uſeful; and ſeems in ſome Degree to be neceſſary, not only for the Preſervation of Peace, but alſo for the general Good and Welfare of Society:

ciety: Since I do not conceive how any Society or Commonwealth can ſubſiſt, unleſs ſome Form of Religion or other be eſtabliſhed therein; as well with regard to Points of Doctrine as Diſcipline; which however ought to be as plain, few, and fundamental as poſſible. And as no eſtabliſhed Form of Religion can ſubſiſt, unleſs that Form be publicly made known, and the Teachers thereof are laid under ſome Obligation, either by Subſcription, or otherwiſe, of complying with that Form, and of not preaching, or publicly teaching any Doctrine contrary thereto; ſo I own I do not ſee any Manner of Impropriety in the legiſlative Power of any Society inſiſting upon ſuch a Kind of Subſcription,

Subſcription, as is only required to be made for Peace-ſake, and the Preſervation of the outward Forms of Society: Since a Man under theſe Circumſtances may, for prudential Reaſons, honeſtly ſubſcribe and ſubmit *to the Uſe* of one eſtabliſhed Form, though he, in his own private Opinion, may think another to be better; provided that he is not obliged to ſubſcribe any thing ſinful; or ſo diametrically oppoſite to Truth, as that he cannot poſſibly put any other Conſtruction upon it.

The firſt Subſcription, that I know of, was ſet on Foot at the Council of *Nice*, when the famous Conteſt about the Trinity was de-

termined in Favour of the *consubstantial* Doctrine, by a Majority of near twenty to one: To which the Emperor required all the Bishops then present to subscribe. But then he allowed every one to put their own Sense upon the Word *consubstantial*, and not the Sense that was intended by the Compilers of the Creed: And accordingly, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, though he at first refused subscribing, yet when he was allowed to interpret the Word *consubstantial*, as meaning only, that *the Son was not of the same Substance with the Creatures that were made by him*; he then subscribed it, and so, in a little Time after, did *Arius*.

Peace

Peace was what the Emperor wanted, and therefore he was content with Peace: But from the Time that Power was put into the Hands of the Church of *Rome*, implicit Faith and Obedience to her infallible Determinations, being what ſhe required; unleſs Subſcriptions were then to be underſtood as made according to the Senſe of the Compilers of the Articles, the Recuſants were anathematiſed, and Fire and Faggot was the Word.

But as I apprehend that the Church of *Ireland* doth not ſet up for Infallibility, I do not think that ſhe requireth any other Kind of Subſcription than ſuch as is neceſ-

ſary for Peace and Quietneſs: And therefore I am now not much diſturbed upon this Head. I likewiſe find by the Words of the Act of Parliament, which enjoins the Declaration of our Aſſent and Conſent to all Things contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*, that the Purport and Intent of the Act is that this Declaration of Aſſent ſhould be only *to the Uſe of* thoſe Things which are contained in the ſaid Book, which is very different from aſſenting to the Things themſelves: And therefore I am pretty eaſy alſo with regard to this.

How theſe Words, *to the Uſe of*, came to be omitted out of the expreſs Form of Words that are ordered

dered to be read in Church for a legal Qualification, I cannot ſay, nor whether they were omitted out of Neglect, or by Deſign: but I own it ſeems to me, when I conſider the Humour of the Times when that Act was made, that it was done with Deſign; as a Snare, to oblige poor (1) conſcientious Men, who did not read the Act of Parliament at length, to give up their Livings, rather than declare their unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every thing contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*. For it is to be obſerved, that this Condition was not required by the *Act of*

(1) And accordingly, there were 1800 Perſons that were actually deprived of their Livings, rather than ſubmit to the Terms preſcribed.

Uniformity,

Uniformity, as publiſhed in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, but was an Addition made thereto, after the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second, when the Nation was, as it were, mad with the Joy of having recovered its ancient Conſtitution both in Church and State: The little Oath therefore wherein it was declared, *that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King*, was at the ſame time inſerted into the *Act of Uniformity*. Which Part of that Act hath been ſince repealed; and indeed I cannot but ſincerely wiſh, that the other Addition, which was made at the ſame time, was ſo far rectified, that the Words of the Declaration ſhould be

be made to correſpond with the Deſign of the Act, which manifeſtly was, to require the Declaration of Aſſent and Conſent only *to the Uſe of* all and every thing contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*. Becauſe I think that that ſolemn Declaration which a Clergyman is obliged to make in the Preſence of God and his Congregation, when he is going to take upon himſelf the Care of their Souls, ought to be ſimple, poſitive, plain; free from all Ambiguity or Doubtfulneſs; and ſhould be expreſſed in ſuch a Manner, as that it cannot be miſunderſtood, either by him, or by the Congregation; but that he may ſafely and honeſtly make it, according to that *plain and ordinary*

Senſe

Sense of the Words, in which they would *commonly be understood* by all Mankind, *without any Evasion, Equivocation, or mental Reservation whatsoever*; that is, without any latent Reference to the Intention of the Act, which is not expressed in the very Words of the Declaration.

And indeed I am the more desirous of this, because I know for a Certainty, that some of the most learned and conscientious Persons among the Dissenters, have made the Form of our Declaration of unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every thing contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*, an Objection,

jection, if not the principal one, againſt coming into our Church.

As alſo becauſe ſome of our own Brethren, who conſider Subſcriptions in the ſame Light with the bigotted Members of the Church of *Rome*, and probably never read, or never duly conſidered the *Act of Uniformity*, have taken Occaſion, from that Form of Declaration of Aſſent, to brand thoſe, who preſume to doubt, or differ from them in any of their imaginary orthodox Notions, with the Imputation of Perjury, or, at leaſt, of Hypocriſy.

But though we ſhould ſuppoſe this was done, and that Subſcrip-

tions were declared to be only required for Peace-ſake; yet there is ſtill a Difficulty which remains behind, with regard to thoſe who do not approve of all the Articles of the eſtabliſhed Religion, or of every thing in the Liturgy; becauſe it is natural for them to deſire that thoſe Things, which they take to be Errors ſhould be amended; and yet it is found by Experience, that whoever attempts to find Fault with the Canons or the Articles of Religion, or the eſtabliſhed Form of Liturgy, becomes immediately a Diſturber of the Peace of the Church, as he is ſure, at leaſt, to be loaded with the opprobrious Name of *Schiſmatic*, or *Heretic*, which ever ſince the Days of *Popery*,

pery, are Sounds that occaſion wondrous Horror in the Ears of the Vulgar.

Whoever conſiders the Difficulties which attend the Reformation of Religion in general, and in particular, the Difficulties which attended theſe Nations in their Reformation from *Popery*, ought to thank God that ſo much was done at that Time as was done, rather than repine that more was not effected. The Humour of the Times would not ſuffer a more thorough Reformation; theſe Nations having been ſo long accuſtomed to a Kind of utter Darkneſs, that their Eyes would not bear too much Light to be let in at once.

Chriſtianity was not eſtabliſhed, nor the *Jewiſh* Religion thoroughly reformed all on a Sudden. After St. *Paul* had been many Years a Preacher of the Goſpel, he complied with the *Jewiſh* Ceremony of (2) *ſhaving his Head in Cenchrea, becauſe he was under a Vow*; and of (3) purifying himſelf at the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, rather than give Offence to the *Jews*. And the whole Council of Apoſtles, when aſſembled at *Jeruſalem*, aſſented to enjoin thoſe (4) *Jewiſh* Proſelytes, who from among the *Gentiles*, were turned unto God, to continue for ſome

(2) *Acts* xviii. 1.
(3) *Acts* xxi. 24.
(4) *Acts* xv. 19. xx. 29.

time

time under a Prohibition from eating Things ſtrangled, and from Blood, which hath been long ſince diſcontinued. And our Saviour himſelf was pleaſed to declare, that he concealed many Truths, till the Diſciples ſhould be *able to bear them.* John xvi. 12.

The preſent Conſtitution of theſe Kingdoms, both in Church and State, is, in my ſincere Opinion, the beſt in the known World; but I will not ſay, that it is not capable of being ſtill further amended. What then is to be done? For if the Church be not infallible any more than the State, why may not that be amended as well as the State? And why ſhould we be more

more afraid of breaking the Peace of the Church than of the State? The Peace of the one being full as neceſſary to be preſerved as the Peace of the other.

The *Chriſtian* Religion was, at its firſt Propagation, called a (5) *Hereſy*; and therefore (6) St. *Paul*, in his Apology to *Felix*, ſaid, *This I confeſs, that after the Way which they call* HERESY, *ſo worſhip I the God of my Fathers.* Which Denomination was continued to it, ſo long as to the Time of *Conſtantine* the Great, who in his Epiſtle to *Chreſtus* Biſhop of *Syracuſe*, calls

(5) *Acts* xxviii. 22.
(6) *Acts* xxiv. 5, 14.

the

the *Christian* Religion the (7) *Catholic Heresy*: Which Letter was written after the Emperor had declared in Favour of *Christianity*.

Αἵρεσις, according to *Stephens*, signifies, in general, the same thing with the *Latin* Words *Secta* and *Dogma*, that is, a *Sect* or *Opinion*. And accordingly, he reckons up ten Sects or Heresies of the ancient Philosophers. But among the Ecclesiastical Writers, says he, it signifies an Opinion, or *Sect that is contrary to the orthodox Faith*. But as the established Religion of every Country is that which consti-

(7) τὴς αἱρέσεὼς τὴς καθόλικῆς. *Euseb.* Hist. Eccl. lib. x. cap. 5.

tutes

tutes *Orthodoxy*, according to the common Sense of the Word; hence it is, that they who differ and separate therefrom are generally called *Hereticks*; and hence it comes to pass, that a Person may be esteemed as very orthodox in *England* or *Ireland*, who would be deemed as an Heretic at *Rome*, or in other Countries. And for the same Reason it was, that the *Christians* were at first called *Hereticks* in *Judæa*, because they separated from the *Jewish*, which was the established Religion of the Country; and were also called *Heretics* in *Rome*, because they refused joining with the *Heathen*, which was the then established Religion there.

It

It is therefore poſſible that an Heretic may be in the right; according to the original Senſe of the Word. It is alſo poſſible that he may be in the wrong. And therefore St. *Peter* ſays, (8) *There are falſe Teachers among you, who privily ſhall bring in damnable Hereſies, even denying the Lord that bought them.* And St. *Paul* ſays, (9) *I hear there are Schiſms among you; and I partly believe it: For* THERE MUST BE ALSO HERESIES, *that they which are approved may be made manifeſt.* Now there is no other Neceſſity for Hereſies being among them but this; that God

(8) 2 *Pet.* ii. 1.
(9) 1 *Cor.* xi. 18, 19.

did not frame human Nature in ſuch a Manner as to neceſſitate all Men to be of one Mind; but having made Mankind to be free Agents, he *left them in the Hand of their own Council*, to chuſe their own Opinions for themſelves; according to the Merit or Demerit of which Choice, they will be proper Subjects for Rewards or Puniſhments. And therefore, while this Conſtitution of human Nature remains, *there muſt be* Schiſms, Diviſions, Hereſies, or a Diverſity of Sects among them. And as all Mankind think themſelves to be in the Right, ſo they naturally conclude all thoſe who differ from them to be in the Wrong; and hence it comes to paſs, that the Word *Heretic*

retic is generally uſed in a bad Senſe, though becauſe a Perſon is an Heretic, or is of a different Sect from the eſtabliſhed Religion, it does by no Means follow, that therefore he muſt be in the Wrong. If the Perſons from whom he differs ſhould be infallible, as it is allowed the Apoſtles were, then indeed it would follow, of Conſequence, that the Heretic or Separatiſt muſt be in an Error. And if, after Inſtruction and Admonition, he will not amend, it is then fit, he ſhould be ejected, or excommunicated out of the Society of the Faithful, leſt his Exemption from Puniſhment ſhould give Encouragement to the Seduction of others; for though it cannot be ſuppoſed that his Excommu-

nication will amend himſelf, yet it may contribute to ſave other Perſons.

And hence it is, that St. *Paul*, in his Advice to *Titus*, ſays, *A Man that is an Heretic, after the firſt and ſecond Admonition, reject; knowing that he that is ſuch, is ſubverted, and ſinneth, being condemned of himſelf.* Which Admonition and Rejection ſhews the Crime of Hereſy to conſiſt in an Error of the Will, rather than of the Judgment; for otherwiſe *Titus* would have been directed to inſtruct ſuch a Perſon, rather than to admoniſh him. But as it is to be ſuppoſed that Information and Inſtruction would be firſt tried by *Titus*, even before

before the firſt Admonition, therefore it is the Perverſeneſs of his Will, in ſtill perſiſting in his Sect or Hereſy after Admonition, that ſeems to be the Cauſe and Foundation of his Excommunication: For, ſays St. *Paul*, ſuch a one is *ſubverted* from the Faith, and *ſinneth*, by perſevering therein after Admonition; and is *ſelf-condemned*, as having no Excuſe of Ignorance to plead after his being admoniſhed thereof: He may indeed not be *ſelf-condemned* with regard to his Error, becauſe he may not be convinced that he is in an Error; but may think himſelf to be in the right, when he is in the wrong: Whereas, with regard to his Here-

ſy,

ſy, or Separation from the Church to which he belonged, he cannot be ignorant thereof, after Admonition, for differing from the Senſe of the Church; and therefore if he perſiſts therein after being admoniſhed, he muſt be *ſelf-condemned*, with regard to his Perſeverance in Oppoſition to the Church.

And as every legiſlative Power is ſo far infallible, as it is the dernier Reſort, and only Judge now left upon Earth, of what is right and wrong, within the Limits of it's own Juriſdiction; therefore when any Form of Religion hath been once eſtabliſhed, they who ſeparate therefrom, or act in direct Oppoſition to it's Commands, are to be

treated

treated as if ſuch legiſlative Power was infallible; and if they will not ſubmit, upon Admonition, are to be rejected, to prevent others from being ſeduced, and to preſerve the Peace of Society.

By which Rejection, or Excommunication, I do not mean an Excluſion from civil Rights, and the Protection of the Civil Magiſtrate, but only from the outward and viſible Communion of the Church, and its faithful Members, and all the particular Benefits which properly belong thereto, or may reſult therefrom; from which, as it is by their own Choice that they differ, in diſobeying its Rules, or rejecting its Communion, it can be no

Injuſtice

Injuſtice that they ſhould be excluded, if they ſtill perſiſt in their Diſobedience after Admonition.

Since therefore it appears, that a Man's being of a wrong Opinion is not that which properly denominates him an *Heretic*, but rather his being of a different Opinion from the Majority; one would be apt to wonder why that Word, in general, ſhould have ſo bad an Idea annexed to it; but that the Anſwer thereto is obvious, *viz.* That it ariſes from our having too great a Fondneſs for ourſelves, and our own Opinions; and too great an Averſion to thoſe who differ in Opinion from us.

There

There is indeed no Reaſon to be aſſigned in general, why Men ſhould be more diſpleaſed with one another for being of different Opinions, than for their being of different Sizes, or for having a different perſonal Appearance. And were it not that Experience convinces us of the Matter of Fact, it would be hard to believe that Men's Paſſions could carry them to that Degree of Animoſity againſt each other, on Account of Opinions barely ſpeculative, which we find practiſed in all Countries, and almoſt all Ages.

I can very well conceive why Men ſhould contract an Averſion,

and an Hatred for one another about Opinions where their temporal Interests are concerned; and do not wonder, when I read that (1) *Demetrius* the Silversmith raised a Tumult against *Paul* at *Ephesus*, for saying, that *they be no Gods which are made with Hands*, because, by this bold Assertion, as *Demetrius* acknowledged, this *Craft* was in Danger to be set at nought, and *ye know, Sirs*, said he, *that by this Craft we have our Wealth.*

But it is not so easy to account, why one Man should bear an ill Will to his Neighbour, or any of his Fellow-Creatures, for being of

(1) *Acts* xix. 24.

a different

a different Opinion from him in Matters barely ſpeculative, in which the other is no Way concerned, further than as he is a (2) Man, and a Lover of Mankind. In which Reſpect every Body ought to be ſo far concerned for his Fellow-Creature as to do all that lies in his Power to contribute to the Happineſs of each other; but then this is to be done in a proper, kind, and friendly Manner: And, if that will not prevail, contrary Methods ought by no Means to be attempted; ſince that Principle which directs us to uſe all Men well, can never vindicate us in uſing any Man ill.

(2) *Homo ſum, humani nihil à me alienum puto.*

If one Man is a *Chriſtian*, and another is a *Jew*, *Turk*, or Infidel of any Denomination, there can be no more Reaſon for having a Diſlike upon that Account to each other, than becauſe they were not all born in the ſame Country, or bred up under the ſame Tutor, or do not all ſpeak the ſame Language; ſince ninety-nine in an hundred of thoſe who are *Chriſtians*, would probably have been *Mahometans*, if they had been born in *Turkey*, and would have imbibed their Religion, as they do their native Tongue, along with their Mother's Milk: And the ſame may be ſaid of *Jews* or *Mahometans*, that they would have been *Chriſtians*,

ſtians, if they had been born in a *Chriſtian* Country, and of *Chriſtian* Parents.

If it pleaſes the Almighty to endow one Man with a better Underſtanding, or greater natural Abilities of any Kind, than his Neighbour, to appoint the Place of his Birth, where he has better Opportunities of being informed in true Religion, or to produce him from ſuch Parents as will take care that he is better educated in the Paths of Virtue; theſe are Bleſſings for which he ought to be thankful to his Creator; but are far from being any Reaſon, why he ſhould bear an ill Will to thoſe Perſons, who have not received the ſame

Advantages

Advantages from Providence; or why he ſhould not live in a kind and neighbourly Manner with them, though he thinks them in an Error with regard to their religious Principles.

And yet Experience convinces us, that the Conduct of Mankind is quite otherwiſe; which can be attributed to nothing but a vicious Pride in our Nature, which makes us not content with the Applauſe of our own Conſcience, when we think ourſelves in the Right, unleſs we have the Applauſe of others alſo: And renders us ſollicitous to gain Followers and Admirers, at the ſame Time that it gives us an

Averſion

Aversion for every one that differs in Opinion from us.

Athanasius, in Answer to this Question. Πόθεν λέγεται Αἵρεσις; *unde dicitur Hæresis?* Saith, Ἀπὸ τὸ αἱρεῖσθαί τι ἴδιον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐξακολουθεῖν. *Ab eligendo & prosequendo Sententiam suam privatam.* So that the conceiving of Error is not that which constitutes the Crime of Heresy, but the prosecuting and persevering in it, to the raising of a Party, and exciting *Followers*, whence also the Word *Sect* is derived; and for this Reason it is that St. *Paul* reckons up *Heresies* among such (3) Works of the Flesh, as *Hatred*, *Variance*, *Emula-*

(3) *Gal.* v. 20, 21.

tions,

tions, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Envyings, Murders, and ſuch like, as it is near of Kind to them, and may be the Foundation and Cauſe of them.

What then is it the Duty of any Perſon to do, who is the profeſſed Member of any eſtabliſhed Church, if he ſees, or imagines he ſees, any Errors, either in the Doctrine or Diſcipline of that Church? Muſt he, for Fear of diſturbing the Peace of the Church, and being deemed a Schiſmatic, or Heretic, ſit down quietly, and not endeavour to ſet them to Rights? Or, muſt he fly off, and ſeparate immediately from it?

As

As to the Firſt, if Men were not to declare their Opinions, in ſpight of Eſtabliſhments either in Church or State, Truth would ſoon be baniſhed the Earth. Error puts on ſo much a fairer Outſide, ornaments itſelf with ſo many plauſible Appearances, and comes loaded with ſo many Bribes to tempt us from our Duty; that if Truth did not ſometimes ſhew itſelf and exert its Abilities in its own Defence, the World would be ſoon over-run with Error, as an uncultivated Garden with Weeds. Of which the Experience of Times paſt is ſufficient to convince us, by the Growth and Continuance of Errors in the Church of *Rome*, from the Time that the

Bible was ſhut, and the Court of Inquiſition opened.

And as to the Second, whoever he is who thinks he ought to ſeparate from that Church wherein he ſees ſome Errors, if it will not immediately reform and amend them; and thinks it his Duty to refuſe joining in Communion with any Set of Men, till he meets with a Conſtitution, either in Church or State, that is abſolutely free from Errors; ſuch an one, I fear, is not fitted for this World, but muſt live by himſelf, till he is conducted into a Society of Angels.

In my Opinion therefore, the middle Courſe is that which he ought

ought to purſue, which in this Affair, as well as moſt others, is certainly the beſt.

Let us conſider how a Perſon in like Circumſtances, with regard to the State, ought to conduct himſelf; and this may perhaps determine our Behaviour with regard to the other. For we generally talk more calmly, as well as more rationally, concerning the Affairs of the State, than of the Church.

Suppoſe a Perſon ſees any Errors in that Conſtitution of Government under which he lives; may he not, ought he not to lay his Opinion before the Legiſlative Powers of that Society, in order to procure

an Amendment of it? I think he ought. But then he ought at the ſame Time, unleſs in Caſes of the utmoſt Neceſſity, where the Vitals of the Conſtitution are in Danger, not only not to deſert the State, though the Amendment ſhould not be made; but alſo to avoid raiſing *Parties* or *Factions* in the State, for the Support of his Opinion; which in the Eccleſiaſtical Stile, would be called *Hereſies*.

But to this it is objected, that here the Parallel will not hold, becauſe Men's temporal Intereſts will reſtrain them from overturning the Eſtabliſhment of the State; whereas too many would be very glad to have the Eſtabliſhment of the Church

quite

quite ſet aſide. It may therefore be dangerous to begin with making Alterations or Amendments in the Church, leſt thoſe Scaffoldings which are erected for Repairs, ſhould be made Uſe of to pull down the whole Fabric.

With humble Submiſſion however to theſe cautious Gentlemen, I am under leſs Apprehenſion for the Church than for the State: For, as to the *Chriſtian* Religion in general, we have the ſure Word of Prophecy, that *the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it*. And as to particular Eſtabliſhments, I ſhould apprehend, that the freer they were from Errors, the more likely they would be to ſtand. At leaſt, I ſhould

ſhould think it would be right to run ſome Riſque, and place ſome Truſt in the Providence of God, rather than let Errors of any Conſequence remain.

But, ſay they again, *Truth is not to be ſpoken at all Times.* Which I will allow ſo far, as to acknowledge, that Prudence and Temper is to be made Uſe of even in the Publication of Truth; but not that Truth may be concealed for ever, under the Pretence, that the Publication of it at preſent would be out of Seaſon; for if Error may be ſafely eſtabliſhed, and Truth concealed, how can we vindicate all that Outcry that was made by *Proteſtants* againſt the Doctrine of *Tranſub-*

Transubstantiation, &c? Since it is manifest, that before the Reformation took Place, the same Arguments were then made Use of against any Innovations in Religion that are now. And all Alterations in the established Form of Worship were then as much declaimed against by the Ecclesiastics of those Days, as they can be at present.

I am not against joining the Wisdom of the Serpent with the Innocence of the Dove: But I would not have the Wisdom of the Serpent without the Innocence of the Dove. Let us be as wise as possible in defending what is right in our Establishment, but let us not exert the same Wisdom in defending

ing what is wrong. But, above all, let us, in the Name of God, take care, that our Foundations be clear, and that our Articles and Creeds are free from Error.

The Author of theſe Papers, though he hath addreſſed them to Your GRACE, is very ſenſible, that it is not in Your Power, nor in that of all the Eccleſiaſtics of the Land, to alter the eſtabliſhed Form of Worſhip; he knows, that the *Act of Uniformity*, upon which it depends, and of which our Liturgy is a Part, was paſſed into a Law, by the joint Conſent of the three Eſtates of the Realm; and he truſts in God, that he never ſhall ſee the Church independent on the State.

But,

But, my Lord, though the Bishops and Clergy, either in or out of Convocation, cannot redress, yet they may recommend; the Author, however, cannot but remark, that he does not recollect any Instance in History, since the Times of the Apostles, where the Reformation of Religion in any material Points hath been brought about by the Influence of the Clergy in general; the Bulk of them, who are always the least knowing, being most tenacious of old Opinions. The Pope indeed, every now and then, makes some Reformation in the Calendar of Saints, and strikes out a few antiquated Holy-days, in order to make Room for new Canoniza-

tions: But if we are to take our Precedents from what hath hitherto paſſed in the Reformation of any material Points in Religion, it muſt be effected by a few leading Perſons among the Clergy, when ſupported by the upper and more thinking Part of the Laity.

And, as it hath pleaſed God and His Majeſty to call you to the Primacy of this Church, the Author cannot think of any Perſon more proper to addreſs himſelf to at preſent, than Your GRACE; as well on account of Your perſonal Abilities, as of Your Intereſt with thoſe leading Members of the Society, whether Laymen or Clergy, who compoſe

poſe the Legiſlative Power of this Realm.

And as he thinks this to be the moſt proper and *Chriſtian* Method of conveying his own Sentiments to *the Powers that be*; ſo hath he alſo publiſhed his Sentiments in the Garb of a metaphyſical Eſſay, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the lower Claſs of Readers, whoſe Thoughts might be diſturbed by an Enquiry into Subjects of this Nature; till by gentle Degrees they come, by the Bleſſing of God, to be made a Part of the eſtabliſhed Religion of the Country; which will give them a proper Recommendation and Weight with thoſe,

who are not otherwiſe capable of judging of them.

Not that he expects, that every Thing, which he hath advanced in this *Eſſay*, is to be received by his Reader as an Article of Faith, but only that it may have its due Weight in his ſerious Conſiderations; for as he is deſirous, that no human Conjectures may be impoſed upon him, as of equal Authority with Divine Revelation; ſo neither does he deſire, that his Conjectures ſhould be obtruded upon others.

The Author is thoroughly convinced, that Miniſters of State will be very cautious, and with great Reaſon,

Reaſon, how they embroil themſelves with religious Diſputes. But as he does not apprehend, that there is any Need of purſuing violent Methods, ſo neither does he expect that a thorough Reformation of every thing that may be amended, ſhould be made all at once. He could wiſh however, that ſomething was done, to convince the World, that the Clergy of the Church of *Ireland*, are not averſe to a proper Reformation of ſuch Parts of her Public Service, as demand a more immediate Reviſal; ſince, otherwiſe, they may give Offence by their Obſtinacy, and ſeeming Infallibility; and if a Storm ſhould ariſe, may run a Riſque of having that Tree torn up by the Roots, which

which might have been ſaved by a little pruning.

As the Laws of the Land require Subſcriptions to be made to the Canons and Articles of our Religion, only by Clergymen, Fellows of Colleges, Clerks, and School-Maſters, ſo theſe do not ſeem to need that immediate Redreſs, which thoſe Parts of our Worſhip require, in which the whole Community are expected to join.

He thinks, that he need not inform Your Grace, that that Creed, which is commonly called the *Athanaſian* Creed, hath of a long Time given Offence, and continueth to give great Offence to many

many People. And indeed not without Reaſon, if we conſider it only in this Light, that the Subject of a great Part of it, is a Theologico-Metaphyſical Diſpute, which few, if any, of the Learned underſtand; but is undoubtedly above the Capacity of the Vulgar; and yet, by being made a Part of our Public Service, every Body, as well low as high, is required to aſſent to it.

It is alſo now univerſally acknowledged among the Learned, that it was originally a ſpurious Production, impoſed upon the World under the Name of *Athanaſius*, till detected by the Criticiſms of the learned *Voſſius*. But, ſuppoſing it had been

a genuine

a genuine Piece, and had been undoubtedly written by *Athanasius*, there can be no Reason assigned, why the Members of the Church of *Ireland* should be tied down to assent to the Compositions of a private Person, who had no other Merit, which the Author can find, for being declared a Saint, but his base and low Submission to the Bishop of *Rome*, who had no legal Authority over him; and his insolent Behaviour to his lawful Prince, who undoubtedly had a Right to his Obedience.

The Author does, by no Means, presume to prescribe to Your GRACE; but he thinks himself in Duty obliged to recommend it to Your Consideration, whether the first Step

to

to be taken is not to try to get the Words in the Declaration of Aſſent and Conſent made agreeable to the Intention of the Act, which was attempted in *England*, A. D. 1663, about a Year after the laſt Act of Uniformity, and paſſed the Houſe of Lords, but was thrown out in the Houſe of Commons, by the then over-ruling Influence of the Duke of *York*, and his Party, who did not let the Clauſe propoſed paſs even the Houſe of Lords without a Proteſt. But, as we are now, thank God, free from any Apprehenſions of the prevailing Influence of ſuch an Adminiſtration, he hopes Your Grace will not decline making the Attempt here, as he apprehends it will open a Freedom of

Converſation among thoſe Perſons, who have hitherto imagined themſelves to be Tongue-tied, by having publicly and abſolutely given their unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every thing contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer.*

Which will be a proper, if not neceſſary, Preparative to a gradual Reception of thoſe further Emendations of our Liturgy, which are propoſed by ſome anonymous Authors, in the ſecond Edition of a Book lately publiſhed, entitled, *Free and candid Diſquiſitions relating to the Church of* England. With whom, though the Author of theſe Papers does not agree in Opinion, concerning the Doctrine contained

in

in the *Athanasian* Creed, and a few other Particulars: Yet he cannot avoid giving them their due Commendations, for the true *Christian* Spirit of Candour, Moderation, and Meekness, which breaths through their whole Performance.

It is indeed prohibited by the *Act of Uniformity*, under severe Penalties, for any Person *to preach, declare, or speak any thing to the Derogation or depraving* The Book of Common-Prayer, *or any Part thereof*; which, however, is by no Means inconsistent with that *Christian Liberty* of a decent and free Use either of Conversation, or of the Press, concerning any Alterations or Amendments, which it may

be right and prudent to have made therein. As he apprehends, that every Perſon is liable to be puniſhed by the Laws of the Land, who ſhall *preach*, *declare*, *or ſpeak to the Derogation or depraving* any Act of Parliament, while it continues in Force: And yet common Reaſon, as well as common Cuſtom, allows every Perſon to propoſe Alterations, and ſpeak his Mind with regard to any Amendments, which may be made therein, provided it be done with common Decency, and a due Reſpect to the Legiſlative Powers of the Realm.

And when this is complied with, he then looks upon it as the Duty of ſuch as ſee any Errors in the Con-

Conſtitution, either of Church or State, to lay their Sentiments before *the Powers that be*, in order to produce an Amendment; which is the Motive that prevails with the Author of theſe Papers, to give Your GRACE the Trouble of this Addreſs; and to recommend to thoſe in Authority the Conſideration of the Advice given by the learned and religious Dr. *Hammond*, in his Treatiſe, intitled, (4) *A View of the new Directory*. Where, ſpeaking in Favour of the Moderation uſed in our Church Catechiſm, he ſaith, "If we would all keep ourſelves "within that Moderation, and pro- "poſe no larger Catalogue of *Cre-* "*denda* to be believed by all than "the *Apoſtles Creed*, as it is ex-

plained

(4) Sect. 40.

" plained in our *Catechiſm*, doth
" propoſe; and lay the greater
" Weight upon the Conſideration
" and Performance of the Vow
" of Baptiſm, and all the Com-
" mands of God, as they are ex-
" plained by *Chriſt*.----I ſhould be
" confident there would be leſs ha-
" ting and *damning* one another,
" (which is moſt ordinarily for Opi-
" nions) more *Piety* and *Charity*,
" and ſo true *Chriſtianity* among
" *Chriſtians* and *Proteſtants*, than
" hath hitherto been met with."
Which would be the moſt proper Method that could be taken, to render the Church of *Ireland* truly *catholic*; not by driving Members out of its *Pale*, on account of human Appointments and Determinations,

tions, in Imitation of the Church of *Rome*; but by opening the Gates of its Communion as wide as was consistent with the Gospel of *Christ*.

The Preface to our *Book of Common-Prayer* declares, that " the " particular Forms of divine Wor- " ship, and the Rites and Ceremo- " nies appointed to be used there- " in, being Things in their own " Nature indifferent and alterable, " and so acknowledged, it is but " reasonable, that upon weighty " and important Considerations, " according to the various Exigen- " cies of Times and Occasions, such " Changes and Alterations may be " made therein, as to those that are " in Place and Authority should,

" from

" from Time to Time ſeem either
" neceſſary or expedient."

The Eyes of Mankind have been greatly opened, not only ſince the Reformation, but even ſince the Revolution. And that Liberty of Converſation and the Preſs, which the Inhabitants of theſe Kingdoms have ever ſince been glorioufly indulged in, hath much promoted a Freedom of thinking, which was curbed and kept down, during the Dominion and Influence of *Popery*.

And as at preſent the Generality of theſe Nations ſeem more inclinable to liſten to Reaſon than formerly, the Author of theſe Papers hath that Confidence, both

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in the Soundneſs of Your GRACE's Judgment, and the Prudence of Your Conduct, that he makes no Doubt of Your doing every thing that is proper upon this Occaſion, to remove thoſe Rocks of Offence, which lie in the Way of ſo many well-meaning Perſons.

This Attempt of his, he thinks, however, for many Reaſons, to be worth the making, becauſe, though it ſhould not ſucceed, yet he is ſure of having that Satisfaction from it, that he can ſay, *Liberavi Animam meam*; SEE YE TO IT: And that it furniſhes him with an Opportunity of profeſſing himſelf to be

Your GRACE's
Moſt devoted, And
Moſt obedient
Humble Servant.

AN ESSAY ON SPIRIT.

I. THE Opinion of (1) *Spinosa* was, that there is no other *Substance* in Nature but God. That Modes cannot subsist, or be conceived,

(1) Præter Deum nulla datur, nec concipi potest, *Substantia*, (per Proposit. 14;) hoc est (per Defin.) Res quæ in se est, & per se concipitur. *Modi* autem (per Defin. 5.) sine Substantia, nec esse, nec concipi possunt: Quare hi in sola divina natura esse, & per ipsam solam concipi possunt.
Spin. oper. post. Ethices, par. 1. pag. 12.

without a Subſtance. That there is nothing in Nature but Modes and Subſtances: And that therefore every Thing muſt be conceived as ſubſiſting in God.

Which Opinion, with ſome few Alterations, hath been embraced and cultivated, by *P. Malbranche* and Biſhop *Berkeley*.

II. It may indeed be aſſerted, that there is in Nature but one Self-exiſtent Being, Subſiſtence, or Subſtance, which, by way of Eminence, may therefore be called, *the Subſtance*; or, figuratively and comparatively ſpeaking, *the only Being*, *Subſiſtence*, or *Subſtance* in Nature. For by theſe three Words, I would be underſtood to mean one and the ſame Thing. The Logicians define *Subſtantia* to be *Ens per ſe ſubſiſtens & ſubſtans accidentibus*. And I mean the ſame Thing by a *Being*, *Exiſtence*, *Subſiſtance*, or *Subſtance*; that is, ſomething capable of ſupporting *Modes*, *Accidents*, *Relations* or *Properties*, which are only different Words, to denote the various *Manners*

or

or *Modes*, by which Existent Beings can raise Ideas in our Minds, or, which is the same Thing, can become knowable by us. Every Existence or Being, I therefore call a *Substance*; the Manner in which it makes an Impression on our Minds, I call a *Mode*; and the Effect or Impression, which is thereby made upon the Mind, I call an *Idea*.

Now as NOTHING *can have no Properties*, wherever we perceive any Properties, we therefore reasonably conclude, that there must be SOMETHING; that is, some Existence or other to support them. Hence the Maxim laid down by *Spinosa*, *Modi sine Substantia, nec esse, nec concipi possunt*: Or, as Sir *Isaac Newton* expresseth it (2), *Virtus sine Substantia subsistere non potest*.

And as God is the only Self-existent Being, therefore he may, comparatively speaking, be said to be the only Being in Nature.

(2) *Newt*. Princ. Schol. gen. p. 483.

And accordingly, when *Moses* enquired of God, by what Name he ſhould make him known to the Children of *Iſrael*, God ſaid, (3) *Thus ſhalt thou ſay to the Children of* Iſrael, I AM *hath ſent me unto you.* That is, I *that* AM hath ſent me unto you; for ſo it ſhould have been rendered. And therefore, in the firſt Part of the Verſe, where God ſaith unto *Moses*, *I am that I am*; it ſhould be rendered, I AM *that* AM, as it is by the *Septuagint*, ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ὤν, that is, *I am he that is*, or that exiſts, as if, comparatively ſpeaking, there was no other Being or Exiſtence but God.

From which Paſſage it probably was, that (4) *Plato* borrowed his Notion of the Name of God, when he aſſerted, that the Word ἔστι, *eſt*, is ſolely applicable to the eternal Nature of God. And from him it alſo probably was, that the Word εἶ, *i. e. thou art*, was all that was written on the

(3) *Exod.* iii. 14.
(4) *Plato. Timæus.*

Door

Door of the *Delphic* Temple: Upon which *Plutarch* remarks, that this Word is ſolely applicable to God, ſince that which truly *is* muſt be ſempiternal.

All which is true, when we ſpeak of God in a figurative and leſs correct Manner, only in Compariſon with the Creatures that have been made by him; between whom and their Creator there is no Proportion; and which, when conſidered in Compariſon with him, are as *Nothing*. Which is the View that God is to be conſidered in, as ſpoken of in the above-mentioned Paſſages, quoted out of the Books of *Moſes*, and the Theological Works of *Plato*.

III. But when we ſpeak of God and his Works, in a philoſophical and more accurate Manner, this will not hold. Since, as *Des Cartes* truly argues, *I know that I exiſt*. I cannot be deceived in this. If therefore I exiſt, and that I am not God, then there is another Exiſtence in Nature beſide God.

I hope

I hope I cannot be thought ſo abſurd, or ſo impious, as to imagine, that there are more Gods than *one*; or that I did not receive my Exiſtence from the Will and Power of God: The Conſciouſneſs of my own Exiſtence neceſſarily leads me to a firſt Cauſe, which firſt Cauſe can only be *one*; becauſe two firſt Cauſes are a Contradiction in Terms. Every thing therefore that exiſts, beſide that *Firſt Cauſe*, which Way ſoever it is brought forth into Being, whether it be *begotten*, *emanated*, *created*, or *ſpoken forth*, it muſt proceed from, and owe its Exiſtence to the (5) Will, as well as Power of that firſt Cauſe. However, ſure I am, that ſince I do exiſt, I exiſt as a ſeparate and diſtinct Exiſtence from God; though not independent of him.

IV. And as my own Conſciouſneſs convinces me of my own Exiſtence, ſo does

(5) *Athanaſius* acknowledges it to be impious, to ſay that God the Father was neceſſitated to act, even when he begat the Son: And allows alſo that neither Son nor Holy Spirit are the firſt Cauſe; but the Father alone, and that the Son and Holy Spirit were both cauſed. *Athan.* Vol. I. p. 512. *Id.* Vol. II. p. 442, 443.

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the ſame Faculty convince me, that this Exiſtence of mine is compoſed of two very different Kinds of Exiſtence, that is, of a thinking, active, powerful, Exiſtence; and a dull, heavy, inactive, Exiſtence. One of which, to wit, the active, we will, for Diſtinction ſake, without entering into any further metaphyſical Diſputes about Words, call the ſpiritual Exiſtence, Subſiſtence, or Subſtance; and the other, *viz.* the inactive, we will call the material or bodily Exiſtence; and ſometimes, for Brevity ſake, we will call one *Spirit*, and the other *Matter* or *Body*.

V. Wherein the Nature or Eſſence, either of this material or this ſpiritual Subſtance does conſiſt, we are entirely ignorant; for we know them only by the Effects or the Influence, which ſome of their Modes or Properties have upon our Minds. Thus, for Example, though we are capable of perceiving the Hardneſs, Colour, Figure, *&c.* of material Exiſtences; yet are we entirely ignorant, what it is that ſupports thoſe Properties;

Properties; or wherein the Nature, Essence, or Identity of *Body* does consist, when the Hardness, Figure, Colour, *&c.* is either altered or removed. In like Manner, we are equally ignorant of the Nature or Essence of Spirit: We know indeed some of the Properties thereof, such as, Perception, Thinking, Willing, Doubting, *&c.* But we know not the Essence of that spiritual Being within us, which perceives, thinks, wills, or doubts, *&c.*

VI. And though we know not wherein the Nature or Essence, either of Body or Spirit does consist; yet we find by Experience, that is, from the Effects which we feel from within, and from without ourselves, that these two Kinds of Existences, of which the human Constitution is composed, have very different and inconsistent Properties: As for Example, that one has the Power of Motion in itself; whereas the other can neither put itself into Motion, nor put a Stop to its own Motions, when once begun; whence

whence we reaſonably conclude, that their Natures or Eſſence are alſo different.

VII. We likewiſe find, from Experience, that there is a Difference between neceſſary and voluntary Motion; and that ſome Agents have a Power of beginning, varying, and putting a Stop to their own Motions *ad libitum*; while others invariably act after one regular, conſtant, and uniform Method of proceeding, equally, and at all Times. And although it is not eaſy to determine the Boundaries between thoſe two Species of Beings, the Gradation from the one to the other, in ſome Inſtances, being ſo exceedingly exquiſite, as for Example, between the vegetable and the animal Part of the Creation, as to render the Diſtinction hardly perceptible; yet ſure we are of the Matter of Fact, *viz*, that there are ſome Beings, which are capable of voluntary Self-Motion, whereas we find, by Experience, that others are not: And ſince we find, by repeated Experiments, that that Kind of Exiſtence, which we call *Matter*, is incapable

of producing any Kind of Motion, either voluntary or involuntary; whenever we ſee any thing moved, we may fairly conclude the firſt Author, or Cauſe of that Motion, to be what we call *Spirit*.

VIII. It is beyond the Reach of human Abilities to explain, how theſe two different Kinds of Exiſtence, the active and inactive, can have an Influence, or can poſſibly affect each other. When we ſee a Stone deſcend to the Ground, we are not much ſurprized, becauſe it is common; but certain it is, that the original Cauſe of that Motion muſt be ſome Spirit or other; not only with Regard to the Determination of that Motion, but alſo with Regard to the whole *Momentum* of it: Since, as *Nothing can act where it is not*, that Power whereby any Body continues in Motion, is as much the Effect of ſome concomitant Spirit, as the Power which put it firſt in Motion.

IX. That Power alſo, whereby Matter is enabled to *reſiſt* Motion, is as much the Effect

Effect of Spirit, as that whereby it is enabled to continue in Motion, when once communicated: Since Matter, as Matter, cannot possibly exert any active Power of any Kind, either in beginning, continuing, or resisting of Motion. It may remain at Rest, by Virtue of its own Inactivity; but if no active Power with-held it, a Mountain would be as easily moved as a Mole-Hill. Because that Resistance, Weight or Gravity is occasioned by nothing else but the Tendency of one Body towards another, impelled thereto by the attractive Force of some Spirit. Which Tendency, or attractive Power, being in Proportion to the (6) Quantity of Matter, makes the Difference of Weight or Gravity in Bodies. When therefore this

(6) Hactenus Phænomena Cœlorum & Maris nostri per vim Gravitatis exposui, sed causam Gravitatis nondum assignavi. Oritur utique hæc Vis a Causa aliqua quæ penetrat ad usque Centra Solis, & Planetarum sine Virtutis Diminutione; quæque agit non pro Quantitate Superficierum Particularum in quas agit, (ut solent Causæ mechanicæ) sed pro Quantitate Materiæ solidæ.

Newt. *Princ. Schol. gen.* p. 482.

Tendency is removed, there will be no Difference in their Gravity; becauſe none of them, whether large or little, will have any at all: And of Conſequence, their Power of Reſiſtance will be deſtroyed. Which plainly proves, that Reſiſtance is ſomething more than bare Inability, or a Want of Power, or a Negation of Spirit, as the Author of (7) *Siris* aſſerts it only to be.

X. And as there can be no Motion, without a Direction or Determination being given to that Motion; hence it will follow, that every Being, capable of moving, either itſelf, or any thing elſe, muſt alſo be endowed with an *Intellect*, or Underſtanding, capable of directing that Motion. And as nothing can act where it is not, hence alſo it is that Attraction, or Gravity, does not operate in Proportion to the Superficies of Bodies, but according to the Quantity of Matter; becauſe every, even the leaſt Particle, of active, or attractive Matter, muſt

(7) *Siris*, Sect. 299.

be

be *directed* in it's Motions by ſome Spirit, united to that Matter, which may have juſt ſuch a Quantity of Intellect communicated to it by its Creator, as will enable it to perform thoſe Functions, which are aſſigned it by its Creator, in order to carry on the general Oeconomy of this Univerſe.

Which Functions, all active Beings, that are not endowed with a Freedom of Will, muſt conſtantly and regularly perform, whenever there is an Opportunity given them of exerting thoſe Faculties. And therefore, if they are appointed to perform the Operations of *Attraction* or *Repulſion*, they muſt, as neceſſary Agents, always *attract* or *repel* at certain Diſtances, and according to certain and ſtated Rules, preſcribed by their great Creator; and will never vary in their Tendency towards this Body, or their Averſion from that; but will for ever act in one uniform Way of attracting or repelling the ſame Bodies, and in one regular, conſtant, Method of proceeding. From the Obſervance of which Operations, thoſe Rules, which

which are called the Laws of Motion, are deduced by the Curious.

XI. All Nature, therefore, ſeems to be animated, or alive; and this whole World to be replete with *Spirits* formed with different Kinds and Degrees of Abilities, according to the various Ends and Uſes, for which they were deſigned by their Creator. The Difference of whoſe intellectual Faculties may not only conſiſt in the Difference of their original Formation as Spirits; but alſo in the different Inlets for Knowledge, through the Tegument of that Body to which they are united, and by which the Spirit within is capable of receiving any Kind of Information, for the Improvement of it's own Underſtanding.

But if the Almighty is pleaſed to add a *Liberty of Will* to this active Intellect, and create Spirits endowed with a Power of *voluntary Motion*, then it ſeems neceſſary that Almighty God ſhould confer alſo upon ſuch intelligent Spirits, ſuch Faculties and Powers,

Powers, as would enable them to be capable of perceiving Pleaſure or Pain; ſince nothing elſe, but a Senſe of one or other of theſe, ſeems capable of determining the *Will* to act. For if the Senſation of Pleaſure or Pain be removed from the Will, there can be no Reaſon or Cauſe for it to prefer one Motion to another, and of Conſequence, no Direction or Determination.

XII. And hence may be deduced the following Obſervations. That to ſuch a Being every thing may be called *Good*, that giveth Pleaſure; and every thing *Evil*, that produceth Pain. The higheſt Pleaſure, which any Being is capable of enjoying, may be called its *Happineſs*; and the higheſt Pain, *Miſery*. Now as the Uſe of all Pain is to determine our Motions, ſo that when we feel or fear Pain, we may be thereby excited to new Actions, for our own Preſervation and Delight; hence it appears, that *Evil* takes its *Origin* from the Goodneſs of God, in which it will alſo be finally abſorbed, when Pain ſhall be no more.

more. The Will cannot be at Liberty to chuſe Evil as Evil. But as Pain may be be productive of Pleaſure, or Pleaſure be productive of Pain; hence it comes to paſs, that free Agents, by being deceived, through their Ignorance, or Paſſions, may chuſe Evil, under the Appearance of Good; and herein conſiſts human Freedom; not in the Power of chuſing Evil, but in the Power of chuſing what ſeems Good from among a Variety of *Good*, whether real or apparent: And herein lies the Difference between the Freedom of God and of Man; that as fallible Men may chuſe an apparent Good, inſtead of a real one, they, by being liable to be deceived, are free, by that Means, to chuſe Evil, inſtead of Good: Whereas God, who cannot be deceived, is only free to chuſe out of that infinite Variety of real Good, which his Will and his Wiſdom may dictate. — And laſtly, That Virtue, Wiſdom, Prudence, *&c*, in Mankind, may be conſidered only as various Names, for the ſeveral Powers given to them, and the different Methods uſed by them in the Attainment of

Happineſs,

Happineſs, and avoiding of Miſery. And hence alſo Self-Love may be looked upon, in Nature, as the Principle of all voluntary Action; and the Foundation of all *Morality*.

XIII. We find, by Experience, that there are ſome voluntary ſelf-moving Beings here upon Earth, which have but one or two Methods of furniſhing their Minds with the Senſe of Pleaſure, or of Pain; others have three; others four; others five; which are commonly known by the Name of *Senſes*; to which rational Beings have one more added, which is that of inward Reflection. And therefore, the Author of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, ſpeaking of the Formation of Mankind, ſays (8), *They received the Uſe of the five Operations of the Lord, and in the ſixth Place he imparted to them Underſtanding*.

XIV. But, let their Number be never ſo various, they may, in general, be reduced

(8) *Eccluſ.* xvii. 5.

to these two. First, those Methods of Information, which the Mind of any Being, composed of Body and Spirit, is capable of being affected with, by the Intervention of the Senses; which furnish the Mind with such Ideas, as may be called *Ideas of Sensation*, because they are conveyed to the Mind through the Organs of Sensation. Or, secondly, those Methods of Information, which the Spirit of any self-moving Agent is capable of being affected with, by its own reflex Acts upon itself; by the Means of which, the Mind is furnished with such Ideas, as may properly be called *Ideas of Reflexion*.

XV. And indeed it is in these reflex Acts of the human Spirit, that is, in the Power which the human Spirit is endowed with, first, in perceiving its own internal Operations in thinking; and, secondly, in being able to turn back its perceptive Faculty, to its past Perceptions, that the chief Difference seems to consist, between the Spirit of Man, and the Spirit of Brutes; or between

tween the rational, and that which is commonly called the animal, Creation.

XVI. By the Assistance, however, of these two Faculties, that is, of *Sensation* and *Reflexion*, the Spirit of Man is furnished with all those Ideas, which fill the human Mind; and supply it with Objects of *intellectual*, as well as *sensual*, Pleasures. The latter of which it is, that strikes us soonest and strongest; as being most necessary for the immediate Use, and Preservation of Life. And accordingly, we find, that the human Mind requires a Kind of ripening, before it is capable of making any reflex Acts upon its own Operations, or having any Relish for intellectual Pleasures. Upon which Account it must be acknowledged to have been one great Advantage, which *Adam* had over all his Posterity, that his intellectual Faculties, came with him into the World, in their full Force; by which Means, he was free from that Biass, in Favour of sensual Pleasures, which all his Offspring have, ever since, necessarily, la-

boured under; by an Habit of being indulged in ſenſual Gratifications, from their Infancy, till they come to a Maturity of Judgment; during which whole Time, the human Will hath no Reliſh for any Pleaſures, but ſuch as enter in by the Senſes.

XVII. The Spirit of Man, therefore, being furniſhed with Ideas by the Operation of the two Faculties of *Senſation* and *Reflexion*; when the Mind begins to operate a-new, its Operations are called by different Names, according to the different Uſe it makes of thoſe Ideas. For when the Spirit retains any Ideas in View, and collates, or compares, them together, this Act of the Spirit is called *Thinking*. The Continuation of which Act is called *Attention*. When it depoſits its Ideas in the Store-Houſe, or Treaſury, of the Mind, for future Recollection, and produces them back, upon Occaſion, in the ſame Manner as they were depoſited; this Act is called *Memory*: But when it varies, alters, and compounds them, ſo that they are not the ſame,

ſame, as when depoſited; this Act is called *Imagination.*

XVIII. When the Spirit, by collating and comparing Ideas together, finds out the Agreement, or Diſagreement, of thoſe Ideas; this Operation produceth *Knowledge*, and is, by the Logicians, called *Judgment:* But when the Spirit is miſtaken in this Operation, and imagines Ideas to have an Agreement, which have no Agreement, and, *vice verſa*, this Operation produceth *Error.*

XIX. When this Agreement, or Diſagreement, of Ideas, ſtrikes the Mind at once, without the Intervention of any third Idea, to prove their Agreement, or Diſagreement with one another; this is *intuitive Knowledge:* Which is ſo called, from its Reſemblance to the Information, which the Mind receives by the Senſation of Sight; becauſe it perceives thoſe Kinds of Truth, as the Eye does Light, only by being directed to them: The Objects, of which are thoſe Propoſitions, that are called *ſelf-evi-*

dent

dent Truths: Such as, that two and two make four; that the Whole is greater than a Part; that Happineſs is preferable to Miſery, *&c*; which the Mind cannot but aſſent to, as ſoon as it is made to underſtand the Meaning of thoſe Terms, and which can no more be proved, or demonſtrated, than ſimple Ideas can be defined; as being themſelves the Foundation of all Knowledge and Demonſtration.

XX. But when the Mind is employed in a more complicated Operation, that is, in comparing together thoſe *Relations*, or this Knowledge which we have acquired of the Agreement, or Diſagreement of our Ideas; or, which is the ſame thing, when the Mind, by comparing the Propoſitions, which reſult from the Agreement, or Diſagreement, of our Ideas, from thence deduces certain *Concluſions*; this Operation of the Spirit, is called *reaſoning*.

The

The Neceſſity and Laborioufneſs of which Operation, in order to arrive at Truth, ſhews the Imperfection of human Nature; ſince we find, by Experience, that there is but a very ſmall Part of Knowledge, which is ſo ſelf-evident to us, as to be *intuitive*. Whereas Beings of a ſuperior Nature, have, probably, their intuitive Knowledge enlarged, in Proportion to the Excellency of their Natures: By which Means, thoſe Degrees of Knowledge, which human Beings are groping after, by long and tedious Deductions of Reaſon, are open, at once, to the Eyes of their Underſtanding, and ſtrike them, at once, with an intuitive View; which is always the more extenſive, in Proportion to the Excellency of their Natures.

XXI. And hence it is, that (9) *Plato*, ſpeaking of human Abilities, in the Inveſtigation of Truth, calls it, *beholding*

(9) *Plato* in *Phædo*.

Things

Things in the Glaſs of Reaſon: Which he explains, by ſaying, That as they who contemplate an Eclipſe of the Sun, loſe the Sight of it, unleſs they are ſo careful as to view it's Reflexion in Water, or to look at it through ſome Medium, ſuch as thick Glaſs; ſo the Eye of an human Spirit is too weak to find out Truth, unleſs it looks at it through the Medium of Reaſon; which St. *Paul* alſo calls (1), *ſeeing through a Glaſs darkly*.

XXII. We do indeed ſee through a Glaſs darkly, by the Means of this Tegument of Fleſh; this earthly Tabernacle, that encompaſſeth our Spirit: Since it is manifeſt, that the intelligent Spirit within Man is, in itſelf, endowed with Faculties, greatly ſuperior to thoſe Powers it exerciſeth in the human Underſtanding; and performs many Operations within us, and upon us, that are not only above our Power to direct, but above our Underſtanding to comprehend.

(1) 1 *Cor.* xiii. 12.

That

That Power, which is conſtantly working within us, to form and preſerve the regular Diſpoſition of our bodily Organs, and to change the Food which we eat, into Blood, into Fleſh, and into Bones; and which, according to the Naturaliſts, is ſaid always to work moſt powerfully, when the human Underſtanding is aſleep, is manifeſtly above our Comprehenſion.

XXIII. It is a common Obſervation, that when the Belly is full, the Bones would be at Reſt; which ſeems entirely owing to this, that the Spirit, being unmoleſted with human Cogitations, and its Attendance upon our Will, may be more at Leiſure to purſue thoſe Operations, which are immediately neceſſary towards our Preſervation. For that it is the ſame wiſe Agent, which operates in the Digeſtion of our Food, and that enables us to put in Execution the Directions of our Will, appears from hence, that when we have a Mind to move a Finger, or a Leg, that Part of the human Underſtanding, which is under our Direction,

is capable of doing no more than the Power of willing it; but how to perform this Action, it is as ignorant of as the Beaſt in the Field.

XXIV. Which Operation of the Spirit, is that which is known by the Name of *Inſtinct*, and goes through the whole Creation. It is by *Inſtinct* that the minuteſt Particles of Matter attract or repel each other: It is by *Inſtinct* that the Flower of the Field, which out-does *Solomon* in all his Glory, is directed in throwing forth its Leaves and its Flowers, and forming its Fruit in due Seaſon: It is by *Inſtinct* that the Birds of the Air build their Neſts; and the Beaſts of the Field provide for themſelves and their Young, with a Sagacity ſuperior to the Directions of human Wiſdom.

XXV. Whether the Spirits of all created Beings, or even of all Beings of the ſame Species, are equally perfect, is a Queſtion not very eaſy to determine; becauſe, though we find, by Experience, a vaſt Difference, between

between the Underſtandings of Men, not only with regard to their improved, but alſo their natural, Abilities; yet this may ariſe, not from any Difference between the Spirits of Men, but from the different Formation of their bodily Organs; which may have that Influence on their Spirit, as ſufficiently to account for the Difference of their Underſtandings: Since we frequently ſee bodily Diſtempers, ſuch as Frenzies and Fevers, make ſuch an Alteration in the Underſtanding, as to reduce Men, at other Times, of good and ſenſible Diſpoſitions, at leaſt, to the Level, with Madmen and Idiots.

XXVI. And therefore we cannot be poſitive, but that all created Spirits, may only differ, according to the different Combinations of that material Syſtem, with which they are circumſcribed, and in which they are encloſed, by the great Author of Nature. For, as Extenſion ſeems to be a Property peculiar to material Subſtance, it may be, that all created Spirits, do not only owe

their Shape, and the Limits of their Existence, to Matter, but alſo the Extent of thoſe Faculties, which they are permitted to exert. And that the ſame Spirit, which, when cloathed with one Sett of material Organs, is only capable of exerting its Intelligence in the Performance of Attraction or Repulſion, and when jarring Elements meet, breaks forth in Thunder and Lightening, and Earthquakes, or any other mechanical Operations, may, when united to a different Sett of Organs, of a more exquiſite and delicate Contexture, be capable of exerciſing voluntary Motion, may be enabled to think and to reaſon, to operate in Love or Hatred, and, when provoked by Oppoſition, may be agitated with Anger and Reſentment, and break forth in Quarrels, Contention, and War.

XXVII. What other Spirits there are in the Univerſe, beſide thoſe which belong to this terraqueous Globe, and how or when they came into Exiſtence, human Underſtandings are not capable of pointing out: But more than

than probable it is, that the great Expanſe is full of Spirits of different Ranks and Degrees, from the loweſt Power of Activity to the higheſt Degree of Perfection, which it is poſſible for created Spirits to be poſſeſſed of.

XXVIII. To what Degree of Perfection Spirits are capable of being created, human Knowledge cannot poſſibly determine: But certain it is, that the Degree muſt be limited in every Being, but God alone; and that God cannot create or produce any Being, equal in Power to, or independent on, himſelf; becauſe two All-powerfuls, two Supremes, would imply a Contradiction.

XXIX. We may, however, eaſily ſuppoſe, that God may communicate to the Works of his Hands, ſuch Portions of his own Attributes, as are greatly beyond the Comprehenſion of Mankind to conceive: Becauſe God can do every thing that does not imply a Contradiction. For, as a blind Man cannot apprehend how a Shepherd, from the Top of an Hill, can preſide over ſeveral

Flocks

Flocks of Sheep, wandering about, at a Diſtance from each other; how he knows when they ſtray, or how, by the Help of his Eye-ſight, he can be, as it were, omnipreſent: So a Man of the greateſt Abilities may, for Want of Faculties, be unable to conceive that Power, whereby a created intelligent Agent, of ſuperior Qualifications to thoſe communicated to Mankind, can be enabled to ſee in Darkneſs as well as Light; to know the inmoſt Receſſes and Thoughts of Men's Hearts; to preſide at once over ſuch a World as this which we inhabit, and where two or three are gathered together, there to be alſo inviſibly in the Midſt of them: And yet ſuch a Power may certainly be communicated, becauſe it implies no Contradiction.

XXX. In like Manner, therefore, as we ſee Mankind furniſhed with Abilities to contrive and form ſeveral Machines of wonderful Force and Efficacy; to build Houſes and Ships, make Clocks and Watches; and govern Kingdoms: So there ſeems to be no Contradiction,

Contradiction, in ſuppoſing that God might communicate ſo much Power to one of his own Creatures, of a more exalted Nature than Man, as to enable him to create inferior Beings, and frame a World of his own, compoſed of intelligent Agents: Which Power, however, muſt be limited, and muſt be dependent on the Supreme Being.

XXXI. And, as the Almighty God is the only ſupreme, infinite, unlimited, Being in the Univerſe; ſo is he, probably, the only unembodied Spirit that exiſts: That is, the only Spirit which is not limited, clogged, and fettered, with ſome Kind, or Degree, of inactive Matter, which may ſerve to give a Form and Shape, or Boundary, to its ſpiritual Nature. For (2) *there are Bodies cœleſtial, and Bodies terreſtrial; but the Glory of the cœleſtial is one, and the Glory of the terreſtrial is another.* And as we know not what the Eſſence of that inactive Principle is, which we call *Matter*, we cannot ſay,

(z) 1 *Cor.* xv. 40.

to

to what exquiſite Degrees of Perfection its Properties are reducible, or what Improvement it is capable of receiving; but that ſome (3) Spirits may be furniſhed with Bodies of ſo delicate a Texture, that they may *cloath themſelves with Light, as it were with a Garment, may make the Clouds their Chariots, and walk upon the Wings of the Wind:* By the organical Diſpoſition of which Bodies, the Spirits united thereto may be capable of receiving and communicating to each other Ideas of bodily Pain and bodily Pleaſure, as well as intellectual Pain and intellectual Pleaſure, may have their Affections and ther Paſſions as well as we; their Friendſhips and Animoſities; their Wars and Alliances; none of which, however, we can form any real Idea, or Notion of,

(3) Moſt of the ancient Fathers ſuppoſed the Angels to have Bodies. See *Clemens Alex.* Pedag. 41. p. 101: as alſo *Huetii Origeniana*, lib. ii. c. 2, 5. *Tertullian* was ſo abſurd, as to ſuppoſe even God to have a Body. *Tert. de carne Chriſti.* cap. 11. which I ſuppoſe he borrowed from the old *Platonic* Notion, of God being the Soul of the World. But this God, he ought to have conſidered, was not ſuppoſed to be the Supreme God. See *Plato* in *Timæo:* See alſo *Virg. Æneid.* lib. vi. v. 721.

for

for Want of the ſame Kind of Senſes, which they are furniſhed with; any more than a deaf Man can of Sounds, or a blind Man can of Light and Colours.

XXXII. And, as to the Time when they were created, we are as ignorant of that, as we are of their Natures. But probable it is, that as God is an active Spirit, for *God is a Spirit*, and hath exiſted from all Eternity, he hath been conſtantly employed in exerting this active Faculty; and therefore may have created ſome intelligent Beings, from ſuch a diſtant Duration of Time, as we can no otherwiſe deſcribe but by calling it *eternal*. For to imagine that there are no Spirits in the wide Expanſe of Space, but what have Reference to this terraqueous Globe, this Speck of Matter, on which Mankind are placed, or even this planetary Syſtem, which is viſible to human Eyes; and that no Worlds, filled with intelligent Spirits, were created till about 6000 Years ago; about which Time, both Reaſon and Revelation agree, that this Ball of Earth

began to revolve about the Sun, is a Thought unworthy of a Philosopher, and inconsistent with the Infinity of God's Power, as well as with the Eternity of his Existence.

XXXIII. And yet we ought to take Notice, that in the Language of the Scriptures, both in the Old and New Testament, when the *Creation* is spoken of, it is only to be considered as referring to the Creation of this World, in which there is no Mention made of the Creation of Angels, or of any other Beings, because it would have been foreign to the Purpose: And that therefore, St. *John* begins his Gospel with the same Expression that *Moses* does; *in the Beginning*, i. e, of this World. For when we speak of any Beings, which existed before this World was created, having no Measures of Time, whereby to denote, or distinguish the different Durations of their Existence, we must equally say of them all, that they existed (4) *in the Beginning*, or *before the*

(4) *Gen.* i. 1. *John* i. 1. xvii. 5. *Psal.* cii. 5. *Prov.* viii. 22. 23. *Micah* v. 2.

World

World was, or *of old*, or *from Everlasting*. See Sect. L. LI. LII.

XXXIV. And as God may communicate what Proportions he pleases of his Attributes, to the different Gradations of created Beings, with which he hath been pleased to fill the Universe: Each of these, with regard to Beings of their own Species, may have such Faculties and Properties communicated to them, as may render them knowable to each other. But, with regard to Beings of a different Nature, those of a superior, or more excellent Kind, may not be cognisable, by Beings of an inferior Order; though Beings of an inferior Kind may be easily cognisable to those of a more exalted Nature; the Properties of the one being of too exquisite and delicate a Frame and Contexture, to affect the Perception or strike the Senses of the other. And hence it is, that human Beings may be surrounded with Myriads of spiritual Agents, without ever being sensible thereof; unless those su-

perior Beings are pleaſed to aſſume ſuch Forms, and condeſcend to furniſh themſelves with ſuch Qualifications, as are capable of making an Impreſſion on the human Spirit from within, or the human Senſes from without.

XXXV. *Heſiod*, one of the firſt *Heathen* Authors extant, ſuppoſeth Myriads of inviſible Spirits cloathed in Air, attending upon this terreſtrial Globe, and employed as *Angels*, that is, *Meſſengers*, between the great God and Mankind, obſerving their Actions, and reporting them to *Jupiter*. And (5) *Plato* ſays, that " *Saturn*, well knowing " that there was no Man who could have " abſolute Empire over others, without " abandoning himſelf to all Kinds of Vio- " lence and Injuſtice, ſubjected the Nations " not to Men, but to more noble and ex- " cellent Beings, as their Lords and Go- " vernors; namely, to (6) *Dæmons*, or *in-* " *telligent*

(5) *Plato*, de *Leg*. lib. iv.
(6) Ἀλλὰ γένει θειοτέρου τε καὶ ἐμφρονέστερον, Δαίμονας. By the Word

" *telligent Spirits*, of a more divine and
" better Nature than themſelves, after the
" ſame Manner, as we deal with our Cat-
" tle: For, as we do not ſet a Bull over
" an whole Herd of his own Kind, nor a
" Goat to govern a Flock of Goats; but
" put thoſe of both Kinds, under the Con-
" duct of a Man; ſo God, who loves
" Mankind, placed them, at firſt, under
" the Conduct of Angels."

XXXVI. The (7) *Greeks*, it is certain, and *Plato*, in particular, borrowed many of their theological Sentiments from the *Hebrews*; among whom this, of a Number of inviſible Spirits, attending upon this Globe of Earth, and preſiding over States and Kingdoms, was certainly one. For the Opinion of the *Jews* upon this Head was, that

Word *Dæmon*, we are not to underſtand *Evil-Spirits*, as it hath been vulgarly thought to mean; but rather *happy* ones, the Word Δαίμων, *Dæmon*, originally ſignifying *happy*. But as thoſe Spirits to which the *Heathen* gave the Appellation of *happy*, have been deemed by *Chriſtians* to be rather unhappy and evil Spirits: Therefore this Word is generally miſapplied.

(7) See *Euſeb.* Præp. Evang. p. 507.

Almighty

Almighty God, the firſt Author and Creator of all Things, was of ſo tranſcendent a Nature, that before he created Beings of the loweſt Rank, he produced an infinite Variety of Beings, in a gradual Deſcent, which were ſtill greater and ſuperior to others, who yet were employed by him to act in a middle Station, between him and the lower Productions of his Almighty Power. The Septuagint Tranſlation of the Bible therefore renders that Paſſage in the Song of *Moſes*, which is mentioned, *Deut.* xxxii. 8, 9, after this Manner: *Aſk thy Father, and he will ſhew thee; thy Elders, and they will tell thee: When the Moſt High divided the Nations their Inheritance; When he ſeparated the Sons of* Adam, *he ſet the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Angels of God, and the Lord's Portion is his People* Jacob, *the* (8) *Line of his Inheritance* Iſrael. And the wiſe Son of *Sirach* ſaith, (9) *For in the*

(8) Or *Boundary*. See 1 *Cor.* x. 16.
(9) *Eccluſ.* xvii. 17.

Diviſion

Division of the Nations of the whole Earth, God set a Ruler (or Governing Angel) *over every People; but* Israel *is the Lord's Portion.* The *Jews* accordingly supposed some of these Angels to have been appointed as Guardian or Governing Spirits (1), over the several Nations of the Earth; and that the Portion of *Israel* was particularly committed to the Care of that Being, who is here denoted by the Name of *the Lord.*

XXXVII. It ought to be acknowledged, however, that the Words here quoted out of the Book of *Deuteronomy*, as rendered by the Septuagint, do not exactly agree with the *Hebrew* Copy of the Bible. For, according to the *Hebrew*, it should run thus: *When the Most High divided the Nations, when he separated the Sons of* Adam, *he set the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Children of* Israel, *and* Je-

(1) It appears also from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that this was the Opinion of the *Christian* Church in his Time. See *Clem. Alex.* Strom. p. 309, 822, 828, 830, 832. Edit. *Oxon.* Pot.

HOVAH's

HOVAH's *Portion is his People:* Jacob *is the Lot of his Inheritance.* But it ſhould be obſerved, that although this Separation, or Diſperſion of the Sons of *Adam*, this ſetting the Bounds of the Nations, was a Tranſaction which came to paſs long before *Iſrael* had any Children to number, or was even himſelf in Being; yet the Commentators have taken much Pains to reconcile this Text with the Matter of Fact; and to make the Number of the various Nations upon Earth, agree with the Number of the Children of *Iſrael*; which, nevertheleſs, they have not been able to accompliſh: For, if the Number of the Children of *Iſrael* be computed by the Number of his immediate Deſcendents, which were only thirteen, *viz.* twelve Sons, and one Daughter; this Number would be too few for the Number of Nations diſperſed over the Earth; and if all the Deſcendents of *Iſrael* be taken into the Account, then the Number will be infinitely too large. As therefore the reading of this Text according to the Septuagint Verſion, is ſupported by

by that Paſſage, already quoted, out of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, as well as by other Parts of the Old Teſtament; and correſponds with the general Opinion of the moſt learned ancient *Jews*: I am inclined to prefer the Septuagint Verſion of this Text, to the preſent Reading in our *Hebrew* Bible.

XXXVIII. And what adds no ſmall Weight with me in this Affair, is an Expreſſion made Uſe of by St. (2) *Paul*, in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, where, ſpeaking of the ſecond coming of our Saviour, when he ſhall appear in a State of Glory, manifeſtly ſuperior to Angels, he ſays, *For unto the Angels hath he not put in Subjection the World to come of which we ſpeak.* Whence it ſeems to appear, that it was St. *Paul*'s Opinion, that this preſent World had been put in Subjection to Angels.

(2) *Heb.* ii. 5.

XXXIX. Which Opinion is alſo confirmed by St. *Jude*, who ſeems to attribute the Error of the fallen Angels, who *ſinned*, as (3) St. *Peter* expreſſeth it, to their Miſconduct in the Government of thoſe Provinces which were allotted to their Charge. For, ſays he, Ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν Ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας, δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν. *The Angels which kept not their Principalities with due Care; but neglected their proper Provinces, he* (God) *hath reſerved in everlaſting Chains under Darkneſs:* For ſo this Verſe ought to be tranſlated. The Verb τηρέω, which we tranſlate *kept*, ſignifying the keeping of a Thing with Care and Diligence: In which Senſe it is uſed, when it is applied in the Septuagint, to the (4) keeping the Commandments of God, and keeping our own Hearts, and our Ways.

(3) 2 *Pet.* ii. 4.
(4) 1 *Sam.* xv. 11. *Prov.* iii. 1. 21. iv. 23. viii. 34.

And

And in *Canticles* vii. 11, 12, it is uſed to denote the *Keepers* of a Vineyard, who were to dreſs it, and cultivate it. And, as to the Word Ἀρχὴ, that is generally uſed by the Septuagint to denote a *Principality*, as this Word is rendered in the Margin of our *Engliſh* Bible. And it is to be obſerved, that it is the Word Ἄρχων and Ἄρχονῆες, which *Daniel* gives to thoſe ruling Angels, which are ſaid, in the Book of (5) *Daniel*, to preſide over the Realms of *Græcia*, *Perſia*, and *Iſrael*. The Word ἀπολείπω, which our Tranſlation renders *left*, is frequently applied by the Septuagint, to denote the leaving or neglecting any Buſineſs, which it was our Duty to have purſued; as when (6) *Baaſha* is ſaid to have *left off building* Ramah, *and let his Work ceaſe*. And when *Solomon* blameth the (7) *ſtrange Woman*, for FORSAKING *the Guide of her Youth*. The Word οἰκηϊῶτιον, though it properly

(5) *Dan.* x. 13, 20, 21. xii. 1.
(6) 2 *Chron.* xvi. 5.
(7) *Prov.* ii. 17.

ſignifies a *Dwelling-place*, in general, yet it is not confined to ſignify a Houſe, nor even a Province, or larger Space of Ground; but is by the Prophet (8) *Jeremiah* applied to denote the wide Extent of God's holy Habitation in Heaven: However, it is here reſtrained by the Word ἴδιον, to denote the proper and peculiar Provinces of theſe Angels, which they may be ſuppoſed to have been employed in the Conduct and Management of; and accordingly, the Word οἰκέτης denotes ſuch a Domeſtick as is employed in the Buſineſs of the Houſe, and is always uſed by the Septuagint to ſignify a (9) *Servant*. And therefore, this Expreſſion of Ἀπολιπόντας το ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, may very well be underſtood to ſignify their forſaking, or neglecting, their proper Buſineſs, or Provinces, that were given into their Charge by God.

XL. As for the Opinion of the more modern *Jews*, it is no eaſy Matter to col-

(8) *Jer.* xxv. 30.
(9) *Gen.* ix. 25. xxvii. 37. xliv. 33, &c.

lect

lect or fix their Sentiments; becauſe that, ſince the coming of our Saviour, the *Jews*, not being willing to abide by the Expoſitions given to the Prophecies in the Old Teſtament, by the *Chriſtians*, or even by their own ancient Paraphraſts, made a Collection of their oral Traditions, which they gathered together into one Book, which they called the *Talmud*: And finding many ſeeming Contradictions in the literal Interpretation of thoſe Texts of Scripture, which were univerſally allowed by the ancient *Jews* to refer to their Meſſiah; and not being willing to expound them of different Advents of one and the ſame Perſon; the one in a State of Humiliation, and the other in a State of Glory; the one in this World, and the other in the next; they then run into numberleſs abſurd Contrivances, of expounding the Scriptures by a cabaliſtical Method of Interpretation, in finding out myſterious and hidden Meanings, not only in the Sentences and Words of Scripture, but alſo in the very Letters themſelves, as well

well as in the Number of Letters, of which those Words were composed: And, by this Means, the Learning of the more modern *Jews* is reduced into such a nonsensical Jargon of Sounds, without Sense, as makes their Works infinitely tiresome in the Perusal. And therefore, rather than fatigue my Reader with an Account of such Trifles, I shall chuse to lay before him the Opinion of the most sensible and learned among the ancient *Jews*, as I find it collected very judiciously, by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, who must be allowed to be a tolerable Judge, because he lived amongst them in the Land of *Judæa*.

XL. (1) "The *Jews*, says he, after "that Essence of the All-powerful God, "who had neither Beginning, nor Origin, "place that (2) *Head*, or *Chief*, which was

(1) *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. vii. cap. 15.

(2) Ἀρχὴν, which Word is sometimes used by the Authors of the Septuagint Version of the Bible, instead of Ἄρχων, to denote the *Head*, or *Chief*, of any Society, or collective Body of Men. See *Exod.* vi. 25.

"begotten

" begotten of the Father, and therefore
" was his First-born. Which, as he is
" the Co-adjutor of his Council, is there-
" fore called the Image of his Father.
" Which *Chief*, as he far exceeds all crea-
" ted Beings, is for this Reason called *the*
" *Image of God*, the *Wisdom of God*, the
" *Logos*, or *Word of God*, the *Prince of*
" *the Lord's Host*, and the *Angel of his*
" *Council*. As to those Intelligencies, which
" come after this *Chief*, they are of such
" various and different Forms, that human
" Expressions cannot denote them, but by
" Comparison and Analogy to those Things
" which are the Objects of our Sen-
" ses; as the Sun, the Moon, the Stars,
" and the Heaven, which encloseth all
" Things. As the divine Apostle does,
" when he says, *there is one Glory of the*
" *Sun, and another Glory of the Moon, and*
" *another Glory of the Stars, for one Star*
" *differeth from another Star in Glory*. In
" like Manner, must we think of the Sub-
" ordination of unbodied, intelligent, Be-
" ings. For, as the ineffable and infinite
" Power

" Power of God *(like Heaven)* compre-
" hends all Things; in the ſecond Place
" comes the operating and illuminating
" Power of the divine *Logos*; for which
" Reaſon he is called by the *Hebrews*, the
" *Light*, and the (3) *Sun of Juſtice*:
" Then, after this (4) ſecond Eſſence, as
" it were in the Place of the *Moon*, comes
" the holy *Spirit*, which they place in this
" royal Dignity, and Degree of (5) Principa-
" lity; becauſe it is the Will of the great
" Architect to appoint him to the Princi-
" pality of thoſe inferior Beings, which may
" want his Aſſiſtance. Who therefore, ob-
" taining the third Place, confers on thoſe
" who are inferior to him, thoſe excellent
" Virtues, which he himſelf received from
" another, to wit, from the divine *Logos*,
" his Better and Superior; whom we before
" ſaid was the ſecond to the ſupreme, un-
" begotten, and almighty, God.—So, ſays

(3) *Mal.* iv. 2. Which *Philo Judæus* interprets of the *Meſſiah*.
(4) Δευτέραν οὐσίαν.
(5) Ἀρχῆς.

" he,

" he, all the *Hebrew* Divines, after that
" God, who is over all, and after his first-
" born Wisdom, pay (6) divine Worship
" to the third and holy Power, which they
" call the holy Spirit, by which they them-
" selves are illuminated, when they are di-
" vinely inspired."

XLII. In another Place, (7) *Eusebius*, in explaining the Sentiments of the *Jews*, says, that, " as *Milesius* made a second
" Principle of *Water*; *Heraclitus* of *Fire*;
" and *Pythagoras* of *Numbers*, &c; so the
" *Jews* made a secondary Essence of the
" *Logos*, which was begotten by the *First*
" *Cause*."

XLIII. And in another Place, (8) *Eusebius* quotes a Passage out of *Philo Judæus*, wherein that Author calls the *Logos*, the (9) *Second God*, in whose Image Man was created. And again, where he calls this

(6) Αποθειάζουσιν.
(7) *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. vii. cap. 12.
(8) *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. vii. cap. 13.
(9) Δεύτερον θεόν.

Logos, The first-born Son of God, to whom God had committed the Care of all Things, (1) *as a great King appoints a Minister, or Viceroy, to act under him.*

XLIV. And, in another Place, (2) he quotes *Philo*, for calling this *Second Cause*, *the Image of God*, *the first-born* Logos, *the most ancient of Angels*, *and*, *as it were the Archangel*, *subsisting with many Names*. For, says *Philo*, He is called the (3) *Chief*, the *Name of God*, the *Logos*, the *Image*, and the (4) *Overseer*, *Visiter*, or *Regarder*, *of* Israel.

XLV. I am very sensible that some learned Men are of Opinion, that these were only the Sentiments of the *Jews* belonging to *Palestine* and *Egypt*; but if we look into those Books, which contain the Doctrines,

(1) Οἷα τὶς μεγάλου βασιλέως ὑπαρχος διαδέξεται.
(2) *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. xi. cap. 15. Περὶ τȣ̃ δευτέρου Ἀίτιου.
(3) Ἀρχὴ.
(4) Ὁ ἑρὼν ἰσραὴλ.

which

which all *Jews* either do, or ought to profess, that is, the Scriptures of the Old Testament, we shall find that there is great Foundation for the afore-mentioned Opinions of the *Jews*, with regard to Angels; and for all these Appellations, which are here given to this *secondary Essence*, who is, by *Philo*, very justly called, *the Archangel with many Names*. For the Prophet (5) *Daniel* declares, that the Angel *Gabriel*, having touched him, and spoken to him, said, that he was *come to make him understand what should befal his People in the latter Days*, and that he would have come sooner, but that *the* (6) *Prince* (or ruling or governing Angel) *of the Kingdom of* Persia *withstood him one and twenty Days, till* Michael, *one of the chief Princes*, or, as the *Hebrew* expresseth it, the FIRST PRINCE, *came to help him*. And again, the Angel says, *And now I will return to fight against the Prince*

(5) *Dan.* viii. 16. ix. 21. x. 13, 20, 21. xii. 1.

(6) *Heb.* שר. Sept. Ἄρχων *Simmias*, the Disciple of *Socrates*, in *Plato*'s *Phædo*, speaking of Guardian Angels, calls them Δεσπότας, i. e. *Lords* or *Governors*.

of Persia, *and when I am gone forth, lo the Prince of* Græcia *shall come. But I will shew thee what is noted in the Scripture of Truth; and there is none that holdeth with me in these Things, but* MICHAEL *your Prince.* And a little afterwards he calleth MICHAEL *the Great Prince which standeth for the Children of* Israel. Or, as *Philo* would have expressed it, ὁ ὁρῶν ἰσραήλ: *He that regardeth,* or is the Guardian Angel of, *Israel.*

XLVI. And correspondent hereto the Septuagint Translation of the Bible, as before quoted, renders that Passage in the Song of *Moses,* which is mentioned, *Deut.* xxxii. 8, 9. *Ask thy Father, and he will shew thee; thy Elders, and they will tell thee: When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance; when he separated the Sons of* Adam, *he set the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Angels of God, and the* LORD's *Portion is his People* Jacob, *the Line of his Inheritance* Israel. Upon which Words *Eusebius* has this

this Remark. (7) " By the Words *the Most* " *High*, *Moses* denotes the Father, who is " God over all; and by *the Lord*, he means " the *Logos*, who is called *Lord*, as being, " with regard to us, next to that God who " is over all. But, says he, all Nations " whom he calls the Sons of *Adam*, were, " for Reasons to us unsearchable, distribu- " ted according to the Will of the Most " High, to Governing and Guardian An- " gels, who elude our Sight. But to the " most eminent Governor, Ruler, and King " of all, as to his only Son, he allots the " Government of *Jacob*, or *Israel*." And in this Interpretation he is supported by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who says positively, that (8) *Angels were appointed by God to preside over Nations and Cities*: That (9) *they are his Ministers in the Governmeut of terrestrial Affairs*; and, in (1) particular, that

(7) *Euseb. Dem.* Evang. lib. iv. cap. 7.
(8) *Clem. Alex.* Strom. lib. vi. p. 822. Edit. Pot.
(9) Id. ibid. lib. vii. p. 839.
(1) Id. ibid. p. 832.

they

they were by his Command diſtributed among the Nations, &c.

XLVII. Whence it is manifeſt, that, according to the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, Angels were appointed to preſide over People and Nations upon Earth, and that one Angel, in particular, who is called by *Moſes* (2) *Jehovah*, and by the Septuagint is tranſlated *the Lord*, had *Iſrael* aſſigned to him by the *Moſt High*, as the Portion of his Inheritance; and therefore may very reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be the ſame Perſon with that *Firſt Prince*, mentioned by *Daniel*, whom he alſo calleth MICHAEL, *the great Prince which ſtandeth for the Children of* Iſrael; and with that Archangel with many Names, whom *Philo* calls *the Regarder of* Iſrael.

XLVIII. And what is remarkable, is this, that this Name of *Michael*, which is given by *Daniel* to this Archangel, literally

(2) See Sect. XXXVII.

ſignifies

ſignifies (3) *who is like God*; and, accordingly, *Philo* obſerves, that one of the Names belonging to this Archangel was, *the Image of God.* Which Image (4) he calleth the *Logos* and *the Second God,* and ſuppoſed Man to have been made in the Image of this Image; Becauſe, ſays he, "nothing mortal "can be formed in the Image of the Su-"preme God, the Father of all Things."

XLIX. Which *Logos,* or *Word* of God, is, in the *Book of Wiſdom,* manifeſtly ſpoken of, as the Guardian Angel of *Iſrael*; where the Author of that elegant Work, in deſcribing the (5) Angel, who was ſent to reſcue them from their *Egyptian* Bondage, by deſtroying the Firſt-born of the *Egyptians,* ſays: For (6) *while all Things were in quiet Silence, and that Night was in the Midſt of her ſwift Courſe, thine Almighty*

(3) The Word *Michael,* being derived from the three *Hebrew* Words: *Mi,* which ſignifies *who*; *Cha,* which ſignifies *ſo,* or *like,* or *the ſame*; and *El,* which ſignifies *God.*
(4) *Euſeb.* Præp. Evang. lib. vii. cap. 13.
(5) *Exod.* xxiii. 21.
(6) *Wiſd.* xviii. 13—16.

WORD

WORD *leapt down from Heaven, out of thy royal Throne, as a fierce Man of War into the Midst of a Land of Destruction, and brought thy unfeigned Commandment, as a sharp Sword, and standing up, filled all Things with Death, and it touched the Heaven, but it stood upon the Earth.* And therefore also the *Jerusalem Targum* on *Exod.* xii. 23, where it is said in the *Hebrew: And* JEHOVAH *will pass through to smite the* Egyptians, paraphrases it by saying, *And the* WORD OF JEHOVAH *shall pass through to smite the* Egyptians. Which Expression of *Memra Jehovæ*, or *Word of* Jehovah, is so favourite an Expression among all the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts on the Old Testament, that where the original Expression in the *Hebrew*, says, *Jehovah* did such or such a Thing, they commonly paraphrase it, by attributing those Operations to the *Memra*, that is, the *Logos*, or *Word of* Jehovah. Instances of which it would be endless to produce.

L. And

L. And as this Angel, whoſe Portion is *Iſrael*, is called the *Word* of God, becauſe God employeth him to carry his Word; ſo is he alſo, by the ſame Figure of Rhetoric, called *the Wiſdom of God*, becauſe he is employed by God to execute the Purpoſes of his Wiſdom. For thus the wiſe Son of *Sirach*, when ſpeaking of this Guardian Angel of *Iſrael*, by the Name of *Wiſdom*, ſays (7), *I came out of the Mouth of the Moſt High, and covered the Earth as a Cloud. I dwelt in high Places, and my Throne is in a cloudy Pillar. So the Creator of all Things gave me a Commandment, and he that* MADE *me cauſed me to reſt, and ſaid, let thy Dwelling be in* Jacob, *and thine Inheritance in* Iſrael. *He* CREATED *me from the Beginning, before the World, and I ſhall never fail. In the holy Tabernacle I ſerved him; and ſo was I eſtabliſhed in* Sion. *Likewiſe in the beloved City he gave me Reſt, and in* Jeruſalem *was*

(7) *Eccluſ.* xxiv. 1,—12.

my Power. And I took Root in an honourable People, even in the Portion of the Lord's Inheritance. I therefore being ETERNAL, *am given to all my Children which are named of him*, i. e, I am ſent to the Children of *Iſrael*, who are God's peculiar People, and are ſo named of him. See *Lev.* xxvi. 12. *Micah* iv. 5.

LI. Where it is to be obſerved, that this Being is ſpoken of, as *coming out of the Mouth* of the Moſt High, *made* and *created*; which muſt be underſtood in the ſame Senſe with thoſe Words of *Moſes*, when he deſcribes the Creation of *Light : And God ſaid, let there be Light*; *and there was Light*, Gen. i. 3. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that this Guardian Angel of *Iſrael*, whoſe *Throne* was in *the cloudy Pillar*, &c, is here declared to have been a *created* Being, in Terms as ſtrong and plain as it is in the Power of Language to expreſs. It may alſo further be remarked, that although he is poſitively ſaid to have been *made* and *created*, yet becauſe he was ſpoken into Exiſtence before

before the Sun and the Moon, thoſe Meaſures of Duration, which were given Mankind, (8) *for Signs, and for Seaſons, and for Days, and for Years*; becauſe he was *in the Beginning, before the World*, he ſtiles himſelf *eternal*. See Sect. XXXIII.

LII. And in the ſame Kind of Stile it is that *Solomon*, ſpeaking of this ſame Being, under the Denomination of *Wiſdom*, repreſents it as a ſeparate intelligent Agent, perſonally ſubſiſting with God *from Everlaſting*, becauſe it was *brought forth* before the Creation of this World. For thus, ſpeaking in the Perſon, and under the Character of *Wiſdom*, he ſaith (9), Jehovah (1) *poſſeſſed me in the Beginning of his Ways, before his Works of old. I was ſet up* FROM EVERLASTING, *from the Beginning, or ever the Earth was. When there were no Depths, I was* BROUGHT FORTH; *when there were no Fountains abounding with Water. Be-*

(8) *Gen.* i. 14.
(9) *Prov.* viii. 22.
(1) In the Septuagint it is, *The Lord created me.*

fore the Mountains were ſettled; before the Hills was I BROUGHT FORTH: *While as yet he had not made the Earth, nor the Fields, nor the higheſt Part of the Duſt of the World. When he prepared the Heavens I was there: When he ſet a Compaſs upon the Face of the Deep: When he gave to the Sea his Decree, that the Water ſhould not paſs his Commandment: When he appointed the Foundations of the Earth; then I was by him as one brought up with him: And I was always his Delight, rejoicing always before him.*

LIII. But *Philo Judæus* further obſerves, that this Archangel with many Names, whoſe Portion was *Iſrael*, was alſo called by *the Name of God.* Now let us ſee what Foundation there is for this in the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament. The Name of God, which the *Jews* never pronounced, but called it the ineffable Name, was *Jehovah*; ſo that, whenever in reading the Bible, they met this Word, inſtead thereof, they always ſaid *Adonai* or *Elohim*; and the Authors

Authors of the Septuagint Tranſlation of the Bible, who were *Jews*, when they rendered it into *Greek*, always tranſlated it by the Word Κύριος, which we in *Engliſh* render *the Lord*. Which is the Reaſon alſo, why *Philo* does not mention that Name of God by which this Archangel was denominated, but ſays only, in general, that he was called by *the Name of God*. Now the Inſtances in the Old Teſtament, where an Angel, and in particular, that Angel which acted as a Guardian Angel to the Seed of *Abraham*, and preſided over the Children of *Iſrael*, is called *Jehovah*, are very numerous.

LIV. Thus, when *Hagar* fled from the Face of her Miſtreſs, it is ſaid, that *an Angel of* Jehovah *found her in the Wilderneſs, and the Angel of* Jehovah *ſaid unto her: Return to thy Miſtreſs*. Now, though *Moſes* in this Place calls the Perſon who ſpake to *Hagar* an Angel of *Jehovah*, yet *Moſes* afterwards mentions this ſame Perſon under the direct Name of *Jehovah*: For, ſays he,

he, (2) Hagar *called the Name of* JEHOVAH *that ſpake to her, Thou God ſeeſt me.*

LV. Thus alſo it is ſaid of *Abraham*, that (3) JEHOVAH *appeared unto him in the Plains of* Mamre; *and he ſate in the Tent-door in the Heat of the Day; and he lift up his Eyes and looked, and lo, three Men ſtood by him.* Now that two of the Perſons which are here called Men, becauſe they appeared as ſuch, had each of them the Appellation of *Jehovah* given them, will appear from the Context: For when one of theſe Men enquired for *Sarah*, and ſaid, *Lo!* Sarah *thy Wife ſhall have a Son*; upon which *Sarah* laughed within herſelf: Then it is poſitively ſaid, that JEHOVAH *ſaid unto* Abraham, *why did* Sarah *laugh? Is any thing too hard for* Jehovah? And yet it is ſaid, after all this, that *the Men roſe up from thence, and looked towards* Sodom; *and* Abraham *went with them to bring them on the Way: And* JEHOVAH *ſaid, ſhall I*

(2) *Gen.* xvi. 7,—13.
(3) Gen. xviii. 1, *&c.*

hide

hide from Abraham *that thing which I do?* And when *two of the Men* had turned their Faces from thence, and went towards *Sodom*; it is ſaid, Abraham *ſtood yet before* Jehovah. And when *Abraham* was pleading in Favour of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, he ſaid, among other Things, to this *Jehovah* with whom he was converſing, *ſhall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?* And when the Diſcourſe was ended, *Moſes* ſays, that Jehovah *went his Way, as ſoon as he had left communicating with* Abraham, *and* Abraham *returned to his Place.* Whence it is manifeſt beyond all Doubt, that one of theſe three Men who was left alone in Converſation with *Abraham,* is called *Jehovah,* and *the Judge of all the Earth.*

LVI. And when the two Men, which had left *Abraham* and *Jehovah* converſing together, came to *Sodom,* it is ſaid, (4) *And there came two* Angels *to* Sodom *at Even. And when the Morning aroſe, then*

(4) *Gen.* xix. 1, *&c.*

the

the ANGELS *haſtened* Lot. *And he ſaid*, that is, one of the Angels ſaid, *Eſcape for thy Life; for I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither. And the Sun was riſen upon the Earth, when* Lot *entered into* Zoar. *Then* JEHOVAH *rained upon* Sodom *and upon* Gomorrah *Brimſtone and Fire from* JEHOVAH *out of Heaven.* Whence it is plain, that one of theſe two Angels is here alſo dignified with the Appellation of *Jehovah*, and yet is repreſented as acting under the Influence of another *Jehovah* in Heaven. So that it is manifeſt, here are two diſtinct Perſons, or Angels, which appeared upon Earth, to each of which is given the Appellation of *Jehovah*.

LVII. Again, when *Jacob* lived with his Father *Laban*, and was giving an Account to his Wives of their Father's Conduct and Behaviour towards him, he ſays, (5) *And the Angel of God ſpake to me in a Dream, ſaying*, Jacob; *and I ſaid, here am I; and he*

(5) *Gen.* xxiv. 47. xxxi. 11.

ſaid,

ſaid, I am the God of Bethel, *where thou anointedſt the Pillar and vowed a Vow unto me.* Now the Vow which *Jacob* made at *Bethel* was this, (6) *If God be with me, and will keep me in this Way, that I go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on; ſo that I come again to my Father's Houſe in Peace: Then ſhall* JEHOVAH *be my God.* Whence it is plain, that an Angel of God, ſpeaking to *Jacob*, calls himſelf (7) *Jehovah* the *God of* Bethel.

LVIII. Thus alſo we find it ſaid, that (8) *the* ANGEL OF JEHOVAH *appeared unto* Moſes, *in a Flame of Fire out of the Buſh. And* Moſes *ſaid, I will now turn aſide, and ſee this great Sight, why the Buſh is not burnt. And when* JEHOVAH *ſaw that he had turned aſide to ſee, God called unto him out of the Midſt of the Buſh. Moreover,* he ſaid, *I am the God of thy Fathers, the*

(6) *Gen.* xxviii. 20, 21.
(7) See alſo *Gen.* xxxii. 24, *&c*; and compare it with *Hoſea* xii. 4, 5.
(8) *Exod.* iii. 2, 6. *Acts* vii. 30, 35.

God of Abraham, *the God of* Isaac, *and the God of* Jacob. *And* Moses *hid his Face; for he was afraid to look upon God.* Where it is manifest, that an *Angel* is called by *Moses, Jehovah*; and that the Angel calls himself, the God of *Abraham*, the God of *Isaac*, and the God of *Jacob*.

LIX. Thus also, when the Children of *Israel* were marching towards the *Red-Sea*, it is said, that (9) *the* ANGEL *of God, which went before the Camp of* Israel, *removed and went behind them, and the Pillar of the Cloud went from before their Face, and stood behind them.* And yet, in another Place, it is said, that (1) JEHOVAH *went before them by Day in a Pillar of a Cloud, to lead them the Way; and by Night in a Pillar of Fire, to give them Light.*

LX. It is also said, when *Moses* went up to Mount *Sinai*, that (2) JEHOVAH *called un-*

(9) *Exod.* xiv. 19.
(1) *Exod.* xiii. 21.
(2) *Exod.* xix. 3, *&c.*

to

to him out of the Mountain. And again, that Moſes *came and called for the Elders of the People, and laid before their Faces all theſe Words which* JEHOVAH *commanded him.* And that Moſes *returned all the Words of the People of* Iſrael *unto* JEHOVAH. That JEHOVAH *ſaid again unto* Moſes, *go unto the People, and ſanctify them to-Day and to-Morrow, and be ready againſt the third Day: For the third Day* JEHOVAH *will come down, in the Sight of all the People, upon Mount* Sinai. *And the third Day, Mount* Sinai *was altogether on a Smoke, becauſe* JEHOVAH *deſcended upon it in Fire.* — *And* JEHOVAH *came down upon Mount* Sinai. — *And* JEHOVAH *called up* Moſes *unto the Top of the Mount. And God ſpake all theſe Words, ſaying, I am* JEHOVAH *thy God, which brought thee out of the Land of* Egypt, *&c.* And yet St. *Stephen,* who was a *Jew,* affirms, that (3) *the Law* was given *by the Diſpoſition of* ANGELS: And that it was *an* ANGEL *that ſpake to* Moſes

(3) *Acts* vii. 33, 38.

from Mount Sinai, *and with our Fathers, who received the lively Oracles to give unto us.* And St. *Paul* says, that (4) *the Law was ordained of* ANGELS. And, in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, he calls it, (5) *the Word spoken of* ANGELS.

LXI. It is likewise to be observed, that, when (6) *Moses* and *Aaron*, and *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and seventy of the Elders of *Israel*, went up into the Mount, by the Command of God, it is said, *They saw the God of* Israel ;—*also they saw God, and did eat and drink :* That is, they saw the God of *Israel*, and did live to eat and drink. Whereas, when *Moses* afterwards applied to God, and begged it of him, as a Favour, that he might see his Glory, or Face, that he might know him ; (7) JEHOVAH *said unto him, thou canst not see my Face ; for there shall no Man see me, and*

(4) *Gal.* iii. 9.
(5) *Heb.* ii. 2.
(6) *Exod.* xxiv. 10, *&c.*
(7) *Exod.* xxxiii. 17, *&c.*

live.

live. But, says he to *Moses, I will make all my Goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the Name of* JEHOVAH *before thee: And it shall come to pass, while my Glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a Clift of the Rock, and will cover thee with my Hand while I pass by: And I will take away mine Hand, and thou shalt see what* (8) *follows me; but my Face shall not be seen.* And accordingly, when *Moses* returned to the Mount, it is said, that JEHOVAH *descended in the Cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the Name of* JEHOVAH. *And* JEHOVAH *passed by before him and proclaimed* JEHOVAH, JEHOVAH *God, merciful and gracious,* &c. *And* Moses *made haste, and bowed his Head and worshipped.*

(8) The Original, which in our Translation, we render *Back-Parts,* properly signifies any Thing or Person that is behind or followeth another. In which Sense it is used *Gen.* xviii. 10. When *Moses* saith, *and* Sarah *heard it in the Tent-Door, which was* BEHIND *him.* So also, *Joshua* vi. 13. *And the Rearward followed* AFTER *the Ark.* So also, 2 *Sam.* x. 9. *When* Joab *saw that the Front of the Battle was against him before and* BEHIND. See also 2 *Chron.* xiii. 14, *&c. &c.*

LXII. Whence

LXII. Whence it is manifeſt, that this *Jehovah*, whom *Moſes* made haſte to worſhip, could not be that *Jehovah*, whoſe Face could not be ſeen, whom no Man could ſee and live; but the *Jehovah who followed* the Inviſible *Jehovah*, and was probably the ſame Perſon with that God of *Iſrael*, who was ſeen by *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and the ſeventy Elders of *Iſrael:* And who is called by God, in another Place, *the Similitude*, or Image, *of* Jehovah. For, ſays *Jehovah* unto the People of *Iſrael*, *with my Servant* Moſes *will I ſpeak Mouth to Mouth*; and (9) *the Similitude of* Jehovah *ſhall he behold.*

LXIII. Now this *Jehovah*, or this Similitude, Image, or Repreſentative of *Jehovah*, which *Moſes* beheld, is manifeſtly the ſame Perſon with that Guardian Angel of *Iſrael*, who had ſo often appeared already, and ſpoken to *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *Moſes*,

(9) *Numb.* xii. 7, 8.

in

in the Name and Person of *Jehovah*; because it was on this very Account that *Moses* desired of God to shew him his Glory, that he might know the Person who was to conduct the *Israelites* into the promised Land. For thus it is that *Moses* introduceth his Request. (1) *And* Moses *said unto* JEHOVAH, *see thou sayest unto me, bring up this People: And thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me.— Now therefore I pray thee, if I have found Grace in thy Sight, shew me now* (2) THY WAY; *that I may know thee: And consider that this Nation is thy People. And* JEHOVAH *said, I will do this Thing that thou hast spoken,* &c. *And he said, thou canst not see*

(1) *Exod.* xxxlii. 12, *&c.*

(2) The original Word דרך is used in a great Variety of Senses in the Old Testament; the Septuagint Version renders it in this Place Σεαυτόν, *thyself.* And in the same Sense it probably is, that *David*, praying to *Jehovah*, says, *God be merciful unto us, and bless us; and cause thy Face to shine upon us: That* THY WAY (or Thou) *may be known upon Earth, thy saving Health among all Nations*, Psal. lxvii. 2. And in *Psal.* lxxvii. 13. He says, THY WAY, *O God*, (or Thou) *is in the Sanctuary.* And hence probably it is, that the Prophet *Amos* calls the God or Idol of *Beersheba, the Way of* Beersheba, *Am.* viii. 14.

my

my Face; for there shall no Man see my Face and live. But it shall come to pass, while my Glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a Clift of the Rock; and will cover thee with mine Hand, while I pass by; and I will take away mine Hand, and thou shalt see what followeth me: But my Face shall not be seen, &c.

LXIV. So that this Being which followed *Jehovah*, this *Way*, this *Glory* of *Jehovah*, whom the invisible *Jehovah* proclaimed to be *Jehovah* as well as himself, is manifestly that Angel, who was appointed by God to conduct the *Israelites* into the promised Land. And therefore God saith to *Moses*, in another Place, (3) *Behold I send an Angel before thee to keep thee in the Way, and to bring thee into the Place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your Transgressions*; FOR MY NAME IS IN HIM. That is, behold I send an

(3) *Exod.* xxiii. 20, 21.

Angel

Angel before thee acting in my Stead, and by my Authority; beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not, for *I have proclaimed him* Jehovah; and, as he acts by my Authority, and my Power is delegated unto him, as my *Similitude*, Image, or Representative, he will not pardon your Transgressions, for my Name of *Jehovah* is in him.

LXV. And hence it comes to pass, that this Second *Jehovah* is in a particular Manner distinguished by the Appellation of the *God of* Israel, the *Jehovah* of *Zion*, and the *Jehovah* of the *Jews*. For thus the Prophet *Hosea*, speaking by Authority from God the great *Jehovah* saith, (4) *But I will have Mercy on the House of* Judah, and will save them by JEHOVAH THEIR GOD. And *Zechariah* the Prophet, speaking of the same People, saith, (5) *I will strengthen them in* JEHOVAH, *and they shall walk up and down* IN

(4) *Hos.* i. 7.
(5) *Zech.* x. 12.

HIS NAME, *ſaith* Jehovah. Not in my Name, but in his Name, ſaith the inviſible *Jehovah*; that is, in the Name of *the God of* Iſrael, whom they had ſeen. And, in another Place, the ſame Prophet ſaith, (6) *Sing and rejoice, O Daughters of* Zion; *for, lo, I come, and I will dwell in the Midſt of thee, ſaith* JEHOVAH: *And many Nations ſhall be joined to* JEHOVAH *in that Day, and ſhall be my People: And I will dwell in the Midſt of thee, and thou ſhalt know that the* JEHOVAH OF HOSTS *hath ſent me unto thee.* Where the *Jehovah of Zion* is plainly diſtinguiſhed from the *Jehovah of Hoſts*, and acknowledgeth himſelf to be ſent by him.

LXVI. The only Difficulty in this Caſe is this, that the *Jehovah* of *Zion*, though in this one Place he acknowledgeth himſelf to be ſent by the *Jehovah of Hoſts*, yet in other Places this *Jehovah of Zion*, or the Angel which appeared unto *Abraham*,

(6) *Zech.* ii. 10, 11.

and

and *Jacob*, and *Moses*, does not always declare that he is deputed, and speaks by the delegated Authority of the *Jehovah* of Hosts; which is the general Meaning of the Phrase of speaking *in the Name* of any one; but actually and literally speaks in his own Name, and calls himself *Jehovah*, and saith, *I am the God of* Abraham; and *I am the God of* Bethel; and *I brought thee out of the Land of* Egypt, *&c*; and positively prohibits *Moses* and the Children of *Israel* from worshipping any other God but himself: *Thou*, says he, *shalt have none other Gods before me*. Thereby seeming to forbid even the Worship of the Supreme *Jehovah*, the *Jehovah of Hosts*.

LXVII. In Answer to which it is to be observed, that the *Hebrews* were far from being explicit and accurate in their Style, but left great Room for the (7) Imagina-

(7) Any one that does but open the *English* Bible, and observe the Number of Words that are inserted in *Italic* Characters, none of which are in the Original, will immediately perceive the Truth of this Assertion.

tion of the Reader to ſupply, and fill up the Deficiencies; and that it was very cuſtomary for one Perſon to ſpeak in the Name and Character of another Perſon, without making the leaſt Mention of the other Perſon, in whoſe Name the Words were ſpoken. Thus it is allowed by the univerſal Conſent of all Antiquity, as well *Jews* as *Chriſtians*, that in the ſecond Pſalm, *David* is there ſpeaking of the *Meſſiah*, and yet the whole Pſalm is delivered in the Perſon and Character of *David* himſelf. *Why*, ſays he, *do the* Heathen *rage, and the People imagine a vain Thing. The Kings of the Earth ſet themſelves, and the Rulers take Council together againſt* JEHOVAH, *and againſt his anointed. He that ſitteth in Heaven ſhall laugh*; JEHOVAH *ſhall have them in Deriſion. Then ſhall he ſpeak unto them in his Wrath, and vex them in his ſore Diſpleaſure. Yet have I ſet my King upon my holy Hill of* Sion. *I will declare the Decree*, JEHOVAH *hath ſaid unto me, Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee.*

thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen *for thine Inheritance, and the uttermost Parts of the Earth for thy Possession.*

LXVIII. Now it is plain, that the Decree here spoken of, though it was delivered unto *David*, yet the Purport thereof was not promised to *David*, but to some one of the Seed of *David*, 2 *Sam.* vii. 12, 14, 16, of whom God said, *I will be his Father, and he shall be my Son.* And yet *David* saith, when speaking of this Decree: *I will declare the Decree,* JEHOVAH *hath said unto* ME, THOU *art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee.* And what is further remarkable, is, that it was not *Jehovah*, but *Nathan* the Prophet, who spake to *David* by Authority from God.

LXIX. And indeed nothing is more common than for Prophets and Angels to speak authoritatively in their own Name, without introducing their Speech with an explanatory Preface,

Preface, mentioning the Perſon in whoſe Name they ſpeak. Thus the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſaith, (8) *The Word that* Iſaiah *the Son of* Amos *ſaw concerning* Judah *and* Jeruſalem — (9) *For behold the Lord, the* JEHOVAH OF HOSTS *doth take away from* Jeruſalem *and from* Judah *the Stay and the Staff*, &c.—And then ſome Verſes afterwards, he ſaith, *And I will give Children to be their Princes, and Babes ſhall rule over them*, &c. Where it is manifeſt, that the Prophet ſpeaks in this laſt Place in the firſt Perſon, in his own Name, without inſerting the Words, and *Jehovah* ſaid unto me, which ſeem neceſſary to have been inſerted, in order to make his Words intelligible, if he intended they ſhould be underſtood of *Jehovah*, and not of himſelf; but that he knew very well the *Jews* would, of themſelves, ſupply the Deficiency.

(8) *Iſai* ii. 1.
(9) *Iſai* iii. 1,—4.

LXX. In

LXX. In like Manner, in the Revelation of St. *John*, though the Apoſtle declares, that it was delivered to him by an Angel, and calls it (1) *The Revelation of* JESUS CHRIST, *which* GOD *gave unto him, to ſhew unto his Servants Things which muſt ſhortly come to paſs; and he ſent and ſignified it by his* ANGEL *unto his Servant* John: Yet through the whole Book this Angel ſpeaks indifferently in the firſt Perſon, either when he ſpeaks in the Name of God the Father, or in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, or in his own Name. Thus, *Rev.* i. 10. St. *John* ſays, *I was in the Spirit on the* Lord's-Day, *and heard behind me a great Voice, as of a Trumpet, ſaying, I am* Alpha *and* Omega, *the firſt and the laſt*, &c. Now this Voice was undoubtedly the Voice of the Angel, who was ſent to teſtify unto him; and yet he ſpeaks in the firſt Perſon, ſaying, I *am* Alpha *and* Omega: And Verſe 13, when he turned to ſee the

(1) *Rev.* i. 1.

Voice

Voice that ſpake with him, he ſays, (2) *And when I ſaw him, I fell at his Feet as dead: And he laid his Right-hand upon me, ſaying unto me, Fear not: I am the Firſt and the Laſt; I am he that liveth and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore.* Where it is manifeſt that this Angel ſpeaks at once both in the Name of God the Father, and of God the Son; becauſe he calls himſelf *Alpha* and *Omega*, and yet declares he was once *dead*. And yet, Chapter iii. 14, This ſame Angel ſpeaks only in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſaying, *Theſe Things ſaith the* Amen, *the faithful and true Witneſs*, THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION OF GOD: Which is the Character given by St. *Paul* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who ſtiles him (3) *the Firſt-born of the whole Creation.*

LXXI. However, towards the Cloſe of the whole Revelation, St. *John* ſays, (4)

(2) *Rev.* i. 17.

(3) Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, *i. e.* The Firſt-born of the whole Creation; and not as we tranſlate it, *the Firſt-born of every Creature*, Col. i. 15.

(4) *Rev.* xxii. 8, &c.

I John

I John *saw these Things and heard them, and when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the Feet of the Angel which shewed me these Things. Then saith he unto me, see thou do it not; for I am thy Fellow-Servant, and of thy Brethren the Prophets, and of them which keep the Sayings of this Book: Worship God. And he saith unto me, Seal not the Sayings of the Prophecy of this Book; for the Time is at Hand.—And behold I come quickly; and my Reward is with me, to give to every Man according as his Works shall be. I am* Alpha *and* Omega, *the Beginning and the End; the First and the Last.— I* Jesus *have sent mine Angel to testify unto you these Things in the Churches. I am the Root and the Offspring of* David, *and the bright and the Morning-Star.*

LXXII. Where it is manifest, that this *Angel* who had refused Worship and Adoration, and had declared himself to be a created Being, the Fellow-Servant of *John*, and of his Brethren the Prophets;

yet becauſe he was ſent by *Jeſus* to teſtify that Revelation, (5) which was given unto *Jeſus* by *God*, he therefore ſpeaks indifferently in the firſt Perſon, *I*, either when he ſpeaks in his own Perſon, in the Perſon of *Jeſus*, or in the Perſon of God the Father. So that it ſhould ſeem no extraordinary thing to find that exalted *Angel* whom God had proclaimed *Jehovah*, ſpeaking alſo in the firſt Perſon, and ſaying, *I am that am*, or, I am the God of *Abraham*, or the God of *Bethel*, &c.

LXXIII. This however is manifeſt from the Whole taken together, that the *Jews* had great Foundation in the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament for their Opinion of a Δεύτερος θεός, a Second or Secondary God, that is, one who acted by a deputed Power from the Supreme God; which *Philo* calls *the Archangel with many Names*: For it appears he was therein called, *The great Prince which ſtandeth for the Children of*

(5) *Rev.* i. 1.

Iſrael;

Israel; *The Word* of God; *The Wisdom* of God; *The Similitude*, or Image, of God; and *Jehovah*, or *the Name* of God.

LXXIV. Now then let us see what Foundation there is in the Scriptures of the Old Testament for the Opinion of a third Person, whom the *Jews* Ἀποθεάζουσιν, *paid divine Honours to.* And here it may be observed, that it hath been already shewed, that two of the Angels, which appeared to *Abraham* in the Similitude of Men, were each called by the Name of *Jehovah:* (6) For as the one which remained conversing with *Abraham*, while the other two went towards *Sodom*, was called *Jehovah*, so also is one of the two Angels which went to destroy *Sodom*, called *Jehovah* also; For, says *Moses*, Jehovah *rained upon* Sodom *and* Gomorrah *Brimstone and Fire from* Jehovah *out of Heaven.*

(6) See Sect. LVI.

LXXV. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that in the Prophecy of (7) *Zechariah*, that Prophet, in declaring a Viſion which he had ſeen of a Candleſtick, with two Olive-Trees by it, ſays, that an *Angel* talked with him, and *Zechariah* ſaid unto him, *What be theſe two Olive-Trees upon the right Side of the Candleſtick and upon the left Side thereof? And I anſwered again and ſaid unto him, what be theſe two Olive-Branches, which through the golden Pipes, empty the golden Oil out of themſelves? And he anſwered me and ſaid, Theſe are the* TWO ANOINTED ONES, THAT STAND *by the Lord of the whole Earth.*

LXXVI. Now it is manifeſt, that that Angel, whoſe *Portion is* Iſrael, is by the Prophet *Iſaiah* called the Angel of God's Preſence. For, ſays that Prophet, (8) *I will mention the loving Kindneſs of* JE-

(7) *Zech.* iv. 1, &c.
(8) *Iſai.* lxiii. 7, 9.

HOVAH,

HOVAH, *and his great Goodneſs towards the Houſe of* Iſrael. — *In all their Afflictions he was afflicted, and the* ANGEL OF HIS PRESENCE *ſaved them.* And as this Angel, or *great Prince which ſtandeth for the Children of* Iſrael, is by the Prophet *Daniel* diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Michael*; ſo it may be further proper to take Notice, that there is another Angel named by a particular Name in the Scriptures of old Teſtament, who is called (9) *Gabriel*; which *Gabriel*, according to St. (1) *Luke*, called himſelf alſo *the Angel that ſtandeth in the Preſence of God.* So that here are plainly two Angels, one of which, for Diſtinction-ſake, is called *Michael*, and the other *Gabriel*, which are deſcribed as ſtanding in the Preſence of God, or, as *Zechariah* expreſſeth it, *which ſtand by the Lord of the whole Earth.* As a Type of which, according to (2) *Philo Judæus*, it was,

(9) As *Michael* ſignifies the *Similitude of God*; ſo *Gabriel* ſignifies, the *Strength*, or *Power of God.*

(1) *Luk.* i. 19.

(2) *Phil.* Vit. *Moſis*, lib. iii. p. 669. Edit. *Franc.* 1691.

that

that at the Building of the Tabernacle, God directed only two *Cherubim* to be placed over the *Mercy-Seat* in the *Holy of Holies.*

LXXVII. And as it appears, that the Archangel *Michael* is that Person who is called the *Second Essence* by the *Jews*, so upon Enquiry, we shall find that the Angel *Gabriel* has a very good Title towards being considered as that *Third Essence*, or Being, to which the *Jews* paid divine Honours. For the Opinion of the *Jews*, with Regard to this Third Being, was, (3) that " after " the Second Essence comes the *Holy Spirit* " which they place in this royal Dignity, " and Degree of Principality, because it is " the Will of the great Architect to ap- " point him to the Principality of those in- " ferior Beings, who may want his Assis- " tance. Who therefore, obtaining the " third Place, confers on those, who are " inferior to him, those excellent Virtues " which he himself received from ano-

(3) *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. lib. vii. cap. 15.

" ther,

" ther, to wit, from the divine *Logos*, his " Better and Superior, whom we before " ſaid was the Second to the ſupreme, " unbegotten and almighty God." So ſays *Euſebius*, " All the *Hebrew* Divines, after " that God, who is over all, and after his " firſt-born Wiſdom, pay divine Worſhip " to the third and holy Power, which they " call the holy Spirit, by which they them- " ſelves are illuminated when they are di- " vinely inſpired."

LXXVIII. Now it is manifeſt, that the Angel *Gabriel* was employed in the Adminiſtration of this Office, that is, in the illuminating of thoſe who were divinely inſpired; which the Prophet *Zechariah* metaphorically expreſſeth, by *emptying through golden Pipes, the golden Oyl out of themſelves.* Since it was undoubtedly for this Purpoſe that *Gabriel* was ſent to the Prophet (4) *Daniel*, to *make him underſtand the Viſion:* And to *give him Skill and Underſtanding.* And

(4) *Dan.* viii. 16. ix. 21, 22.

therefore,

therefore, it is probable, that this Angel *Gabriel* was that *holy Spirit* who was employed by God in illuminating the reſt of the Prophets of Old, and who is ſo often mentioned in the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, under the Name of *the holy Spirit*, the *Spirit of God*, or the *Spirit of* Jehovah. For thus the Prophet (5) *Nehemiah* poſitively ſaith, that *Jehovah* teſtified againſt the Wicked *by his Spirit in his Prophets*. And the Prophet (6) *Zechariah* ſaith, *They made their Hearts as an Adamant Stone, leſt they ſhould hear the Law, and the Words which the* JEHOVAH OF HOSTS HATH SENT BY HIS SPIRIT *in the former Prophets*.

LXXIX. Which Words plainly prove this Spirit to have been an intelligent Agent, ſeparate and diſtinct from God, becauſe he was *ſent* by him. For though Men may be ſaid to be inſpired, or actuated, by the Spirit of God, when God is pleaſed to in-

(5) *Nehem.* ix. 63.
(6) *Zech.* vii. 12.

ſpire

ſpire or influence them by Virtue of his own almighty Power, without deputing any other Spirit to do it: Yet it is manifeſt that God cannot *ſend* himſelf; becauſe thoſe Terms imply a Contradiction. And therefore the Prophet *Iſaiah* is ſaid to have been *ſent* both by God and his Spirit. For, ſays he, (7) *and now Jehovah God, and his Spirit hath ſent me.* And in the Books of (8) *Judges* and *Samuel*, it is not ſaid, that it was *Jehovah*, but the *Spirit of Jehovah*, which *came upon* Othoniel, *and* Gideon, *and* Jeptha, *and* Sampſon, *and* Saul, *and* David, to aſſiſt them in the Government of *Iſrael*, and the Execution of their Office. And the holy (9) *David*, in the penitential Pſalm which he compoſed, on his Tranſgreſſion with *Bathſheba*, beggs of Almighty God, *not to take his* HOLY SPIRIT *from him*; *but*, ſays he,

(7) *Iſai.* xlviii. 16.
(8) See *Judg.* iii. 10. vi. 34. xi. 29. xiii. 25. 1 *Sam.* x. 6. xvi. 13.
(9) *Pſal.* li. 11, 12, 13.

restore me unto the Joy of thy Salvation, and uphold me with thy FREE SPIRIT.

LXXX. And therefore this holy Spirit is sometimes said to enter into Men when it inspired them. For thus the Prophet *Ezekiel* declares, that the Spirit (1) *entered into him when it spake unto him.* And the Prophet *Isaiah*, speaking of *Moses*, saith, that (2) *God put his holy Spirit within him.* Which likewise shews this *Spirit* to have been a separate intelligent Agent, distinct from God himself, because it is said, that it was *God* who PUT *this holy Spirit within him.*

LXXXI. And as it pleased God that this *holy Spirit* should sometimes manifest its Abode in particular People by some outward and visible Token for the Sake of the By-Standers, that they might be obedient unto those Persons upon whom it abode;

(1) *Ezek.* ii. 2. iii. 24.
(2) *Isai.* vi. 3.

therefore

therefore it is, in the Language of the holy Scriptures, ſometimes ſaid to *reſt upon* thoſe on whom it was conferred. Thus, when God ordered *Moſes* to appoint ſeventy Elders, who ſhould aſſiſt him in the Diſtribution of Juſtice, it is ſaid, that (3) *Jehovah came down in a Cloud, and ſpake unto him, and took of the Spirit that was* UPON HIM, *and gave it to the ſeventy Elders; and it came to paſs, that when* THE SPIRIT RESTED UPON THEM, *they prophesied and did not ceaſe.*

LXXXII. Now it is obſerved of *Moſes*, that when he came the laſt Time down from Mount *Sinai*, (4) *the Skin of his Face ſhone*, ſo that the People were afraid to come nigh him. It is therefore probable that this Manifeſtation of the *Spirit* which was conferred on *Moſes*, and from him divided among the ſeventy Elders, was a kind of lucid ſhining Appearance which reſted upon them as an outward and viſible

(3) *Numb.* xi. 16, 25.
(4) *Exod.* xxxiv. 29.

Token of the inward Assistance and Illumination of the *Holy Spirit*. And therefore God also commanded *Moses*, when he appointed *Joshua* for his Successor, to (5) *take* Joshua *the Son of* Nun, and says he, *thou shall lay some of thine Honour* UPON HIM, *that all the Congregation of the Children of* Israel *may be obedient*: In like Manner, when *Elisha* was appointed Successor to *Elijah*, it is said, *the Spirit of* Elijah, or the Spirit which was on *Elijah doth* REST ON Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves before him.

LXXXIII. But when this *Holy Spirit* was pleased to make its Appearance, either in the Figure and Form of an Angel or Man, the *Jews* then Ἀποθεάζουσιν, paid divine Honours to it: As *Daniel* did to the Angel (6) *Gabriel*, when it appeared unto him in the Form of a Man; for saith he, (7) *I was afraid and fell upon my Face*: As *Ezekiel*

(5) *Num* xxvii. 20.
(6) *Dan.* viii. 16. ix. 21.
(7) *Dan.* viii. 17.

alſo did to the (8) *holy Spirit*, when it appeared unto him in (9) *the Likeneſs of the Glory of* Jehovah; for ſays he, *When* (1) *I ſaw it I fell upon my Face.* Which was the uſual Method of Proſtration both with (2) him, and all the ancient (3) Prophets and Patriarchs, whenever they had any earneſt Requeſt to make to almighty God; or when they apprehended that an Angel ſent from God was ſpeaking to them.

LXXXIV. And indeed it ſeems but reaſonable, that beſide the Reſpect which is due to this *holy Spirit* on Account of the Excellency of its own Nature, there ſhould be a further Degree of Reverence and Regard paid unto him, in Proportion to the Degree of Power or Authority over us, which is committed unto him from God: Since it is but juſt, that whatever Degree of

(8) *Ezek.* ii. 2. iii. 24.
(9) *Ezek.* i. 28.
(1) *Ezek.* i. 28. iii. 3. xliii. 3, 4. xliv. 4.
(2) *Ezek.* ix. 8. xi. 13.
(3) *Gen.* xvii. 3. *Num.* xvi. 22. xxii. 31. *Joſh.* v. 14. See alſo *Mat.* xxvi. 39. *Mar.* xiv. 35. Though he firſt kneeled down, *Luke* xxii. 41.

Superiority

Superiority the Almighty is pleaſed to give to any one Being over others, there ſhould be a ſuitable Degree of Submiſſion and Obedience paid to that Being, in Proportion to the Extent of Authority delegated from God.

LXXXV. Not that Angels as Angels have any Right to Worſhip or Adoration upon their own Account; and therefore all (4) *voluntary Humility and Worſhip* paid, even to the higheſt Angel, out of our own Head, or without a Commiſſion from God for ſo doing, would be Idolatry: Which was the Reaſon why that Angel who was ſent from God to ſhew the Revelation to St. *John*, reprimanded the Apoſtle, when he (5) *fell down to* WORSHIP *before the Feet of the Angel which ſhewed him theſe things*, ſaying, *ſee thou do it not.——Worſhip God.* Becauſe St. *John* ſeems to have paid this *Worſhip* to the Angel on his own Account, without any Regard to the Au-

(4) *Col.* ii. 18.
(5) *Rev.* xxii. 8.

thority

thority by which he was ſent; which would have been Idolatry. But when Angels are commiſſioned from God, with any Degree of Power over us, and are ſent in his Name; then it cannot be Idolatry, to pay them ſuch a Degree of Adoration, as is proportionate to the Authority with which they are inveſted: Becauſe ſuch Adoration or Worſhip, not being paid them on their own Account, but on account of the Authority which hath been delegated unto them, terminates in the one only and ſupreme God. See Sect. 113, 114.

LXXXVI. Which Method of Reaſoning may be purſued from the higheſt Degree of Worſhip, payable to the moſt perfect Being next to God, acting with the higheſt Authority, which God is pleaſed to communicate or delegate, down to the loweſt Degree of deference or Reſpect, which Reaſon inſtructs us, is proper to pay to ſome of our own Fellow-Creatures, for the Preſervation of a due Subordination in Society: Since in this

are

this Senſe, it is, that (6) *not only the Powers which be ordained of God*; but alſo that thoſe Prophets and Judges of *Iſrael* (7) *to whom the Word of God came*, are called *Gods*; becauſe they ſpoke by his Authority and acted in his ſtead.

LXXXVII. Which Doctrine of the *Jews* with Regard to God the Father, God the Son, and God the holy Spirit, ſeems therefore not only to be ſupported by the Doctrine of the Old Teſtament, but alſo reconcilable to Reaſon; ſince if we do but reflect on the immenſe Diſtance there is between the imperfect State of human Beings, and the infinite Perfection of Almighty God, we cannot but think that God ſhould chuſe to govern this Univerſe by a gradual Subordination of Beings, one ſuperior to another; rather than to be the ſole Director or Governor of every the moſt minute Affair: Not that ſuch a Government would

(6) *Rom.* xiii. 1.
(7) See *Exod.* xxii. 18. *Pſ.* lxxxii. 1, 2, 6. *John* x. 34, 35.

be

be troublesome to God, or that he would be unable to perform it, or that God can possibly divest himself of the supreme Authority, universal Inspection, and general Superintendency even of the minutest Transaction in the whole Creation: But because it seems more consistent with the divine Goodness and Wisdom, to employ the various Works of his Hands, in the Exercise of those Powers and Faculties with which he hath endowed them; rather than personally and immediately to interpose in the Conduct of those Transactions, for which he hath created Numbers of Beings furnished with Abilities sufficient to perform.

LXXXVIII. It is likewise reasonable to believe that the same Method of Government, which God hath ordained in this sublunary Globe, is carried on by a Kind of *Analogy* through the whole Creation. And that as the great Creator hath been pleased to constitute this World in such a Manner, as to require the Authority of some Persons presiding over others, in Families, in Towns,

in Cities, in Provinces, in Kingdoms, in Empires; ſo probably in the great Expanſe of Spirits, there are Degrees of Superiority analogous to theſe ſublunary Diſpoſitions; which we have no better Method of expreſſing, than by calling them in Alluſion to the Things which we do know, (8) *Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers.*

LXXXIX. And as this Doctrine is reconcilable with the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, the Sentiments of the *Jewiſh* Divines, and with Reaſon; ſo is it alſo with the Scriptures of the New Teſtament. For ſays St. *Paul*; (9) *Though there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven or Earth, (for there be Gods many and Lords many) yet to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all Things, and we in him; and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all Things, and we by him.* That is, there is but one ſupreme God, in Compariſon of whom

(8) *Col.* i. 16.
(9) *Cor.* viii. 5, 6.

there

there is (1) *none other but he*; and with Regard to whom Jesus the Christ is only to be called *Lord* and not God: The Father having *given him a Name that is above every* other *Name, that every Tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is* LORD *to the Glory of God the Father*. Phil. ii. 9, 11.

XC. Which God the Father, as he is described by *Moses* under the Character of that God, (2) *whose Face cannot be seen; for no Man can see him and live*; so also St. *Paul* characterises him as that God, who is (3) *the blessed and* ONLY *Potentate, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords*, WHO ONLY *hath Immortality, dwelling in the Light which no Man can approach unto*, WHOM NO MAN HATH OR CAN SEE. And St. *John* says, (4) *No Man hath seen God any Time*. Which *one, only, invisible* God cannot therefore possibly be the same

(1) *Mar.* xii. 32.
(2) *Exod.* xxxiii. 20, 23.
(3) 1 *Tim.* vi. 15, 16.
(4) *John* i. 18. vi. 46. 1 *John* iv. 12.

with that *God* who (5) *was manifested in the Flesh.*

XCI. Whence it appears, that here is a Distinction made by the Apostles between the Divinity of God the Father and of God the Son: And that although the Term of *God*, as when we say, there are Gods many, may be attributed to the Son, yet that, strictly speaking, as when we say there is but one God, this Appellation is only to be attributed to God the Father; and accordingly the *Nicene* Creed, as all the ancient Creeds did, begins with saying, *I believe in one God the Father Almighty*, &c. And the Reason assigned for this Distinction by St. *Paul* is, because God the Father is alone to be considered as *the* (6) *first Cause*; for, says he, *there is one God the Father*, OF WHOM ARE ALL THINGS: and therefore God the Father is by the Son himself stiled (7) *the only true God.* For, says he, when speaking

(5) 1 *Tim.* iii. 16.
(6) See Sect. 3.
(8) *John* xvii. 3.

of

of the Father, *this is eternal Life, that they may know* THEE THE ONLY TRUE GOD, *and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.*

XCII. As therefore the first Self-existent Cause of whom are all Things, can alone be properly called God, when the Title of God is given in the Scriptures to any other Being but the Father, we are to understand this, only as expressive of some God-like Power, which hath been given or communicated to that Being by God the Father. And accordingly *Jehovah* said unto *Moses*, when he sent him to *Pharaoh* and communicated to him the Power of working Miracles, (8) *Thou shalt be to him instead of God:* Which he thus expresseth in another Place, (9) *see I have made thee a God to* Pharaoh. When all Power therefore in Heaven and Earth was given to the Son, he was made a God to those Beings over whom that Power was given, that is, over

(8) *Exod.* iv. 16.
(9) *Exod.* xvii. 1.

those

thoſe Beings which inhabit this Heaven and this Earth, and over thoſe only, ſince it is manifeſt at the ſame Time, that he muſt be excepted who did give this Power unto him; and therefore St. *Paul* poſitively declares when ſpeaking of the Son, that (1) *when it is ſaid all Things are put under him, it is manifeſt that he is excepted, which did put all Things under him, and when all Things ſhall be ſubdued unto him, then,* ſays he, *ſhall the Son alſo,* that is, even in his higheſt State of exalted Glory, *be ſubject unto him that did put all Things under him, that God may be all in all.*

XCIII. And as that ſecondary Eſſence among the *Jews* whoſe Portion was *Iſrael,* was by them called *the Word* and *the Wiſdom* of God: So it is undoubted that theſe Appellations were from thence transferred, by the Apoſtles of Chriſt who were born and bred *Jews,* into the Chriſtian Religion, and applied by them to Jeſus the Chriſt,

(1) 1 *Cor.* xv. 27, 28.

who

who is in the Scriptures of the New Teſtament called (2) *the Word* and *the Wiſdom of* God.

XCIV. And as that ſecondary Eſſence was by the *Jews* called *the Image of God*, ſo is the Lord Jeſus Chriſt called in the Language of the New Teſtament, (3) *the Image of the inviſible God:* That is the viſible Image, or delegated Repreſentative in Power of the inviſible God. For that this is the ſcriptural Meaning of the Word *Image*, when applied to the Image of an inviſible Being, ſeems plain from many Paſſages, but in particular from that wherein it is ſaid, that Man was created (4) *in the Image of God:* Becauſe as ſoon as God is repreſented by *Moſes* as having ſaid, *let us make Man in our Image after our Likeneſs*; Then immediately follows, *and let him have Dominion over the Fiſh of the Sea*;

(2) *John* i. 1, 14. 1 *Cor.* i. 24.
(3) *Col.* i. 15.
(4) *Gen.* i. 26, 27.

and

and over the Fowls of the Air, &c. And therefore the *Arabic* Version of the Bible renders this last Sentence to this purpose, that *by the Image which God enobled, he created him to have Dominion.* And the wise Son of *Sirach* observes, that (5) *the Lord created Men, and endued them with Strength, by themselves, and made them according to his Image; and put the Fear of Man upon all Flesh, and gave him Dominion over Beasts and Fowls.* And that this Word, Εἰκὼν *Image*, when applied to Persons, was generally understood to denote the one as being the Deputy or Representative of the other, in Power and Dominion, is plain from an Expression in *Basil* upon this very Subject. Where he manifestly useth this Word to signify a Viceroy: When in answer to this Objection, *But how then, if there are two distinct Persons (in the Godhead) do we not make two Gods?* To which he answers, (6) *Why*

(5) *Eccluſ.* xvii. 1, 3, 4.

(6) Ὅτι βασιλεὺς λέγεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκὼν, καὶ οὐ δύο βασιλεῖς. *Basil. de spir. sanc.* C. 18.

just

just as a King, and the Deputy of a King, do not make two Kings.

XCV. And as the *Jews* supposed their *Logos* to be the same Person with that (7) *Angel of God's Presence*, who is represented in the Old Testament, as being the Guardian Angel of the Children of *Israel*, so also do the Scriptures of the New Testament suppose their *Logos*, or the Lord Jesus Christ, to be that very Angel, who brought Redemption to *Israel*; and therefore St. *Paul*, speaking of the Deliverance of the *Israelites* from their *Egyptian* Bondage, saith; (8) *Moreover Brethren I would not have you ignorant, how that all our Fathers were under the Cloud, and all passed through the Sea; and were all baptized unto* Moses *in the Cloud, and in the Sea; and did all eat the same spiritual Meat; and did all drink the same spiritual Drink: For they drank of that same spiritual Rock that followed them,* AND THAT ROCK WAS

(7) *Exod.* xxiii. 20, 21. xxxiii. 2. *Num.* xx. 16.
(8) 1 *Cor.* x. 1—9.

CHRIST. He alſo ſaith, that by their Miſconduct in the Wilderneſs, *they tempted Chriſt*, and *were* therefore *deſtroyed of Serpents*. And in his Epiſtle to the (9) *Hebrews*, he attributes the Perſeverance of *Moſes* in quitting *Pharaoh*'s Court, and refuſing to be called the Son of *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, to his Dread of *the Reproach of Chriſt*.

XCVI. And as the *Jews* held their *Logos* to have been in the Beginning with God; and to be Δευτέρον θεόν, a ſecond God: So alſo do the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, acknowgledge their *Logos*, or the Lord Jeſus, to be called (1) *Emanuel*, which being interpreted is, *God with us*. He is therefore frequently, in the Language of the New Teſtament, ſpoken of as ſuch. Thus *John* the Evangeliſt poſitively ſays, that (2) *the Word was God*. And St. *Paul*

(9) *Heb.* xi. 26.
(1) *Mat.* i. 23.
(2) *John* i. 1.

calls

calls him, (3) *God manifested in the Flesh.* And St. *Thomas*, when speaking to him, fully and positively calleth him, (4) *my Lord and my God.*

XCVII. But then these Scriptures are in other Places very expressive, with Regard to the Superiority of God the Father, over God the Son: Thus St. *Peter*, in that Speech which he makes to the *Jews*, *Acts* ii. 33, where he is applying a Passage, out of the 110th *Psalm*, to our Saviour, says, "For *David* is not ascended into "the Heavens: But he saith himself, "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou "on my Right Hand, until I make thine "Enemies thy Footstool." *Therefore*, says St. *Peter*, *let all the House of* Israel *know assuredly, that God hath* (5) MADE *that same Jesus whom ye crucified, both Lord and Christ.* Which shews, that the Son could not have been from all Eternity co-equal to

(3) 1 *Tim.* iii. 16.
(4) *John* xx. 28.

the Father, ſince the Father could not have made him either Lord or Chriſt, if he had no Superiority over him. And accordingly, St. *Paul* applies that Text of Scripture to Jeſus Chriſt, which *David* maketh uſe of in the Pſalms, when he ſaith, (6) *Thy Throne*, O GOD, *is for ever and ever*; *a Sceptre of Righteouſneſs is the Sceptre of thy Kingdom: Thou haſt loved Righteouſneſs and hated Iniquity*; *therefore God*, EVEN THY GOD, *hath anointed thee with the Oil of Gladneſs above thy Fellows.* In which Paſſage, though Chriſt is undoubtedly called *God*, yet the Superiority of God the Father over this God, is manifeſtly preſerved; becauſe he is called even *his God.* And the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when he was departing out of this Life, not only (7) *offered up Prayers and Supplications* unto the Father, *as unto him that was able to ſave him from Death*; but alſo (8) *cried with a*

(6) *Heb.* i. 8.
(7) *Heb.* v. 7.
(8) Ἔκραυγε.

loud

loud Voice, ſaying, MY GOD, MY GOD, *why haſt thou forſaken me?*

XCVIII. I am not ignorant, that in order to invalidate this Argument, it is ſaid, that this laſt Expreſſion was ſpoken only in Regard to his human Nature, with Reſpect to which, he was undoubtedly inferior to God the Father; But in anſwer to this, it is to be obſerved, that in the firſt Paſſage here alluded to in the 110th Pſalm, our Saviour is there called *Lord*, and yet *Jehovah* is ſaid by St. *Peter*, to have made him both *Lord*, and *Chriſt*. And in the ſecond Paſſage here quoted, the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks of of him as *God*, yet at the ſame Time declares God the Father to be his God. And the ſame Method of ſpeaking, is concontinued in the Scriptures, not only while he was here in this World, ſubject to Mortality; but after he had overcome Death, and the Grave, even after his Reſurrection; at which Time, he alſo acknowledges God the Father to be his God: For when *Mary* would have approached unto him, he

he ſaid, (9) *Touch me not*, or, do not ſtay to touch or mind me at preſent, *for I am not yet aſcended unto my Father ; but go to my Brethren, and ſay unto them, I aſcend unto my Father, and your Father*, UNTO MY GOD, AND YOUR GOD. And the Apoſtle *Paul* in ſpeaking of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, even after his Aſcenſion, after his Exaltation, after he had been ſeated (1) *at the Right Hand of God, far above all Principality, and Power, and Might, and Dominion*, ſpeaks of God the Father, as ſtill being *his God*. For ſays he, (2) *Bleſſed be the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. And again, he ſaith to the *Epheſians*, *Wherefore*, I ceaſe not to give Thanks for you, that *the God of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, the Father of Glory, may give unto you the Spirit of Wiſdom. And in the Revelation of St. *John*, the Apoſtle ſpeaking of Jeſus, ſaith, (3) *who hath made*

(9) *John* xx. 17.
(1) *Eph.* i. 20, 21.
(2) *Eph.* i. 3.
(3) Τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. *Rev.* i. 6.

us

us Kings and Priests TO HIS GOD AND FATHER.

XCIX. And indeed the whole Conduct and Behaviour and Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, while he was in this World, was correspondent thereto; for he not only speaks of the Superiority of God the Father in general Words, as when he says, in express Terms, (4) *the Father is greater than I*; And again, *the Father is greater than all:* But acknowledges that his whole Conduct, not only while he was in this World, but before he came into it, before he had taken human Nature upon himself, was in Submission to the Will and Commands of God. For he acknowledges in numberless Places, that it was the Father who *sent* him, and gave him a *Commandment* what to do. (5) *For*, says he, *I must work the Work of him that* SENT *me*; and again, he says, *The Father which* SENT *me*,

(4) *John* xiv. 28. x. 29.
(5) *John* ix. 4. xii. 49. xiv. 31, *&c. &c.*

he

he GAVE ME A COMMANDMENT, *what I ſhould ſay, and what I ſhould ſpeak.* And again, *As the Father* GAVE ME COMMANDMENT *ſo do I.* We may therefore fairly argue, as our Saviour himſelf does upon another Occaſion, that (6) *as the Servant is not* equal to *his Lord, neither is he that is ſent* equal to *him that ſent him.* He therefore alſo acknowledged, that all the Power he was poſſeſſed of, not only natural but ſupernatural, was *received* from the Father, and was (7) *given* unto him. And this not only while he was upon Earth, while he was clogged and fettered with the Shackles of Mortality: But even after his Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion, and Exaltation, he declares, that all the Power which he had in Heaven and Earth, was (8) *given unto him* of the Father. And ſome Years after that, St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the (9) *Corinthians,* ſaith, *But I would*

(6) *John* xiii. 16.
(7) *John* v. 26. xvii. 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, *&c. &c.*
(8) *Matth.* xxviii. 18.
(9) 1 *Corinth.* xi. 3.

have

have you know, that the Head of every Man is Christ; and the Head of the Woman is the Man; and THE HEAD OF CHRIST IS GOD.

C. And as *Moses* was commanded by God to obey the Voice of the *Angel*, which he sent to keep him in the Way; and to provoke him not, because *his Name was in him*; so the Lord Jesus Christ declares, that the Honour which is due unto him is on the Father's Account; that is, because he was sent from the Father: For, says he, (2) *The Father hath committed all Judgment to the Son, that all Men should Honour the Son, even as they Honour the Father:* And then he adds the Reason, For, *he who honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which sent him.*

CI. It is likewise very remarkable, that in this Place, as well as in *Exodus* xxiii. 21, where God ordereth *Moses* and the

(2) *John* v. 22, 23.

Israelites to obey the Angel, which was sent in his Name, the Incitement offered for *honouring* the one, as well as *obeying* the other, is the Power of *Judgment*, that was committed unto them. For, says God to *Moses, beware of him, obey his Voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your Transgressions.* And in the New Testament, our Saviour observes, that ALL JUDGMENT WAS COMMITTED TO THE SON; *that all Men should Honour the Son, even as they Honour the Father.*

CII. It is a Remark made by Sir *Isaac Newton*, that the Worship which is due from Man to God, is on Account of the Dominion he hath over him. For, says he, " (3) God is a relative Term, which " has Reference to Subjects, and the Word " Deity, denotes the Dominion of God, " not over his own Body (as the ancient " Philosophers imagined, who called God " the Soul of the World,) but over Sub-

(3) *Newt. Prin. Schol. Gener.*

" jects."

" jects." And again, he ſaith, " We ar-
" rive at the Knowledge of God, by con-
" ſidering his Properties and Attributes;
" by enquiring into the wiſe Formation and
" Conſtitution of all Things; and ſearch-
" ing into their final Cauſes; but we Wor-
" ſhip and Adore him on Account of his
" Dominion." So that the Son becometh our God, not ſo much on Account of his having been employed in our Creation, and that *by him God created the Worlds*, as becauſe *all Judgment is committed unto him*, this being the great *Obligation* of all Duty: There being no Reaſon for Men to lay themſelves under any Reſtraint, in obeying or diſobeying the Commands of any Being, which hath no Power over them.

CIII. Now the Reaſon why Almighty God was pleaſed to commit this Power of Judgment unto the Son, is alſo aſſigned; for, ſays our Lord Jeſus, (4) *The Father hath given to the Son Authority to execute*

(4) *John* v. 26, 27.

Judgment; *becauſe he is the Son of Man*: That is, as a Reward for having taken human Nature upon him. For, upon the Fall of *Adam*, this Son of God, being willing to undertake the Redemption of Mankind; (5) *he was* accordingly (6) ANOINTED *of God, for to do whatſoever his Hand, and his Council predetermined to be done.* That is, he was (7) *anointed* to do and to ſuffer, whatſoever it ſhould pleaſe God for him to do or to ſuffer. And for an Encouragement in which Undertaking, God was pleaſed to propoſe to this his anointed Son, that on the Performance of ſuch Things as God ſhould appoint for him to do, he ſhould be exalted to (8) *Joy* and *Glory*.

(5) *Acts* iv. 27. 28.

(6) Hence called the *Meſſiah*, which literally ſignifies the *anointed*.

(7) Or *appointed*. This Term of *anointing* being made uſe of, inſtead of *appointing*, in Compliance with the human Cuſtom of *anointing* Perſons, when they were *appointed* to the Adminiſtration of particular Offices, ſuch as either *King*, *Prieſt*, or *Prophet*. See 1 *Sam.* xiii. 1. 2 *Sam.* ii. 7. *Exod.* xxix. 7. *Iſai.* lxi. 1.

(8) *Heb.* xii. 2. 1 *Pet.* i. 11.

CIV. When

CIV. When therefore, in the Fulness of Time, it pleased God to send forth his Son, who being (9) *in the Form of God* nevertheless divested himself of that Glory which he had with the Father before the World was, and (1) *came down from Heaven, not to do his own Will, but the Will of him that sent him*; (2) *The Spirit* having *testified beforehand the Sufferings of* Christ, *and the Glory that should follow*; He therefore (3) *for the Joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the Shame*: (4) *Wherefore God also hath highly* EXALTED *him, and* (5) *set him at his own Right-hand* EXALTED, (6) *and hath given him a Name that is above every Name, that* (7) IN THE NAME OF JESUS *every Knee should bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things*

(9) *Phil.* ii. 6.
(1) *John* iv. 34. v. 30. vi. 38, 42.
(2) 1 *Pet.* i. 11.
(3) *Heb.* xii. 2.
(4) *Phil.* ii. 9
(5) *Act* ii 33 *Eph.* i. 20, *&c.*
(6) *Phil.* ii. 9, 10, 11.
(7) Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι.

in

in Earth, and Things under the Earth: And that every Tongue ſhould confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt *is* LORD *to the Glory of* GOD *the Father.*

CV. Wherefore *Jeſus* having (8) *finiſhed the Work which his Father gave him to do, and manifeſted his Name unto Men, that they might know God the Father the only true God, and* Jeſus Chriſt *whom he hath ſent*; and having perſiſted therein unto Death, (9) *that he might reconcile both* Jews *and* Gentiles *unto God in one Body by the Croſs:* And having been (1) *for the Suffering of Death crowned with Glory and Honour*; inſtead of the Portion of *Iſrael*, which had been before the Line or Boundary of his Inheritance; he had now (2) *Power given him over all Fleſh.* And (3) *all Nations* were made of one Blood under him, and *the Bounds of their Habitations*

(8) *John* xvii. 4. vi. 3.
(9) *Eph.* ii. 16.
(1) *Heb.* ii. 9.
(2) *John* xvii. 2.
(3) *Acts* xvii. 26.

were

were brought within the Line of his Inheritance: And (4) *there was given unto him Dominion and Glory, and a Kingdom, that all People, Nations and Languages ſhould ſerve him.*

CVI. From this Time forth, therefore, his Diſciples were ſent unto (5) *all Nations*, to (6) *preach the Goſpel unto every Creature.* And what is remarkable is, that from this Time the ſame *holy Spirit* which under the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation (7) ſpake by the Prophets, and had only illuminated the Minds of thoſe of the Sons of *Iſrael*, to whom the *Word of God came*, was through the Interceſſion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, conferred upon all Mankind that believe on him, of what Nation ſoever they be, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*; and *ſhed forth* his benign Influence on all thoſe who come to God through *Jeſus Chriſt*: That (8) *through*

(4) *Dan.* vii. 14.
(5) *Matt.* xxviii. 10.
(6) *Mar.* xvi. 15.
(7) 2 *Pet.* i. 21, and *Nicene Creed.*
(8) *Eph.* ii. 18.

him

him both Jews *and* Gentiles *may have an Acceſs by one Spirit unto the Father.* That (9) *the Bleſſing of Abraham,* wherein it was promiſed that in his Seed ſhould all the Nations of the Earth be bleſſed, *might come on the* Gentiles *through* Jeſus Chriſt, *that they might receive the Promiſe of the Spirit through Faith:* And that (1) *all might be baptized into one Body, whether they be* Jews *or Gentiles, whether they be bond or free, and might all be made to drink into one Spirit.*

CVII. When therefore *Jeſus Chriſt the Lord* was raiſed from the Dead, and formally inveſted in the Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom which (2) *the Father had appointed unto him*; having received from the Father the Promiſe of the holy Spirit, he ſhed forth this holy Spirit (3) *abundantly,* as well upon the (4) *Gentiles* as the *Jews,*

(9) *Gal.* iii. 14.
(1) 1 *Cor.* xii. 13.
(2) *Luk.* xxii. 29.
(3) *Tit.* iii. 6.
(4) *Act.* xi. 15.

putting

putting no Difference between them. Which holy Spirit is ſometimes, in the Language of the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, called *the Spirit of God* the Father, becauſe he (5) proceedeth from the Father who ſent him unto us; and ſometimes *the Spirit of the Son*, or *the Spirit of* Chriſt, becauſe it was by the Interceſſion of *Jeſus the Chriſt* that the Supply of this holy Spirit was ſent unto us; and is alſo called (6) *the Spirit of Truth*, becauſe it was ſent to *guide Mankind into all Truth.*

CVIII. Now St. *John* plainly calleth that *holy Spirit*, by which he was inſpired with the Book of *Revelations*, an *Angel.* For his Words are theſe, (7) *The Revelation of* Jeſus Chriſt, *which God gave unto him, to ſhew unto his Servants Things which muſt ſhortly come to paſs; and he ſent and ſignified it by* HIS ANGEL *unto his Servant* John. And yet through this whole

(5) *John* xv. 26.
(6) *John* xvi. 13. xiv. 26. 1 *John* ii. 20, 27.
(7) *Rev.* i. 1.

Book, he calls this Revelation, the Dictates of the Spirit. (8) *He that hath Ears to hear*, ſays he, *let him hear what the* SPIRIT *ſaith unto the Churches.* And it is very remarkable, that although the Virgin *Mary* is poſitively ſaid to have been (9) *found with Child of the holy Spirit*, and to have *conceived of the holy Spirit*; yet the Perſon ſent to her from God upon this Occaſion, calls himſelf *an Angel*, and in particular, (1) *the Angel* Gabriel *that ſtandeth in the Preſence of God*; who under the old Covenant had been ſent to inſpire (2) *Daniel* with Skill and Underſtanding.

CIX. Which (3) *Angel* GABRIEL *being ſent from God* unto the Virgin *Mary*, *The* ANGEL, ſays St. *Luke, came in unto her, and ſaid, Hail, thou art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: Bleſſed art*

(8) *Rev.* ii. 7, 11, 17, 19. iii. 6, 13, 22.
(9) *Mat.* i. 18, 20.
(1) *Luk.* i. 19, 26.
(2) *Dan.* viii. 16. ix. 21.
(3) *Luk.* i. 26.

thou

thou among Women. Behold, thou ſhalt conceive in thy Womb, and bring forth a Son, and ſhall call his Name Jeſus. *Then ſaid* Mary *unto the* ANGEL, *how ſhall this be, ſeeing I know not a Man? And the* ANGEL *anſwered and ſaid unto her,* THE HOLY SPIRIT *ſhall come upon thee, and the Power of the Higheſt ſhall overſhadow thee; therefore alſo that holy Thing, which ſhall be born of thee, ſhall be called the Son of God. And* Mary *ſaid, behold the Handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy Word.*

CX. Which is all the Account we have of this Affair, but that after ſhe returned from her Couſin *Elizabeth*'s, where ſhe had remained three Months, (5) *She was found to be with Child, before ſhe and* Joſeph, *to whom ſhe was eſpouſed, had come together; then* Joſeph *her Huſband being a* (6) *good-natured Man, and not willing to*

(5) *Mat.* i. 18, 19, 20.

(6) Δίκαιος. This Word is often uſed to ſignify a *good-natured* Perſon, in which Senſe alſo the Word *juſtus* is frequently uſed in the *Latin* Tongue: And in this Senſe this Word ought to be underſtood, *Acts* x. 22. 1 *John* i. 9.

make her a public Example, was minded to put her away privately. But while he thought on these Things, behold, THE ANGEL *of the Lord appeared unto him in a Dream, saying,* Joseph *thou Son of* David, *fear not to take unto thee* Mary *thy Wife: For that which is conceived in her is of the holy Spirit. Then* Joseph, *being raised from his Sleep, did as the* ANGEL *of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his Wife: And knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born Son.*

CXI. The pre-existent Spirit of the *Logos* being therefore, by the wonderful Power and Will of God, conveyed into the Womb of the Virgin by the Ministration of the holy Spirit, she conceived and brought forth *Jesus*: By which Union of that exalted Spirit with human Nature, the *Logos* became incarnate and was made Man. Which *Logos* did by this Piece of Condescension, so far ἐκένωσε ἑαυτὸν, (7) *empty him-*

(7) *Phil.* ii. 7.

self,

ſelf, and diveſt himſelf of that Glory of his antecedent State, which he had with the Father, before the World was, that, Sin only excepted, he became liable and ſubject to all the Infirmities of our Nature. And therefore, during the Time of his Continuance here upon Earth, he is repreſented all along as being under the Guidance and Conduct of the *holy Spirit*.

CXII. He is accordingly ſaid to have been (8) *led up of the Spirit into the Wilderneſs to be tempted of the Devil:* And that when the (9) *Devil had ended his Temptation, Jeſus returned in the Power of the Spirit into* Galilee. That afterwards, He (1) *caſt out Devils by the Spirit of God*, which (2) *deſcended* upon him at his Baptiſm in a (3) viſible Manner, and *abode upon*

(8) *Matth.* iv. 1.
(9) *Luke* iv. 13, 14.
(1) *Matth.* xii. 8.
(2) *John* i. 22.
(3) *i. e.* By the Deſcent of a lucid ſhining Appearance which alighted, and reſted upon him, ὡσεὶ περιστερὰν, *as a Dove*

upon him for ſome Time. He is therefore ſaid to have been (4) *anointed with the holy Spirit, and with Power:* And that when he was in an Agony praying with Vehemence to God, that if poſſible the Cup of his Afflictions might paſs from him, (5) *An Angel appeared unto him from Heaven, ſtrengthening him:* That it was through (6) *the eternal Spirit*, that *he offered himſelf without Spot to God* upon the Croſs: That when he was in the Grave, he was (7) *quickened by the Spirit*, and (8) *declared to be the Son of God with Power, according to the Spirit of Holineſs, by the Reſurrection from the Dead.*

Dove. Not that this alludes to the Form and Figure of the Appearance, as if it was in the Shape of a Dove; but to the Manner of its Deſcent, which deſcended and alighted upon our Saviour, as a Dove deſcends and lights upon any Thing. See Sect. 82, And *Whitby* on *Luke* iii. 22.

(4) *Acts* x. 38. See Note in Sect. 103.
(5) *Luke* xxii. 42, 43.
(6) *Heb.* ix. 14.
(7) 1 *Pet.* iii. 18.
(8) *Rom.* iii. 4.

CXIII.

CXIII. And indeed it does not appear, either in the Old or New Teſtament, that the *Logos* had any Power over the Holy Spirit, till after his Aſcenſion, (9) when *all Power was given unto him, both in Heaven and Earth.* For ſaid Jeſus to his Diſciples, (1) *It is expedient for you, that I go away; for if I go not away, the* COMFORTER *will not come unto you; but if I depart I will ſend him unto you. For, (2) I will pray the Father, and he ſhall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth, (3) which proceedeth from the Father: Whom I will ſend to you from the Father.* For as St. *John* remarks, (4) *the Spirit was not yet given, becauſe Jeſus was not yot glorified.* He therefore after his Reſurrection, commanded his Diſciples (5) *not to depart from*

(9) *Matth.* xxviii. 18, 19.
(1) *John* xvi. 7.
(2) *John* xiv. 16.
(3) *John* xv. 26.
(4) *John* vii. 39.
(5) *Luke* xxiv. 49. *Acts* i. 4.

Jeruſalem,

Jeruſalem, till after his Aſcenſion, but to *wait for the Promiſe of the Father*. Which having (6) *received of the Father, he ſhed it forth* upon them. From which Time, *this Spirit* is for the Future indifferently called *the Spirit of God*, and (7) *the Spirit of Chriſt*, or (8) *the Spirit of the Son*; becauſe the Son had now obtained Power of the Father, to ſend him, not to the *Jews* only, but alſo to the *Gentiles*; that all Nations might be baptized, (9) *in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*; (1) *that the offering up of the* Gentiles *might be acceptable, being ſanctified by the Holy Spirit*. It ſeems therefore highly reaſonable, that we ſhould pay divine Homage to that holy Spirit in Proportion to the Degree of Power which hath been delegated to him, from the Almighty; and that it is our Duty to pray to him, for the

(6) *Acts* ii. 33.
(7) *Rom.* viii. 9.
(8) *Gal.* iv. 6.
(9) *Matth.* xxviii. 19.
(1) *Rom.* xv. 16.

Communication

Communication of thoſe *ſanctifying* Graces, which he hath received Power from God the Father, through the Son, to diſtribute to his Diſciples. I do not ſay that we ought to pray to him for the Forgiveneſs of our Sins, becauſe (2) *all Judgment* hath not been *committed* unto him: But as he was undoubtedly ſent, to be our (3) *Comforter*, to *guide us into all Truth*, and to *help our Infirmities*, ſurely we ought to pray to him, to comfort us, and to grant us his Aſſiſtance, that we may *be* (4) *led by him*, and that we may *of the Spirit, reap Life everlaſting*. And as *the Manifeſtation of the Spirit was given to every Man to profit withal*; and as *to one, is given by the Spirit the Word of Wiſdom, and to an other, the Word of Knowledge, by the ſame Spirit, dividing to every Man ſeverally as he will*; ſurely it is but reaſonable, that we ſhould apply to that holy Spirit, who (5) *ſearch-*

(2) See Sect. 85, 100, 101, 102.
(3) *John* xiv. 26. *John* xvi. 13. *Rom.* viii 26.
(4) *Rom.* viii. 14. *Eph.* vi. 8. 1 *Cor.* xii. 7, *&c.*
(5) 1 *Cor.* ii. 10.

eth in our Hearts, *the deep Things of God*, to confer ſuch a Portion of his Influence on our Minds, as may by Degrees (6) *Quicken* and *Strengthen* us, till we ſhall be at length *filled* therewith. Leaſt alſo on the other Hand, by neglecting ſo manifeſt a Duty, we ſhould thereby (7) *grieve* and *do* ſuch *deſpite to the Spirit of Grace* as entirely to *Quench it*. See Sect. 84. 85.

CXIV. I apprehend therefore, it is manifeſtly ſhewed in theſe Papers, that, from the Conſideration of the Nature of Spirit, by the Light of Reaſon, it appears, there can be but one God, that is, one ſupreme intelligent Agent; which one God may however, create an infinite Series of ſpiritual Agents, in Subordination one to another; ſome of which may, by an Authority communicated to them, from the ſupreme God, act *as Gods*, with Regard to thoſe inferior Beings, who are committed

(6) 1 *Pet.* iii. 18. *Eph.* iii. 16. v. 8.
(7) *Eph.* iv. 3. *Heb.* x. 29. 1 *Theſ.* v. 9.

into

into their Charge. I apprehend it likewiſe appears from the Sentiments of the *Jews*, as well as from the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Teſtament, that this is the Method of Government, which the Almighty hath been pleaſed to purſue in the OEconomy of this Univerſe; ſtill reſerving to himſelf, that incommunicable Quality of *ſupreme*, which it would be a Contradiction to ſuppoſe him diveſted of, either with or without his Will; that is either by his own Conſent, or by Neceſſity.

CXV. It may not therefore be improper to conſider, what was the Opinion of the moſt early Fathers of the Chriſtian Church upon this Head; which though it ought to have no Weight againſt the expreſs Dictates, either of Reaſon or Revelation, yet in Points not fully or diſtinctly revealed, the conſulting of them, is very proper and uſeful; as they certainly are, the beſt Evidence that can poſſibly be had of the Sentiments of the Church in their Times; and the nearer that thoſe Fathers lived to the Times

of the Apoſtles, they may juſtly be ſuppoſed to be the leſs liable to have varied from any of the Doctrines or Practices of the truly primitive Church.

CXVI. Now if we conſult the Opinions of the Fathers upon this Subject, for the firſt three hundred Years after Chriſt, we ſhall find them all univerſally agreeing in the aforementioned Doctrine: As may appear by conſulting *Juſtin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, *Irenæus*, *the Author of the Recognitions*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, *Lactantius*, &c; out of which it ſeems needleſs to produce any Quotations; as this Point is plainly given up by two of the moſt learned Perſons of the laſt Age, who being of a contrary Opinion from thoſe Fathers, cannot be ſuſpected of lightly giving up a Teſtimony of ſo much Conſequence, if the Flagrancy of the Truth had not obliged them to it: And that is the learned Biſhop

Bull

Bull, and the learned Doctor *Cudworth*. The Words of Bishop *Bull*, when speaking of the Sentiments of *Origen* upon this Subject, are these, " I conclude thus with " myself, that *Origen*, who hath been so " severely censured by Divines, both anci- " ent and modern, was really *Catholick* in " the Article of the sacred Trinity; al- " though, in the Manner of explaining that " Article, he sometimes speaks otherwise, " than the *Catholicks* do; (8) *which is no* " *more than almost all the Fathers did* " *who lived before the Council of* Nice. As for Dr. *Cudworth*, he does not only give up the primitive Fathers, in their Expressions, but also in their Meaning. For, as he undoubtedly thought himself to be in the Right, he imagined, those Fathers to have been in an Error; and makes use of this universal Consent of the ancient Fathers, of the three first Centuries, in asserting the Dependence and Subjection of the

(8) Quod ipsi cum reliquis fere omnibus Patribus, qui Concilium Nicænum antecesserunt, commune fuit, *Bul. Def. Fid Nic.* Sect xi. c. 9. §. 22.

Son

Son to the Father, as an Argument in Proof of the Fallibility of the primitive Fathers of the Christian Church. For, says he, (9) "Though it be true, that *Athanasius*, "writing against the *Arians*, does appeal "to the Tradition of the ancient Church, "and among others, cites *Origen*'s Testi-"mony; yet was this only for the Eterni-"ty and Divinity of the Son of God, but "not at all for such an absolute Co-equa-"lity of him with the Father, as would "exclude all *Dependence*, *Subordination*, "and *Inferiority*: Those ancients so una-"nimously agreeing therein, that they are "therefore by *Petavius* taxed with Plato-"nism, and having by that Means, cor-"rupted the Purity of the Christian Faith, "in this Article of the Trinity. Which "how it can be reconciled with those other "Opinions of Ecclesiastical Tradition be-"ing a Rule of Faith, and the Impossibi-"lity of the Visible Churches erring in

(9) *Cud.* Intel. Syst. L. 1. C. 4. p. 595.

"any

" any fundamental Point cannot, ſays he, " eaſily be underſtood."

CXVII. For my own Part, I will readily give up the Fallibility of the primitive Fathers, and whoever will but give himſelf the Trouble of peruſing their Writings, will ſoon be convinced, that they were fallible Men; and I therefore only make uſe of their Teſtimony in this Point, to ſhew what was the Senſe of the Church in their Days, of which their own Writings are an infallible Proof; whether they were fallible in themſelves or not.

CXVIII. But *Petavius*, ſays *Cudworth*, taxed the primitive Fathers with Platoniſm, and with having by that Means, corrupted the Purity of the Chriſtian Faith. That many of the primitive Fathers, were bred up in the Schools of the *Platonic* Philoſophers can hardly be denied; and that they would be inclined to endeavour to reconcile their own Principles and thoſe of the Chri-

ſtian

ſtian Religion together, is more than probable. It is alſo certain, that the *Pagans* held the Doctrine of a *Trinity*, and made uſe of that Word to expreſs it by; but if it can be proved, that they held a Subordination in the Perſons of the *Trinity*, before Chriſtianity appeared in the World, and that all the primitive Chriſtians, whether *Platoniſts* or not, held alſo the Doctrine of a Subordination of Power, in the Perſons of the *Trinity*, for the firſt three hundred Years after Chriſt; then the more probable Conſequence to be drawn from thence, is this, That the Doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the primitive Chriſtians, coinciding with the Doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the *Pagans* in general, and by the *Platoniſts* in particular, wherein a Subordination of Power between the three Perſons of the Trinity was a fundamental Principle, this might be one main Reaſon, why the *Platoniſts* were ſo ready to embrace the Chriſtian Religion: And not that they corrupted it after they had embraced it; ſince had their Principles, and

and the *Christians* on this Subject originally differed, the *Platonists* would not have been so easily made Converts.

CXIX. It may therefore not be improper at present to set before the Reader a short Sketch of the Doctrine of the *Pagan* Trinity, from whence will appear the Truth of what I have just now asserted.

CXX. The Opinion of the *Egyptians* concerning the Trinity, may be found in *Jamblicus*, who delivers it unto us. For in the Beginning of the Eighth Section, he makes *Porphyry* ask, "What do the *Egyp-* "*tians* say is the *First Cause?* Is it Intel- "lect, or something above Intellect? Or, "is it one only Being, or is it two, or "more? Or, is it corporeal, or incor- "poreal? Or, is it the same with the "Creator of this Universe or something su- "perior? In short, were all Things pro- "duced by *One*, or by Many?" To which *Jamblicus* answereth: Πρὸ τῶν ὄντως ὄντων, καὶ τῶν ὅλων Ἀρχῶν ἐστι θεὸς εἷς, πρῶτος καὶ τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέως, ἀκίνητος ἐν μονότητι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἑνότητος μένων, οὗτος γὰρ νοητὸν αὐτῷ

ἐπιπλέκεται, οὔτε ἄλλο τι. Παράδειγμα δὲ ἵδρυται τοῦ αὐτοπάτορος, αὐτογόνου, καὶ μονοπάτορος θεοῦ, τοῦ ὄντως ἀγαθοῦ. Μεῖζον γάρ τι καὶ πρῶτον, καὶ πηγὴ τῶν πάντων, καὶ πυθμὴν τῶν νοουμένων πρώτων εἰδῶν ὄντων· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς τοῦτου, ὁ αὐτάρκης θεὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξέλαμψε, διὸ καὶ αὐτοπάτωρ, καὶ αὐτάρκης. Ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ θεὸς θεῶν· Μονὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς, προϋσίας καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς οὐσίας· ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἡ οὐσιότης καὶ ἡ οὐσία· διὸ γὰρ νοητάρκης προς αγορεύεται· Αὐταὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ πρεσβύταται πάντων, ἃς Ἑρμῆς πρὸ τῶν ἀθερίων καὶ ἐμπορίων θεῶν προτάττει, καὶ τῶν ἐπουρανίων. Which is thus rendered into *Latin* by Mr. *Gale*: *Ante eas res quæ vere sunt, & ante Principia universalium, est Deus unus, prior etiam primo Deo & Rege; est ille immobilis in solitudine suæ Unitatis permanens, neque enim intellectuale ei miscetur, neque aliquid aliud, estque exemplar ipsius qui est sui Pater, & de se genitus & unipater Deus; & vere bonus. Est enim majus, quid & prius, Fons omnium & Radix intelligibilium Idearum primarum Entium. Ab hoc autem uno, Deus per se sufficiens se ipse explicavit; proinde*

inde est sui Pater & sibi sufficiens. Est enim hic & Principium, & Deus Deorum, Unitas ex uno Supereessentialis & Essentiæ Principium; nam ab eo fluit Entitas & Essentia, qua propter Noetarcha dicitur. Hæc igitur sunt Principia omnium antiquissima, quæ Mercurius supra Deos æthereos & empyreos, & cælestes constituit.

CXXI. I would have translated this Passage into *English*, if I could, but there are some Parts of it which seem to me so super-intelligible, that I thought it advisable to give it in the Author's own Words: And refer the *English* Translation of it to some of those Deistical Admirers of the Plainness and Simplicity of the Religion of Nature, who cannot bear the Thoughts of any thing that is mysterious in Revealed Religion.

CXXII. Abstruse and dark however, as it is, we may be furnished by it with some Light towards the Explanation of some Expressions in the *Pythagorean* Trinity, as it

is given us by (1) *Simplicius* in his Comment on *Aristotle* out of *Moderatus* the *Pythagorean*: τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἕν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄν καὶ πᾶσαν οὐσίαν ἀποφαίνεται· τὸ δε δεύτερον ἕν ὅπερ ἐστι τὸ ὄντως ὄν, καὶ Νοητὸν, τὰ εἴδη φησίν εἶναι· τὸ δε τρίτον, ὅπερ ἐστι Ψυχικὸν, μετέχειν τῶ ἑνὸς, καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν. For it is plain that the πρῶτον ἕν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄν καὶ πᾶσαν οὐσίαν, of the *Pythagoreans*, that is, *the First One who is above Being, and all Existence*, is the same (I had almost said *Being)* with that God of the *Egyptians*, who being prior to the First God, is *Super-Intelligible*. That the τὸ δεύτερον ἕν ὅπερ ἐστι τὸ ὄντως ὄν, καὶ Νοητὸν, τὰ εἴδη φησὶν εἶναι. That is, *the Second One, who is Existence itself, and Intelligence, and is called* IDEA, is that First, or rather Second God aforementioned, who according to the *Egyptians*, having unfolded himself, came forth into Being, and was self-begotten, and was equally his own Father and his own Son, who is the Principle of all Existence, and of all

(1) *Simp.* in Phys. *Arist.* fol. 50.

Intelligence.

Intelligence. As to the τὸ τρίτον ἕν, or *Third One*, of the *Pythagoreans*, which they call Ψυχικόν, or *Animal*, that anſwers to the third and lower Claſs of the Empirean and Ætherial Deities, who were ſuppoſed to preſide over ſeveral Parts of this Univerſe, being as it were the Souls of this World.

CXXIII. The *Platonic* Trinity, as it was digeſted into Form by the Diſciples of *Plato*, was not very different from this. There is indeed no one Paſſage in *Plato*, where his Notion of a Deity is delivered explicitly, and reduced into a regular Syſtem. For, either out of Fear of his Countrymen, or becauſe he was not ſettled in his own Notions, or both, he ſpeaks very obſcurely on this Subject. That Treatiſe which he entitles *Timæus* is the moſt copious on this Head, and therein he ſpeaks plainly of (2) one ſempiternal and unoriginated God. Which God, ſays *Plato*, when

(2) τὸ ὄν ἀει, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον.

he

he reasoned within himself about a future God, made this Universe, and placed this (3) perfectly happy God which he begat, as the Soul in the Middle of it.

CXXIV. Which God, though he frequently mentions as a created Being, yet he stiles him also (4) *the* IMAGE *of Intelligence*, or of the most intelligent God; *the greatest and best*; *the most beautiful, and the most perfect*, and *the only-begotten God.* Which Universe, says *Plato*, when he had thus made and (5) contemplated, he rejoiced over it. He then made *Time*, and (6) formed the Sun and Moon, and five other Planets to be the Measures thereof. But as there were yet no Animals, therefore God

(3) εὐδαίμονα θεὸν ἄυλον ἐγεννήσαλο.

(4) Ἐικόνα τȣ̃ νοηλȣ̃. μέγιςον καὶ ἄριςον. κάλλιςον καὶ τελειώλαλον. and Μονογενῆ.

(5) Whoever reads this, I think, cannot avoid being convinced that *Plato* herein imitates the Account which *Moses* gives of the Creation, which he finishes with saying, *and God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good.* Gen. i. 31.

(6) Ἥλιος καὶ Σελήνη, καὶ πένλε ἄλλα ἄςρα, ἐπίκλησιν ἔχονλα Πλανήλης, εἰς διορισμὸν καὶ φυλακὴν ἀριθμων χρόνȣ γέγονεν. See *Genesis* i. 14; of which this is almost a Translation.

formed

formed what was wanting, by *a secondary Imitation of the first Exemplar :* πρὸς τὴν τοῦ παραδείγματος ἀπολοπόμενος φύσιν. Which is plainly borrowed from that Doctrine among the *Jews*, wherein they asserted Man not to be made in the Image of the Supreme God, but of the Second God. The Words of *Philo Judæus*, as they are quoted by *Eusebius*, are, θνητὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀπεικονισθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πατέρα, τῶν ὅλων ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον θεὸν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐκείνου λόγος. *Nihil enim mortale in summi illius & rerum universarum Parentis imaginem consignari potest, sed in Imaginem Secundi Dei, hoc est ejus Verbi, potest.* Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. vii. cap. 13.

CXXV. *Plato* then, in Compliance with the orthodox Notion of his Country, and for Fear of the Fate of *Socrates*, says, But as to other Gods which are called (7) *Dæmons*, to speak properly of their Origin or even to

(7) See Sect. XXXV.

conceive

conceive it, is above the Reach of our Faculties; it is therefore our Duty to believe those our Ancestors, who having unfolded their Natures, affirm them to be the offspring of the Gods; and so to submit ourselves to the ancient Laws and Customs. And then he introduces the God who (8) framed all Things as speaking to these Dæmons, *Saturn*, *Ops*, *Jupiter*, &c, whom he calls (9) the Gods begotten by himself; and empowers them to be his Instruments in the Production of animals, and (1) to imitate that Virtue which he had exercised in their Origin.

CXXVI. Whence it is plain, that *Plato* was afraid to speak out; but his Disciples by Degrees gathering Courage, his System was reduced into Form, before the Time of (2) *Porphyry*, who in his fourth Book

(8) Ὃς τὸ πᾶν γενήσαι.
(9) Τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γενήμασι.
(1) Μιμούμενοι τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν περὶ τὴν ὑμῶν γένεσιν.
(2) *Porphyry* flourished about the latter End of the third Century: His Books were afterwards ordered to be burnt; but the Quotation which I have here produced may be found in St. *Cyril*'s Treatise against *Julian*. B. 8.

of

of the History of Philosophy, says, "Αχρι δ τριῶν ὑποστάσιων, ἔφη πλάτων, τ τȣ θεȣ προελθεῖν ȣσίαν· εἶναι δὲ τ μὲν ἀνώτατον, θεόν τ' Αγαθόν, μετ' αὐτȣ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον τὸν Δημιȣργόν; τρίτην δὲ τὴν τȣ κόσμȣ ψυχήν. *Usq; ad tres* Hypostases, *dicit* Plato, *Dei progredi Essentiam*; *& esse quidem dicit* Deum summe bonum; *post illum autem secundum* Conditorem: *tertium autem* Mundi Animam.

CXXVII. *Porphyry* was reckoned the most learned *Platonist* of his Age; And flourished about the Time when the consubstantial Doctrine of the Trinity began to make a Noise; and therefore his Sense of the Platonick Doctrine, is so much the more for our Purpose. It appears therefore from hence, that the Platonick and Pythagorean Doctrine of the Trinity, did not differ very widely at this Time one from the other, and that that God of the *Egyptians*, which was prior to the first, or the Πρῶτον ἕν of the *Pythagoreans* was the same with the τὸ ἕν, and the τὸ ἀγαθον of

the *Platoniſts*. The God of *Exiſtence*, *Ideas*, or *Intelligence*, according to the *Egyptians*, or the τὸ δεύτερον ἕν of the *Pythagoreans*, which they alſo called ἰδέα, *Idea*, being by the *Platoniſts* called Νοῦς and λόγος; i. e. *Mind* and *Reaſon*, or *Wiſdom*. And the inferior Claſs of ætherial Deities, who were conſidered as the Soul of the World, among the *Egyptians*, anſwering to the τρίτον ἕν or the ἕν Ψυχικὸν of the *Pythagoreans*, being called Ψυχή, i. e. *the Soul*, by the *Platoniſts*.

CXXVIII. They agreed alſo in the Offices which were aſſigned to theſe *Three Gods*. For the Firſt was aſſerted to be ὑπερ *above* all Exiſtence and Intelligence. The Second God was Exiſtence and Intelligence itſelf, and the Communicator of them to other Beings: He is therefore repreſented by them as the Δημιουργός, the *Fabricator* and Maker of this Frame of the Univerſe. The Third God, who is ſaid to partake both of the Firſt and Second Ἕν, or God, was

was held to be *the Soul* of the World, vivifying and enlivening it.

CXXIX. Hence it is plain, however, that the Disciples of *Plato* had varied from their Master's Plan. Because he positively asserts the one unoriginated God to have made this Universe, and therefore frequently calls him the (3) Δημιουργὸς. He likewise positively asserts the Second, that is, the God who was begotten by the one unoriginated God, to have been placed by him in the Middle of this round Universe as the (4) *the Soul* of it.

CXXX. It is nevertheless manifest, beyond all Controversy, that both *Plato* and his Disciples held a Kind of essential Subordination to have existed between these Gods, as the *Hebrews* undoubtedly did. And therefore I suppose them to have been more easily converted to the *Christian* Religion than they otherwise would have been.

(3) *Plato* in *Timæo*.
(4) Id. ibid.

CXXXI. And accordingly, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, one of those primitive Fathers whom *Cudworth* allows to have acknowledged a Subordination in the Persons of the Trinity, when speaking concerning a Passage in *Plato*, says, (5) "*I understand this no otherwise than that the holy Trinity is signified thereby, the* THIRD *being the holy Spirit, and the* SECOND *the Son, by whom all Things were made, according to the Will of the* FATHER." This Passage to which *Clemens* refers is to be found in the second Epistle of *Plato* to *Dionysius*, on account of his having complained that *Plato* was not explicit enough in what he said about the *First Cause*, to whom *Plato* says, "That these Things must be spoken of in a Kind of *Riddle*, that if any Accident should happen to these Papers either by Land or Sea, he that finds them may not be able to understand them. The Thing therefore

(5) *Clem. Alex.* Strom. lib. v. p. 710. Edit. pot.

"says

" ſays he, ſtands thus : Περὶ τῶν πάντων βα-
" σιλέα πάντ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκείνω ἕκεινα πάντα.
" καὶ ἐκεῖνο αἴτιον ἁπάντων τῶν καλῶν. δεύτε-
" ρον δὲ, περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον περὶ
" τὰ τρίτα." *Circa omnium Regem ſunt omnia, & illius Cauſa omnia : & Ipſe eſt omnium Rerum pulchrarum Cauſa : Secundum ad Secunda : Tertium ad Tertia.* Which Fear of a Diſcovery accounts for the ſeeming Contradictions in *Plato*, and the Darkneſs in which his Theology is involved, and ſhews that his Diſciples were indeed obliged to pick his Doctrine out of *Riddles*, as he himſelf expreſſeth it.

CXXXII. But (6) St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, who was of the contrary Opinion from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that is, who held a Coequality in the Perſons of the Trinity, for he lived in the fifth Century, and about 100 Years after the Council of *Nice*, wherein the Conſubſtantiality of the Father and Son was firſt eſtabliſhed in the

(6) *Cyril* cont. *Jul.* lib. viii.

Chriſtian

Christian Church; *Cyril*, I say, when speaking of the *Platonic* Philosophy, (7) says, "There "would have been nothing at all wanting "to the *Platonic* Trinity, for an absolute "Agreement of it with the *Christian*, had "they but accommodated the right Notion "of *Consubstantiality* to their three *Hypos-* "*tases*; so that there might have been but "one specific Nature or Essence of the "Godhead, not distinguishable by any na- "tural Diversity, and so no one *Hypostasis* "any Way inferior or subordinate to ano- "ther.

CXXXIII. As for the Doctrine of the *three Hypostases*, which is here mentioned by *Cyril*, *that* was not the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, but was the Doctrine of the *Arians*, as well as of the *Platonists*. It was indeed afterwards adopted by some of the *Consubstantialists*, and was inserted in that Creed which goes under the Name of *Athanasius*; but which could not possibly

(7) *Cyril* cont. *Jul.* lib. viii.

have

have been written by him, becauſe he, as well as the reſt of the *Nicene* Fathers, inſiſted upon it, that there was but (8) *one Hypoſtaſis* in the Trinity, any more than one *Uſia*, ſince they, contrary to the Doctrine of the *Platoniſts*, ſuppoſed thoſe two Words to mean one and the ſame thing, in which however they were certainly ſo far in the right. For the Word Οὐσία literally ſignifies a *Being*, or *Exiſtence*; and the Word Ὑπόστασις literally ſignifies a *Subſiſtence*, or *Subſtance*; which hath been ſhewed in the (9) Beginning of this Treatiſe, to be the ſame with a *Being*, or *Exiſtence*. And accordingly, the *Greek* Word Οὐσία is generally tranſlated by the *Latin* Word *Subſtantia*. (1) *Socrates* the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, who lived after *Cyril*, and was a very zealous *Conſubſtantialiſt*, when giving his Opinion

(8) *Athanaſius*, in his Treatiſe on the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, (Vol. i. p. 934) which was written towards the latter End of his Life, poſitively aſſerts: ἡ δὲ ὑποστάσις οὐσία ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σημαινόμενον ἔχει. *Hypoſtaſis enim idem cum* USIA *ſubſtantia eſt, nec aliam ſignificationem habet.* And to the ſame Purpoſe in ſeveral other Places.

(9) See Sect. II.

(1) *Socrat.* Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 7.

concerning

concerning the Meaning of the Word Ὑπόστασις, ſays, " that this Word according to " *Iræneus*, was a barbarous Word; and " was not to be found among the ancient " Authors. But, ſays *Socrates*, it is uſed " by *Sophocles* to ſignify a *Trap*, or *Pitfall*, " to catch any thing in; and by *Menander* " to ſignify the Sedement of any thing; as " for Example, if any one ſhould call the " *Lees* of Wine which fall to the Bottom " an *Hypoſtaſis*. But though this Word " was not uſed by the more ancient Philo- " ſophers, yet, ſays he, you muſt under- " ſtand that the Moderns make Uſe of it " inſtead of Οὐσία." To ſay therefore that the three Perſons in the Trinity are *one Uſia* and *three Hypoſtaſes*, is the ſame thing as to ſay, that they are *one Subſtance* and *three Subſtances* at the ſame Time; which I take to be a Contradiction in Terms, and therefore cannot be affirmed even of God himſelf.

CXXXIV. For

CXXXIV. For when it is ſaid in the *Nicene* Creed, that the Son is (2) ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, *of the Subſtance of the Father*, and that he is ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ, *of one Subſtance with the Father*, it is not meant thereby that he is of one and the ſame Kind of Subſtance with the Father, but that he is actually one and the ſame *undivided* Subſtance with the Father. Wherein then, you will ſay, does the Difference conſiſt? Why, according to *Cyril*, *not in any natural Diverſity*, but ~~*numerically*~~ only; *nomina* that is, in being ſaid to be *three* Subſtances, at the ſame Time that they are but *one* Subſtance.

CXXXV. I am very ſenſible that in our *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Creed, commonly called the *Athanaſian Creed*, we have followed the Church of *Rome*, whoſe Infallibility can give what Signification it pleaſes

(2) This is omitted out of our *Engliſh* Copy of the *Nicene* Creed, though it was undoubtedly in the original *Greek*.

to Words; in rendering the Word Ὑπόστασις, by the *Engliſh* Word *Perſon*, that Church having rendered it by the *Latin* Word *Perſona*. But let us ſee whether this will mend the Matter, which we ſhall find it does not, unleſs we make Uſe of a ſhameful Kind of Equivocation, by uſing the Word *Perſon* in two different Senſes; or rather, in no Senſe at all. For that the Word *Perſon* is capable of two different Senſes being put upon it is very plain; thus it is ſometimes made Uſe of to denote *that identical Perſonality, whereby any one intelligent Agent is diſtinguiſhed from any other intelligent Agent.* As for Example, when it is ſaid, *Numb.* v. 6, 7. "When a Man or Woman ſhall com-
"mit any Sin that Men commit, to do a
"Treſpaſs againſt the Lord, and that *Per-*
"*ſon* be guilty; then they ſhall confeſs
"their Sin which they have done," *&c.* In this Place, the Word *Perſon* is here put to denote the Man or Woman who was guilty of the Treſpaſs: And can never ſignify any other Man or Woman, but the offending one only; nor any more Perſons than

than thoſe that were guilty. According to which Senſe of the Word every ſeparate Perſon muſt be conſidered as a ſeparate intelligent Agent, and every ſeparate intelligent Agent muſt be conſidered as a ſeparate Perſon from every other intelligent Agent, and will for ever, if he exiſts ſo long, be the ſame Perſon he was, whether he repents or not, whether he is young, or old; or whether he exiſts in this World, or in the next. And it would be a Contradiction in Terms to ſay, that this one Perſon is two different Perſons, or that two different Perſons is this ſame Perſon; for hence it is that the common Expreſſion takes its Riſe, when ſpeaking of any one Man, we ſay, this is the very *individual* Perſon, who did ſuch or ſuch a Fact, becauſe, if he could be *divided*, he would be no longer the ſame Perſon.

CXXXVI. But in this Senſe of the Word, the *Conſubſtantialiſts* will not allow the Word *Perſon* to be applied to the three Perſons in the Trinity, becauſe this would

make them as much three ſeparate Beings, as *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, are three ſeparate Men: And would contradict the *Homouſian* Doctrine, which ſuppoſes the three Perſons of the Trinity to be one *undivided* Subſtance, or as *Cyril* expreſſeth it, *one ſpecific Nature*, or *Eſſence*.

CXXXVII. Sometimes however this Word *Perſon* is made Uſe of to denote only the Relation which one intelligent Agent bears to another; or the diſtinguiſhing Mark of his Character, whereby he is to be known from other intelligent Agents, or even from himſelf, either at different Times, or in different Circumſtances. In which Senſe of the Word the ſame individual Perſon, or intelligent Agent, may be conſidered as twenty different Perſons all at the ſame Time. For thus the ſame intelligent Agent may be conſidered in the Perſon of a King, of a General, of an Ally, of a Philoſopher, of a Father, or of a Son, of an Huſband, or of a Batchellor, of an old Man, or of a young Man, *&c*, *&c*. For, ſays

ſays *Stephens*, in his *Latin Theſaurus*, Perſona *ſignificat Qualitatem eam qua homo differt ab homine, tum in anima, tum in corpore, tum in extra poſitis; quæ a Rhetoricis anumerantur in* Attributis *Perſonæ: ut Hector ad Priamum Perſona Filii eſt; ad Aſtyanactem Perſona Patris; ad Andromachem Perſona Mariti; ad Paridem Perſona Fratris; ad Sarpedonem Amici; ad Achillem Perſona Inimici.* In which Senſe of the Word it is that that Expreſſion muſt be underſtood, when *Moſes* ſaith of God, that he (3) *regardeth not Perſons*, by which is meant, not that God regardeth not Mankind, as they are ſo many intelligent Agents, but that he doth not reſpect Men on account of their perſonal Circumſtances, or Characters, or Figure, or Relation in Life: But neither will the *Conſubſtantialiſts* allow this Interpretation of the Word *Perſon*, applied to the three Perſons in the Trinity, ſo as to be underſtood as if they were only three different

(3) *Deut.* x. 17. *Matth.* xxii. 16. *Mar.* xii. 14.

Perſonages,

Perſonages, or Characters, or Attributes, of the ſame Being; becauſe that would be manifeſt *Sabellianiſm*, and would not allow any real Exiſtence to any of them but one.

CXXXVIII. And though they ſay that one of theſe Perſons is the *Father*, and the other *Son*; they will not allow one to be prior or poſterior to the other; but declare them both to be coequal and coeternal, which is by no Means conſiſtent with the Relation that there is between Father and Son: For though the Relation between two coequal coeternal Beings might bear ſome Analogy to the Denomination of *Brothers*, yet it ſeems abſolutely inconſiſtent with that of Father and Son.

CXXXIX. But, in order to conduct us a little further into the Knowledge of this Affair, it may be proper to enquire into the Reaſons which ſeem to have led the Compilers of the *Nicene* Creed into this Determination

nation of the Consubstantiality of the Father and Son.

CXL. The Doctrine of *Arius* was, that *the Son being begotten of the Father before all Times and all Ages, subsisted only through the Will of the Father: But that he was not eternal, that is, coeternal with the Father; nor did he come into Existence along with the Father.*

CXLI. In order to refute which Doctrine, the *Nicene* Bishops composed a Creed, wherein they asserted the Son to be *of the Substance of the Father*, and *consubstantial with the Father*; and at the End of the Creed annexed these three Anathemas, or damnatory Clauses: (4) τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ὅτι ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστόν, ἢ τρεπτὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἁγία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

(4) *Socrat.* Eccl. Hist. lib. i. cap. 8.

But

But they who ſay, There was a Time when the Son was not, and that he did not exiſt before he was begotten: Or that ſay, he was begotten out of nothing: Or that ſay he exiſted out of any other HYPOSTASIS, *or* USIA, *than the Father; or was created, or is liable to Mutation or Change, the Holy Catholick Apoſtolic Church anathematiſes.*

CXLII. From whence it may be obſerved in the firſt Place, that theſe Fathers underſtood the Words *Uſia* and *Hypoſtaſis* in the ſame Senſe, ſo as to mean one and the ſame thing; and that as the Son was of the ſame undivided, or individual *Uſia*, ſo was he alſo the ſame undivided or individual *Hypoſtaſis* with the Father. And poſſibly this may be the Reaſon why theſe Anathemas are omitted out of our preſent *Nicene* Creed; becauſe they contradict in Terms the *Athanaſian* Creed, which aſſerts, that "there is one *Hypoſtaſis* of the Father, "and another of the Son, and another of "the holy Spirit."

CXLIII. But

CXLIII. But it does not ſeem ſo eaſy to explain what is meant by the firſt Anathema: *Curſed be they who ſay, There was a Time when the Son was not; and that he did not exiſt before he was begotten.* However, if it means any thing, it muſt be this; that whereas the *Arians* aſſerted that the Son was begotten before all Time, and before all Ages: Nevertheleſs they aſſerted, that although they would allow he might, upon that Account, in ſome Senſe be called eternal; yet that the Son could not be coeternal with the Father, becauſe the Begetter muſt have exiſted before the Begotten. In order therefore to invalidate the Force of this Argument, and make the Son nevertheleſs coeternal with the Father, the *Nicene* Biſhops, ſince they could not deny but the Begetter muſt have exiſted before the Begotten, ſeemed to have framed this Anathema, wherein they aſſert, in Imitation of *Irenæus*, and ſome few other metaphyſical Writers, that the Son did exiſt before he was begotten: That is, that he did poten-

tially exist in the Substance of the Father, out of which he was afterwards begotten.

CXLIV. And this is the Reason why they likewise anathematised, in the second Place, those who should say, that the Son was *begotten out of Nothing*. In order to establish the following Doctrine of the Son being begotten out of the Substance of the Father; which Substance being undoubtedly coeternal with the Father, therefore the Son, who virtually (5) or potentially existed in it, must, according to their Method of reasoning, also be coeternal.

CXLV. But, with humble Submission to such great Authority, this Assertion absolutely destroys the modern favourite Doctrine of the eternal Generation of the Son: Because that although it should be allowed that the Son might possibly have virtually subsisted from all Eternity, in the Substance,

(5) Δυνάμει ἦν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἀγεννήτῳ. *Potentia erat in Patre, ingenita quadam ratione.* Theod. Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. 12.

or

or Mind, of the Father, as every thing did, that either hath exiſted, or ever will exiſt, yet I ſuppoſe it a Contradiction in Terms to ſay, that he exiſted, as a Son, till he was begotten. And therefore that the *Nicene* Fathers have anathematiſed all ſuch as will not affirm a (6) Contradiction.

CXLVI. And I cannot help ſaying, it is ſomething odd to have theſe two Creeds eſtabliſhed in the ſame Church, in one of which thoſe are declared to be *accurſed*, who deny the Son to be of the ſame *Uſia*, or *Hypoſtaſis* with the Father; and in the other, it is declared *they cannot be ſaved* who do not aſſert that (7) *there is one Hypoſtaſis of the Father, and another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghoſt.*

CXLVII. But, in order to obviate all theſe Objections, it is thought ſufficient, by

(6) For the Aſſertions of the *Arians* were ἦν ποτε, ὅτε ὁ υἱὸς οὐκ ἦν. *&c.* That *there was* (a Time) *when* THE SON *was not. &c.* Athan. Vol. I. p. 97.

(7) *Athanaſian Creed.*

ſome, to ſay, that there are many Powers in the Divine Nature, which human Beings are not capable of comprehending. Nay, ſo far are we Mortals from being able to comprehend the Divine Nature, that we know very little of the Things which are on Earth; that there is not one, of all the various Things which ſurround us, that does not contain ſomething in its Frame and Conſtitution, which is beyond the Abilities of the moſt ſubtle Philoſopher to explain.

CXLVIII. Be it ſo. — Let us then acknowledge the narrow Limits of the human Underſtanding; which, I think, nobody, who looks within himſelf, can be without ſenſibly ſeeing and feeling: But then let us not turn ſuch violent Sceptics, as to aſſert that, becauſe we do not know every Thing, therefore we know nothing: That becauſe we cannot ſee by Night as well as by Day, therefore we muſt not believe our own Eyes, even when the Sun ſhines directly over our Heads.

CXLIX. I

CXLIX. I ſhall therefore take it for granted, that there are ſome Truths in Nature, that are level to our Underſtandings, and that we may pronounce with ſome Degree of Certainty, for Example, that two and two make four; and that it is a Contradiction in Terms to ſay, that the ſame individual Subſtance, whether ſpiritual, or corporeal, *can be*, and *not be*, at the ſame Time, and in the ſame Place. Now, if the Knowledge of theſe Propoſitions is within the Reach of our Underſtanding, then we may ſafely affirm, if the Father and Son are *conſubſtantial*, that is, if the Subſtance of the Father be the ſame undivided Subſtance with the Son; and that the Subſtance of the Son did enter into the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, and became incarnate; that then it will follow, of Conſequence, that the Subſtance of the Father did enter into the Virgin's Womb, and was incarnate alſo. Since otherwiſe, one and the ſame individual Subſtance may be, and not be, at the ſame Time, and in the ſame Place.

CL. Again,

CL. Again, if this Propoſition be taken for granted, which may be found *totidem Verbis*, in the *Athanaſian* Creed, that *as the reaſonable Soul and Fleſh is one Man; ſo God and Man is one* Chriſt. And if this other Propoſition be allowed, which may be found as explicitly in the Scriptures, that this one (8) *Chriſt ſuffered* for the Sins of Mankind; then it muſt follow, of Conſequence, that *Chriſt* ſuffered in his Godhead, as well as his Humanity; ſince otherwiſe, it would have been the Man *Jeſus*, and not *Jeſus* the *Meſſiah*, or *Chriſt*, that ſuffered for the Sins of Men.

CLI. Now as the Conſideration of theſe Things is, ſo far at leaſt, within the Reach of our Capacities, if we ſuppoſe the Premiſes aforementioned to be true, which the *Conſubſtantialiſts* will hardly deny; the Concluſions, which they will not allow, are,

(8) *Heb.* ix. 28. 1 *Pet.* ii. 21. iii. 18.

nevertheleſs,

nevertheleſs, as demonſtrably true, as any Propoſition in the Mathematics.

CLII. But let us go a little further, and ſuppoſe, for the preſent, that theſe Things were above our Comprehenſion; and then I ſhould be glad to be informed of the Reaſons why thoſe very Perſons, who roar ſo loud againſt the vain Attempts of Men, in ſcrutinizing *the Things which belong unto Heaven*, ſhould take upon them to explain thoſe Doctrines, which they themſelves declare to be above the Reach of human Underſtandings.

CLIII. When the *Papiſts* want to perſuade Men out of their Senſes, and to prevail upon *Proteſtants* to acknowledge the abſurd Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, they are very ample and florid in their Declamations upon the Immenſity, and Incomprehenſibleneſs of God, and his Attributes; and upon the Minuteneſs and Inſufficiency of human Abilities; and are always ſetting forth, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, how little

we

we know, and how much we are ignorant. And therefore, ſay they, ſince our Saviour hath ſaid, *this is my Body, and this is my Blood*, we ought to believe it to be ſo, though we could not comprehend the Manner how.

CLIV. All which would be undoubtedly right, and true, if they were to go no further. But if what they ſay be true, about the Weakneſs of human Underſtandings, how come they to have Abilities for explaining thoſe Myſteries, which the reſt of Mankind are ſo unequal to the Enquiry into? Why do they pretend to ſay, that this Myſtery conſiſts in a *Tranſubſtantiation* of the Elements, when there is no ſuch Word in the Scriptures?

CLV. And ſince it muſt be undoubtedly acknowledged, that the Belief in any Myſtery can be no further required as neceſſary to Salvation, than in Proportion as that Myſtery is revealed; if this be a Myſtery, ſurely they ought to leave it, as they found it,

it, and not presume to explain that, which they declare to be inexplicable.

CLVI. And is not this Method of reasoning as strong, with regard to *Consubstantiation* as *Transubstantiation?* It certainly is. And therefore when the *Protestants* argue against the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, the *Papists* never fail objecting the equal Incredibility of a *consubstantial* Trinity.

CLVII. The Doctrine of the Trinity is as certainly revealed in the 19th Verse of the xxviiith Chapter of St. *Matthew*, as the Doctrine of the *Eucharist* is, in the 26th Verse of the xxvith Chapter of the same Evangelist: But the Scriptures are as silent about the *Consubstantiality* of the one, as about the *Transubstantiation* of the other. Whence then came the Revelation of these wonderful Doctrines? Why! both originally from the same Oracle; from the Papal Chair.

CLVIII. I think it therefore incumbent on thoſe *Proteſtant* Biſhops, who hold the Doctrine of a conſubſtantial Trinity, to inform us of the Reaſons, why the Infallibility of the Pope muſt be acknowledged in one of theſe Inſtances, and not in the other. And why, if their Eyes are ſufficient to let them ſee, as well as the Pope, that the three Perſons of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are one coeternal, coequal, and undivided Subſtance, when we undertake to argue againſt it, they ſhould ſay to us, Ye are blind! ye are blind! Or, why if we are blind, though they are not, this metaphyſical Diſpute ſhould be made a Part of the public Service of the Church, which is an Aſſembly compoſed, not only of quick-ſighted Philoſophers, but of the loweſt of the People, who are required there to give their Aſſent to theſe equivocal, if not contradictory, Interpretations of Scripture, under the Penalty of eternal Damnation; and to declare that *every one who doth not keep this Faith whole and undefiled, without Doubt,*

Doubt, ſhall periſh everlaſtingly; and that *this is the catholic Faith, which, except a Man believe faithfully, he cannot be ſaved.*

CLIX. I ſhall accordingly expect ſome of the Right Reverend Members of the *Proteſtant* Church of *Ireland*, either to account for this, or to exonerate their Conſciences, by joining in an humble Remonſtrance againſt it: And I do promiſe, if any of them ſhall deign to honour this *Treatiſe* with an Anſwer, that, if it pleaſeth God to ſpare my Life, it ſhall ſpeedily be followed, either by a Recantation, or a Reply.

F I N I S.